BISHOP GRIMES: HIS CONTEXT AND CONTRIBUTION TO THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN CANTERBURY
THESIS PRESENTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE MASTER OF
ARTS IN HISTORY

UNIVERSITY OF CANTERBURY

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Preface

Church history, especially Catholic Church history, is a sphere of New Zealand history which has been seriously neglected. In choosing for my subject Bishop Grimes and the early years of the Catholic Diocese of Christchurch I have tried to fill one of the voids. It has all been new ground, for no other study has been specifically devoted to the Catholic Church in Canterbury.

In working on this topic I have faced peculiar difficulties. Many of the sources are in Latin, French, and a few in Italian. Grimes himself often wrote in French. This has meant a good deal of translation.

The lines which this study has taken have diverged from those I originally planned mainly because my work has been governed by the availability of source material. Even in the areas which I have broached sources were often scanty. I have tried, working from these often skeletal sources, to build up as comprehensive a picture as possible. On occasions I have had to use a certain amount of assumption and conjecture to help build these sources into a real flesh and blood picture. There are aspects of Grimes's life which I have not considered because of their irrelevance to the theme of the work. These are best left to the biographer.

There are a number of people without whose help this thesis could never have been completed. I would like to thank
Bishop Ashby for his encouragement and for making available the Archives of the Christchurch Diocese. I wish to thank especially Fr. Kevin Clark, Diocesan Archivist, for his generous help; Fr. M. Mulcahy and Fr. Vincent Burke of the Marist Fathers' Archives and St. Patrick's College, Wellington respectively for their kindness and help with sources; Fr. J. Bell of the Marist Fathers' General House, Rome, for giving me two microfilms of the Grimes file from General House Archives and Hugh Laracy and his wife for preparing them; Fr. Kevin Roach for making available material. Thanks are due to Mr. Bob Lamb of the Canterbury Public Library for his many hints, Miss Lilian Keys of Palmerston North for giving me some of her source material, Mr. Stewart MacDonald of the General Assembly Library, and Mr. Wilson of the Canterbury Museum Archives. I must thank also Miss Ju Norris for translating letters from the French, Fr. A.M. O'Malley for his translation from the Italian, my sister, Jill, for the long hours spent in typing the draft chapters, and my wife for her patient proof reading. Finally I thank Mr. D.V. Sims of the University Library for preparing most of the photos.
INTRODUCTION.

One man's contribution to history is measured not only by his personal achievement, but by the links, influences, and impacts made or established between him and his environment. Thus might a person of little previous significance be placed in a situation which invests him with considerable importance and guarantees him a permanent place in an area or phase of the historical process. It may be not his personality or achievements which are important but rather that he illustrates a particular principle, represents a group or faces a particular or enduring problem or set of problems. Such accidental factors as these may well guarantee him a niche in history.

John Joseph Grimes, first Roman Catholic Bishop of Christchurch, was, one suspects, one of these. He had been a successful but modest priest doing important but unspectacular work in other parts of the world. When he was called upon to found a diocese in the Antipodes his qualities were brought more sharply into relief. The purpose of this thesis is to use him to focus the light of history more clearly on problems both of religion and of colonisation and settlement in Canterbury.

Paucity of material makes it impossible to give more than an outline to his earlier life. His education in England, France and Ireland, his work in England and the
United States seem fitting preparation for the difficulties he would face in embryonic Christchurch. But it is on his local record that his historical image must stand or fall. It is essentially as Bishop that John Grimes captures our interest and demands our judgement.

Grimes was appointed to the newly constituted See of Christchurch in 1887. The timing of the appointment was significant and bears on the story that will follow. Grimes, an Englishman, was appointed Bishop in New Zealand, a country where the Catholic ethos demanded an Irish hierarchy. Up till this time New Zealand Catholicism was largely founded upon, and passionately identified with, the Catholicism of its Irish forebears. It was Irish Catholicism of the emotional and firebrand nineteenth century quality. Grimes played a large part in the righting of the balance and in giving Catholicism greater respectability especially in the eyes of the English majority. His appointment was significant, too, because Canterbury was a unique kind of settlement. Its immigrants were largely drawn from England to a theoretically Anglican settlement. Grimes had to establish a working relationship between his Church and this environment. So the very facts of his being English and Catholic mean we must regard religion in the Grimes and Canterbury sense as a strongly social and political

1 See letter by Thomas Grant, Appendix A.
phenomenon. Consideration must be given to the various national influences exerted by the sons of France, Ireland and England in the Church's Canterbury context. Religion, Catholicism, the English, Civic Responsibility are subjects in their own right. Grimes is used to focus them on the New Zealand and the Canterbury scene in particular. In doing this he is invested with a more than local significance and related to history in other places and times. Admittedly there is a risk of being too general. But the risk is justified because no particular man or event can be understood in isolation, divorced from the more general context. The history of nineteenth century Europe, for example, had an influence on Grimes's attitudes, on his type of Catholicism (in the non-theological sense). It differed, for instance, markedly from Bishop Moran's of Dunedin.

Grimes's work, therefore, is relevant to the history and growth of the Roman Catholic Church in New Zealand about which little has been written. In fact, that work and the Church in Canterbury must not be seen in isolation but always in relation to and contrast with the Catholic Church elsewhere in New Zealand. His work is relevant also to the general history of New Zealand since Catholics form an integral and important part of the community.

A portion of this work will be devoted to the planning and building of the Cathedral of the Blessed Sacrament. This was Grimes's greatest material work, the memorial to his
episcopate. But his achievement was not restricted to stone and mortar. It is the task of the author to establish and trace the lesser as well as the greater material legacies left by the founding Bishop.
CHAPTER I  BACKGROUND TO THE EPISCOPATE

INTRODUCTION

Our first task is to paint in, in broad strokes, the outline of the scene into which Grimes stepped. To understand the founding Bishop and his context we must have some grasp of the history of the four strands which make up the background of the Episcopate.

First we must look at the general history and context of the Roman Catholic Church in New Zealand and try to fit the Church in Canterbury into that picture. Because Canterbury was a unique kind of settlement we must consider the nature, fortunes and success of the Canterbury Association and its venture. Finally we must try to see Grimes in terms of his own personal background, as far as the meagre sources allow. Having fulfilled these requirements, we may then analyse a number of important aspects of the Catholic Church in Canterbury during the Grimes years.

(1) ORIGINS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN NEW ZEALAND.

In 1838 Pope Gregory XVI established the Roman Catholic Missionary Vicariate of Western Oceania. Its care was entrusted by the Roman Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith to a new religious Congregation, the Society of Mary, already working for some years in the Diocese of Lyons and approved by Pope Gregory on 29 April 1838.† The Society had agreed that

† Also known as Marist Fathers. For further details see Chap.3.
its missionaries should work under Jean Baptiste Pompallier, recently consecrated Bishop and Vicar Apostolic of Western Oceania. Pompallier, though never belonging to the Society, honoured the Marists with his esteem and sympathy and had often shared in their work in country missions in France. Four priests and three lay-brothers of the Society left Le Havre with the Bishop on Board the Delphine on 24 December 1836 for the islands of the South Pacific. It is here that the story of the Catholic Church in New Zealand begins.

Landing at Hokianga on 10 January 1838 Bishop Pompallier, Father Servant and Brother Columban were met by Thomas Poynton, an Irish timber merchant who had lived in New Zealand for ten years. From the outset the French missionaries catered for the needs of the Irish settlers and the Maoris in a country soon to be an English colony. Here were the seeds of later problems, problems which would exist in microcosm in Canterbury.

Successive bands of missionaries arrived and the Auckland station was founded in 1841. As a first step to multiplying

4 Early arrivals:
16 Oct 1839 - Frs. Epalle, Baty and Petit with 3 brothers.
11 Dec 1839 - Frs. Petit-Jean, Comte, Viard, Chevron and Br. Attale. The last two went to Tonga.
Jul 1840 - Frs. Pezant and Tripe.
Jul 1841 - Frs. Seon, Garin, Bojon, Rozet and Rouleaux.

Redwood, Sketch, p. 6.
Vicariates under Pompallier's jurisdiction New Zealand was in 1842 erected into a distinct Vicariate under his administration. Perhaps the most significant date for New Zealand Catholics is 13 January 1838 when Bishop Pompallier offered the first Mass on New Zealand soil.

At first, Pompallier's mission to the people of New Zealand meant ministering to the spiritual needs of the French sailors from the corvette Heroine. After it sailed, he turned to the Maoris — indeed he affirmed that his "principal occupation" was visiting the tribes about Hokianga and its vicinity. The mission had considerable success; many Maoris showed interest in the Church. But lack of material resources hampered his early efforts. "After a residence here of six months we found ourselves in the greatest want!" In July 1840 the arrival of the L'Aube in the Bay of Islands was significant for the Roman Catholic mission for it brought with it two more Marist missionaries, two catechists and monetary help. "These reinforcements of men and money permitted the establishment of a new station at Akaroa." Thus was the Canterbury and South Island mission established. Pompallier himself went to Akaroa and, with two priests and a brother, visited the Maoris of Banks Peninsula. They left Father

5 L. Keys, The Life and Times of Bishop Pompallier, P. 204.
6 Pompallier, Early History, P. 43.
7 Ibid., P. 44
8 Ibid, P. 68
Comte at Port Cooper where he stayed a fortnight before returning to Akaroa. Meanwhile the Bishop returned to the North.  

Pompallier has been accused of partiality against the British at Waitangi and in the Maori War of 1845. It is important to examine this charge because of its relevance to one of the themes to be developed in this thesis and to the whole question of the loyalty of an alien clergy. The available evidence points to the spuriousness of the charge and shows that Pompallier was not greatly interested in the politics of the moment. Kane points out that "his claim, akin to that of the Waitangi situation, was one of neutrality. His attitude was one of neutrality bordering on passive resistance." In fact we find Governor George Grey speaking of the loyalty of the Catholic Maoris. He had "already found the Bishop and his subordinate clergy anxious to allay suspicion, promote good feeling and afford any information in all matters connected with the natives." Pompallier writing to Hone Heke shows himself far from anti British.

Well, if you do go to war, do not turn on the English who live in peace, on women and children...

9 After the initial landing at Akaroa they went on to Otago, back to Akaroa and on to Port Nicholson arriving on 24 Dec 1840 for ten days. They then went back to Akaroa visiting the native tribes there. The two priests stayed on. Pompallier, P. 73. Bishop Pompallier probably visited the area several more times. P.J.Kane, in his unpublished Thesis, Early History of the Catholic Church in N.Z., 1834-1848, says that Pompallier left N.Z. from Banks Peninsular on 16 Apr 1846 for Toulon and Rome. P.80.

10 Kane, P. 75.
11 Grey to Stanley, 5 Jun 1846 (enclosure 4) Papers relative to N.Z. 1847, No. 4 ff 4 & 5 as quoted in Kane, P. 74.
2. The Catholic Block, Barbadoes St., a drawing by Fr. Eoyer, S.M.
But I have never counselled you to submit to any stranger - English, French or American. To do such things is not my mission.

Pompallier apparently stood by his conviction throughout that the issue was purely a political one and not for him to solve. He did all he could to prevent hostilities and urged the Maoris to peaceful means of settlement. Much of the ill-feeling seems to have been stirred up by Protestant missionaries.

Pompallier speaks of "the calumnies which Protestant missionaries were spreading about." He mentions "the Methodists, who were in our immediate neighbourhood....went amongst all the native tribes striving to prejudice them against us."

In 1848 the progress of colonisation led the Holy See to establish a regular hierarchy in New Zealand. Pompallier became first Bishop of Auckland. Phillip Viard, of the Society of Mary and his coadjutor since 1845, was given the new Diocese of Wellington which included the whole South Island and adjoining islands. A Capuchin priest, Father O'Reilly, had been resident in Wellington having travelled to New Zealand as private chaplain to the Petre family in the early forties. Viard arrived in Wellington on 1 May 1850 with five priests.

13 Pompallier, P. 36.
14 Ibid. P. 36.
15 Viard was consecrated Bishop in Sydney on 4 Jan 1846. He had been recalled from New Caledonia, where he had been on loan, by Pompallier in Sep 1845.
and ten lay-brothers and established the Church there. The mission to Canterbury was a sporadic effort. Now and then a priest would come from Akaroa and subsequently (when the two priests were later withdrawn from Akaroa) from Wellington. Father Yardin describes the Wellington mission in 1862 as consisting of Bishop Viard, Fathers Petit-Jean and O'Reilly and six hundred and eighty Catholics with two churches and two schools. The Catholics there and later in the Canterbury settlement were probably of better social origin than those of Auckland where they were mainly Maoris or Irish soldiers, though Auckland had a higher proportion of Catholics. Out of the eleven who attended a meeting of Wellington Catholics in 1843 five names survive: Honourable Henry Petre, Charles Clifford, William Vavasour, Baron Alsdorf and Doctor Fitzgerald. The first three were English gentlemen, none were Irish peasants. The families of the first two would play an important part in the Canterbury Church history.

In 1872 Viard died. Francis Redwood of the Society of Mary was named Bishop two years later. His appointment will be

16 He also brought 3 sisters, 1 novice, 1 Maori Catholic woman and 2 Maori Catechumens. R. Yardin S.M. MS Notes, A.M.F. J.J. Wilson, The Church in N.Z. Vol I, P. 31 mentions only two brothers.
17 Wilson, Vol. I P. 70.
19 Minutes of a meeting of Wellington Catholics, Barrets Hotel, 9 Feb. 1843, A.M.F.
discussed more fully in the next Chapter, but its immediate significance was that Redwood was the first New Zealand-bred cleric to reach high ecclesiastical office in this country. It was in his episcopate that the church in Canterbury grew to maturity. 20

(2) THE CANTERBURY ASSOCIATION SETTLEMENT.

The Canterbury Association never attained the ideal of its founders. They strove to establish

an English county with its Cathedral city,
its famous university, its Bishop, its Parishes,
its endowed clergy, its ancient aristocracy,
its yeoman farmers, its few necessary tradesmen,
its sturdy and loyal labourers. 21

Canterbury, however, did achieve most of the Association's broad objectives during the provincial period. Some of the above aims were too Utopian for the down-to-earth English colonisers of Canterbury. But it is important to realise that the Canterbury scheme was not solely an experiment in systematic colonisation. It was also, and in the view of most members of the Association "primarily, an attempt to set up an eccles-

20 The Redwoods were yeoman farmers from Staffordshire. They arrived in N.Z. in 1842 and took up farming in the Nelson area when Francis was only 3½ years old. He was educated by Joseph Ward and his wife (Redwood's sister) & later spent 3 years at Fr. Carin's boarding school. Francis left for France on 8 Dec. 1854 (15½ yrs old) to finish his education at St. Mary's College, Loire. After ecclesiastical studies at Toulon and Dundalk he was ordained at Maynooth 6 Jun 1865. He returned to N.Z. as the new Bishop of Wellington in Nov 1874. He was in fact the first N.Z. Priest. The Redwoods prospered and became wealthy farmers. The family still farms in the Marlborough area. F. Redwood, Reminiscences of the Early Days in N.Z., No. 1 Turnbull Library.

21 H.T. Purchas, Bishop Harper and the Canterbury Settlement, P32.
istical polity." Regardless of what happened in practice, £1 of the £3 charged per acre for land was intended for religious and educational endowments.

But Canterbury was not inevitably an Anglican settlement. Wakefield himself had seen that immigration might be speeded up, that vigour might be restored to the New Zealand Company if different religious groups could be encouraged to form settlements of their own, as the seventeenth century Puritans, Catholics, Anglicans and Quakers had created the American colonies. As early as 1843 Edward Gibbon Wakefield was discussing such schemes with fellow directors of the New Zealand Company. According to Edward Jerningham Wakefield, his father sent him to confer with the Archbishop Whately of Dublin over a colonisation scheme. The Wakefields were at that time more disposed to look to Daniel O'Connell and Smith O'Brien for support. Frank Petre, member of a prominent Catholic family and later architect for the Christchurch Catholic Cathedral, goes even further when fifty years later he recalls that

very shortly after the founding of the Otago settlement my grandfather was offered the Canterbury province for a Catholic colony. This he offered to the Archbishop of Dublin ....but the Archbishop considered that the means could not be collected for so great an undertaking, and the offer of the company was

25 Ibid.
given back to them, and taken up by the Church of England.  

It appears that at first Godley did not abandon the plan for an Irish Catholic colony. When Wakefield published his *Art of Colonisation* he mentioned "that he, Charles Buller and Godley had worked at such a plan the previous winter." It appears to have lapsed after Buller's death in December, 1848. It may be said, therefore, that Canterbury closely missed becoming a Roman Catholic Church settlement.

**Religious Life in Canterbury.**

Canterbury was a Church settlement but misfortune and bad management did prevent the Anglican Church from playing a much greater part in the early life of the Canterbury Settlement. Not only was there bad management of the fund set aside for religious and educational purposes but the creation of a diocese for the new colony antagonised Bishop Selwyn and brought the Canterbury venture into disrepute with the Anglican community in New Zealand. The unfortunate choice of Jackson as Bishop-Designate was an unmitigated disaster. As Charlotte Godley pointed out, "So much of the tone and feeling of this colony must depend on the Bishop; being as he will be, so completely first person in every way." The tone that Jackson had set was not high. But luck changed and

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26 Frank Petre's grandfather was Lord Petre of Thorndon, a member of the N.Z. Company. Wilson, Vol. I, p. 144.
27 Carrington, p. 64, 65.
28 Hight, P. 226.
The long deadlock over the subdivision of Selwyn's diocese was broken by Selwyn himself who visited England in 1854, and quickly made up his quarrel with the friends of the Canterbury settlement. He proposed that Dr. H.J.C. Harper should be the first Bishop of Christchurch. Bishop Harper proved to be a most fortunate choice and "under his rule the Church in Canterbury became what the founders had wished it to be." But this is not quite true. Religious exclusiveness was an ideal early abandoned. On the First Four Ships there were dissenters among the passengers. Soon the settlement lost the markedly Church of England atmosphere which characterised it in the early fifties. In practice no church had precedence over others and at public functions clergymen from all were represented. But things were different in the eighties. The religious tone in Christchurch was noted for the ardour with which each church expressed their beliefs.

The more obdurate and zealous of the protestants as we have been, actually came to blows with Roman Catholics. It was a time when people were embittered by years of depression and demoralised by prolonged public unemployment. Anglicans, however, comprised 82% of the population in 1854, a higher proportion than that found in modern England. Catholics still formed, until the sixties, a tiny percentage of

30 Carrington, P. 180
31 Ibid, P. 181.
Whatever the numbers, the fact was that toleration was a guiding principle. This was probably due to Godley. Though he hoped that Canterbury would be "a society ruled by the law of God as revealed in the catholic traditions of the Church of England" he was by nature and experience a tolerant man. Carrington points out that, though he was a churchman and a leader of a church settlement, he showed no signs of exclusiveness.

At an early stage he received deputations of Roman Catholics and non-conformists at Lyttelton asking him to allot them ground for their chapels and cemetery, which he promptly granted, and was censured by Sewell in London, six months later, for doing so.

Society in Canterbury

Social life, as it happens, was less sophisticated in Christchurch than in northern centres, more primitive than Wellington or Auckland, more after the New Plymouth style.

34 In 1859 Total Canty. Population 12,784
of these 72% C. of England
10.67% Presbyterian
8.26% Methodist
4.08% R. Catholic

These figures from A House Not Made With Hands, compiled by W.T. Blight, Ch.Ch., 1964.

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<th>Total Canty. Pop.</th>
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<td>In 1851 3,264</td>
<td>136</td>
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<td>1881 112,182</td>
<td>12,946</td>
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<td>1886 13,733</td>
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<td>1888 144,049 (excl.Maoris) 20,570</td>
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Source
- Tablet, 16 Feb 1905, P.6
- N.Z. Yearbook, 1886-7, P. 86.
- Tablet, 20 May 1887, P. 13
- Catholic Times, 29 Sep 1888, P. 15

35 Silcock, P. 5.
36 Carrington, P. 128.
There seems to be no snobbish exclusiveness at Canterbury. Like Nelson, it seemed less pretentious than Wellington. Dinner parties were not common though there was an occasional Ball. "Except in its Church of Englandism, which however is of a mitigated kind, I should on the score of society prefer the Canterbury province to any," wrote C.W. Richmond.

As far as Roman Catholicism is concerned it appears that certain social deference was probably given to the 'old Catholic' families from England. Charlotte Godley certainly shows such an attitude:

I am afraid... that you will hardly have liked our friend Mr. Weld at all, and yet he is so nice when you know him well; and besides, you know he is not a convert but one of an old Roman Catholic family.

Just how far and how deep this deference went is hard to say. A number of these English Catholics did settle in Canterbury.

(3) THE BEGINNINGS OF CATHOLICISM IN CANTERBURY.

Canterbury was unique among the settlements of New Zealand because not only was the area pioneered by French missionaries but the first Catholics were also French. In the passenger lists of the First Four Ships there was not one Catholic name. But there were Catholics living in Canterbury before 1840 and the story of the Church here (and indeed in the South Island) begins in August of that year when the first French settlers,

38 C.W. Richmond to T. Richmond, 27 Dec 1857, Ibid, P. 330
40 This will be expanded in a later chapter.
under Nanto-Bordelaise auspices, arrived at Akaroa. Even before this, French and Irish Catholics were among the crews of early whalers and there is evidence of the Irishmen working for Captain Hempleman celebrating St. Patrick's day at Peraki, near Akaroa, in 1836. These early Catholics had written to Bishop Pompallier the same year asking that a priest might visit them, but they had to wait until 1840.

In 1840 the first party of French settlers, escorted by the Navy frigate L'Aube, had arrived at the Bay of Islands on their way to Akaroa. Bishop Pompallier sent two French priests, Father Comte and Pesant, southwards with the contingent and they landed at Akaroa on 14 August. The next month Pompallier and Father Tripe arrived on the Catholic mission schooner Sancta Maria. Father Tripe was left at Akaroa to minister to the needs of the new settlers while the Bishop, Fathers Comte and Pesant set out for Otago. When the ship returned Fathers Tripe and Comte were left at Akaroa. The first tiny church at Akaroa, 20 feet by 14 feet, was built with the help of French marines from the navy frigate soon after the colonists arrived. It was replaced in 1843 with a bigger one (40 feet by 20 feet) built on church land just below the old

41 Historical Notes, A.C.D. Captain Hempleman was a German whaler who had set up a station at Peraki. He spent most of his life disputing his claim to a block of land nearby.  
42 Wilson calls them "French immigrants of the agricultural class." They consisted of 43 men and 20 women. Wilson, Vol I, P. 68.
cemetery. 43 For three years the first priests lived in a toi toi whare. 44

Banks Peninsula and Canterbury had too few Catholics to maintain a priest in permanent residence and, after the withdrawal, priests from the North paid frequent visits. Father Seon was appointed permanently to the South Island some time before 1850 and divided his services between the Catholics of Banks Peninsula and the few at Lyttelton and Christchurch. Father Seon travelled his district on foot, knapsack on his back, his stick and his rosary in his hand - and most of the time alone. In 1857 another Frenchman, Father Petit-Jean, came to the South Island and served the Catholics of Canterbury for the greater part of a year.

Although he had from time to time visited the infant town of Christchurch, Father Seon first lived there in 1860 in a house in Tuam Street West near the Royal Hotel. The first Mass was offered for the Catholics of Christchurch in a room in this hotel which was kept by a Catholic woman, Mrs. Thompson, on 3 September 1860. 45 Thus we see even then the strong partnership between the Roman Catholic Church and the Hotel which has remained a feature of New Zealand and of Canterbury life.

43 This church was blown down in 1848. Wilson, Vol I, p. 68
44 It seems that these priests were withdrawn about 1843. After Fr. Seon shifted to Christchurch the Akaroa district was attached to the Lyttelton Parish and visited regularly by priests from there. Until the arrival of Fr. Furton, a Benedictine monk, in 1889 there was no resident priest.
45 There is some dispute about this. Mary Catherine Goulter, Sons of France, p. 166 describes the above statement as inaccurate as was discovered through a letter written by Fr. Petit-Jean describing the first Mass said in Ch.Ch by him on Whit Sunday, 1857.
3. The Pro-Cathedral (Interior).
The first Catholic building was erected within fourteen days of the priests' arrival. It was a prefabricated hut costing £75 and serving as a church and presbytery. The floor was made of stones and the building was surrounded by a sea of mud. The priests were marooned on more than one occasion. But things improved as Christchurch was drained. It was built on three acres known as the Catholic Reserve, donated by the Provincial Government which set it aside for Catholics when the city was laid out. The reason for the hasty occupation was that it was given on the condition that the Church occupy it for religious purposes within ten years. Father Seon and Chataigner arrived only fourteen days before that period expired.

The accuracy of this picture has been questioned. M. C. Goulter, on documentary evidence, denies that the grant was a spontaneous gesture of the Provincial Government. She maintains that it was set aside in answer to a letter from Father Petit-Jean in 1857, asking for the same treatment for the Catholic Church as had already been accorded to other religions.

The latter interpretation seems more likely because the

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47 M.C.Goulter claims as evidence a letter dated from Ch.Ch which can be found in the archives of the Lands Dept. For further information see Wilson, Vol. I, p. 71. The property was conveyed by Crown Grant on 11 Aug 1868 by W. Rolleston, Superintendent, to Bishop Viard (or the head of the Church of Rome) to be held in trust as a site for a place of worship for the use of Catholics and also for a school and parsonage. Galty. Reserve Amendment Ordinance, File 41, Deed 578, Archives of the Lands Dept., Ch.Ch. Another adjoining block of 2 acres 35 perches was brought by the Church on the same day and a further adjoining section of over 3 acres purchased later.
location of the site was outside the area (bounded by Barbadoes Street) to which original settlement was limited. But it is hard to reconcile the view with the fact that the ten year occupancy clause expired in 1860.

This first primitive church was replaced in 1864 by a much better one. Father Chataigner was helped in his church building by his own congregation, by Protestants and by the Provincial Government which, according to the custom of the time, gave a pound for pound subsidy on funds raised for church building. This second church, with considerable additions and renovations, grew into the pro-cathedral which served Christchurch until 1905.

Father Seon, first parish priest of Christchurch, was recalled to Wellington in March 1861. The following month Father Chervier joined Father Chataigner till the latter left to establish a mission at Timaru in 1869. Of all the French priests, Chataigner has attained a special place in Canterbury's Catholic history. It is interesting to note that in May 1888 he was sent from France to take Father Grimes's place as Superior of the Marist foundation at Paignton in Devonshire.

48 The first four churches at Ch., Ch., Lyttelton, Brackenbridge (The Weld Family Chapel), and Akaroa were all built with this subsidy.
49 "...for it was in June 1869 that I got appointed for Timaru wherein I first said Mass as parish priest thereof in the then mechanics institute."
J.B. Chataigner to T. Dillon, 18 Aug 1899, in the possession of Dillon's grand-daughter, Mrs. Mary Clarke, Timaru.
From Timaru churches were established all round South Canterbury. Chataigner's influence and that of other French missionaries may still be seen on the countryside in the many stone churches. South Canterbury has always had a relatively high percentage of Catholics. Settlements such as Kerry-town were entirely Irish.

**Lyttelton**

The quaint stone Catholic Church dominates Lyttelton today. In August 1860 priests had been on the point of shifting to Christchurch as there were only three Catholic women and two men left in Lyttelton. Father Chataigner was burying the fifth on 26 August when a group of Catholic immigrants landed on the shore.

There arrived on Tuesday, August 22nd 1860 in Lyttelton harbor the ship William Millar from the United Kingdom, and amongst the passengers soon after landed were forty four Catholics, these being the first in any considerable body to reach the shores of Canterbury.

51 Analysis of Population figures shows the high percentage of Catholics.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>C. of E.</th>
<th>Presb.</th>
<th>R.C. &amp; S</th>
<th>Meth.</th>
<th>G. of E.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>3,928 or 46%</td>
<td>2,129 or 25%</td>
<td>1,032 or 13%</td>
<td>884 or 10%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>9,049 or 39%</td>
<td>5,335 or 23%</td>
<td>3,937 or 17%</td>
<td>2,478 or 12%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>12,435 or 35%</td>
<td>10,451 or 29%</td>
<td>5,255 or 18%</td>
<td>3,501 or 10%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figures from J.C. Anderson, Jubilee History of South Canterbury, p. 397.

52 P. Henley, Reminiscences of a Pioneer, MS, A.C.D.

List of the Catholics on the William Millar:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Married</th>
<th>Single men</th>
<th>Single women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. P. Henley</td>
<td>J. McConnell</td>
<td>M. Byron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Doyle</td>
<td>P. Mahar</td>
<td>W. Hines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hugh Cassin</td>
<td>P. Martin</td>
<td>J. McGuire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luke Martin</td>
<td>P. Gill</td>
<td>J. &amp; N. Lawlor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Whelan</td>
<td>F. Gallagher</td>
<td>Nora Lawlor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frank Hardy</td>
<td>Andrew Stevens</td>
<td>&amp; Jones (2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

with their children up to 12 years old.
The arrival of this Catholic 'Charlotte Jane' must have heartened the missionaries. Father Chataigner built the second church in Canterbury at Lyttelton on a site donated by Sir Frederick Weld, well-known Catholic, pioneer farmer, and at the time, Premier of New Zealand. The church was opened on 29 August 1865 and is still used as the parish church. Lyttelton was made a separate parish in 1872 and entrusted to Father Boibeaux. It included all the Bays and settlements of Banks Peninsula. A school was started in 1873 and staffed by lay-teachers until, at Bishop Grimes's request, the Sisters of Mercy came from Hokitika in 1890. 53

**Catholic Education in Christchurch.**

The credit for the founding of the Diocesan education system rests with Edward O'Connor, a young Irishman recently arrived in the colony. 54 He established the first school in a cottage in Lichfield Street in May 1865. For this he received a grant of £31 a year until the Education Act was passed in 1877. The school was mixed until the Sisters of the Missions arrived from France in February 1868 and opened their convent school in September of the same year. In 1870 they bought the land in Ferry Road on which their convent now stands. Later The Marist Brothers arrived institutionalising the work of educating boys begun on an *ad hoc* basis by O'Connor. 55

53 *St. Joseph's Church, Lyttelton 1865-1965*, Centennial Pamph.
54 Edward O'Connor became prominent later as Secretary of the Cathedral Building Committee c.f. Chapt. 4.
55 *Tablet*, 2 Mar 1888, p. 25.
The Country Districts

In 1871 Father Ecuyer was appointed parish priest of Christchurch; Father Boibieux took charge of Lyttelton, and Father Chervier went to live at Lincoln, becoming pastor of all the country districts of Canterbury between the Rangitata and Hurunui Rivers. Father Chervier adopted his role of country cure with zeal. Altogether he built ten churches, two presbyteries, and a convent, - churches at Leeston, Rangiora, Loburn, Ashburton, Southbridge and Darfield.

The West Coast

If South Canterbury had a high proportion of Catholics then the West Coast had an even greater one. Catholicism on the West Coast really begins with the gold rushes. The big Irish influx in the sixties has left an indelible character on Catholicism on 'the Coast.' In 1864 possibly as many as 26% of the community there were Irish born. Wilson agrees with P.R. May that "the Irish Miners in Westland in those days came from the comparatively well-to-do class at Home." Because they had to pay the £40 fare out here "most of them were the sons of fairly prosperous farmers" and in general were an intelligent group.

56 Some authors give the date of this shift as 1873 but Wilson and Silcock agree on 1871.
Lincoln was then known as Shand's Track or New Headford.
57 Wilson, Vol. I, p. 82.
58 P.R. May, The West Coast Gold Rushes, p. 284.
A Catholic mission was established at Hokitika in 1865 though Father Halum, a French Secular priest, had said the first Mass the previous year. 61 Father McGirr built St. Mary's Church in 1865 and Bishop Viard sent Dean Phillipe Martin to take official charge in 1868. 62 The Sisters of Mercy arrived from Ireland in 1875. 63 Rosset's Catholic Church was built in 1866. 64 Then came Greymouth. Father Binsfield arrived before Easter 1870 to find about one third of the population of Greymouth Catholic. 65

This was the state of the Catholic Church in Canterbury before the Diocese of Christchurch was set up in 1887. It was an area of the Church which was growing and demanding organisation. The man called upon to fulfill this task and bring the Church in Canterbury to a certain maturity was an Englishman, John Joseph Grimes, of the Society of Mary.

(4) GRIMES - EARLY YEARS.

John Joseph Grimes was born at Bromly-by-Bow in the Diocese of Westminster on 11 February 1842. He was a cosmopolitan from his early years, completing his literary and classical education at the Marist College, Bar-le-Duc, France and his ecclesiastical course in Dundalk, Ireland. Ordained a priest of the Society of Mary in the church of the Catholic

64 Redwood, Sketch, p. 61.
University of Dublin on 22 May 1869, he was for six years on the staff of St. Mary's Dundalk. His association with his future colleague, Francis Redwood, began in his days at Dundalk. Both were theology students and both members of the staff there.

In 1874 Grimes was sent to teach at Jefferson College, Louisiana, United States of America, and later became its President. While helping in the New Orleans Yellow Fever epidemic in 1878 he caught the disease which left him permanently weak. In 1882, after a number of petitions for transfer back to Europe, he returned to England to the Marist Novitiate at Paignton. He became Superior in 1885.

At Paignton Grimes prepared well for his future missionary role. He helped to establish a Catholic mission at nearby Brixham, a bastion of Protestantism in England. It was there that William of Orange landed to oust the Stuarts and it was from Brixham that the Pilgrim Fathers left with their visions for America. Grimes baptised the first child at Brixham since the Reformation, Miss Ellie Sullivan. Still alive in 1966 she recalled that Grimes was a great preacher and a gracious personality. Father Heldenstein, who was at Paignton at

66 Numbers were dwindling and Jefferson was struggling for existence when Grimes was there. Eventually the Jesuits were persuaded to take it over. It was the best thing they ever did, for oil was later found on the property.


68 A. Barker to L. Keys, 5 Feb 1967, lent to me by Miss Keys. Earlier petitions to return to Europe are mentioned in a letter, V. Pompinel to Grimes, 22 Jun 1879, A.M.T. Some sources say rather he was made Novice Master in 1885.

69 Grimes said the first Mass there since the Reformation on 11 Jan 1885. R.W. Connelly, p. 15.
the time, recalled of Grimes that he had a nice presence and was most popular with outsiders. He made many friends and also converts during his time here. He used to fill the Chapel each Sunday afternoon for service at three o'clock. 

It could well have been his success in England that made him a likely candidate for the new missionary Bishopric.

Grimes's nomination for Christchurch was not, as is often thought, entirely out of the blue. There is evidence, in the Marist records I have examined, of an early desire to serve in the New Zealand mission. As early as 1879 Father Poupinel wrote to Grimes from Rome, "I congratulate you, dear Father, on not forgetting your attraction for the missions of New Zealand," but advised that for the time being he must forget these aspirations. Bishop Redwood mentions two years later "your request to come to New Zealand." This wish was soon to be granted.

The Diocese of Christchurch was erected by Papal Brief on 10 May 1887. Grimes's hopes were fulfilled. Three days later he was preconised first Bishop of the new diocese. Consecrated Bishop in St. Anne's Church, London, by Monsignor Vaughan, Bishop of Salford, on 26 July 1887, he arrived in New Zealand at the end of January the following year.

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70 Ibid, p. 15
71 V. Poupinel to Grimes, 22 Jun 1879, A.M.F.
72 F. Redwood to Grimes, 20 Apr 1881, A.M.F.
73 A copy of this Brief or decree is held in the A.C.D.
74 A. Martin S.M. to Grimes, 12 May 1887, A.M.F.
75 The Catholic Times, 4 Feb 1888, p. 19.
CHAPTER 2  THE BIRTH OF A DIOCESE --- CLEAVAGES APPEAR

PART I  BIRTH OF A DIOCESE

The Constitution of the Diocese of Christchurch on 10 May 1887 marked the coming of age of the Catholic Church in New Zealand. Not only was a new diocese created but the Church was also given a new status. New Zealand was set up as a separate Ecclesiastical Province. Wellington was made the Metropolitan See, Francis Redwood assuming the title of Archbishop of Wellington and Metropolitan of New Zealand.

The story of the emergence of the new diocese reveals interesting facets of contemporary Catholic life. It illustrates, too, the appearance of certain incipient tensions of considerable importance.

Dunedin had become a separate diocese in 1869. Early hints of the possible separation of another South Island diocese are found in a letter from Father Poupinel to Father Yardin. The Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (hence called Propaganda) wanted the Marist Fathers to take charge of it but the Society apparently considered it was not yet ready. As early as 1876 the people of Christchurch had petitioned Pope Pius IX for a Bishop of their own, basing their claim on the fact that the growing importance of their city called for a resident Bishop who would be in constant and close communication with his flock and in touch with their wants and

1 G. Simeoni to Provincial S.M., 5 May 1887, A.M.F.
2 V. Poupinel to F. Yardin, 1876-1881, A.M.F.
It seems that a nominee was even found for the prospective Bishopric. Father John Peter Chareyre S.M., once parish priest of Christchurch, had been preconised Bishop of Auckland after the resignation of Bishop Croke. He was in Rome to decline the dignity when the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda offered him the Christchurch Diocese. But again he declined. The matter then lapsed until the Plenary Synod was held in Sydney in 1885.

Projected modifications to the ecclesiastical hierarchy of Australasia were announced to the Fathers of the Sydney Synod. Two resolutions were passed: (I) that three new ecclesiastical provinces be established with centres at Brisbane, Adelaide and Wellington, (II) the setting up of five new dioceses, Christchurch and four Australian ones. But the Synod, or First Plenary Council of Australasia as it was also called, was a body whose task it was to regulate Church policy and administration in Australia and New Zealand. It was autonomous but its decisions had to be ratified by the Holy See. To the two recommendations mentioned, Rome's reply was two years in coming. Meanwhile the Catholics of Canterbury grew impatient. In 1886 they petitioned Cardinal Moran of

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4 *Ibid*, p. 198
5 The four new Australian ones were Grafton, Wilcannia, Sale and Port Augusta.

Sydney asking if there was

any immediate prospect of the appointment of a Bishop to the newly created diocese of Canterbury; and if not, will your Eminence urge upon the authorities in Rome, the expediency of having the appointment made as soon as possible?  

They went on to list the following grounds for their request.

(I) Because various matters in Christchurch require urgent attention, delay would have serious consequences. (II) There is need for an organised system of finances. (III) The parish schools are badly supported "and in the case of the boys, deplorably inefficient." (IV) Christchurch parish is too big and the spiritual needs of the people cannot be adequately met. (V) The clergy give no encouragement to lay organisations. (VI) Christchurch is prospering and the only one of the four main centres without a Bishop.

The petition was probably organised by the Christchurch solicitor, W.B. Perceval and was representative of Catholic opinion in the city. It is invaluable because it has survived intact as one of the only lists of contemporary lay grievances. It was one of a series of agitations from Canterbury and it

6 Petition to His Eminence Cardinal Moran Papal Legate of the Australasian Colonies and Lord Archbishop of Sydney, MS, Ch.Ch. Diocese File, A.C.D.
7 Ibid.
8 Unfortunately the names of the other signatories have been destroyed. Westby Brook Perceval was educated at Christ's College, Stonyhurst, England; and the Middle Temple. On retiring to Ch.Ch he practised law. He was elected M.P. for Ch.Ch. South in 1887 and in 1890 returned for the City of Ch.Ch. He resigned on 15 Sep 1891 to become Agent-General in London. He held this post till 1896. He was knighted in 1894. Perceval was active in Catholic affairs; a founder & benefactor of the Cathedral and was Pres. of the Cath. Lit Soc. 1890-1. Dictionary of N.Z.Biography, (Ed G.H.Scholefield), Vol. II, p.161.
indicates that "the erection of Christchurch into a separate diocese has been agitated for the last ten years." 9 We find its tone surprisingly revolutionary in a Church which has only recently recognised the place of the layman. Perhaps it is an indication that under the suppression of the laity there seethed strong forces of reaction - though this seems unlikely. But the Catholics who signed the address felt strongly about their debility, especially in regard to the business side of church life. They expressed their grievances without equivocation. "During the last ten years or more, large sums of money have been contributed, land has been purchased, buildings erected, mortgages given, but no account has ever been given of receipts or expenditure." 10 They fully realised that the question of the laity having a controlling influence in parish finances, is a subject of considerable difficulty; but we contend that the laity have at least a right to know how the money they have contributed has been expended. 11

There is little doubt that church affairs in Christchurch were in a fairly serious state. It was "to prevent the scandal of a breach between the people and their clergy" that they made their appeal. 12 They thought that with a bishop of their own, most of their difficulties would be solved. And to a large extent

9 Petition. MS, A.C.D.
10 Ibid.
11 Ibid.
12 Ibid.
4. Barbadoes St. South, 1890.
they were right. Grimes did consult lay opinion and when he did not, the authority of a bishop was enough to carry the day. The existence of the Petition was not made public so that they might "rather check than add to the prevailing discontent." 13

Rome did not reply to the remits of the Synod until May 1887 with decrees to the effect that John Grimes of the Society of Mary was to be first Bishop of Christchurch and that Wellington was to be the Metropolitan See with Bishop Redwood, also of the Society of Mary, as its first Archbishop. The delay was bad enough; but few could say the result was worth waiting for. It may have satisfied many Christchurch Catholics, it annoyed many others especially the Irish and their spokesman Patrick Moran, Bishop of Dunedin.

They never imagined...that Propaganda, after having asked the advice of the Synod, would entirely set aside that advice. Besides... they fully expected that Propaganda would have asked, if not the advice, at least the opinion of the Bishop of Dunedin. 14

Moran had a personal axe to grind. He had hoped to (and there was a public rumour that he would) get the Archbishop's hat himself with Dunedin as the Metropolitan See. He was senior Bishop and had acted as Bishop of Wellington during the two-year interregnum following Viard's death. That Redwood, a new-comer to the

14 Tablet, 24 Jun 1887, p. 16 (Editorial Note).
Hierachy even though a New Zealander, should get the dignity was a bitter pill not easily sugared.

It had been decided at the Sydney Synod by eleven votes to seven that the new Christchurch Diocese should be under the care of the Secular Clergy, not the Marists. There was also strong pressure and feeling that in future nominees for the Hierachy should be Irish. Bishop Moran was always a principal in this campaign against the Marists and English element in the Hierachy. There is also evidence of the Secular priests in the Christchurch area petitioning Cardinal Moran of Sydney to appoint a Secular Bishop or to forestall an appointment at all. These Secular priests thus aligned themselves not only against the Marist Fathers (a fissure that would deepen and persist) but also against the lay people of Christchurch. A leader in the Tablet expressed the view that the Church and the Hierachy were "fundamentally the work of Irish Catholics. In making this statement, we in no way depreciate Catholics of other nationalities. But these are few." But passion ran high among the Irish in New Zealand and not all were so moderate. For many, the appointment of 'pro-English' Bishops was seen as an attempt to stifle support for the National movement among Irishmen abroad.

15 Chervier to Provincial S.M., 10 Dec 1885, A.M.F.
16 Tablet, 27 May 1887, P. 15.
17 Laracy, P. 135.
UNFAVOURABLE REACTIONS.

Most outspoken criticism came from the Tablet. This paper had been founded by Bishop Moran, was published in Dunedin and was almost an organ of the Irish Nationalist cause. The Tablet's response to the appointments ranged from disapproval to violent denunciation. In a leader called "The Establishment of a Hierarchy" not a word of congratulation was offered to Redwood. Nor was his name even mentioned. Instead it was a discourse proclaiming that the Church in New Zealand was the work of the Irish and deserved Irish leaders. After proving the superiority of Irish Catholics, the writer concluded that "the establishment of the Hierarchy is an occasion for the Irish to congratulate themselves...." 18 It did not mention that three of New Zealand's four Bishops were non-Irish. 19 This was followed by a flood of correspondence asking why an Irish church should have English bishops like Redwood and Grimes and warning that the Society of Mary, to which they belonged, was party to a plan for Anglicising New Zealand's Irish Catholic youth. Irish blood ran hot throughout the country. Many letters were too strong to publish. One correspondent said he would not send his sons to St. Patrick's College, Wellington, until he was guaranteed that they would get a sound teaching on Irish affairs. 20

18 Laracy, P. 136.
19 Tablet 27 May 1887, P. 15. The third was Bishop Luck of Auckland, an English Benedictine.
20 Tablet, 12 Aug 1887, P. 14. This was hardly in doubt. St. Pat's was opened in Jun 1885 and soon became a focal point of Catholic life in N.Z. All four of the original staff were former pupils or masters of St. Mary's, Dundalk. St. Patrick's College, 1885-1935, The Record of Fifty Years, P. 15.
Another feared that non-Irish leaders would curb the nationalist aspirations of the Irish. Once again the Tablet saw itself opposing a world-wide conspiracy aimed at discouraging the Irish abroad from assisting and encouraging their brothers in Ireland to disturb the peace there. 21 To give any idea of the extravagance of the arguments used I can only quote from the Tablet itself. In a leader claiming that it had received positive evidence of influence exerted by certain English Catholic aristocrats in Rome it went on to ask:

> Is it not enough that our people have been driven from the homes of their fathers by these people and their cruel legislation? Is it also to be tolerated that they should be permitted to pursue us to the end of the earth in their efforts to cast reproach on us, and to continue to press the heel of tyranny and slander on our necks. 22

**Favourable Reactions**

The reaction was not all unfavourable. Redwood himself had long held that a "secular bishop at Christchurch would be a serious danger to St. Patrick’s College." 23 There were those who remembered that New Zealand was partly colonised in the early days by members of the English Catholic nobility and thought it a reproach to them if New Zealand should degenerate into an Irish settlement. 24 Writing to Redwood, M. De Duval of Timaru suggests a plebiscite regarding Grimes’s appointment,

21 Laracy, p. 39.
22 Tablet, 22 Jul 1887, p. 17.
23 Redwood to Grimes, 29 Jan 1886, A.M.F.
24 Tablet, 29 Jul 1887, p. 17. (contributed by 'Viator').
supports Redwood as Archbishop, and denounces the attacks made on these appointments in the *Tablet*. But those who expressed approval were probably less numerous, certainly less vocal.

**Conspiracy in Rome**

The idea of a plot in Rome was so strongly and widely invoked that it demands investigation. Suspicions were not only of local origin for Father Sauzeau wrote, "It appears that Cardinal Moran said when he heard the latest news: 'The Marists must be very powerful at Rome!'" The *Tablet* made several allegations that prominent English Catholics had exerted pressure in Rome to secure English appointments to New Zealand. 'Visator,' a Roman correspondent to the *Tablet*, alleged that Howards, Vaughans, Cliffords, all have been exerting themselves to prevent the promotion of Irish churchmen - and in one instance they seem to have succeeded since it is said that Dr. Redwood is to be Archbishop... It is also reported that another Marist, Dr. Grimes, is to be Bishop of Christchurch.

Father J. Bell, a New Zealander on the staff of the Marist General House in Rome, after extensive search through the records, can find no evidence that the Grimes and Redwood appointments were the result of English pressure in Rome or elsewhere. They were appointed by Propaganda because they were the Society of Mary's nominations and the Society was the

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25 De Duval to Redwood, 26 Jul 1887, A.M.F.
26 Sauzeau to P. Hervier, 14 Jun 1887, A.M.F. (R)
27 *Tablet*, 22 Aug 1887, (Leader article).
29 J. Bell to K. Roach, 10 Sep 1964, lent to me by Fr. K. Roach S.M. a N.Z. Archivist at Marist General House, Rome.
strongest factor in the areas concerned. Both Grimes and Redwood were thought to be the best men for the respective jobs. Granted that Rome had acted at the behest of the Society of Mary and not some English intriguer, could not the Society have been induced by an intriguer to nominate English rather than Irish members? The Society would probably not have been happy to put forward even one of its own Irishmen in view of the strongly anti-Marist propaganda in New Zealand. In any case the Society, unlike the Papacy, had no need to bargain with the English Government. There is plenty of evidence that the Marist Fathers resented the Tablet and Bishop Moran and the Irish Seculars in general. It was not merely a question of nationality, language and ecclesiastical outlook, but also an aspect of the Secular versus Religious conflict which was behind the general unease.

Bishop Moran and the Seculars, infuriated by some of the dissident letters and articles appearing in the Tablet, seemed determined to create divisions in the Catholic community by opposing anyone who was not Irish. As senior Suffragan Bishop, Moran was invited to invest Bishop Redwood with the Pallium of office. Moran telegraphed cryptically "Regret I cannot go to Wellington on twenty eighth." He apparently excused himself on the grounds of a prior engagement in Adelaide.

30 Laracy, p. 142.
31 J. Bell to K. Roach 10 Sep 1964.
32 This will be expanded in Chapt. 3.
33 F. Sauzeau to P. Hervier, 14 Jun 1887, A.M.F. (R).
34 Telegram, Moran to Redwood, 9 Aug 1887, A.M.F.
With respect to Grimes's instalment he was less polite. Not only was he conspicuously absent from the public reception (at which Redwood presided), he did not even send a message. Instead the Tablet published reports which made a point of unfavourably comparing Grimes with Moran and of censuring him for a 'somewhat chilling' response to the display of Irish national sentiment. 35

Once the fait accompli was accepted, Moran's resistance was broken down. Moreover the two came to live on neighbourly terms with one another. When Moran passed through Christchurch in 1893 he not only called on Grimes but was farewelled by him at the railway station. 36 Two months later Grimes travelled to Dunedin on a visit to Bishop Moran. 37

PART II NATIONAL IMPLICATIONS - THE ENGLISH AND THE IRISH

The appointment of Grimes, an Englishman, as first Bishop of Christchurch was a bitter disappointment to many of the Irish although it is difficult, in retrospect, to see what else could have been done. Rome showed itself keenly aware of the delicacy of the appointment to a Diocese where the Anglican Church was the establishment. In the context Redwood's appointment was also a prudent one. New Zealand was slow in developing the sense of her own nationhood, and many of her first settlers thought of themselves not as New Zealanders but as Englishmen,

35 Laracy, p. 139, c.f. also Tablet, 10 Feb 1888, p. 5. 
36 Tablet, 17 Feb 1888, p. 13.
37 Catholic Times, 2 Jun 1893, p. 25. 
37 Ibid, 1 Sep 1893, p. 10.
Irishmen or Scots living in a province of their homeland. In this light Redwood's appointment seems particularly wise because he was from a New Zealand settler family and was himself New Zealand reared. In retrospect, Rome was also wise in making Wellington the Metropolitan See. Dunedin, though it may have been bigger than the capital at the time, was hardly suitably placed as an administrative centre for the Church.

The controversy illustrates the national sensitiveness of Irish Catholics. It is natural that we should now consider the parts played by the major national groupings in New Zealand and in Canterbury Catholicism. There is little doubt that the majority of early New Zealand Catholics were Irish. What has often been ignored is that there was a significant group of English Catholics whose influence far outweighed their numerical strength. Their influence was great because they were Englishmen of good birth and considerable means and consequently became natural leaders of a colonial society.

THE IRISH CATHOLICS.

It was not till the sixties that the numbers of Catholic immigrants became at all great. In 1864 the tide of immigration set in strongly and among every batch of new arrivals were some Catholics. Before then, Auckland claimed a large Irish population mainly because of the Irishmen among the troops stationed there. But in the sixties thousands of Irishmen left

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38 Wilson, Vol. I, p. 79.
their villages and joined in the gold rushes.

The majority of them ended their pilgrimage here, broke up the swag, and ended in the councils of the pioneers. They imparted a valuable leaven of Liberalism to the insular colonial mind. 39

One who exhibited this liberal outlook was J.E. Fitzgerald, first Superintendent of Canterbury and later New Zealand Premier. The spirit of the Irish Nationalists was strong in him and he was an ardent Home Ruler. Irish nationalism played a much more important part in everyday life eighty and ninety years ago than we to-day could imagine. Most of the Irishmen who had settled in New Zealand were passionately devoted to Ireland and keenly interested in Irish affairs. The Home Rule struggles in Ireland were as important to many of them as if they were happening in Canterbury or Otago. Catholic newspapers provide evidence of the effect of this nationalism on early church affairs. The Catholic Church sometimes sponsored speaking tours by Irish nationalists. 40 The enthusiasm shown to these patriots who came here to sponsor and raise money for the cause of Home Rule was enormous. The Tablet printed Irish National League contribution lists. 41


In the first Auckland Prov. Council (1853) 12 of the 26 were Irish

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Council</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Irish</th>
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<tr>
<td>Westland</td>
<td>1860</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nelson</td>
<td>1853</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
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<td>Ch.Ch</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wgtn.</td>
<td>1853</td>
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<td>19</td>
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40 Patronage of these was usually the work of the Irish Clergy as individuals e.g. Moran in Dunedin.

41 e.g. Tablet, 10 Aug 1883, p. 16.
first issue on a sea of Irish troubles. 42 And frequently public meetings were called to consider such problems as the destitute evicted tenants of Ireland. 43

Canterbury always had a certain number of Irish settlers. Some of its leaders such as Godley and Fitzgerald were Irish Protestants. While in 1864 in Nelson only 4.1% of the settlers were Irish-born, in Canterbury the proportion was 10.9% and possibly high as 26% on the West Coast. Thus in 1867 when the Irish formed less than 13% of the New Zealand population, Canterbury, the English province, had a considerably larger Irish minority because of the West Coast element. 44

The West Coast Irish.

A certain type of society was represented in the West Coast mining communities. There was a "preponderance of young men, a small proportion of women, a smattering of foreigners, a big Irish minority." 45 The West Coast community, as a whole, lacked "the defined group of cultured middle class families who set the social tone and provided the political leadership in Wakefield colonies." 46 Sample biographies of the diggers, however, suggest that most of them came from the same class. They were "men with sufficient spirit to cut free from the cramped society of the Old World in order to begin afresh in the New." 47 A large proportion of the miners were Irish

42 Catholic Times, 7 Jan 1888, P. 17. (Leader)
43 Tablet, 11 May 1888, P. 25.
44 P.R. May, The West Coast Gold Rushes, P. 284.
45 May, P. 285.
47 Ibid.
Catholics, most of them "easily brought to practise their religion" and "proud of their priest coming amongst them." Most of them were the sons of fairly prosperous farmers.

The increase of Irish immigration into Canterbury had always been a contentious issue. Marshman, the immigration agent, was instructed in December 1865 to refuse all Irish nominations in the future. The slogan 'everything according to pattern, at a low price, and no Irish' was a popular one. But increased prosperity in England in the sixties necessitated greater numbers of Irish to make up the quotas. In one way the Irish were especially desirable because they were agricultural labourers, a particularly sought after species in Canterbury. But the Irish settler did face peculiar difficulties on arrival. Sometimes it was impossible to obtain work in Christchurch. The rider 'No Irish or Catholic need apply' was often appended to a 'situation vacant' advertisement. Consequently they went to the outskirts of the province and many of them 'settled in the foothills.' The Irish brought with them to Canterbury a new force, Roman Catholicism.

The great bulk of the Catholic people in Canterbury consisted of "Irishmen and women of small means." All that has

49 Ibid, p. 110; May, p. 117.
50 P. O'Regan's Thesis, The Control of Immigration into Canterbury During the Provincial Period 1853-1870, p. 46, 7.
51 In 1873, in the face of much discouragement, colonies of assisted immigrants from Ireland were established at Arawhata in South Westland and Martins Bay in Otago.
been said in general of social cleavages resulting from national diversity was true of Canterbury Catholicism. In Canterbury the problem was seen in microcosm because unlike Otago, Canterbury had a core of English Catholics as well as outlying areas of intensive Irish settlement. The violent reaction to the Grimes and Redwood appointments arose from this strong-feeling, sometimes embittered, body of adventurous Irish.

THE ENGLISH CATHOLICS

A number of English 'old Catholic' families such as the Cliffords, Welsds, Petres and Vavasours settled in New Zealand. They were encouraged to join the colonisation scheme by Lord Petre of Thorndon. His son, Hon. Henry Petre, was among them and had been previously closely associated with Gibbon Wakefield on Durham's staff in Canada in 1838. These families were a close-knit group, all related by blood. All had been fellow students at the Jesuit College of Stonyhurst which had founded by Weld's grandfather. Later most of them had gone to Freiburg University together. Though not all stayed, they did make a lasting contribution to the Catholic Church in New Zealand. Though they were most closely associated with Wellington, a number of them farmed in Canterbury or over the border in Marlborough. Weld and Clifford moved to North Canterbury and the Cliffords and the Wards have lived here since. Sir Charles Clifford was one of

53 Frederick Weld, Henry Petre and Sir Charles Clifford all returned to England. The latter two left members of their families here as permanent settlers.
the speakers at the banquet in London after Grimes's consecration. 54 There were other English Catholic families in Canterbury too. Mr. and Mrs. A.J. White were also present at Grimes's consecration. Mr. I.B. Sheath, prominent in Catholic affairs here, came from a Birmingham manufacturing family. 55 Mr. and Mrs. Phillip Wareing and a brother Joseph Wareing emigrated to Temuka from Birmingham in 1875. They, too, were 'old Catholics' who had added the 'e' to their name to emphasise their loyalty to Rome. Phillip contributed fourteen and Joseph twelve children to the Church in South Canterbury. 56

In considering Catholicism in New Zealand in colonial days it is worth recalling that the anti-Catholic Penal Laws had not long been abolished in England and it was not till 1850 that the hierarchy there was re-established. The personal influence of these English Catholics in New Zealand, men of education and status, was probably effective in softening the very strong prejudice which existed against Catholics generally. 57

As we saw earlier not all Catholic opinion was heaped against Redwood's elevation and Grimes's appointment. One

54 Press, 11 Mar 1912, p. 4.
55 Sheath arrived in Lyttelton in July 1861 and lived for a while at Ch.Ch before settling on the Opawa Station in the Albury district. He later came back to Ch.Ch and dabbled in a number of successful and unsuccessful business ventures. In Birmingham he had been principal in the well-known firm of Hollis and Sheath who manufactured the armament used in the Crimean War. Wilson, Vol. I, p. 89.
56 Phillip Wareing is my maternal grandfather. His father is buried in the family crypt in St. Chad's Cathedral, Birmingham.
5. Sir George Clifford
writer in the Tablet who expressed deep satisfaction at the
nominations thought the Pope

shows how great his desire is for the promotion
of loyalty and union....Archbishop Redwood, indeed, from the early connection of his family with that
of Lord Clifford, may be looked upon as especially
representative of the English branch of Roman
Catholicism in its best form and belonging to that
party which is represented at Rome by Cardinal
Howard, and other ecclesiastics of high or noble
birth....the Archbishop will be ably seconded by
the new Bishop of Christchurch, Dr. Grimes, who
comes to the colony from officiating at an English
watering place, and, no doubt, shares in the
opinions of the classes which have been members
of his congregation. 58

I quote this fully because it represents the view of an
influential group of Catholics. In the context of this defer-
ence Grimes's appointment seems a singularly happy one. He had
the personal qualities of an educated English Catholic of the
late Victorian age. In a Church of England settlement like
Canterbury he was an ideal choice, an impressively dignified
and energetic leader for a new and growing diocese.

A number of English priests also served the Catholics of
Canterbury. Father Colomb, who took over as Parish Priest from
Father Binsfield at Greymouth, had been for seventeen years in
charge of a small but comfortable mission at Romford in England.
There he had been associated with the leading Catholic families
such as the Petres. 59 Two other English priests, Fathers
Richards and Price served the Weld family at Brackenbridge. 60

58 Tablet, 12 Aug 1887, p. 1.
60 E. Z. Silcock, Brackenbridge, p. 18.
But in spite of efforts by Weld and Clifford to interest the English clergy in the New Zealand mission, and Canterbury in particular, the work of planting the Faith here was left to the French and the Irish.

THE MAORI CATHOLICS.

What, we may ask, became of the Catholic mission to the Maoris of Canterbury? There were once flourishing Catholic churches at Rapaiki and Port Levy. Some of the French priests made considerable conversions among the South Island Maoris. Many of these priests, such as Father Chataigner, had many friends among the Maoris and spoke their language more fluently than they did English.

Father Yardin wrote that most of the Maori Catholics of Canterbury had died. Others, annoyed at not having a priest who could speak their language, grew indifferent and often went to local Protestant churches instead. Basically they were lost to Catholicism because of a dearth of priests. Grimes showed concern for the Maoris of his diocese and tried to get a Maori missioner to serve them but without success. He asked the Superior-General if there was no Marist available could he get a Mill Hill Father? It was not till February 1962 that Christchurch got its own Maori missioner. Until then the area was served from Wellington.

61 Historical Notes, MS, A.C.D.
62 Grimes to S.G., 3 May 1897, A.Y.T. (R)
Conclusion.

The early French priests came to New Zealand to Christianise the heathen. But in Canterbury they found themselves more and more dealing mostly with the Irish and a few English settlers, both with a long tradition of Catholicism. They had become Parish Priests rather than missionaries. The combination of French priests and Irish laymen was extremely successful. The conservatism and frugality of the Frenchman curbed the extravagance and exuberant optimism of the Irishman. The driving energy and enthusiasm of the Irish, already beginning to see the vision of the New Zealand of the future, was a spur to the Frenchman. The alliance worked well and there developed between the men of both races mutual admiration and affection. Add to this a small English minority and an English Bishop and the picture is complete. The Irish were slow to accept the English but the French Marists formed a useful point of contact and the English Catholics, in their turn, an acceptable bridge with the Anglican establishment. The appointment of an Englishman, such as Grimes, was providential. An Irish extremist like Patrick Moran could have jeopardised, or at least changed, the future of Catholicism in this Diocese.

PART III THE NEW DIOCESE

When Bishop Grimes arrived, after a succession of delays, in his new Diocese on board the steamer Penguin on 2 February 1888, there were strong echoes of the Irish troubles throughout New Zealand. The Bishop was met at Lyttelton by members of the clergy and prominent laymen such as I.B. Sheath, A.J. White,
R.J. Loughnan and P. Burke. 63 After saying Mass in the stone
curch of St. Joseph he spent the day inspecting the town of
Lytelton. At 5.30 p.m. he left by special train for Christ-
church. 64 We may find it hard to imagine Grimes, the new
Bishop, being driven with pomp in his newly-presented landau
and pair along the procession route from the Railway Station to
the Pro-Cathedral led by the Catholic Literary Society's band.
The crowds along the route cheered. Their long awaited Messiah
had arrived.

The addresses of welcome were full of references to the
Irish troubles and their repercussions on the young colony.
Many saw this as an initial test of the new Bishop's sympathies.
Archbishop Redwood, who had come from Wellington with Grimes,
took the opportunity of publicly denying that he was anti-Irish.
He had, he claimed, always stood for the self-government of
Ireland. 65 The Catholic Times in reporting the event commented
that "Dr. Redwood was always outspoken and clear in his
pronouncements on the question of Self Government for Ireland." 66
Grimes, in what proved to be his usual tactful manner, avoided
committing himself to either side. The Catholic Times commented
"With the views of the new Bishop we feel sure the Christchurch
people have every reason to be satisfied." 67 The Tablet saw
him in a different light - "His references to the Irish question

63 Tablet, 10 Feb 1888, p. 5.
64 Lyt. Times, 3 Feb 1888, p. 5
65 Cath. Times, 11 Feb 1888, p. 17
66 Ibid.
67 Cath. Times, 11 Feb 1888, p. 17
were cold, brief, and somewhat ambiguous." 68 Thus did each paper reflect its particular bias. 69 Tablet again reminded its readers, "It is, of course, impossible to disguise the fact that the appointment was not the most popular one that could be made." 70 Whatever Dunedin people may have felt, Bishop Grimes with firmness, tact and dignity was, in a matter of months, firmly established in the esteem and affections of his people.

The State of the New Diocese.

The Diocese which Grimes came to was a small one. It was staffed by eight Irish Secular priests and nine Marists, a proportion which would have later significance. 71 Canterbury's total population was 144,049 of whom 20,570 or 14% were Catholics. 72 They were divided into fourteen districts and worshipped in forty churches. 73 The small band of priests must have been grossly overworked. Grimes's greatest problem always remained the

68 Tablet, 10 Feb 1888, p. 5
69 The Catholic Times was one of Redwood's projects, was published in Wellington and was only shortlived.
70 Tablet, 10 Feb 1888, p. 5
71 R.W. Connelly, p. 17
72 Ibid.

Other statistics for Jan 1888: Religious Brothers 4
" " Sisters 112
Day Schools (Boys 5
(Mixed 17
Institutions (Mt. Magdala) 1

Fr. Le Menant des Chênaux S.M. in his address of welcome to the Bishop gave the following church attendance figures for Ch. Ch.

Barbadoes St. av. Sunday attendance 2000
Papanui " " " " 125
Addington " " " " 150
Halswell " " " " 120

The latter figures are from Tablet, 10 Feb 1888, p. 5.
shortage of manpower. Christchurch itself was served by three
zealous priests. They had to minister not only to the Catholics
of the city but also to the outlying districts of Addington,
Halswell, Hornby, Papanui, Woolston, Sumner and New Brighton
besides visiting the two prisons, the mental hospital and other
institutions in the city. The priests on the West Coast
were worse off, having to cover vast areas of rough country to
reach their sparsely spread flocks.

Finance

The finances of the Christchurch Diocese seem rarely to
have been on a sound footing and it is amazing that Grimes was
able to achieve so much during his episcopate with so little
money. Before the Bishop arrived there had been some criticism
of faulty methods of keeping the books. Grimes recalled
that he had heard Father Ginaty say that "he had used his
Honararia (sic) for the parish of old. This was before I came
here and in the flourishing days of the colony." And Father
Le Menant, writing to the Bishop in 1890, gave clear evidence
of financial insecurity. "Spiritually speaking," he wrote,
"Christchurch is in a flourishing state, but you need more
priests, and pecuniary help." He demonstrated the low
financial ebb of Diocesan finances by enumerating the debts:
£8000 at Mt. Magdala, £3000 at Ashburton, £3000 at Sacred Heart

74 Ibid, 18 Mar 1915, Suppl. p. 3
75 Report on the Station of Christchurch, 3 Mar 1885, A.M.F.
76 Grimes to S.C., 21 Oct 1895, A.M.F. (R).
77 Le Menant to Grimes, 1 Mar 1890, A.M.F.
Convent, Christchurch, £2,500 at Barbadoes St., £2,400 each at St. Mary's and Papanui. He spoke of the "peculiar and extraordinary difficulties of the Diocese of Christchurch." It had little or no source of income.

The Catholics of Canterbury have done all they can, and are unable to do more — there is, at present, a great depression here — the few well-to-do people have largely and generously contributed to Mt. Magdala, the school, etc.

This was to remain a future pattern of resources. The average Catholic was not wealthy enough to ride out a depression unscathed. This will be more clearly seen later in the story of the building of the Cathedral. Nor was there any provision for Secondary education. Father Le Menant had advocated outside aid from Rome. In 1907 Grimes, in writing to Gotti of Propaganda, again described the urgent financial straits of the Diocese and had to ask for a financial grant, either in lump-sum or to be paid annually.

The Diocese of Christchurch cannot have presented a very attractive picture to its first Bishop on his arrival. Grimes proved to be a good money-raiser and by 1915 had put Diocesan finances on a reasonably firm basis. It is a tribute to his energy and resourcefulness that he achieved so much when his resources, in money and manpower, were so small.

78 Ibid.
79 Ibid.
80 Ibid.
81 Grimes to Gotti, 1907, A.M.F.
CHAPTER 3 MARIST VERSUS SECULAR

INTRODUCTION

Until recent years there has survived a tradition of friction between the Marist Fathers and the Secular priests who have worked side by side in the Christchurch Diocese. We saw seeds of this cleavage in the controversy over Grimes's appointment as first Bishop. Because it is an historical phenomenon which has exerted an influence on the life of the Church in Canterbury it demands interpretation. Grimes was particularly involved because not only was he first bishop but he was also a Marist. By examining this problem we shall also be able to bring into clearer focus Grimes as a personality.

Religious Orders by their very nature tend to generate a good deal of friction and suspicion not only because they create a kind of exclusiveness but also because they generate power. They tend to compete with each other and with those outside their ranks for the spoils of ecclesiastical life. As they become more powerful so too do they become more unpopular. Thus have powerful Orders like the Jesuits been particularly prone to expulsion by the State. Even during the persecution of Elizabeth I's reign the English Seculars grew more and more suspicious of the Jesuits in England. ¹ The Marist Fathers can, in many ways, be seen as the Jesuits of New Zealand in that they were a missionary Congregation which

proselytised the South Pacific area and later acquired prestige in New Zealand as educators. From the beginning they have been a powerful factor in the Catholic Church in New Zealand and in Canterbury.

Before proceeding we must clarify the terms of the problem - Marist and Secular. The Marists or Marist Fathers are priests belonging to the religious Congregation called the Society of Mary. The fall of the Jesuits in the mid eighteenth century resulted in a dearth of missionary activity. To meet this need a French priest, Jean Claude Colin, founded in 1816 a Congregation of priests which he called the Society of Mary. On the 29 April 1836 the Society was officially approved by Pope Gregory XVI as one of independent status with its own constitution, administration and Superior General. 2 One of its primary aims therefore was to provide missionaries for remote areas of the world. In 1838 the Society was allotted the South West Pacific area as its sphere of activity. As the Church in New Zealand became established the emphasis of Marist activity changed from this missionary work to its other major work, education.

Secular priests on the other hand have no special identity outside their diocese. They are priests, properly called Diocesan priests, who take no religious vows and thus do not belong to any religious Congregation or Order. They are

2 Kane, p. (1).
ordained priests for a particular diocese and work under the supervision and obedience of a Bishop. They operate mainly at a grass-roots level as priests in the parishes of the diocese.

When New Zealand was a missionary country there was always the problem of the inadequate supply of Secular priests. The early priests were mostly French Marists (with some Marists from England and Ireland) and a few Irish Seculars. Gradually these French Marists gave way to New Zealand Marists as their schools became established and they built up their sources of recruitment. As each diocese became established the Bishop tried to build up their own staffs of Secular priests to gradually take over from, and phase out the work of the pioneer Religious according to the normal pattern in a maturing Church situation.

In New Zealand the Bishops relied, as a source of supply of their priests, on Ireland, one of the few countries which produced a surplus of priests. This was appropriate because the majority of New Zealand Catholics were themselves Irish. Gradually New Zealand built up its supply of indigenous priests but even to-day the Bishops have to import some Irish clergy to supplement their own.

THE PROBLEM.

Seen against this background, Bishop Grimes faced peculiar difficulties. Normally the Bishop of a diocese is himself a Secular priest, the head of a team of fellow-workers.
But Grimes, as is often the case in missionary countries, was a member of the religious Congregation which dominated the particular area, the Society of Mary. He would therefore always be faced with a conflict of loyalties. If he had not been a Marist, many of the difficulties might have been minimised or not have arisen. Certainly the Seculars could have no grounds for their complaints of discriminatory treatment. But if he had not been a Marist the Society might have become extinct, as it did in Dunedin under a Secular Bishop, or almost extinct as in Auckland. That would have been a disaster for Canterbury as there have never been enough Secular priests to staff the Diocese unaided.

Tensions between Seculars and Marists did exist under Grimes and the ensuing friction had its beginning linked closely with those of the diocese. The controversy can probably be seen also in other terms besides Marist and Secular. To what extent can the two camps or alignments be seen as part of a Town versus Country split or fragmentation along the national lines of French, English and Irish? And above all, after examining the evidence, we must try to judge to what extent Grimes caused or contributed to this friction.

THE SECULARS.

The Diocese of Christchurch, from the outset, was entrusted to the Society of Mary. Propaganda allotted the parishes
of the Christchurch, Timaru, Waimate, Geraldine and Hokitika areas to the Society of Mary. It is not clear when the first Secular priest arrived; probably with the gold rushes on the West Coast. After the gold-fever had subsided the priests too would have dispersed to other parts of New Zealand seeking employment.

There is evidence of uneasiness between Marists and Seculars before Grimes's appointment was announced. Disturbed at the rumour of the possibility that Dunedin might be made the Archdiocese and Moran the Metropolitan, a group of Marist Fathers petitioned Rome against such a 'disaster'. They also emphasised the Society's legitimate interest in the Bishop of the new Christchurch See. Thirty-six Marists put their signatures to this document. Father Le Menant des Chesnais, in charge of Christchurch immediately before Grimes's arrival and himself a Marist, observed that "the prejudices against the Marists are so strong, that we shall require God's special protection in order to destroy them." In another letter he said that Father O'Donnell's "presence here has greatly revived the discontent which existed against Dr. Grimes and the Marists and had in great measure, been subdued." This, even before Grimes arrived! He had

3 Propaganda to S.M., Jan 1885, A.M.F.
4 Petition by the Marist Fathers to Cardinal Simeoni, Prefect of Propaganda, 4 Jan 1886, A.M.F.
5 Le Menant to F. Sauzeau, 3 Nov 1887, A.C.D.
6 Le Menant to Redwood, 22 Dec 1887, Letter Book, P.21, A.C.D.
written in a similar vein a month before but this last letter was a plea of desperation. 7 Grimes's presence was needed to settle the trouble. "The majority," Father Le Menant wrote, "sympathise with the Secular priests whom they look upon as harshly treated by your Grace and the Marists in general - the more Dr. Grimes will delay coming, and the more the discontent will spread." 8 Ironically enough Grimes never achieved this happy position and probably even aggravated it.

After Grimes's arrival there followed a litany of complaints from the Secular clergy mounting to a peak in 1907 with their Petition to Cardinal Gotti of Propaganda. Basically, they claimed that Grimes gave the good positions and more lucrative parishes to the Marists leaving the inferior ones for them. The Petition gave a detailed list of the work and monopoly of the Marists claiming that the "principal stations in Christchurch are in their hands." 10 One of their greatest specific grievances was that St. Mary's, Manchester St. had been given in perpetuity to the Society of Mary in 1891. 11

In a number of letters, Propaganda urged Redwood and Grimes in very general terms to act prudently to put matters

7 Le Menant to F. Sauzeau, 17 Nov 1887, Letter Book, F. 17 A.C.D.
8 " " Redwood, 22 Dec 1887, Letter Book, F. 21 A.C.D.
9 J'O'Donnell to Grimes, 30 Apr 1904, A.C.D.
10 Petition by the Secular priests to Propaganda, 1907, A.M.F.
11 Decree, 1 Mar 1891.
also agreement between A. Martin, S.S. of S.M., and Grimes A.M.F. (R).
right. Gotti suggested that perhaps Marist Religious discipline or training left something to be desired. 12 While Propaganda showed some concern, essentially they put complete faith in Grimes's judgment and expressed sympathy in his difficulties. He was to see what amelioration was possible and to strive for an equitable distribution of "honores et onera". He must try to keep the troublesome Seculars reasonably happy. 13

Grimes repeatedly refuted with vigour the story sketched by the Secular priests. He expressed fully his apologia in a letter to Gotti in 1907. 14 The Secular priests had distorted the facts and shown their position in a false light. He went on to assert: (i) The Secular and Religious priests receive equal opportunity in his parishes. (ii) In the Bishops Council "and in our synods, conferences, etc., their opinion is received with the same favour as that of the Marist." 15 (iii) The Seculars have some rather good parishes "which their zeal could make still better." (iv) They do not plead the glory of God nor the Church nor the good of the souls entrusted to them but "only their own personal interest." (v) If the Seculars' condition is so bad why, if they leave the diocese, do they try hard to get

12 Gotti to Redwood, 12 Apr 1904, A.M.F.
13 Gotti to Grimes, 26 Jul 1907, A.C.D. also Gotti to Grimes, 18 Jun 1907, A.C.D.
14 Grimes to Gotti, 1 Oct 1907, A.M.F. (R) (Transl Fr).
15 Grimes mentions in a letter to the S.G. 3 May 1897 that his Council consisted of 4 Marists and 1 Secular. A.M.F. (R).
back. (vi) The Brief erecting the Diocese expressly said that the new Diocese was entrusted to the Society of Mary. (vii) The Society of Mary did the pioneering work in the church in New Zealand. Certain stations were entrusted to them before his arrival. (viii) When the Secular priests came here they knew that the Marists had formed the Diocese and held a number of parishes in compensation. Most, if not all, of the Seculars were trained at the expense of the Diocese or Bishops of the Diocese here. (ix) He did not feel himself justified in removing them from the big parishes. He finished by making three practical suggestions in the light of Propaganda's advice.

(1) Propaganda could allot to the Seculars one or two parishes granted by the Holy See to the Society of Mary.

(2) He himself, could, on a given occasion, give to the Seculars several new parishes in parts already belonging to the Society of Mary.

(3) Although he naturally preferred "to live with the Fathers of the Society" he was prepared, in order to dispel grievances, to call the Seculars to the Cathedral, the most important parish of the Diocese.

Grimes believed and affirmed that Marist religious formation in New Zealand left "nothing to be desired" though he did comment that "the colonial youth are especially characterised by a spirit of independence," a love of sport which amounts almost to a cult and "a fondness for smoking which
naturally militates against the true religious spirit and discipline." 16

He was quite convinced that a spiteful spirit of jealousy has prompted the Seculars to make the complaints you mention, complaints which, in re have no real foundation, and our Fathers are, on the whole, remarkable for their attention to their ministerial duties. 17

It seems clear that one Secular priest, Father J.O'Donnell, was the ringleader in keeping alive this anti-Marist feeling. 18 O'Donnell's prejudice was probably based mainly, but not exclusively on national grounds because many of the Marists in New Zealand were themselves Irish. He was a patriotic Irishman and had been removed by Redwood from his parish in 1887 for signing an address to Bishop Moran of Dunedin. 19 O'Donnell had also made statements about this time, to the Grey River Argus, copies of which when sent to Christchurch "created a sensation." 20 He was looked upon as a victim of his patriotism, a kind of martyr, and gained considerable sympathy from the Irish Catholics. It is not clear just how much support he had among the clergy. After Grimes had assumed his Bishopric, O'Donnell's support probably waned considerably as Grimes quickly gained in public esteem. But the two remained enemies and trouble between these two conflicting personal-

16 Grimes to S.G., 3 Jul 1904, A.M.F. (R)
17 Ibid.
18 O'Donnell frequently alleged that all the good positions in Ch.Ch were given to Marist priests e.g. in this letter — J. O'Donnell to Grimes, 30 Apr 1904, A.C.D.
19 Le Menant to Redwood, 22 Dec 1887, Letter Book, P.21, A.C.D.
20 " " " " 16 Jan 1887, Letter Book, P.57, A.C.D.
ities flared up occasionally. It is almost certainly O'Donnell whom Grimes refers to in 1904 as the ringleader in trouble which arose while he was overseas. He speaks of "one, who, intellectually superior to the others, lacks the ecclesiastical spirit" and he recalls that he "warned him but forgave him and reinstated him in one of the best secular parishes in our Diocese." 21 Grimes was always a scrupulously just man with his priests and always gave O'Donnell a fair hearing.

Supply and recruitment of priests was always one of Grimes's greatest problems. At first he probably tended to accept any priest who offered his services and thus got a number of second-rate men. Some of the latter may have arrived before the Grimes era. Some of them were itinerant Secular priests drifting around Australasia looking for jobs. Many of them were not very zealous. Grimes complained that few of the Seculars would say Mass on a week-day unless forced to do so by the stipend or intention they received from their people and that they were jealous of the Marist Fathers because of the missions confided to them by the Holy See. 22

The theme which runs through Grimes's writings is this shortage of priests especially the dearth of good priests. "Two most important large districts are without pastors and two or three others in want of zealous assistants." he writes.

21 Grimes to S.G., 8 Jul 1904, A.M.F. (R).
22 Grimes to S.G., 8 Jul 1904, A.M.F. (R).
in 1897. There was no shortage of applications "I have any amount of applications from priests who have left Australia or some other place - as they say because the climate was too hot for them." Learning from experience he had become very circumspect in his acceptance of offers. "I am very careful whom I accept for such a far away and trying mission." He was not averse to Secular priests as such for he wrote "I must make some supreme effort to secure a few good secular priests - good, sub omni respectu." He was not averse to Irish Seculars and made a number of trips to Ireland to recruit them. But even when he did get good offers from promising priests or students the cost of financing them was always a problem - "If I had funds, I would secure some fine students, but it would require a great deal of money."

THE MARISTS.

Grimes not only experienced difficulties in his relationship with his Secular priests but also with his fellow Marists. Most of the disputes were over financial matters. Again he was in a difficult position, being himself a member of that

23 Grimes to S.G., 30 Mar 1895, A.M.F. (R).
24 Ibid.
25 Grimes to S.G., 3 May 1897, A.M.F. (R).
26 Grimes to S.G., 5 Mar 1897, A.M.F. (R).
27 In a letter from Dublin to the S.G., 21 Jul 1897, he mentions his efforts to try to get Irish recruits. Results were disappointing because he arrived in Ireland while the seminaries were on holiday. A.M.F. (R).
28 H.P., 12 Jan 1898, p.57. Extracts from a letter to Fr. Cummings, the Vicar-General, dated Maynooth, 26 Oct 1897. He mentions offers of two or three priests from Eng., two from the Cape & several eccl. students.
Society with which he had so frequently to deal and yet also be an independent judge. And to make matters worse he was even for a time, in the first years of his episcopate, also acting as Provincial of the Society.\textsuperscript{22} This put him in a very compromising position.

As early as 1892 the Superior General of the Society of Mary refers to certain difficulties and expresses the hope that a happy relationship is developing between Grimes and the Marist Provincial.\textsuperscript{30} The following year Grimes mentions obscurely some trouble, possibly the question of inspection of accounts." .... I am convinced that those who come after us will regret that such an unfortunate stand has been taken by the Society against what I deem the interests of all in poor Christchurch."\textsuperscript{31} Difficulties seemed to have reached their peak in 1895. Grimes refers on several occasions to a "painful incident" which occurred in Rome.\textsuperscript{32} It is not clear exactly what happened but it seems that it partly concerned his reply to the Superior General's letter of 1892. After further misunderstanding between the Bishop and the Society Grimes had apparently written to the General Chapter, possibly impulsively. By way of explanation he wrote to the Superior General, "Errors there have doubtless been...but they

\textsuperscript{22} Grimes to S.G., 21 Oct 1895, A.M.F. (R).
\textsuperscript{30} A. Martin to Grimes, 27 May 1892, A.M.F.
\textsuperscript{31} Grimes to T. Devoy, 1 Jan 1893, A.M.F.
\textsuperscript{32} Grimes to S.G., 21 Oct 1895, A.M.F. (R).
were always errors of judgement not of the heart or affection." 33 Seen in this light the disputes with the Society were much more superficial than those with the Seculars. They were nevertheless disputes.

Most of the difficulties arose over finance or the inspection of accounts. Grimes stated and refuted the first charge in a letter to the Superior General.

I assure you Very Rev. Dear Father that I have never at any time or place since I am here, sought to withdraw such moneys from the control of the Society. Never have I made enquiries about them. If any Fathers have used their honoraria for parochial work it has not been with my consent, knowledge or approbation much less my direction. 34

He had also been charged by the Superior General and the Provincial, Father Pestre, of writing to some of the Marists insisting on his right to inspect their accounts, both those of the Diocese and those of the Society. Grimes asserted that he "had neither written or spoken to a single Father to this effect." 35 He had written earlier to Father Pestre in the following terms:

I am surprised any Father could write and say to you that I wrote to him to hold in readiness for inspection, even the Society or personal accounts, this I most emphatically deny. And I fearlessly challenge him or anyone in the Diocese to say that I even wrote and said anything like it. Since the appointment of a Provincial other than the Bishop I have always refrained from interfering with what is exclusively of the Religious Superior’s accounts. 36

33 Ibid.
35 Ibid.
36 Ibid, This part of an earlier letter to Fr. Pestre is quoted in this letter. I was not able to find the original.
Grimes touched the heart of his dilemma when in the same letter he remarked, "It is hard for a Marist Bishop to be at the mercy of untruthful or exaggerated reports like this." 37

Grimes did have grounds for complaint over the Marists' financial mismanagement. The finances of the Diocese were in a bad way when he arrived and his work was constantly handicapped trying to extricate himself and the pro-Cathedral from the "deep debt into which our predecessors had involved it." 38 While involved in this constant financial struggle Grimes found himself asked by the Superior General for $50 a year for each Marist Father in the Diocese. The Bishop knew this was impossible but he replied "I will do my utmost to comply with your command." 39 When Grimes deplored "all these monetary squabbles which are so hurtful to the glory of God, the good of religion and the peace and happiness of all concerned" he demonstrated a sense of perspective that was too often lost from sight. 40

The delicacy of having a Marist or Religious Bishop is clearly illustrated by the fluctuating fortunes of the St. Mary's Parish, Christchurch. Although in 1896 there was a great improvement in the financial state of the Parish, Grimes claimed that if his advice or instructions "had been followed there would not be any debt at St. Mary's." 41 Whenever he

38 Ibid.
40 Ibid.
41 Grimes to S.G., 13 May 1896, A.M.F. (R).
had tried to remonstrate he was always told that "they (the Fathers in charge) were acting under instructions from, or rather, with the permission of religious Superiors." 42 Incompetence and mismanagement was excused in the name of Religious Life.

We are not able to build up a very clear picture of what happened between Grimes and the Society of Mary. What we can be sure of is that Grimes did get into considerable difficulties with the Society, particularly over money. But they were mainly misunderstandings. There was never a breach and the troubles were certainly not as deep and lasting as those with the Seculars. He was in a difficult situation because, though not subject to the Superior General in obedience, he was very much a Marist in spirit and felt a deep sense of loyalty and kinship to the Society and its Superiors. And yet their interests often conflicted with his and those of the Diocese.

THE MISSIONARIES OF THE SACRED HEART

Grimes had dealings with one other Religious Congregation of priests, the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart. His relations with them throws further light on the Marist-Secular tension. The Sacred Heart Fathers arrived in the Diocese in mid 1908. 43 They worked in the Ahaura, Darfield and

43 P. Treand M.C.H. to Grimes, 16 Dec 1910, A.C.D.
Lincoln areas but withdrew from Lincoln early in 1911. They left the Diocese and returned to Australia in 1916 just after Bishop Brodie had taken over.

The reason for their departure is important though not altogether clear. The Sacred Heart Fathers were led to understand that Grimes was offering them permanent work in the Diocese. The fact that when Grimes wrote to Propaganda to ask for their canonical installation he did not specify which districts were involved leaves us to doubt whether he ever really wanted their permanent installation. His application may well have been a mere sop to their superiors. Grimes had had trouble in 1910 with the Sacred Heart Fathers over unauthorised activities and the withdrawal and shifting of staff. The Society of Mary had been co-operative and had given the Brunner area over to the Sacred Heart Fathers when their Provincial said they could not remain in Ahaura unless given more territory. When they withdrew in 1916 they maintained that their acceptance of Darfield "could only be temporary" as there was no possibility of constituting a "regular community" in Darfield itself and their departure had only been a question of time.

44 P. Tresand M.S.H. to Grimes, 25 Nov 1910, A.C.D.
45 " " " " 15 Jul 1910, A.C.D.
46 " " " " 6 Aug 1910, A.C.D.
47 Grimes to Tresand, 2 Dec 1910, A.C.D.
48 " " " 23 Mar 1911, A.C.D.
49 E. Nouyaux M.S.H. to Brodie, 23 Mar 1916, A.C.D.
them a chance of establishing a regular community. Brodie refused to do this thus rendering their withdrawal inevitable.

It is hard to judge Grimes's true position. He may never have intended to give them a regular religious house on which they could centre their activities. This impression is confirmed by letters discussing difficulties with their Provincial. He may not have wanted to jeopardise the position of his own Society of Mary. It was quite possible that Grimes really wanted to give the newcomers a fair deal. He certainly needed the extra men. But difficulties which arose between them led him to fear the establishment of another congregation of religious priests, always a potential source of trouble and dissent. He was prepared to give them several parishes but not to let them become properly established or powerful.

CONCLUSION.

Certain conclusions may be drawn from this Secular-Marist problem in Grimes's episcopate. The anti-Marist feeling existed before Grimes arrived and therefore cannot be attributed directly to him. There was an indirect link in that the feeling seems to have arisen over Grimes's and Redwood's appointments as Bishop and Metropolitan respectively. In this way it was closely bound up with the theme of national origins. This question of nationality continued to arise

50 Grimes to Treand, 2 Dec 1910, A.C.D.
51 " " " 23 Mar 1911, A.C.D.
sporadically and from time to time. In 1899, for example, Father Le Menant mentions trouble between an Irish curate and a Flemish parish priest and warned the Bishop "It would never work to place a French priest with an Irish one; their ways and manners are so different..." 52 The problem concerned also the English and the Irish and was not likely to disappear while Irish feeling ran so high.

Grimes was always a Marist, both in name and sentiment. He always acknowledged his indebtedness and expressed his gratitude to the Society of Mary. 53 He admitted he was reluctant to do anything "that might jeopardise the future of the Society in this - which is after all - a splendid Diocese with immense possibilities for the future." 54 Writing from Dublin he said that one or two Religious bodies in Ireland had given "very broad hints of their willingness to come and settle in New Zealand if asked..." But he preferred not to introduce any other order besides our own..." 55 These remarks may be taken as evidence of partisanship or a policy of 'protection' for the Society of Mary. They may be equally interpreted that he considered one Religious Order of priests in his Diocese adequate. He had had enough disputes with the Society of Mary. Any more might only add to his troubles.

It seems clear that some of Grimes's Secular priests

52 Grimes to Treand, 23 Mar 1911, A.C.D.
53 Grimes, Last Will and Testament, Copies held in A.C.D. and A.M.F.
54 Grimes to P. Regnault, 15 Sep 1909, A.M.F.
55 Grimes to S.G., 3 May 1897, A.M.F. (R).
were second-rate. References supporting this view recur regularly in the documents of his episcopate. He was deeply sorry to hear the people of the remote West Coast districts of Okarito and Gillespie "deplore the conduct of their more recent and actual Pastors." 56 The Pastors in question were Secular. Yet these same people referred "in eulogistic terms to the labours in their midst of Fathers McGuiness, Chareyre and Coutenoire in the past." 57 These were all Marists.

This pattern of lay eulogy is still heard in areas where the Marist Fathers have only recently been withdrawn from parishes, even from people of staunch Irish stock. 58

In a letter to the Superior General Grimes describes his problem

....Ahaura, formerly served, and well served by our Fathers like Ross, now alas too badly served by Seculars both of whom I am obliged to remove, having no one else to put in the place of the latter. This is one of the reasons I am eager to go to Europe to try to get a few good Seculars. We want Saints and Teetotalers and especially Teetotalers. 59

The evidence provided by this letter is crucially important. He was not opposed to Seculars as such but did hate bad priests of any kind. He had trouble with drinking priests and in the same letter mentions the grief caused him when, on visitation to the West Coast, he came across a Secular priest helplessly

56 Grimes to S.G. 13 May 1896, A.M.F. (R).
57 Ibid.
58 I have come across this mainly in South Canterbury - Timara, Temuka, Waimate, Fairlie.
59 Grimes to S.G., 13 May 1896, A.M.F. (R).
drunk and had to dismiss him. 60

In considering the charge that the Bishop gave the Christchurch parochial posts to the Marist clergy we must be careful to keep things in perspective. If there were certain Secular priests who did not get on with the Bishop, the cause of harmony would best be served if they were not placed in positions close to their *bête noire*. If they were (and some of them were) a constant source of trouble it is only natural, if only for peace sake, that he send them to areas outside Christchurch. In fact they did often get a comfortable country parish. *It was natural, too,* that he send Irish Seculars to the West Coast where there was greatest concentration of Irish Catholics, and retain non-Irish priests for the predominantly English and Anglican settlement of Christchurch. This was politic.

But such a pattern tended to form a vicious circle. Once outside the Bishop's direct influence troublesome priests could become more troublesome without having to worry about the Bishop's interference. Also if a half-hearted, lukewarm priest was sent to a remote country area the very real loneliness could make him less zealous or even turn him to drink.

In Diocesan affairs one may detect a thread of provincialism or parochialism in these years. This is emphasised in such things as the Appeal for the Cathedral. The marked

60 Grimes to S.C., 13 May 1896, A.M.F. (R).
variation in response from area to area may have been caused by parochial attitudes or even a polarisation between town and country. More likely it was an evidence of the Marist-Secular split or even of economic distribution. Certainly Father O'Donnell's parish of Ashburton showed a very poor response. 61

Throughout the episcopate Propaganda's role was one of aloof guidance. Without specifically condemning the Seculars she sympathised with the Bishop and the Marists. Once when in Rome Grimes had spoken to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda about the question of his successor. He was keen that the Bishopric remain 'in the family'. He had reminded Gotti that the Dioceses of Wellington and Christchurch were entrusted to the Society of Mary under the same terms. The Cardinal explained the usual procedure adopted on the death of a Bishop but gave no assurances. 62 Rome had learned its lesson. There would probably never be peace with a Marist Bishop. When Grimes died in 1915 Rome appointed as new Bishop, Mathew Brodie, a Secular priest from Auckland. Propaganda assured the Society of Mary that the nomination was not determined by any lack or defect on the part of Marist missionaries in New Zealand but

61 The variation of response is clearly shown by looking at the respective Minutes of the Ashburton and Cathedral parish meetings in 1904 to consider the difficulties of the Cathedral Building project. B.F. Box 2, Folio 2, A.C.D. Also see Chapter 4, P. 22 re the Roman Catholic Empowering Bill.

62 Grimes to S.G., 10 Dec 1906, A.M.F. (R) (Transl. Fr.)
only "by the critical and exceptional circumstances facing
the Marists in Christchurch against the diocesan priests of
that diocese." 63 They reaffirmed that they were
"greatly satisfied with the apostolic works of the Marist
Missionaries in New Zealand." 64 Brodie's appointment
solved the problem but the bitterness still lingered on.

63 Gotti to J. Raffin (S.C. of S.M.), 5 Jan 1916, A.M.F. (R)
(Transl. It.)
64 Gotti to J. Raffin, 5 Jan 1916, A.M.F. (R), (Transl. It.)
6. "Therefore when we build let us think that we build for ever...."
CHAPTER 4  A CATHEDRAL IS BUILT

INTRODUCTION

"Therefore when we build let us think that we build forever... let it be such work as our descendants will thank us for, and let us think, as we lay stone on stone, that a time is to come when these stones will be held sacred because our hands have touched them and that men will say as they look upon the labour and wrought substance of them: 'See! this our fathers did for us.'" 1

Whether or not these thoughts passed through Grimes's mind it does remain true that the Cathedral of the Blessed Sacrament has become a monument to his memory and his energy. It was a tremendous undertaking, one which proved to be full of vicissitudes. The achievement seems remarkable if we consider that the structure was completed in four years when the Anglican Cathedral's chequered gestation had dragged on for forty years.

Even if John Grimes, the man and even the Bishop, falls into obscurity, anyone who drives along Barbadoes Street or Moorhouse Avenue will be aware of his epitath. His duties as founding Bishop inevitably involved him in the work of the geographical expansion of the framework of the church as an institution in Canterbury and Westland. The Cathedral was his peculiar brainchild, a child which came to maturity because of its begetter's driving energy. The Cathedral symbolises Roman Catholicism in this city as it goes unnoticed to countless

1. J. Ruskin, *Seven Lamps*, as quoted in the *Tablet*, 18 Mar 1915, p. 34.
visitors. Its position is unobtrusive and inconspicuous, yet close-up its imposing bulk and solidity are ominous. It was built on the outskirts of the old city area because it was there that the Provincial Government set aside the Catholic Reserve. 2 It was on seeing this Cathedral that George Bernard Shaw proclaimed it the finest church "south of the line." The Anglicans swallowed hard, but after all they were in the Square. The Catholics have less parking problems but the stone, unlike the Rock of Peter, has suffered severely from the smoke and chemicals of nearby industry.

A CATHEDRAL IN EMBRYO

The desire to build a substantial cathedral had probably been with the diocese since its arrival in Canterbury. But in 1887 resources were meagre and priorities made such thoughts mere pipe dreams for the time. The first church in the town was built by Father Chataigner in 1860 to comply with the conditions of the Land grant. 3 Father Chataigner opened a second wooden church in Barbadoes Street on 29 May 1864. The Lyttelton Times reported that this was the largest Catholic church in Canterbury. It was cruciform-shaped, about 75 feet

2 Canterbury Reserve Amendment Ordinance. About three acres of land bounded in the north by Lot 10, south by the Town Belt, east by Lot 147, west by Barbadoes St. South was conveyed to Bishop Viard (or the head of the Church of Rome) to be held in trust as a site for a place of worship for the use of Catholics and also for a school and parsonage. The Conveyance is dated 11 Aug 1863 - File 41, Deed 578. Archives of the Land Dept. Ch.Ch.

3 The time allowed, (the expiry of which meant forfeiture of the reserve) within which a building had to be erected was due to expire a fortnight after the first priest's arrival.
long and 40 feet wide but even then "it is entirely too small for the congregation which flocks there every Sunday." 4

However it remained in use as a pro-Cathedral with a number of additions and renovations until after its removal to make way for the present Cathedral. It was eventually used for schoolrooms.

The suspicions of early aspirations is confirmed by Grimes's own remarks:

"For some time prior to my visit to Europe, at the end of 1897 I had the idea of devoting my energies during my episcopacy to the building of a suitable temple for the worship of God." 5

Bishop Moran had built an incomplete Gothic Cathedral in Dunedin. Wellington had its St. Mary's and a new Basilica. 6 Auckland's St. Patrick's reflected the strong Irish Catholicism of its people. At most the church in Christchurch could only be regarded as makeshift. Yet in 1897 his clergy advised the postponement of the inauguration of any project until after his return from the impending trip to Europe.

When, in a letter in 1899 Grimes speaks of "the new Cathedral which the Sovereign Pontiff desires us to try and erect in our episcopal city of Christchurch," it sounds like one of his almost obsequious invocations of people in high places. 7 But in fact Pope Leo XIII had urged and encouraged Grimes to undertake the great work of building a Cathedral. 8

4 *Ivy, Times, 13 Nov 1874,* p. 3.
5 *W.L. 5 Feb. 1905,* p. 66.
6 Frank Petre was working on the Basilica, Hill St. when the Ch.Ch. Cathedral was being mooted.
7 Letter, Grimes to the Superiors of Ch.Ch Convents, 7 Dec 1899, L.C.D.
In 1897 the Pope heard that there was only a wooden pro-
Cathedral in Christchurch and he strongly urged Grimes to
make the building of a Cathedral worthy of the church and
the city, one of the great objects of his episcopate.
Grimes's scruples about extravagance in a suckling diocese
were finally laid to rest by the Pope.

When I ventured to urge that presbyteries, schools
and other churches were urgently required for which
we had not funds, the Holy Father replied: 'Let out,
proceed prosperously and reign. Fear not, you are
sure to succeed, as God will be with you.' 10

Typical Papal jargon, you might say, but the meaning was clear.
Grimes had Leo's support for the project, and Leo sealed this
advice with the gift of a valuable cameo, the sale of which
was to go to the building fund. He expressed the wish that
his name be placed at the top of the list of donors. Thus
today Leo XIII heads the list of Founder and Donors on the
west wall of the Cathedral. 11 On 2 July 1898 he sanctified
the project by issuing a "special blessing" to all who might
help in the great work of the Cathedral. 12

The earnestness with which Grimes was fostering the
emerging plan is shown by early attempts to raise money for
the Fund even before a definite building project had been
decided upon. On his overseas trip in 1897-98 Grimes toured
extensively throughout Great Britain, Ireland, France,
Holland, Belgium, Canada and the United States raising money

10 The W.P., 15 Feb. 1905, p. 66 (c)
12 Building File, Box 1, A.C.D.
for his building fund. 13 The trip was worth the effort.
Grimes netted over £3000 for the Fund. Active local
campaigning began on his return and is best described by
Grimes himself:

On returning to Christchurch after the European
visit I called a general meeting of the Catholics
of Ch.Ch. and suburbs in March 1899. At this
meeting it was unanimously resolved to take steps
for the collection of subscriptions towards the
creation of the cathedral and the selection of a
site. After some discussion, in the course of
which the keynote was sounded by Sir George
Clifford in favour of the present site, it was
selected. I then went on my first tour of the
West Coast, organising collections in aid of the
work.... This was exceedingly successful.... On
returning a tour through the Canterbury parishes
was organised, in which my appeal was also most
generously responded to. 14

It is not clear when the Building Fund Committee was
formed. It was probably set up at the meeting in March
mentioned by Grimes. First reference to it appears in a
letter by its secretary, Edward O'Conor, about a bazaar to be
held in coincidence with the Provincial Golden Jubilee
celebration in the last months of 1900 to raise funds on
behalf of the whole Diocese. 15 Dean O'Donnell resigned from
the Committee on 21 November 1899. 16 No reason is given for

13 The A.C.D. contains numerous letters to Bishops in these
places asking permission to campaign in their territories.
Most replies were favourable though most of them doubted
the efficacy of such an appeal. Building File, Box 1,
A.C.D. Grimes left for overseas in May 1897 and returned
in 1898
14 The W.P., 15 Feb 1905, p. 66 (e).
15 E. O'Conor to Fr. Le Menant de Chezrais S.M., 28 Aug
1899, A.C.D.
16 Grimes to O'Donnell, 3 Jun 1899, A.C.D.
his action but probably it was due to the personal differences which recurred between Grimes and him, enemies and opposites in many ways, the one English and Marist, the other Irish and Secular. It was not long however before Grimes was asking his help for the bazaar: "Your well known influence with your people emboldens me to ask this favour of you." 17

It is hard to estimate what effect the resignation had on the project. It may have been considerable because of the esteem in which he was held as a senior priest of the diocese and his popularity with the Irish Catholics. Lack of his support proved irksome in later appeals to Ashburton Catholics.

In his use of the Building Committee Grimes showed considerable skill as an administrator and a certain modernity uncommon in churchmen of the time. Its work was to assist the Bishop in all the tasks of the project. 18 Most crises were referred quickly to special meetings e.g. the issue later of subsidence. As a committee it was solidly loyal to the Bishop. There is no mention of a chairman; we can presume Grimes held that office as it was he who called the meetings. Edward O'Connor was the secretary. No other member appears to make much impact apart from H.H. Loughman who was not only the Bishop's solicitor and chief adviser but also the busiest man on the committee. They appeared to have been a competent

17 Grimes to O'Donnell, 3 Jun 1900, A.O.D.
W.P. 15 Feb 1905, P. 66.
body of opinion employing experts when necessary. One recommendation is full of prophetic wisdom.

Our committee is rather afraid it would not be wise to substitute O.K. (stone) for Mount Somers in the outside of the building at least where there is greater exposure to the weather. 19

Throughout the life of the project the committee met and gave advice. It seems that Grimes was largely responsible for selecting the design but the committee copiously expressed their opinion about the size and cost of the work. 20

The year 1899 saw the serious work of fund raising begin. The Building Fund, set up round the nucleus of a substantial donation by Dean Foley, soon grew. In that year the Bishop wrote a Pastoral Letter in which he outlined the needs, the hopes and financial realities of the scheme. The clergy took the lead set by the Bishop.

Our priests are poor, yet we are confident that they will generously come to our help... So far their promises amount to the respectable sum of £1000 and more! 21

And he added that he himself was "prepared to give £1000 towards the building Fund." 22

A PLAN IS ADOPTED.

By the end of 1899 the Fund had grown sufficiently to enable the committee to take more positive steps. Frank Petre seems to have been the only architect considered. It

19 Grimes to Petre, 26 Mar 1902, A.C.D.
20 B.F., Box I, A.C.D.
21 Grimes, Pastoral Letter, 1899, p. 13, A.C.D.
is hardly surprising in view of his Catholic family background and his reputation as a popular architect of the time having designed a number of churches and commercial buildings in the South Island. 23 Grimes's first requests to Petre for suggestions for a design seem rather casual. Petre sent the Bishop rough details of specifications for an Ionic Roman Basilica style church which he estimated would hold about 2000 people and cost £15,000. Grimes commented later,

It was at first suggested to call for competitive designs, but Mr. Petre submitted to me such beautiful plans that with the approval of the committee, they were accepted. 24

It was not quite as simple as that. The Committee had serious doubts over the accuracy of Petre's estimate and the Bishop called in experts with "long and practical experience in the building profession" to examine the plans. 25 They considered it could not be carried out under £100,000. A letter was sent to Petre asking if he could modify the plan "without spoiling the look, and leaving accommodation for 2000 sittings" to about £35,000. 26 Petre claimed his critics had no experience in the basilica style and their criticism was superficial.

23 These included St. Joseph's Cathedral, Dunedin, Mt. Magdala and the A.M.P. building, Ch.Ch.
24 Interview with Grimes, W.P., 15 Feb 1903, P.66 (e). The more rosy retrospective view is probably attributable to the successful completion. By this date Grimes was also full of praise for the contractors. Seemingly having forgotten earlier disputes, he now praises their energy.
25 E. O'Conner to Petre, 26 Feb 1900, A.C.D.
26 Le Menant de Chesnais to Petre, 15 Feb 1900, A.C.D.
I, on the other hand, speak from many years of experience of this style of construction and an intimate knowledge of the work itself. 27 He denies that the estimate of the Christchurch "experts" is accurate and sets the cost at somewhere between £32,000 and £40,000, Roman style being much cheaper than Gothic.

The question now arises why the classical basilica style was adopted in a city with strong English associations and by an English bishop of a Church which had built Gothic cathedrals in both Dunedin and Auckland. Did Grimes want to make Canterbury Catholicism generally appear more exclusive by closer identification with Rome? I think not; that would have been 'out of character'. Rather, the clue lies with the architect, the main considerations appeared to have been practical ones.

The proportion of height to length and breadth in the Gothic building is nearly three times that of the Basilica. In fact if a Gothic church were built with the width of nave shown in my drawings it would be higher than any Gothic church in the world. 28

Grimes adds a further reason:

27 Petre to Grimes, 19 Nov 1900, A.C.D.
28 Petre to E. O'Connor, 9 Mar 1900, A.C.D.
Petre compares costs in this letter e.g.

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<th>Basilicas</th>
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<td>Oamaru so far has</td>
<td>£4,000</td>
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<td>Wellington</td>
<td>£3,000</td>
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<td>St. Pat's (DnDn)</td>
<td>£25,300</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. Joseph's Cathedral, Dunedin</td>
<td>£22,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Church</td>
<td>£18,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knox Church</td>
<td>£16,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglican Cathedral, Christchurch</td>
<td>£34,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I had been advised by architects here as well as Rome, that a Gothic building would be a mistake in a country like this liable to earthquakes. 29

But he adds an even more probable determinant.

My ideal was the Church of St. Paul, outside the walls of Rome, and the interior of our Cathedral is very much like it. 30

If his preconceived ideals were an important influence, it was the economics of the matter which were the decisive factor.

By March 1900 Grimes had asked Petre to modify and reduce the plans and authorised him to go ahead with detailed designs and specifications "so that tenders may be called and the erection of the Cathedral be commenced before the wet season sets in." 31 By December the stage was set for the calling of tenders. The Building Committee accepted the modified plans on the condition that

all materials and everything necessary to the completion of the entire work are to be included in the specifications, tenders and Contract - leaving nothing to be supplied by the Employer, no extras to be allowed unless first authorised in writing by the Bishop. 32

In his reply Petre accepts these terms. 33 The wording of Loughman's letter is important in the light of later disputes over "extras" and the matter was only laid to rest by arbitration.

29 Interview with Grimes, M.P. 15 Feb 1905, P. 66 (e).
30 Ibid, P. 66 (e).
31 E. O'Connell to Petre, 30 Mar 1900, A.C.D.
32 H.H. Loughman to Petre, 3 Dec 1900, A.C.D.
33 Petre to Loughman, 11 Dec 1900, A.C.D.
The tender of J. and W. Jamieson was accepted for £40,787 but they reduced it to £30,000 the reduction including a donation to the Fund of £287. 34 The agreement for the supply of Oamaru stone (T.T. stone) was made, designs completed and the Bills of Quantities drawn up by the architect. 35 Archbishop Carr of Melbourne laid the foundation stone on 10 February 1901. 36 The work began immediately and by June the first account from Petre, on behalf of the Contractors, had come in for £10,374. It was paid by 8 July. 37 Now fund-raising began in earnest.

DRAMATIS PERSONAE - The Conflicts Begin

Although Petre's plan was accepted with considerable eagerness his relationship with the Bishop and his Committee was rarely an easy one. Tensions in Grimes's relationship with both Petre and the Contractors grew with the project. First evidence of the widening gulf appeared in mid 1901. There were frequent complaints of Petre having made no contact with the Committee on his visits to Christchurch. "As before, Mr. Petre has come and gone without seeing me..." wrote Loughnan. 38 But forebodings of trouble had come even

34 J. Jamieson to Grimes, 24 Jan 1901, attached to Specifications, A.C.D.
35 Agreement re Stone between J. and W. Jamieson & B. Berry of Totara Tree Quarry, 6 Feb 1901, A.C.D.
36 Tablet, 14 Feb 1901.
37 Account Dr. to J.J. Grimes, 17 Jun 1901. Payment was mentioned in a letter, Loughnan to Grimes, 8 Jul 1901, A.C.D.
Further account for £1128.15.7, 18 Jul 1901, A.C.D.
38 Loughnan to Grimes, 22 Jul 1901, A.C.D.
before the building had been started. Petre's letter defending his costs estimate came after months of silence. 39  
Father Le Menant De Chesnais had written complaining about the loss caused by the delay entailed and had even threatened to engage another architect. 40  

(1) The Supply of Stone Crisis  

The first crisis in the shaky relationship came in April 1902. The building was progressing well but suitable stone from the specified quarry at Camaaru was becoming scarce. The reasons for its rejection seem to have been poor colour and coarseness of texture. Weakness or softness of the stone was never mentioned by Petre as being a reason, though the Contractor and Clerk of Works did so. Eventually a harder stone from another Camaaru quarry had to be used and the substitution increased the overall cost of the building. 41  
Compensation for the added difficulty of working was one of the major items involved in arbitration. 42  

(2) The Supply of Extras  

In October of the same year it was revealed in the wording of the contract that the Bishop, as employer, had to supply the zinc for the ceilings and the metal to cover the three domes. It is difficult to understand why this was not known from the outset. The architect emphatically claimed  

39 See footnote 27.  
40 Le Menant to Petre, 21 Nov 1900, A.C.D.  
41 Stone from the Totara Tree Quarry hence T.T.  
42 Called O.K. stone.
that he had spoken to the Bishop of the difficulty and the
loss of time involved if each tenderer had to apply separately
to the only firm in Australasia who could supply these tiles. Because of this he had omitted the item from the contract.
Petre maintained that he had explained everything to Grimes
in an interview on 7 December 1900 and thought the Bishop had
consented to the arrangements he had proposed. Grimes
claimed just as vehemently that nothing had been said to him
about it. When the issue was first raised Loughman wrote to
Petre:

My letter to you of 3 December 1900 set forth
clearly the terms upon which your plans and
specifications would be accepted, and dis-
tinctly instructed you (inter alia) to
include in the contract all material and
everything necessary for the entire work.
Your letter of 11 December 1900 accepted
these terms. 44

In a letter a month later Loughman claimed that Petre was
liable "to indemnify the Bishop against the entire cost of
the zinc." 45

Whether or not the matter was discussed at an earlier
date, the fact remains that it is clearly stated in the
contract that the covering of
the three domes and Sanctuary back with
Wunderlich & Co. patent zinc tiles No. 192
which will be supplied to the Contractor
free of charge.... 46

c.f. Petre to Loughman, 5 Nov 1902, A.C.D.
44 Loughman to Petre, 31 Oct 1902, A.C.D.
45 Loughman to Petre, 29 Nov 1902, A.C.D.
46 Specification of Works, 12 Jun 1900, No. 3.,
P. 32, A.C.D.
This fact together with earlier suspicions Grimes himself had voiced leads one to suspect carelessness on his part was largely responsible for the difficulty.

The reduced plans have just come with the specifications. There are a few strange things in them. V.g., a lot of material will be provided (by the architect, I presume) for the Contractor, as all the iron work for the windows, Stairs, Front Doors, and certain things for the Domes, etc. 47

Failure to clear up such serious doubts seems inexcusable.

Yet it remains uncertain whether Grimes was entirely to blame. The growing lack of empathy between the principals concerned must have made full agreement difficult. "All together it strikes more than one that we are beginning things in a most unbusiness-like way." 48 And this as early as 1900.

When the building was completed the Contractors rendered an account for these extras, supposed to be supplied by the Employer, to the extent of 21,361. 8. 0. They indicated later that they were prepared to accept 22,500 in full and complete settlement. The Bishop refused and Jamiesons decided to submit the matter to arbitration. Their offer of some reasonable settlement was repeated and again refused. Mr. Loughman gave strong hints in favour of compromise. But the Bishop remained obstinate until the last minute, when, through Loughman, he offered them 21,000. This they refused and arbitration began. 49 The result was a pyrrhic victory for

47 O'Donnell to Grimes, 12 Jul 1900, A.G.D.
48 Grimes to Petrie, 8 Aug 1900, A.G.D.
49 Arbitration Papers, Jamieson Bros. v Roman Catholic Bishop of CH.CH, B.F. Box 2, Folio 5, A.G.D.
Grimes. The claim was reduced to $22,000. 50

(3) Subsidence

Further trouble arose later over the discovery of subsidence, and accusations of poor workmanship and faulty methods did not help to alleviate already strained relations. The Bishop had to consult experts regarding these faults even after the Cathedral was finished. "I propose at once to get Mr. Cordery to take a further observation before anything else is done." 51

Mention of subsidence began in the 1904 correspondence. The architect said he had always expected some settlement.52 He had examined the two front towers and the main dome and confirmed the fact that there was settlement, and in the case of the main dome, a little more than expected - totalling 2½ inches. But Petre considered, that with the weight still to go on, further settlement should not exceed another ½ to ¾ of an inch and that the building would then come to rest. 53

50 Ibid. Some sources estimate about $2,200.
51 Loughman to Grimes, 8 Mar 1905, A.C.D.
52 Subsidence Figures:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mr. Cordery, civil engineer, first inspected the Dome piers in Sep 1904.</th>
<th>Final Report: 30 Sep 1904</th>
<th>13 Mar 1905</th>
<th>Total subsid</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.W. Pier</td>
<td>49,850</td>
<td>48,675</td>
<td>.085</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.W. Pier</td>
<td>49,885</td>
<td>48,820</td>
<td>.075</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.E. Pier</td>
<td>52,830</td>
<td>52,765</td>
<td>.065</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.E. Pier</td>
<td>52,880</td>
<td>52,840</td>
<td>.070</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is taken from Cordery's Report (to Loughman), 13 Mar 1905, A.C.D. He reported that for the month prior to his last inspection, the piers had shown no movement.

53 Petre to Jamieson Bros., 14 Jun 1904, A.C.D.
He thought the front towers had already come to rest and instructed the Contractor to continue with the work.

Petre attributed much of the subsidence to extra weight caused by rain saturating the concrete floors and walls. Whatever the cause, the discovery of the subsidence caused a tremor of shock. Grimes again showed himself something of an alarmist. He refers to "the £500 compensation or 'donation' for the very serious mishap caused us." His tone is more considered the following month but still full of sharp and bitter rebuke at the concealment of the subsidence. He speaks of Petre's "callous indifference" and the radical structural defects of the building, which, in spite of warnings from others, in spite of experience at Ashburton, Greymouth and St. Magdala and elsewhere, I confidently entrusted to you.

Grimes's initial outburst does not seem justified. Petre, himself, minimised the damage. One of the arbitrators in the subsequent hearing, a Mr. Joynt, "had no hesitation in saying that you could not make the Contractors liable for the fact of unequal subsidence." Subsidence was not as bad as first thought. Petre should have made its existence known immediately to the Bishop. There was no excuse for concealment. It seems strange that no other provision was made in regard to stability before the foundations were laid.

54 Petre to Cath. Build. Committee, 24 Nov 1904, A.C.D.
55 Grimes to Petre, 28 Sep 1904, A.C.D.
56 Grimes to Petre, 4 Oct 1904, A.C.D.
57 Petre to Grimes, 24 Nov 1904, A.C.D.
58 Loughman to Grimes, 3 Mar 1905, A.C.D.
2. Frank Petre, the Architect.
except for one trial bore in the nave area. This may be another indication of carelessness and lack of co-ordination between the various dramatic personae.

FINANCIAL STRAINS

News of the added expense incurred by unforeseen extras fell like a thunderbolt. The sum involved was £2,200. Finances were already dangerously low and there was talk of having to stop work altogether. In review, six years had brought only £19,000. By early 1903 this had all been spent and the work was still two years off completion. Grimes made an urgent appeal to his people. 59

Soon the Bishop had to give thought to more organised means of raising money. Having previously relied on collecting by personal effort and paying as the money came to hand, he now considered a direct loan or issue of debentures. Grimes himself was at that time possibly more in favour of a debenture scheme and in this vein he wrote to Sir George Clifford asking his advice. 60 That Sir George's opinion carried considerable weight is confirmed by the fact that Grimes dismissed the idea of debentures for the time being. As a result, three or four other schemes were put to a meeting of the clergy of Canterbury. Debentures were shelved as a last resort. In April Grimes approached the National Bank of

59 Grimes, Circular Letter, 19 Apr 1904, A.C.D.
60 Grimes to Sir George Clifford, Good Friday 1904, A.C.D.
New Zealand for a loan of £25,000. The Bank was agreeable but asked for guarantors. The Bishop supplied names of five laymen, protesting as he did that "I was rather under the impression that the signature of the Bishop alone would have sufficed." The Bank Manager shrewdly pointed out experience tells us that there is nothing which so stimulates the average laymen to vigorous effort as does a lively sense of pecuniary obligation.

The loan was arranged in June at an interest rate of 5%.

The Bishop's protest at being asked for guarantors is possibly significant. It may have been an illustration of Grimes's business naivety, a callow churchman in the hard world of commerce. More probably, he felt sure in his own mind that, given time, money would come in and he seemed to think it reasonable that he be trusted to meet his responsibilities as soon as he could, without the added anxiety of committing himself to a definite arrangement involving other property or other people. He faced this same problem several times during the next two or three years.

Relations with the Contractors had so far been good. Knowing of the financial difficulties facing the Bishop and conferring with him in June 1903, they told him they would be prepared to carry on with the work, accepting as much as the Bishop could pay as each successive certificate for payment.

61 Manager N.B.N.Z. to Grimes, 2 Jun 1903, A.C.D. Guarantors were Messrs. Henley, Barrett, McGough, O'Malley & Ryan.
62 Grimes to Manager B.N.Z. 30 Apr 1903, A.C.D.
63 Manager N.B.N.Z. to Grimes, 2 Jun 1903, A.C.D.
came from the architect. Such an agreement called for alteration of the terms of the contract. In fact this was never done, though Grimes regarded the offer as "verbally" accepted and binding. The Contractors did accept as much as the Bishop could pay until Easter 1904, when, meeting the Building Committee, they told them they could no longer carry on as before because the Banks would not give them the over-drafts on which they relied.

Shortly before Easter I was informed that they could no longer fulfil the promise they had made last June, and more than once repeated. This announcement fell like a thunderbolt. Anxiety almost amounting to panic ensued. The Bishop made another earnest appeal for funds through Tablet.

When the priests met on 13 April 1904, they urged Grimes to force the Contractors, by means of the law, to adhere to their former promise. They seemed to understand, as the laity had been led to understand, that a proper legal arrangement had been made. The conveyance of such a false impression was inexcusable. The other unpopular suggestion made at the meeting was that the estimated total cost of the Cathedral be divided on a pro rata basis among all the parishes and that each raise the money quickly by whatever means they could.

The importance of this clerical meeting is that it brings to light their feelings on broader issues than this immediate crisis. They felt that they had been kept in the dark in

64 Grimes, Circular Letter, 19 Apr 1904, A.C.D. One can detect a touch of bitterness here.
regard to the true financial situation and they complained of the inaccurate statements issued in the past and the near impossibility of raising sympathy or money among their parishioners without divulging a true balance-sheet. They were of the opinion that it would be impossible to get guarantors in order to raise the parish pro rata amounts quickly. They suggested the Bishop continue his personal collecting. 65 This could have been a reflection of their old-fashioned thinking. More likely it was an indictment of the personal and unbusiness-like way in which Grimes had so far handled the project.

In May 1904 new hope came from a national level. Richard John Seddon wrote to Grimes offering help, having heard indirectly of the financial difficulties.

I feel sure you will pardon me addressing you when I say the matter has given me some concern, and I have given a little thought in regard to the best way to meet the situation. 66

He goes on to offer a solution:

There is only one way of doing it and that is to raise money by issuing debentures with a given security, and that can only be done by an amendment of the Act. There should be no difficulty in passing a private Bill through. 67

Seddon had already put one through for the Methodists and thought the Anglicans were about to have one brought down.

65 A similar meeting of the West Coast clergy agreed on this. Report of the meeting of the Clergy held at Greymouth, 27 Apr 1907, A.C.D.
66 R.J. Seddon to J.J. Grimes, 8 May 1904, A.C.D.
67 Ibid.
He offered to sponsor this Bill for the Bishop, but in fact had health prevented him and instead a Mr. Davey attached his name to the legislation. Seddon's warmth and cordiality of tone in these letters reveals a personal acquaintance of some years' standing. The Roman Catholic Bishop of Christchurch Empowering Act, which became law on 18 October 1904, enabled the Bishop to raise money by debenture or by the mortgage of lands vested by the Act in the Bishop of Christchurch. The land concerned was the Barbadoes Street property on part of which the Cathedral now stands. The passage of the Bill illustrates further characteristics of Canterbury Catholicism. There was little opposition to the Bill till after the second reading. Then

Some of the Christchurch Members have had their attention called by their constituents to the word 'revenues'...and ask whether the setting aside of the sinking fund out of the revenues of the Church will affect the stipend of the country priests, or, if not, will the congregations in the country areas have to make larger contributions to their parishes, the opposition apparently coming from the parishes outside Christchurch.

The reference to revenues was struck out and the Bill passed without further bother. The incident does, however, illustrate a kind of Roperian 'Town versus Country' split.

68 also Seddon to Grimes, 25 May 1904, A.C.D.
69 The Act was entitled, "An Act to provide for the vesting in the Bishop of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Ch.Ch. of certain lands, being part of Town Reserve of Ch.Ch., and to enable the Bishop of the said Diocese to raise Moneys for the Building of a Cathedral Church at Ch.Ch., by Mortgage of said Lands, or by Issue of Debentures secured or Mortgage of the said Lands." Copy held in A.C.D.
70 C. Izard to Izard & Loughman, 10 Aug 1904, A.C.D.
It can probably be seen as a facet of the 'Secular versus Marist' division or the similar 'English versus Irish' split. The city clergy tended to be less Irish and more Marist, the country Irish and secular. Grimes may have done this purposefully to get rid of more troublesome clergy, rather than to give the city 'plums' to his co-Marists, as his critics suggested.

In retrospect, the Bishop's financial policies had undergone radical change. First he attempted to collect funds and pay as he went. When the crisis came, he borrowed £5,000, reluctantly, and seemed fearful of committing himself or others. In 1904 he increased this overdraft to £7,500. 71 He soon began negotiating a £12,000 loan but nothing came of it. 72 After the Private Bill had been enacted

We took the best legal and other advice, and consulted the Holy See, by whom we were authorised to borrow to the amount of £20,000. 73

He sought a loan to that amount, which one would consider more than enough to complete the building. Mr. Loughman, one suspects, had a great deal to do with Grimes's decision. Certainly Loughman knew the Chairman of the local Board of the A.M.P. Society and wrote a private letter to him. In December the loan was granted at 5% repayable on 1 June 1915. 74 Grimes's change of financial heart was a response to the

71 A. Ferguson to Grimes, 22 Jun 1904, A.G.D.
72 Grimes to Manager of B. of N.S.W., 1 Jul 1904, A.G.D.
74 Secretary A.M.P. Society to Loughman, 17 Nov 1904, A.G.D. Copy of Mortgage, 14 Dec 1904, A.G.D.
crisis of deteriorating funds and also showed a growing maturity in the handling of Diocesan finance.

When the Cathedral was finished the debt was still a formidable £20,485-16-10½ and to this was added an annual interest of £1,000. The work of raising money went on. An attempt was made to revive a sixpenny weekly subscription, especially in town parishes. 75 A new pledge system began and the Bishop continued for the last ten years of his life visiting parishes, making appeals where he could. Another grand bazaar was held in 1910.

The Pope sent another £500 towards the Cathedral fund in 1914. Two other donations of £500 each were made in the hope that others would follow suit and clear the debt completely. 76 By December £2,500 had been subscribed. On 15 March 1915 Grimes died. The major part of the debt had been liquidated. A typed Statement of Accounts dated 11 March 1916 bears the item: Cathedral Debt (owing to the A.M.P. Society) £4,850 and forms a swan song to the long financial struggle.

OPENING OF THE CATHEDRAL

One can easily imagine a very proud Bishop Grimes on 12 February 1905. In spite of all the setbacks and difficulties, the great project had come to fruition. And his persevering drive must have been a major factor in the

75 Fr. Le Menant suggested this in 1903, Le Menant to Grimes, 10 Feb 1903, A.C.D.
76 One of these was Mr. Felix Campbell of Greymouth.
77 Financial folder, R.F., A.C.D.
10. The Official Guests, Cathedral Opening.
achievement realised.

The Cathedral made a considerable impact on the Christchurch skyline and was regarded as an object of national pride. The opening was executed with all the pomp demanded by the times. The people came in great numbers, including a special train from Timaru. 78

The Cathedral was filled in every part, the galleries included, with a great concourse of the laity, many of whom came from the West Coast and other distant parts of the diocese. 79

A good number of the Australian hierarchy added their purple to the gash of colour. Archbishop Carr of Melbourne, a personal friend of Grimes, performed the dedication and Archbishop Kelly, Coadjutor of Sydney, preached at the opening Mass, Carr at Vespers. The Governor-General, Lord and Lady Plunket and party, the Prime Minister and Mrs. Seddon, Sir Joseph Ward, Mr. Justice Chapman, the Mayor, Mr. Gray and Mrs. Grey were all official guests blessing with a civic seal the already impressive spectacle. The Lyttelton Times, in a leader the next day, marvelled that in New Zealand the Governor of the Colony and the Premier could attend the Cathedral opening "without giving the occasion even the shadow of political significance." 80 New Zealand, it claimed, was one of the few countries where this could be done because

78 The N.Z.R. offered those coming from Dunedin concession rates.
79 Tablet, 16 Feb 1905, p. 10
of complete separation of Church and state. Be that as it may, all sections of the community joined the Catholics on this day which was a milestone of Roman Catholic progress in this country.

CONCLUSION

The building project revealed other facets of Grimes's character which had not previously been brought into relief. His quarrels and the strained relations with those involved in the project indicate a certain shortcoming in human relations. When Grimes wrote questioning Petre's liability for damages because of miscalculations, he added "At the present moment I regret to say that our relations with those chiefly concerned with the building are very strained." 81 Grimes had had even more serious doubts, for months earlier he had written of Petre,

Have I not made a huge mistake in confiding so vast a work to an absent architect who has given to the personal supervision of the same far less time and apparent interest than ordinary architects give to a four-roomed cottage. 82

By 1906 the break became complete with Petre's threat of legal action over non-payment of fees. Grimes went as far as saying, "I hoped he would not oblige me to warn my Priests not to have any professional dealings with him." 83 Grimes also criticised and dismissed the "incompetent" Clerk of

81 Grimes to J. Joynt, 25 Jan 1905, A.G.D.
82 Grimes to Petre, 4 Oct 1904, A.G.D.
83 Ibid.
Works, Hickmott. It was something of a footnote to the relationship that Grimes put aside Petre's designs for a high altar and chose one himself. Thus has their lack of personal harmony been preserved in stone by the clash of the baroque altar with the simple classical ionic columns.

In fact the correspondence between Grimes and Petre is a litany of rebuke and complaint and shows a volatility and harshness not altogether typical of the Bishop, but sometimes evident in milder terms when dealing with an erring priest. Then it was more a studied firmness rather than a genuine impatience.

The value of studying the Odyssey of the building project lies not only in the details of the task itself and the nature of the work as a whole but also in the light it throws on more general aspects of Catholic life and the Bishop's relationship with his people. Analysis of the episode as a whole throws strikingly into highlight new and richer aspects of the Bishop's personality. We now see Grimes, through the lens of the Cathedral building project, as a sometime alarmist, anxious and precipitant over questions like subsidence. We see some of his limitations as a businessman highlighted by the inadequacies of the contract. We learn some of his less pleasant traits; his readiness to break with

\[34\] He was reinstated almost immediately and appears in the W.P. Supplement on the Cathedral Opening in the group of smiling officials. Grimes could not get a replacement. Grimes to Loughman, 10 Apr 1906, A.O.D.
people when he did not get his own way; his determination
to press ahead with the building no matter how great the
financial strain on the other parties. Jamiesons had been
extremely generous in their terms but Grimes seemed to have
the "take as much as you can get" attitude sometimes found in
churchmen. But we can also feel his persistence and
persevering doggedness, his firmness of purpose (though some
may mistake this for stubbornness). He was a hard man, a
single-minded man with vast resources of energy and he always
enjoyed considerable public support from men like Seddon, Sir
George Clifford, and Bishop Julius. Though these are not
qualities we can always admire, they do make for a certain
success. Without that doggedness, that drive, the Cathedral
might never have been completed.

We have dealt in considerable detail with the finances
of the scheme. It is important because they are a reasonably
accurate indicator of the economic state of the Catholic
community of the time. The whole episode does show a paucity
of Roman Catholic financial resources especially highlighted
when under strain. The average Catholic was of modest means
and there was a comparative lack of wealthy benefactors.
CHAPTER 5  GRIMES, CITIZEN AND BISHOP

INTRODUCTION.

Until now we have considered Grimes in relation to a number of issues. These issues and the problems they raised revealed, often dramatically, many aspects of his character and personality. It is to fill in the gaps that we now take a glimpse at the more personal aspects of Grimes's episcopate and his civic life.

If one asks an 'old-timer' about his memories of Bishop Grimes he inevitably paints a picture of a small man with a love of pomp and careful liturgy, a keen sense of propriety, a man conscious of his dignity as a Bishop. For him he was a kind but firm well-spoken Englishman who was rarely seen in public without his top-hat and who loved to take the streets of Christchurch in his carriage. He cut, for the average man, very much the figure of a Bishop.

Early premonitions of the new Bishop were not always favourable. Father Le Menant wrote of "others, who have seen Dr. Grimes in London and France, have written their friends here their opinion about him, and they do not seem to have been favourably impressed." 1 After his consecration, tardiness in coming to New Zealand caused some annoyance here since he was needed in Christchurch to clear up matters of importance. 2 But early misgivings were soon dissipated by

1 Le Menant to P. Sausseau, 3 Nov 1867, Letter Book, A.C.D.
2 See Chapter 2, P. 3.
the joy of his arrival.

After a short stay in Christchurch Grimes embarked on a comprehensive visitation of the diocese, which consisted of the whole of Canterbury, Westland, a portion of the Province of Nelson, and the Chatham Islands. 3

**VISITATION.**

Grimes's visits to the West Coast have become legend. Before his first visit in May 1883 there had been incessant rain on the Coast. The newspapers expressed the hope of fine weather for his visit. One Hokitika woman, when the visit was announced is reported to have said "John, the Bishop's coming; get ready to mow the hay, we're sure to have fine weather." She was right. For the six weeks he was there the weather was splendidly fine so much so that the miners became alarmed at the resulting drought. The newspapers suggested that the only way to break the drought was to get rid of the Bishop. Grimes left. On the day he reached the Bealey on his return trip he received a telegram announcing that his departure had been followed by a "heavy downpour; and the rain continued for weeks afterwards." Good weather on the Coast became proverbially known as 'the Bishops weather'. 4

Grimes was a firm believer in getting out and meeting people. This was only achieved by immense hardship in those days. He broke much new ground. On one occasion he was in

3 Tablet, 18 Mar 1915, Suppl. P. 3
4 Press, 11 Mar 1912, P. 8
the saddle from early morning till late at night for three
days to reach Gillespie Beach, where he recorded "I had never
been before." He conducted the first mission ever held
in these areas and confirmed large numbers of his people.
He describes in a letter to the Marist Superior General some
of the difficulties involved. "I had numerous rivers and
creeks, some most dangerous to cross on horseback and pass
over boulders on the sea beach." But it was worth the
trouble for the people were "most enthusiastic" in receiving
him. On a West Coast visit in 1901 Grimes travelled with
four priests in the steamer Jane Douglas from Jacksons Bay to
Hokitika. Running into a violent storm the ship was forced
to shelter for some days in Open Bay. At the time it was
thought that she was lost with all hands. When the Bishop
landed and reached a Post Office he was greeted by a number
of "congratulatory messages" from the Prince of Wales (then in
New Zealand), the Governor, Lord Ranfurly, and Prime Minister
Seddon. On this occasion he was amused by reading his own
obituary notice published in a provincial newspaper on the
West Coast.

Grimes: A PERSONAL PORTRAIT.

Grimes's reputation was aptly summed up after his death
by one of Canterbury's leading newspapers as follows:

5 Grimes to S.G., 13 May 1896, A.M.F. (R).
7 Ibid.
8 Press, 16 Mar 1915, p. 3
9 Lyt. Times, 16 Mar 1915, p. 3.
11. The Cathedral (interior).
"He was a pleasant and vigorous preacher, and a good conversationalist. He did a good deal of literary work publishing several theological pastorals and controversial pamphlets." 10 His manner in the pulpit was earnest and dignified "and his style of speaking slow, measured and distinct." 11 He spoke well but at first gave little indication of being a "powerful orator." 12 Father Dignan, one of the few surviving priests of those who worked in the Diocese under Grimes, confirms these impressions. 13 He recalls that he was popular early as a preacher, later as an after-dinner speaker. He spoke in the old emotional style but he was not the great orator that Archbishop Redwood was. While Archbishop Redwood was more retiring and not concerned with liturgy, Grimes loved the pomp of precise liturgical ceremony and thrived on life before the public eye. Redwood concentrated on building schools, Grimes rather on churches. Both were careful about small matters, Grimes to the point of fussiness. He was, Father Dignan recalls, an English gentleman, affable and not at all stand-offish.

In some ways Grimes showed a certain severity. He sharply rebuked the Sisters of the Mission for not removing the grilles from their chapels. 14 In writing on the

10 Lyt. Times, 16 Mar 1915, p. 8
11 Tablet, 10 Feb 1888, p. 5
12 Tablet, 17 Feb 1888, p. 13
13 I am grateful to Fr. Dignan for seeing me and giving me reminiscences of the Grimes era. Fr. Dignan of the S.M. was also one of the priests present at Grimes's funeral.
14 Sisters of the Mission File, A.G.D.
granting of dispensations for mixed marriages he said he would rather "err on the side of severity than that of leniency." 15 He sometimes severely rebuked his priests for not keeping up to the mark.

In some ways he was a man of broad sympathies and sound common sense, at other times very much the narrow Victorian. For example he spoke in strong terms against dancing and "the profane, lewd literature of the day." 16 Yet when the whole question of censorship was raised at a meeting of the Library Committee of the Canterbury College Board of Governors over the alleged removal of Butler's Way of All Flesh, Grimes showed quite liberal views. In speaking at length on censorship and novel reading he agreed that it was difficult to decide what should be placed on the shelves of a modern Public Library. "If it is absolutely necessary to keep certain works, even though they might be objectionable in some sense or another, it would be better to keep them for reference only..." 17 A library would not be complete without certain books. Grimes supported the principle of censorship but did not condemn Butler's book. Dean Harper, an Anglican member of the Committee, on the other hand, both disapproved and recorded his vote against it. 18

Balancing the severe side of his character was a personal

15 Grimes, Lenten Pastoral, 1893, A.C.D.
16 Tablet, 19 Jul 1889.
17 Lyt. Times, 27 Nov 1903, P. 6
18 Ibid.
kindness which helps to explain his popularity. Perhaps the
Catholic Times described him most aptly:

Seldom has anyone become so popular in so
short a time... And if any one was unfortunate
enough to incur his displeasure his respect
was heightened by the uncompromising direct-
ness with which the Bishop showed his stern
sense of duty. 19

Grimes was a generous man and noted for his hospitality.
"Busy as he was ... he always found time to devote to the
duties of hospitality," and indeed he was an ideal host as
many visitors to Christchurch could testify. 20 Grimes
had that certain common touch. On arriving at Christchurch
railway station in 1891 on his return from a trip to Europe
there was a great crowd there to welcome him and line the
route to his house.

He had no sooner become seated than he recognised
his coachman, to whom at once extended his hand,
saying "How are you, John?" and to an old lady
who was near the carriage ... he extended the
same privilege as the carriage moved on. 21

He was popular and well-known. By reason of his long
episcopate, his hospitable and sociable nature, and his
frequent travelling throughout New Zealand, Australia and
abroad Bishop Grimes "was one of the best known of our
Dominion prelates." 22 The Press wrote that the "bond between
Bishop and people was very real." 23

19 Ibid, 7 Mar 1890, P. 9
20 Tablet, 1 Apr 1915, P. 26 (Archbishop O'Shea's panegyric).
21 C.T., 24 Oct 1891, P. 27.
22 Tablet, 1 Apr 1915, P. 24.
In many ways Grimes was ahead of his times. The trust he placed in his lay people, the active part he played in civic life and his contribution to church unity, were all what we might consider modern tendencies. He pioneered the ecumenical movement in Christchurch. During the Grimes era relations between the Anglican and Catholic Churches were cordial, perhaps more so than at times in the years that followed. At the opening of the Catholic Boys School in Timaru in 1892 Archdeacon Harper sent an apology for his absence. 24 Bishops of both denominations sat on public platforms together. These good relations must have resulted largely from the personalities concerned - Grimes and Julius. Grimes showed a good knowledge of the Church of England and was always very conscious of that church's position in Christchurch. For example, in his Lenten Pastoral Letter of 1894 Grimes refers to "our dear separated brethren" and begins by holding up as an example the Anglican teaching on penance and mortification. 25 This is interesting when we consider he was writing in 1894. Bishop Grimes enjoyed the best of relations with Bishop Julius. They both served on the Canterbury College Board of Governors. The photo of them together has become famous. Grimes's successor, Bishop Brodie, in his panegyric at the time of Bishop Julius's death recalled

24 C.T., 24 Mar 1892, Suppl. P. VII.
25 Lenten Pastoral Letter, 1894, A.C.D.
"the cordial relations" which existed between his predecessor and Bishop Julius. "Diocesan records refer," he said "to their happy meeting on occasions of public import, especially in association with the many excellent benevolent and charitable organisations . . . ." 26 But if Grimes was always careful and tactful, Brodie was not. In 1916 Brodie gave offence to the Anglicans when inviting Julius to be present with him on a public platform concerning denominational schools he referred to him as a 'non-Catholic.' This careless allusion hurt Anglican feeling and stirred up Anti-Catholic sentiment and led Canon Wilfred to declare that Bishop Julius was the true Catholic Bishop of Christchurch. 27 Grimes, one feels sure, would never have made such a blunder.

By 1915 even the Tablet had revised somewhat its opinion of the first Bishop of Christchurch. It spoke of his "unfailing kindliness and charity for those who are not of the household of the faith, public spiritedness and statesmanlike breadth of view in civic affairs." 28 This was a complete volte face but an opinion which it had been slowly forming since 1888.

GRIMES: OUTSIDE INTERESTS.

Grimes was a man of broad and varied interests ranging from religion to natural history and archeology.

26 Press, 5 Sep 1938, p. 18.
27 Press, 13 Nov 1916.
28 Tablet, 18 Mar 1915, p. 34.
He showed considerable interest in the Maoris, not only within his Diocesan boundaries but also in areas of Kaikoura and south of Waimate. 29 He tried without success to get a priest sent to look after the Maoris of his Diocese. 30 "The opinion of myself and my Council is that a Father should be stationed in the South Island for all the Maoris of that Island." 31 He showed considerable impatience and indignation when the priest from Wellington who visited his Maori Catholics remarked that most of the Maoris were pagans and did not "belong to us." Here we see Grimes, the missionary bishop speaking, "It is the duty of the missionary to try and convert them, and not be satisfied with paying one hasty visit to them." 32

He was a keen collector of Maori artefacts. In his private natural history museum one of his proudest exhibits was a complete moa skeleton. 33

He was an acute observer of scientific and geographic detail as is shown in an article on his trip to New Caledonia in the Literary column of the Press. When he visited Yellowstone National Park in 1891 he took copious notes which showed his keen descriptive sense. 34 He was noted throughout Canterbury for his public lectures on a variety of subjects. We find record of him lecturing in the Theatre Royal, Timaru on

31 Ibid.
32 Ibid.
33 The last two bones to complete the skeleton were given to him by the Canterbury Museum. Minutes, 19 Jan 1910, F.45.M.B. (G) P.45 A.U.C.
34 Ibid. 2 Oct 1904, P.45.
'Modern Venice' in aid of Catholic schools or to a packed house in the Tum St. theatre on the Oberammergau Passion Play. 35 He used these lectures as a means of raising money for "several good works greatly needed in the diocese." 36

CIVIC LIFE.

One of Grimes's greatest interests was in the civic life of Christchurch. He firmly believed that the Catholic Bishop should take a useful part in public life and urged that his priests foster the public spirit among his people. 37

The Tablet said of Grimes:

He always identified himself with the interests of Christchurch, the whole of Canterbury and Westland, especially in educational, philanthropic, and patriotic matters, doing good work as a member of the University Senate and such other capacities as his health would allow. 38

He served on the McLean Institute Board, was vice-President of the S.P.C.A. and was a member of the Philosophical Institute.

But his most notable civic contribution was as a member of the Canterbury College Board of Governors. This was a powerful board for it then not only controlled Canterbury College but also the Canterbury Public Library, the Canterbury...

35 Cath. Times, 23 Jun 1893, P. 12
36 Ibid 22 Sep 1893, P. 21
37 Grimes to S.G., 30 Mar 1897. By this time he mentions that the lectures have brought in about £1,000.
38 Tablet 1 Apr 1915, Suppl. P. 26.
39 Ibid, 18 Mar 1915, Suppl. P. 2
This should be the C.G. Board of Governors. Archbishop Redwood was a member of the University Senate.
Museum and Christchurch Girls’ High School. Grimes was appointed to the Board by the Governor in 1897 in accordance with the Act of 1896 and remained on it until his death in 1915. 39

The Bishop’s attendance at meetings was good, though he was often absent from Christchurch in the course of duty. 40 On occasions he was called to take the chair. 41 But increasingly he asked for leave of absence from about 1907 and on 22 February 1915 he was granted three months leave of absence - the Board expressed its sympathy to him “in his illness.” 42 The next reference in the records is found on 29 March 1915 when the Board rose in silence to record its motion of sympathy, appreciation and condolence to the Diocese on his death. 43

Grimes had been elected to the Library and Museum Committee of the Board of Governors in March 1899 and served on it till his death. 44 After complaining about the books selected for the Public Library he was put on a sub-committee

40 In three fairly typical years when he was not away overseas his attendance figures at meetings with the total number of Board meetings in brackets were

<table>
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<th>1903</th>
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41 Minutes, 30 Jul 1900, B.M.B., No. 5, P. 333, A.U.G.
42 Minutes, 22 Feb 1915, B.M.B., No. 8, P. 116, A.U.G.
44 Minutes, 27 Mar 1899, B.M.B., No. 5, P. 195, A.U.G.

attendance records for the Committee are slightly better than for the Board as a whole:

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<td>7 (10)</td>
<td>6 (10)</td>
<td>8 (12)</td>
<td>11 (17)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
set up to investigate the question. 45 In July 1901 he was also elected to the Finance and Estates Committee and throughout the years served also on a number of sub-committees. 46

His membership of the Board showed his breadth of vision and demonstrated that he really believed that the Catholic Church had a vital role to play in everyday life. After his death his place was taken by Dean Hills until Bishop Brodie's nomination as the Governor's appointee. 47 Again Grimes's broad sympathies are highlighted by contrast with his successor. Bishop Brodie refused to accept the position on the Board on conscientious grounds because the Board controlled a State school, i.e. Christchurch Girls' High School. 48 Thus was an important sphere of influence lost to the Catholic Church in Christchurch. Grimes had seen the opportunity and taken it. Far from objecting to the control of Girls' High School Grimes gave the occasional address at the school's prizegiving in 1912. 49

GRIMES, HIS ASSOCIATES.

Part of Grimes's charm was that while he was in touch with the common man he had contact with many great men of his time. He stood in the public eye as a church leader who mixed with other leaders, both civil and ecclesiastical. He had

45 Committee Minutes, 16 Nov 1904, B.M.U.R. Vol. B, P. 207 A.U.C.
46 Minutes, 1 Jul 1901, B.M.U.R., No. 5, P. 48, A.U.C.
47 Ibid., 31 May 1915, B.M.U.R. No. 8, P. 137, A.U.C.
48 Brodie to the Minister of Education, 25 Jul 1916, A.C.D.
49 Tablet, 26 Dec 1912, P. 24.
associations with four Cardinal-Archbishops of Westminster. He was confirmed by Wiseman, consecrated Bishop by Vaughan, was well-acquainted with Cardinals Manning, Vaughan and Bourne. 50 He had known Manning from boyhood, had been scheduled to be consecrated by him, and as a priest he had received "many a mark of kindness" from him. 51 He was also on the most friendly terms with the hierarchy of Australia especially with Archbishop Carr of Melbourne. 52

Within New Zealand he enjoyed cordial relations with leaders of Church and State, especially with the Prime Minister, Seddon, and with his fellow Bishop of Christchurch, Churchill Julius. 55 His association with the Clifford family went back to the day of his consecration in London. Sir Charles Clifford spoke at the banquet which followed the ceremony. 54 His son, Sir George Clifford, was virtually head of the Catholic community in Canterbury. 55 Sir George's counsel carried considerable weight with Bishop Grimes. Two of the Bishop's major decisions — to build the cathedral on its present site and refrain from issuing debentures to raise money for the cathedral building fund were a direct result of Clifford's advice. 56

50 [*, 16 Mar 1912, P. 8.  
51 C.T., 16 Feb 1892, P. 21. Manning was prevented by ill-health.  
52 Press, 16 Mar 1912, P. 8.  
53 Letters, B.F. Fia 2, Box 3, A.C.D.  
54 This was on 26 Jul 1887. Press, 14 Mar 1912, P. 8.  
55 Macdonald Biographies, Canterbury Museum.  
56 W.T., 15 Feb 1905, P. 56.  
Grimes to Sir George Clifford, Good Friday 1904, A.C.D.
Mr. and Mrs. A.J. White and Mr. and Mrs. Martin Kennedy were also present in London for Grimes's consecration and maintained strong ties with the Bishop throughout his life. 57

THE BISHOP AND POLITICS.

The first political issue which Grimes faced was the question of Ireland. The Tablet complained that at first Grimes did not give "the smallest hint" of his views on the Ireland question. 58 However by the end of March 1888 the Tablet was able to report with satisfaction that on St. Patrick's day the Bishop had celebrated Pontifical High Mass and preached a panegyric on St. Patrick. In this way Grimes was able to mollify his Irish critics. But he did not attend the banquet in the evening. 59 The Bishop's early (and indeed customary) reticence and moderation was understandable because when the Christchurch correspondent for the Tablet commented on a tendency of some of the speakers at the banquet to touch Irish politics somewhat gingerly he hastened to add "...this may be due to the fact that in Christchurch we have been unaccustomed to touch Irish politics at all." 60

If Grimes showed any patriotism it was for his adopted New Zealand. He "always identified himself with the interests of Christchurch, the whole of Canterbury, and Westland." 61 He always took a "citizens part in what appertained to the

58 Tablet, 17 Feb 1888, P. 13.
60 Tablet 20 Mar 1888, P. 6 & 7.
public welfare." And he expected his priests to instill the same spirit in his people. Loyalty to the Crown he proclaimed was a "primary tenet of the Catholic faith." Archbishop O'Shea said of him:

He took an active, practical interest in everything that concerned the welfare of this young country, that he loved so well. He was especially proud of his own city Christchurch, and was never tired of showing his visitors around it.

Grimes was a good ambassador for New Zealand on his overseas trips. He was often heard "sounding the praises of our beautiful colony" and investigating "the prospects of desirable emigrants."

On most political issues Grimes showed himself a man of moderation. Though women's suffrage was never a great issue in New Zealand he refused to disclose his views on the question. He was in fact reluctant to approach purely political subjects at all. It was unfitting, he thought, for any religious preacher to comment on purely political matters. But after women's suffrage had become law Grimes urged women to use their new franchise to register and vote. On the prohibition issue he also seemed moderate. On one occasion he violently criticized the New Zealand prohibitionists as "our bitterest social, political and religious foes." In general

64 Tablet, 7 Apr 1915, P. 26.
65 Grimes to Cummings, W.P., 12 Jun 1898, P. 57.
66 C.T., 5 Oct 1893, P. 33.
67 Ibid.
68 Grimes to Fr. F. Hayes (Melbourne), 3 Apr 1905, A.C.D.
he was not especially outspoken on the question of Catholic Education. His Lenten Pastoral Letter of 1892 dealt with the question. He endorsed Bishop Cleary's strong views and frequently throughout his episcopate referred to the injustice of the State education system. But these were orthodox Catholic views and Grimes was the least vocal of the New Zealand Hierarchy on the subject. One of the "dreams" of his episcopate, the establishment of a Catholic College for boys, was achieved in 1911 with the foundation under Marist Father's direction of St. Bede's College. 69 Naming the college after Bede, the Venerable, was Grimes's suggestion. Again this showed his nice sense of propriety. Not only did he think that it would "take well with the intelligent classes" but also that it was a very appropriate name for a college in an English "city like Christchurch." 70

THE 1893 GENERAL ELECTION.

If Grimes generally avoided involvement in politics there was one occasion, when the Catholic education issue coincided with the general election, on which he was guilty of becoming involved in the local political contest. On the eve of the 1893 General Election Bishop Luck of Auckland urged Catholics to vote for amendment to the Education Act of 1877. 71 In Christchurch a Catholic Educational Registration Committee was

69 Grimes to Regnault, 25 Dec 1910, A.M.P.
70 Ibid.
71 Cath. Times, 3 Nov 1893, P. 9
set up and Grimes presided at its meetings. On 13 November 1893 this Committee unanimously passed a resolution to support candidates who replied favourably to a circular, issued by the Committee, advocating the just claims of Catholics in education and asking candidates to declare their views on the issue. A public meeting was arranged for the following Wednesday at which Grimes was to speak on the Catholic claims. 72

Grimes's comments at the meetings during this election campaign caused a storm of protest in the correspondence columns of the Christchurch papers. He was charged with interfering in politics, with being dictatorial and imperious. The Catholic Church was accused of being priest-ridden. 73 One correspondent quoted Grimes from the 

\textit{\textit{L}yttelton Times}'s report of a meeting: "As Bishop of your church and leader I command you to vote for the candidates chosen." 74 This was possibly an exaggeration. But Grimes did make the tactical error of supporting non-entities against popular men like William Pember Reeves and William Whitehouse Collins. The three candidates who gained official Catholic support were William Mohan, J.S. Evison and Eden George. Evison even had a doubtful background. They finished eighth, tenth and eleventh respectively in an eleven man contest.

It was a mistake to ask or expect Catholics to vote for these men irrespective of their opinions on other issues. So

72 \textit{\textit{I}bid., 24 Nov 1893, P. 9}  
73 \textit{\textit{L}yttelton Times, 24 Nov 1893, P. 2}.  
74 \textit{\textit{I}bid., (correspondent called 'Elector').}
not only was Grimes unsuccessful in backing the wrong men but his support seemed to have little effect on Catholic voting. F.H. Downey in his thesis on the election remarks that it seemed that any idea of Catholics voting as a block "existed mainly in the minds of the clergy" and that the clergy's lead was "rarely followed by their flock as a whole." 75 The Press commented that "the great bulk of the Catholic laity do not follow the lead of their clergy, at any rate at the sacrifice of their political opinions." 76 Catholics were almost exclusively Liberal supporters but of the three candidates chosen by the Committee Hoban alone was a Liberal.

The question of whether Catholic schools should receive State aid and whether the Bible should be taught in State schools was not peculiar to Canterbury electorates though it became more an issue here. 77 In all but a few cases, candidates who advocated religious teaching, or who supported Catholic claims were rejected at the polls. Most of these candidates had little chance of success anyway but "their views on the education question often cost them even more votes than they would otherwise have forfeited." 78

Downey comes to the conclusion that the Catholic Electoral Registration Committee did attempt to influence Catholic votes "presumably with the approval of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Christchurch." 79 But this is not strong enough. The

76 Press, 30 Nov 1895, F. 4 as quoted by Downey, P. 206.  
77 Downey, P. 205.  
78 Ibid.  
79 Downey, P. 206.
Lyttelton Times was probably nearer the mark when it observed that

The Registration Committee appears to have been a rather anonymous body and no details of when it was formed are to be found. It is certain, however, that the Roman Catholic Bishop of Christchurch played a leading role in its activities. 80

Grimes involvement in this 1893 election campaign was an aberration from his otherwise prudent and cautious attitude. Though not easily explained it may indicate that his views on education, though not expressed with the same force as Bishop Moran or Bishop Cleary, were just as strong. He seems to have learned his lesson, for in the election of 1914 when the Bible-in-Schools issue again loomed large in politics he was content to join with the other three Catholic Bishops of New Zealand in issuing a manifesto of broad guidance for the Catholics of New Zealand.

CONCLUSION.

Grimes was a generous man devoted to his beloved Christchurch. When his clergy and people presented him with a cheque for £1,021 for his Silver Jubilee he gave it to the Cathedral Fund. 81 Although short of money for the Cathedral project in 1904 he sent a cheque for £100 to the Society of Mary which had been going through hard times in France. 82 Bishop Grimes showed a vigour and enthusiasm

82 The S.M. was being persecuted by the civil authorities. Grimes to S.C., 1 Mar 1904, A.M.F. (R).
surprising in a man of poor health and advancing age. The bout of yellow fever in 1878 permanently affected his health. But Dean Hills attributed the decline in the Bishop's health in later years to his strenuous work in connection with the Cathedral. 83

On 21 February Bishop Grimes made his last public appearance in Christchurch at the laying of the foundation stone of additions to Lewisham (now Calvary) Hospital. His health was deteriorating. A few days later he left for an appendicitis operation at Lewisham Hospital, Sydney. 87 He never recovered and died there on Monday 15 March 1915. On 25 March a huge crowd gathered in Barbadoes Street. The first Catholic Bishop was lowered into his grave in the Cathedral he had built.

83 Press, 16 Mar 1915, p. 3.
CONCLUSION

In material progress alone Bishop Grimes's record was impressive. Archbishop O'Shea said that Grimes left the Diocese of Christchurch "one of the best organised and equipped in Australasia." 1 During his episcopate thirty churches were built or enlarged, the Catholic population of Canterbury rose from barely 20,000 to 30,000, $304,000 was spent on the building of churches and educational institutions. 2 He introduced the Sisters of Nazareth, encouraged the Sacre Coeur nuns in Timaru, helped successfully launch St. Magdala. He introduced the Mercy nuns to Christchurch from the West Coast, got the St. Bede's College project under way, and established or re-established a number of Catholic lay confraternities. Besides these his participation in the

1 Tablet, 1 Apr 1915, p. 28 (O'Shea's panegyric).
2 During Grimes's reign new parishes were established at: Fairlie, Akaroa, Leeston, Darfield, Hawarden, Mth. Christchurch and a mission at Timuka.

Churches were built at Manchester St., Ch. Ch., Timaru, Waiheo Downs, Waihihi, St. Andrews, Hakataramea, Albury, the Cave, the Hills, Rakaia, Hornby, Methven, New Brighton, Sumner, Leeston, Woolston, Darfield, Springfield, Coalgate, Rangiora, Hawarden, Cheviot, Hamner, Waiau, Greymouth, Blackball, Kimo, Ahaura, Barrytown, Dunollie, Kanieri, Waitangi.

New schools were built greatly enlarged or purchased at Ch. Ch., North and South, Addington, Halswell, Lyttelton, Akaroa, Rangiora, Darfield, Leeston, Timuka, Timaru, Waimea, Kumara, Greymouth, Brumerton, Dunollie.

Press, 16 Mar 1915, p. 3.
public life of Christchurch was notable.

Though all the material progress cannot be ascribed to him alone, that his was an indispensable part is shown by the many decisive authoritative solutions to problems which had for years hung in the balance. His achievement was to institutionalise and consolidate entities which were as yet haphazard and fragile — for example his introduction of religious orders to staff schools which had been previously shakily run by laymen. This may not have been peculiarly Grimes's gift but because he was bishop the prestige and authority of his office gave shape and direction, strength and purpose to potentialities already emerging. Grimes built firm and broad foundations for the Church in Canterbury. Many of these structures have only recently, like his Cathedral, shown signs of wear not because they were not firmly based but because subsequent contingencies were not catered for.

When considering the influence of Bishop Grimes on the Catholic Church in Canterbury we should recall the vast contrast in the tone of the eulogies which followed his death and the public outcry which greeted the news of his appointment. The difference was remarkable. It indicated that the impact of Grimes's personality on public opinion was considerable. It also showed the extent of the maturing process of the Church itself. From being predominantly a minority of sensitive Irishmen it had become a reasonably mature and self-confident branch of a world-wide church. In this process Grimes played
a considerable part.

Grimes has not emerged as a colourful or firebrand 'character' in New Zealand's Catholic history. Bishop Moran was more this type. But Grimes did prove a most fortunate choice as Christchurch's first bishop. He was popular, public spirited, ecumenical, acceptable to Society and yet still had the kind of humility and devotion which made him a good churchman and a revered bishop. Throughout this thesis he has been viewed under the microscope of a series of issues and problems. In such a close analysis faults and blemishes have appeared. We should be careful not to lose sight of Grimes as a whole. In the final synthesis Grimes emerges with a certain greatness, a breadth of vision which more colourful prelates often did not have. The Mayor of Christchurch called him "a man of broad ideas and good judgement." 3 We leave the final word to Grimes's fellow Bishop of Christchurch, Churchill Julius.

On hearing of his colleague's death he said:

The loss occasioned by the death of Bishop Grimes will be felt by many others than by members of his own communion. As one who has served with him for many years in many public institutions, and has been closely associated with him in matters of public interest for the last five and twenty years, I can bear witness to his genuine loyalty, his Christian courtesy, and his broad sympathies. 4

3 Tablet, 18 Mar 1915, Suppl. p. 4.
APPENDIX A

Thomas Grant, Rector of the English College at Rome, to Mgr. Brunelli, Secretary of the Sacred Congregation of the Faith.

Rome, 28th January, 1847.

The undersigned agent of the English bishops requests that it be permitted to him to inform your Most Reverend Excellency that the Colonial Office has expressed privately the satisfaction it would feel if among the bishops appointed to New Zealand one were English or Irish. There are grounds for thinking that the Office desires this to satisfy the public rather than to be contrary to non-English prelates. However, at the time it must be noted that the Government is well disposed to the present Vicar Apostolic. Moreover it may be observed that there is in New Zealand an Anglican bishop and it is supposed that the names of New Ulster and New Munster given to the provinces in New Zealand, and other things besides, indicate that the Government wishes to invite the Irish to go to that Colony and for them a clergy versed in the English language is of supreme importance.

Thomas Grant

A copy of the Italian original of this letter is in the possession of Fr. K. Roach S.M., now working at Marist Fathers' General House Archives, Rome.
Nationalities comprising the New Zealand population. (Census 3 April 1881).

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Major Denominations

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### Anglican and Roman Catholic Population Figures

#### Canterbury

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<td>121,400</td>
<td>56,559</td>
<td>13,733</td>
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<td>1891</td>
<td>126,392</td>
<td>57,793</td>
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<td>1896</td>
<td>135,858</td>
<td>61,069</td>
<td>16,138</td>
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<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>143,044</td>
<td>65,097</td>
<td>17,422</td>
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<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>159,106</td>
<td>72,481</td>
<td>19,520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>173,185</td>
<td>78,894</td>
<td>20,803</td>
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#### Westland

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>C. of E.</th>
<th>R.C.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>15,010</td>
<td>5,314</td>
<td>4,779</td>
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<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>15,931</td>
<td>5,257</td>
<td>5,005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>15,807</td>
<td>5,618</td>
<td>4,846</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>14,469</td>
<td>5,357</td>
<td>4,462</td>
</tr>
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<td>1901</td>
<td>14,506</td>
<td>5,302</td>
<td>4,622</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>14,674</td>
<td>5,788</td>
<td>4,657</td>
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<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>15,714</td>
<td>6,241</td>
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### Percentage English Born, Irish Born.

#### CANTERBURY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
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<th>ENG. BORN</th>
<th>IRISH BORN</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>48,934</td>
<td>34,992</td>
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<td>63,451</td>
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<tr>
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<td>73,302</td>
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<td>85,527</td>
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<td>152,106</td>
<td>103,873</td>
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<td>121,975</td>
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<td>1916</td>
<td>178,809</td>
<td>131,123</td>
<td>24,606</td>
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#### WESTLAND

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>N.Z. BORN</th>
<th>ENG. BORN</th>
<th>IRISH BORN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>15,010</td>
<td>5,150</td>
<td>2,424</td>
<td>2,413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>15,931</td>
<td>7,257</td>
<td>2,375</td>
<td>2,274</td>
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<td>15,507</td>
<td>8,119</td>
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<tr>
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<td>14,674</td>
<td>9,763</td>
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<td>1916</td>
<td>14,091</td>
<td>10,336</td>
<td>1,104</td>
<td>790</td>
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</table>

Note on Sources

Many of Grimes's personal papers are preserved in the Archives of the Christchurch Diocese. His Diaries are there but the handwriting is very difficult to read. Also in these Archives are Letter Books, Account Books, books of writings, Grimes's Last Will and Testament, printed Pastoral Letters, and numerous other letters spread throughout the files. In general the Archives are filed under parish headings with other files on the Diocese in general, Religious Orders, Priests, Institutions, Cathedral Building, etc. Besides the many letters there are copies and originals of Roman and Diocesan Decrees, Minutes of Diocesan Synods, Cathedral Specifications and Plans, Arbitration and Court Cases, Account Books (very disorderly), Parish Visitation Records, and a number of photographs and negatives.

I also found useful material at the Archives of the Marist Fathers, Cordon, Wellington. They consisted mainly of private letters.

Two microfilms sent from Rome (and now kept in the Archives of the Christchurch Diocese) contain mainly letters written by Grimes from Louisiana and Christchurch to the Superior Generals of the Society of Mary in Rome. These were taken from the Grimes file at Marist General House Archives, Rome.

The material on Grimes's contribution to the Canterbury College Board of Governors came from Minute Books kept in the Archives of the University of Canterbury. For the rest of my
material I had to rely heavily on the Christchurch newspapers and the Catholic papers especially the Tablet.

PRIMARY SOURCES

(1) UNPUBLISHED

Archives of the Christchurch Diocese

Apostolic Decrees
Cathedral Accounts
Diocesan Decrees and Statutes
Grimes's Diaries
Grimes's Last Will and Testament
Grimes's Letter Books
Grimes's miscellaneous personal papers
Grimes's Pastoral Letters
Henly, P., Reminiscences of a Pioneer
Letter Book of Fr. Le Menant des Chenaux
Minutes of Diocesan Synods
Miscellaneous letters
Parish Visitation Records
Petition to His Eminence Cardinal Moran Papal Legate of the Australian Colonies and Lord Archbishop of Sydney, c. 1836

Plans of the Cathedral building
Roman Decrees and Statutes
Specifications of the Cathedral building
Archives of the Marist Fathers, Wellington.

Etat du diocese de Wellington en 1864

Letters

Archives of the Marist Fathers, Rome.

Brief of Crimes's appointment

Letters

Archives of the Lands and Survey Department; Christchurch.

Deeds relating to the Catholic Reserve

Archives of the University of Canterbury.

Canterbury College Board Minute Books

Museum and Library Committee Minute Books

Finance and Estates Committee Minute Books

(2) PUBLISHED


(3) NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

The Canterbury Times

The Catholic Times

The Lyttelton Times
SECONDARY SOURCES

(1) PUBLISHED

(a) Published Books


Les Missions Catholiques, Vol. 19 (Jan.-Dec. 1937), Lyon, 1887. (St. Mary's, Manchester St. Library).


May, P.R., The West Coast Gold Rushes, Christchurch, 1962.


New Zealand Yearbook 1886-7, London, 1887.

Pompallier, J.B.F., Early History of the Catholic Church in Oceanis, Auckland, 1887.


A Short History of the Canterbury College, (Prepared by J. Hight and Alice M.F. Candy), Christchurch, 1927.


(b) Published Articles


(c) Published Pamphlets


St. Joseph's Church Lyttelton 1865-1965, Christchurch.


(2) UNPUBLISHED

(a) Article


(b) Thesis


Kane, P.C., Early History of the Catholic Church in New Zealand, 1830-1842, (original unknown but copy at St. Patrick's, Wellington).


