THE DUAL TRADITION
Irish Catholics and French Priests
in
New Zealand:
the West Coast Experience,
1865 - 1910.
THE DUAL TRADITION
Irish Catholics and French Priests in New Zealand: the West Coast Experience, 1865 - 1910.

A thesis
submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree
of
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N.P. Vaney

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A Bibliographical Essay ................................. 259
The opportunity to write this thesis arose as part of my chaplaincy work at the University of Canterbury. Academic studies had proved common ground on which to meet many students. Had I realized the long hours that I would have to spend trying to decipher letters in musty archive rooms I might have had second thoughts, but as the different pieces of evidence began to point to the significance of the French-Irish encounter for the Catholic Church in New Zealand I became determined to try and uncover as much as possible of this little-known story. Equally too as the picture began to emerge I realized that this exercise was a search for my own origins. I had been educated at St. Patrick's College, Wellington, and I knew that one pair of grandparents had been Irish. Yet as I searched my memories of childhood and education I could find no echo of any Irish influence. When I became a member of the Society of Mary I discovered the part that early French priests had played in the origins of New Zealand catholicism. Yet as a New Zealand Marist I found it equally difficult to detect any trace of French influence in either my training or my colleagues. This thesis became a search to discover how the French and Irish sources had been absorbed by the soil of New Zealand to bring forth the native-grown Church which is the only one I have ever known. This search could have achieved very little without the help of numerous other people both in New Zealand and overseas.

My thanks go first of all to the dedicated archivists who searched for material on my behalf or gave me some idea of what their archives contained. Sister Mary Eileen of St. Mary's Christchurch, Fr. John McMahon of the Sacred Heart Fathers in
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To the Society of Mary which has given me so much, I hope that this work does a little to repay the debt I owe.

Nelson, 23 October 1976. Nei Yaney S.M.
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All illustrations reproduced in this thesis are from the Christchurch Diocesan Archives, unless otherwise acknowledged.

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The following abbreviations are used throughout this text:

CDA  Christchurch Diocesan Archives.
CT   Catholic Times.
MAG  Marist Archives Greenmeadows.
MAW  Marist Archives Wellington.
MSAC Mercy Sisters' Archives Christchurch.
MSAW Mercy Sisters' Archives Wellington.
SHAC Sacred Heart Archives Canberra.
SM   Society of Mary.
WCT  West Coast Times.
WDA  Wellington Diocesan Archives.
WTU  Alexander Turnbull Library Wellington.
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

It is now nearly 140 years since the first Roman Catholic missionaries reached New Zealand. The three French clerics who landed at Hokianga on 10 January 1838 offered their first Mass in the presence of a European congregation of forty or fifty, nearly all of whom were either English or Irish.¹ This pattern of French priests serving a predominantly English and Irish community was to be a distinctive mark of New Zealand Catholicism for the next seventy or eighty years. The Franciscan priest, J.J.P. O'Reily, was the first Irish cleric in New Zealand, coming out as private chaplain to the Hon. Henry Petre in February 1843. The first Irish secular priests were Edward Clery and Timothy O'Rourke who arrived in Auckland with Bishop Pompallier in April 1850. They were ordained by the bishop at the end of that year.² However, at the same time Pompallier had brought five French and three Belgian priests back with him from Europe. The first Irish Marist, Michael Cummins, was to arrive in 1870 and Bishop Moran began to staff the Dunedin diocese with Irish secular priests from 1871. It was not until the mid-1880's that the number of English-speaking priests in New Zealand exceeded those who spoke French as their first tongue. Little systematic study has been given to the impact of this growing Irish element on the French-establi-

¹ L.G. Keys, The Life and Times of Bishop Pompallier, (Christchurch 1957), p. 92-3

² Ibid, p. 262-3
ished Church. The primary aim of this thesis is to examine the effect of these Irish clerics on the Catholic Church in New Zealand. How much did they sympathize with and encourage the political aspirations of their predominately Irish flock? Was there to be found among them the same conflict in attitudes to nationalist movements that troubled the Catholic Church in Ireland? How much did they sympathize with and encourage Irish nationalism in a largely English colony? And with what effect? A study of these questions soon leads into the second area of concern in the thesis - the conflict between these Irish clerics and the earlier established French priests and bishops. Was the clash between the two groups the result of basic differences in outlook on politics and theology, or was it rather just the predictable friction between two different cultures and civilizations? Were there any long-term effects of this clash for the Catholic Church in New Zealand?

Fr. L. Carcenac, the last French priest to work in New Zealand, died in Nelson in 1965. His first appointment was not to New Zealand for he came here after missionary work in the Pacific Islands. Few New Zealand Catholics would now remember a French priest serving them. On the other hand there are a number of parishes in New Zealand which have seen a succession of Irish-born pastors from their founding to the present. It would be safe to suppose that the majority of New Zealand Catholics have known an Irish priest, either as parish priest or curate, some time in their lives. If one attends meetings of New Zealand clergy and religious, one is always struck by the Irish brogue, be it the anglicized accent of the middle-aged priest, now in New Zealand some twenty years, or the soft lilt of a recently arrived Irish nun, sounding as if she had that moment been transported from a thatched cottage near Galway Bay. Within the last twenty years several religious orders have founded
houses in New Zealand, all of whose members are Irish. In Auckland, of 161 secular priests working in the diocese, 44 were born in Ireland, or 27.3%. In Wellington the figure is 44 out of 166, or 26.5%; in Christchurch 19 out of 75, or 25.2%; and Dunedin 6 out of 60, or 10%. This means that of all the secular priests belonging to, and working in, one of the four New Zealand dioceses, 113 out of 462, or 24.5%, were born in Ireland.

The natural question is why the French element of the New Zealand Catholic Church has disappeared so completely whereas the Irish influence is still so tangibly present. There are two obvious answers. The first is that New Zealand was a British, not French colony, so after the initial pioneering period, it was natural to send British subjects. The second is that until recent years Ireland has had an excess of priests for export whereas from about the time of the first World War France has not had sufficient priests even for its own needs. These answers still overlook a real problem. The majority of the French priests who came to New Zealand belonged to the religious congregation of the Society of Mary, commonly called Marists. Each French Marist who worked in New Zealand has left three or four New Zealand Marists to take his place. On the other hand, whereas the numbers of the New Zealand diocesan priesthood have grown steadily they have not grown at a swift enough rate to replace the Irish priests who pioneered so many New Zealand parishes. Nearly 130 years after their arrival the Irish secular priests are still an essential part of the structure of the New Zealand Church. Take them away and the New Zealand bishops would find it almost impossible to maintain their present parish structures. A lesser objective of this thesis is to try and propose some reasons for the tardy growth of the indigenous secular clergy in New Zealand, in the belief that this slow growth is related to

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* Two examples are the Capuchin Friars, Wellington (1958), and the Sisters of Jesus and Mary, Christchurch (1961).
the two central issues studied herein.

The thesis uses the West Coast of the South Island of New Zealand as a microcosm in which to examine the impact of the Irish element and Irish questions on the New Zealand Catholic Church. The reasons for choosing the Coast will be examined later but it is probably valid to point out the significant but sometimes neglected contribution of the region to Catholic life in New Zealand. So often it has been my experience, talking with a group of Catholic people, to discover that several of them have had at least one ancestor who was born on the Coast. My own family seems typical. My great grandfather was a member of Linehan's party that made the original gold discoveries at Charleston in 1866. Out of the literally hundreds of descendants of Daniel Dennehy, only two cousins remain on the Coast. Equally significant is the disproportionately large number of priests and religious who were born in the region. In the course of this research I discovered that seventeen out of 202 Marist priests in New Zealand were born on the Coast. This figure represents 8.4% of the Society of Mary, whereas West Coast Catholics accounted for only 1.3% of the total Catholic population of New Zealand according to the 1971 census.

The general theme which links all these considerations is the historical importance of Irish Catholics in the Roman Catholic Church in New Zealand. Irish Catholics formed a numerically important element in our early Catholicism. The question that faced this large group of immigrants, and the priests and bishops that were responsible for their spiritual welfare, was the due emphasis in the phrase "Irish Catholic". How significant was the adjective "Irish" in comparison with the substantive "Catholic"? Were the two words essentially linked? Bishop Moran of Dunedin believed that they were organically inseparable. Did therefore Irish Catholics need Irish priests, Irish devotions, Irish schools? Was there any difference between
"Irish Catholic faith" and "French Catholic faith," and if so, what was it? If there was a distinct Irish Catholicity, then what tensions would this create for non-Irish Catholics and non-Irish clergy, within the predominately English milieu of colonial New Zealand? Such questions are raised during the course of this study and some answers are suggested.

Underlying all these questions is a basic sociological and theological problem: the link between religious faith and nationalism. Many sociologists have contended that Roman Catholicism has survived so strongly in Ireland only because it became one of the distinctive subcultural bonds of an oppressed people. The trend within modern Roman Catholic theology has been to move completely in the opposite direction to stress the personalist dimension of religious faith as an individual, free and reasoned response to God's invitation. The influence of this personalist approach to faith achieved such strength at the Second Vatican Council that it prevailed in conceiving and bringing to birth the "Declaration on Religious Freedom," despite the opposition of some bishops from nations such as Spain and Eire where Roman Catholicism is the national religion, and who were concerned that this approach would weaken the Church's position in their own societies. The same debate is still being waged over the issue of nationalism. Some contemporary theologians argue that identification of religious faith and national aspirations is prone to end in a situation similar to that of Northern Ireland where terrorism and murder are being justified in the name of religious faith. On the other hand there are theologians who would stress that love and defence of one's own nat-

ive land are a God-given privilege and duty. In an effort to find a compromise between the two positions the Vatican Council, in its "Decree on the Church's Missionary Activity", tried to describe what it meant by a "true and effective patriotism":

The Christian faithful, gathered together in the Church out of all nations, are not marked off from the rest of men by their government, nor by their language, nor by their political institutions. So they should live for God and Christ by following the honorable customs of their own nation. As good citizens, they should practice true and effective patriotism. At the same time, let them altogether avoid racial prejudice and bitter nationalism, fostering instead a universal love for man.

For the tens of thousands of Irish men and women who settled in New Zealand in the period 1850-1900, it was of course Ireland that was "their own nation"; their home. The majority of settlers in New Zealand, whether from England, Scotland or elsewhere, would have similarly regarded the land of their birth. The Irish also often felt that they were unwilling exiles, driven from their hearts'home by relentless famine made worse by English injustice and incompetence. So for them, true and effective patriotism consisted in a burning interest in Ireland and its affairs, focusing more and more on the desire to see Ireland gain some form of political independence, something they were prepared to assist financially.

This study, as indicated earlier, focuses on the West Coast of the South Island of New Zealand. There is obviously need to define this "West Coast" more carefully. Here the West Coast is taken as including the area from Karamea in the north

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to Jackson's Bay in the south, thus embracing the sub-regions usually referred to as Buller, Westland, and south Westland. There are good reasons, both historical and geographical, for this wide definition. Geographically, it is one region, despite secondary differences, as between the dense rain forests of south Westland and the more open terraces of Charleston. However in the common isolation imposed by the Southern Alps, in a terrain dominated by swift-flowing rivers dropping rapidly through steep gullies finally to enter the sea in constantly changing mouths and bars there is a common pattern from Jackson's Bay in the south to Karamea in the north.

More important, however, was the unity that was created by the population which flocked into the district after 1864. The thousands of men who trooped overland through Otago and North Canterbury or sailed directly from Nelson or Sydney or Melbourne to land at Hokitika were a distinct community and well aware that the older settlements of Canterbury looked at them with curiosity if not positive distaste. Diggers at Addison's Flat, Waimea and Ross may have been separated by distance and tortuous communications, but in their life-style and background they formed a distinct community both socially and geographically remote from the farmers and graziers of Canterbury.

One of the distinctive elements of the community was the high proportion of Irish, most of whom were Catholics. Many other Irish settled in various parts of New Zealand: many in Auckland, and large pockets of Irish around Taihape, in South Canterbury, and parts of Southland. The West Coast Irish have a special significance, however, for nowhere else in the colony did they constitute a quarter to a third of the total population. Nor were they scattered thinly over a wide area, but concentrated in the smaller goldfield settlements where their presence was immediately noticeable. They came to the West Coast
as pioneers, sharing in the initial opening up of the fields, so that their place in the community was a respected one, won by their hard work alongside of their fellow citizens. In other parts of New Zealand the Irish were often late arrivals, brought over as part of the labouring force needed to man the public works made possible by Vogel's expansionist policies of the 1870's.

The other reason for selecting the West Coast is that it presents a perfect miniature, embodying all the tensions and questions raised by the Irish issue for the Catholic Church in New Zealand, but here present in a microcosm whose personalities and dimensions can be encompassed in a glance. Here the large numbers of Irish in the community were made conscious of their identity by the antagonisms generated by the Fenian disturbances at Hokitika and Addison's Flat early in 1868. The sense of injustice that many of the Irish felt at the treatment of their priests by the French clergy during the incident was to find other occasions for irritation during the next fifty years.

On numerous occasions French and Irish priests served in the same parish where opportunities for misunderstandings and conflict were legion. Similarly, this national difference was accentuated because most of the French priests were Marists, and most of the Irishmen seculars. On a number of occasions French Marists and Irish seculars served on the same parish staff. This potentially discordant situation was made more delicate by the fact that from 1864 to 1873 the diocese was ruled by a French-born bishop, and from 1875 to 1915 by two English-born bishops - and all were Marists.

Finally, a number of priests who are remembered as the most enthusiastic spokesmen for Irish nationalism in the Catholic Church in New Zealand also have roots deep in Coast history. Priests such as Larkin of Hokitika, O'Donnell and King of Ahaura
and Carew of Greymouth, could never be simply described as typical Irish secular or Marist priests. In the pages of this study I hope that they appear as men whose strengths and failings were much the same as other men's, but whose position and influence in the predominantly Irish community enabled them to find a support for their own vision of nationalism that would have been impossible anywhere else than on the West Coast. When old Coast identities recall the Irish troubles their parents spoke of, these are the men whose names are first recalled.

Special problems occurred in the writing of this thesis because of its character as a thematic study. Many separate questions are considered, all linked by a common theme, viz, the influence of Irish nationalist aspirations on the growth of the Roman Catholic Church in New Zealand. This approach caused problems of chronology and procedure. The period covered - 1864-1910 - is a long one, and in some ways the time parameters chosen are arbitrary. The year 1864 was the beginning of the rush to the West Coast goldfields, but Irish nationalism had already been growing for centuries. Since the outbreak of Fenian sympathy in 1868 could not be understood without some grasp of the movements for self-government within Ireland itself, the second chapter attempts a rapid sketch of these movements within nineteenth century Ireland so that Fenianism can be understood in its context. At the other end of the time scale, the year 1910 represents perhaps the peak of colonial interest in the Home Rule question with the introduction of the third Home Rule bill into the House of Commons. The failure of that bill did not mean the end of the quest for self-government, or a total loss of interest by the New Zealand Irish in the question, but it had now ceased to be a question of vital concern for the Catholic Church in New Zealand for that Church itself was slowly growing away from an "Irish" identity. For these reasons my time limits
can be taken as guides only, especially as one of the aims is to apply the conclusions to an understanding of the contemporary Catholic Church.

The structural problem arises from my three separate foci of attention: events in Ireland, the internal situation of the Catholic Church in New Zealand, and the West Coast itself. The aim of this study is to show the constantly changing interaction between the three. This means that often an event in Ireland, then the internal development of the Catholic Church in New Zealand must be explained before an incident on the West Coast can be seen in full significance.

The second chapter begins in Ireland, explaining the consequences of the Great Famine, and particularly the rise of Fenianism. In chapter three attention turns to the West Coast Irish, and the appearance in Hokitika of Frs. Larkin and McDonough, banking up the fires of nationalism to which the newspaper the New Zealand Celt added abundant fuel. After a description of the Fenian demonstrations and the prosecutions that resulted from them, the narrative returns to the Catholic Church in New Zealand and the animosity towards the French bishop that resulted from Fr. Larkin's dismissal from the West Coast. Chapter four centres upon the three great Irish nationalist movements of the 1880's and 1890's - the Irish Land League, the Irish National League, and the Irish National Federation. Their growth in Ireland is traced and the sympathy they evoked in New Zealand is shown. Particular attention is given to the support these movements gained from the West Coast. As to the impact of Irish issues on the New Zealand Church, attention is given to Bishop Moran and his strong claim, through the pages of the New Zealand Tablet, to be the champion of the Irish cause in New Zealand.

The growing tensions between the Irish and non-Irish
elements in New Zealand Catholicity are examined in chapter five, which also attempts to uncover immediate and background reasons for this clash. Differing attitudes to mixed marriage, temperance and education are discussed; the history of Bishop Moran's clashes with the French Marists is traced, together with several examples of Irish-French feuds, in an effort to isolate some of the factors that led to such tensions. Chapter six deals with the feud that developed over the setting up of the Christchurch diocese, Bishop Moran's role in this, and the consequent tensions that developed between Bishop Grimes and some of his secular priests. The chapter concludes with the departure of the Marists from Hokitika and Greymouth, where the Irish nationalism that is the main concern of this thesis, was once so strong.

Another danger of the thematic approach used is the ease with which major topics can be given summary and inadequate treatment; good examples of this can be seen in the study of the differences between the French and Irish priests, the question of Irish attitudes to mixed marriage, the career of the Catholic Times, and the contrast between the Irish influence in the Australian and New Zealand churches. Each of these topics deserves a full thesis. Thus the question arises why I should choose to pursue an extensive thematic approach rather than concentrate on one of these issues in depth. Here I was influenced by my fortunate personal position in having ready access to the ecclesiastical records of the Wellington and Christchurch dioceses, of the Society of Mary in New Zealand, and the past issues of the Tablet. The material available in each of these sources is closely related, and any scholar who bases his work mainly on one of them is likely to end up with an unbalanced view. J.P. Davis has perhaps succumbed to this danger in his recent study.
of Irish issues in New Zealand. He concentrates on the Dunedin diocese and the Catholic Church's involvement in New Zealand political issues, seen mainly through the pages of the Tablet. As the Marist petition of 1886 to Rome pointed out, and despite Bishop Moran's eye-catching polemics, the Dunedin diocese was only a small part of the New Zealand Catholic Church and its outlook and approach to Catholic problems was not necessarily representative of the Catholic Church in New Zealand. This is one of the reasons for my attempt to present a wider view of these issues.

One noticeable and regretted deficiency, however, is the lack of information on the place of Auckland diocese in these issues. Because of the non-availability of many of the ecclesiastical records to scholars very little systematic research on the Catholic history of Auckland has been published. It is hoped that with the advent to the Auckland see of a bishop who is also a notable historian, Bishop John Mackey, that these records may now become available and help repair a noticeable gap.

A final comment: the very scattered source material is of three main categories: newspaper accounts, official documents such as court records and wardens' reports, and ecclesiastical records. Naturally none of these areas can be neglected if a balanced picture is to be given, but because of the physically scattered nature of the sources it was difficult to give equal attention to each. Most attention is devoted to ecclesiastical archives. Because they have not been hitherto available to many New Zealand historians, I have deliberately used many direct quotations to indicate to subsequent scholars the quality and flavour of surviving ecclesiastical records.

Late in 1867 the West Coast goldfields reached their maximum population of nearly 30,000. Two of the most significant facts about this population were the large imbalance of adult males aged between twenty-one and forty, and the high percentage of these who had been born in Ireland. Many of these young Irishmen had become emigrants to escape the social and economic disturbances that had beset Ireland in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Dominating the history of Ireland in the nineteenth century was the so-called "Great Famine". In 1846 and 1848 the Irish potato crop failed completely. The other years between 1845 and 1850 were marked by partial failure, famine and plague. The deaths and mass emigration that resulted from this national catastrophe transformed Ireland from an English problem to an international problem and etched themselves indelibly into the consciousness of the Irish people, and their relationship with England.

The first three decades of the nineteenth century had been years of growing prosperity for both landed proprietors (many of whom were absentee English nobility) and tenant farmers in Ireland. Several factors helped to bring about this situation. One was the increasing reliance on the potato crop. This root crop prepared the land for tillage and

the English cities created by the industrial revolution needed great quantities of grain. The potatoes could also feed pigs (a profitable and growing market), while the peasant farmers could use them as the basis of their diet. This increasing prosperity began to have noticeable social effects. The sons of Irish tenant farmers gained some independence; once they had acquired a small piece of land, they could marry and look after their own family; there was a general trend for earlier marriages and consequently larger families.2

After the battle of Waterloo, however, the situation in England began to change slowly but decisively. European wheat became a far more attractive proposition for the English merchant, while the large English cities presented an excellent market for the beef that could be bred and fattened so easily in Ireland. At this same time decades of subdivision and overcropping had put too great a burden on the Irish soil. Landlords looked to clear tenants from their land to consolidate holdings for extensive pastoralism. Yet at the same time the unwanted tenants kept on increasing. In 1821 Ireland had a population of 6.8 million; by 1841 it had reached 8 million, and by 1845, on the eve of the famine, it was 8.5 million. Only the fact that large scale emigration had already begun, that mortality rates were very high, and that the age of first marriage was beginning to rise again, had kept the country from a major crisis. On the eve of the famine two thirds of the entire population of 8.5 million depended for their existence upon agriculture.3


3. Ibid, p. 29
The attempts of the English government to deal with the famine, whose effects began to be felt right throughout Ireland in 1846, started badly and ended in complete collapse. An initial effort to put the starving peasantry into public works was overwhelmed by sheer mass of numbers; then, direct relief, which was stretched to its limits, collapsed. One of the worst features of this relief was that it was financed by a "poor tax" which weighed most heavily on the proprietors, who in some places were taxed according to the number of tenants or subdivisions on their land. The natural result was that landlords evicted as many peasants as possible. One reaction among the Irish peasantry was to try and escape from the scene of this misery. By 1851, the population had dropped to 6.5 million, a loss of two million persons in six years. It is calculated that about one million died while another million emigrated. Thus was a pattern established that dominated Irish life for the next seventy years: leaving Ireland and making a fresh start in a new world. In the period 1841-1925, 4.75 million Irish left Ireland for the United States of America, 670,000 for Canada, and 370,000 for Australia. Among the latter were most of the Irishmen prospecting for gold on the West Coast in 1867. This stream of emigrants carried an ominous mental load with them.

Expressed in its simplest terms, this legacy was that the long-standing and deep-rooted hatred of the English connection was given not only a new intensity, but also a new dimension. It was not just that within the shores of Ireland the old bitterness of a depressed peasantry against an alien and often ruthless landlord class was reinforced by resentment towards a government which had shown itself manifestly inadequate... to contain the crisis unrolling before the eyes of its horrified and harassed officials. It was rather that this hatred, this bitterness, this resentment were carried overseas, and especially to America, by nearly four million Irish men, women and children who left their homeland, decade by decade and year by year.
in the half-century after the Famine. The political consequences of this unending exodus of a permanently antagonized population were literally incalculable, but the most fundamental effect is plain to be seen. With the establishment of strong Irish settlements in the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, as well as in Britain herself, the Irish question became and remained an international question.4

Throughout the century Irish nationalism at home expressed itself in three different outlets: armed revolution, mass agitation, and parliamentary pressure. "The Liberator", Daniel O'Connell, had won Catholic Emancipation in 1829 through a combination of the two latter forces. In 1840 he set himself a new goal when he established the National Repeal Association. He found unexpected support from three young men at Trinity College, Dublin—Thomas Davis, John Dillon, and Charles Gavan Duffy. Their publication of the newspaper the Nation in 1842 was one of the decisive steps in the formation of what was to be "the Young Irelanders". Differences gradually arose between this group and O'Connell mainly because the Young Irelanders pushed for an "open nationalism" that would join all creeds, races and classes within Ireland. This was unacceptable to O'Connell whose support had come almost entirely from the solidly Catholic peasantry. The Young Irelanders seceded to form the Irish Confederation in 1847. With the bitterness caused by the famine, and O'Connell's death the next year, the initiative passed to the Young Irelanders. Unfortunately there was a weakness within the movement that plagued virtually all Irish political movements for the next eighty years—a split, over, tactics among the leaders. James Duffy wanted a strong parliamentary party to push Ireland's case while James Fintan Lalor proposed direct action—either a general strike or a refusal to pay rents and the poor rates.

4. Ibid, p.4
In May 1848 the British government halted the debate by clapping all the Young Ireland leaders in gaol and by closing down the Nation. This led to an attempt at rebellion the next month but it was sporadic and ineffectual, and easily suppressed by local forces.\textsuperscript{5}

By 1852 it seemed, for perhaps the first time, that a united Irish parliamentary party was a real possibility. Irish parliamentarians had stood together in the blast of anti-popery that had swept England and its parliament upon Pope Pius IX's decision to re-erect the Roman Catholic hierarchy in England. However this seeming unity quickly dissolved when confronted with an issue and a personality that dominate this thesis.

The personality was Archbishop (later Cardinal) Paul Cullen, prelate of Dublin 1852-76, who was to be at the heart of the battles fought in the Irish Catholic Church in the next quarter century. The issue was the involvement of Catholic priests in political activities, a practice which Cullen tried to prevent for fear that the English parliament would re-enact the penal laws. This issue came to a head when Frederick Lucas, an English convert to Catholicism who founded a Catholic newspaper, the Tablet, in Dublin in 1849, appealed to Rome above the archbishop's head, in the hope that Rome would overrule the archbishop's veto on such political activity. This move alienated many of Lucas's clerical and lay supporters, and the idea of a united parliamentary party, which had also been espoused by the Tablet, gradually drifted into the background once again.

The dream of a revolutionary solution had not died with James Finton Lalor. It was to rise again in the most unlikely

\textsuperscript{5} Ibid, p. 93-101
of places— in Paris, where revolution still seethed after the abortive Commune of 1848. There a small group of men who had been deeply influenced by Young Ireland and especially by Lalor, schemed to cut the British connection by revolution. The two early figures who were key movers at this time were James Stephens and John O'Mahoney. In 1854 O'Mahoney went to New York; Stephens returned to Ireland in 1856; both intended to reconnoitre possible sources of strength for their revolutionary organization. On St Patrick's day 1858 Stephens launched the new secret society, later dubbed Fenian. Theoretically its organization was cellular so that the rank and file would know only the eight others in their "circle" and their immediate commander. In practice, this structure was never observed, so that the English government soon infiltrated the movement with informers who betrayed nearly all important moves into the hands of the authorities.

O'Mahoney began to recruit in America. The outbreak of the Civil War caused major delays but at its conclusion in 1864 he had at his disposal a large number of well trained and equipped Irishmen prepared to fight this time for their real homeland. Stephens's progress was more rapid. In Cork he discovered a thriving literary and political society— the Phoenix society— started by Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, that was avidly ready for his brand of nationalism. The betrayal of some members of this only gave the movement greater publicity. By 1863 the IRB (Irish Revolutionary or Republican Brotherhood) had begun to recruit vigorously. About this time it began to be denounced by various members of the Catholic hierarchy especially by Archbishop Cullen.6

It was condemned as atheistic and socialistic, but perhaps the Church's chief fear was the great power which could be exercised secretly over its members who took "the oath" with its challenge to divinely established authority:

I........... in the presence of almighty God do solemnly swear allegiance to the Irish Republic, now virtually established, and that I will do my utmost, at every risk while life lasts, to defend its independence and integrity; and finally that I will yield implicit obedience, in all things not contrary to the laws of God, to the commands of my superior officers. 7

The Fenian Society (as it was now called after the legendary warrior-class of the Celts, the Fianna) tried to counter these accusations through its own newspaper, the Irish People, which Stephens founded in November 1863. The effort to expound Fenian principles while keeping the organization secret was almost impossible and was one of the causes of a growing rift between Stephens and O'Mahoney. Before the two could coordinate plans for bringing the waiting arms and men from America the British authorities struck. On the night of 15 September 1865 all the Fenian leaders in Dublin, save Stephens, were captured. A desperate plan for armed revolt was conceived but Stephens did not think it could succeed so refused to act. In November Stephens himself was arrested and only a daring escape allowed him to retreat to America where he deposed O'Mahoney from his position.

One of the reasons for the delays in America had been a split within the local Fenians. One group, who resented O'Mahoney's autocratic leadership and who wished to have a senate as their governing body (hence called the "senate wing"), believed that intervention in Ireland was now impossible so hoped to provoke an international incident by an armed attack

across the Canadian border. Such a foray did take place in 1866 and was a debacle. Stephens himself was deposed and a group of Irish American leaders, the foremost of whom was Thomas J. Kelly, finally decided to act. On the night of 5-6 March 1867 groups of armed men turned out in Dublin, Cork, Tipperary, and Limerick, and to some extent in Clare, Waterford, and Louth. Their planning was minimal and was already well known to the authorities; they were easily rounded up with hardly a skirmish. Over 6,000 men may have been involved. Heavy sentences were handed out to these, although the death sentences for the leaders were commuted to long terms of exile and imprisonment. The Fenian uprisings were condemned by the Irish conservative journals, while Irish liberals and moderate nationalists showed little sympathy. The Catholic archbishop of Cashel, Dr. Leahy, addressed a pastoral letter to his people in which he described the risings as a cause of grief and shame, adding the prudential argument that it was better to use constitutional means rather than "an appeal to arms with the battle sure to go against us!" 

Some of the Irish Catholic hierarchy had already shown bitter opposition to the Fenian movement. As early as Lent 1859 Archbishop Cullen had condemned all secret societies, and warned that all Catholics belonging to them were solemnly excommunicated and could not receive absolution. Clearly this was an effort to stifle the growth of the Fenian movement.

9. Lyons, Ireland Since the Famine, p. 126
Then in November 1861 Cullen forbade the use of Dublin Cathedral for the lying-in-state of the Young Irelander, Terence McManus, who had died in America. Archbishop Hughes of New York had allowed St Patrick's Cathedral in New York to be used for a similar purpose and in his address had stated that the Church in some cases found it lawful to resist and overthrow a tyrannical government. There was a subtle difference however in that the Dublin demonstration was clearly arranged by a group of leading Fenian sympathisers, specifically as a nationalistic and anti-government rally. Some sympathy for the Fenian cause existed among the Irish hierarchy for at the actual burial, despite Cullen's obvious displeasure, the radical priest, Patrick Lavelle, who was a protege of John McHale, the archbishop of Tuam and the second most important figure in the Irish hierarchy after Cullen, gave an impromptu address by the graveside. Cullen's attitude towards Fenianism only hardened. In his pastoral letter of 10 October 1865 he denounced the Fenian Society as "a compound of folly and wickedness," warning the people against conspiring to overthrow the government.

The conflict within the Irish Catholic Church over attitudes to Fenianism was highlighted at the time of the execution of the "Manchester martyrs." After the abortive Fenian rising a number of leaders, including "Colonel" Thomas Kelly, and "Captain" Deasy had managed to escape to England. However both were picked up in a routine police check in Manchester on 11 September 1867. In a daring raid a number of their colleagues rescued them by ambushing the van in which they were being transported from one prison to another. In the process

12. Ibid, p. 314
13. Lyons, Ireland Since the Famine, p. 119
of trying to shoot out the lock an English policeman, Sergeant Brett, was accidentally shot. There was a massive search and wide arrests; twenty-six men were charged with various offences, and five others with murder. Their actions were condemned by most of the Irish hierarchy. After a trial marked by glaring confusions and inconsistencies in the evidence all five were found guilty of murder; it was then discovered that one of the accused could not possibly have even been in Manchester at the time while another was pardoned because of his American citizenship. Despite innumerable petitions from all sides for their pardon, the three Fenians—William Allen, Michael O'Brien, and Michael Larkin—were hanged outside Salford Gaol on 27 November 1867. They passed into history as the "Manchester Martyrs" and they passed into the hearts and memories of millions of Irishmen throughout the world as yet another symbol of English injustice and oppression.14

The trial, the severity of the sentences and the stubborn refusal to lighten them caused a growing groundswell of sympathy to roll out from Ireland to the rest of the Irish diaspora throughout the English-speaking world. Many Irish Catholic priests openly showed their sympathies. The cry of "amnesty for the Fenian prisoners" became a unifying motto for Irish nationalists everywhere and was a way of keeping the cause of republicanism burning in Irish minds even while the exploits of the Fenians might themselves be deplored. It was this subtle distinction, incomprehensible to many non-Irish minds, that was to be the central point at issue in the West Coast disturbances of 1868.

CHAPTER 111

FENIANISM AND THE GROWTH OF A YOUNG CHURCH

The "West Canterbury Goldfield" gazetted in proclamations of 2 and 4 March 1865, and its companion, the "Nelson South West Gold Field," established a few months later, added a unique component to the colony of New Zealand. In 1860 fewer than one hundred Maoris were settled there and only a handful of explorers had penetrated the region; yet by the census of April 1871 the four basically goldmining electorates of Buller, the Grey Valley, Hokitika and Totara contained a population of 23,767. What distinguished these communities was that they had been selected by no colonizing company, indeed by no other agent than the lure of gold. Most of the population came from either the Otago or Victorian and New South Wales goldfields, and a few had been in California before that. Between a third and a quarter of their number had been born in Ireland and of that group the vast majority (c. 90%) professed the Roman Catholic faith. These facts alone set them off from the bulk of their fellow colonists, for the percentage of Irish born and Roman Catholic in the colony as a whole was 11.60 and 13.89 respectively.

The southern section of the goldfields, the "West Canterbury Goldfield" extended from Big Bay in the south to the Grey and Arnold rivers just north of the new town of Greymouth, and was administered from the town of Hokitika. The northern part of the region— the "Nelson South West Goldfield"— belonged to the Province of Nelson. It stretched from the Grey to

1. New Zealand Census, 1871
This map, reproduced from P. May's (ed.), *Miners and Militants*, p. 35 shows:

A. Road boards and electoral districts established by the Amended County of Westland Act, 1868.

B. West Coast political boundaries, 1853-76.
A. Road boards and electoral districts under the amended County of Westland Act, 1868. The same boundaries served as the electoral districts for the Province of Westland.

B. West Coast political boundaries, 1853-76.
Karamea and was administered from the small settlement of Cobden, on the northern bank of the Grey river mouth, just opposite Greymouth. A separate goldfields administration, consisting of a Commissioner with various wardens working in different districts under him, was to survive the abolition of the provinces in 1876.

Estimating the population of the West Coast during the peak years of 1865-8 has not been easy. The rough canvas and shanty towns could blossom in a month and disappear just as quickly as the diggers moved from one worked-out claim or perhaps a "duffer" to another. To this easy mobility within Westland must be added the convenience of the sea link, especially to Australia. The long and arduous dray road from Christchurch to Hokitika was finally opened early in 1866, after much criticism from the inhabitants of Westland who rightly saw it as a Canterbury-inspired effort to draw some of the wealth of the new goldfields to the East. The number of miners using this road was but a trickle when we compare it to those passing through the port of Hokitika at this time. In the period 1865-70, 19,961 persons arrived on the West Coast directly from Australia and in the same period 12,693 also left the Coast for Australian ports. These factors make accurate estimates of population difficult. Estimates are commonly inflated. Using different sources, W. McCaskill and P.R. May obtained figures of just under 30,000 and just under 29,000 respectively, at the

time of peak population late in 1867.

Those who lived and worked among the West Coast miners were struck by their spirit of good-natured egalitarianism and open trust. Archdeacon Harper, the first Anglican minister in Hokitika, said of the diggers:

They are a class by themselves, lusty, powerful fellows given to occasional sprees, with something sailor-like in their comradeship, rowdy, but honest, and free from crime. Most of them seem to have travelled much, and they have a way of treating you on the equal standing of your manhood, as if class distinctions did not exist.\(^5\)

The archdeacon was surprised that the flimsy wooden banks seemed to be inviolate and that gold was left so openly in the miners' huts or simply dug into the floor.\(^6\) The latter practice also amazed Fr. Nicholas Binsfeld, a Marist priest from Luxemburg who began working among the miners, especially of the Waimea district, from April 1870 onwards. His words almost echo the archdeacon's and stress another facet of the group personality of the diggers, viz. their high standard of education.

Though they were a gathering of all nationalities they lived together in harmony, and entertained fellow feelings towards one another. The Russian Charley, the Norwegian Jensen and the German Michael felt themselves at home as much as Pat or Tommy Atkinson. They had an esprit de corps among themselves, they formed a class apart, of a fine lot of men, independent and proud of their position. All the rungs of Society had their representatives among them, from the nobleman, the university man, the clergyman down to the ordinary working man.

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6. Ibid, p. 106

\* Some of the French-speaking Marists began to learn English only on their arrival in New Zealand. This explains the awkward phrasing sometimes found in their letters and diaries.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Number Able to Read and Write</th>
<th>Number as a Percentage of the Province</th>
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<tr>
<td>Auckland</td>
<td>62,325</td>
<td>42,587</td>
<td>68.32</td>
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<td>Canterbury</td>
<td>46,801</td>
<td>31,329</td>
<td>66.94</td>
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<td>Nelson</td>
<td>22,501</td>
<td>17,761</td>
<td>74.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otago</td>
<td>60,722</td>
<td>42,208</td>
<td>69.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taranaki</td>
<td>4,480</td>
<td>3,158</td>
<td>70.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County of Westland</td>
<td>15,357</td>
<td>11,745</td>
<td>77.27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Numbers Able to Read and Write in Some N.Z. Provinces, 1871
What pleasant nights I spent among them when time allowed one to admit scholars to my hut and to hear quotations from Virgil, Horace, Homer, etc., longer and more varied than I could recite, or to hear them speak as learned men on a variety of interesting subjects.  

Some confirmation of these high educational standards is given by census returns in the field of literacy. In the 1871 census 11,745 out of 15,357 persons in Westland were listed as able to read and write, 77.27%. This was the highest figure in New Zealand, Nelson being second with 74.49%, whereas Canterbury was as low as 66.94%, as can be seen from Table 1 opposite. In 1868 the literacy figure was as high as 83.39%. The drop may be explained in the light of figures given by M. McCaskill.  

That a large number of Irish women emigrated from Victoria to the West Coast, 1867-70, is suggested by two sets of figures. The first, taken from census returns, shows that the imbalance of the sexes evident in 1867 had become less noticeable by 1871 e.g. whereas in Greymouth, Westport and Hokitika there had been 52.5 females to each 100 males in 1867, by 1871 the number of females had risen to 90. The second set of figures that suggests that many of these women were Irish-born comes from the numbers of female prisoners in the gaols at Hokitika and Westport. In 1867, of the women prisoners in both gaols, five were of English and five of Irish birth. By 1870, however, the numbers of English-born women had evened off at 18 whereas the numbers of Irish-born were still climbing steeply at 85. The literacy of these Irish women must have been less than that of their countrymen.

8. M. McCaskill, "The Historical Geography of Westland before 1914" (Thesis for Ph.D) 1960. (Canterbury University), Chap. 6, p. 31, 20.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Gallons Produced</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Gallons per head</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Auckland</td>
<td>781,596</td>
<td>62,335</td>
<td>12.54</td>
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<tr>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td>418,032</td>
<td>46,801</td>
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<td>Otago</td>
<td>1,755,579</td>
<td>60,722</td>
<td>28.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wellington</td>
<td>259,020</td>
<td>24,001</td>
<td>10.79</td>
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<tr>
<td>County of Westland</td>
<td>650,160</td>
<td>15,357</td>
<td>42.42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Gallons of beer produced in some N.Z. Provinces, 1871
Fr. Binsfeld noted some less admirable qualities of gold-miners— their incessant "rushing" and their drunkenness. Binsfeld's colleague, Fr. John Colomb, was a French Marist who arrived in Greymouth in May 1870. For the previous ten years he had been working among upper class Catholics in Romford, England. A zealous and conscientious man, he was appalled by the behaviour in the hotels and liquor booths of Greymouth, so gave a series of lectures on education, then on drunkenness. Fr. Binsfeld mentions his efforts to put a stop to the habit of "shouting," already a custom on the Coast. His brief ministry came to an end when he was drowned trying to ford the flooded Nelson Creek, just north of Greymouth, on 26 July 1871.

Once again the census returns of 1871 are able to confirm something of these social patterns. Table 2 shows the beer consumption per head in each of the provinces of New Zealand. It is true that Westland had the highest percentage of young men, i.e., 21-39 year olds, of any province—42.25% as compared to Nelson's 31.72%, and Otago's 28.26%. However its average production of 42.42 gallons of beer per head is not only noticeably higher than the rest of New Zealand but is almost five times the quantity drunk in neighbouring Canterbury. In 1868, of the 3160 criminal convictions brought by West Coast courts, 1069, or 33.8%, were on a charge of drunkenness. However by 1871 this figure had already dropped to 462 out of 1996 convictions, c.c. 23.15%, while in this same year convictions for drunkenness in Wellington numbered 179 out of 464, or 38.58%, so it is clear that this problem was not merely one limited to the West Coast.9

9. N.Z. Statistics, 1871
Frs. John Colomb and Emanuel Royer of Greymouth.

(Top). J. Colomb. Drowned after little over a year's ministry in New Zealand. 800 dippers left their claims to attend his funeral in Greymouth in July 1871.

(Bottom). E. Royer. The first parish priest of Greymouth, January 1866-January 1870. After his departure he went to the Dunedin diocese and died in Naseby, February 1875.
Also characteristic was the political apathy of the miners. Conradson gives an example of this in the Hokitika Council elections of 1868. Of the thousand or more diggers that he estimates as being eligible to be enrolled for the election, only 155 took the trouble to enroll. By the time of the election about 120 of these were still in the district, of whom about 80 voted— a turn out of 8%. The census of 1871 showed that for every 100 males over 21 there were 29.71 registered voters in Buller, 12.73 in the Grey Valley, 21.79 in Hokitika and 7.60 in Totara, whereas in some of the neighbouring South Island electorates there were 50.00 in Waimea, 52.67 in Collingwood and 34.90 in Cheviot. Miners were primarily concerned with good roading and bridging, better and safer access to the goldfields. In this they did not vary much from most other colonists since such local issues dominated colonial politics until the emergence of coherent parties in the 1890's. It is little surprise then that P.J. O'Farrell concludes that "radicalism in politics was practically non-existent on the Coast before 1900!"

1. The West Coast Irish.

Contemporaries often emphasized the Irish element on the goldfields. Archdeacon Harper, in his description of Okarito in April 1866, estimated that at the Five Mile there were "1,500 people, mostly Irish Catholics!" A.D. Dobson also mentions a large group of Irish settled about Canoe Creek late


Table 3. Birthplaces of N.Z. and Westland Populations, 1871.

Table 4. Birthplaces of N.Z. and Westland Populations, 1868.

From M. McCaskill, N.Z. Geographer, 1965, p. 41
in 1868. On his arrival in Greymouth Fr. Binsfeld estimated that about one third of the population were Irish. His estimate might be considered with some respect as at the same time he calculated the entire population of the county of Westland to be about 15,000 and the number of Catholics at 4,000. The official census of 1871 gave these figures as 15,357 and 4,376 respectively.

It is difficult to calculate exactly the number of Irish living on the West Coast goldfields at the peak period of 1868. This information becomes available in the 1871 census for the County of Westland when the distribution of population according to countries of origin, as recorded in Table 3, takes place. 22.75% of the population were born in Ireland but this was almost certainly a drop from the peak of 1868, assuming that many of the diggers who moved on to Coromandel or back to Australia in these three years were Irish. McCaskill has attempted to obtain an accurate figure for the whole of the Coast in 1868 by taking 1,587 hospital records at random. These record place of birth. From these records he calculates that in 1868 the Irish population of the Coast was about 32.5%, well above the national level of 12.5%. Of these the majority came from Southern Ireland and only about 10% from Northern Ireland. P.R. May, using different sources, arrives at a lower percentage, c. 26%. Binsfeld commented of these Irish miners:

It may be remarked here that the Irish miners in Westland in those days came from the well to do classes at home. Free emigration did not yet exist and each of them had to pay £40 as steerage passenger. Most

16. May, West Coast Gold Rushes, p. 327-9, and p. 556, notes 14, 15
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County of Westland</th>
<th>Colony of New Zealand</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>As a percentage of the general population</strong></td>
<td><strong>As a Percentage of the Roman Catholic population</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish-born</td>
<td>22.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholics</td>
<td>28.49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5. Percentages of Roman Catholics and Irish-born, in County of Westland and New Zealand, 1871
of them were sons of well to do farmers. "What an intelligent lot of men they are" was the remark made by almost every educated stranger who came into contact with them. The establishment of a school was found to be of immediate necessity; the people themselves asked for it, and they were quite ready to make themselves answerable for the teacher's salary which was £200 per annum, as far as I remember. This was done within a month after my arrival, and the children attended well from the beginning. 17.

The priest overlooks the fact that money sent back home probably helped further migrants to come to New Zealand but he knew his people well so his information about their social origins is still worth considering seriously.

That the vast majority of these Irish diggers were Roman Catholics is to be expected. This fact is suggested by the close correlation between the proportions of Irish-born to Catholics in the general population, then in the West Coast population, as can be seen in Table 5. Roman Catholic parish records give an even stronger confirmation. Unfortunately place of birth does not appear in parish records till 1880 when it was recorded in the marriage register. However from lists of names recorded in baptismal and confirmation registers the prevailing influence of Irish ancestry can clearly be seen. Two examples taken from the confirmation register of Westport record the confirmation of seven children by Bishop Redwood at Addison's Flat on 23 April 1879, and then of eighteen children again by Redwood at Addison's on 25 November 1882.* All twenty-five names are Irish. Irish names may not prove Irish nativity;


* The first list reads: Michael Kennedy, Johanna Elizabeth Kennedy, Marjorie Patricia Killen, Margaret Frances Killen, Elizabeth Catherine Killen, Ellen Josephine McRae, Bridget Catherine Maloney. The second list is: John Arthur O'Keefe, Eugene Joseph O'Keefe, John Arthur Kennedy, John Joseph Byrne, William James Galvin, William Gould, John Naylor, William Killen, Agnes Margaret McRae, Mary Agnes McEnroe, Teresa Bridget McRae, Helena O'Keefe, Ellen Teresa Galvin.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parish</th>
<th>Ahaura</th>
<th>Greymouth</th>
<th>Hokitika</th>
<th>Kumara</th>
<th>Reefton</th>
<th>Ross</th>
<th>Westport</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Years cove.</td>
<td>1873-1918</td>
<td>1879-1920</td>
<td>1873-1918</td>
<td>1879-1918</td>
<td>1879-1918</td>
<td>1873-1919</td>
<td>1879-1918</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Confirmed</td>
<td>659</td>
<td>1199</td>
<td>1092</td>
<td>946</td>
<td>935</td>
<td>575</td>
<td>1471</td>
<td>6877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish Names</td>
<td>619</td>
<td>983</td>
<td>941</td>
<td>770</td>
<td>759</td>
<td>539</td>
<td>1069</td>
<td>5680</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As a Percentage</td>
<td>93.9</td>
<td>82.0</td>
<td>82.6</td>
<td>81.4</td>
<td>81.1</td>
<td>92.0</td>
<td>72.7</td>
<td>87.72</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6. Irish Ancestry as Reflected in Roman Catholic Parish Records.
indeed many of the children in these lists were probably born in New Zealand; but their parents were probably born in Ireland, or their grandparents. Working from confirmation lists with names that show Irish ancestry it was possible to compile Table 6, which shows that out of 6877 confirmations recorded in the seven West Coast parishes, 5680, or 82.6% of those confirmed bore Irish names.\* It is clear then why the terms "Irish" and "Catholic" were virtually synonymous during the gold rush and for long after most of the diggers had departed.

How much did events in Ireland, thousands of miles away, mean to these men who had come to wrest a new life out of the mud, shingle and sand of Westland's gullies and beaches? It is clear that the Irish diggers were well aware of what was happening at home. If they were well-educated men, as contemporaries testify, then many letters must have flowed to and from numerous relations still in Ireland. The English papers that were the staple diet of many colonials would have been eagerly perused at Hokitika and Greymouth for news of Ireland. Much closer to hand was the strongly nationalistic *Freeman's Journal* printed in Sydney. A detective in the New South Wales police reported how the *Freeman's* office seemed to be the first call made by many Irishmen returning from the West Coast.\* With so many diggers making the trip between Australia and New Zealand verbal accounts of the events in Ireland must also have spread

\* The correct figure may be even slightly higher than this. While inspecting headstones in West Coast cemeteries I discovered several names that were Irish in origin which I had not suspected of being so e.g. Brazil, Disney, Shine.

18. P. Haydon, "A Memo for Information of Deputy Inspector General" in Correspondence Received, Special Bundle, 4/768/, Fenian Conspiracy to Assassinate Duke of Edinburgh 1868.
rapidly. This can be seen from the fact that in 1866 "Fenian-ism" was reported in Okarito while a considerable sum of money (£243.8/-) was sent to the Ladies' Committee in Dublin in response to an appeal for the Fenian prisoners. In the same place mention is also made of Fenian agents attempting to recruit in Hokitika, offering free passages to any men prepared to serve.

Another interesting link can be seen in the case of John Boyle O'Reilly, the famous nationalist poet who had been exiled to Western Australia. As part of a general agitation to have him freed a number of Irish diggers in Charleston joined together to form a Fenian society but when they discovered that the Fenians had been condemned by the Church as a secret society and that members would be refused the sacraments they decided that they would instead set up a branch of the Hibernian Society which was then beginning to establish itself in Victoria. O'Reilly was released from detention in 1869 and Paris, in his history of Charleston, claims that he actually settled in Addison's Flat during this year. It is impossible to verify this claim, but it does seem unlikely. O'Reilly spent most of the latter years of his life in the United States of America.

2. The Irish "Troubles" Come to the Coast.

There had been a few signs of conflict between the Irish and other groups on the Coast before 1868. May mentions a skirmish at Okarito in November 1865 and a slightly more serious fight at Ahaura in March 1867 which arose from "a long standing

19. May, West Coast Gold Rushes, p. 308
20. Grey River Argus, 9 Feb 1867
21. Greymouth Evening Star, 17 May 1869
feud between the English and Irish denizens." However after
the arrival of the warden the next day, and the departure of the
ringleaders to prison in Grey Mouth to cool down there, no
further conflict seemed to occur. Given the very heterogeneous
mixture of racial backgrounds on the diggings it is perhaps
remarkable that so little strife did occur in those first two
or three years.

The first rumblings of approaching thunder were heard
within the Catholic community itself in Hokitika. By December
1867 Hokitika, with its population of 4,866, had become the
largest centre on the West Coast goldfields. Its busy harb-
our made it the commercial centre for the three major goldfie-
lds of the day—Waimea, Totara, and Kaniere. It quickly beca-
me the administrative centre as well, with the Goldfields Com-
missioner, George S. Sale, settling there as early as March
1865. It is impossible to give an accurate estimate of the
racial composition of Hokitika but it seems probable that the
large wholesale merchants and commission agents of Hokitika
were mainly of English, Scottish or German extraction while the
small storekeepers and miners of the Waimea diggings were mai-
nly Irish Catholics.

This is partly confirmed by church records. In 118 of
the 136 marriages recorded in the Catholic marriage register
at Hokitika from October 1865 to December 1868 both partners
had Irish names and the vast bulk of these marriages took place

23. Grey River Argus, 5 Mar 1867, in May, West Coast Gold
Rushes, p. 308
24. New Zealand Statistics, 1867
25. P.R. May, "Politics and Gold: The Separation of Westland,
1865-7," in P.R. May (ed.), Miners and Militants,
(Christchurch 1975), p. 6
26. B. Conradson, "Politics and Penury: County and Province,
1868-76, in P.R. May (ed.), Miners and
Militants, p. 32; cf. footnote also.
Early Waimea. The first Catholic Church, built by Fr. Larkin, can be seen to the right.

(From P.R. May, *West Coast Gold Rushes*).
either in Waimea or Kaniere. In these same years, of the three priests originally resident in Hokitika, one curate was sent to reside at Waimea and another to Ross, to be available to the large Catholic population there. Churches were built in both places.

The dramatis personae of the conflict within the Catholic clergy played out in Hokitika in 1867 are all fascinating characters and it is tragic that so little is known of them. All four of them—Frs. John McGirr, Stephen McDonough, William Larkin, and P. Golden—were born in Ireland and were secular priests. It is known that the first three had worked in the goldfields in Australia, McGirr in Victoria, and McDonough and Larkin in Queensland, and all answered Bishop Viard's call for volunteers to work in the New Zealand goldfields. The oldest of the group was Fr. John McGirr whom Archdeacon Harper described as "an elderly Irish gentleman, of varied experience in Australia, and racy of speech." In his younger days he had been chaplain to the 18th Royal Irish regiment in India, and in Hokitika was a member of the Town Improvement Committee. With the arrival of Frs. McDonough and Larkin at the beginning of 1867 a new style of Irish priest with a far more aggressive type of Catholicism than the French Marists had entered the New Zealand scene. Stephen Henry McDonough had been born in Scariff, County Clare, in 1838 and was only 29 when he came to Hokitika. He had been trained at All Hallows Missionary Seminary in Dublin and had been ordained as a member of the Brisbane diocese, as had his fellow priest, William Joseph Larkin.

Fr. William Joseph Larkin. His suspension by Bishop Viard in April 1868 caused friction between the French clergy and Irish diggers for some years. It is thought that Larkin returned to Australia after his departure from Tuapeka in 1877.
Larkin's birthplace is still debated. Contemporary pictures and descriptions show him also as a young man. He may possibly have known McDonough in Ireland and would certainly have known him in Brisbane. Of the fourth member of the group, the impression is that a deliberate pall of silence has been allowed to settle on his memory.

McDonough's first commission was to come to the Coast to collect funds for Bishop Viard's cathedral, being built in Wellington. His method of doing so must have caused a clash with Fr. Emanuel Royer, the first resident priest in Greymouth. Royer was a Frenchman who had volunteered to come out to New Zealand in December 1860 while he was still a theological student, to join Bishop Pompallier, the first Catholic bishop, in Auckland. He had worked in Tauranga in 1863; then, as Pompallier was not satisfied with him and wished to send him back to France, he had applied to and been accepted by Viard in Wellington. This note of discord between French and Irish clergy as exemplified in Frs. Royer and McDonough, was later to develop into a minor, but persistent theme, for much of the rest of the century.

Whatever the exact cause of the dispute, it eventuated in McDonough's being summoned to Wellington in January 1867 to be admonished by Viard. Further conflict must also have broken out in Hokitika at the same time, as Frs. McGirr, Royer and Larkin were likewise called to Wellington in February. It seems very likely that it was different attitudes to the contemporary Fenian disturbances in America and Ireland that was at the heart

30. Keys, "Philip Viard", Manuscript Text, p. 365. (The manuscript text of Keys' biography is much fuller than the abridged published work. This manuscript is held in the Wellington Catholic Archdiocesan Archives, and will be referred to as Keys, MS, when material not in the published work is quoted).
of the problem. Hints of this are given in a letter that McDonough wrote to Bishop Viard shortly before his dismissal from the diocese in June 1868, in which he claims that all Viard was hearing from Hokitika were misleading reports sent in by the government officials who were "Father McGirr's bosom friends and great companions." 31

While these clergy were in Wellington Fr. Golden was in Hokitika, leaving his own station at Ross to help out there. He too must have become quickly embroiled in the debate as he was summoned to Wellington with McGirr and Larkin at the end of April. 32 Viard must have decided that the clash of personalities was irreconciliable so tried to resolve the problem in the following manner. Early in May the West Coast Times carried the following notice:

Wellington, May 1st, 1867. The Revs. McGirr, Larkin and McDonough will be replaced at Hokitika by the Rev. Frs. Hallum and Golden. They are allowed one fortnight for their removal. Rev. Fr. McGirr is appointed to a mission north of Greymouth, and the two latter gentlemen will continue the collection. Signed: Philip Joseph Viard, Bishop of Wellington. 33

Before this arrangement could take effect, however, another incident occurred. On 12 May Fr. McGirr was involved in a violent argument with B. Hamill, the teacher at the local Catholic school, and this ended in a court appearance for McGirr the next day. This was obviously the last straw for the elderly priest and he must have written to his bishop resigning from the diocese altogether for on 1 June Viard replied accepting his offer to leave the Coast and go to Melbourne, though Viard

31. McDonough to Viard, n.d., in Marist Messenger, June 1944, p. 17
32. Keys, Philip Viard, p. 203
33. Ibid, p. 203
said that he regretted the decision and would be glad to re-
ceive him back again if circumstances were different. Not ti-
l1 April of the next year did McGirr finally depart. As part
of the same arrangement Fr. Larkin was sent in mid-June to Wa-
imea. Obviously the affair had still not been fully resolved
as Viard suspended McDonough in August though he received a te-
mporary reprieve almost immediately from Fr. J.B. Petitjean S.M.
who acted as Viard's Vicar-General in Wellington while the
bishop returned to Europe to try and recruit more priests and
seminarians for his growing diocese. It is at this time that
Fr. Golden seems to make a complete disappearance. That he too
was suspended seems likely in the light of events in March of
the next year.

The last odd note in this whole affair occurred shortly
before Fr. McGirr's departure in early April 1868. The West
Coast Times of 8 April reported a public meeting at the Duke of
Edinburgh theatre in Hokitika with the express intention of co-
lecting subscriptions for a testimonial to Fr. McGirr who was
to leave for Melbourne on the Gothenburg the next day. In his
speech councillor Bright expressed "his admiration of Fr. McGirr
as a Christian pastor." The testimonial that was presented to
the departing priest spoke in even more glowing terms;

During the time of your residence in West-
land, your courteous demeanour and Catholic
spirit tended greatly to promote the relig-
ious harmony which happily prevailed amongst
a people whose privilege it was to live under
equal laws and amongst whom no differences
ever arose on the grounds of religious faith.

* An ecclesiastic having some of the disciplinary and
administrative powers of a bishop.

34. West Coast Times, (henceforth W.C.T), 8 Apr 1868, p. 2
What gives these words real pungency is the fact that when they were recited, less than half a mile away in the lock-up in Hokitika, awaiting trial on a charge of sedition for which he had been arrested two weeks previously, was Fr. McGirr's colleague and former curate, William Joseph Larkin.

Another element that was to add fuel to the potential explosion was the publication in Hokitika of a strongly Irish nationalist newspaper called the New Zealand Celt. Unfortunately only a few copies have survived, and its short-lived existence (from 20 August 1867 to sometime late in 1868) makes it difficult to give an overall assessment of its impact free from the violent reaction of the West Coast Times and its proprietor, William Shaw. The weekly magazine was launched jointly by Fr. Larkin and John Manning. From depositions taken as evidence to be used in the state trials it appears that Larkin wrote occasional copy for the paper, and sometimes did a little proof reading, but by agreement his name was not put on the imprint because of his priestly position. On the other hand Manning was no stranger to this sort of journalism. He had been on the staff of the Ballarat Times and had been sufficiently involved in the events leading up to the Eureka Stockade (December 1854) to face trial for treason in Melbourne in February 1855.

All these tensions were brought to a head upon the arrival in February 1868, of the news of the execution of the "Manchester Martyrs". The first reaction was in the heavily Irish

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35. Ibid, 6 Apr 1868, p. 3
36. Ibid, 9 Apr 1868, p. 2, also Conradson, Miners and Militants, editor's footnote, p. 31
settlement of Charleston, a little south of Westport. A public meeting was called at the Belle de Union Hotel at which the Irish established a Relief Fund Committee on 13 or 14 February 1868. It was this committee that instigated the idea of a commemorative funeral procession to be held on the sixteenth.

The N.Z. Celt of that week gave an enthusiastic account of the procession to the cemetery where Fr. Hallum prayed for the souls of the "martyred brave" and a funeral oration was delivered. Elsie Locke's account of this procession adds the embellishments of muffled drum beats, and banners showing Erin as a woman in chains.*

Hokitika was only slightly behind Charleston, setting up its own relief fund on 19 February 1868, and holding its procession on 8 March. The Hokitika Irish community's personal inspiration was the decision to place a commemorative Celtic cross in the public cemetery as the climax of their funeral service. They applied to the Municipal Council for permission.

When the West Coast Times carried the report of the Charleston service and the decision to hold a similar service in Hokitika, its reaction was not overly hostile but the paper hoped that the occasion would be a religious rather than a political one, and regretted the petition to plant the cross as it saw this as a political act in a reserve set aside for religious purposes. On 6 March the council met and turned down the request 5-4.

This famous procession has been described in a large

37. N.Z. Celt, 21 Feb 1868.

* She also states that a thousand marched in the procession. As the peak population of Charleston in 1868 reached only 1,800 (McCaskill "Gold Rush Population", p. 46), this is possible but not likely. Her details are highly reminiscent of later processions, so it is possible that her account is garnished. (E. Locke, "Grandfather's Irish Riot," Islands, vol. 2, (Dunedin 1973), p. 400

38. Ibid, 21 Feb 1868

39. W.C.T. 4 Mar 1868
The Hokitika Fenian Procession. The original painting was made by a Hokitika artist, Patrick Lysaght, in 1868, and copies were lithographed for the Hokitika Evening Star that year. The painting is now in the possession of the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.
number of different accounts, with varying degrees of accuracy.

The Hokitika and Ross contingents assembled at 10 a.m. in North Revell Street, opposite the Celt office. Several marshalls, including a publican, William Melody, were on hand to assist. The Times estimated that about 170-200 persons were assembled at this time. The contingent marched north to the Arahura River where it met the group from Waimea led by Fr. Larkin. The entire body, now 800 strong (according to the Times), returned to Hokitika about 3 p.m then continued to the cemetery which it reached at 4 p.m. Many in the procession had now walked 14 miles. Two leaders, later identified in the court sessions as William Melody and James Clarke, a storekeeper from Waimea, went ahead to open the cemetery gates which had been locked by the Municipal Council. They did not need to break open the lock because somebody already inside the fence showed how the entire gate could be lifted from its hinges. When the body of the procession reached the cemetery it was headed by the memorial cross, three vested choristers, then Fr. Larkin, in full canonicals, reciting the burial service in Latin. Many in the procession carried banners and on these were such inscriptions as "Allen, Larkin, O'Brien. God save Ireland! "Tis treason to love her and death to defend!" Green silk and green ribbons were the favoured materials for these banners. Fr. Larkin led the crowd in prayer then, because the chosen orator had sunk exhausted somewhere along the route, he addressed a few spontaneous remarks to the people reminding them of Ireland's grievances and of the courage shown by the three martyrs.


41. W.C.T, 9 Mar 1868
After this the memorial cross was solemnly placed at the head of the grave. The inscription on it read.

I. H. S.

ERECTED

By the inhabitants of Waimea and Stafford
Town in loving memory
of the Irish Patriots.
William Allen, Michael O'Brien, and Michael Larkin who were executed at Manchester and buried in the yard of the New Bailey Prison, Salford.

Nov. 27, 1867.
REQUIESCANT IN PACE
GOD SAVE IRELAND.

The crowd then quietly disbanded.

The procession of the Irish diggers from Addison's Flat followed much the same pattern. A meeting in the bar-room of the Daniel O'Connell hotel passed the following motions:

That this meeting deeply sympathizes with the relatives of the deceased patriots, Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien, and most emphatically condemns the vindictive action of the English Government in executing them for a political offence. That steps be taken to collect funds for the support of the widows and orphans of the Irish patriots who took an active part in the movement for the freedom of their country. That a funeral procession be formed on the 17th inst. to honour the memory of the brave patriots who were executed at Manchester.42

Locke's narrative describes how the processionists, dressed in green and numbering 546 in all, left Addison's, went to the new Catholic Church in Westport where they sang parts of Mozart's Twelfth Mass, then later in the afternoon processed silently through the cemetery. Outside the cemetery speeches were made including some particularly inflammatory ones by Messrs Williams and John Clune and Dr. Donovan.43

42. Westport Times, 13 Mar 1868, in Locke, p. 400
43. Locke, "Irish Riot," p. 401
This is confirmed in the official report of T.A.S. Kynnersley, the chief warden of the Nelson South West Goldfield except that his estimation of the number involved was 600-700 men.*

3. The Anti-Irish Reaction.

If the colony's newspapers are any indication, by the beginning of 1868 much of the non-Irish section of New Zealand's population had lost any initial sympathy it may have had for the Fenian cause. The forays into Canada in 1866, the abortive rising in 1867 and the killing of Sergeant Brett were capped in December 1867 by an attempt to release some Fenian prisoners from Clerkenwell Prison in London by blowing a hole in the wall. The explosion killed twenty and injured about a hundred passers-by. This unsympathetic feeling is well reflected in an extract from the Nelson Examiner:

As to the Fenian movement itself, the time for argument and leniency seems to have gone by. That Ireland has suffered and does suffer from British misgovernment, we dare not deny, but there is no remedy, or prospect of remedy, for these evils in Fenianism.44

This concern about Fenianism is shown by the fact that the Hokitika procession was reported right throughout the colony. On the Coast itself, however, the initial reaction was subdued. The first comment of that most bitter foe of Fenianism, the West Coast Times, was one of surprise at the smallness of the numbers who took part:

The display was conducive as to the real measure of Fenianism on the West Coast. We do not deny that a greater and more impressive manifestation of sympathy with the Irish "patriots" might have been got up under better auspices.

* See Appendix A, p. 226

But the simple fact is before us that Mr John Manning and the Rev. Father Larkin have however succeeded in bringing only seven hundred and fifty men into the field.\textsuperscript{45}

The Celt, in its description, had claimed that two thousand had taken part in the procession, so the Times' nonchalant tone can easily be interpreted as an effort to downplay the significance of the event.

At this time a volunteer force was being established in Hokitika, as in many other parts of New Zealand. The initiative for this had come from the British under-secretary for the Colonies, Lord Buckingham, who had called upon the English colonies to take a far greater part in their own defence. The Times was quick to stifle the suggestion that the force might be needed because of the potential threat that Fenianism represented to law and order in New Zealand, and hoped that when it was established in Hokitika the force would be made up of all the different nationalities to be found on the goldfields.\textsuperscript{46}

This attitude of superior restraint was shattered virtually overnight by a piece of news that reached New Zealand on 20 March. Somebody had attempted to assassinate Queen Victoria's son, Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh, shooting him in the back while he was attending a fair at Clontarf, Sydney, as part of his state tour of Australia and New Zealand. The first sensational news was quickly followed by further details from Australia which told that the attempted assassin, Henry James O'Farrell, was Irish, had studied for the priesthood in a Roman Catholic seminary, and had shown Fenian sympathies. The facts that emerged at O'Farrell's trial— that he was only five months

\textsuperscript{45} W.C.T., 9 Mar 1868

\textsuperscript{46} Ibid, 13 Mar 1868
old when he came to Australia and that insanity had been present in his family (indeed he himself had been treated for it in his youth) - were quickly glossed over.\(^47\)

Public expressions of outraged loyalty and detestation of the Fenian movement came thick and fast. A public meeting was held in Hokitika which allowed prominent citizens to express their personal loyalty. Most reserved their ire for the traitorous Fenians overseas but it was already clear from a few speeches that John Manning and Fr. Larkin were being regarded with great suspicion and hostility as a manifestation of the Fenian spirit within the local community.\(^48\) The day after the meeting the Mayor, William Shaw (also proprietor of the Times), and several members of the Municipal Council asked J.A. Bonar, the Chairman of the County Council, to swear in a large number of special constables. Eight hundred were finally enlisted. Through the Times Shaw prophesied that "if the people did not crush Fenianism, Fenianism would crush the people."\(^49\)

It now seems extraordinarily difficult to understand the degree of panic that was to grip officials and various sections of the Coast community over the next two months. Perhaps some of it can be explained by the fact that the Irish were such an evident minority in their midst. Again, since the Irish had been able to engineer risings in Canada, and then in Ireland under the vigilant eyes of the British forces surely they could do so in New Zealand? So the argument went. It must also be remembered that the colonists had been conscious of their vulnerability and the need for British military help during the


\(^{48}\) *W.C.T*, 26 Mar 1868

\(^{49}\) Ibid, 27 Mar 1868
Anglo-Maori Wars. Now that Lord Buckingham and the British Government were keen to withdraw Imperial forces it was very easy to affirm ones loyalty and sense of dependence on the British presence and connection. At least one author considers that the colonial authorities deliberately magnified the Fenian scare in an effort to keep the Imperial troops in New Zealand.50

Another factor that must be considered is contemporary British attitudes towards the Irish. In a new world where so many of the standards of polite English society had ceased to matter, a world where the key quality was the strength and willingness of your mate to build races and shovel auriferous gravels, it was easy to forget the debates of the old world. The fact that he spoke with a different accent and worshipped a different God was of little significance. Where, however, an issue such as Fenianism arose, which challenged the colony's security and pride, it was a different matter; then, the stubbornness of the Irishman to accept the obvious need to crush Fenianism made it so easy, in ones frustration, to fall back on all the prejudices and attitudes of that old world, that were lying just beneath the skin. Rose expresses this idea well when he explains how English attitudes to Fenianism were simply a stronger expression of their general feeling towards the Irish:

It is perhaps difficult today- unless one looks at the situation in Ulster- to grasp the depth of anti-Irish feeling among many sections of English society from Queen Victoria down to peniless labourers or unemployed. Contempt, fear and hatred were emotions that guided the actions of governments and brutalised mobs alike. The attitude, while having a basis in the cry of "No Popery", was akin to racialism. Not for nothing was Lord Salisbury at a meeting four years later to proclaim in all seriousness that "you would not confide free representative institutions to Hottentots for example" in a

clear reference to Ireland. To his ilk, democratic institutions worked admirably when "confided to people who are of teutonic race".

L.P. Curtis, in his study of anti-Irish prejudice in Victorian England, notes that these attitudes were particularly strong among the English governing classes, and were commonly found in such newspapers as the Times and the Morning Post which were their favoured reading. The most common stereotypes concerned themselves with the Irishman's supposed unreliability, emotional instability and mental disequilibrium. He was pictured as rushing between the different emotional extremes of mood and behaviour. Because of these supposed traits, in dealing with the Irish, one was always advised to be aware of just how untrustworthy and dishonest they were.

Returning to the events in Hokitika, we find that local feeling against Fenianism, regardless of motivation, grew so strong that the authorities felt they must take some action. At the dead of night, heavily armed detachments accompanied Thomas Brohan, the inspector of police, to Waimea, that "centre of Fenianism" to bring back James Clarke, the storekeeper who was also one of the Waimea diggers' representatives on the County Council. Larkin and Manning were also arrested with great stealth and elaborate precaution. The local authorities even managed to convey their sense of panic to the central government with such effect that the newly arrived governor of

51. Rose, Manchester Martyrs, p. 54

52. L.P. Curtis, Anglo-Saxons and Celts, (Berkeley 1968), p. 50-6

An attempt to capture these attitudes in a New Zealand setting can be found in the novels of Dan Davin e.g. in No Remittance, the English migrant who is the leading character in the novel, describes his stereotyped picture of the Irish. (D. Davin, No Remittance, (London 1959), p. 54-5).

53. W.C.T, 30 Mar. 1868
the colony, George Bowen, sent a detachment of the 18th Regiment by sea from Wellington to strengthen the local forces. On 27 March Larkin, Manning, Clarke, Barrett and Melody appeared before the Resident Magistrate, G.G. FitzGerald. All of them were committed to stand trial in a Supreme Court session, on the charge of "riot", while Manning and Larkin faced the additional charge of "seditious libel" as joint editors of the New Zealand Celt.

Before the state trials took place, however, the Coast was again to be rocked by a display of sectarian passions that could have ended at least in a savage brawl and at worst in an all out racial war. While most physical violence was adroitly turned aside by the coolness of the Nelson South West Goldfield's Chief Warden, a bitter battle of words was joined by several West Coast newspapers, the two protagonists being the New Zealand Celt and the Westport Times.

Of all the examples of West Coast "folk-lore" the story of the "Addison's Riot" is perhaps the most colourful. MacDonald's description of the warden, Kynnersley, famous for "quelling, single handed, the Fenian riot which flared up at Addison's Flat in April 1868," is perhaps the most subdued statement. Faris's account, which has been repeated in numerous magazine and booklet articles, depicts Kynnersley standing on a rock in a swamp outside Westport restoring order as the Orange and Irishmen slogged it out, hand to hand, in the mud. Other accounts are even more dramatic. To then read Kynnersley's official report is an anticlimax. His prose, very forceful on

55. Faris, Charleston, p. 98
56. e.g. M. Tracy, West Coast Yesterdays,(Wellington 1960), p. 168-9
occasion, is yet so reasoned and dispassionate as to seem almost languid; indeed, the balance and structure of his sentences betray a man of extensive learning in letters. At the time the chief warden was only 29, having retired from his rank of Lieutenant in the Royal Navy because of ill-health that was to lead to his death six years later. The report itself captures so well much of the panic and sectarian feeling of the incident that it is reproduced in full in Appendix A; p. 226. Even before the events described in the report, Kynnersley had revealed his strong liberal tendencies in his address to the Westport volunteers at their inaugural meeting:

> We are living in a free country, where no distinctions of party, race or creed whatever are taken notice of, as they are in the old country, and any attempt to engender party feeling should be discountenanced... By a free country I mean a country in which a man may think, act, or do as he pleases, as long as he respects the law, and if people are not allowed to hold meetings and wear what colour ribbons they think fit, it ceases to be a free country... Whatever country we come from we are now New Zealanders. 57

Kynnersley showed his belief in these principles during the series of incidents which began on 2 April when a group of 169 people left Addison's carrying a huge British standard with a crown of flowers and foliage to join the festivities in Westport, called to celebrate the Duke of Edinburgh's escape from the assassination attempt. They returned next morning but as they entered Addison's it was clear that subtle changes had taken place. The procession was led by a woman on a white horse (apparently Prince William of Orange had ridden a white horse at the Battle of the Boyne) and the marchers were singing an insulting refrain to the loyal song, "The Red, White and Blue". In the daylight it could be seen that the loyal banner had an orange base to it. These provocations were immediately accepted by the Irish standing by and the procession was attacked

with stones and fists, and rapidly broken up. Some of those who fled returned immediately to Westport where they announced that the loyalist procession had been attacked and a riot had taken place. Kynnersley asked the Magistrate to swear in special constables and to await his orders, while he rode over to Addison's. There he found the township still excited but no sign of disorderly behaviour. After finding out what had happened the Commissioner sent a despatch rider to Westport, telling the Magistrate that no further forces were needed and that no government action was to be initiated. The next day Kynnersley returned to Westport to find that a group of locals, reinforced by miners from outlying terraces, waited to march to Addison's to take vengeance for the supposed assaults—now highly magnified. Kynnersley insisted that there be no such confrontation and that all complaints were to be laid formally in the court. On the evening of Saturday 11 April the Commissioner addressed a meeting of all the inhabitants at the Daniel O'Connell hotel in Addison's, when unanimous motions of loyalty to the Crown and reestablishment of an honorable peace were passed. In Westport ill feeling was still being whipped up particularly by the Westport Times which depicted Addison's Flat as being held in the grip of terror and intimidation. At the same time the steamer Bruce arrived from Hokitika with forty of the armed constabulary on board. Kynnersley took their commander, Captain Cumming, on a tour of Addison's and the detachment promptly steamed back to Hokitika convinced their presence was unnecessary, despite a deputation from a public meeting at Westport asking them to remain.

58. Locke, "Irish Riot," p. 403
In his report Kynnersley certainly downplays the extent of the conflict but clearly he was not blind to what could have happened:

... a scene of bloodshed which, in a few days, would have spread from one end of the Coast to the other, and caused a war of races, which, although there could be no doubt as to the ultimate result, would in the meantime have desolated these thriving settlements, and produced effects of which New Zealand would not have seen the end for years.

Perhaps the chief warden takes too seriously the colourful rhetoric of a colourful group of men but even in the last ten years there have been many instances in North America and Ulster to show how easily local disturbances create major confrontations where there is a well established pattern of intolerance, either racial or religious. Certainly Kynnersley's level-headed actions were a large factor in defusing the situation while other forces were urging on the confrontation. In his report Kynnersley singled out the Westport Times as an instigator of the trouble by its reporting of the anti-Irish speeches at the loyalty rally in Westport on 2 April. It was the reading of these speeches that had already angered the Irish in Addison's just prior to the return of the processionists. And it was the Times which kept the pot boiling by reports such as this:

The disaffection is not only widespread but deep-seated, and depend upon it, if ultimate quietude is to be acquired, the only policy open to the Government here is to arrest at once, not only the participators in the last outrage at Addison's, but every man, who either by word or deed has openly taken the side of the Fenian faction. No temporary measures can ever be of service with treasonable traitors, the strong arm of the law must be brought to bear upon them, and although a war of races is to be regretted and to be condemned unless inevitable, the Government have no other choice before them than to deal such measures towards Fenians here as will crush them in the bud, and if force is necessary force must be used; if arms are necessary they too must be brought out; and if the loyal display of the inhabitants of Westport and Caledonian Terraces means anything, and we do not doubt it, true and loyal men will be found who, at all sacrifice will be ready to uphold the Cons-
titution, and furnish with their righteous
desserts; the sympathisers and participators
in Fenianism, whose acts are nothing but
sedition, cowardly violence, and assassina-
tion. 59

Needless to say the Westport Times dissented violently
from Kynnersley's handling of the affair, especially his deci-
sion to send the armed constabulary back to Hokitika. It went
on to claim that a "reign of terror" prevailed at Addison's, th-
at Kynnersley was pandering to faction for the sake of his own
popularity, and that "he that is not with us is against us". 60

After Kynnersley's report was published he was warmly
supported by the New Zealand Celt (as was to be expected), the
Grey River Argus, and the Hokitika Evening Star, but the West
Coast Times also joined in loud denunciations of his actions.
Political and personal considerations were clearly involved he-
re; Hokitika and Greymouth were feuding over the composition of
the County Council and were not likely to agree on anything, the
Star and the Times were competing for readers, while the editor
of the Westport Times had apparently had a personal difference
with Kynnersley which had resulted in one of its writers being
horsewhipped by Kynnersley after he had published some ungrac-
ious reference to the Commissioner's female company. 61 Allegat-
ions such as Kynnersley's "tacit connivance with Fenianism", 62
caus ed the government to appoint a commission to investigate his

59. Westport Times, 6 Apr 1868, reprinted in W.C.T, 8 Apr 1868
60. Westport Times, 14 Apr 1868
61. May, West Coast Gold Rushes, p. 270-1
62. W.C.T, 23 Apr 1868
handling of the affair. This Commission of Enquiry not only exonerated the chief warden but also commended him for showing coolness and judgment under difficult circumstances. 63

Stimulated by this controversy, the battle between the West Coast Times and the New Zealand Celt, which had been simmering ever since the first issue of the Celt, now reached a white hot heat as preparations for the state trial were made.

William Shaw had been one of three partners who founded the Times in May 1865. In 1867 he became Mayor of Hokitika, and was also a member of the County Council. The two newspapers were competing for readers, they had crossed swords over the issue of permission to use the cemetery for the erection of the memorial cross, and it is likely that the antagonism between the Hokitika members of the County Council and the goldfield's representatives (usually Irishmen such as James Clarke or Edmond Barff) also played a part in Shaw's hostility to the Celt. 64 The Times's editor was Thomas Bright but Shaw probably wrote some of the editorials himself. Whatever the reason, Shaw seemed to consider it his personal task to stamp out Fenianism in the West Coast goldfields. He accused Larkin and Manning of printing and fomenting deliberate dissenion. 65

The Celt was just as acrimonious in the tone of its replies. It said of Shaw and the other four councillors who voted against the Irishmen's use of the cemetery: "blinded with bigotry and mad with rage these five miserable firebrands are

63. Commission of Enquiry's Report into the Conduct of Mr Commissioner Kynnersley, 15 August 1868, Files of the Colonial Secretary, C368/2382, National Archives, Wellington.
64. Conradson, Miners and Militants, p. 32
65. W.C.T, 7-9 Mar, 27 Apr 1868
The feud over the cemetery continued after the procession. The cross had been removed, then re-erected, and the Council had voted to have it removed again; groups of Irish were guarding it. When a local lawyer disputed and seemed to show that the Council did not have jurisdiction over the land containing the cemetery, the *Celt* was jubilant and predicted that the Mayor and the councillors would now be totally powerless to have the cross removed. 67

In its counter-attacks the *Times* kept constantly coming back to Larkin and Manning, blaming them for all the dissension that now tore the community apart:

The Rev. Father Larkin (sic) is a clergyman who has not come to the West Coast of New Zealand as an Apostle of Peace. Before we knew him we were happy enough as a people—as we dare say we shall become again as soon as we cease to know him. His coadjutor, Mr. Manning, is doing his best to drive a trade by fomenting national and religious animosities. We should not mention this gentleman's name but that he has publicly advertised it, and made it therefore public property. We mention it now to say plainly, that he and his reverend friend—the latter especially—have done more to foment dissension amongst the people of this country than all other operating causes combined had done before. 68

This personal animosity reached a peak on the day that Larkin and Manning were arrested and the *Celt* offices searched for seditious materials. This is how the *Times* greeted these events:

Fenianism in Westland has received another severe shock. Its heads and chief centres are in gaol! The patience and long suffering of the Government have been exhausted. The outrages against law have been too daring and too persistent to

68. *W.C.T*, 9 Mar 1868
allow the indulgence and forebearance with which political offences are usually treated by a British Government to be continued...
The necessity of putting down this curse of Fenianism is felt. It is resolved that New Zealand shall set the example of trampling this evil thing out of life... 69

Another variation on this theme is the Times's distinction between the ordinary, peace-loving Irish people and the leaders who cynically manipulate them. This is an example of the common English stereotype of the Irish as a simple, gullible people readily believing whatever their political and priestly leaders told them. 70 The Times also kept the current of sectarianism alive by frequent details of the O'Farrell trial taking place in Australia. It also reprinted extracts from the Westport Times of 14 April and the Westport Evening Star of 15 April critical of Kynnersley's handling of the disturbance at Addison's then a few days later heavily criticized the return of the troops to Hokitika, saying this must come under government scrutiny. It suggested that Kynnersley's only possible motive was to try and win popularity with a disaffected group. 71

The Celt, on the other hand, critically compared Kynnersley's performance with that of the authorities in Hokitika and found that he had given a superior performance in every respect. The newspaper especially praised Kynnersley's impartiality and refusal to be swayed by factious motives; it was these qualities that had enabled him to resolve the conflict without having to make a single arrest. 72 While Manning and Larkin were awaiting trial the Celt's new editor, J.F. Crowley, continued the strong attacks on the newspaper's enemies. In an article entitled

69. W.C.T, 28 Mar 1868
70. W.C.T, 13 Mar 1868
71. W.C.T, 20 Apr 1868
72. Celt, 5 Jun 1868
"The Political Prisoners" he condemned the *Times* and the *Melbourne Herald* for making personal attacks on the prisoners when they were unable to answer, and also censured the local magistrate for making condemnatory statements about the prisoners in their hearing in the prison yard.73

By the time of the state trials the highly charged atmosphere of Hokitika and of the Coast in general had dissipated somewhat. Judge Richmond accepted the prosecution point that hatred of Britain, even without explicit incitement to rebellion, was treason. However his sentences of £20 for each offender for unlawful assembly and forcible entry, plus a month's gaol each for Manning and Larkin on the extra count of seditious libel, were in reality very light.74 This enabled the Irishmen to feel that no real treason could have been committed or else the sentences could not have been so light, while the loyalists could feel that the superior claims of the law and British allegiance had been vindicated.

The one person who could have felt no satisfaction was the Marist bishop of Wellington. He now had a highly sensitized and polarized Irish community, a colonial administration possibly doubtful of Catholic loyalty, and a largely French clergy to try and mediate between the two. It is his situation we will now consider.


In 1860 Joseph Philip Viard had been consecrated bishop of Wellington, a territory that stretched from a line roughly between New Plymouth and Wairoa, southwards to Stewart Island. One of his initial problems was to man this huge region. The

73. *Celt*, 17 Apr 1868
Vatican had given the responsibility for the development of the Catholic Church in the South Pacific to the Society of Mary (whose priests were commonly known as "Marists") when the new religious congregation had been approved in 1836. In 1838 three missionaries had been sent to Hokianga: two Marists under the leadership of Bishop Pompallier, who himself was not a Marist but had been a keen supporter of the group from its earliest days. Their first goal was to convert the Maoris. Other Marists joined them, including Fr. Viard in 1839. After February 1843, however, the Marist authorities did not send any more of their men to New Zealand for sixteen years. The main reason for this change of policy was a conflict between Bishop Pompallier and Fr. John Claude Colin, the founder of the order, who was convinced that it was essential for the spiritual wellbeing of the Marists that they should not be left alone in isolated stations for long periods, far from their confreres' support. Because no satisfactory compromise could be reached, the Vatican in 1850 decided that Bishop Pompallier should find his own secular priests to staff the Auckland diocese while the rest of New Zealand was entrusted to Marists. This setback so discouraged the Marist central administration that not till 1859 did they feel sufficiently reassured to commit more men to the New Zealand mission. When Viard was appointed as the first bishop of Wellington in 1860 the Marists had established stations among the Maori people of Taranaki, the Wanganui River area, and Hawkes Bay. Yet they were also receiving urgent demands for priests from the Catholics of Dunedin and Canterbury, then from the new goldfields areas. The Marist Order was growing only slowly however and was committed to works in seminaries, schools and parishes in France. Foundations had just been made in England and Ireland.

75. L.G. Keys, The Life and Times of Bishop Pompallier, (Christchurch 1957), p. 200-6
also. So the troubles on the West Coast were only one of many problems confronting Bishop Viard. They held a political significance, however, absent in such questions as how to man such a huge region.76

The day had already passed when there was a real possibility of the French trying to establish themselves as a colonizing power in the New Zealand area. However it was still within living memory and there had been embarrassing confrontations in the early days when a Catholic versus Protestant contest for the religious allegiance of various Maori groups had turned into a bitter England versus France debate. These memories had been revived in the recent Anglo-Maori wars when some tribes had accepted Catholic missionaries because they were French and repudiated their Protestant counterparts precisely because they were British.77 Bishop Viard was therefore eager to demonstrate his loyalty to the colonial authorities, particularly since the loyalty of Irish Catholics was currently in doubt. A leader in the Sydney Morning Herald, commenting on the procession in Hokitika, concluded that the New Zealand government clearly needed a strong hand to deal with demonstrations like this. Though only the most ignorant of the priesthood would allow themselves to become mixed up in such an affair it pointed to the need for more than verbal affirmation that good catholicity equalled loyalty to the colony, since the action of priests such as the one in Hokitika was a reflection upon the entire Catholic community.78 The Herald was making its

76. Keys, Philip Viard, p. 93-9
77. Keys, MS, p. 227-33
78. Sydney Morning Herald, 20 Mar 1868, p. 4
comments in the context of the Treason–Felony act that had passed all three readings in the New South Wales legislature the previous day. The speed with which this bill was passed reflects the mood of outraged loyalty in Australia after the attempted assassination. A bill bearing the same title was to come before the New Zealand parliament in its opening session.

It is difficult to estimate how much effect this political pressure had on Bishop Viard's actions. However his response to Fr. Larkin's arrest for sedition was very prompt. Larkin was arrested on 27 March and Viard suspended him the next day. This swift reaction won him the warm recommendation of the loyalist press. Thus the New Zealand Herald commended him for his upholding of legal authority. However it seems clear that the bishop had already committed himself not to allow his priests to become involved in controversial politics. Fr. McDonough had already been suspended in August 1867, probably for being too outspoken in his Fenian sympathies. A slender piece of evidence suggests that Fr. Golden may have met a similar fate.

The last time that his name appears in any church record on the Coast is in an entry of the Hokitika baptismal register for 29 April 1867. In its description of the Hokitika funeral procession the West Coast Times mentions that the contingent that had come up from Ross was headed by "Rev. Mr. Golding, curate of Ross". The next day the Times carried an indignant letter from C.E. Haughton, a prominent local Catholic, pointing out that "Mr. Golding has, to my own knowledge, no ecclesiastical status in this diocese, and cannot, therefore, be "Curate of Ross". That this is the former Fr. Golden seems likely since

79. Herald, 2 Apr 1868
80. W.C.T, 9 Mar 1868
81. Ibid, 10 Mar 1868
Totara and Ross had been his parish till he was sent to help out in Hokitika where he became embroiled in the battle of the Irish.

How to deal with these turbulent priests had been exercising the bishop's mind for some time. A letter that he wrote to the Superior General of the Marists early in 1867 shows that he had been criticized by some of his Marist colleagues. One of the points of criticism was that he had brought into the diocese secular priests whose conduct was unbecoming.

As to the Foreign priests I have admitted, first. I must tell you that they had good certificates. I enclose copies of them. On all sides I was loudly implored for priests and the Society of Mary could not furnish them. Must souls be abandoned? Could we refuse the subjects Providence sent us? If some among them have not always edified they have not failed to do some good. The others are virtuous priests.

When we look at the Irish priests concerned and their flocks, it is clear that neither could see the bishop's censures as being in any way just or deserved. In the letter that Fr. McDonough wrote to Viard at the time of his dismissal he objected first of all to the fact that the Bishop had used a false pretext to dismiss him, viz, that McDonough did not really belong to the diocese, but that the faculties granted him were only a temporary expedient. McDonough claimed that he had done the job of collecting funds for the cathedral very successfully

* Re the problem of spelling. The two variant spellings of the name, Golden and Golding, do not really seem too much of a difficulty. The casualness with which surnames were spelled is well illustrated by the fate that befell many of the other names of priests who worked on the Coast during the early days. Fr. Stephen Hallum's surname appears in newspaper accounts as Hallum, and Hallan, McIntegart becomes McIntigart and even McTaggart, while the vacillation between Walsh and Walsh, even in the same newspaper, is calculated to drive the student to despair.

82. Viard to Favre, 28 Feb 1867, in Keys, Philip Viard, p. 210
and it was only the opposition of Fr. Royer in Greymouth that had spoiled his efforts on the Coast. He then goes on to his real complaint that Viard had allowed his views of what happened on the Coast to be formed entirely by deceitful government officials, instead of finding out the real feelings of the Catholic people. It appears that McDonough's effort to state these in an article in the Celt must have been part of his disagreement with Viard. He wrote:

I did all in my power that Fr. Larkin should not be suspended in prison. I know better than anyone else the feelings of the people. It was to point out the false position in which the Bishop should be placed by the Government, that I wrote at the time the article in the Celt (Caesar's friend) which was not understood by those who read the Nelson Examiner. 83

It seems that McDonough did take steps to try and prevent a confrontation with the bishop over the procession. On the day the Council was meeting to consider the request to place the cross in the cemetery the priest went to Councillor Bartlett and asked that no decision be made until the result became known of a meeting that the Irish committee was also holding that night. 84 Two days later he wrote in to the Times to protest against a report that had appeared in the Wellington Independent stating that his had been one of the leading voices in the meeting that called for the procession. He pointed out that as neither newspaper had a representative at that meeting it was difficult to see how they knew what had happened or been said. On the day of the procession itself, McDonough took no part except to keep the crowds in order, nor did he wear any party emblems. 85

83. McDonough to Viard, n.d, in Marist Messenger, June 1944, p. 17
84. W.C.T, 7 Mar 1868, p. 2
85. Ibid, 10 Mar 1868, letter of C.E. Haughton.
The *Times* agreed that this had been the case but merely pointed out that Fr. McGirr had stayed at home and held himself completely aloof from the demonstration. The same article in the *Independent* must have implied that McDonough's prudent behaviour on the day of procession was due only to the fear of the consequences of disobeying Viard's telegram, for the priest denied that this had altered his behaviour at all. Though he was an Irishman he was also a priest and knew how to act in accordance with this dignity. He spoke also for Fr. Larkin in that he was certain that the latter would not exercise his priestly office without the bishop's permission, even though he did have letters of recommendation for other dioceses if necessary. 86

If Fr. McDonough could not see how he had committed any crime deserving suspension then it was equally true that the Irish miners could not see why Fr. Larkin had suffered this fate. After the news of the attempted assassination had come through he had been chairman of a public meeting at Stafford Town in which he had affirmed that Her Majesty was a good mother and a good Queen, (but added that the acts of the English government in Ireland were not hers). 87 What more did he have to do to prove his loyalty, the Irishmen asked. When he had been arrested the Catholic diggers managed to collect almost £11,500

86. Ibid, 10 Mar 1868

87. Ibid, 27 Mar 1868
in five weeks for his defence. One of the most famous balls ever held in Addison's took place in Sheehan's casino, admission being £1. In this way £500 was raised in one night.

So disturbed were Larkin's parishioners at the talk of suspension that when Fr. McEntegart appeared in Stafford Town on 29 March they and the people of Waimea refused to accept his ministrations until they had sent to prison for Larkin's permission. Larkin admitted that he had submitted completely to the bishop and had promised to leave the district if the suspension were lifted. At this time Fr. Tresallet, who had been sent by Viard to Hokitika to take over temporarily, admitted that he had been given power to remove Fr. Larkin from his post but had been waiting to see if this would be necessary. He now formally invoked this power and declared that Fr. McEntegart was now pastor to Stafford Town and Waimea. Many of the Irish there refused to accept this decision.

While Fr. Larkin was still serving his sentence, Bishop Viard gave him his exeat, no doubt hoping that this would be the end of a very vexing saga. It appears however that Larkin

88. N.Z.Celt, 12 Jun 1868, in Davis, Irish Issues, p. 20
89. Tracy, West Coast Yesterdays, p.167
90. W.C.T, 9 Apr 1868, p. 2

* An official ecclesiastical letter freeing a secular priest from his commitment to a particular diocese.
did not leave Hokitika immediately, indeed for a whole year. He stayed privately in a hotel on Revell Street run by a widow, Mrs Mary Ann Devery, who came from County Offaly, Ireland.\footnote{Family memory of Mr E. Matthews, Greymouth, whose grandparents owned the hotel.}

His stay there was quiet and secluded but a couple of references to his continued presence are to be found. One is a court action, Savage v. Larkin, in which the craftsman of the famous Celtic cross tried to get payment for this and other work done to Larkin's house in Waimea.\footnote{(Hokitika Historical Museum), Hokitika Evening Star, 17 Jul 1868} The other is an invitation by 150 miners from Addison's who asked Larkin to receive their congratulations on his politics.\footnote{\textit{N.Z.Celt}, 19 Aug 1868} There is also the chance encounter between Larkin and A. Dudley Dobson at Canoe Creek, which will be discussed later.

That this state of conflict between the Irish miners and their French bishop did not die easily can be seen from the experiences of Fr. Binsfeld who arrived in Greymouth in April 1870. In his memoirs he briefly sums up what had happened in Hokitika and how it affected him. Since the miners considered Larkin's action one of pardonable patriotism they petitioned the bishop for his reinstatement when he was released. Viard's refusal to comply made all the French clergy very unpopular. The miners then agreed to keep supporting Larkin at the expense of Fr. Binsfeld. One digger that Binsfeld met on the diggings told him that the miners had a tacit understanding among themselves that they would starve him out.
Binsfeld then tells of his first trip into the diggings. He followed a very rough track until he arrived at his first stopping place which was an alluvial digging in the open forest. He went into a hotel where the proprietor received him coldly and told him at once that the place which by prearrangement and public notice he had engaged to hold divine service and say Mass the next morning was not at his disposal, because a public meeting was to take place to agitate for redress for Fr. Larkin from Bishop Viard. However since Binsfeld had been the first applicant he stood by his right of priority and was surprised by a turn out of about fifty miners. They listened attentively to what he had to say about the painful position in which he was placed by their actions. The other meeting took place directly after his own. The next morning Mass was also well attended even though it was a week day. The priest thought that this visit had helped to calm down the spirit of discontent, and some miners had approached him to tell him of their regret at the state of affairs.

He then adds a brief summary of what he had said to the miners; that the bishop had sent him as their parish priest out of real concern for their spiritual good; he was very sad at the split between them and the bishop, but it had nothing to do with him. Yet he had to comment that if it continued it would be a real source of scandal to Protestants and of danger to their souls.

After a visit to Notown he clambered higher up into the
bush to the next station which was a canvastown. When he arrived, there was a large group of miners already gathered around but he took no special notice as it was a Sunday.

... but presently a sapling of a miner came towards me and without any mark of salute asked me straightforth: "Are you an Irish priest or a French priest?" "I am neither," was my reply, "but I am a Catholic priest and have been sent by the Catholic bishop of Wellington to be the parish priest of the Greymouth district!" He replied: "if you are not of ours, we shall have nothing to do with you." 94.

There was dead silence from the other miners. He set up his tent for service in the evening but nobody came. He did not say Mass the next morning but returned to Greymouth.

Binsfeld goes on to tell how this was the end of the opposition to him. It had come mainly from the plotting of four ring-leaders and within four to five weeks of his visit each of the four had met with sudden death. Two were killed by a tree falling on their hut during the night, one was stabbed in a fight, while the fourth wandered over a precipice during the night. This so frightened the other miners that on his next trip Binsfeld was busy hearing confessions from evening into the small hours of the next day. His troubles in the matter were then over and he goes on to describe how his days working on the goldfields of the Grey district turned out to be some of the happiest memories of his priestly ministry, both in New Zealand and overseas.

For this priest the tension had a happy solution. Bishop Viard, other bishops and priests could not presume upon the same good fortune. Some positive initiatives were needed and the first steps were made in this direction.

Bishop Viard understood that conflict could arise from the Irish desire to have their own priests serving them. As early as 1860, when he was dispatching the first resident

94. Binsfeld, "Memoirs", p.9,
Marists to the South Island (Frs. Séon and Chataigner to Christchurch), he had advised them that they must not even appear to possess anything in the way of luxury, for then "the Irish would sigh after the priests of their nation who are always so dear to them." The first real signs of this conflict appeared in Dunedin in 1867. Fr. Delphine Moreau was an energetic and popular Frenchman but his English was exacrible— or at least his efforts to preach in it. When a group of Dunedin Catholics got up a meeting and sent a petition to Viard to ask for a priest of Irish or at least British origin Moreau was very upset. Viard in writing to sympathize with him, assured him that it was perfectly natural that the Irish should want priests of their own nation: "As you know, I have made every effort to obtain them; I wish with all my heart that Fr. O'Reily* can succeed in his dealings with Rome and the Society." While he was in Europe to attend the sessions of the First Vatican Council, Viard also tried to find some answer to this tricky question in discussions with the officials of the Vatican department entrusted with the affairs of missionary territories, and with the superiors of the Society of Mary. Fr. Yardin, a French Marist who corresponded regularly with many of his colleagues in New Zealand, wrote to tell his old friend, Fr. Forest of Napier, that the Marist training centres at Dublin and Dundalk would be entrusted with the task of providing priests for

95. Viard to Séon, 2 Jul 1860, Keys, Philip Viard, p. 129

* An Irish Franciscan who was the first parish priest of Wellington. Viard appointed him as his first Vicar-General.

96. Viard to Moreau, 8 Aug 1867, Keys, Philip Viard, p. 205
the New Zealand parishes. The French priests already in New Zealand would then need only to give these new recruits the benefit of their local experience.97 This policy was implemented slowly; in the years 1870-1903, 25 priests and two brothers were sent to the New Zealand mission from Ireland.

The logical extension of the policy was to ensure that there would be at least one diocese in New Zealand with an Irish bishop. So it was decided that a separate area should be cut off from the Wellington diocese, and in 1869 Otago and Southland were erected as one diocese to be ruled over by Bishop Moran in Dunedin. At the same time, Propaganda* decided that Bishop Viard should have an Irish or English coadjutor. In the same letter Yardin commented that the question of the Irish or English coadjutor was adjourned until the Society of Mary was ready to present one. He also added that Viard would withdraw the Marists, Frs. Moreau, Eouyer, and Belliard, from Dunedin, and Bishop Moran would bring his own Irish priests.

The other avenue by which Viard and the Marists would try to heal the breach would be by showing sympathy and interest in Irish grievances, while striving to keep the expression of these well within an acceptable constitutional framework. An excellent forerunner of this approach was to be seen in Fr. Tresallet's handling of the church service in Hokitika, called to offer thanksgiving for the escape of the Duke of Edinburgh. The service was held on 25 March, two days before Larkin's arrest. He began by saying that he was not going to talk about politics; the service was not a party issue but purely an act of religion, of thanksgiving to God.

97. Yardin to Forest, 13 Jul 1870, Ibid, p. 219
* De Propaganda Fide— the Vatican department entrusted with the affairs of missionary territories.
The rev. gentleman added that he was perfectly sensible that there were in Ireland grievances to be redressed, evils to be remedied, and he wished sincerely amelioration; but by prudent and moral means, and in conformity with the directions of the Church, and he believed that their united prayers would be the best means to obtain the desirable end. 98

The final alternative that the Church could use to accommodate Irish nationalist feelings was to encourage appropriate forms that could be harnessed to Church structures and would be amenable to Church guidance. Such an organization was the Hibernian Australasian Catholic Benefit Society, then beginning to grow in Victoria after transplantation from Ireland. In Charleston it had its origin when an attempt to found a local Fenian society to agitate for the release of John Boyle O'Reilly petered out after the discovery that such societies had been condemned by the Church and their members refused the sacraments; a search for an alternative discovered the Hibernians. 99 At about the same time, in Addison's an arrival from Australia also spoke enthusiastically of the Hibernians. Enquiries were made in Victoria, and F.H. Byrne of the Ballarat Branch was invited to set up a local branch. On his arrival in Greymouth he was discovered by Martin Kennedy, a noted local Catholic, who prevailed upon him to found the first New Zealand branch at a public meeting in the Brian Boru Hotel in Greymouth on 16 December 1869. In the next few weeks branches were also set up.

98. W.C.T, 2 Apr 1868, p. 7
99. Greymouth Evening Star, 17 May 1869
in Charleston, then Addison's. 100 An advertisement in the _Tablet_ of 4 May 1877 listed West Coast branches at Ross, Inangahua, Reefton, Greymouth, Charleston, Addison's, Greenstone, Waimea and Hokitika. As its objectives, the society set out to "cherish the memory of Ireland" and:

... to endeavour to instill into the minds of the Celtic-New Zealand race a veneration for the land of their forefathers, in order that they may imitate, if not excel, the faith and virtues of that devoted nation.

In his tour of the West Coast in 1873, while he was acting as administrator of the vacant Wellington diocese, Bishop Moran praised and encouraged the Hibernian movement. The _Tablet_ stressed its open nature in contrast to the secret workings of the Fenians and Orangemen. 101

In his study of the Irish question in New Zealand politics R.P. Davis stresses that though the Hibernians were mainly a benefit society who avoided involvement in New Zealand politics, their resolutions on Irish affairs, their financial aid to Irish nationalist movements, and keen concern for Catholic education, could hardly be described as non-political. 102

Perhaps what Davis should stress more is that they were "political" only in the mild sense of the word, i.e. to the extent that the bishops wanted them to be. Each branch had its

100. Faris, _Charleston_, p. 167
101. _N.Z. Tablet_, 3 May 1873
102. Davis, _Irish Issues_, p. 63
own chaplain, and there grew up a tradition of strong Church affiliation. In this way they were able to act as an organized body of lay Catholics, loyal to the bishop's directives. A powerful pressure lobby within the State or even the Catholic Church, the Hibernians certainly were not.

5. The Legacy of Fenianism.

In 1870 the Vatican finally issued an official condemnation of the Fenians. It was not clear whether this had come about ultimately through the pressure of Cardinal Cullen or the British government. This illustrates well the basic ambiguity of the situation. Cardinal Cullen's view had prevailed within the Irish hierarchy and yet it could never be a unanimous view for to accept it unreservedly would seem to some to admit that the British Government's treatment of the Fenians was right and just. Therefore sympathy with the fate of the Fenians persisted as a mark of Irish nationalism. This trend was strong on the West Coast but just how tenaciously it clung in other areas too is shown by a Tablet report from Dunedin in 1874, where the anniversary of the founding of the local Hibernian Society and St Patrick's day were celebrated jointly. A presentation was made to a local member, a Mr. Bunny, an English convert to Catholicism who was leaving the area. In his reply he mentioned the difficulty he had in persuading the public that the society was in no way associated with Fenianism.

103. Lyons, Ireland Since the Famine, p. 121
104. Tablet, 21 Mar 1874
Remnants of the fighting spirit of Fenianism could still burst into life on occasions. Patrick Buckley, an Irish Catholic lawyer from Wellington who had refused to defend Fr. Larkin in 1868, stood for the Grey seat in parliament in 1876. Davis believes that it was memories of 1868 that cost Buckley this election, for his otherwise strongly anti-English views were well known. Another isolated incident which showed that the old Irish-Orange feeling still ran deep under the surface was the Timaru Orange Riots of Boxing Day 1879. It was the attempt of the local Orange Lodges in Timaru and Christchurch to join friendly society processions that sparked off the riots, but in Timaru the crowd did not disperse even on the Magistrate's reading of the Riot Act until the Orangemen had taken off their regalia and renounced their march.

This strong current of Irish sympathy and Irish identity posed a genuine problem for the Catholic bishops of New Zealand. If they committed themselves too heavily they could be accused of fostering disloyalty and dissension once again. For the Tablet and Bishop Moran of Dunedin moderate nationalism clearly did not exclude the publication of bitterly critical reports on the state of the Fenian prisoners.

105. Davis, Irish Issues, p. 19
107. Tablet, 6 Jul 1877, p. 5
an account of the death and burial of Sergeant Charles McCarthy, one of the remaining Fenians, from illness contracted while in gaol,\textsuperscript{108} and fiercely nationalistic poems by John Boyle O'Reilly, e.g. "There is Blood on the Earth." \textsuperscript{109}

On the other hand, if the bishops did not show sufficient sympathy for Irish causes they could be accused of trying to destroy Irish identity, and of joining the English plot to control the Irish by dominating the Catholic Church. These specific charges were to be leveled against Bishop Redwood in Wellington.

The feathers which indicated what way the wind was blowing were already evident by 1871. By this time Bishop Moran was resident in Dunedin and two of the secular priests working for him were Fr. Larkin formerly of Hokitika and Fr. Golden formerly of Ross. The issue that was to pose the question, how Irish is the Catholic Church in New Zealand, was to be the Church's attitude to the Irish Land Leagues. Were they to be another Fenianism resurrected, or something quite different?

\textsuperscript{108} Ibid, 22 Mar 1878, p. 1
\textsuperscript{109} Ibid, 22 Sep 1877, p. 9
CHAPTER IV.

IRISH NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS: HEALING OR DIVISION FOR NEW ZEALAND CATHOLICS.

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. 1

Laracy's words make an appropriate context in which to introduce the figure of Bishop Patrick Moran. Till his death in 1895, both to Catholics and those outside the Catholic Church, Moran typified and embodied the spirit of the "fighting Irish". Through his pugnacious sermons, his dramatic gesture of standing for the Otago Peninsula seat in the general election of 1883, and especially through the pages of the New Zealand Tablet, he kept up a ceaseless war against what he saw as the forces of "evil and destruction" - atheism, freemasonry, "godless" education, and English oppression of Irish rights - all of which were subtly and cunningly allied in a battle to bring down the sole bastion of divine authority and truth in this world, the Catholic Church. In the front line of this battle and under the heaviest siege, because they most perfectly embodied the Catholic Church, were the life and faith of the Irish people and clergy. Because of this outlook Moran was to paint the struggles

of Parnell's Land League and the struggle of the Irish Parliamentary Party as of tremendous importance for the Catholics of Otago, of Canterbury, of the whole of New Zealand. The most enthusiastic response to these Irish nationalist movements was to come, without a doubt, from the West Coast of the South Island. The West Coast, however, was not part of Moran's diocese. Its bishops might have differing views as to their priorities. Here indeed was a fruitful ground for misunderstanding and even bitterness.

Patrick Moran was born in County Wicklow, Ireland, in 1823, the son of a tenant farmer. He was educated first by the Vincentian fathers, then at St. Peter's College, Wexford, and at the College of Castleknock. From 1840 to 1847 he studied for the priesthood at the national seminary of Maynooth. After ordination at Pentecost 1847, he was sent to Dublin where he worked as curate in several parishes till 1856. His talent and enthusiasm were soon recognized; at the extraordinarily early age of 32 he was consecrated by Archbishop Cullen as bishop of the Eastern Province of Cape Colony in South Africa. For thirteen years he worked among a small but scattered flock of mainly Irish and German Catholics, trying to build up their unity and sense of community. His part in creating a strong local Church at Cape Colony was noted by the Roman authorities. When Bishop Viard and Propaganda agreed on the need for an Irish bishop to allay the discontents of the New Zealand Irish, Moran's name was proposed in the hope that he would do the same sort of job for the Irish Catholics of Otago as he had for those in Cape Colony. On his way to New Zealand he attended the First Vatican Council and was there for the declaration of Papal Infallibility, a doctrine he adhered to with absolute conviction. On 18 February 1871, he reached Port Chalmers with a small community of Irish Dominican nuns who had worked under him in South Africa.
He was received tumultuously by Dunedin's Catholics, and within the first six months of his arrival his spectacular and controversial style was already causing repercussions within Dunedin and beyond.2

At the time when Bishop Moran was trying to organize his new diocese, establish new parishes and raise funds to build his cathedral, an important change was beginning in the attitude of the Irish Catholic hierarchy to the question of "Home Rule" for Ireland. Paradoxically, one of the aftermaths of the Fenian violence of 1866 and 1867 was the creation of a more suitable climate for a constitutional settlement of the differences between England and Ireland. As early as January 1868 Archbishop Cullen had sent a pastoral letter to the Catholics of Dublin in which he lamented the woeful state of the Irish people. He condemned Fenianism as a solution but instead urged his people to achieve their ends by electing M.P.s who would act for them. Among these goals he listed the disestablishment of the Anglican Church of Ireland, freedom of education, and reform of the laws governing land tenure.3 In the elections of 1868 there was a slim chance that these aims would finally receive a hearing because of a new political situation in England. A broader franchise would give a vote to perhaps the most prosperous of the working classes while, under the leadership of W.E. Gladstone, a unified party to oppose the Conservatives was beginning to emerge from a welter of Whig and liberal factions.

When Gladstone was swept into power he immediately turned his attention to the Irish problem. The first question was

disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Ireland. By the Deed of Union of January 1801 Anglicanism was officially proclaimed to be the state religion of Ireland. All Church livings were paid for by the government, Anglican schools and teachers were state supported, and ecclesiastical courts were given full powers in some cases. The Roman Catholic Church was, of course, bitterly opposed to this, seeing it as a perpetuation of the penal times; but in addition, liberal English opinion and Anglo-Irish writers such as Jonathan Swift were more openly critical of the nepotism, the clerical indolence and absenteeism that were to be found in the Church of Ireland. This distaste was increased when the first national census of 1861 revealed that of Ireland's 5½ million citizens, Roman Catholics numbered 4½ millions whereas Episcopalian Protestants accounted for just under 700,000. By the Irish Church Act of 1869 Gladstone severed the legal bond between Church and State. The Anglican Church lost its government guaranteed revenues, though heavy compensation was given for these lost benefits. Gladstone's Liberal party received the solid backing of the Catholic bishops in these moves, also because Gladstone had promised to try and protect tenant's rights, as well as pressing for the establishment of a Catholic University, the refusal of which had long been a grievance of the Catholic hierarchy.

By 1873, however, the situation was much changed. From 1870 a new force had begun to emerge in Ireland with Isaac Butt's Home Government Association. Butt himself was an unlikely character to lead an Irish nationalist movement - a somewhat dissolute but brilliant lawyer of solidly conservative and Protestant background. His idea was a federal constitution; this would mean the restoration of an Irish parliament made up of Crown, Lords and Commons, with jurisdiction over the internal affairs of the country and control of local resources and taxation,
while Irish representatives sat in the parliament at Westminster which would retain authority over matters of foreign policy, defence, war and essential taxation. 4

In the end Butt lost control of the movement he had initiated, partly because of his refusal to allow it to become a political party, and also because other minds went further and asked why there could not be full legislative independence of England.

Butt had hit upon an idea for which the evolving political consciousness of Ireland was more than ready. This was shown in a famous election in Kerry, where the Home Rule candidate, Blennerhasset, was elected with the support of many priests against the pro-Gladstone Liberal candidate who had been backed by the Catholic hierarchy. Examples such as this, as well as the hierarchy's disillusionment with the Liberals because of their failure to give satisfactory answers in the field of denominational education and the Catholic university, meant that Catholic support began to swing from the Liberals to the Home Rule movement. This process was also aided by the gradual withdrawal of many of the early Protestant supporters from Home Rule because of the growing belief that "Home Rule means Rome Rule!" At the first Home Rule Conference in Dublin in November 1873 there were 25 M.P.s, 50 priests and various undercover Fenians present. As a result of this conference the Irish Home Rule League was founded and in the 1874 General Election 59 nominal Home Rule candidates were elected. 5

When Bishop Moran founded the New Zealand Tablet early in 1873 one of its specific goals was to keep the Irish people of

4. Lyons, Ireland Since the Famine, p. 137-42
5. Kee, The Green Flag, p. 360-1
New Zealand in touch with political and religious developments in Ireland, which many looked upon as the home from which they were exiled in body if not in spirit. True to his word, the Tablet, under its editor, John F. Perrin, carried regular reports on these developments. Likewise, when a meeting to express Home Rule sympathy was held in November 1873 in Waimea (Fr. Larkin's former West Coast stamping ground), the Tablet carried the news to New Zealand Catholics. At this meeting a committee was formed to raise subscriptions and cooperate in forming a national committee with other local groups throughout New Zealand. It would be hard to find a single weekly copy where the words "Home Rule" did not appear at least once; and at times such as the visits of members of the Irish Parliamentary Party to New Zealand in 1883, 1889, and 1895, and the presentation of Gladstone's two Home Rule bills in 1886 and 1892, this constant trickle of news would swell into a quarter or a third of the newspaper's copy.

Another link that Moran had established with the Irish nationalist movements was through Thomas William Croke, bishop of Auckland, 1870-4. Croke had been born in Mallow, County Cork, and studied for the priesthood in France, Belgium, then finally in the Irish College in Rome under the then Fr. Paul Cullen. Later he became involved in such a furious row with his former rector over the issue of clerical involvement in politics that he was summoned to Rome for chastisement. From his early years Croke had been a great Irish patriot. In the 1840's he was an enthusiastic supporter of Daniel O'Connell; he then turned to the Young Ireland party. For fifty years he was associated with the Irish Tenant League. He was consecrated as bishop of Auckland in June 1870 but in January 1874 was elevated to the

6. N.Z. Tablet, 22 Nov 1873, p. 9
rank of archbishop of Cashel, in Ireland. During his time in New Zealand he corresponded with Moran, who came to stay with him for a week in Auckland. After his return to Ireland, on his first public appearance on O'Connell's anniversary he gave an eloquent eulogy on the Liberator. During the next twenty years his support was eagerly sought by various nationalist groups; his name will reoccur later in this study. Various Irish groups wrote to him from New Zealand and he retained a lively interest in Australia and New Zealand, particularly as one of his own sisters was a member of the Sisters of Mercy in Bathurst.

It is very clear that in his term of office as bishop of Dunedin Patrick Moran considered himself the defender par excellence of the rights and interests of the Irish Catholics in New Zealand. His estimation of the other bishops of New Zealand on the same issue varied from insufficiently interested to downright hostile. As we trace the development of the various national movements in Ireland and the sympathy they elicited in New Zealand we will see how he came to that conclusion and how well-balanced it was. We will consider especially the West Coast response to the various Irish Leagues, since it was in this region that the question, how deeply should the New Zealand bishops and clergy be involved in Irish issues, was most keenly debated and fought out.

1. The Heyday of Nationalism - the Land League and the National League.

The hopes of the Irish bishops, set so high in 1874 by the election of 59 members nominally committed to Butt's Home Rule

7. Davis, Irish Issues, p. 74

platform, were gradually to stagnate and atrophy over the course of the next three years. The return of Disraeli and the Conservatives to power, together with England's preoccupation with threats of war in the Balkans and Africa, was the first setback. However Butt's unwillingness to impose any party discipline on his followers destroyed any slight chance of their making a real impact on parliament; in any case, it seems unlikely that he could have imposed much more unity even had he wished; the members of his group were split in their conceptions of what Home Rule meant, they were an uncomfortable mixture of the landlord and middle classes, and many had local or sectional issues such as land reform or denominational schools as their first area of commitment. By the end of 1877 many of the Irish parliamentarians, in their frustration, had turned to the simple tactic of obstructionism, delaying and blocking the proceedings of the House as much as possible. One of the bright rising stars in this group was Charles Stewart Parnell.9

During this lull or partial vacuum in Ireland's march to independence, the Tablet kept nationalist fervour stoked up in two ways. The first was by frequent reference to the sufferings of the Fenian prisoners and the movement to win them amnesty. The second was through the issue of secular versus denominational schools. In New Zealand these same years saw the bitter fight between those who supported denominational schools, those who wanted a national system of schools with some option for religious instruction, and those such as Sir Robert Stout who strove for an entirely secular education system. The Tablet, supporting and expressing Moran's arguments for a denominational system, constantly drew on the experience of Ireland where the bishops had initially welcomed a national system but had now

9. Lyons, Ireland Since the Famine, p. 143-50
come round to preferring straight denominational schools.

A new upsurge in Irish aspirations and protestations was once more triggered by a period of agricultural depression in Ireland coupled with an intervention from the United States of America, though this time not in the form of arms or armed men. At the end of 1877 a young Fenian named Michael Davitt was released from an English gaol. On a visit to America during 1878 he met John Devoy, one of the leaders of the American Clan na Gael, a successor to the Fenian movement but prepared to be more flexible than the original IRB, even to using constitutional methods. Davitt accepted much of the Irish-American approach of combined action between parliamentarians and more extreme nationalists, and this so encouraged Devoy that he telegraphed a plan of action to Parnell, thinking that Parnell was about to oust Butt as head of the parliamentary group. This did not actually happen for another year. In Devoy's historic proposal of 26 October 1878, the Clan na Gael promised to work with Parnell if he would adopt the two major Irish-American objectives, that "federal" Home Rule should be dropped and a general commitment to Irish self-government be put in its place; and secondly that the land question should be pushed vigorously at both levels - immediate protection for the tenant, followed ultimately by the creation of a peasant proprietorship. Devoy and Davitt then made the trip to France to present the plan to the IRB leaders. In January 1879 the Fenian Council made it quite clear that they would have nothing to do with such compromises. In March Devoy and Davitt pleaded with Parnell who had made no response to their first proposals. Though he would not commit himself he was prepared to listen to their ideas. 10

As in the 1840's a failure in the potato crop precipitated a period of social action. From 1877 onwards agricultural

10. Ibid, p. 154-6
depression was evident but it was the crop failure of 1879 which brought the crisis to a head and revealed that despite the improvements stemming from Gladstone's Land Act of 1870 the basic weakness of the Irish land system remained. Many tenant farmers fell behind in their rents, eviction notices were issued, and social revolution threatened. It was in this situation that Davitt decided to launch the Land League in June 1879 and he persuaded Parnell to head it. The three leaders, Devoy, Davitt and Parnell, agreed on the priority of land reform but it seems that each understood it in a somewhat different sense - Devoy as a prelude to revolution, Davitt as an end in itself, whereas Parnell, a man of extraordinary flexibility and opportunism, was prepared to use any other means that offered. Later this different understanding would help to contribute to internal divisions. Davitt, for example, was eventually to move to a policy of land nationalization rather than peasant ownership. 11

The setting up of the Land League led to a dilemma for the Fenians; the IRB sympathized with the farmers in their sufferings but since the society was pledged to total separation from England, the land war could be seen only as a deviation. This caused Davitt's rapid disenchantment with Fenianism (he was expelled from the supreme Council in 1880), but many Fenians threw themselves into the agrarian movement on a private basis. So when the structure of the League was set up under Parnell, of the small group of devoted men ready to give their full energy to the programme, many were Fenians or ex-Fenians, whose short-term goal was the preservation of tenants from rack-renting or unjust eviction, and making them owners of their farms in the long term. The weapon they encouraged the farmers to use was moral boycott, a total ostracism of any farmer who bought or

11. Ibid, p. 158-9
hired land left by an evicted tenant. Unofficially there were many burnings of landlords' buildings, assaults and even shoot-ings but these actions were always decried by League leaders.

What was the attitude of the Catholic hierarchy at this time? Throughout the period 1877-80 many of the parish clergy who knew the sufferings of their flock were sympathetic to the agitation that accompanied the Land Leagues, as were a number of bishops. Despite the disapproval of Archbishop John McHale of Tuam because of the intimidation and secret violence that accompanied the League's activities, Parnell spoke at a land convention in Westport (Ireland) in June 1879. At the end of the year the Irish National Land League, officially launched on 21 October with Parnell as president, was given the very important blessing of Archbishop Croke of Cashel who affirmed that the League's principles of justice to the tenant were right and moral. Even an official organ of the Vatican said, "... in consequence of the unsupported state of the Irish peasantry the people must shake off their oppression. The crimes committed in Ireland are not attributable to the Land League..." 13

The interest of the New Zealand Irish in these developments began to quicken. In 1880 Parnell had been on a highly successful lecture tour of the United States which had raised almost £30,000 for Irish relief,14 and had left behind him quickly growing branches of the League whose aim was to continue to raise funds for Ireland. The English government, growing alarmed at the size and violence of the agrarian protest movement,

14. Lyons, Ireland Since the Famine, p. 160
Early Churches of the Coast.

a) (Top) Barrytown. Originally built 1881.

b) (Centre) Rimu. Originally built 1884.

c) (Bottom) Kumara. Originally built 1875.
endeavoured to check its spread by trying Parnell and some of the other leaders on a charge of conspiracy to prevent payment of rent. The trial became farcical as it was virtually impossible to find a jury in Dublin that would bring in a verdict against Parnell. The legal action succeeded only in generating waves of sympathy both in Ireland and overseas. The first sympathy meeting in New Zealand took place at Kumara, the scene of the last major gold strike on the West Coast. The Irish-born population of Kumara (238 out of 1,275 or 18.7%, according to the census of 1878) was a small but vocal minority. At the meeting in January 1881 a committee was set up to raise funds for Parnell's defence. This was duly reported in the Tablet. 

Boatman's, in the Inangahua County, and Greymouth were quick to follow Kumara. The Tablet published lists of those who contributed. 

This fund-raising effort suggested a more permanent organization similar to those in America. Once again it was Kumara that took the lead in the formation of the first New Zealand branch of the League. The Tablet recorded 74 names of those at the inaugural meeting and listed their contributions. 

When the first Grey Valley branch was formed at Ahaura about a month later the Tablet noted that "a large and enthusiastic meeting of Irish residents" passed the following resolution:

We the members of the Grey Valley Land League hereby pledge ourselves to cordially cooperate with Mr. Charles Stewart Parnell in his untiring efforts to carry on agitation until justice is granted to the Irish people.

15. Tablet, 11 Feb 1881, p. 17
16. Ibid, 4 Mar 1881, p. 17; 8 Apr 1881, p. 18
17. Ibid, 3 Jun 1881, p. 14
18. Ibid, 15 Jul 1881, p. 15
That some sort of ad hoc organizing committee came into existence seems likely from the intense activity that was mounted for a monster public meeting in Wellington, and a smaller but similar meeting in Dunedin. Yet clearly, not all the Irish community was equally ready to give unquestioning support to the Leagues. This is revealed in a letter from M. S. Grace to Fr. J. McNamara, S.M., who was the Vicar-General in Wellington. Dr. Grace, a leading member of the Wellington Catholic community, expressed his doubts over the Land Leagues: "As far as I can judge, we are being sold to people who don't care a cent for us, but wish to use us." He goes on to say that he believes that these people have broken faith by calling meetings, adopting resolutions and sending circulars, telling Catholics that the meeting has the sanction of bishops and priests. His letter concludes with the warning: "...believe me, we must be very guarded, and if we move, move with wisdom and discretion - Pat Buckley endorses all I say and came to me about it."¹⁹ This is the same Pat Buckley who refused to defend Fr. Larkin and failed to win the Grey Valley seat in 1876. He was appointed to the Legislative Council in 1878 (a reward for his treachery ten years before, some Irishmen with long memories commented), and became Colonial Secretary in 1886.

After this note of warning from two of the most prominent

¹ Morgan Stanislaus Grace was born in Tipperary and educated in the Jesuit college of Stonyhurst. He studied medicine in Dublin, Paris and Edinburgh, and received his M.D. in 1858. He came to New Zealand as a surgeon accompanying the British forces during the Anglo-Maori Wars, but went into private practice in Wellington in 1866. From 1870 till his death in 1903 he was a member of the Legislative Council, and also from 1871 a member of the senate of the University of New Zealand. (G. Scholefield (ed.), A Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, (Wellington 1940)).

¹⁹. Marist Archives (Wellington), (henceforth MAW), Grace to McNamara, 14 Jun 1881
of Wellington's Irish community it was interesting to see the reaction of the new bishop of Wellington, Francis Redwood. Not only was he one of the dignitaries on the stage of the Theatre Royal but he also spoke warmly in favour of the League. The two thousand people present on the evening of 1 August 1881 included Members of the House of Representatives, the Mayor of Wellington, Sir George Grey, Redwood, three Irish Marist priests including McNamara, and a German Marist. At this meeting the resolution put by the chairman and accepted with acclaim by the assembly was:

That this meeting expresses its deepest sympathy with the objects of the Irish Land League, and with the efforts the Irish people are making to obtain the right of occupying, on just conditions, the land on which they were born, upon which they are dwelling, and the produce from which affords the only means of maintaining life.

Bishop Redwood in his address stressed the links that bound League members and observed that difference of creed had no effect and no meaning in their united battle for justice. The Tablet report of this meeting was so copious that it was spread over two issues.

The Tablet continued to record sums of money being sent to Paris for the League from the Grey Valley, Kumara, and Grey-mouth branches but already by the end of 1881 many of the Liberal supporters of the movement began to pull out as agrarian violence reached a new intensity. Events in Ireland had moved so rapidly that it took some time before the New Zealand Irish understood the significance of the changes.

By 1881 Gladstone and a Liberal Government were again in power in England. This meant that parliament would once again consider Ireland's case, but Gladstone was determined to do so

20. Tablet, 12 Aug 1881, p. 13
only when the law was again respected in Ireland. For this rea-
on Gladstone and his Chief Secretary, W.E. Forster, pushed th-
rough in the first few months of 1881 the Person and Property
Bill and the Peace Preservation Bill, which became jointly known
as the Coercion Bills. They then backed up this action by arre-
sting Michael Davitt. Parnell now came under great pressure fr-
om his own followers to abandon the fight at Westminster and go
back to either the United States or Ireland to adopt violent me-
thods to try and topple the government. He resisted this press-
ure because he believed that more could be accomplished by rem-
aining in parliament.

Nevertheless Parnell was arrested late in 1881 because
the English government was fearful that he would set the Land
League to reject its attempt at reform in the Land Act of 1881.
Some students of Irish history judge that Parnell's provocative
speeches at this time were carefully calculated to lead exactly
to this event. English attempts at reform were creating a maj-
or split between the two wings of the agrarian movement, betwe-
en the constitutional and more extreme elements, and Parnell ne-
ed the backing of both to give any sting to his presence at
Westminster. His arrest did contribute to the effective break-
down of the Land League by the end of 1881 but without his pre-
sence the violence did not lessen but rather intensified.

Secret and delicate negotiations followed between the En-
glish government and Parnell in his prison at Kilmainham. As a
result Parnell, John Dillon and J.J. O'Kelly were released on 2
May 1882 and Davitt four days later. In the so-called "Kilm-
ainham treaty" Parnell had agreed to do his best to stop the vi-
olence if the government dealt with the outstanding questions of
tenants already in arrears and tenants who were shareholders, bo-
th of which had been major loopholes in the original act of 1870.
This move towards moderation and away from the agrarian left wi-
ng led to the gradual dropping out of Davitt from the movement,
while Dillon left for America as he also could not accept a scaling down in the land war. In place of the Land League, the more moderate National League was to come into existence. 21

The period 1883-90 represents the high point of New Zealand interest and involvement in the Irish question until the great upsurge of enthusiasm in 1910 and 1911 when it seemed at last that the English Liberal Party might carry a Home Rule Bill through both the House of Commons and the Lords. At first the Catholic hierarchy in Ireland cautiously tested the feeling of the new movement, but later on it was to swing its full support behind the Irish Parliamentary Party to an entirely unprecedented degree.

When Parnell made his swing to constitutional methods in 1882 and set up the Irish National League, he placed Home Rule in the forefront of his programme while land-law reform was relegated to second place. This meant that the movement became dominated by the Parliamentary Party in a way that the old Land League had never been. Preparing constituencies for elections and setting up the machinery of county conventions for the selection of prospective candidates now became a key task. Trying to explain this complete change of tack to its Irish supporters overseas was also regarded as an important task for the National League. It was for this reason that one of the Parliamentary Party, William Redmond, came on a speaking tour of New Zealand in October and November 1883.

Redmond's reception in Australia had been cold and his public meetings in New Zealand did not get away to a good start after Bishop Luck, the English Benedictine bishop of Auckland, had made pointed references to Cardinal Cullen's denunciation of Irish nationalist movements. 22 Many of the important "liberal"

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22. Davis, *Irish Issues*, p. 102
Fr. Daniel O'Connor, curate in Greymouth
February-September 1883.
politicians who had sat on the stage during the Land League meetings declined to attend Redmond's meetings. Neither did any of the New Zealand Catholic hierarchy grace his platform. However the Tablet did print the itinerary for his visit, 23 while the West Coast gave him a warm, enthusiastic welcome, as did many of its clergy.

Once again it was Kumara that led the way. On the evening of 2 October Redmond gave his address on "The Aims and Objects of the Irish National League" to an audience of between four and five hundred people of all creeds and opinions, in the Theatre Royal at Kumara. Fr. Walshe, the parish priest, presided while Fr. O'Connor of Greymouth and Fr. Ahern of Ross were on the platform. The Tablet reported Redmond's speech which made reference to the refusal to grant him use of some religious halls. An illuminated address and a presentation of £312 were given to Redmond while the former Land League committee, which still existed, decided to transform itself immediately into a branch of the Irish National League. 24 Similar meetings were recorded at Reefton 25 and Boatman's. 26 At Boatman's, the parish priest of the region, Fr. Mulvihill, acted as chairman. Redmond's visit to Hokitika was warmly recorded by one of the town's Mercy nuns:

Visited by W.H. Redmond Esq, M.P. New Ross, Wexford, Ireland, a grand young patriot whose lectures on Irish affairs in America, Australia and New Zealand have removed the prejudices of many and materially assisted the interests of the I.N.L. in those countries. On his arrival in Hoka the Catholics presented him with an

23. Tablet, 28 Sep 1883, p. 14
24. Ibid, 19 Oct 1883, p. 21
25. Ibid, 30 Nov 1883, p. 27
26. Ibid, 2 Nov 1883, p. 2
appropriate address beautifully illuminated and printed by the Sisters. His visit to the schools is not likely to be forgotten by any who had the honour of being present on that memorable day... The pupils sang some of the Melodies and a girl of Irish Catholic parents read an address to which he replied in most gracious terms, remarking that it was his proudest boast to be an Irishman and a Catholic... His Lecture in this town realized £300 which proves that love of Faith and Fatherland is not yet dead in Westland. 27

While in Greymouth Redmond had stated in a public lecture that the aim of the League was to work for the re-establishment in Ireland of a parliament that would concern itself with the domestic affairs of Ireland, and especially the readjustment of the land system so as to ensure a fairer share of the profits for the tenant farmers. 28 These sentiments must have been acceptable to many of the clergy as at his Christchurch meeting two Marist priests (Frs. Devoy and Chevrier) and two secular priests (Frs. Treacy and McKenna) appeared on stage 29 while in Dunedin, although Bishop Moran did not attend, his Vicar-General, Mgr. Coleman, did so.

After Redmond's visit there was an effort to sustain interest in the League. The Tablet told of new branches in Greymouth and Notown, and donations from Addison's, Kumara, Humphrey's Gully and Hokitika. 30 In the next three years particularly the Tablet carried frequent reports of League meetings and donations. This seems to reflect the fact that by 1885 the Irish hierarchy had come to the conclusion that the social and political attitudes of the bulk of the parliamentary party were sufficiently safe and conservative, so that in the general election

27. Mercy Sisters Archives (Christchurch), (henceforth M3AC), Annals of the Hokitika Convent, 3 Oct 1883


29. Lyttelton Times, 20 Oct 1883

30. Tablet, 20 Feb 1885
of 1885 the Catholic clergy were authorized to take part as delegates at the county conventions. Many did so and often exerted considerable influence on the proceedings. This pattern of clergy interest and involvement is seen in a striking way on the West Coast. Fr. Carew, the Marist parish priest of Greymouth in 1886, publicly appealed for the League in Greymouth, stating that it was an entirely approved cause and that every true Irishman should be able to donate sixpence per month. He affirmed that love of one's own country was positively commanded by God, after love of God himself. At a meeting of the Kumara branch at which the local clergy, Frs. Walshe and Browne, were present, the latter promised to help by subscription and active service as long as this did not interfere with his priestly duties. Several years later we find priests acting as presidents of various branches e.g. Fr. O'Hallahan at Notown and Nelson Creek, and Fr. Rolland at Boatman's.

During these years the strength of the Grey Valley branches was such that they were able to constitute a regional group holding an annual conference. The Tablet highlighted a case in which they brought a prosecution against a Sergeant-Major O'Grady who was in command of the Greymouth police force. He had alleged that money raised for the League had been used privately in defence of Donohue, one of the local members. The League was successful in its prosecution. At that year's annual conference congratulations were extended to the Grey chairman, Mr.

31. Lyons, Ireland Since the Famine, p. 172
32. Tablet, 19 Jun 1886, p. 21
33. Ibid, 23 Jul 1886, p. 11
34. Ibid, 18 May 1888, p. 17
35. Ibid, 2 Nov 1888, p. 19
36. Ibid, 25 Jan 1889, p. 18
James O'Brien, for his successful prosecution of Sergeant O'Grady, also to Parnell for his virtual clean sweep of the Irish parliamentary seats. At least four annual conferences were held, the venue being the St. Joseph's Convent's classrooms in Greymouth. During this time the Tablet also printed frequent lists of contributions to the League. Between 1886 and 1889, in little less than three years, the newspaper had recorded £1,081-2-0 worth of donations from fifteen different West Coast centres.

The fact that this interest in Irish issues was not so intense in other parts of New Zealand can be seen from a report in Bishop Redwood's newly inaugurated Catholic Times in Wellington at the beginning of 1888. The second editorial in one of the earliest copies gave a summary of the activities of the National League and the support for it in New Zealand. After recommending the New Zealand branches the article went on to comment that although the writer was aware that there were healthy vigorous branches on the West Coast of the Middle Island, yet in most of the towns the movement had no footing whatever. This was of great concern because at no stage of the development of the Home Rule question did the Irish party stand more in need of support from the colonies than at that moment. The League had been declared an illegal association and many of Ireland's best friends had been thrown into gaol without a trial. The same newspaper, in reporting a month or so later the annual meeting of the Westport branch of the I.N.L. under its president Fr. Na-lahe, recorded the passing of the following resolution:

That this branch tender their sincere sympathy to the

37. Ibid, 22 Jan 1886, p. 13
38. Ibid, 20 Jan 1888, p. 7
patriotic and noble-souled men now in Irish prisons for no other reason than having the manliness to express what they think of the drastic and obnoxious Coercion Bill, unparalleled in any other country.\textsuperscript{40}

Once again the vagaries of English politics had cast an entirely new slant on the Irish question. With the defeat of Gladstone and therefore the Home Rule cause in 1886, the land dispute began to push its way forward once again as the leading issue. Two years of falling prices for Ireland's crops furthered this process. As a result three members of the League, John Dillon, William O'Brien and Tim Harrington, put forward in October 1886 what came to be known as the "Plan of Campaign". The basis of this plan was that all the tenants on a given farm should make a pact to offer the landlord a lowered rent, what they could afford; if he did not accept, then they would pay nothing and the money they had offered would go into an "estate fund" to pay the expenses of anyone who was evicted. Once again the boycott was to be used against anyone who tried to obtain possession of the vacant land. This plan never did operate widely, being employed on only 116 estates in the key years of struggle 1886-90. The financial strain it imposed was enormous and it led to some bitter fighting in Tipperary, Limerick and Kerry.\textsuperscript{41}

Because of this violence some of the bishops began to condemn the movement but many of the parish clergy still supported it as did the archbishops of Cashel and Dublin. Such was the dissension within the Catholic Church that Pope Leo X\textsuperscript{111} sent his own emissary, Mgr. Persico, to Ireland in 1887 to make a report. This did not entirely against the tenants but nevertheless Leo X\textsuperscript{111} personally issued a rescript.\textsuperscript* 

\textsuperscript{40} Ibid, 25 Feb 1888, p. 21
\textsuperscript{41} Lyons, \textit{Ireland Since the Famine}, p. 181-3
\textsuperscript{*} A written answer given in reply to a request for clarification of a disputed point of law or dogma.
Fr. James O'Donnell, one of the strongest supporters of Irish causes among the Canterbury and West Coast clergy.
in April 1888 condemning the Plan and boycotting as illegal, and in effect warning the Irish Church to stand clear. The rescript caused a strong reaction. The hierarchy obeyed reluctantly and as minimally as possible while Catholic members of the Parliamentary Party angrily denounced Vatican interference in the political affairs of the Irish people. Nevertheless numerous parish clergy still took part in the League's activities and some were imprisoned for doing so. Leaders like John Dillon simply advocated a stronger brand of liberalism which included a total separation of Church and state.

In New Zealand the papal veto also caused internal strife. This is well reflected in a report of the greeting of the Catholics of NoTown to their new English bishop Joseph Grimes, on his first trip to the West Coast. The address is given in full as it also introduces a man who is to play a key role in a later chapter, Fr. James O'Donnell.

May it please your Lordship - we the Catholics of Notown district tender to your Lordship a hearty welcome on this your first visit among us. We also congratulate your Lordship upon your recent elevation to the episcopate. We are glad to say, my Lord, that our little church which has lately been erected is entirely free of debt and this pleasing fact we believe to be due in a great measure to the indefatigable exertions of our late beloved pastor, the Rev. Fr. O'Donnell, who we are glad to learn, is labouring in God's vineyard and in charge of a new parish in this diocese under the paternal supervision of your Lordship. And we must not overlook the merits of our present "soggarth aroon!" Fr. O'Hallahan, whose zeal, piety and patriotic disposition evoke our entire confidence and esteem. Doubtless your Lordship is aware that the great majority of us hail from the Green Isle far away, and that we take a deep and practical interest in its people. This is, indeed, true, my Lord, and we may add that we are convinced that nothing less than a measure of self-government similar to that which prevails in these colonies will ever bring peace, prosperity and contentment to the landlord oppressed people of that coercion-governed country - and it affords us much pleasure to learn that the opinion and sympathy of your Lordship are in accordance with our own

* A Gaelic phrase whose literal English translation is "darling priest"
on this important matter. There is one thing, my Lord, which creates a great amount of uneasiness in our minds, namely the alleged condemnation of the Irish National League organizations by our Holy Father the Pope. We refrain, my Lord, from making any comments on this auspicious occasion than to say we hope the telegram reports may be greatly exaggerated or wholly untrue. In conclusion, we pray that Almighty God may give your Lordship grace, health and strength for many years to perform the numerous duties of your sacred office - Signed, on behalf of the Catholics of Notown district: John Flynn, John O'Reilly, J.M. Clifford, Jeremiah McCarthy, James Meehan, Michael O'Plaherty, John Deegan, John Kerrigan, Patrick Gillon, John McCormick, James O'Connor, Thomas Hillier and Timothy Mullins.

The Tablet report concluded by saying that the bishop had thanked them from the bottom of his heart for their welcome, then gave minute replies to each point made in their speech. It is unfortunate that the Tablet does not report Bishop Grimes's reply since the newspaper had had its own difficulties over the Pope's decision. This it had accepted only grudgingly explaining it as the result of an English clique in Rome trying to impose its will on the Irish church.43

However the cautious path trod by Parnell in the next two years helped to win him back much support from the Irish hierarchy and from liberal politicians. His successful defence of himself and the other national leaders in the famous trial was one part of his success; perhaps more important however was his great reluctance to support in any way the Plan of Campaign which was in desperate financial strife. In the end, because of the insistent pleading of Dillon and William O'Brien, he allowed a new organization, the Tenants' Defence Association, to be set up in 1889 to try and save the Plan from complete collapse, but he would allow no more than that his name could be used in conjunction with the new association.44

42. Tablet, 22 Jun 1888
43. Ibid, 6 Apr 1888, p. 17
44. Lyons, Ireland Since the Famine, p. 186-7
No such doubts seemed to exist in New Zealand. In the tour he made for the parliamentary party late in 1889 and early in 1890, John Dillon was given a tumultuous welcome wherever he went. Not only did the main liberal politicians attend his meetings but all the Catholic bishops as well, except for Grimes who was ill and sent his Vicar-General to represent him. Numbers of sympathetic Protestant clergy were also in evidence. When Sir George Grey appeared with Dillon on the stage at the Auckland rally, he received a standing ovation. Dillon repeated the triumphant West Coast circuit, speaking at church halls and schools. "The Irish Delegate... visited the schools. The children had an entertainment suited to the occasion and presented the National Advocate with a gold harp, and greenstone mounted in gold." Among those present at his public meetings were three out of four of the West Coast M.H.R's: R. Reeves (Aha- ura), A. Guiness (Greymouth), and E.J. O'Connor (Westport). Davis mentions also that there were a number of anti-Home Rule meetings held at this time, which were attended by a number of Protestant clergymen but these were clearly overshadowed by the supporters of Home Rule.

2. The New Zealand Irish.

At this stage in the development of the Catholic Church and the Irish question in New Zealand it is useful to examine the Irish-born population and the demographic changes that had occurred since the peak gold-rush days in the mid 1860's. Had the number of Irish increased at the same rate as the rest of

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Irish-born</th>
<th>Roman Catholics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>256,393</td>
<td>29,733</td>
<td>35,608</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>578,482</td>
<td>51,408</td>
<td>80,715</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7. Numbers of Irish-born and Roman Catholics in New Zealand 1871 and 1886.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Irish-born</th>
<th>Roman Catholics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>15,357</td>
<td>3,493</td>
<td>4,376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>15,931</td>
<td>2,574</td>
<td>5,005</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8. Numbers of Irish-born and Roman Catholics in Westland and Grey Counties, 1871 and 1886.
New Zealand's population? Did the growth pattern of the Roman Catholic Church follow this same pattern? Did the West Coast keep its numerical advantage in terms of the number of Irish and Catholics to be found there?

Table seven shows the comparison between 1871 and 1886 of the numbers of Irish-born and Roman Catholic citizens of New Zealand. Although the Irish-born population had increased absolutely in this fifteen year period, it had not kept up with the rate of growth of either the Catholic Church (growth factor of 2.27), or the total New Zealand population (growth factor of 2.25). The Irish growth factor had been only 1.73. This means that although the Irish might be aware of themselves as a growing and perhaps more vocal minority they were actually becoming more of a minority group in the population all the time.

What these figures are unable to show, of course, is the number of first generation New Zealanders, one or both of whose parents were born in Ireland. How much would they absorb the "Irish" attitudes and values of their parents? This is a difficult question to answer, though some attempt will be made to do so by looking at the type of education many of these children would have received.

Whether the national pattern of 1886 was repeated on the West Coast in the same way or whether a new pattern emerges is a further question. Unfortunately, because the 1871 census did not give a break-down of population figures into boroughs and counties it is impossible to get an accurate figure for the whole of the West Coast. Table eight then is based on figures for the Westland and Grey counties. What is most striking about these figures is that the number of Irish-born has declined not just relatively but absolutely, and to a marked degree. In these fifteen years 1219 persons of Irish birth had either died or left the area while the number of Catholics (growth factor of 1.14) and total population (growth factor of 1.04) had
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Provinces</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Irish-born</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Auckland</td>
<td>1871 1886</td>
<td>1871 1886</td>
<td>13,162</td>
<td>14.12</td>
<td>10,976</td>
<td>17.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>62,335</td>
<td>8,805</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20,225</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td>46,801</td>
<td>5,088</td>
<td>11,694</td>
<td>10.87</td>
<td>13,733</td>
<td>8.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>121,400</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otaro</td>
<td>69,491</td>
<td>6,221</td>
<td>12,536</td>
<td>8.82</td>
<td>7,465</td>
<td>10.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>149,154</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>18,140</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9. Numbers of Irish-born and Roman Catholics in some N.Z. Provinces, 1871 and 1886.
increased slowly, though at far less a pace than for the colony as a whole. In effect, while the West Coast Irish Catholics were asserting their national identity in drawing together over the griefs of Ireland they were actually a dwindling minority both in the Catholic and general population of Westland.

Nevertheless, they were still the most significant Irish and Catholic regional grouping in New Zealand. This is evident from a comparison of Westland with a few other sample provinces, in Table nine. These statistics indicate several developments. The first is that the number of Irish-born was decreasing relative to other national groups in each of these provinces, while Catholic numbers were still rising relative to other religious groups in Otago and Canterbury but not in Auckland. Despite the fact that the increase in the Irish population of Auckland was less than any of the other provinces (except the West Coast) it still had the largest Irish concentration of any New Zealand province, with approximately six times the number on the West Coast. Yet apart from two large Home Rule meetings Auckland seems to feature little in Irish issues of the 1870's and 1880's, though a strong National Federation branch did thrive there in the 1890's. There are several possible reasons for this conspicuous lack of Irish awareness emanating from Auckland. The first is that many of the Irish immigrants, predominantly agricultural labourers, would be widely scattered throughout the Auckland region. The second is that, as a result of Auckland's remoteness from Dunedin, the Tablet was not very interested in copy from the far North. However given the eagerness with which the newspaper reported any Irish occasion from even the smallest settlements on the Coast, it is difficult to see why the Tablet would pursue such a policy.

The second statistic of note comes from Otago, Bishop Moran's diocese. It is not surprising that the percentage of Irish in the entire population is the lowest of the four centres
### Table 10a. Numbers of Irish-born and Roman Catholics in West Coast Boroughs, 1878 and 1886

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boroughs</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Irish-born Roman Catholics</th>
<th>Total Percentage</th>
<th>Total Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1878</td>
<td>1886</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westport</td>
<td>1,161</td>
<td>1,859</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greymouth</td>
<td>2,721</td>
<td>3,133</td>
<td>496</td>
<td>380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hokitika</td>
<td>3,202</td>
<td>2,087</td>
<td>380</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ross</td>
<td>1,068</td>
<td>1,054</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumara</td>
<td>1,275</td>
<td>1,079</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>9,632</td>
<td>9,812</td>
<td>1434</td>
<td>1165</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 10b. Numbers of Irish-born and Roman Catholics in West Coast Counties, 1878 and 1886

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Counties</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Irish-born Roman Catholics</th>
<th>Total Percentage</th>
<th>Total Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1878</td>
<td>1886</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buller</td>
<td>2,391</td>
<td>3,390</td>
<td>463</td>
<td>539</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inanga-hua</td>
<td>2,970</td>
<td>3,152</td>
<td>729</td>
<td>468</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grey</td>
<td>4,846</td>
<td>5,595</td>
<td>1038</td>
<td>893</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westland</td>
<td>6,061</td>
<td>5,348</td>
<td>1202</td>
<td>908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>16,288</td>
<td>17,185</td>
<td>3432</td>
<td>2828</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
compared, as Dunedin had been established as the bastion of Scottish religious non-conformity. However what is more surprising, in view of Moran's strong statements about the link between Irish identity and Catholic faith in his diocese, is the fact that at the very maximum only 69.1% of his flock could have been Irish, assuming that all Otago Irish were Catholics. The real figure must have been considerably lower than this since of the 63,829 Presbyterians who made up 42.7% of Otago's population in 1886 a considerable number must have been Ulster men. Even if we take only the rough percentage of 90% Catholic as an overall estimate true for Ireland as a whole, this would reduce the number of Irish in Moran's flock to about 62.6%.

Returning to the West Coast, we now consider the distribution of the Irish in Westland, remembering that in 1868 the main concentration of Irish was to be found in the goldfields and small goldmining centres rather than in the larger commercial centres. Did this pattern continue into the 1880's? Unfortunately, since distribution of population by borough and county was recorded first only in 1878 the term of comparison in this case can be only eight years instead of the previous fifteen. The results are summarized in Tables 10a and 10b. The first fact that emerges is that although the combined population totals for the West Coast boroughs and counties had grown slowly over the eight year period, i.e. 25,900 in 1878 as compared to 27,297 in 1886, it was the counties which had grown much more quickly than the boroughs. As goldmining gradually declined the larger commercial centres tended to drop in population which shifted to the smaller county settlements where farming, coalmining and the timber industry were beginning to become established. This drop in population is most noticeable in the case of Hokitika which lost 515 residents over the eight year period.

When we turn to the changes in the Irish and Roman Cath-
Construction of the new parish church in Greymouth, 1886. It is not possible to identify the clergymen in the top of the picture but the parish staff of Frs. Carew and Pertuis could well be two of them.
olic population it can be seen that the pattern was reversed. Numbers of Irish-born dropped far more heavily in the counties than in the boroughs, the heaviest losses occurring in the Inangahua county (729 to 488), and Westland county (1202 to 908). A possible explanation is the change in mining conditions in these areas. Around Reefton the alluvial mining areas about Cronandun and Boatman's were worked out while the deep reefs that were discovered in the range behind Reefton involved deep mining, tunnelling and crushing techniques that did not seem to attract the Irish. Many Cornish and Australian miners came out to New Zealand during this period and settled particularly around the Black's Point area. The drop in the number of Irish in Westland County also probably reflects the gradual petering out of the Waimea, Kaniere and Totara goldfields.

Whereas the Irish-born population was declining markedly, the Catholic population was growing gradually, though more noticeable in the boroughs than in the counties. The two exceptions to this pattern occurred in Hokitika and Kumara. The figures for Hokitika follow the loss for the town as a whole. Kumara was the last of the big Westland goldrushes (1876), but was rapidly exhausted. A large number of those who moved on to other places were clearly Irish miners, many of them Catholics.

Another distinctive mark of the Irish sub-culture of the West Coast was the system of schools created by the Catholic community, in which the vast majority of the teachers were Irish, some having actually taught in Ireland. These schools came into existence in two great waves which overlapped to some extent. The first wave consisted of the early schools set up, often at

49. Recollections of Mrs. J. Cunniffe, Reefton. These are confirmed by the large number of Methodists and Wesleyans in the Reefton area, according to contemporary censuses, numbers far higher than for any other part of the Coast.
Fr. Royer's Original Church and School in Greymouth, 1866.
the initiative of the diggers or the early priests, and run by
lay Catholic teachers, sometimes supported by the County admin-
istration up to 1876. The second wave was made up of a series
of foundations by different communities of Mercy Sisters broug-
ht to the West Coast for this purpose in the 1870's and 1880's.

The first Catholic school was that begun by Fr. Royer at
Greymouth in February 1866, called, somewhat predictably, St. Pa-
trick's. The first teacher was a Mr. Hanan, followed in 1868 by
a Mr. Beaupré, and Mr. Ahearne in 1874, while the girls' class-
es were taught originally by a Miss McMahon, then a Miss Clarke
and a Miss Dennehy. Also in 1866, the Hokitika school was beg-
un under the patronage of Fr. McGirr, the first teachers being
a Mr. and Mrs. B. Hamill. The following advertisement appeared in
the Hokitika Evening Star:

Mr. and Mrs. Hamill will re-open St. Mary's Catholic
Day School on Monday 7th Jan. 1867, under the pat-
tonage of the Rev. Fr. McGirr. Mr. Hamill in mak-
ing this announcement begs to inform the public of
Hokitika that he holds two certificates of merit
for teaching: one from the Irish National Board,
and the other from the Board of Education at Auck-
land. He has had 13 years experience in several
first class schools, and is intimately acquainted
with all the latest improved methods of imparting
a good sound English and Commercial Education.
The following subjects will be taught only, at the
request of the parents or guardians, viz: Algebra,
Geometry, Mensuration, Trigonometry, Book-Keeping
by single and double-entry, Logic, Latin and French.
Girls will be taught knitting, sewing, and cutting
out under the direct superintendence of Mrs. Hamill.
Mr. Hamill is prepared to treat liberally with par-
ties requiring his services at home tuition, either
before or after schools hours. 50

Once the school was in session the curriculum was proba-
bly not so detailed. When the County Board inspected the scho-
ol in May 1868 the subjects taught by Mr. Hamill (now assisted
by Miss Oakes) were: reading, writing, arithmetic, geography,

50. Hokitika Evening Star, 5 Jan 1867, A.V. O'Brien, "Education
on the Goldfields of Westland - From the First Gold Rush
in 1864 to the Abolition of the Provinces," (Thesis for M.
A.), 1966, (Canterbury University), p. 168
and French to one boy.  

The next teacher who is known to have taught at this school is a Mr. Carrick in 1873.  

Similar schools were founded by Fr. Larkin in Stafford Town in 1867 and Waimea in 1868. The Westland Gazette of May 1868 also contains an application for aid by Fr. S.H. McDonough for a school at Ross. The Catholic school at Charleston had a succession of Irish headmasters, Richard Delaney 1872-5, Dennis O'Donoghue 1875-6, and Charles McCarthy 1876-80, whose school prize-givings were usually reported in detail by the Tablet. Similarly the Tablet carefully noted that the first prize at the school prize-giving in Ahaura in 1889 (where Mr. O'Brien was the headmaster) was the Life of the Liberator by the Nun of Kenmare. The Nun of Kenmare, incidentally, was not anticipating contemporary theology in writing a life of Jesus Christ under this title; she was writing of Daniel O'Connell.  

There is a report of a St. Joseph's school in Kaniere in 1874, though this cannot be verified. A Mr. Griffin was headmaster of St. Joseph's, Rimu, in 1874 and two years later he was head in Ross where he followed a Mr. Sulhearn. Among the teachers at the Kumara Catholic school from its founding in April 1877 till it was taken over by the Mercy Sisters in 1889 was J. J. Crofts. He was first noted by the Tablet when, at a public meeting at Kumara to protest against the Government's Education Act, he compared this act to the persecution suffered by the Catholic Church in Ireland. He won his warmest praises from the Tablet, however, when he gave a public lecture on Cromwell  

52. Ibid, May 1868, O'Brien, "Education", p. 59  
53. Tablet, 7 May 1889  
54. O'Brien, "Education", p. 204  
55. Tablet, 7 Sep 1877, p. 5
entitled, "The Murderer of the Women and Children of Drogheda and Wexford", in reply to public lectures of the Rev. Charles Clarke praising Cromwell. Crofts then moved on to teach in the Catholic school at Reefton.

The introduction of religious sisters to teach in the Catholic schools of the West Coast began in Ahaura in September 1871 when a French Marist priest, Eugene Pertuis, managed to persuade the superior of the Mercy Sisters (whom he knew from his work in the North Island) to send three of her religious to Ahaura. On 8 April 1872 St. Mary's Day and Boarding School for Girls was opened. Later St. Joseph's Parish School was opened. Fr. John-Baptiste Rolland, also a French Marist, came to replace Fr. Pertuis in November 1874 when the latter got into financial troubles because of too rapid expansion. In the next year Fr. Rolland opened his remarkable Academy for Boys which will be discussed in the next chapter. This year the sisters returned to Wellington since it was impossible for them to maintain a religious community in such a remote and isolated district. However the Academy continued under a Mr. Heron till 1878, then under Morgan O'Brien till Rolland's departure early in 1883.

The first large group of nuns to become established on the Coast were a group of Mercy sisters from Ennis, County Clare, under Mother Clare Moloney. The ten religious who arrived in Hokitika on 22 July 1878 were Mothers Gabriel O'Kennedy, Claver Ryan, Aloysius McGrath, Clare Moloney, and Sisters Juliana Ryan, Columba Ryan, Patrick Molony, Mechtildes Boland, Cecilia Sheehan, and Angela O'Keefe. These women were to have a great effect on the life of the Catholic Church on the West Coast. Not only did they establish a large number of daughter houses and schools in other West Coast centres; they were also involved

56. Ibid, 4 Jan 1878, p. 15
57. Marist Messenger, Feb 1934, p. 41
The first class of St. Mary's Convent School, Greymouth, 1882.
in broader community service, visiting hospitals and elderly people.

From this original house, foundations were then made in Greymouth (1882), Kumara and Ross (1889), then Lyttelton and Gisborne, while sisters went out each day to teach in Rimu and Kaniere. The convent in Greymouth was then responsible for daughter houses in Brunner (1886) and Cobden (1911). In the thirty year period 1877-1907, 21 Irish sisters were sent out from Ennis to build up these communities. It is also clear that within the first few years of their arrival the Mercy sisters began to receive local girls as postulants in their convents, thus ensuring a fairly rapid indigenization of the congregation. Yet these early Irish nuns did maintain a strong link with the country of their birth. The photograph album of one of them is headed "A Souvenir of Home from the Green Isle of Erin" and is full of pictures with captions such as "Look at it, For Old Times Sake"; "Dear Erin!" and "No land like Ireland anywhere at all!"

Another group of nuns came to Reefton early in 1891 from Singleton in New South Wales. The Mercy convent in Singleton had been founded from the same mother house at Ennis as was the convent in Hokitika. The original group of Mother Regis Murray, Josepha Nowland, Sisters Teresa Mahon, Mary Wilkinson, and a postulant Miss Lillah Simmons (who was later to become Sister Gertrude) were joined late in 1891 by Mother de Sales Scanlan and Sister Penignus Meaney. From Reefton, a convent was founded in Westport in 1893, and a school in Ikamatua that same year. Of the 29 nuns who lived in these two convents up to 1915, only two were actually born in Ireland; however of the twelve born in New Zealand and the fifteen born in Australia, sixteen had parents both Irish-born, and of the remainder nine had one parent.

58. Register of Profession, St. Columbkille's Convent, Hokitika, (MSAC).
who was Irish. The first New Zealand postulant, Cecelia Tansey, was born in Kumara of Irish parents, Patrick and Mary Tansey, and entered the convent in Reefton in 1893.59

The last significant group of teachers are the Marist Brothers who came to Greymouth in 1891. They had been founded in France as an offshoot of the Marist priests' order, but had quickly gained their autonomy and grew much more rapidly than the parent order. They soon made foundations in Ireland which developed so swiftly that they were able to send subjects overseas.

It is difficult to estimate how successful these Irish nuns and brothers were, consciously or unconsciously, in transmitting their love for Ireland to those they taught, or even if they tried too. It has not been possible to recover contemporary school note-books or readers. The old identities interviewed could all remember a particular teacher who had talked with great fervour of the oppressions of old Ireland. Unfortunately the written word has disappeared but the memories can still be accepted for what they are—old impressions, yet significant impressions that help to colour in the background on which the main characters are drawn.

3. Parnell's Downfall and Divisions in the Irish Community.

The event that split the Irish Parliamentary Party was a divorce scandal. In December 1889 Captain O'Shea filed a suit for divorce against his wife, citing Parnell as the co-respondent. This was no tempestuous, spur of the moment affair. Both

59. It is her memoirs that form the basis for this short summary of the history of the Reefton foundation; Mercy Sisters Archives, (Wellington), (henceforth MSAW), "Retrospective Glances"; Cecelia Tansey.
Catherine and Captain O'Shea had been working closely with Parnell since 1880. Their marriage had already broken and they were living apart. Mrs. O'Shea and Parnell began living together temporarily in 1882 and this became a permanent arrangement in 1886. Many of his parliamentary colleagues were aware of the relationship. The couple did not contest the divorce since they wished to marry.

The case came to trial in November 1890. After some dissent within the parliamentary party, the majority had pledged their support for Parnell and he was re-elected as party leader. However at this stage Gladstone revealed a letter indicating Parnell's unacceptability to the Liberal party. This forced the Irish party to choose between Parnell, and the support of the Liberals, which was essential if a Home Rule bill was to be passed. Rather than accept this passively, and take his chances on the decision, Parnell forced the breach wider still when he published his "Manifesto to the Irish People" condemning some of his party as unduly dominated by their Liberal allies. At this moment the Irish Catholic bishops came out against him. His moral conduct certainly would not have helped his case with them but it was primarily a question of whether to sacrifice one man (and an "adulterous Protestant" at that) or the cause for which they had fought so hard, so the bishops' decision was not at all surprising.

The fight within the party itself was both fiercer and closer. After a week's debate behind closed doors a clear split developed, 32 members declaring for Parnell and 54 against. Parnell then took the battle to Ireland itself hoping to bypass the party, but he was fighting against the Church, Michael Davitt, most of the other leading Party members, and the fears of many of the ordinary people for the fate of the evicted tenants and the very future of Home Rule itself. In this bitter battle in which so many of his old allies had deserted him, Parnell
seemed to turn again to the tradition he had rejected in 1882, the fighting spirit of Young Ireland and the Fenians. In Ireland as well as in England and the United States, many of the old Fenians came out to support him. A last hope was held out to him when O'Brien and Dillon proposed that he retire temporarily till passions had cooled down, but he refused. After a soaking at a long public meeting he became ill and died on 6 October 1891.60

It is difficult to imagine the political bitterness and divisions that rent Ireland after Parnell's death. Some small inkling of the violent reaction caused by the disputes can be seen in this extract from a sermon preached by a parish priest in Roundwood, City Wicklow, just before the General Election of 1892:

Parnellism is a simple love of adultery and all those who profess Parnellism profess to love and admire adultery... their cause is not patriotism - it is adultery - and they back Parnellism because it gratifies their adultery. 61

This feuding within the Irish nationalist movement had a major impact in New Zealand. Since the New Zealand hierarchy and the Tablet made it clear that they backed the Irish bishops' decision every inch of the way, there was little in the way of dissent in New Zealand Irish circles. However the great zeal for Home Rule and the close identification with all the trials of the parliamentary party, which had been so evident, now seemed to lose all enthusiasm and conviction. Something of the pain and frustration of this period can be seen in a letter which the Irish of Ahaura sent to Bishop Croke in Cashel, and which was published in the Tablet. It explained how the Nelson Creek branch of the Irish National League had dissolved itself and a branch of the Irish National Federation had been set up in its

60. Lyons, Ireland Since the Famine, p. 190-4
61. Kee, Green Flag, p. 413
place. The letter continued:

We deeply deplore the present unfortunate division in the ranks of the Irish Parliamentary Party, especially since it has been caused by one in whom we placed unbounded confidence... As the feelings of the Irishmen in this distant part of the world may not be generally known, we beg to assure your Grace that our sympathies are entirely with the party led by Justin McCarthy and approved (we are rejoiced to know) by the esteemed Hierarchy of Ireland. 62

As a result of the feuds there were three groups claiming to lead Irish nationalism: these headed by John Redmond, T.M. Healy, and Justin McCarthy respectively. (McCarthy was replaced by John Dillon in 1896). The Parnellites, Redmond's group, had failed badly in the election of 1892 winning only nine seats. The anti-Parnellites had formed the Irish National Federation. But within the Federation another split occurred, aided by a strong clash of personalities between Tim Healy on one side and John Dillon and William O'Brien on the other, over the question of whether the party should be clericalist or purely lay. The conflict was finally solved only when all the parties agreed in 1900 to combine once again under the leadership of the Parnellite, John Redmond. 63

Part of the reason for the Catholic Church's backing of Dillon and McCarthy was that their Irish Nationalist Federation was strongly in favour of Gladstone's second Home Rule Bill, which was being presented at this time. Late in 1892, the Tablet printed the full text of the I.N.P's, "Address of the Irish Parliamentary Party to Irishmen Abroad" which was a plea for a united front by all Irishmen at this crucial time in Irish history. 64

R.P. Davis mentions the gradual dying away of interest in the Home Rule issue in New Zealand after 1892. He sees the dis-

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62. Tablet, 24 Jul 1891, p. 13
63. Lyons, Ireland Since the Famine, p. 197
64. Tablet, 25 Nov 1891, p. 18
satisfaction of the Irish bishops with the education provisions
made by the Liberals and a similar disillusionment on the part
of the New Zealand hierarchy over the colonial Liberal party's
espousal of secular education as the key factors in this process,
aided also by Ballance's death and Seddon's rather lukewarm at-
titude to Home Rule. 65 No doubt these factors are important, but
the failure once again in 1893 of the Home Rule Bill to pass the
English parliament, together with the squalid infighting that
splintered the Irish parliamentary party for the next seven ye-
ars, must not be underestimated.

Despite the splits in the old country there was a strong
branch of the Federation in Auckland throughout the 1890's.
However there was a note of discord between the Auckland and We-
llington branches which were split over what type of reform Irel-
and needed most whether it was political or economic. One of
the leading figures in the Auckland branch was M. J. Sheahen, M. P.
While holidaying on the West Coast he helped set up branch-
es at Denniston, Charleston, Westport and Addison's Flat. 66 Lat-
er reports told of election of officers and meetings. There was
also a lengthy description of a meeting at Lyell which stirred
great interest in the local community. 67

The Federation was given a certain amount of impetus by
a visit to New Zealand in 1895 by the famous ex-Fenian Michael
Davitt. His private lecture tour was to build up finances for
the Federation. His lectures were generally praised for their
moderation and were well received by leading Liberals. However
they did not heal the rift between the feuding Auckland and We-
llington I.N.F. branches. 68

65. Davis, Irish Issues, p. 113, 117
66. Tablet, 4, 11 Nov 1894, p. 15, 20
67. Ibid, 7 Dec 1894, p. 27
68. Davis, Irish Issues, p. 119, 122
As a result of his visit, Davitt sent an invitation to Fr. Carew of Greymouth, requesting that a delegate from the Coast attend the Convention of the Irish Race in Dublin in 1896, which was to attempt once more to unify the feuding nationalist elements. Carew's reply, published in the *Tablet*, regretted that no representative could be sent, expressed support on behalf of the West Coast, but deplored the present lack of unity among the Irish parliamentary party. 69

4. Bishop Moran's Irish Nationalism - How Different Was it?

To any observer of the New Zealand scene from 1870 to 1900 it was clear that there were very special links between the Roman Catholic Church and the Irish in New Zealand. The vast majority of such Irish were Roman Catholics. Many of their priests were Irish and many of their schools were staffed by Irish nuns or brothers. All the bishops had attended Home Rule meetings at some time or another, and most had spoken forcefully of the wrongs inflicted on Ireland. The suggestion that some bishops or sections of the Church were anti-Irish would certainly have amazed such an observer. How then did Bishop Moran come to such a conclusion?

There are three obvious areas where differences could have arisen: over the National Leagues, the handling of the education issue, and the link between Irish identity and the Roman Catholic faith.

Certainly the New Zealand bishops were slow to welcome Redmond in 1883. Yet Bishop Moran himself failed to attend Redmond's Dunedin meeting because, like the other bishops, he knew that the Irish hierarchy was still hesitant to give its approval to the Land Leagues after the violence that had accompanied the

69. *Tablet*, 7 Aug 1896, p. 29
movement. Once the New Zealand hierarchy had been given the lead by their Irish colleagues, it is clear that the bishops were quite happy to let the Leagues grow under the aegis of the parochial clergy. In Wellington and Christchurch both Marist and secular priests acted as presidents of the branches. The one concrete case which the Tablet did belabour was that of Fr. O'Donnell whom Redwood removed as parish priest of Ahaura at the end of 1887. We have already seen the sympathy of the Notown Catholics for Fr. O'Donnell upon his removal, and this was also evidenced at the fourth annual meeting of the Grey Valley branches of the League when one of the resolutions moved was an expression of sympathy for Fr. O'Donnell. The Tablet made much capital out of the priest's removal but the real reason for O'Donnell's recall to Christchurch had nothing to do with his Irish sympathies.

The education issue found both Bishop Moran and Bishop Redwood implacably opposed to the concept and practice of a totally secular education system. Both condemned it from the pulpit and in pastoral letters to their flocks. Both made strong submissions to Government to try and obtain changes. R. P. Davis argues that there was a major difference of approach and of aim between the two men. Redwood used a set of academic arguments based on the political theorists of the day whereas Moran tended to use emotive examples from Irish history to stir up a strong group awareness among the Irish. His intention in doing this was to try and form a solid voting block of Catholics that could exert real pressure on parliament. One of the key themes in Davis's work runs precisely along these lines and is stated succinctly in his introduction: "The Tablet's policy was to use Irish patriotic enthusiasm to buttress the demand for Catholic

70. Ibid, 20 Jan 1888, p. 7
71. Davis, Irish Issues, p. 76-7
education in New Zealand." It was the tangential approach of Redwood, but more especially the complications created by "liberals" such as Sir George Grey and Robert Stout who warmly supported both Home Rule and secular education that disrupted Moran's plan. Davis may be mixing cause and effect here. One of the strongest reasons that Bishop Moran fought for Catholic education was precisely because he believed that secular education was one of the methods used by the enemies of the Catholic Church to destroy Irish identity and hence the Catholic faith. This idea comes through very clearly in a speech of his reported in the Tablet:

No one can deny that the object in view of the Secularists is to destroy Catholicity. This has been avowed again and again by all the leaders of the party, and a secondary object is in the British Empire, to destroy every sentiment and vestige of Irish nationality. The great ambition of English statesmen is to make the inhabitants of Ireland West Britons. It is sought to make Irishmen forget their country and their religion. With this view have laws been made and enforced for centuries, and now in these latter days, when penal legislation and brute force have been found to be inefficacious, an astute policy pretending equality, but in reality granting it only to the acceptors of godlessness, has been employed. Everything is done that injustice can do to rob the rising generation of Catholics of their faith, by rearing them up either in ignorance or contempt of it.

For Moran, reminding Irishmen of their nation and faith was not a prelude to any other goal; his overriding goal was precisely that they remain Irishmen and Catholics. If the words of Bishop Moran are taken as empty posturings designed to whip up the national support of his countrymen for other purposes, then one will never understand the very real conflict between Bishop Moran and other elements in the Catholic Church in New Zealand. Moran's debates with the English bishops of Christchurch and

72. Ibid, p. 7
73. Tablet, 14 May 1880, p. 13
Wellington who, in Moran's eyes, were allowing their anti-Irish sympathies to lead them to decisions harmful to the true spiritual good of the Irish in their flock, will become quite incomprehensible.

This leads to the key sociological and theological problem that lies concealed at the heart of this thesis, viz. the link between nationalism and religious faith. Bishop Moran's belief seems to have been that for the Irish the two were inseparably linked. Any Catholic Irishman must be a true nationalist, devoted to the freedom and honour of the motherland; equally any true defence and love of Ireland must fight for and preserve the Catholic faith that was the jealously and bitterly defended treasure of Ireland. The converse of this was also true; any attack on the freedom and identity of the Irish must also be an attack on Catholicity. Root out one and the other would be destroyed.

Two such conflicts which convinced Bishop Moran that Irish identity and values were being undermined in New Zealand present themselves. The first is the clash between the Irish elements in the Church on one side and the English and French elements on the other. The second is the growing series of misunderstandings between the Marist and diocesan clergy in New Zealand. Both themes are intertwined and constantly overlap but they will be better understood if examined separately. Thus may we see, at least in part, why the Catholic Church in New Zealand today is so very different from that in Australia or America.
CHAPTER V

THE CHURCH IN NEW ZEALAND: IRISH OR ENGLISH WITH A DASH OF FRENCH?

A prominent feature of Irish Catholicism is the special relationship between priest and flock. No doubt this bond had been tested and tempered in penal times when Irish priests risked imprisonment and even death in bringing Catholic rites to their people, while the faithful in turn took great risks in sheltering their pastors. Also important is the fact that in Ireland, in contrast to some European countries, the clergy did not come from a different class of society than their people, they came from the midst of the people, and their interests were closely linked. When the young man returned to his parish after ordination, his seminary training did not cut him off from the ordinary people but rather gave him an extraordinary sway and authority over them. Fr. William Joseph Larkin, whose misfortunes in Hokitika have already been described, typifies this Irish Catholic situation. Some time in 1868 (it was probably late in the year - one gets the impression that it was after the priest's release from gaol) the surveyor, A. Dudley Dobson, was making a coastal journey from Westport to Greymouth. He arrived at Canoe Creek, near present-day Barrytown, about ten o'clock at night, simultaneously with Fr. Larkin "a big handsome man!" They found a large group of Irish diggers having a spree at the local grogshop - half-drunk, many of them fighting, some in the bar, and some outside. The priest walked into the bar room, took off his hat, and said in a loud voice, "Peace be to all here!" Instantly every man dropped to his knees and there was total silence. Larkin gave his blessing, the men rose then gat-
hered round to welcome him since he was such a popular figure. Fr. Larkin stayed for the night. Before the men retired there was a wrestling match in the moonlight. The priest joined in and easily threw the best of them. Dobson left Larkin the next day at Greymouth and never saw him again. He concludes his account with this observation:

Apart from his political views, he was a very fine fellow and good company, and just the man to influence a lot of rough men. He had personality, the chief element of success, in my opinion, for the management of men. 1

Another example of this near-adulation is the invitation that a group of diggers from Addison's Flat extended to Fr. Larkin when he had finished his gaol sentence. They requested his presence so that they could personally express their admiration for his zeal under harassing conditions. 2 The request concludes with 150 signatures. How these attitudes were canonized by newspapers like the Tablet can be seen in the following extract which appeared when the Dunedin newspaper learned that Fr. Michael Walshe of Kumara was being forced to return to Ireland because of ill-health.

Fr. Walshe has well merited the affection shown towards him, and proved himself to be indeed the true so ggarth aroon, the true Irish priest entering as no other can into the feelings and wants of an Irish flock, and understanding and sympathizing with them thoroughly. The religious hope of the Colony depends upon the presence among us of men like this, and we can ill afford to spare one of them. 3

Many other examples can be found in addresses and jubilee poems or songs from Irish parishioners to their parish priests. One example should illustrate this. This Irish song in honour of Fr. Carew was presented in Greymouth on his silver jubilee in 1899:

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1. Dobson, Reminiscences, p. 164-5
2. W.C.T, 20 Aug 1868
3. Tablet, 27 Aug 1886, p. 16
Of priests we know many - French - Irish - and Germans
Who can prache (by the hour) the most wonderful sermons
There's good - best (and better) as this determines,
But Father Carew - He's the Lad - of them all.

Chorus:
Then there's a health to you - Father Carew
Slanthe and Slanthe and Slanthe to you.
Whitest of craytures and kindest of teachers
Our Soggarth Arcon - of the Parish of Grey.

Our Fr. Carew - it is we that do know you well
And of good that you've done - it's many the story tell
From the joy of the cris'nin - to grief of the Passing Bell
You at your post ever - by night and by day
You've ruled over the souls of min - Twenty five year
But your youth and your prime, and your life work is here
And the churches erected - the convents projected
And schools re- surrected - show the good of your sway.

Don't talk'of your Bishops and great missionaries
Your Danes and your Logicians - who spoke in Quand - aries
There's one who can tache thim the prime necess- aries
That's Father Carew - the sogwarth of Grey.
He's loved by his people - loves them in return
Knows when to indulge them - and when to be stern,
But once he starts prachin' - the divil can't stop him,
When he manes it, our Soggarth, will say his own say.

Tho' Fr. O'Flynn had a wonderful way with him
Along - side our Soggarth - he could'nt drink tay with him.
The Goodness - the patience - the kind hearted way of him
You have not an equal - dear Soggarth of Grey.
With children so gentle - with sinners so mild
Strong heart of a man - and pure soul of a child.
The old ones "asthore" you - the children adore you.
All wish you - "cerd mille" returns of the day.

Chorus:
Our Soggarth who yet will be- Bishop of Grey.

There is a marked contrast in Irish attitudes to priests of a different nationality. While no lack of respect or deference to the priestly status is evident, it is clear that the special current of sympathy and close identification is no longer there. The example chosen to illustrate this involves the issue of the language problem between French priests and Irish Catholics, one that frequently reoccurs in our period.

A letter in the Otago Daily Times of 2 October 1867 advertises a meeting of British Catholics, for the purpose of asking for a British instead of a French priest since in the whole of the Middle Island there were only three British priests, two on the West Coast, and Fr. Williams in Otago. At this meeting the zeal of Fr. Moreau, the French Marist who had been in Otago since 1861, was praised, but it was felt that there was now need for priests to be obtained for districts where there were none at present, or for the presence of British priests who could discharge their duties more satisfactorily than priests speaking only a foreign tongue or defective English. At a later meeting three resolutions were passed. The first of these reaffirmed the meeting's respect for Bishop Viard and the French priests, but the second added that because of the great increase in Catholics owing to the gold discoveries there was an urgent need for English-speaking priests and this would best be brought about by the appointment of a British bishop for the Middle Island. The third resolution called for these motions to be sent for action to Bishop Viard, and for an answer informing the petitioners of this action. The chairman of the meeting, a Mr. Gleeson, called for a further meeting in January but on the appointed date only Gleeson and the secretary, Atkinson, turned up.

5. Goulter, Sons of France, p. 141
7. Keys, Philip Viard, p. 206
When Bishop Moran did arrive in 1871 he was to receive a spectacular welcome particularly from the Irish community. On the other hand when Fr. Moreau left the diocese about six months later, his departure would have been totally unheralded except for the fact that the small number of French in Dunedin decided to raise a testimonial for him. When the Protestant congregations about the city heard of this, they too contributed, but there is no record of any Irish presentation.

It is clear that if the Irish were prone to be less deferential to non-Irish priests, they were even more inclined to be aggressive and hostile to other non-Irish and non-Catholic groups in the community. Their priests showed these same attitudes. At the farewell to Frs. Moreau and Belliard various members of the Protestant community had spoken of the good relations and tolerance between the French priests and the non-Catholic community. This spirit was soon to change. An Invercargill paper, the Southland News, had reprinted a lurid news report entitled "Disclosures in a Palermo Monastery." In a blistering reply, Fr. Carden, an Irish secular who had recently arrived to join Bishop Moran, attacked the newspaper and the community that would read such lying propaganda. In its reply the News underlined the new style of confrontation that was to mark many of the Irish clergy:

In the interests of the friendly feeling which has hitherto existed between the members of the different religious denominations in the town we deeply regret the intemperate rashness displayed in an epistle that appeared in the local Times of yesterday, written by the rev. gentleman who has succeeded the much-respected Fr. Belliard. The abuse of ourselves... we should consider unworthy of notice, and would treat it accordingly were it not that there are passages in it which must tend to create an antagonistic feeling between Protestants and Catholics in this community, and which may be truly said never existed during his predecessor's pastorate... Instead of

8. Laracy, "Bishop Patrick Moran," p. 65
abusin the NEWS, insulting other denominations, injuring the cause he professes to advocate, and making himself appear somewhat ridiculous in the eyes of the community, we opine that the proper course for Fr. Carden to pursue under the circumstances would have been to prove, in that mild Christian spirit he professes to admire, that there was no foundation for the statement. How far he has done so we must leave the readers of his letter to determine; many of whom, we feel assured, will arrive at the same conclusion as ourselves - that the Rev. Mr. Carden is far too pugnacious to be in any way instrumental in healing those religious dissensions that have done so much injury to the human race - that have been an especial source of weakness to the country that the reverend gentleman hails from - and that the sooner he is relegated to some diocese where he will have more congenial material to operate on - say as a missionary to the South Sea Islands - and that clergymen of the Belliard or Moreau stamp take his place, the sooner will the bonds of friendship between Roman Catholic and Protestant colonists be strengthened and confirmed.

That Irish Catholics regarded not only non-Catholic groups but even fellow Catholics who were not Irish with some misgivings and distaste is evident from a letter that the Irish parish priest of Kumara wrote to Bishop Grimes in Christchurch, giving him an account of his parish. Eight years before, the second parish priest, Fr. Devo, had commented on a large group of Italian Catholics at Waimea, and we see their names: Piezzi, Martini, Gambazzi, Belami, Delacosta, Tomasi, Maretti, appearing frequently in the baptismal and confirmation registers. Fr. Walshe's total tally for the parish was "665, including "foreigners"! Later on he goes on to say, "those "foreigners" are only nominal Catholics, and more a disgrace than an acquisition to Catholicity here".

Tensions and clashes between the Irish and non-Irish elements of the Catholic Church in New Zealand raise the important question of whether there was a distinctive style of Irish

10. Walshe to Grimes, 3 May 1897, (CDA).
Catholicism, discernibly different from that established by the French missionaries. A useful frame for contrast is the character of the "Irish" Church which O'Farrell and McGovern depict in their study of the Catholic Church in Australia: a priest-centred clan structure, an effort to provide a totally Irish environment, and a pietistic rather than an intellectual approach to faith. The frame may be defective, both for Australia and New Zealand, but it does provide a model, an extreme of "Irishness" against which the New Zealand trends can be placed. The three criteria set up by O'Farrell and McGovern for the "Irish" Church in Australia they elaborate thus:

... strong clan loyalty centred around the priest who was held in great affection and depended on also in secular affairs. Obviously, this was a laity neither informed nor reflecting nor coherent nor effective. Rather was it a collection of souls starved of religion who looked to the priesthood for nourishment.

The second mark of this Irish Catholicism was to be seen in a determined effort by the Australian Irish bishops to "Irish" their dioceses. They frequently returned to Ireland for clergy and religious, and brought in devotions popular in Ireland such as novenas, the forty hours devotion, devotion to the Sacred Heart, and various male and female sodalities.

The third mark of this religious atmosphere was its peasant, small-town and anti-intellectual character. Purity was stressed as the greatest commandment, drunkenness was seen as a minor weakness. Education was stressed but not as the awakening of a critical intellect but rather a primary education which strove for a piety of the fervid kind, rather than scholarship.

12. Ibid, p. 16
13. Ibid, p. 49
The clergy as a whole distrusted higher education, and regarded philosophy and culture with suspicion; because of this, few of these Catholics contributed much to the development of Australian society as a whole. Against these three criteria, the "Irish" Church in New Zealand may be measured.


Fr. Moreau was first sent to Dunedin in April 1861 on what was meant to be a temporary visit. The discovery of gold at Gabriel's Gully later that year and the consequent growth in population meant that the French priest's stay was extended till it became a permanent one. For over a year he laboured alone trying to care for the Catholics of Dunedin, the Dunstan and Tuapeka. In July 1862 another French priest, Fr. Aimé Martin, who was later to spend almost forty years in Hokitika, was sent to join Moreau. These two received temporary help from visiting missionaries until two Irish secular priests, Frs. Williams and McGirr arrived at Christmas, 1864. Fr. McGirr soon proceeded to Hokitika, leaving Fr. Williams as the sole Irish priest in the Dunedin area, apart from a short stay during 1864 by Fr. Duhig whom Viard sent to collect funds for the Cathedral in Wellington.

Misunderstandings had arisen between Moreau and Williams, the Frenchman suspecting that the latter was unreliable because of drunkenness. These conflicts came to a head in 1867, several months before the public meeting in Dunedin in October that called for British priests instead of French. It is possible that the events were interrelated. Moreau had been so upset by what

15. Keys, Philip Viard, p. 156-98
happened that he had suspended his colleague from his priestly powers. In a sympathetic and tactful letter written by Bishop Viard to his countryman, the bishop pointed out that it was only natural that the Irish should want their own priests, and regretted that Moreau had compromised himself by suspending Williams, since he did not really have the power to do so. Viard advised Fr. Moreau to retract the suspension and continue living and working peacefully with Williams.17

An interesting comment on this episode occurs in a letter that Fr. Yardin sent from Lyons to an old friend, Fr. Forest, in Wellington. After saying that he had received a letter telling him of the Dunedin incidents, Yardin commented that he too felt sympathetic to the Dunedin citizens who wanted a priest speaking their own language. He thought that Fr. Moreau had probably been too hasty in dismissing Fr. Williams on the charge of drunkenness; Yardin thought it was more likely a result of what happened at the public meeting which had called for British priests instead of French.18

This French-Irish conflict was intensified by the visit of two Irish priests in March 1869. At this time Bishop Viard was on his way to Rome, one of the aims of the trip being to sort out the situation that had arisen from the Fenian troubles. Fr. Petitjean, an elderly French Marist, was acting as Vicar-General in Wellington. The two visiting priests were a Fr. William Hickie, who was collecting donations for the Catholic University of Ireland, and a Fr. Norris, who was on leave from the Auckland diocese. The latter used his Irish connections to make a host of friends around Dunedin, and told many of them that he had been appointed to the diocese; when he was asked to return

17. Viard to Moreau, 8 Aug 1867, copy (MAN).
18. Yardin to Forest, 25 Jan 1868, photocopy (WTU).
to Auckland, he helped initiate a petition asking that he be allowed to stay. Fr. Moreau actually signed this petition. However Fr. Norris's supporters put up another petition behind Moreau's back, which upset the French priest very much when he learned of it. The strife calmed down only with the news of Bishop Moran's appointment, in December 1869.

Fr. Yardin again commented on the situation when he wrote to Fr. Regnier, another French Marist in Napier. He confided that he felt great sympathy for Moreau but that he should have been more adroit in not exciting Irish susceptibility. He also passed on the news that Bishop Viard was going to Ireland to pick a coadjutor but added that the Society did not seem to want to choose anybody from its own ranks.19

Bishop Moran did not arrive until the beginning of 1871 and Fr. Moreau stayed in Dunedin for six months to help the new bishop in the settling in process. In fairness to Moran it should be noted that he did not exclude the Marists from his new diocese; he made it clear that he would have welcomed their help. However, Bishop Viard had already determined to withdraw them because of the grave shortage of priests in the Wellington diocese.20

It was during this six months that the first seeds of misunderstanding between the French Marists and the Irish bishop were sown. Moran was particularly distressed that so little in the way of material progress and church organization had been achieved in ten years. He had a thorough inventory made of all the church properties and appurtenances, and later quoted this to show how little the Marists had left behind them. This also convinced him that the Marists must have taken church property out of the diocese when they left. He firmly believed that since

19. Yardin to Regnier, 10 Jul 1869, photocopy (WTU).
20. Goulter, Sons of France, p. 148
they were religious with a vow of poverty this meant that they had absolutely no right to any property or goods of their own. What made it easier for these tensions to occur was that as yet no official province or national superior (usually termed "provincial") had been constituted for the New Zealand Marists. The bishops acted as their religious superiors in many matters. This had caused great conflict between Bishop Pompallier and the founder of the Society, John Claude Colin, who believed that this total subordination to the local bishop made it virtually impossible for his subjects to live a religious life. Moran's suspicions alighted especially on the luckless Moreau, particularly because he had advertised a sale of his effects before leaving Dunedin and because of the testimonials he had received, and the bishop complained to Rome about the Marists' maladministration.

Moreau was asked to answer to these charges. In doing so he wrote to Fr. Poupinel, who had been requested by the central Marist administration to act as Visitor to New Zealand from Sydney, trying to fulfill an overseeing task to ensure the rights of the New Zealand Marists. In answering the enquiry about money taken from Dunedin, Moreau said that in his bank book there was a total of £84-5-9 which was made up of the sum from his testimonial and the proceeds from the raffle of his portable library. Also in that sum was £30 that he had borrowed from Bishop Viard, together with another £73 given to him and which he had promised to repay. 21

Poupinel had also written to Fr. Ecuyer. He and Fr. Belliard were the last two Marists to quit Dunedin diocese before Moreau. The Frenchman first expressed his disgust over the entire Dunedin incident and then went on to describe minutely his

administration and care of temporalities. He had cared for five stations centred on Lawrence. When he had arrived he had found only three miserable wooden chapels, lined with corrugated iron sheets. On his departure he had left behind five chapels, all virtually debt-free. He then gave a description of all the church furnishings he had left. He had also begun the existing Catholic school at Lawrence. Ecuyer had seen a copy of Moran's accusations against the Marists, which had been mitigated from the original complaints, but now the whole blame had been laid squarely on Moreau. Ecuyer did not see how some of the complaints could be answered since Moreau had left money owing on some land, while himself leaving Dunedin with a sum of money, even though this was his testimonial.22

Looking back on this contretemps it is now evident that the debate concerned two differing approaches to the setting up of a missionary Church in a new area. Many of these first generation New Zealand Marists saw themselves specifically as itinerant missionaries, ready to go wherever the need to preach the gospel seemed most pressing. Mobility and flexibility were their passwords. Moreau had worked as a missionary among the Maoris at Opotiki and Otaki, with a spell of parish duty in between at Nelson. When he was the only priest in Dunedin he had regularly visited the goldfields and Invercargill as well. He had built the St. Joseph's church in Dunedin but clearly saw as his first task the duty of establishing a strong relationship between the scattered Catholics of the large area he was serving, mainly by means of personal visiting and ministration.

On the other hand Moran saw his role as setting up the structure of a fully active Catholic community. This meant a worthy cathedral for the bishop, a network of well established parishes with permanent churches, and a school system run by teach-

22. Ecuyer to Poupinel, 13 Mar 1873, photocopy (WTU).
hing orders of brothers and nuns. His primary aim was a strong local Church and a visible and articulate Catholic presence in the community.

Two factors intervened to underline and reinforce the different approaches to mission. The first of these was that with the early death of Bishop Viard on 2 June 1872, Moran became senior Catholic bishop in New Zealand, since Bishop Croke had been appointed to Auckland in 1870. Moran was asked to become Apostolic Administrator of the Wellington diocese, which meant that the whole of New Zealand except for the Auckland region came under his ecclesiastical jurisdiction. He was also asked to submit a report on the state of the Wellington diocese before any decision about a new bishop was made. This enhanced power was made even more unpalatable to French Marists by Moran's evident policy of "Irishing" his diocese. Between 1871-90 he introduced eighteen priests into the diocese, all of whom were Irish. As his first religious, he had brought with him the Dominican nuns from Sion Hill, Blackrock, Dublin – eight professed nuns and two lay sisters. In 1876 the Irish Christian brothers, under Brother Bodkin, came into the diocese. It is hard to see how Moran's acceptance of Frs. Larkin and Golden into his diocese could be regarded as anything else but a dissent vote over the French bishop's handling of the Irish troubles on the West Coast. At the time of Moran's death in 1895 it would not seem as if there was to be any relenting in this strongly pro-Irish line. Moran's successor, Bishop Verdon, was a nephew of Cardinal Cullen and a cousin of Cardinal Moran of Australia who had presided at the first plenary synod of the Australasian hierarchy which had recommended that Dunedin be made the Metropolitan See of New Zealand. Even in 1872 it must have seemed that

23. Corish, Irish Catholicism, part 7, E. Duggan, "New Zealand", p. 11
...the Irish were drawing up their battle lines. The field on which the next battle was to be joined was the diocese of Wellington, and the stake - who was to be its next bishop.


When Bishop Viard made his trip to Europe in 1868 he was to meet in Lyons a priest whom he had last seen as a young boy in Nelson. This was Francis Redwood, the first New Zealander to become a Marist, a man whose influence on the Catholic Church in New Zealand is incalculable. Francis Redwood, though not a New Zealander by birth, was only three years old when his family settled in Waimea West near Nelson. His father, Henry Redwood, came from an old English Catholic family in Staffordshire. Early on the considerable academic potential of this young man was recognized by Fr. Antoine Garin, who in June 1851 had set up a high school for boys as part of the Catholic mission in Nelson. To save the long daily trip from Waimea and back Garin encouraged Redwood to board with him for several years in the presbytery. During this time the youth gained an early fluency in French and Latin from the two French priests, Garin and Moreau. In 1854, when he was fifteen years old, Redwood decided that he too wished to become a Marist priest, and in December of that year he left for Sydney, on his way to France. After four years at the Marist college of St. Chamond he entered the scholasticate at Montbel, near Toulon, in 1860. After making his novitiate at Ste Foy near Lyons he was appointed to Ireland, as a professor in Latin and Greek at St. Mary's College, Dundalk in 1863. He was then 24. Two years later he was ordained in Ireland. Ill-health forced him to return to France for a long recuperative period. It was during this time that he met Bishop Viard once again. Redwood had kept contact with his bishop in New Zealand by a regular correspondence so they were not strangers to each other. Viard was so impressed by this 29 year old man...
that he asked that Redwood be consecrated as his coadjutor bishop, or at least as his vicar-general. At the same time Viard pressed the Superior General of the Society of Mary, Fr. Favre, to ask for a division of the Wellington diocese. The Society wanted the entire area to remain undivided and under the care of the Marists but Viard pointed out that the Society did not have enough priests to send for the large area, that nearly all were French and had to learn English, so the diocese should be split in two. This view prevailed and led to the appointment of Moran in 1869.

By 1872 Marist feelings towards the bishop of Dunedin had certainly grown cool. In a letter that Yardin wrote to Fr. Forest from Lyons telling of Moran's appointment as administrator for the Wellington diocese, he says that many saw this appointment as a victory for the anti-French group in the Church, a victory for those who saw the French as valuable for breaking in missions, but then dispensable. He was alarmed that the anti-French group wanted this policy to be followed in Nellington.

A real fear that the pro-Irish camp would prevail arose among New Zealand Marists because of the delay in the appointment, and the knowledge that Viard had asked for Redwood as his coadjutor. Fr. Poupinel assured Fr. Forest that when Viard was in Rome he had asked that Redwood be appointed and that Cardinal Barnabo had said that the nomination was certain; indeed, Redwood would already have been consecrated if Viard's death had been a month later. As it was, three names had now been proposed to Rome, but before the Roman Congregations concerned would move,

24. Yardin to Forest, 14 Aug 1868, Keys, MS, p. 407
25. Ibid, p. 408
they were awaiting Moran's report after a full inspection of the diocese. 27

One of the first areas that Moran visited was the West Coast. His welcome from the people was warm and enthusiastic, though the clergy of the area were evidently trying to gauge his reactions and what he would tell Rome. Fr. Belliard told of his visit to Greymouth and commented, "I believe that his Lordship will obtain Canterbury and Westland for his diocese, and will leave the rest to the Society, that's my humble opinion!" In the same letter Belliard also revealed that remnants of Fenian sympathy still existed on the Coast. Some of the Irish community clearly believed that they would get a sympathetic hearing from the Irish bishop. Obviously Moran's stand on Fenianism was no less rigid than his patron, Cardinal Cullen:

> Among the tasks I prepared for him was the business of the Fenians. I presented a deputation of Irish republicans to him; the discussion was long and hot; he hopes that he has disbanded them; I hope so too. 28

After visits to Waimea, Stafford Town, Ross, Greenstone and Marsden, Moran arrived at Reefton where he was warmly received by the Catholic community. In an evening address he defended Papal infallibility and denounced secular and mixed education as designed especially for the subversion of the Catholic faith. Contrary to reports, he added, the mixed system was not working well in Victoria. When he spoke the next morning he strongly denounced all secret societies, especially the Freemasons. 29

During Moran's visit to Westport, Fr. Walshe also commented on his great popularity with the people. In publicly

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27. Poupinel to Forest, 22 Jan 1873, photocopy (WTU).
28. Belliard to Forest, 8 Feb 1873, photocopy (WTU).
29. Inangahua Herald, 22 Feb 1873.
explaining the purpose of his visit Moran said that he was commissioned by the Holy See to investigate the state of the diocese. He was not its bishop and did not expect to be so. It was up to the Holy Father to make whatever arrangement he saw as best. In a public address he warmly praised the work of the priests on the Coast. Despite his approval of the missionary work done by the priests of the Coast, it was evident Bishop Moran still believed the Society of Mary was secretly trying to ensure that its own designs were being carried out. While in Waimea he had commented to Fr. Chareyre, another French Marist, that Redwood had sent reports to Propaganda in Rome on the conduct of the Irish priests in New Zealand. Poupinel strongly denied the existence of any such reports and said that all that had been sent to Rome was Redwood's nomination for the vacant bishopric. For his part, Redwood, far away in France, was convinced that it was Moran who was doing any plotting that might be going on. He told John Grimes, an English Marist, three years his junior, and whom he met in theology class in Dundalk, that he had had no news at all from New Zealand for over a month. He was sure that Moran was deliberately delaying sending in his report for a reason known only to himself. Redwood was prepared to accept whatever God's will was for him but would prefer not to have to take on the burden of the bishopric.

In New Zealand Marist hopes had risen because of Moran's favourable reaction to the missionary effort in the Wellington diocese; also because of the appointment of Bishop Vaughan, an Englishman, as coadjutor in Sydney. In Australia a similar but

30. Walshe to unknown recipient, 13 Mar 1873, photocopy (WTU).
31. Poupinel to Forest, 12 Jun 1873, photocopy (WTU).
far more bitter campaign had been fought over the appointment of Irish bishops for Irish flocks, and Fr. Poupinel saw the appointment of Vaughan as a victory over the group that wanted only Irish bishops. He added:

Moreover, Mr. Moran, who, before visiting the diocese, had spoken poorly of us, and demanded the Wellington see, has withdrawn his demand, and given great praise to our missionaries and their successes. 33

Late in November Redwood was still waiting anxiously for news of his appointment. He told Grimes that the two reports from Moran and Croke had just arrived and that Rome had promised to give a decision as soon as possible. Finally in February 1874 he was able to write thanking Grimes for his congratulations on the appointment. He commented that he had heard with surprise that the Tablet had announced his day of consecration was to be 17 March at St. Annes, Spitalfields, London; this was correct but he had no idea how the newspaper knew since the official permission had not yet been asked for. 34

Redwood's appointment was generally well-received in New Zealand. He was from a "British" family, and a family that was well respected in colonial circles, especially in Nelson. However, it was this very English connection that was later to cause the next outburst of enraged Irish patriotic feeling in New Zealand. It was the old influential English families that had first prevailed upon Bishop Viard to send Marists to Canterbury. Constant petitions from F.A. Weld and Charles Clifford finally influenced the bishop to despatch Frs. Séon and Chataignier to Christchurch. When English immigration ran dry in the 1860's the government encouraged many Irish immigrants, some of whom were poor and uneducated, as agricultural labourers in outlying areas. A large number of them went to Canterbury and were set-

34. Redwood to Grimes, 18 Feb 1874, (MAW).
tled in South Canterbury settlements such as Waimate, Timaru, Temuka and Geraldine. Their presence, and incidents such as the Timaru "Orange Riots", were an acute source of embarrassment to the older English Catholic families in Canterbury. This antagonism was underlined by the Tablet because it paralleled a tension present in the Irish national movements especially in England where, according to some of the nationalist leaders and the Tablet, English Catholics were doing nothing to assist their fellow Catholics in Ireland - were in fact scheming to eliminate Irish influence in the Church. One particular incident was Rome's condemnation of a testimonial raised for Parnell upon his release from gaol in 1883. In July 1883 the Tablet reprinted letters from John Dillon, Michael Davitt and T.M. Healey to the Dublin Freeman's Journal claiming that the condemnation was the result of an English plot in Rome by various wealthy Englishmen, especially a Mr. Errington. This group had deliberately blackened the Irish name so as to get the document from Cardinal Simeoni of Propaganda and from the Pope;

... this circular, outraging as it does the political convictions of more than half of the Irish bishops and of nine-tenths of the Irish clergy and Catholic people, has been issued at the request of the English government and for the miserable clique of pauper land-lord class in Rome.

The New Zealand Irish may have felt that their place in the Catholic Church had not been sufficiently recognized, because they had not been given their own priests and bishops. Did they need them? Were there (as has been claimed by O'Farrell and McGovern), distinctly "Irish" attitudes to mixed marriage, temperance and education? Because of the relative size and stability of its Irish population, the West Coast is again our regional focus.

36. Tablet, 27 Jul 1883, p. 13
Rev. P. Hennebery, whose temperance procession nearly provoked a brawl in Kumara in 1878.

(from the collection of E. Matthews, Greymouth).
3. Marriage, Temperance, and Education.

Catholic attitudes to "mixed marriages" - where a Catholic marries a non-Catholic partner - received their greatest publicity and criticism at the time of the visit of the Rev. Patrick Hennebery to the Coast. This Irish-American priest, a member of the order of the Precious Blood, made a great impact on Catholic life during his visit in 1878 because he was the first Catholic exponent of the "mission" technique in New Zealand. He resembled a Catholic version of the evangelical revivalist preacher, moving into an area, holding a series of big, emotional meetings over a short space of time, then moving on to the next centre. Hennebery's stock in trade subjects were mixed marriages, temperance, secular education and Irish patriotism.

After missions in the North Island and Dunedin, Hennebery came to Christchurch, preparatory to his assault on the Coast. The West Coast Times gave a brief summary of his activities in Dunedin, reporting that he had preached on the evils connected with mixed marriages and on the attendance of Catholic children at "godless schools"; he had then organized a procession of over two thousand people in Dunedin. The newspaper account concluded: "We pity the hotel keepers of Kumara, if he gets as many converts to the total abstinence cause there, as he had on the East Coast." 37

Before starting his mission in Kumara, Hennebery preached at Hokitika for several days, his main topic being mixed marriages. Reaction was strong and instant, with scathing attacks in the Kumara Times and the Hokitika Evening Star. The parish priest of Hokitika, Fr. Aimé Martin, a French Marist, immediately rushed to the missioner's defence in a letter that was printed in the Evening Star, the West Coast Times, and the Tablet. The

37. W.C.T. 4 Mar 1878, p. 2
letter claimed that the Hokitika newspaper had stated that Hennebery went so far as to tell the congregation that Catholics who married Protestants were not married at all and in living together they were virtually living in a state of prostitution. Martin emphatically denied that Hennebery had said this, also that couples legally married by a Registrar were not married at all; nor had he constantly railed and reviled all non-Catholic denominations, as the newspaper had claimed. Fr. Martin then summarized what Hennebery did say:

That because mixed marriages are the source of much misery and unhappiness in many families, because of the differences between husbands and wives in matters of faith and religion, that he therefore advises all unmarried Protestants not so much as to think of engaging in marriage with Catholics, if they wish to be happy in future marriage. That the Catholics having more reasons than others presented by faith and the Catholic Church, for abstaining from marrying Protestants, they should not at all let it come into their minds to form such alliances. That if the Catholics marry non-baptized persons without a dispensation of the Catholic Church, such marriages are pronounced by the Church itself as null and void; and he used very strong language in denouncing the misconduct of those Catholics who enter marriage in that unlawful manner. 38

Fr. Martin added that he agreed with this, for it was the teaching of the Catholic Church. This statement is important. It shows that despite differences in presentation and degree of intensity, both the Irish missioner and the French Marist held strongly to the orthodox position of Roman Canon Law in mixed marriages. Feelings in the local community obviously ran high on the issue. The West Coast Times printed a letter from an irate Catholic taking issue with the Evening Star for its false allegations against Fr. Hennebery, and labelled its other criticisms as "the ravings of a fanatic whose faculties are so obscured by the murky cloud of bigotry and intolerance as to deprive

38. Tablet, 29 Mar 1878.
him of even the light of reason for his guide. 39

This prior publicity meant that emotions were already simmering in Kumara before the mission preacher arrived. The Kumara Times added fuel to the fire by running a leader on mixed marriages in the local community, then added:

... and is the enjoyment of these in the present, is their hope of eternal happiness in the future to be wrecked by the ravings of a wondering priest? Already Fr. Hennebery has come into collision with an excellent society, intimately connected with the Roman Catholic Church, by attempting to interfere in some innocent amusement about to come off in aid of a charitable cause - but, we are pleased to add, without success. 40

The writer went on to add that if Hennebery did visit Kumara he hoped that the good sense of Catholics would make plain their disapproval of a doctrine that "seeks to stamp the wives of many of their own number with the brand of shame, and would send their children into the world to be pointed at as bastards."

It is fascinating to speculate on what was the "innocent amusement" referred to, which Hennebery had tried to prevent - perhaps a Hibernian concert where the refreshments served certainly would not have been coffee. Not allowing themselves to be diverted by this sortie into the temperance arena, the Catholics of Kumara called a meeting to protest against the attitude of the local newspaper and its summary judgement of Hennebery without waiting to discover the facts for itself. But the attack continued and the Catholics held a second meeting at which they resolved not to tolerate any more such reporting by the Times. A procession took place of those who had taken the pledge and a riot almost occurred when this procession passed the local hotels where the publicans and regular patrons were gathered on the doorsteps. 41

39. W.C.T., 13 Mar 1887, p. 2
41. Memory of P. Gilbert, Kumara, whose family name is first found in the baptismal registers in the 1870's.
It is clear that the other reason that Hennebery caused such a furore on the Coast was because of his views on drinking and temperance. Fr. T. Devoy who was parish priest of Kumara for eighteen months some two years after Hennebery's visit related of him:

He preached temperance, and gave the pledge to the whole congregation. God help anyone who did not stand up to take the pledge. He went for the topers and the hotelkeepers who did not keep their houses well. 42

The pledge mentioned is described further by J.J. Wilson. He tells us that Hennebery's temperance crusade was much along the lines of the one preached by Fr. Matthew, the famous temperance crusader. Pledge-cards and medals were issued, the former with an inscription. Under the heading "Catholic Total Abstinence Association" there followed the name: "Admitted ---------, 1878, by Rev. P. Hennebery." And the member took this pledge:

\[\begin{align*}
I & \text{ promise to abstain from all intoxicating drinks, except used medicinally and by order of a medical man, and to discountenance the cause and practice of intemperance.} \quad 43
\end{align*}\]

A critique of Hennebery's method of promoting temperance was passed by a writer in the Thames Advertiser (later reprinted in the West Coast Times). The basic criticism of the missioner was that however laudable his aim, since his effort to reduce the evil effects of drinking was based not on education but solely on strong denunciations, it would achieve very little. 44

More pertinent is how much Hennebery's attitudes were embraced by West Coast priests and how much they affected their decisions in the matters of mixed marriage, and temperance.

There was certainly a general understanding that the Catholic Church disapproved of mixed marriages. In No Remittance,

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42. T. Devoy, "Early Days in Canterbury and Westland," Marist Messenger, Apr 1940, p. 30
44. Thames Advertiser, in W.C.T, 11 Mar 1878, p. 2
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**Table 11.** Numbers of Irish *and* Mixed Marriages in West Coast Parishes. Up to 1920.

(Percentages refer to vertical columns in all cases).
the future mother-in-law of Dick Kane, the young English immigrant, is very fearful of the reaction to the proposed marriage from the Irish parish priest, Fr. Conroy, since Dick is "one of the race of devils that drove the priests into the bogs and hunted them like wild animals." The attitude of most Catholic priests would not have been so intransigent as the fictional Fr. Conroy. That some priests, however, were this unyielding, can be seen in a letter from a parish priest in Hokitika to Bishop Grimes:

I am sorry you burdened my conscience with the granting of the dispensation, as personally, I am opposed to all mixed marriages, for any reasons whatever. Yet I argued that as dispensations were and are granted in this Diocese for certain reasons, it would be wrong of me to act on my personal feelings. I can assure you, my Lord, that I never miss an opportunity of making converts, but certain cases, you must allow, are quite impossible. I hope and trust that the day is near, when mixed marriages will be entirely prohibited. Girls would then know the risk they run in keeping company with Protestants, and priests would be able to act more firmly. I would respectfully ask that you give us some definite official ruling at the Synod to be communicated to our people.

Fr. Ainsworth was a New Zealand-born Marist of Irish parentage. Different priests clearly varied in their readiness to apply for dispensations for mixed marriages. From the overall figures for West Coast marriages a very clear picture emerges. The figures in Table 11 cover the period from the founding of the various parishes till the end of 1920.

45. Davin, No Remittance, p. 69

* An Irish marriage is one where one or both of the partners were born in Ireland. This can be recorded with complete certainty only from 1880 when place of birth was included in the marriage register. Before this time one can only take an Irish name as an indication of birth in Ireland. There is bound to be a small margin of error in this particular figure therefore.
The statistic that stands out in this table is the remarkably low number of Irish involved in mixed marriages - 26 out of 2839 in a 55 year period. We can put that another way by saying that out of the 380 mixed marriages during this period only 6.8% of them involved a partner born in Ireland. On the other hand, of the 2839 Catholic marriages performed during this time 40.2% involved at least one person born in Ireland. What clearly emerges is the fact that the Irish community were far less prone to become involved in mixed marriages than the rest of the Catholic population. The question that must follow is whether this was a quality of "Irish" identity and past as such, or whether it can be linked to Irish pastors with very strong views on mixed marriages. A breakdown into individual parishes can help to answer this question.

Let us first compare two parishes, one of which was manned entirely by diocesan priests (nearly all Irish), viz. Westport, during this time, and one staffed by Marists during almost the entire period, viz. Greymouth. From 1867 to 1920, Westport had as its parish priest, one Irish diocesan priest, Thomas Walshe. During this same time, Greymouth was staffed by 29 priests who were there for a period of six months or more. Of these 27 were Marists. By nationality there were eleven French, ten Irish, seven New Zealand and one Australian priest. Of all the parishes surveyed Westport had easily the highest total of mixed marriages, 137, while Greymouth had only 34, yet both centres had seen almost the same number of weddings, 624 and 670 respectively. If we then examine their record in terms of Irish mixed marriages we see that although Westport had a twelve to one lead here, both of these figures are very low in comparison to the total number of marriages.

Let us next compare two parishes where the number of Irish mixed marriages was extremely low, viz. Ahaura with none and
Kumara with one. Can we detect any pattern of nationality common to the priests of these two towns? In this period Ahaura had 25 priests: five Marists, four Sacred Heart fathers, and sixteen seculars. The Marists were all French, the Sacred Heart priests were made up of two Australians, one New Zealander and one Irishman. Of the sixteen seculars, fourteen were Irish, two were New Zealanders. When we come to Kumara parish we have eighteen priests during this time: six Marists of whom three were French, and three Irish, while the twelve secular priests were all Irishmen. It would seem therefore that no common pattern can be found among the clergy to account for the very low numbers of Irish mixed marriages. The trend must have a social or cultural cause and reflect a pattern deeply imbued in the Irish because of the religious and social background from which they came. In this sense it certainly seems true to say that the Irish had a distinct outlook on the question of mixed marriages.

Do any such clear trends emerge in Irish attitudes to intoxicating drink? Once again one of Davin's characters gives us an initial clue. Dick Kane is describing his wife's outlook.

Another thing that surprised me was her attitude to drink. When we first settled in I kept up my old habit of having a glass of sherry before supper and a nightcap of whisky before going to bed. She didn't exactly say outright that she was against this but somehow she managed to make sure that I knew she was and I used to notice that my bottles had a way of getting deeper and deeper out of sight... I must have been very sweet on her in those days not to have been annoyed by this attitude towards the drink, as she and her mother always called it. For I didn't really like this savage puritanism of theirs about alcohol, though from some of the stories I began to pick up about the family and what a taste for strong liquor had done to some of them I had some idea of why they were like that. 47

In 1871 West Coasters, as a group, were drinking almost five times as much beer per head as their fellow citizens on the

47. Davin, No Remittance, p. 102-3
eastern side of Arthur's Pass. Nor was their desire for spirits any the less because of this thirst for beer. As McCaskill points out, in 1867 Westland had only 12% of the European population of New Zealand but 26% of the males 21-39, so it was not surprising that one quarter of the colony's imports of spirituous liquor in 1867 were landed in Hokitika to cater for the needs of less than one eighth of the population.

Fr. Nicholas Binsfeld's comments about the periodic bouts of drunkenness among the diggers have already been noted, as also the efforts of Fr. John Colomb to change this pattern in Greymouth in 1871. In the following extract from one of Colomb's sermons preached in Greymouth, it is easy to see how the priest is hitting out at social patterns prevalent among his Catholic and mainly Irish flock:

Show me a drunkard, and I will show you the greatest scandal in the community or congregation; you show me a drunkard and I will show you a mockery of Christianity, one who drags his faith in the mire. A drunken Catholic! Good God! and was it for this that Jesus Christ came into the world, suffered and died? Is this the fruit of his passion? Is this the pure and holy religion he established? And we who are the priests of your religion, have we left all only to be priests of a people who violate every precept of that religion? Truly, our souls go heavily! We tell those Christians, those Catholics, that drunkenness is a grievous sin, and they answer that it is only a weakness of human nature, pitiable at the worst; we tell them that they outrage religion by the scandal, and they choose the Lord's day for the time of their revellings; we denounce from the altar this vice and they go from the altar directly to the haunts of debauchery; we implore them as they value the salvation of their souls, to put an end to this sin, and those who have

48. cf. p. 27


* given in full, appendix C, p. 235
heard our pleadings in the morning, we blush to meet in the evening, staggering in this defilement.50

The problem of drunkeness was a worry not only among the flock; it evidently had its impact on the shepherds as well. So when Bishop Redwood was writing to the rector of All Hallows, the missionary seminary that provided many of the early Irish clergy, he was able to point out that "the greatest qualification in New Zealand and Australia is sobriety".51 Irish drunkeness was also to be a point of contention between Marists and seculars. One interesting attempt to tackle this problem by reviving the idea of a Catholic temperance movement was initiated in Greymouth in 1910 but was never put into practice. Alexander F. O'Donoghue wrote to Bishop Grimes outlining his plans for a Catholic Temperance Society. It was to be a national body; and he wanted the bishop to be its patron. He outlined its object and rules, one of which was that its members, though not bound to total abstinence, were earnestly requested not to drink.52 Grimes referred this suggestion back to Dean Carew, the parish priest of Greymouth, for his comments. The Dean's amused reply began by saying that he did not think the Temperance Society was needed because "our young men are a very temperate body", but his chief reservation was over the personality of O'Donoghue, who he thought was "very aggressive and quite willing to commence what he could not carry out".53

The N.Z. Statistics of 1910 seem to give greater credibility to O'Donoghue's estimation of Catholic intemperance rather than Carew's. The population of Grey county, 13,678, made

50. Marist Archives (Greenmeadows), henceforth (MAG), Sermon of J. Colomb.

51. All Hallows Missionary Correspondence, National Library of Ireland, New Zealand, Redwood to Fortune, 11 Jan 1876, (photocopy), Davis, Irish Issues, p. 74

52. O'Donoghue to Grimes, 21 Sep 1910, (CDA).

up only 1.36% of the New Zealand population, but the 514 criminal convictions in the Greymouth Magistrate's Court in 1910 constituted 4.45% of all the convictions in New Zealand. More significant though was that out of these 514 convictions, 115, or 22.37% were on a charge of drunkenness. Throughout the rest of New Zealand, convictions for drunkenness made 10.1% of all convictions, less than half of the Greymouth figure. Unfortunately it is impossible to discover from these figures how many of the 115 convicted in Greymouth were Roman Catholics and Irish-born. All indications point to the fact that these two groups would have been found in numbers proportionately much greater rather than smaller in comparison with the national figures. Of the total New Zealand prison population in 1910, 34.49% were Roman Catholics and 12% Irish-born whereas the corresponding percentages in the general population of the colony were 13.93 and 4.06. Since Westland was still easily the most Catholic and Irish area of New Zealand it is difficult to see that we could expect lower numbers of Catholic and Irish prisoners; in fact we would expect higher numbers.*

The third area of supposedly distinct "Irish" identity was education. Bishop Moran's insistence on Catholic education arose from his conviction that Irish identity and Roman Catholic faith were inextricably linked, whereas Bishop Redwood put more stress on the argument of choice - that parents should have the right to determine the type of education for their children without being penalized. Were there differences in approach to education questions by the Irish Catholics and Irish priests, compared with non-Irish Catholics? Regrettably the evidence is too scanty for conclusive judgements but it seems that there was

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* It could be objected that perhaps most of the Catholics and Irish-born in gaol were there on charges other than drunkenness. The 1910 figures also indicate that of the Catholics in gaol 39.8% were there on a charge of drunkenness, and 50.13% of Irish were there on the same charge.
little difference between the two groups. Thus, when the 1877 Education Act was passed, the Catholic element in most West Coast communities held protest meetings. The meeting chairmen were as follows: Westport, Fr. Walshe (Irish secular); Reefton, Fr. Carew (Irish Marist); Hokitika, Fr. Martin (French Marist); Greymouth, Fr. Ecuyer (French Marist). The feelings generated by the education issue were strong enough to help explain Richard Seddon's poor showing in the 1879 election for Hokitika. In Goldsborough he polled fourth out of five candidates while in his hometown of Kumara he was defeated by P. Dungan, a Roman Catholic, who supported denominational schools. Parish priests seemed to follow closely the policy laid down by the national hierarchy in these matters. Dean Carew told Bishop Grimes how he was striving to ensure that all Catholic boys in Greymouth should go to St. Patrick's College, Wellington, and not to the local government high school, while Fr. Creed, the Irish secular priest at Kumara, informed Grimes of a case of Catholic children being sent to a non-Catholic orphanage when free Catholic board had been offered, so that Grimes could protest to the government.

Even if it is true that there were discernibly "Irish" attitudes in the realms of marriage, temperance and education, it is important to realize how much these could be qualified and altered by the experiences of local community. The West Coast Irish seem to be a good case in point. Living as they did in small communities where they mixed closely with non-Catholics and where there was little diversity in work, wealth and learning, it is not surprising that some of these areas of Irish differentiation tended to break down. Education is an excellent example.

In the early goldfield days the line between Catholic schools and those supported by the County administration was not so clear. The school set up by Fr. Larkin in Stafford Town in 1867 was the only school and so it catered for all sects. At the start of 1868 the roll was 52 pupils of whom nineteen were either Protestants or Jews. However by May the roll had dropped to thirteen, all Roman Catholics, probably because of Larkin's Fenian problems. The official report on Fr. Royer's school in Grey- mouth at about the same time noted that not all the children were Catholics, in fact the major denominations were represented almost equally. Religious instruction was given only twice a week, and after the Protestant children had been dismissed. Attendance was about fifty. As O'Brien comments, evidence of sectarian animosity in the schools was very rare. Most of the community was prepared to seek a compromise that allowed schools to provide some religious teaching without violating the conscience of others. Many wanted national i.e. state-supported, but not necessarily secular schools. Such a compromise was embodied in the Westland Provincial Council's Ordinance to make provision for education in the province:

Any religious instruction in such school shall be free of all controversial character, and shall be imparted before or after ordinary school hours, that any parents objecting thereto may be able to withdraw their children from the school at the time when such instruction is given.

From 1868, however, when Church-State tensions in New Zealand became more evident this easy partnership came under greater strain, especially when Bishop Moran began to make his strong stand on education issues from 1874.

56. O'Brien, "Education on the Goldfields", p. 60
58. O'Brien, "Education in the Goldfields", Appendix C, p. 16
Early Churches of the Coast.

a) (Top). Ahaura. The second church built 1898.

b) (Centre). Nelson Creek. Originally built 1875.

The easy camaraderie of the goldfields generally tended to minimize religious differences. This is seen through the experiences of Fr. Nicholas Binsfeld in the Greenstone and Arnold fields. He records the warm reception that the priest got from all miners, used only to the warden, policeman and postman. The priest's message was disinterested and always peaceful. This was acknowledged by all, Catholics and non-Catholics. Hence the priest was always welcome wherever he went, so much so, that at times non-Catholics would vie with my own in offering gratuitous hospitality to myself and my horse. On one of such occasions I was a little embarrassed at Moonlight Creek, I solved the difficulty by giving my horse to the Catholic party, whilst I took up my abode with the kind-hearted Protestant host. I owe a debt of gratitude to Catholic hotel-keepers, they never charged me, and to Protestants alike, they too mostly acted in the same manner.

Binsfeld also narrates how when the priest came to a diggings site, the morning would generally be declared a holiday, so that the Catholics could go to Mass; the non-Catholics were evidently happy with this arrangement.

Special occasions, such as farewells or funerals, seemed to bring this ecumenical spirit to the fore. When Fr. Rolland left Reefton in 1874, after a ministry of eighteen months, he was farewelled by the local community. The supper was held in the newly completed hall of the Williams Hotel, and members of every denomination were present. The meeting was chaired by the Resident Magistrate, who was a leading freemason and a vestryman in the Anglican Church. After a toast to his health, Fr. Rolland replied at length, and singing went on almost to midnight.

Other indications of this broad tolerance can be seen in the Annals of the Mercy Sisters in Hokitika. On the occasion of the first taking of religious habits the church was packed "not

60. Inangahua Herald, 16 May 1874.
only with Catholics but people of all persuasions. Later the same annals record a courtesy visit from Bishop Harper and Mr. Hamilton, both Anglican clergymen.

It was at funerals, however, that this community awareness seemed to be displayed most vividly. When Fr. John Colomb was drowned in Nelson Creek in July 1871, his burial in Greymouth was a great public occasion. The day of the funeral was made a public holiday and about 800 miners came from the different fields, some from great distances, to join in the funeral procession, which became an imposing sight, with people and ministers of many denominations taking part in it. Similar scenes took place in Reefton in August 1893 when Sister Gertrude, an Australian nun who had just made her religious profession at eighteen, was killed when thrown from a trap by a panicky horse.

From 10 o'clock till 11, the sympathisers of every denomination wound their way to the Convent. The grounds were packed, and the streets all round were thronged with people... The panegyric, a lengthy one, was preached by Rev. Fr. Rolland. He himself was so much affected that he broke down completely, as did also his listeners. There were at least three Protestant ministers present.

It would be unrealistic to pretend that this spirit of ecumenism flourished perpetually without any hint of sectarian feelings. Even in the case of Sr. Gertrude, the annals record her burial in a paddock at the back of the convent; but because "a certain class of bigots got up petition after petition", the body had to be exhumed four years later and reinterred in the public cemetery. This was also the age of the touring ex-nun or priest with scandalous revelations of life behind convent or rectory walls. When Pastor Chiniquy, a Canadian ex-priest, toured

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64. Tansey, "Retrospective Glances", (MSAW).
New Zealand in 1880 giving public lectures in this vein the forty hours devotion was held in the Hokitika church in reparation for the scandals of the time and place, especially that caused by the writings and preachings of the notorious Pastor Chiqui, from Canada. 65

Sectarian feeling had reached an exceptional but brief peak at the time of the Fenian disturbances in Hokitika. Thus this highly indignant letter to the West Coast Times:

Sir,

I went down this afternoon to be enrolled on the roll of the second company of volunteers; my name being called, the Captain (Mr William Evans), was kind enough to say he hoped all party spirit would be sunk in oblivion, and that as I was an Irishman and a Roman Catholic, he trusted they would show good taste enough to elect me unanimously.

Mr. William Shaw, the Mayor of Hokitika, trusted they would not display any party feeling towards me, knowing I was as loyal as any in their midst. Mr. Binney followed in the same strain, I was both surprised and amazed that such high eulogiums had to be passed on me previous to my being balloted for. However, I thanked Mr. Shaw, Mr. Evans, and Mr. Binney, but at the same time I told them I thought it quite unnecessary; previous to that moment I never supposed my loyalty was doubted; that I had as large a stake in town as anybody there, and I believe if an enemy, either local or foreign were to disturb its peace, I would be the first to turn out and defend it, but it was of little use, I was rejected. So much for religious tolerance in Hokitika. I am, Sir, yours, etc., John Cosgrave, Revell st. 66

When one weighs up these signs of unity and signs of divisiveness within the broader community of the West Coast, the scales seem to tilt towards unity. Given that the Irish were a well-defined and numerous minority group within most Coast towns, it is surprising there are not more signs of intolerance and mutual antipathy between Irish and non-Irish. The smallness of West Coast communities, and the fact that life for the vast majority revolved around the same work places and the same hotels,

* a series of prayers and devotions, often of a propitiatory character, lasting over forty hours, in memory of Jesus's prayer in the desert.

66. W.C.T, 31 Mar 1868, p. 3
helped to keep the differences of being Irish or Catholic to a 
private world which did not intrude unduly on the everyday world 
of work and politics. P.J. O'Farrell comes to this conclusion 
when he recalls his own boyhood days in Greymouth just before a-
nd at the time of the second World War.

I can recall the closeness of this world, but I 
do not see it as a ghetto. I was never conscious 
of sectarianism, nor do I think there was much. 
The economic realities and the community struc-
tures were against it. The town was small and 
everyone knew each other. It was economically 
ho~ogrecous, with very few if any residents who 
were really rich, or even affluent. So it was 
not so much the Church which provided social ce-
ment, as the town itself. 67

The question remains however: if the clear differences 
that Bishop Moran saw between Irish and non-Irish clergy did not 
in practice amount to much in these controversial fields of mix-
ed marriage, temperance and education, where then did the diff-
ences stem from? Clashes between Irish and French priests th-
row some light on factors that could have been involved in these 
misunderstandings.

4. Irish versus French: the Clash of Cultures.

Michael Le Strange Cummins was the first Irish Marist priest to 
arrive in New Zealand, in 1870. After a short spell relieving 
in Greymouth he was recalled to Wellington, and remained there 
domiciled with a number of elderly French priests, somewhat ne-
glected, perhaps because Bishop Viard was slipping into his last 
ilness at this time. Then came the vacuum while Viard's successor 
was awaited. Cummins had trained in Ireland and England and probab-
ly spent his novitiate year in France as he already knew a num-
ber of the French priests and his letters are written in fluent 
French. However it is clear that he had difficulty in adjusting 
to some of his French confrères.

67. P.J. O'Farrell, "Catholicism on the West Coast - How Irish 
Was It", Tablet, 3 May 1973, p. 55
Near the end of 1872 he wrote to Fr. Repnier, a French Marist in Hawkes Bay. He admitted to a time of distress and interior misery. Despite Viard's assurances that he would be sent to a quiet rural parish and given time to find his feet there, he had been kept in Wellington with three old men, no position for a young man. He thought that the elderly Frenchmen, Frs. Petitjean, Sén and Forest were almost in their second childhood, and had no conception that an Englishman or an Irishman might employ a different and more effective style of ministry than themselves. Although there was a great deal of pastoral work to be done in Wellington, Cummins feared he was doing nothing because of a lack of any overall plan or unity of action. He then made a series of statements which showed how much his judgement would have conflicted with many of his French colleagues.

I hope that Fr. Redwood will not be our bishop. It needs a man of talent and experience to remedy the evils here...[The French fathers] love the Maoris, and Europeans are lost... They say that Bishop Moran has been named administrator - that will be a blessing for he is a superior man very respected around here - he is also a well educated and worthy man who commands respect... I will never like Fr. Forest - Fr. Goutenoire is the only person here that I can speak to as a brother. 68

Cummins must have received a sympathetic letter from Fr. Poupinel, the official New Zealand visitor in Sydney, because in April 1873 he wrote thanking Poupinel and noting some local improvements. He went on to specify some of his differences with the French priests. Their willingness to continue living in squalid conditions when this was no longer necessary upset the Irishman but he objected even more to Fr. Petitjean allowing Protestants to teach in the mission school and women to take part in the evening classes. One of his concluding remarks was, "I

68. Cummins to Regnier, 4 Dec 1872, (photocopy). (NTU).
am fairly well and still happy though I do confess that I hate living with odd old men however good. 69

It seems fair to conclude that Cummins' differences with his French colleagues were those of age, temperament and culture - a youthful and active man preparing to fight the battles of the future become frustrated in the company of a number of elderly and somewhat eccentric men preoccupied mainly with the struggles of the past. Cummins' outlook on education certainly strongly reflects Irish concerns about education as a proselytising agent for Protestantism or secularism. This is one of the reasons why Cummins was so attracted by Bishop Moran. Good confirmation of this was given when, after Redwood's appointment, Cummins was appointed as parish priest of Reefton. In November 1875 he wrote a blistering but very learned attack on "purely secular or Godless education" in the Grey River Argus, using Horace, Plato, Plutarch, Montesquieu, Milton and Locke to show that knowledge of God is essential to any civilization. 70 In answer to critical editorial comment he sent in a reply which echoes sentiments that could have come directly from the lips of Dunedin's bishop: "All schools are denominational in point of fact, for the Secularists are a sect who wish to exclude religion from schools, for the real ultimate purpose of fostering unbelief." 71 More dramatic was another clash between two secular priests, one French and one Irish, in which the issue of Irish patriotism was a key point of difference.

Victor Deby was a French priest whom Grimes had met on one of his trips to England and the Continent, and had invited

69. Cummins to Poupinel, 6 Apr 1873, (photocopy), (WTU).
70. Grey River Argus, 29 Nov 1875.
71. Ibid, 27 Dec 1875.
to join him in Christchurch. On his arrival Fr. Deby spent a few months in the Cathedral parish with Bishop Grimes and then went to Ahaura parish to replace the French Marist, Desiree Gallais. A month or so later an Irish priest, Fr. King, was sent to assist him. Within a few weeks the following telegram had arrived in Christchurch: "Monsieur Situation Intolerable Je Vous Donne Ma demission lettre suit Father Deby." The letter that Fr. Deby promised followed the same day. Deby's main allegation was that King had deliberately come to sow "la zizanie" (discord) in Ahaura, and so make his own position as parish priest impossible. The Irishman's strategy for dividing the parish had been by criticisms of Deby's administration but: "grâce surtout aux fibres du patriotisme irlandais que le Père K. a su adroitement faire vibrer" (thanks especially to the chords of Irish patriotism that Father K. has played so skillfully). King's efforts had been so successful that Deby's position had become if not impossible, at least compromised. For if he were to remain as parish priest he would inevitably alienate some of the people for dismissing an Irishman. King also criticized other people before Deby's face, then denied doing so. In one instance King had insisted before two witnesses that Fr. Carew had asked him to send information about Deby's maladministration to Greymouth. When Deby had checked with Carew, the latter denied ever contacting Fr. King at any time.

72. Deby to Grimes, 19 Apr 1899, (CDA).

* In an impassioned correspondence during the next month, Fr. Deby alternates between French and English, sometimes within the same sentence. The French is occasionally so pungent as to be almost untranslatable without eviscerating it altogether, so I have left the original French in places, offering a translation as well where it seems necessary.
He has come here to criticize me, ridicule me, insult me, and dare call me a liar, liar that he is, and I have to accept all this like a lamb just because he is Irish! Last Sunday, during his take-over of the parish, since he arrived here as if he had that authority, he spoke on Ireland and the Irish. The ill-disposed were apparently able to show from reading between the lines of his sermon that "the situation is impossible for Fr. Deby" as several have commented to me... If he comes back, I leave immediately." 73

The next day another telegram arrived in Christchurch, sent from Rimu. It read: "My Lord, I will not accept the return of Fr. K. as curate for any reason. My letter of explanation follows from Hokitika."74 This letter was virtually a restatement of what Deby had said in his earlier letter but does mention one specific accusation that Fr. King had made, viz, that since Fr. Gallais had gone away there had been nothing in the church except "concert and show, etc, etc!" The next letter from Fr. Deby came five days later and was brief. It stated simply that Deby was very pained to see that King had returned to the parish, as therefore he must hand in his resignation. He asked Bishop Grimes for a certificate covering his time in the diocese, two months in Ahaura, and three in Christchurch.75

There is only one more communication from Ahaura about the incident. Yet it contributes a vital piece of evidence for it gives a lead as to the congregation's reaction. It reads:

During his short stay in our district the Reverend Father has by his personal characteristics and the way in which he has attended to our spiritual wants, endeared himself, not only to our own members, but to those outside of the Church. We regret exceedingly that a small minority of our people should have made themselves busy in the matter and if rumour speak correctly, have belittled the value of Rev. Fr.

73. Deby to Grimes, 19 Apr 1899, (CDA).
74. Deby to Grimes, 20 Apr 1899, (CDA).
75. Deby to Grimes, 25 Apr 1899, (CDA).
We respectfully assure your Lordship, it would indeed give the greatest satisfaction to all in the district if Fr. Debby can be induced to remain with your consent and approval and we humbly submit that such an arrangement would voice the heartfelt desires of almost every man, woman, and child connected with our Church. 76

The letter goes on to say that the petition has been raised entirely without Fr. Debby's knowledge and is signed by Arthur Dunn, Richard Darcy, John Booth, John Gough, M. Garth, B. Gough, C. Gillman, William Passeni, Hugh Kennedy, John Kennedy, Amelia Brooks, Mary McLaughlin, John Brooks and Edmond Murphy.

The last act in this drama is revealed in a letter that is written to Bishop Grimes, from his own cathedral, by Fr. Debby, in words that quiver with anger and indignation. The priest claims that Grimes is morally bound to pay him his passage money, that he, Debby, had been in no way at fault. Debby insists that his resignation was not even an act of free will: "You tacitly supported Fr. K. in his action by maintaining him there... I was forced to resign." The bishop is accused of failing in explicit promises that he made to Debby in London, and repeated in Antwerp; he must in all conscience repay the expenses of Debby's trip from London and back again. 77

It is difficult to pass judgement on an incident such as this when described by one party to the dispute only. However certain impressions do come through. The petitioners seem relatively dispassionate and included a good sprinkling of Irish names which suggests that Fr. King did work on the Irish susceptibilities of a minority of the parishioners. The other impression is the sensitive and excitable disposition of Fr. Debby. His letters, with their mixture of French and English, numerous repetitions, and explosive style point to an overwrought man,

76. Fourteen petitioners to Grimes, 4 May 1899, (CDA).
77. Debby to Grimes, 3 Jun 1899, (CDA).
Dean Carew, the "soggarth aroon" of Grey. In the background, part of the Greymouth of which he was parish priest from 1884 to 1918.
thin-skinned and politically naive. Bishop Grimes let Deby go and King remained as parish priest for the next three years. Whether Fr. King did possess the ruthless ambition that Fr. Deby attributes to him is an open question but the incident shows that Irish patriotism could still be a divisive factor in the Catholic community.

Less dramatic but just as revealing are the string of minor differences experienced between Fr. Carew in Greymouth and the French priests who were his colleagues, and sometimes his curates. Carew was parish priest of Greymouth from 1884 to 1918 and near the end of his term was given the honorific ecclesiastical title of Dean. He kept up a constant stream of correspondence with Bishop Grimes in Christchurch and his opinions and advice carried great weight with his bishop. On various occasions when the Dean considered that the bishop had made a wrong decision he let him know in uncompromising language. In a letter, which must have been written early in 1889, Carew told Grimes of the thorough disapproval of the people of Ahaura at the appointment there of Fr. Briand, a recently arrived French Marxist, because of his "exceedingly poor English". Such appointments would not help the reputation of the Society of Mary at all. Carew's advice was heeded on this occasion because the next time we hear of Briand he is curate to Fr. Carew in Greymouth while an Irish secular priest, Henry Bowers, is resident in Ahaura. By the end of April Fr. Briand was woefully writing to his bishop. He mentions the problem of preaching in English and difficulties with his parish priest and the sisters at Greymouth. Apparently he had established a band and a Sunday school soon after his arrival but had to contend with the lack of enthusiasm of

78. Carew to Grimes, 13 inst. 1889, (CDA).
Fr. Carew who "did not believe in that at all". He also criticizes the nuns for "their want of taste", Fr. Briand being an enthusiast for elaborate church decorations.  

Not for seven months did Briand again complain to Grimes. He informed the bishop that he disagreed with Carew's decision to buy a piece of land for the nuns since this merely pandered to the reverend mother's ambitions for expansion; but he reserved his real criticism for another issue. It will be remembered that John Dillon made his triumphant New Zealand tour in 1889-90 and in the course of this visited Greymouth in November. Briand gave a lively description of the visit of the Irish delegate, telling of the rousing receptions and public adulation, and how this brought great prestige and mana to Fr. Carew. He then expressed his scorn and contempt for the whole performance. Unfortunately he gave no reason for this verdict - the impression that comes through, though it is unspoken, is that he could not see what link all this had to essential Catholic faith. In his next letter, a month later, Fr. Briand aimed another blow at one of Fr. Carew's pride and joys. From his first days in Greymouth in 1884 Carew had showed great concern for education. He was anxious to assist the development of the sisters' school, encouraging their foundation at Brunner in 1886. The arrival of the Marist teaching brothers in 1891 he was to regard as one of the great successes of his ministry. The state and progress of his schools are a perennial theme of his letters to Bishop Grimes. Briand, to the contrary, expressed disgust with the poor conditions at the boys' school and gave a low estimate of the pupil's ability and achievements.

It would be unrealistic to think that the parish priest was accepting all these criticisms without voicing his own in return. In October Carew told Grimes that he found Fr. Briand useful in most things but that he refused to go to Barrytown, a remark he never fully explains. His letter concludes with this highly pregnant observation: Briand "is indeed a very useful man but he must not be allowed to scheme." Apparently one of Briand's innovations in Greymouth was the founding of a literary society. Early in 1890 a letter from Carew tells of Briand's exhaustion from arguments with the society. Briand was too autocratic and when thwarted became distressed. Carew believed that Briand would be of little use during the coming year. Apparently the tensions did become too much for Briand. He uprooted himself and fled to Reefton, only fifty miles away, but within the boundaries of the Wellington diocese and under the direction of Fr. Rolland, a French Marist. During his two Reefton years his particular interests scarcely changed as can be seen in this extract from the Convent diary:

It was well known that in whatever town he was, there would be found a Church Choir fit for any cathedral:... The good Priest always spent months preparing for Christmas; and he procured every possible good singer (Catholic or Protestant) in the whole district. He had everything perfect; would insist on having everyone present at the practices. The Church was always crowded to excess on these occasions, for Protestants as well as Catholics knew what the music would be like... The Church decorations in accordance with the most excellently refined taste of Rev. Fr. Briand, were exceedingly beautiful... 84

Fr. Carew's brush with Fr. Briand seems to have disposed him to find flaws more readily in his other French colleagues. In one of his letters to Bishop Grimes he mentions with irritation how his day at the opening of the new convent at Ross was spoiled by a chance encounter with Fr. Rolland, who was there

83. Carew to Grimes, 16 Jan 1890, (CDA).
84. Tansey, "Retrospective Glances" (MSAW).
Fr. Aimé Martin, born in the Lower Alps, France, but who was to spend 45 years in New Zealand, 38 of them as parish priest of Hokitika.
seeking contributions for the convent at Reefton, the debt on which he was still trying to extinguish. This was not the first time that Fr. Rolland had caused annoyance by his somewhat at casual methods of finance. In the opening pages of the first baptismal register for Reefton we find this note inserted by Fr. Michael Cummins when he was sent as first resident parish priest in 1874:

At his own request Fr. Roland (sic) was sent here to collect money for Taranaki - there never had been a resident priest, Father Pertuis came sometimes to say mass and got a shed built for this purpose and for a temporary school which they let fall from want of funds. I was sent as first permanent local pastor 23 May 1874 - and find no house, no chapel, no school, no vestments and no money - though Fr. Rolland collected between 15 and 17 hundred pounds - I find no accounts and only this [a large blue exercise book] as Baptismal Register - which I continue.

Later Cummins must have had a few twinges about writing this as he drew a couple of thick lines through the words from "between" to "pounds".

The language difficulties of the French Marists frequently moved Carew to write to the bishop. Because of his shortage of clergy Grimes had been forced to move Carew's curate, Fr. Servajean, to Ahaura. This left Carew hard put to fulfill his parish commitments because he could get no help from Hokitika where the two French fathers [Martin and Lepetit] were unable (or rather unwilling) to come and preach in Greymouth because of their "lapses linguae and gibberish English!" Carew was not given another French curate for some thirteen years. When he heard that he was to receive a Fr. Henry, a French priest who had been working in Reefton and Hokitika for the previous three years, his comment was that he was glad to be given a strong and healthy

85. Carew to Grimes, 8 Oct 1896, (CDA).
86. Reefton Presbytery, Baptismal Register.
87. Carew to Grimes, 4 Apr 1897, (CDA).
second assistant, "but his being a French Father renders him very incompetent to teach an English congregation." However Carew seems to have been pleasantly surprised for three weeks later he observed that Fr. Henry "seems to be a good sensible man, not so hysterical as most of his country men!"

Carew's most shattering comments about his French colleagues nevertheless came a month later when he was describing the difficulties of the Reefton parish which had been without a second priest for two years, since the departure of Fr. Henry. During these years Fr. Gallais had been there alone. Carew's devastating comment was: "He should have been in a lunatic asylum during those years!" When Fr. Galerne, another French Marist, had been sent to help out, they had publicly fought and abused each other. Carew's estimation of Fr. Galerne? - "Galerne is scarcely sane!" The enthusiasm of the previous month for Fr. Henry now seemed to have worn off too, as is evident in Carew's comment: "A lady here told me she had to chastise her children for breaking out into laughter when Fr. Henry made his debut in Greymouth. Many have commiserated themselves on hearing Fr. Henry."

These conflicts between Irish and French priests on the West Coast must be seen in their context and not unduly inflated. Over the period of approximately forty years, c. 1870 - 1910, now examined, there were 20 French and 34 Irish priests who served in a West Coast parish for at least six months. In this long period the conflicts that have been singled out are the only significant ones. Apart from the qualifications already noted in the affairs involving Frs. Cummins and Deby, one might also qualify Dean Carew's apparent acidity. Because of his long service and

90. Carew to Grimes, 8 Sep 1910, (CDA).
Carew's funeral in Greymouth, February 1918.
central position in Greymouth, Carew evidently believed that he had a sort of watching brief over all the parishes and clergy of the Coast and was quick to relay the first hint of any dissensions or possible scandal to the bishop. His strong and pragmatic temperament did not suffer fools gladly and as he became older, increasing irascibility made his tolerance even less. He was 61 when he made his last observations about Frs. Gallais, Galerne and Henry and it is clear that not everyone shared his views. Thus Fr. Ainsworth, whom Fr. Henry served as a curate during 1909, said of the Frenchman: "I am still indulging in the luxury of a curate. He is a real good priest. I hope I will be allowed to keep him."\(^91\) Likewise, though Fr. Henry may have spoken with a heavy accent, his letters, a number of which are preserved in the Christchurch Diocesan archives, are written in almost faultless English with only an occasional idiomatic slip.\(^x\)

Conflict between French and Irish clergy involved four areas of disagreement. The first is the language problem. The second might be termed ecclesiastical priorities. Generally it can be seen, for example in the cases of Frs. Cummins and Carew, that in the eyes of Irish clerics, sound finance, good organization and completed church buildings were considered the indispensable basis for a strong and living parish. They obviously tended to regard the preoccupation of some of the French clergy with elaborate music and choirs, fine Church decoration and liturgy, 91. Ainsworth to Grimes, 26 Jul 1909, (CDA).

\(^x\) Since writing this material, I have received further information from the Marist archivist in Rome which underlines the soundness of Carew's judgements about some of these men. One example: when his superiors tried to remove Fr. Gallais from Reefton he refused to go and caused much distress in the Catholic community. He finally left New Zealand without ecclesiastical approval, returning to his birth-place and living there as a layman. Reading the summary of his case prepared by the New Zealand provincial, my immediate conclusion, from my own counselling experience, would be that he was suffering from a severe personality disorder, bordering on psychotic delusions of persecution. Carew's remarks about his being insane may not have been too wide of the mark.
and groups such as literary societies as rather marginal. Thirdly it seems that the French clergy found an ecumenical approach to inter-church relations much more natural than did the Irish. Such things as mixed choirs and Protestant organists or even school teachers were sometimes acceptable to the French clergy whereas it is clear that the sectarian strife that had bedevilled Irish history for centuries made such an acceptance much more difficult for the Irish clergy. Finally, in the area of Irish patriotic feeling there was some difference of opinion. Fr. Briand did not seem to show much sympathy for Irish causes though some of his countrymen e.g. Fr. Rolland, did so. In the cases of Fr. Cummins and King, nationalism was a real point of division and it was exacerbated by personality clashes and personal ambition. Behind these Irish-French clashes lay deeper and centuries-long differences in religious training and culture.

One of the goals that the Council of Trent set itself as it tried to stimulate the Catholic counter-Reformation in the sixteenth century was the reform of the priesthood and the seminary system. The council decreed that each diocese (or group of small dioceses) must have its own seminary and laid down certain minimal educational requirements for the students, together with an outline of the studies to be followed. The precise courses were to be specified by the local bishop, according to the needs of the area. Efforts to implement these reforms were made successfully in many parts of Europe, but during the eighteenth century the seminary systems of nations such as France were severely eroded by the impact of the Revolution, Josephinism and the Enlightenment. In the nineteenth century there was a revival of the seminary system, marked from about the time of Pius IX in mid-century by a growing centralization of power within such Roman bodies as the Congregation of Seminaries, reinforced by a developing section of canon law dealing with seminaries and
seminarians. However, local variations, because of political history or class structure, could modify this unifying tendency of the Roman reform.

With the French Marists one needs to remember that for the order's first thirty years, most Marists were secular priests, trained in diocesan seminaries, but who then decided to become Marists. They usually went through a short training period or novitiate in the spirituality of the religious and Marist life before taking religious vows. The Society of Mary did not have its own seminaries till much later. Seminary classes, when the first future Marists began to train about 1814 were conducted in a large regional seminary such as Lyons, and were as follows: conferences, scripture, prayer, and university work. The latter was optional, over and above normal daily classes. Those students who chose to do these studies went to the theological faculty of the University of Lyons, where there were chairs of dogma, moral theology, church history and Hebrew. The chief textbook used was Louis Bailly's *Theologiae Dogmaticæ et Moralis ad usum seminariorum*. However the Vatican placed this work on the Index in 1852 because of its Gallican views on the Church, especially its reduction of the administrative and juridical power of the Papacy, while elevating that of the French hierarchy. It was also rigorist in its moral outlook; in all ethical questions where there were disputed positions as to what the Catholic was permitted to do, it always favoured the strictest interpretation. There was a pervasive stress on orthodoxy, and orthodoxy meant fidelity to the definitions of the Council of Trent, and a great stress on controversy. Doctrines were presented in sharp contradiction to positions held by Protestants, Jansenists, Pelagians, semi-Pelagians and other such heresies. Because of the prevailing rational and secular tendencies of the eighteenth century Enlightenment, there was especially bitter invective against the
worship of human reason, and writers such as Montesquieu and Voltaire. Moral theology was virtually a study of casuistry; biblical and patristic theology had sunk far into the background. The dominant French school of moral theology was probabiliorist, which believed that the majority opinion of theologians must be followed where there was any doubt. There was too, a heavy Jansenist influence from the French seminary of St. Sulpice (many professors of Irish seminaries studied here) and this showed itself in puritanical attitudes to sexuality and a heavy emphasis on the sinful tendencies of human nature.

On the other hand it can be seen that many of these positions were modified through the personal experience and insights of John Claude Colin and the early Marists because of the works they were given to do. Soon after their approval by Rome (1836), groups of Marists were sent on mission work into some of the mountain regions of France where many villages had not seen a priest since the Revolution. They quickly learned that in winning back the people rigorist positions were out of the question. In the same way, the Marists were entrusted with schools where irreligion and anticlericalism had become endemic. Only by breaking down these attitudes through a family-like atmosphere and then lifting the school to high academic standards were they able to win back the respect of the community and the pupils. Certainly, when one looks at the French missionaries who worked on the West Coast one cannot help but be struck by two qualities: their broad humanity and their love of learning. Several notable examples confirm this impression.

Fr. Eugene Pertuis arrived in Ahaura as parish priest in October 1871. On 8 April 1872 St. Mary's boarding and day school for girls was opened, and St. Joseph's parish school established later that year. On Bishop Moran's tour of the Coast in

a) (Top). Fr. John Baptist Rolland, the founder of the "Academy" which was one of the first Catholic secondary schools in New Zealand.

b) (Bottom). Fr. Pertuis's schools at Ahaura, on the site of Rolland's future Academy.
1873 he was presented with an address from the Catholics of Ahaura which included the following words:

... we take this opportunity of bearing testimony to the piety and zeal of the reverend gentleman appointed to take charge of the parish, to whom belongs the sole merit of founding an educational institution which does credit to the district and reflects honour on the Catholic body. 93

If Fr. Pertuis had established high educational standards, these were to be surpassed by the efforts of his remarkable successor, Fr. John-Baptist Rolland. This priest from Lorraine first arrived in New Zealand in 1864 and was sent to Taranaki as chaplain to the British regiments during the Maori campaigns. His fearlessness in the racial fray earned him respect from pakeha and Maori alike. When he died in Reefton in 1903, Premier Seddon ordered a military funeral - Reefton's biggest. On Bishop Redwood's visit to Ahaura in November 1878 he made a special call on Fr. Rolland's "Academy". There four addresses were read, from Rolland, from the Catholics of the district, and two from the children, one in Latin and one in French. Redwood's reply to the children was in Latin and French. That evening a concert and dramatic entertainment were given. It opened with an overture from the school band, followed by a comedy, "No Song, No Supper"; then the last act of "Polyeucte" was given in French. 94

It might be recalled here that Redwood himself, who was an exceptionally gifted linguist (he won first prize for French narrative in the major seminary in Lyons in 1859, and the first prize for French rhetoric in 1860) had learned his first French not far away, in Nelson, under the tutelage of Fr. Antoine Garin whose school system had been copied in various parts of New Zealand before 1877.

A former teacher at Rolland's school recalls that the priest "spoke good English with facility and with far less Gallic

94. Ibid, p. 31-2
Frs. P. Regnault, J. Goutenoire, and E. Pertuis. Three talented Frenchmen who served in West Coast parishes.

a) (Top). Eugene Pertuis, who served in Ross, Ahaura, and Greymouth, establishing St. Mary's and St. Joseph's schools in Ahaura.

b) (Centre). John Goutenoire, Hokitika, September 1868-July 1871. He was later to become the second superior of the Marist seminary at Greenmeadows.

c) (Bottom). Peter Regnault, Hokitika, July 1886-September 1889. He was to become the fourth Marist provincial in New Zealand, in December 1907.
accent than usually displayed by Frenchmen. His comments about the priest's library and reading are also revealing:

Notwithstanding his journeying, Fr. Rolland was the possessor of a fair size library. It was comprised mostly of French literature. On the shelves were works by Bourdaloue, Bossuet, Massignon, Fénelon, a voluminous history of the Church, classics, etc. I have seen him taking down a volume of sermons by one of these eminent preachers, glancing through it - tuning himself up as it were - and then settling down to write one, or perhaps, two sermons for the following Sunday. 95

There are other tantalizing snippets about some of these other early French priests which show that although they might have been isolated in tiny rough goldfield communities they were determined to reproduce much of their European culture and civilization. There is the picture of Fr. John Coutenoire opening his tiny wooden chapel in Ross with a solemn High Mass in which the services and responses of Mozart's Twelfth Mass were sung by a choir. 96 Another of the early French priests at Ross, John Peter Chareyre, whom one pioneer recalled as "a tall good-looking Frenchman who spoke good English, preached fine sermons and was always on the move," 97 was evidently a man of great ability because shortly after his return to Europe in 1877 he was named for the vacant bishopric of Auckland but declined the offer. 98 Henry Belliard, who served in Greymouth from late 1871 to 1874, then in Waimea to 1876, became a Marist only when he was thirty having previously been a professor of "belles lettres" in France. He was only 43 when he died in Hokitika in 1876. 99

95. Recollections of J.R. McCormick, Marist Messenger, Feb 1934, p. 42
97. Clarke, "The Catholic Mission", p. 34
98. Marist Messenger, Oct 1933, p. 27
contemporaries were Fr. Nicholas Binsfeld, whose vivid memoirs of goldfield days are fascinating reading, and the somewhat frenetic but clearly talented Henry Briand with his literary society and choir in Greymouth.

The educational background of the Irish priesthood is much more complicated and diverse. From penal times there could be no training of priests in Ireland till emancipation allowed the establishment of Maynooth national seminary in 1795. During the intervening years young Irish candidates for the priesthood went to seminaries in France, Belgium, or Spain, or to the Irish College in Rome. This college was founded in 1625 but had trained only a small percentage of the Irish clergy up to 1798 when it was closed down till 1826, when it was reopened with a new lease of life. In Ireland itself during the nineteenth century most students for the diocesan priesthood attended either St. Patrick's Maynooth or All Hallows Missionary Seminary in Dublin which was founded in 1842, though a number of students did attend smaller ecclesiastical colleges in Carlow, Wexford, Waterford, Thurles or Kilkenny. Preparatory to their entry to one of these major seminaries some students attended a "minor" seminary such as that run by the Cistercians at Mount Melleray, which concentrated mainly in giving the students an adequate background in classics and the humanities.

The majority* of the Irish priests who came to New Zealand before 1900 were trained at All Hallows, so it is to this seminary that we first turn our attention. The students at All


* Nobody has yet worked out accurate figures for New Zealand as a whole. Of the Irish seculars who served on the West Coast up to 1900 and whose training I was able to verify, 14 out of 21, or 66.6%, were trained at All Hallows.
Hallows received most of their financial support from the bishops for whose diocese they were being ordained. Because of this many of the students there came from the less privileged strata of society, families that could not afford to pay the expenses of a seminary education for their sons. This also meant that many of them had received indifferent educational opportunities. Thus the education at All Hallows tried to be flexible, becoming more comprehensive where there was need. However this policy was sometimes placed under pressure because of the practical demands of the mission and the urgency with which the bishops needed priests. Before the famine there were no state-supported schools in Ireland. Better class people sent their children to the Continent for education while the poorer classes resorted to the "classical schools" or "hedge schools" which had formerly been clandestine and illegal. In 1853 the principal of All Hallows reported to the Irish bishops that the opportunity to get a preparatory education was less than it had been before the great famine. The famine had virtually eliminated classical education; the better class of farmers were mostly broken down or had emigrated; the smaller classical schools had nearly all gone. Because of this lack of preparatory schools the principal thought that their students were less well-trained in the humanities than French or English ecclesiastics though he considered them their equals in theology. 101

Because the majority of students arriving at All Hallows had an inadequate grounding in humanities - Latin, French, and especially English - most went at entry into the "Rhetoric" class and had to spend two years there. By 1892, when courses had become fairly stabilized, the standard length of study was five years, one of philosophy and four of theology; if the student was weak in humanities, the course could be lengthened to seven years;

on the other hand if a student was proficient he could complete a course in four years, and this tended to be the norm since the bishops were clamouring for priests. The consequences of this training were somewhat paradoxical in that although the All Hallows priests were often noted for their fiery espousal of Catholic schools to ensure that their people obtained educational opportunities they themselves often aroused antagonism because of their somewhat rustic and uncultured manners and speech.

This was one of the elements which explains the sometimes strident friction between the Benedictines and the Irish seculars in Australia, c. 1840-80. The English Benedictines were heirs of a monastic, scholarly tradition and to them the violence and factious nationalism of the Irish clergy seemed crude and uncultured. Equally too, the scholarly and contemplative spirituality of the Benedictines seemed to the Irish clergy truly impracticable for their largely Irish peasant flock. Something of the same concern was also shown by Bishop Croke when he made his first survey of the Auckland diocese and expressed himself unhappy with the standard of preaching and the education of the All Hallows priests. In Australia, after the setting up of the national seminary at Manly in 1885, the Australian bishops requested that All Hallows send out no more poorly educated and "rough priests".

Up till 1869 it had been possible for Maynooth seminary to accept a few hundred students on the establishment, an annual grant having been given for this purpose, but this disappeared with the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland in 1870.

103. Davis, Irish Issues, p. 73
104. O'Farrell and McGovern, Irish Catholicism, p. 29
These scholarships had been highly sought after. However, after 1870 all students had to pay full fees less what each diocese could afford to give the seminary. This meant that the vast majority of the students came from the middle-income range: sons of shopkeepers, publicans, policemen and school teachers. Very few came from large land-owning families, or were sons of lawyers, doctors or bankers. Similarly, virtually none were sons of farm labourers or factory workers, though perhaps a few came from families of skilled artisans, carpenters or stonemasons.

The course of studies pursued can be seen from looking at the textbooks used by the students, which were normally the professor's own work:

G. Crolly, *De Iure et Justitia* - for moral theology; *De Contractibus* - for contracts.

P. Murray, *De Ecclesia Christi* - for Dogmatic Theology.


J. O'Kane, *Ceremonies of the Roman Rite* - for Liturgy and Rubrics.

One can see from these books the heavily juridical approach used; the moral life and the virtues have been reduced to a set of obligations measured by law and contractual relationships. The approach was heavily but not completely ultramontane, not following exactly Roman claims for total obedience in doctrinal and jurisdictional areas. In fact early in the nineteenth century there was a distinct tinge of Gallicanism at Maynooth because of French professors on the original staff and staff members trained in France in pre-revolutionary days. Moloney gives this as the reason why so few graduates of Maynooth (three out of twelve) were among the Irishmen appointed to the Australian episcopate in the period 1848-78. Cardinal Cullen had a large say in these.

105. Information supplied by Mr Tomás Ó. Fiaich, President, Maynooth Seminary.
Fr. Thomas Devoy, parish priest of Kumara, January 1881 to July 1882, later to become the third N.Z. Marist provincial, 1901-7.
appointments which helps to explain why eight out of the twelve appointed had studied in Rome where Cullen was rector of the Irish College. 106

Applying this background to the Irish clergy of the West Coast proved difficult since for a number of them, their seminary training was impossible to uncover. During the whole period of this study, 1865-1910, of the 26 Irish secular priests whose training could be verified, fourteen were graduates of All Hallows, four of Waterford, three of Carlow, three of Maynooth, one began studies in Maynooth and completed them in Rome, while the last of the group received his full training in Rome at the Gregorian University. Certainly a passion for Catholic schooling marked these men, yet they had no special bent for academic excellence or belief in the importance of intellectual training. In only two cases did Irish priests make significant contributions in a cultural field. Fr. McGuiness of Ross was noted as an eloquent preacher and enthusiastic musician who, on a summer's eve, would sing the melodies of his native poet, Thomas Moore, while on Sundays he would sing High Mass with all the ceremonies appropriate to a great cathedral. 107 When Fr. Devoy came to Kumara in 1884 he established a fife-and-drum band in the local primary school, perhaps one of the first in New Zealand. However both of these Irishmen were Marists so had gone through an entirely different training system from their fellow Irish priests on the Coast.

It seems fair to conclude then that there was not a significant difference in the theological and doctrinal understanding of the French and Irish priests. The links between the two seminary systems, as well as the pervading influence of legalism, rigorist moral beliefs and Jansenist ideas throughout Catholic

106. Molony, The Roman Mould, p. 29
theology at this time, would have ensured this. There may have been hints of Gallicanism in some of the Irish clergy - we can detect this strain in the Tablet when the Vatican made decisions which ran against the tide of Irish nationalist movements - whereas one of the three aims proposed by John Claude Colin in the Constitutions of the Society of Mary was complete loyalty and devotion to the person of the Roman Pontiff. However this slight difference did not lead to any major confrontation in practice.

What is perhaps more the area of real difference is seen in the broader intellectual and cultural background of a number of the French priests, for whom literary and classical knowledge and good music could be excellent vehicles for their presentation of the gospel message. For an Irish priest who had struggled to gain an education in a nation still beset by massive injustices, religious liberation and political liberation were inevitably closely linked; culture and artistry were a superfluous luxury.

Given this background the comment from two students of All Hal­lows is probably a fair summation of Irish seminary training:

> The chief weakness of the Irish-educated priest arose not so much from his formal schooling as from the extremely depressed and bitterly unjust social conditions in which he grew up. 108

The other area where it was possible that the New Zealand Irish felt that the non-Irish did not sympathise with them, and indeed might even be hostile, was in their burning desire to see the Irish issue settled, generally through the granting of some measure of Home Rule. In this respect it was not enough that individual French or English priests showed a clear sympathy. One of the Irish teachers at his school, J.R. McCormick, said of Fr. Rolland:

> He had the Irish cause very much at heart, and I remember him touring with the visiting Home Rule members on their visit to the West Coast. He often said, "The Irish have done one great

108. O'Higgins and Walshe, "The Old All Hallows", p. 26
thing under Providence; they have spread the faith... 109

In Ireland too, individual priests had supported the Fenians and the Land Leagues, but the national hierarchy had condemned them. What the New Zealand Irish wanted and looked for were official statements of support and approval for Irish nationalism from those who counted—the national hierarchy of New Zealand.

In the 1870's and 1880's particularly, this meant Bishop Redwood of Wellington. He very quickly became the senior bishop in New Zealand after Moran whose loyalty to the cause was unquestioned. He ruled the largest diocese in New Zealand containing the largest concentration of Irish-born. He had a unique position of authority over all Marist priests, many of whom were not Irish. He too was not Irish, in fact was regarded as English, for it would still be a considerable time before even being born in New Zealand would make one distinctively a New Zealander. For all these reasons, it was to Redwood that the Irish community turned its eyes to discern its standing in the non-Irish portion of the Catholic Church in New Zealand.

It should be recalled that Redwood's first appointment, before his ordination, was to a teaching post in the Marist college in Dundalk in 1863. This meant that he had actually lived in Ireland for six or seven years before his consecration. Just a few months before that event he wrote a letter to his Marist confrères in St. Mary's Wellington which revealed his very early attitude to the Home Rule cause: "Home Rule is making rapid strides. They have right on their side, and if they hold together well, I think they will ultimately succeed." 110 One of the earliest occasions on which Redwood showed his admiration for some

110. Redwood to St. Mary's community, 28 Nov 1873, (MAW).
Irish attitudes was on St. Patrick's day 1877 when, at the opening of the Catholic Church in Kumara, he told the assembled diggers, "The Irish race of today are the church-builders of the world." He expanded this remark in an address he gave to the people of St. Anne's, Spitalfields, on a visit he made to the scene of his consecration seven years afterwards. While describing the Church in New Zealand he spoke specifically of the Irish and said:

They have carried with them from their own land to their new home a devotedness to the faith which their race has never failed to display whatever the trials which its profession entailed. And true to their traditions, the Irish of New Zealand have remained loyal to their Church; despite trial and persecution, they have kept the faith, and kept it well, which, after all, is the grand point. They are Catholics, not by profession only, but by practice; they come to their duties, they are zealous in the service of the Church, and they are doing wonders for the faith.

This speech is important because of its context. Redwood was speaking to a mainly English congregation who would have been very conscious of the violent events then taking place under the banner of the Land Leagues. He was a long way from New Zealand and did not have to make qualifications for the susceptibilities of his hearers. It might still be objected that admiration on religious grounds was still far from commitment to political and social freedom. Prior to the monster Land League meeting in Wellington in August 1881, it will be recalled that two prominent members of Wellington's Irish community, Dr. Grace and Pat Buckley, had expressed misgivings about backing the Land Leagues. That Redwood had given these reservations considerable thought and yet had still opted to support the Leagues can be seen in an important letter which the bishop wrote to the rector of St. Mary's, Christchurch, when Fr. Ginaty had asked him about the

112. Tablet, 11 Feb 1881, p. 17
Re. the public meeting to sympathize with the object of the Irish Land Leagues, I have to notice that some change has been brought about in my attitude towards it, since my last letter to you. I had appeared not to give its promoters much encouragement at first, owing to the manner in which it was originated, and I wrote to them to this effect "that I considered the meeting as originated, would be a mistake, and do more harm than good to the cause which had my deepest sympathy". Since then, the objectionable features alluded to have disappeared, and, in a large deputation of Catholics waiting on me a few days ago, I became convinced that a Public meeting on this matter is a moral necessity here and, accordingly, it will come off on or about the 1st of August. I told the deputation that I would not chair the meeting myself, because I wished it to be the exclusive work of laymen, and wear no shadow of a sectarian character, by appearing to originate from the clergy. I advised him to get the greatest possible number of non-catholics to attend. I declined, moreover, to speak to any of the resolutions at the meeting, leaving that task to more competent laymen, and of course I shall keep my word. I plainly perceived that to set myself against the meeting would be, on the one hand, against my own deepest convictions, and on the other, too harsh an opposition to the vast majority of my flock. As far as you are concerned, you are free to have a meeting or not, just as you please... 113

Redwood's decision to name his first college, in Wellington, after Ireland's national saint was another clear pointer to his wish to identify with Irish causes. It was evident, however, that some sections of the Irish Catholic community were yet to be convinced that this sympathy was not just a facade to hide English arrogance and feelings of superiority. These feelings were to flare up especially on the occasion of the consecration of a Marist bishop, John Grimes, to Christchurch, as will be seen. This is why one of the early issues of the Catholic newspaper, the Catholic Times, that Redwood helped launch in Wellington in 1888, was so insistent in pointing out Redwood's consistently pro-Irish stands. Thus in the issue of 11 February of that year the editor drew the attention of the Catholics of New Zealand to the important statement on Home Rule that Bishops

113. Redwood to Ginaty, 22 Jul 1881, (MAW).
Redwood and Grimes had made in Christchurch. He hoped that this statement would allay the feelings of "anxiety and irritation" that existed. From his first moment in New Zealand his Grace had always been outspoken on this question, even though he was not Irish-born. He had been the first prelate to appear on the Home Rule platform in New Zealand to advocate the cause of the Parnell party and had supported it consistently ever since. Christchurch people would certainly find every reason to be fully satisfied with the views of their new bishop as well. 114

In the end even the Tablet had to retract its denunciations of Redwood's "anti-Irish" views when one of the most influential American-Irish journals, the Irish World, published with approval Redwood's views on the Irish question in the issue of 11 September 1889. 115 In fact, Redwood's advocacy of Irish causes was to become more and more enthusiastic as the years passed. In the 1910's and 1920's he became the most outspoken advocate of Irish rights in New Zealand. As a summary of his attitudes towards Ireland and the Irish, there can really be no questioning of his statement, made shortly before the sixtieth anniversary of his consecration, as to why he chose to be consecrated on St. Patrick's day:

Because I held this apostle of the Irish in the highest veneration, and because I had witnessed for years the faith and virtues of the people whom his labours and miracles had converted from heathenism to the Catholic faith which they had kept so heroically down to the present day and will keep for ever. I also considered that the bulk of my flock in New Zealand was Irish and I longed for the blessing and assistance of their great Apostle upon my labours in their behalf...

As St. Patrick was as remarkable for his great age as for his miracles, it may be - and I have often thought so - that my vigorous old age, even unto attainment of seniority of Catholic Hierarchy in the world, is the result of his blessing and intercession on my behalf. I like, at all events, to think and say so. 116

114. Catholic Times. (henceforth C.T), 11 Feb 1888, p. 17
115. Davis, Irish Issues, p. 87
116. Marist Messenger, Feb 1934, p. 8
Thus it can be seen that it was not really basic theological differences or deep divisions on the rights of the Irish cause that divided Irish and non-Irish Catholics on the West Coast or New Zealand as a whole. These differences were much greater in the perception than in the reality. Where the real differences lay was in two conflicting approaches to mission in New Zealand - how best to build up a strong church in a new land. One of the premises in this question and one accepted by Irish and non-Irish, was a recognition that the Irish Catholics were the most significant and important group in the Church in New Zealand. Exactly how this should be recognized in ecclesiastical appointments and policy was not so clear. The two different approaches would clash head on over the issue of the appointment of a bishop for Christchurch. The cleavage that this created between the diocesan and Marist priesthood in New Zealand has not yet been fully healed and comprises the next step in our study.
CHAPTER VI

THE CLIMAX OF MARIST - SECULAR DISCORD.

From the time of his arrival in Dunedin in 1871 Bishop Moran seemed constantly to be at loggerheads with the Marist priests and administration of the Wellington diocese. He had taken over a diocese where Marists had been working for ten years. He expected to find at least the foundations of a strong local Church - church buildings, presbyteries, convents. The paucity of what he found shocked him. Then, as it seemed to him, the Marists had abandoned him with indecent haste, leaving him to find staffing for the new parishes required in the rapidly growing area. Furthermore, he was convinced that in departing the diocese they were leaving with church property, paid for by the Otago Catholics, and belonging therefore to the diocese rather than to any individual religious. Fr. Moreau had particularly aroused his ire in this respect.

Fr. Moreau had also been involved in another incident which had led to the suspension of Fr. Williams. Here the Irish bishop believed that a familiar pattern was repeated, a pattern he knew from England and Ireland - the victimization of Irish priests because of their sympathy with the political aspirations of their flock. Not only Fr. Williams, but also Frs. McDonough, Larkin and Golden had been treated in such a way as to convince Moran that the Marist administration was too compliant in its efforts to please the colonial authorities.

Upon Bishop Viard's death in 1872 Moran had become the senior bishop in New Zealand. His appointment as Apostolic
Administrator was a recognition of his youthful energy. He carried out his visitation of the huge Wellington diocese with great care and thoroughness. Although he was pleased, and perhaps surprised, by the zeal of the clergy, he became convinced that the Marists were making use of underhand manoeuvring to ensure the appointment of their own candidate. Whether Moran recommended a Marist appointee may never be known, but if he did not, the choice of Redwood must have confirmed his suspicions about Marist influence in high places in Rome.

Another contentious issue in which Moran did not see eye to eye with the Marists concerned their handling of the Irish sympathies and interests of the majority of their flock. Until 1885 neither he nor the Tablet had made specific accusations that the mainly French society was deliberately anti-Irish. However there had been the repeated pleadings for the Irish to have their own priests, and their own schools with their own teachers, so as to retain their national identity and faith. Moran was convinced that the Society of Mary did not understand the essential nature of these needs for the spiritual well-being of the Irish Catholics, and hence the Church, in New Zealand.

These constant undercurrents of friction and divisiveness were to swell into a flood in the period 1885-8, released by three important forward steps in the growth of the Roman Catholic Church in New Zealand: the first plenary synod of the Australasian hierarchy, the erection of the Christchurch diocese, and the choice of a metropolitan see for New Zealand.

1. The Point of Division: The Erection of a National Hierarchy.

The steady growth of the Catholic population by immigration in the 1870's and 1880's was reflected in the fact that by 1885 the Catholic population of the Wellington diocese had jumped to 40,648. At the time of Viard's death it had been c. 17-
This map of the Middle Island, under the name of the Surveyor General, in July 1884, lists as townships many West Coast settlements which have now completely disappeared.
18,000. This huge area, stretching from New Plymouth and Napier in the north to Waimate and Okarito in the south, contained more than the total Catholic populations of Auckland (20,648) and Dunedin dioceses (18,140). It is not clear whether Propaganda pointed out to the Society of Mary the need to break up this now over-extended diocese or whether the process worked the other way. But the Society of Mary's response was perfectly clear. The Marists had been given this region as their special pastoral responsibility, and a Marist bishop to ensure their rights. They presumed that if it was to be subdivided their nominee would rule the newly created diocese. By August 1885 the Society had determined upon its candidate, namely John Joseph Grimes, an English Marist only two years younger than Redwood himself. Born in Bromley-by-Bow in Kent, Grimes had been educated by the Marist brothers at St. Anne's, Spitalfields. After making his decision to enter the Society of Mary he studied at Bar-le-Duc, then did his theology in Ireland, and was ordained in 1865 in Dublin. He joined the staff of St. Mary's College, Dundalk, as the professor of literature and classics and there cemented his friendship with Francis Redwood who was already on the staff. Then came a missionary appointment to North America where he became rector of the Marist school, Jefferson College, in New Orleans, 1874-81. After this he returned to England, taking charge of the Marist missionary training college at Paignton, Devon.¹

In August 1885 Redwood was in Dundalk; from here he wrote to Grimes in terms that suggested that the question of the appointment was virtually finalized.

Meanwhile, as a vision of consolation in the anxiety which very naturally oppresses you at the prospect of the heavy burden shortly - we

¹. G. Scholefield, *A Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, (Wellington 1940), p. 332
feel certain - to be put upon your shoulders,
I am happy to tell you that you will have in
the diocese of Christchurch the snuggest dio-
cese in all the Australasian colonies... Bes-
ides let us wait for the final settlement at
Rome before we enter fully in business. 2

Only two weeks later Redwood had bad news for one of the
Christchurch Marists. The decision about the new diocese and
the choice of a metropolitan see for New Zealand were now going
to be made at the first Plenary Synod of the bishops of Austra-
lia and New Zealand due to open in Sydney on 14 November. Car-
dinal Moran of Sydney, who had been in Rome to receive his red
biretta from the Pope, would be returning in time for the Synod.
Redwood had hoped that the whole question would be settled bef-
fore the Council. He had not given up all hope, but was fearful
of the outcome of the Council for the Society of Mary. 3

That things were not going well for the Marist cause be-
came evident early in December when news filtered back to New
Zealand indicating that a secular bishop might well be appoint-
ed. Fr. Chervier, a French Marist at Lincoln, had been visiting
a colleague, Fr. Chastagnon, a French diocesan priest, in Ashb-
urton. There he had been shown a telegram sent from the West
Coast which included an urgent request from Fr. Ahearne of Ross,
who was holidaying in Sydney. Ahearne advised the secular pri-
est s to petition Cardinal Moran for a secular bishop in Canter-
bury, and to submit three names from which to choose; the peti-
tion to be drawn up by Frs. O'Donnell of Ahaura and Walshe of Ku-
mara. Fr. Chastagnon was opposed to the plan, which is why he sh-
owed the telegram to Chevrier; he would rather raise a petition
for the entire diocese to remain under Redwood. 4

4. Chevrier to unknown recipient, 10 Dec 1885, (MAW).
Bishop Redwood had good reason to be pessimistic about what might happen in Sydney. For thirty years a running battle had been waged between the English Benedictines and the Irish secular bishops over episcopal appointments in Australia. Bishop Polding, the first Benedictine bishop of Sydney, had seen his recommendations overruled several times, and the appointment, instead, of nominees of Bishop Cullen, who had been through the Irish College in Rome during Cullen's rectorship there. From 1861 onwards, with the appointment of Bishop James Quinn in Brisbane, a string of Irish bishops was appointed: T. O'Mahoney to Armidale (1871), Matthew Quinn to Bathurst (1865), James Murray to Maitland (1865), William Lanigan to Canberra-Goulburn (1867), Michael O'Connor to Ballarat (1874), and Daniel Murphy to Hobart (1866). There had been strong Irish pressure to prevent a Benedictine successor to Bishop Polding in 1877. However Roger Bede Vaughan was appointed, but his brief term as archbishop ended with his death in 1883. With the appointment of Archbishop Patrick Moran to the post in 1884 it seemed that the Irish domination of the hierarchy was assured and this was put beyond all doubt the next year when Moran was appointed as the first cardinal of the Australian Church. It was as cardinal that he returned to chair the first Plenary Australasian Synod.\(^5\)

In the nature of the case there were no neutral observers to report what took place at the Synod. Only official decrees and a catechism were published. However a good idea of the struggle that went on is contained in the letter that Redwood wrote to Grimes explaining why his nomination had not been accepted:

This, in a few words, is what has taken place. Before anything was settled in Rome, someone—perhaps one of the highest superiors—wrote to America that you were appointed to the new see of Christchurch. This piece of news soon

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\(^5\) Molony, *The Roman Mould*, p. 25-33
got to New Zealand, via America, and set about 20 secular priests in my diocese in motion, abetted as they were by the secular Bishop of Dunedin, Dr. Moran, and by some of his most influential priests. They got up a petition to Rome, making I believe many charges against me (about their being unfairly treated, about being kept under the Marist Fathers, about not getting the best parishes, etc, etc.), and asking for a secular Bishop for Christchurch. This petition they either forwarded through Cardinal Moran when he last went to Europe, or he found it just on his arrival in Rome. At all events he took it up warmly and got all the negotiations broken off, until the Council of Sydney should have examined the matter of the Archbishopric of New Zealand, and the new see of Christchurch. At the council he so worded matters that with the aid of the secular bishops of Australia (who were in the majority at the Council) he got the Council to fix on Dunedin for the archbishopric of New Zealand and to recommend as dissimissimus* for the see of Christchurch Dr. Ricardo of Grahamstown, Cape of Good Hope, the former Vicar-General of Dr. Moran of Dunedin, when he was vicar apostolic at the same Grahamstown. The religious bishops at the Council stood to you and got you recommended as diurnaris xx for Christchurch. I have been doing all I can by reports (most exhaustive) to prevent Dunedin, with its only 14 priests, from becoming the archbishopric, and to get a Marist appointed to the new see of Christchurch. The Fathers of the Society of Mary out here have also sent a very strong report in the same sense. We hope to succeed, but the Cardinal will certainly do his utmost to frustrate our plans... The human element in the Council was very strong. I do not like to go into details about these affairs but Fr. Martin will, I think, keep you au courant if you ask him. Meanwhile on the 14th of February, the cardinal comes to open the new cathedral at Dunedin - all this is part of the plan, to push his man. 6

The Marist petition mentioned by Redwood was sent to Cardinal Simeoni, the Prefect of Propaganda, by 36 priests gathered in Wellington for their annual retreat - that is, a period of intense religious reflection and exercises. It begins by reporting the rumours current in Australasia that Bishop Moran had succeeded in having himself named as archbishop of New Zea-

* English translation - most suitable or worthy; first choice.

** English translation - quite suitable or worthy; second choice.

6. Redwood to Grimes, 29 Jan 1886, (MAW).
land, and having a secular priest appointed to the new see of Christchurch. If this is true then what has happened to the guarantees given by Rome to the Marists of Wellington? The petition goes on to mention that Monsignor Ricardo has been named as Moran's nominee, then points out that his advanced age, poor health, and total inexperience of New Zealand make him unsuitable for the position. Were he bishop, two areas of conflict would immediately occur: the first with the diocese of Wellington, since young men from the Christchurch diocese were attending St. Patrick's College, Wellington, which had been opened by Bishop Redwood that year; secondly, with the priests of the Society of Mary to whom Rome had given several parishes in perpetuity. All in all the same conflicts that had arisen between Bishop Poapallier and the Society in Auckland would inevitably reoccur in Christchurch.

Next followed a detailed comparison of the dioceses of Dunedin and Wellington. Dunedin was not central, and was settled mainly by a Scottish and anti-Catholic population, so there was little chance of making conversions there. It had only 12-15 priests as compared to more than 60 in Wellington, where there were also a large number of churches, convents and presbyteries. Dunedin's Catholic population was 18,000, Wellington's 40,000. St. Patrick's College, New Zealand's only Catholic College, was in Wellington. The city was growing into an important commercial centre because of its central site; already it was the capital, the seat of both governor and parliament. As for Dunedin's bishop:

Monsignor Moran is equally not the person to be considered for such a post. He does not have the necessary eloquence for such a position and above all the tact and moderation needed for such a responsibility. 7

Then came a list of grievances against Bishop Moran.

7. 36 Marists to Cardinal Simeoni, 4 Jan 1886, (MAW).
Immediately after his arrival he had sent a bitter report to Propaganda, condemning the lack of Marist administration; this report was full of factual errors, because he had not checked with the central Marist administration; there was particular anger felt over his charges that the Marists had expropriated diocesan property, an accusation which had been repeated by Cardinal Moran at the Synod together with the charge that the Marists had put most of their efforts into the Maori missions and had largely neglected the European inhabitants. In an effort to disprove the two latter allegations the petition then included a highly itemized financial account of all the monies spent on each parish of the Wellington diocese, in buildings and fittings—a total of £292,932. A similar exercise for the Dunedin diocese up to the time of its handing over to Bishop Moran produced a figure of £10,162. Among the 36 names that appeared on the petition were those of Frs. Carew and Pertuis (Greymouth), Martin (Hokitika), and Rolland (Reefton).

While the conflicting petitions and reports were being weighed in Rome, relationships between the Marists and the Dunedin clergy were showing signs of strain. In the course of a visit that he had made to Dunedin, Fr. Ginaty, a Christchurch Marist, was refused permission to say Mass in any of Dunedin's churches. When Ginaty wrote to Redwood to tell him of this rebuff, the bishop's reply, while admitting that Moran had the power to do this, expressed anger with the Dunedin clergy and commended Ginaty for the forthright condemnation of their duplicity which he had given to the Dunedin priests. It seems, however, that Redwood must have had favourable news from Rome soon after this for he was able to reassure Ginaty, who had quickly written to him telling of further disputes, this time in Christchurch.

8. Redwood to Ginaty, 12 Jan 1887, (MAW).
The three bishops at the heart of the Irish versus non-Irish debates in the early Roman Catholic Church in New Zealand.

a) (Top). Patrick Moran of Dunedin.

b) (Centre). John Grimes of Christchurch.

c) (Bottom). Francis Redwood of Wellington.
Fr. O'Donnell of Ahaura, one of the organizers of the secular petition, had caused a strong reaction in Christchurch because of some of his comments, reported in the Grey River Argus, about the urgent need in the new diocese for a bishop who thoroughly understood and sympathized with the grievances of the Irish people. Redwood's comment was:

Do not pay the slightest attention to what may be done re. the new bishop of Christchurch; the matter is before Rome and has been for months; an early solution is pending, and what the parties alluded to in your letter may do will have no influence on the question.

On 10 May 1887, a papal brief erected the new diocese of Christchurch, appointing John Joseph Grimes its first bishop. Three days later a further papal edict instituted the national hierarchy of New Zealand, the metropolitan see being Wellington and the new archbishop Francis Redwood. Two weeks later the Tablet leader dealt with the establishment of the national hierarchy. It described this as a sign of the growth of the Church in New Zealand at which all Catholics should rejoice. However, the occasion was principally a victory for the Irish to whom so much of the growth of the New Zealand Church was due. Likewise it pointed to the unfailing support and loyalty that the Irish, in contrast to some other sections of the Catholic community, had given to the Mass and the priests "even to the end they were unable to understand their preaching, yet even there they never failed in their loyalty and generosity to these priests!" The leader concluded:

Who can deny that if the Irish Catholic element were taken away from this country the Church would disappear along with it, or if any vestige remained it would be small indeed? It is this Irish Catholic element, therefore, which is especially entitled to congratulate itself on this occasion, for the establishment of the hierarchy is mainly due to it, and is at once a solemn recognition and

9. Allom, "Bishop Grimes" p. 59
10. Redwood to Ginaty, 3 Feb 1887, (MAW).
Key

Diocesan Boundary ---

Parish Centres

A. Ahaura.
B. Greymouth.
C. Hokitika.
D. Kumara.
E. Reefton.
F. Ross.
G. Westport.

Churches Built

1. Addison's Flat.
2. Barrytown.
5. Cape Foulwind.
6. Cobden.
7. Dennistown.
8. Granity.
10. Ikamatua.
11. Kaniere.
13. Maori Creek.
15. Marsden.
17. Nelson Creek.
18. Ngahere.
19. No Town.
20. Okarito.
22. Runanga.
23. Staffordtown.
24. Totara Flat.
25. Waimangaroa.

Priest Resident at One Time

1. Brighton.
2. Charleston.
3. Waimea. (Goldsborough).
Sketch Map of the Catholic Church on the West Coast up to 1910.
The names of Redwood or Grimes do not appear once in this leader.

Some of the Christchurch secular priests were reluctant to accept the new appointment and there was talk of resigning from the diocese. Redwood assured Ginaty that he thought there was a lot of bluff in this talk. Grimes could easily get other priests, and he was sure that the few malcontents would not be foolish enough to give up their parishes so easily. He reminded Ginaty that Grimes had been the dignior, or second choice, of the Council, and to let this information leak out in the right quarters.¹² When it came to the time for the installation of the new bishop and archbishop, Moran declined the invitations saying that he had already accepted invitations to Australia where he attended similar ceremonies when the Irishmen Robert Dunne and Daniel Murphy were installed as archbishop of Brisbane and Hobart respectively. In both cases the Tablet gave enthusiastic reports of the Australian ceremonies, comparing those in New Zealand unfavourably.¹³

The Tablet also began a campaign of criticism, attacking the "English" elements in the New Zealand church on three different fronts. The first of these began in a somewhat oblique criticism of the London Tablet. The particular issue concerned an Irish priest in England, a Fr. Keller, who had been gaoled for refusing to divulge confidential information given him by his people. The Dunedin newspaper bitterly condemned its London counterpart for not coming to his defence, seeing this as a typical

¹¹. Tablet, 27 May 1887, p. 15
¹³. Tablet, 10 Feb 1888, p. 5; 17 Feb 1888, p. 13
example of the attitude of English Catholics to the Irish as "an inferior race, to be taught, bullied and used for English Catholics' interests as understood by the Tablet." At about the same time the newspaper began to print bitter attacks on English Catholics in letters in the correspondence columns. A typical example is a letter from "P.C.T" of Waimea, who complained of English priests' treatment of Irish Catholics, blaming the desertion of Irish children from their faith in England on the "unconcealed contempt and bitter abhorrence with which the average English priest treats the unfortunate Irish." Then, a few weeks later, the Tablet announced that it had received positive and detailed information which linked the leaders of the "English Catholic Tories" in Rome to the ecclesiastical developments in New Zealand. It was because of this clique that three out of the four present bishops were English and if they had their way they would make the fourth an Englishman as well. In the same issue an article regretted the expiry of the Sydney Express for lack of support since this paper had become thoroughly "Irish" in its principles. This was especially regretted, since all the Irish influence possible was needed at that moment to fight the growth of the English faction.

A powerful English party are now taking, and have of late taken a very lively interest in the Catholic affairs of the colonies, especially in those of New Zealand, and a special object which they desire to obtain is the eradication of all Irish characteristics from our Catholic population. Naturally these attacks did not pass unnoticed and unremarked by the Marists and their supporters. From Greymouth

14. Ibid, 20 May 1887, p. 15

* which Waimea not specified.

15. Ibid, 24 Jun 1887, p. 11

16. Ibid, 22 Jul 1887, p. 16

17. Ibid.
Fr. Carew wrote condemning the Tablet for its attacks on Redwood and Grimes. The loyal Irish of the West Coast, he said, had been particularly upset by the attacks since for thirteen years there had been no greater supporter of the Irish cause than Archbishop Redwood in Wellington. Likewise it was Rome that had the detailed knowledge and the right to make the appointments, not the Tablet. The Tablet's reply was that it was merely repeating the opinion of its readers who were perfectly free to believe as they wished, also that it was a matter of common agreement among all nationalities that it was best to have a people's own priests caring for them. One irate Frenchman wrote to Redwood from Timaru suggesting that a plebiscite be held throughout the entire old Wellington diocese and sent to Rome to show the almost unanimous support for Redwood. Other sporadic attacks on English Catholics occurred, accusing them of trying to ensure in Rome that all ecclesiastical appointments to the English colonies were approved by the British Prime Minister, but the main focus had now diverted onto two other issues: the removal of Fr. O'Donnell from Ahaura and the establishment of the Catholic Times in Wellington.

It will be recalled that O'Donnell had been an ardent supporter of the Irish National movements, being chairman of branches at Notown, Maori Gully and Ahaura. He had been one of the organizers of the petition for a secular bishop in Christchurch. When Bishop Moran returned from Australia in October 1887, among the greetings that welcomed him was an address from the Catholics of Ahaura. O'Donnell's name headed the list of signatures. He was removed from the parish the next month. The Tablet carried a report of a sympathy meeting for him at Ahaura, told of the progress of subscriptions for him, and reported the motions

18. Ibid, 15 Jul 1887, p. 17
19. de Duval to Redwood, 26 Jul 1887, (MAW).
20. Tablet, 2 Dec 1887, p. 15
21. Ibid, 6 Jan 1888, p. 18
of sympathy passed at the Annual General Meeting of the Grey Valley branches of the Irish National League. 22 O'Donnell always maintained that the new archbishop, who still retained control over the new diocese until Grimes's arrival, had dismissed him out of annoyance arising from the address to Dr. Moran. It seems more likely that Redwood used this occasion for acting on a piece of information that he had had in his possession for some time but could not use publicly. This was the fact that O'Donnell was an alcoholic. Several letters in the Christchurch diocesan archives show that not only did a number of his fellow priests know about it but some lay people too. Contemporary Irish attitudes towards drink, and a fierce loyalty to their priests, meant that such problems were always hushed up. O'Donnell was posted to Christchurch to the Marist Mission house. His Marist colleagues doubtless decided that the kindest way to help him was to cut off his access to alcohol. It is not surprising that by the time he was given an appointment to Darfield his feeling against the Marists had grown very strong.

The first copy of the Catholic Times appeared in Wellington on 7 January 1888. This copy included the manifesto of the newspaper, which was to keep all the Catholics of the Christchurch and Wellington dioceses informed on church matters, and particularly the state of the Irish question. From the first few issues it became clear that the real goals were somewhat broader than this. The newspaper was clearly intended to undercut the Tablet by being just as concerned about Irish issues as its Dunedin counterpart. On the other hand its approach was much more ironic, striving to convince non-Irish colonials that peace and unity for Ireland and its scattered peoples would come only as the result of some granting of self-government, i.e. Home Rule.

22. Ibid, 20 Jan 1888, p. 7
The third aim, which also became evident, was to justify the setting up of the Christchurch diocese and the location of the metropolitan see in Wellington. The priority of these first two goals can be seen in the first editorial:

Fully mindful of the momentous interests dependent upon an honest solution of the Irish Difficulty, by a generous concession to Ireland of all the Rights of Home Rule - the only solution which will give peace, contentment and prosperity to her People, and in like measure benefit every other portion of the British Empire by reason of the greater general security that must ensue - the Promotors of the "CATHOLIC TIMES" will devote a large portion of their Editorial and News Columns to the consideration of the question, week by week placing on record the principal events in the onward march of the National Cause and reproducing the more important pronouncements of those who are playing a leading part in the Agitation, and treating the question in all its aspects so as to give their Readers a full and comprehensive view of all its bearings. While giving to this grand and noble cause their strongest advocacy, they will studiously avoid whatever might disturb the harmonious relations now existing between the various component races that go to build up the young and rising People of this Colony, whose welfare is so closely bound up with the dearest interests of the Catholic portion of its population, and will strive by sound reasoning and judicious controversy to foster a healthy public opinion favorable to the claims of Ireland to Self-Government.

The difference in tone between this and the Tablet dealing with the same issues is immediately apparent. The editorial then went on to say that the Times would also devote generous space to the education issue, while also covering overseas Catholic news and news of public interest in the colonies. In the same issue a further article gave a brief religious history of the Wellington diocese, and its choice as metropolitan see for New Zealand. The arguments presented for Wellington's pre-eminence follow closely those used in the Marist petition to Rome two years before, and the article also concludes with a list of the number of priests, churches, and religious institutions.

to be found in the archdiocese. 24

The second issue defends the Christchurch diocese in a more contentious manner. An article sets out to review the newly published Australasian Catholic Directory and quickly points out statistical errors in the section on the Christchurch diocese. The Directory gives the number of priests resident in the diocese as twenty one, made up of nine regular [i.e., religious, viz, Marist] and twelve seculars, whereas the correct figures are twelve regular and ten secular. A check was made with the copy sent by the archbishop to the compilers in Sydney and it was quite clear that it had been changed. The Times commented that it seemed very much like "the work of a designing hand for the purpose of putting before the world - contrary to truth - that the secular clergy of the Diocese outnumbers the regular". 25 The same point is then made about the archbishop's description of the diocese which had originally read, "This diocese, formerly a part of the Wellington diocese, has recently been erected, by Papal Brief, May 10, 1887, and assigned to the Congregation of the Priests of the Society of Mary", for which the compiler had substituted the words, "This diocese, formerly a part of Wellington diocese, has recently been erected by Papal Brief, May 10, 1887". Similarly, in the description of the Wellington archdiocese the words telling of its assignment to the Society of Mary had been omitted. 26

Somewhat predictably the Tablet went to the defence of the Directory. It did not question the factual errors but rather argued that the entire review was a deliberate and calculated insult to the Dunedin diocese which had been chosen by the Plenary Synod of Sydney as being fit to be the metropolitan see of New Zealand. The Times's reply casts new light on what happened at

24. Ibid, p.5
25. Ibid, 14 Jan 1888
26. Ibid.
As to the Plenary Synod and its deliberations they are a matter which laymen had better not meddle with, though even a layman can form a shrewd conjecture that no great weight was to be attached to the decisions of the late Plenary Council of Sydney re the Metropolitan See of Wellington. It was a well-known fact that the Bishops of New Zealand having declined to vote, the other Prelates knew very little about the Colony, only one of them ever having seen New Zealand, and he only two of its ports, Lyttelton and Wellington. When full and exhaustive evidence of the real state of the Colony and the superior claims of the Wellington Diocese and Clergy became thoroughly known to Propaganda, that wise and cautious congregation overthrew all the decisions of the Plenary Council in the matter. The Prelates were unanimous, without so much as one dissentient voice in regard to the recent appointments of Wellington and Christchurch. And now we ask Mr. Perrin whether he is not open to the charge of grave disrespect to a far higher tribunal than the Synod of Sydney, when he repeats again and again, usque ad nauseam, that the decisions of the Holy See were due to the influence of a set of laymen - the Granards, the Delisles, the Norfolks, the Cliffords, etc - influence which had no existence except in the imaginative columns of the New Zealand Tablet, or the writings of some misinformed correspondent. These noblemen and gentlemen had no more to do with the decisions of the Propaganda and the Holy See than - what shall we say - Mr Perrin. 27

In the same issue the writer for the Times also took Perrin to task over his accusation that the Wellington paper was the organ of the English Catholic party in New Zealand. Despite the hundredfold repetition of the allegation, he denied that there was any such party in New Zealand. Indeed, even the elements to constitute such a party did not exist in the colony. Once Perrin became aware of his basic error, the writer concluded, he would be certain to apologise for his false accusations.

Despite the size of the Wellington and Christchurch dioceses the Times had difficulty in competing with the older established Tablet. Soon after Grimes's arrival in Christchurch the Wellington vicar-general, Fr. John McNamara, wrote to explain

* The Tablet's editor.

27. Ibid, 28 Jan 1888, p. 18-9
why there was a delay in sending down Fr. Stephen Cummings who was destined to become vicar-general in Christchurch. McNamara explained the great amount of supervision and care he had to put into the newspaper to ensure that it did not collapse. "If it should fail then our opponents would rejoice and we should have no source for redress."28 In an effort to raise more subscribers, collectors were dispatched but their presence only helped to create friction. Fr. Carew informed Grimes that the presence of such collectors on the Coast could lead to a clash between the bishops of Christchurch and Wellington because of animosities that could develop between the two sets of clergy, something he added, of which New Zealand had already seen enough. Many of the local priests were hostile to such collectors, and he asked that the latter be withdrawn.29 Evidently the financial strain of keeping the Times going was too much and it ceased publication shortly before the end of 1893.

Naturally this bickering between Bishop Moran and the Marist administration could not take place without causing repercussions on a local level, especially where Marist and secular priests worked in close proximity. The West Coast was a prime example of this. At the time of Grimes's consecration three of the parishes - Hokitika, Greymouth and Reefton - were being staffed by Marists, and the other four - Ahaura, Kumara, Ross, and Westport - by secular priests. Yet all (bar Westport) had had both Marists and seculars as pastors at some time and there were three or four instances where a Marist and a secular priest had worked together in the same parish for a year or so. The isolation of the stations from the East Coast and their relative closeness to one another meant that Marist and secular clergy inevitably saw a great deal of each other. In these circumstances

Two Irish priests whose drinking habits caused great distress to Dean Carew.

a) (Top). Michael O'Laverty of Ahaura.

b) (Bottom). Michael Browne of Ross.
it was natural that there would be a certain amount of friction between the two groups.

2. Marist-Secular Tensions on the West Coast.

In May 1896 Bishop Grimes wrote to the Superior General of the Marists, Fr. A. Martin, telling him of some of the problems faced in the building up of his diocese. Describing the West Coast, Grimes related how the people of Okarito and Gillespies (who had formerly praised the work of the Marist priests, McGuinness, Chareyre and Goutenoire in Ross) now deplored the conduct of their more recent and present pastors. Similarly,

Ahaura, formerly served and well served by our Fathers like Ross, [is] 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 and try to get a few good Seculars. We want Saints and Teetotalers and especially Teetotalers. 30

The first indications of the problems that were to develop came in a letter that Fr. Carew wrote from Greymouth in September 1893. He described a visit to Greymouth by Frs. MacManus and O'Laverty of Ahaura. The pair had gone from hotel to hotel, got drunk, paraded the streets, and had to be put to bed in different hotels. He mentioned also that when he had visited Fr. Browne in Ross he had discovered him in a state of semi-intoxication. He went on to describe how, when he departed for a health cure at Rotorua's hot springs, MacManus (who was suffering from a foot injury) had stayed at the Greymouth presbytery. There one night he had been visited by Fr. Walshe of Kumara; between them they had drunk a quart of Carew's whisky. Carew concluded:

It is a matter of very deep regret for us on the Coast that are solicitous to promote the glory of God that the broken down drunken clergymen of the East Coast have been sent over here and the good men taken away. 31

Carew supported his complaints with specific examples of misconduct. At a funeral service in Ahaura Fr. O'Laverty was too drunk to go to the cemetery afterwards so a semi-drunk layman tried to read the litany; Frs. MacManus and O'Laverty had been drunk in public on the occasion of balls held in Ahaura to raise money for the presbytery. Carew described another visit to Ross where he discovered that Fr. Browne had attempted to say a public Mass but had been too drunk to vest. On questioning Mother Claver, the superior of the local convent, she had told him that Fr. Browne was probably drunk ten out of eleven times she saw him. Once she had had to seek the help of an old man to get Browne home. The old man had blamed the people of Ross who had caused Fr. Pertuis's removal. * Carew's final point of criticism was that Browne drank publicly in Ross hotels.

The bishop wrote to the priests concerned, severely rebuking them. O'Laverty, in his reply, defended himself and MacManus, saying that the reports of their behaviour in Greymouth and elsewhere were both misleading and contrary to fact. He and MacManus had gone to Greymouth to make final arrangements with a number of the people involved in the staging of the fundraising ball at Ahaura. These people had congregated at different hotels which meant that the two priests had to "go the rounds". By the time he, O'Laverty, had finished it was early in the morning. He returned to the hotel where he and MacManus were staying only to find that all had gone to bed, so instead made his way to another hotel where he knew the proprietor and was able to get a bed for the rest of the night. 32

O'Laverty's defence sounded plausible but Fr. Carew did

* I could find no record of this but Pertuis was certainly the last Marist in Ross, in 1883; there may easily have been a petition sent to Redwood for his replacement by an Irish priest.

32. O'Laverty to Grimes, 29 Sep 1893, (CDA).
not find it so. In August 1894 he reported another incident in Greymouth involving MacManus, then gave his opinion that such men must be visited quarterly or removed entirely from the scene. 33 Two months later reports from Ahaura were "most revolting and disgusting:" 34 O'Laverty had been accused of indecent behaviour and Fr. Stephen Cummins was sent from Christchurch to investigate the reports. When Cummins preached at Ahaura and Nelson Creek, explaining his visit, he caused a sensation. Most parishioners supported MacManus and were ready to defend him. O'Laverty also had friends though some were indifferent to him. Cummins was as yet unable to say if the charges were true or not. O'Laverty claimed that the whole affair was a plot to destroy his influence. Cummins believed that both priests had been imprudent. He advised the bishop that O'Laverty be given his "exeat" and leave immediately, and that MacManus should leave after Christmas. 35 O'Laverty had already anticipated Cummins's report by asking for his exeat, together with permission to go to Sydney for a nose operation. He wished, he said, to start a new life without the loss of the bishop's confidence and friendship through his "thoughtless imprudence." 36 After his return from Sydney he tried to obtain a post in Auckland with Bishop Luck. Luck inquired of Grimes about O'Laverty's background, since the Irishman claimed that the doctors had now given him a clean bill of health with respect to temperance, and that he had not left Christchurch diocese because of the bishop's displeasure but rather because of misunderstandings that had arisen with the Marist fathers, Martin, Rolland and Servajean. Luck asked for Grimes's honest opinion of the man, and Grimes's reply, telegrammed in

36. O'Laverty to Grimes, 1 Oct 1894; (CDA).
Latin, was that he could say nothing good about O'Laverty, except perhaps that he was zealous. 37

Meanwhile Carew kept up his campaign to have what he saw as the unworthy elements removed from the Coast. Early in 1895 he mentioned the scandal that occurred when Fr. McCormack did not return to Westport after a clergy retreat because his drunkenness had been reported in the local newspapers. Carew warned that this situation would inevitably be repeated if bishops sent the black sheep of their dioceses to the West Coast. 38 MacManus had not been removed from Ahaura, so Carew continued reporting his misdemeanours. Since many of the Ahaura people were reluctant to go to Fr. MacManus for confession, Carew asked that an extra priest be sent there to help over Easter. 39 MacManus's public drunkenness on the altar of the Marsden Church at Vespers had caused many complaints including one from the county chairman. 40 Carew's indignation reached its peak when he reported the gossip freely circulating in Greymouth when MacManus welcomed "Dr. Murphy and concubine" to stay with him for several days in the presbytery while the doctor's lawful wife was living in Greymouth. 41 MacManus finally left the diocese in January 1887 for the United States. When he returned in 1902 and asked to be reinstated in the diocese Grimes told him that the diocesan council was not prepared to have him back.

Carew's opinions and advice clearly carried weight with Bishop Grimes. Yet not everybody accepted Carew's analyses. He told Grimes of a situation that was causing gossip in Kumara. A Miss Bessy Martin was living in the Kumara presbytery, and having her meals with the priests (O'Laverty and O'Hallahan).

37. Luck to Grimes, 17 Dec 1894, (CDA).
38. Carew to Grimes, 18 Feb 1895, (CDA).
40. Carew to Grimes, 13 Jun 1895, (CDA).
Fr. Daniel O'Hallahan, parish priest of Kumara, 1889-1906.
O'Hallahan had originally kept her there to prevent her going on the stage but the length of her stay was causing tongues to wag. Both O'Hallahan and Miss Martin sent indignant replies to the bishop, pointing out how small falsifications of events had led to gross exaggerations, how events such as illness and deaths in Miss Martin's family had helped create a situation which could not be understood by mischievous gossips outside. O'Hallahan recounted his bitterness towards the "evil-minded person" responsible for the slandering and begged the bishop to let him know what it was. Mention has already been made of Carew's unique place among the West Coast clergy. He clearly saw himself as a spokesman for his fellow Marists, but at the same time a watchman responsible for noting and correcting the wavering of his fellow priests. In all the instances recorded here Carew had been highly critical of some of his secular colleagues not so much because they were seculars but rather because their behaviour, especially their drunkenness, was damaging the faith they professed to be preaching. Carew was equally capable of attacking his Marist colleagues when he thought that they had been at fault. This applied also to their drinking habits, as is clear from Carew's commentary to Grimes on a new set of curates he had just received:

I am very pleased with Fr. O'Boyle. He is very amiable and willing to do his work and gives every satisfaction. I wish I could say as much for Fr. Finnerty. He imports to his room from the town a supply of strong drink, partakes of it frequently, almost every day, and whilst under its influence howls, shouts and sings, also has performed semi-unatic acts such as lighting very large fires in his bedroom leaving them in full blaze when going... Fr. Lacroix is a very good and sensible man. He is now in Ross. But as Fr. Finnerty is the most troublesome man I have yet met with, I hope I shall not be troubled by his companionship next year.

42. Carew to Grimes, 18 Jul 1889, (CDA).
43. O'Hallahan to Grimes, 3 Aug 1889, (CDA).
44. Carew to Grimes, 9 Nov 1911, (CDA).
No selective citing of sources was necessary to demonstrate a link between Irish immigrant groups and intemperate use of alcohol. Criticisms of French priests mention their instability, hot tempers, language problems and domineering temperaments but not once is there a single accusation of intemperance. A priest-historian who grew up in a strongly Irish element in South Canterbury, offered his verbal opinion that the Irish, as a rootless people, cut off from the social background that had supported them, easily turned to the comfort of alcoholic drink in their loneliness and because of their difficulty in fitting into an English and hostile environment. This is an interesting argument but perhaps is not specific enough to the Irish in that it would seem to apply to colonial society as a whole, and more particularly to the French, yet there was little, if any, intemperance among the French priests. The root cause of drunkenness among the Irish was perhaps to be found more in their very cultural and spiritual ethos. Perhaps the "savage puritanism" which Davin mentions plays its part here; if life is a constant battle against the demon drink and the seducer sex then there is no middle ground; either one refuses to have any dealing with the tempters or abandons oneself to their clutches. Be that as it may, it is clear that the Irish were stigmatized with the label of drunkards throughout the colony, nor were their priests free of the accusation.

In Canterbury, and especially on the West Coast, this reputation had an unfortunate secondary effect. Because the great majority of the secular priests who served on the Coast were Irish

* That this label was not merely a cultural stereotype is confirmed by statistics on Irish-born prisoners in New Zealand gaols, 1891-1910. In this twenty year period, 8,702 Irish-born prisoners were admitted to New Zealand gaols. Of these 3,747, or 43.04%, were serving convictions for drunkenness; and as the N.Z. Statistics pointed out, drunkenness was punished more by fine than by imprisonment.

** Fr. James McMenarin was the first New Zealand secular priest to minister on the Coast, in Westport in 1910.
the concepts of Irish priest and secular priest became almost interchangeable, especially since before 1900 most Marists had been French. This did the image of the secular priesthood in the diocese as a whole little good. The drunken behaviour of some of the group was easily applied to the whole. This became another of the grievances that the diocesan clergy were building up against Bishop Grimes and the Marists. When the dispute over Grimes's appointment had just arisen Redwood had predicted that Grimes would easily dispense with the services of any trouble-makers and find other recruits for the diocese. In fact, almost the reverse became true. The grievances of some of the diocesan priests helped contribute to a shortage of new volunteers. Hard pressed for men, Bishop Grimes was forced to bring in priests from various dioceses whom he might otherwise be reluctant to accept. The unworthy behaviour of some of these only served to intensify the discontent of the remainder and so it became more difficult to recruit newly trained men.

The mass emigration of Irish in the latter half of the nineteenth century meant a great demand for priests from Irish seminaries, all over the English-speaking world. Bishop Grimes's requests were one among many. A letter from the president of St. Patrick's, Maynooth, in 1911 informed the bishop that he was too late for priests for the following year as all had already volunteered for other dioceses. Some bishops offered priests who needed a change for their health or had been involved in some minor scandal. The Christchurch archives contain letters from Cardinal Vaughan in London offering such a priest, as also from the bishop of Kilkenny. Then there are letters from priests in Glasgow, Manchester, Riverton, Oregon, Washington, South Africa—literally dozens of applications to be admitted into the diocese.

45. Maynooth President to Grimes, 6 Jun 1911, (CDA).
Out of these Grimes selected only a few; he had learned from hard experience the problems with unsuitable priests, while there was also the question of finance. Each priest that Bishop Grimes supported in his training overseas or brought to New Zealand was a considerable cost to the diocese. When Fr. O'Laverty returned unexpectedly in 1909 and asked to be readmitted to the diocese, the diocesan council was unanimous in refusing him, and money was one of the reasons given to O'Laverty by the bishop:

You were not aware of the fact until I some time ago informed you that we had to pay £200 to All Hallows College for your education in that establishment. Your several trips from New Zealand - your medical and other expenses in Tahiti - the sort of hush-money paid by me to prevent a grave scandal when you had to leave Hawarden and your expenses at the monastery of Gethsemane cost us £200. 46

Two other financial considerations were also pressing on Grimes. In 1898 he began the construction of his Cathedral of the Blessed Sacrament in Christchurch. This was completed in 1905. At Grimes's death in 1915 only a few hundred pounds were still owing. The total cost of the building was £52,213. To pay this off, each parish had to contribute a sum from its annual income called the "ius cathedraticum". Grimes's insistence on this tax and his incessant demands on his priests for more revenue from the parishes caused angry reactions at times. Not until 1895 did New Zealand begin to enjoy a lifting of the economic depression experienced since the late 1870's. However, this new prosperity was felt first in developing dairy areas such as Taranaki, Waikato and South Auckland. Canterbury was affected only slowly and the West Coast hardly at all. The 1890's and early 1900's were times of severe economic struggle on the Coast. The amount of gold mined had fallen away to only a trickle while wages for coal-mining or logging were very low. All during this time the letters from the priests on the Coast, particularly

from smaller townships such as Kumara and Moss, talked about the economic struggles of the people, of fewer jobs, of shrinking parishes, and dwindling collections.

These economic considerations made it even more difficult for Grimes to find sufficient clergy for his diocese. In 1908, as we will see, he invited the Sacred Heart Fathers from Australia to staff several parishes in the diocese. This caused further resentment on the part of the diocesan priests. The Australian Provincial of the Sacred Heart fathers told the New Zealand Marist provincial: "A Sydney priest plainly told me that I was wrong in sending men to New Zealand, in taking parishes which belonged to the Seculars." \(^{47}\) Regnault's reply makes clear the sort of difficulties that Grimes was experiencing:

As to what the secular priests may say or write it need not be taken into account, at least not to any great extent. They have written to Ireland in the same vein, in fact I fear the dearth of secular priests in this diocese is due to a great extent to the laments they have forwarded by writing or otherwise to the colleges in Ireland. \(^{48}\)

These laments deserve attention. Some of the secular priests claimed that the lot of a secular priest in the Christchurch diocese was so poor that few wanted to come there. After Grimes's death, this complaint was laid against him by his successor, Bishop Brodie:

It eventuated that a good number of roving secular priests, who were unworthy, and sometimes even immoral, were brought into the diocese (Monsignor Grimes let in about twenty like this) - who were a great scandal to the faithful, without accounting for the fact that they discredited the good priests in the eyes of the rest of the country. \(^{49}\)

What then were the complaints of these "good priests" and how did they arise?

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47. Sacred Heart Archives, (Canberra), (henceforth SHAC), Treand to Regnault, 2 Aug 1911.
48. Regnault to Treand, 17 Aug 1911, (SHAC).
49. Copére's summary of Brodie's complaint, 1918, (MAW).
The mounting tide of secular discontent against the Marists came gradually to focus upon the issue of the parishes. Many of the older, more settled and better-off parishes had been pioneered by the Marists. Large parishes such as Timaru, St. Mary's Christchurch, and Greymouth suited the community life of the Marists as they were able to maintain a group of three or so priests in such places. In 1891 the Christchurch diocese made a perpetual grant of St. Mary's parish, Christchurch, to the Society of Mary. This trend became a special cause of discontent among a group of the diocesan priests. Many of the parishes they were asked to staff were smaller one-priest parishes, often in country areas. Sometimes there was little in the way of church buildings, and it was difficult augmenting parish finances because of the poverty of many of the people, and the bishop's incessant demands for increased revenue from the parishes.

During 1904 a group of secular priests wrote to Cardinal Giotti, the Secretary of Propaganda. Among their complaints a leading place was given to the grievance over the poverty of the seculars' parishes. The cardinal referred these complaints to Archbishop Redwood as the metropolitan bishop of New Zealand and asked him to attend to them. Later the Superior General of the Marists, Fr. Martin, wrote to the New Zealand provincial to clarify the seculars' grievances and comment on the historical reasons behind them. There were four principal complaints. The first was that in some New Zealand dioceses the majority of clergy and religious were Marists. The second was that Marists acted as parish rectors. The third was that the Marists showed want of religious discipline; and the fourth and last was that they had been insufficiently trained in their novitiate. Fr. Martin pointed out, in relation to the first complaint, that this situation had been created by the decisions of the Roman congregations

50. Giotti to Redwood, 12 Apr 1904, (MAW).
themselves. As for the Marists acting as parish rectors, this had been the result of Archbishop Redwood's decisions, given the men he had available. This decision was completely within his competency and had been accepted unquestioningly by the parishioners. Fr. Martin's comments about the third charge, want of religious discipline, were to point out its vagueness, especially as no facts or examples had been given in proof. As to the final complaint about inadequate training, it seemed groundless since all save one of the Marist rectors at present in New Zealand had been trained in Europe in Roman approved novitiate houses; as for the curates, those being trained at the new Marist seminary at Meanee were as good as anything in Europe.51

Evidently the complaints of the seculars still continued, for six months later Cardinal Giotti was again writing to Bishop Grimes suggesting that for the sake of peace and harmony, all parishes that had not been formally given over to the Society of Mary should be handed to the secular clergy.52 When Grimes showed no sign of adopting this policy a large group of Christchurch secular priests sent a formal petition to Rome early in 1907. It began by outlining the position in the diocese: there were nineteen Marists and thirteen seculars; the Marists had nine missions and the seculars eleven. Then follows the list of grievances: the principal stations of the diocese were in the hands of the Marists, especially in Christchurch city. The secular parishes were so poor that subsistence was barely possible, whereas the Marists had left any parish not offering good returns. All the secular priests had received their sacred orders in Europe; it was true that when they set out for New Zealand they knew of the Marist predominance there but they had still hoped for

51. Martin to Devoy, 18 Jun 1904, (MAW).
52. Giotti to Grimes, 4 Jan 1905, (MAW).
reasonable equality with other priests in Australasia. They had not realized that the rights of the Marists would be exclusive and perpetual; this made them feel that their status as seculars was "inferior and degraded"; they were being deprived of all the "benefits" of the mission.53

When Cardinal Giotti reiterated these complaints to Grimes he told the bishop to see what improvements could be made in the situation to improve relations. He strongly urged a more equitable distribution of honours and duties. There is no clear statement that the Marists should give up any of their parishes but this possibility can readily be seen in the recommendations. Grimes was to work out a practical plan of action and forward it to Propaganda for scrutiny and approval.54 Grimes's reply to Giotti was uncompromising. He rebutted the seculars' arguments point by point and observed that the priests had grossly misrepresented the facts. One specific example he gave was that the petition implied that all decisions about the diocese and its priests were made by the Marists - if not by Grimes himself then by the local Marist administration. On the contrary, many of these decisions were made by the bishop's council, which had always been made up of a mixture of Marists and seculars and their opinion was listened to as closely as anybody else's.55

Until Grimes's death no major adjustments were made and the resentments and mutual suspicions lived on, waiting the advent of a secular bishop in Christchurch. Grimes continued the struggle to get sufficient priests for his diocese. One such attempt was his introduction of the Sacred Heart fathers in Ahaura in 1908. Their story well illustrates the unresolved tensions which lay between Marist and secular clergy within the diocese.

53. Secular petition to Rome, 1907, (copy), (MAW).
54. Giotti to Grimes, 26 Jul 1907, (MAW).
55. Grimes to Giotti, 1 Oct 1907, (MAW).

In his urgent need to staff his diocese Bishop Grimes turned to a congregation with which he had become acquainted on one of his overseas trips, the Sacred Heart order. They manned a number of stations in Australia, running parishes and schools much as the Marists did. The secular priests' petition must have been vivid in Grimes's memory and he was obviously worried that this move would cause further confrontation. He therefore suggested the following strategy to the Sacred Heart provincial, Fr. Treand:

You know the difficulties when we have to deal with the Secular Priests. But something might be done and I am going to make a suggestion to you. We have two or three parishes belonging to the Secular Priests vacant at present. Could you send a couple or three priests over, apparently to take temporary charge for a year or two? It would give you a footing in the Diocese and probably open the way to a future foundation. I could say to my Council that having no priests to put in these places you kindly came to our relief to help us for the present. 56

Grimes's fears soon proved to have a solid basis. A little over three months later he informed Treand that whereas the Marists had accepted the Sacred Heart fathers into the diocese very warmly and enthusiastically, the seculars were none too happy to do so. 57

The three Christchurch parishes in which the Sacred Heart fathers were asked to help were Lincoln, Darfield and Ahaura. The new religious priests decided that Darfield was the most central point where they could build up some sort of community life for their priests. However Darfield had been entrusted to the secular priests for some time, and likewise Bishop Grimes's need for priests was such that he had to spread the small

56. Grimes to Treand, 15 May 1908, (SHAC).
57. Grimes to Treand, 27 Aug 1908, (SHAC).
number of priests that Fr. Treand originally sent him. After
the congregation had been in the diocese about two years Grimes
had still done nothing to place their presence on a permanent
footing, according to ecclesiastical law. Apparently Grimes h-
ad sent a list of his parishes and their staffing to Rome and
had omitted to list Darfield as the parish in which the Sacred
Heart priests wished to be canonically installed. Treand poin-
ted out this omission to the bishop and asked him to rectify it
with Propaganda.\footnote{58}

At about the same time the Sacred Heart provincial began
putting pressure on Bishop Grimes to improve the isolation and
lack of community life suffered by some of the Sacred Heart fa-
thers. There is a close parallel to the sort of struggle that
developed between Bishop Pompallier in Auckland and Jean Claude
Colin in France when the scattered Marist missionaries were si-
milarly placed. In July 1910 Treand informed Grimes that Fr.
Drohan should be moved from Lincoln in the coming year since by
that time he would have been living alone for almost two years,
not a good thing for any religious.\footnote{59} Grimes was reluctant to do
this, because he had no replacement for Lincoln, so Treand tri-
ed to force his hand by other means. One of the priests from
Darfield, Fr. Tyler, had been recalled to Australia because of
retreat work he was asked to undertake. Treand notified Grimes
that an important post had arisen in Australia for which Fr. Ty-
ler was the obvious nominee. Since he would be remaining in Au-
stralia, and no replacement could be sent out at this time, Tre-
and suggested that Fr. Drohan be taken from Lincoln to fill the
gap at Darfield.\footnote{60}

\footnote{58. Treand to Grimes, 9 Apr 1910, (CDA).}
\footnote{59. Treand to Grimes, 15 Jul 1910, (CDA).}
\footnote{60. Treand to Grimes, 25 Nov 1910, (CDA).}
On the West Coast much the same pattern emerged. Fr. Carew was impressed by the zeal and dedication shown by the Sacred Heart priests at Ahaura, especially so after Ahaura's poor record with its "unworthy" priests. He told Grimes, "If in Grey, I shall be always glad to have them as neighbours because they are exemplary men." The secular priests on the Coast did not share this view. In the same letter Carew mentioned that while on a visit to Greymouth, Fr. William Hyland (who had been stationed in Ahaura and Ross) said that the secular priests of the diocese objected to the Sacred Heart fathers getting parishes. If any arrangement in perpetuity was made they would leave the diocese in a block.

By this time Treand was becoming aware of the tensions within the diocese and must have decided on a strategic withdrawal. Several of the Sacred Heart priests had gone back to Australia without replacements. This caused Grimes to accuse Treand of treating him unfairly, since priests were being withdrawn with insufficient explanation and even without notification, and Grimes expressed his pain and disappointment.

Grimes must have mentioned his difficulties with the Sacred Heart priests to the Marist provincial, Fr. Peter Regnault, for a few months later Regnault wrote a tactful letter to Treand telling him how his men were wanted in the diocese but of the difficulties that beset Bishop Grimes. Regnault said that he appreciated Treand's basic difficulty which was his desire to ensure that he had at least two men together at a station.

It was clear from Treand's reply that he was genuinely surprised that anybody still wanted the Sacred Heart fathers in

62. Grimes to Treand, 2 Dec 1910, (SHAC).
63. Regnault to Treand, 6 Mar 1911, (SHAC).
New Zealand. As already noted, he had received the remark from the Sydney secular about the religious priests taking parishes belonging to secular priests, and the manoeuvrings of Bishop Grimes had made him wonder if perhaps the bishop had decided that he had made a mistake in inviting the congregation into the diocese and had been treating the priests in a hostile manner hoping they would withdraw of their own accord. This is why Treand had gradually withdrawn his priests one at a time and had left Fr. Gilbert alone at Ahaura, whereas once there had been three priests. Several misunderstandings had contributed to the impression that Grimes no longer wanted the Sacred Heart fathers in Christchurch. The first was over the closing of the Lincoln parish where Fr. Drohan had been alone for two years, and the second over the bishop's last-minute refusal to allow Fr. Moloney to preach a retreat at Darfield. Moloney was 36 and had been ordained two years; Grimes was convinced that he was too young and inexperienced to preach a retreat so withdrew his permission shortly before the much publicized retreat was about to begin. Treand summed up the whole cause of the misunderstandings when he said:

The bishop of Christchurch is in need of priests, he had with him a young community willing to help him he has had an opportunity to see for himself what they are. It seems to me he should have done something for them, to secure their services if he did appreciate them. 64

Despite these reassurances Treand continued to cut back the commitment of his remaining men to the diocese. When it became clear to Fr. Carew that the Sacred Heart priests would not continue staffing Ahaura he wrote in terms of real regret to Grimes, saying what a great blow their leaving the diocese would be, especially seeing "what indifferent characters many of the secular clergy and not a few of our own society have turned out

64. Treand to Regnault, 2 Aug 1911, (SHAC).
Fr. James Gilbert, born in August 1875 in Kumara, educated in Sacred Heart College, Kensington N.S.W. Ordained by Grimes in Christchurch in the Catholic Cathedral, November 1908, he was the last Sacred Heart priest to leave Christchurch, served as an army chaplain in the First World War, finally dying in Australia in September 1956.
to be. 65 Early in 1912 Treand indicated that he wished to withdraw Fr. Gilbert from Ahaura, and so sever the relationship between the Sacred Heart fathers and the Christchurch diocese. Grimes offered many concessions to prevent this final rupture. He was prepared to add Brunnerton to the parish, cutting it off from the parish of Greymouth. He had consulted with the Marist provincial and Fr. Carew and they were more than willing to make the sacrifice to ensure that the Ahaura parish was a large enough area to support a community of three priests, and thus keep men of the quality of Fr. Gilbert in the district. 66 All Grimes's pleading was in vain. In May of that year Treand announced his firm decision to close the Ahaura parish. Fr. Gilbert departed early in August 1912.

The departure of the Sacred Heart priests from the Christchurch diocese shows the extent of the Marist-secular tensions within the diocese and also that the bishop himself underestimated their potency. The secular priests had waged a long and at times bitter campaign to right what they saw as their disadvantaged situation, relegated to the poorer parishes. They saw the Marists, and particularly the Marist bishop, as responsible. In their eyes to allow another religious congregation into the diocese was folly. If the other congregation took parishes it would certainly be at the expense of the secular priests, not the Marists. Likewise when it came to voices on the bishop's council and other diocesan decisions, the Sacred Heart fathers, being religious and non-Irish, would be sure to vote with the Marists and against the secular clergy who were already in the minority.

Bishop Grimes underestimated the extent of the opposition that the secular priests would offer to the Sacred Heart fathers. In his need for priests he had mistakenly supposed that he could

65. Carew to Grimes, 9 Nov 1911, (CDA).
use this very valid reason as a way of introducing a new group into the diocese whose position could be regularized once everybody had seen the good work they were doing. Here Grimes underestimated the extent to which the secular priests felt threatened, and overestimated his own ability to administer this delicate situation. By forcing the Sacred Heart fathers to spread their men more quickly than they desired, he alienated their administration in Australia. Once the secular priests and the Sacred Heart administration had decided that there was no permanent place for the religious congregation in the diocese then it was too late to try and keep them by expanding their parishes and making them more attractive.

Bishop Grimes's efforts to solve his dilemma over the shortage of priests by inviting the Sacred Heart fathers into the diocese was a failure. To his own Marist colleagues it seemed that he had placed fellow religious in an impossible situation; to other religious congregations he gave positive discouragement from entering a diocese where there was so much discord; and perhaps most serious of all, to his own secular priests he offered further evidence that a Marist bishop was prepared to relegate their just claims deeper into the background.

4. An Epilogue.

One of the aims of this thesis is to see what light the early struggles centring upon the Irish identity of many early New Zealand Catholics cast on the nature of the Roman Catholic Church in New Zealand. The appointment and career of Bishop Grimes of Christchurch cannot be understood without a constant awareness of the Irish-non-Irish and secular-Marist tensions that were one of the key problems of Grimes's episcopacy. Developments that occurred in the years immediately after Grimes's death were significant and they lead back to the West Coast and one or two familiar priestly figures.
After the death of Grimes in March 1915 the next appointment was that of Matthew Brodie, of Australian-Irish background, and a secular bishop. He took up the case of the secular priests with such enthusiasm that the new Marist provincial, Dean Holley, appealed to Rome. Brodie in his turn presented to Propaganda the list of complaints of the priests of the diocese. These are largely a repetition of the complaints of 1907 with one interesting addition. This is that when Bishop Redwood first brought Irish secular priests into the diocese he had promised them that the Marists would leave the diocese and that all the missions in the region would be handed over to the secular priests. The evidence for this was the memory of two Irish priests of an address given them by Redwood when he visited them in their seminary in 1874. The two priests were James O'Donnell and Henry Bowers. O'Donnell, as recounted, was removed from Ahaura by Redwood in 1887, and Bowers was his successor in Ahaura in 1889. This evidence was partially supported by Fr. Dennis Leen (Ahaura 1902-8) who recalled that they had been assured in 1898 [presumably by Grimes] that the Irishmen who came to Christchurch would be treated like any other secular priest elsewhere and that they would have as much money as the secular priests of Australia.

In an effort to resolve the ensuing deadlock, Dean Holley made a twofold offer: that the Cathedral parish in Christchurch be split in two, and that the Marists give up the parishes of Hokitika and Greymouth. Bishop Redwood, in commenting on this offer to the new Marist Superior General, Fr. Copéré, called it "Magnanimous and generous to a degree considering their importance and equipment as well as the large sums of money spent in their creation." 67 The giving back of Hokitika and Greymouth to the secular priests also had its ironic aspect. These were the

67. Redwood to Copéré, 12 Apr 1918, (MAW).
centres where Larkin had rode on a floodtide of Irish national feeling and Binsfeld had received the full backwash of its spent force. Hokitika had become a Marist parish when Viard had been forced to remove its Irish pastors because of their political leanings. Finally a bishop of Irish descent had come to reverse the situation.

Archbishop Redwood agreed that this compromise was the most satisfactory that could be reached. But as an historian and as a men who had been deeply influenced by the first missionaries, both French and Marist, who had brought Catholicity to Nelson, he could not present a report to Rome without concluding on these words:

It should always be borne in mind that the position of the Marist Fathers in the Archdiocese of Wellington, and in the diocese of Christchurch is far different from that of Religious in Australia, where the Religious are auxiliaries and the Seculars the first in the field; whereas the Society of Mary on the contrary had the two dioceses committed to their care by the Holy See and had worked there and evangelized from the beginning and when the Secular Priests were brought in, it was to aid them. Rome recognized this, and in 1885, perhaps in view of contingencies, such as now face us, made them over to the Marist Fathers, with boundaries described, in perpetuity. It has never been suggested that these parishes ceded by Rome, have ever suffered any loss at the hands of the Marist Fathers, in regard to adequate staffing (personnel) and efficient work. 68

68. Ibid.
The years 1900-20 provided a few occasions when Irish issues were again revived in the public life of New Zealand. There were visits by Irish parliamentarians in 1906 and 1911 to help maintain interest in the Home Rule cause. With the advent of the Great War there was the occasional questioning of the loyalty of the Catholics of Ireland but their excellent record in the Volunteers quickly stifled these voices. Even when the Easter Rising took place in Dublin in 1916 the outspoken and unanimous condemnations of this violence by the Catholic hierarchy both of Ireland and New Zealand satisfied most, though the Protestant Political Alliance (which was being formed in New Zealand at this time) expressed doubts. The one incident that did give the P.P.A. some grounds for its imputations of Irish disloyalty was the debate in New Zealand over the conscription of ecclesiastical students and the Marist Brothers. Bishop O'Shea and the Marist provincial, Dean Holley, did all they could to prevent these men being conscripted even to telling some students simply to ignore notices to appear in camp for military training. At Greemeadows, the Marist seminary, some white feathers were received in the mail, and the students had their Saturday and holiday walks curtailed because of fears that they would be publicly abused. Such jingoistic hysteria soon died down. Similarly, in Greymouth, some of the local newspapers wondered loudly about Irish and Catholic loyalties, but the presence of Fr. Carew and M.J. Fogarty, a former Hibernian president, on the local recruitment committee, and the ultra-loyal statements of Fr. Celestine La Croix, a French Marist who actually returned to France to be a

chaplain with the French forces, helped dispel these doubts.²

These disturbances were indeed minor when compared with the furious row that developed in Australia because of the leading part played by Archbishop Mannix of Melbourne in the successful fight against conscription. It seems that in New Zealand, the Irish were much more quickly assimilated into the surrounding society, because their numbers were much smaller than in Australia, and their cultural identity had already begun to lose its distinctiveness in small and homogeneous communities such as the West Coast. Certainly by the time of the second world war, P.J. O'Farrell comments, his family and all their acquaintances in Greymouth identified totally with the British forces and there was never any feeling that it could be otherwise.³

In politics too the Irish were gradually turning the focus of their attention from Home Rule in Ireland to the Liberal- Reform struggle in New Zealand. Since the New Zealand Labour Party and the trade union movement owed its origins in part to the coalminers of the Grey Valley, it was inevitable that some of the Irish should become preoccupied with early Labour politics in movements that cut right across sectarian boundaries, as can be seen from the good sprinkling of Irish names among the Scottish and English names recorded at the inaugural meeting of the Greymouth Labour Party.⁴

In these different ways many of the external props of an "Irish" identity were being removed. The children attending schools had known only New Zealand; more and more their teachers too were New Zealand born. Even the remaining French Marists had become an integral part of New Zealand church life.

² L. Richardson, "Coal Miners and Conscription" May, Miners and Militants, p. 135-6
³ O'Farrell, "Catholicism on the West Coast" p. 55
⁴ O'Farrell, "The Workers in Grey District Politics" Appendix 6. p. 264
Fr. Lacroix returned to Greymouth after the war because he was unable to acclimatize himself to France. O'Farrell describes how French Catholicism had become so accepted on the Coast that in a letter to his mother his father recounted how some of the congregation had wept when the Marist fathers made their farewell from Greymouth and he had nearly wept himself.5

It was rather in the internal structures and balance of power within the Roman Catholic Church in New Zealand that the effects of the debates on Irish issues were felt. As Archbishop Redwood pointed out, the growth of the Catholic Church in New Zealand was so different from that in Australia. By 1857, of the 144 priests working in Australia 129 were Irish; by 1880 one half of the clergy working the mission had been supplied by the one Irish seminary, All Hallows. This gave the Irish people and clergy a powerful basis to press for Irish bishops, "Irish" schools, and "Irish" Church newspapers. On the contrary, Irish clerics did not become common in New Zealand until after almost thirty or forty years of work by the first French Marists. The departure of the Marists from Auckland and the cutting off of the Dunedin diocese still left the religious order in a commanding position in the rest of New Zealand - in the diocese with the greatest area, highest Catholic population and largest number of clerics. The appointment of a Marist bishop to Wellington was crucial in that it enabled the Marist order to consolidate and build up its position in key parishes and to found St. Patrick's College which was one of the main factors in Marist domination of early Catholic secondary education in New Zealand.

After the erection of the Christchurch diocese and the appointment of Wellington as the metropolitan see, the position of the Marists in New Zealand was significantly strengthened. Not

5. O'Farrell, "Catholicism on the West Coast," p. 55
only was a Marist the president of the episcopal body but Mari-
sts now made up two of the group of four. After the resigna-
tion of Bishop Croke of Auckland in 1874 it was not until the appoint-
ment of Bishop Lenihan to Auckland in late 1896 that the next
secular bishop joined the episcopal body. This meant that sa-
ve for the first four years of his office, Bishop Moran was the
only secular bishop in New Zealand. This makes his stand agai-
nst the Marists easier to understand, especially when one contr-
asts his position with that of the Irish bishops in Australia,
who had obtained a majority in the episcopal conference
by the early 1870's, and on several occasions were able to over-
turn decisions made by their archbishop, the Benedictine, John
Polding, by making appeals to Rome.

The various Irish issues within the New Zealand Catholic
community can only be understood in the light of Bishop Moran's
self-elected role as defender of Irish interests and rights.
The rapid Marist withdrawal from his diocese and his conviction
that Marists had either taken away assets or mismanaged the dio-
cese in their ten year tenure, quickly put him at difference wi-
th the Marist administration, which must have been reinforced by
his acceptance of the Irish seculars suspended from the West Co-
ast by Bishop Viard. He certainly believed that the Marists had
schemed to have Redwood appointed as their man in 1874. Moran's
attempt to have his nominee appointed to the newly created Chri-
stchurch diocese, through the commanding position of the Irish
bishops at the first Australasian Plenary Synod, was intimately
linked with the Irish question. The petition that gave him some
backing from New Zealand at the Synod was organized by Frs. O'Do-
nnell and Walshe, both great champions of the Irish cause. O'Do-
nnell had made a strong case for an Irish bishop in statements
reported in the Greymouth evening paper and he showed that he had
not budged an inch from this position by his involvement in the
testimonial sent from Ahaura to welcome Moran on his return from Australia. The Tablet managed to keep the same battle going by repeatedly linking the ecclesiastical appointments in New Zealand to a wider struggle between English and Irish factions in the Catholic Church, and then in an even wider context, to the whole movement for Irish freedom from English domination.

The shadow of the conflict that accompanied his appointment never lifted entirely from the episcopacy of Bishop Grimes. Apart from the odium which attached to him because of Redwood’s influence in having him appointed, Grimes heaped up Irish animosity against himself by his acceptance of "unworthy" Irish secular priests, his subsequent disciplining of them, and his further efforts to build up his short-staffed diocese by the introduction of another religious congregation, the Sacred Heart fathers. Perhaps the most serious criticism voiced by his secular priests was of the way in which the Marists were confirmed in the wealthier parishes while seculars so often had to work the poorer and more difficult ones. Grimes certainly did nothing to alter this situation, which had resulted from the earlier arrival and work of the first Marists. By the time of his death Grimes had such a current of discontent from the secular priests running against him that one of the tasks of the new secular bishop was to adjust the balance between Marists and seculars. Bishop Brodie’s efforts to do so, which were carried on by his successor, Bishop Lyons, were a source of friction between Marists and seculars until Lyons’s departure from the diocese in 1950.

The growth of tensions and misunderstandings between Marists and seculars, especially in the period 1900-20, marked the beginning of a phase of development of the New Zealand Catholic Church which has probably only ended since the Second Vatican Council, in the last ten years. A quick comparison with the Australian Church may help to underline the uniqueness of the
New Zealand situation. In Australia Irish bishops and priests so dominated the Catholic Church that after the turn of the century the much smaller number of Australian-born and trained priests began to feel that it was impossible for them to make any significant contribution to the local Church and that this was inevitably harmful to the growth of an indigenous Church in Australia. For this reason they joined together in 1916 to form the Manly Union, in an effort to promote the interests of Australian-born and trained priests. This created real tension between the Irish and secular priests in Australia. But in New Zealand, because of the earlier establishment and position of power of the Marists, the situation was turned on its head. Instead of a struggle developing here between an Irish and New Zealand group within the local diocesan clergy, when the secular bishops began to assert their authority, the struggle turned into a debate between seculars and Marists as to their respective places in the New Zealand Church. When this occurred, the Marist administration was able to fall back on the position of strength that had already been built and operate almost as a church within a church; and because of the Marist's earlier involvement in colonial life and lack of strong identification with Ireland, they were able to build up an indigenous clergy far more quickly than the various dioceses.

Francis Redwood's appointment as bishop of Wellington in 1874 gave an early advantage to the Marists in the gradual move to build up a genuinely "New Zealand" Church. Redwood was English by birth. However his early life and schooling in Nelson, depicted so vividly in the pages of his reminiscences, encourage one to feel a glow of identity and to say "this is a New Zealander". Redwood's extraordinarily long reign did not end till 1935 and his Marist colleague, Thomas O'Shea (an old boy of St. Patrick's College, Wellington), who had been appointed his auxiliary bishop with right of succession in 1913, then carried on the
Marist tenure of Wellington till 1954. The late Cardinal McKeefry was the first non-Marist to hold the metropolitan see of Wellington. In their outlook, if not strictly by birth, all three men were thorough New Zealanders. In Australia, on the other hand, it was not until 1940 that Norman Gilroy became the first Australian-born archbishop of Sydney, and metropolitan. As late as 1969 an Irish-born cleric was appointed as bishop to one of the Australian dioceses.

Another important factor in the early indigenization of the Marist order in New Zealand was the founding of St. Patrick's College, Wellington, in 1885. Bishop Moran had attempted to found a boys' college, St. Aloysius's, earlier than this, staffed by several Irish Jesuits. The college never grew beyond twenty pupils, and the inability of the Jesuits to maintain their staff led to the college's fading away after only a few years. Because however of the Marists' strong parish structure throughout the Wellington and Christchurch dioceses St. Patrick's College was able to open with over eighty pupils, including boarders from Christchurch, Greymouth, Blenheim and Nelson. Though the original staff was made up entirely of teachers from St. Mary's College, Dundalk, there was no policy of stressing Irish identity and links. Instead the college quickly identified with the colonial style of life. In 1887 the school's 1st XV was strong enough to inflict a 14-0 defeat on Wellington College which had been established for about twenty years. In 1888 the team was undefeated, winning the Wellington junior championship. Pupils soon entered public examinations and before the end of the century a good number had taken degrees from the University of New Zealand. Another trend which has been of importance to the Catholic Church in New Zealand is the large number of priests that this college has provided, 227 in 91 years to the present. Of these 162 or 71.3% have themselves become Marists. By the time that the first class to pass right through the college's ranks
Fr. Thomas McCarthy, one of the early New Zealand-trained Marists to work on the Coast; Greymouth, 1910. Dean Carew said of him, "The Grey folk are greatly distressed at losing Fr. McCarthy. They consider him a wonderfully successful priest and — so he is!"
had graduated, the first seminary in New Zealand was ready to accept those who wished to study for the Marist priesthood.

Before 1890 any New Zealand youth interesting in studying for the diocesan or Marist priesthood was sent overseas to train, usually to Ireland, Rome or France. In 1889 a papal edict established the Marist province of New Zealand which, for religious orders, is the ecclesiastical equivalent of the local diocese. In 1890 the New Zealand Marist province founded its own training house for priests at Meanee, in Hawkes Bay. Because the first site tended to flood easily, the seminary was moved twenty years later to its present site at Greenmeadows. During these first twenty years the majority of the students who studied here were old boys of St. Patrick's Wellington.

The importance of this early beginning in the training of New Zealand priests can be seen in the fact that the first New Zealand-born and trained priest to work on the West Coast was the Marist, Daniel Malone. Born in Wanganui in 1868 he received his education at St. Patrick's College and Meanee and was appointed to Greymouth in 1897. The first secular priest to work on the Coast who had received his training in New Zealand was Fr. James McMenamin who came to Westport in 1910. By the end of 1920, thirteen New Zealand-trained Marists had worked on the Coast as compared to five New Zealand-trained secular priests. This figure reflects the fact that the national seminary at Mosgiel was not established until 1900. Bishop Verdon seems to have been chosen with this task in mind since he had been president of the Dublin diocesan seminary, then vice-rector of the Irish College in Rome before his appointment. In his term in Auckland Bishop Pompallier had maintained a seminary for almost twenty years but this had never become a national seminary and had disappeared with Pompallier's return to Europe. It is perhaps surprising that Bishop Moran did nothing to promote a dio-
cessan seminary in New Zealand, especially since he was senior bishop from 1871 till Redwood's appointment as metropolitan in 1886. However two considerations may help explain Moran's inactivity. The first is that he was waiting upon his own appointment as metropolitan in order to be in a position of sufficient strength. After this had failed to come about in 1886 he was too busy defending his own position to worry about the setting up of a national seminary. The second reason again follows the parallel situation in Australia where many of the Irish bishops were opposed to the setting up of a national seminary as they saw this as a possible means of breaking down the Irish identity and links that they were fighting to defend. They far preferred to have their priests trained in Ireland and brought out, so reaffirming their bonds with the mother country. If we recall Bishop Moran's speech in Cashel in which he related how in New Zealand there were young girls and boys just as Irish in their faith, their education and their interests, as any in Ireland, then it is easy to see that he subscribed to the same general philosophy. Whether this went as far as actually opposing a New Zealand seminary cannot be determined from surviving evidence.

Another result of the various clashes between Marist and diocesan administrations has been the enduring links of the Marist congregation with Christchurch and Wellington dioceses especially. Since 1871 there has been no Marist foundation or work in Dunedin. In 1924 the Marists were invited back to Auckland by Bishop Cleary to staff the Mt. Albert parish. The last ten years have seen further commitment of men in Auckland. In Christchurch the Marists have maintained two parishes and two secondary schools. However it is the Wellington diocese where the Marist presence has remained strongest, with five secondary schools, nine parishes and other specialized works. The number of Marist priests in the diocese, 149, is little behind that of the
secular clergy, 166. This parish and school system has been the source from which the majority of Marist recruits have been made, though a number of New Zealand diocesan priests have also come from these parishes and schools.

The final question considered has been whether there was any discernible difference between Irish Catholicism and French Catholicism in New Zealand. The basic answer seems to be that there was little theological division between Irish seculars and French Marists. French-trained priests often seemed to have a broader humanitarian vision and sometimes less preoccupation with sectarian divisions than their Irish counterparts, but the theological presuppositions from which both worked were similar. The theological training of both was heavily oriented to traditional and legalistic interpretations, moral theology was rigorous and sometimes tainted with Jansenism, while dogma was preoccupied with defending the definitions of councils against various heresies. In the area of mixed marriages Irish attitudes were more intolerant than French, though not so much because of any doctrinal disagreements between French and Irish pastors; rather it was because of strong cultural patterns deeply imbedded in the Irish people. On the question of temperance it is clear that the Irish did have a special difficulty in this area, but again it was rooted not so much in beliefs but in the history and national temperament of the Irish people. As far as obedience to the dictates of Rome and the centralized administration of the Roman Catholic Church, Irish and Marist attitudes were very similar. Apart from early Irish protests about interference in internal political matters, and allegations of English sway in Rome, the entire New Zealand Church was totally submissive to Roman directives.

Many of these attitudes have survived strongly in the contemporary Catholic Church in New Zealand. Up to the time of the
Vatican Council (and still fairly strongly) the New Zealand Catholic has had a healthy respect for the authority of his parish priest, and the directives of Rome have been followed with docility. Those who considered themselves practising Catholics tried hard "to obey the law" which was their sincere interpretation of how their pastors wanted them to lead a Christian life. Views on temperance have changed little. There have been several recent claims that Catholics number well above the national average in the ranks of alcoholics, while a blind eye is often turned to the alcoholic proclivities of "father" whereas any sign of sexual weakness on the part of the clergy still tends to create grave scandal among the Catholic people. Attitudes to mixed marriages have tended to follow the breakdown of cultural and religious barriers in society but again one would find a wide variation among the Catholic clergy, some priests still strongly opposed to the ease with which Catholics now enter mixed marriages.

The way in which many of these Irish influences have been assimilated and partially naturalized in the New Zealand setting is perfectly exemplified in the figure of New Zealand's first cardinal, the late Peter McKeefry. He came from a working class family of Irish descent in Greymouth, and would have known both the French Marists and the Irish seculars in his youth. Once launched on his priestly career he received a Roman university education yet his sermons and writings never showed any great deference to scholarship. Similarly his personal piety was deep and unquestioned but was more redolent of the cold austerity of

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* The claim, made recently in the Catholic newspaper, the Zealandia, has been supported by the National Chaplain to alcoholics, Fr. J. Prendergast S.M. His estimation is that about 30% of patients treated at Queen Mary's Hospital, Hanmer, in the last two years, have been nominally Catholics. In the 1971 census, Catholics formed 15.7% of the general population.
an Irish monk than the warm humanity of a James K. Baxter. His attitudes to mixed marriage, alcoholic drink and sexuality certainly contained all the strengths and weaknesses that we have come to label as "Irish."

And what of the West Coast Irish with whom we began our study? A few of the external signs of Irish identity still survive: green beer on St. Patrick's day in a few hotels, and the traditional wakes when one of the senior citizens passes away. Apart from the occasional burst of rhetoric, any real identification with the Irish nation has faded away. A few old souls remember the French fathers but as is so common in this nation's brief history, there is little consciousness of an historical heritage being lost. Perhaps the strongest surviving elements of Irish identity are attitudes to drink and sex. As far as attitudes to religious faith are concerned, the West Coast still contains, by census returns, the highest regional percentage of Roman Catholics in New Zealand, yet as parish clergy there have told me perhaps one of the lowest records for Sunday Mass observance, which is still regarded as the distinctive mark of a believing and practising Catholic. Bishop Moran would have interpreted this as a proof of the validity of his approach, that it is necessary to maintain the external structures of Irish identity to support the Roman Catholic faith of the Irish people. My own religious presuppositions cannot likewise remain concealed when I offer the counter theology that perhaps Bishop Moran made his mistake in not perceiving the coming of the world wherein any religious faith not based on a deeply personal search and inner conviction, regardless of environment, would be insufficient to survive. Be that as it may, what emerges from this study is a demonstration that the early encounters of French and Irish catholicity, so well exemplified on the West Coast, are essential for an understanding of the Roman Catholic Church in New Zealand.
The tensions which arose between French Marists and Irish seculars, and which were strenuously upheld by the bishops who fought for their interests, are a severely underestimated part of the Catholic history of this country. Not only does the shape of the New Zealand Catholic Church and its different dioceses still flow closely from the results of these struggles, but many of the attitudes that Catholics struggle to identify - and even challenge - in the wake of the Second Vatican Council are children of a history of which so many are ignorant.
To the Provincial Secretary, Nelson.

Sir,

I have the honour to forward, for the information of the Government, the following report of the occurrences of the last month in this district.

On March 17th, St. Patrick's Day, 600 or 700 men marched in procession through the streets of Westport, wearing green and black avowedly to show respect for the memory of Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien, who were hanged at Manchester for the murder of Sergeant Brett.

I am not aware that it is illegal to show respect for memory of any man, whether that man has been hanged or has met his death in any other manner, and I had stated beforehand, that I could see no objection to the procession if it was conducted in an orderly manner, but that I should decidedly object to the cemetery being desecrated by the burial of any empty coffin, as was at first proposed.

The procession having paraded the town in a most quiet and orderly manner, entered the cemetery, walked round a portion of it, and came out again. A stage had been erected close to the cemetery, outside the fence, and from the stage some extremely objectionable inflammatory speeches were made — two of them expressing decided disaffection to the government.

The persons of whom the procession was composed — most of whom came from Addison's — then returned quietly to their homes.

I was at Greymouth at this time, and on my return to Westport it was proposed to take proceedings, for seditious slander, against two men, named Williams and Donovan, who may be described as stump orators; but I thought it would do more harm than good to elevate them by a Crown prosecution, from their normal state of obscurity to the prominent position to which they appeared to aspire, and decided that no action should be taken against them.

Both of them have lately, in my hearing, addressed the public at Addison's, expressing sentiments of loyalty directly opposed to the spirit of their speeches at Westport; and it is my opinion, that if it suited their purpose, they would reverse their opinions every other day; and on the whole, I am not disposed to consider the Government of the country in any very serious danger from either of them.

Towards the end of the month, information was received at Westport of the attempted assassination of His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh, and from that time to this I have been urged to take proceedings against some of those who spoke on March 17th; but I have not yet been able to see that the fact that some attempted to assassinate H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh, in Sydney, should cause me to take proceedings against any persons in New Zealand, which I know would not have been taken if that attempt had not been made.

A Volunteer Rifle Corps was at this time enrolled at Westport; and I had the honour of presiding at a public meeting, at
which 150 members came forward and offered their services in a very laudable manner.

April 2nd was proclaimed a public holiday to commemorate the escape of the Duke of Edinburgh from assassination and the people expressed their loyal sentiments and their abhorrence of the dastardly attempt, in a most enthusiastic manner. But a few persons, especially two, who from their position in society, might have been expected to know better, went as far as to express themselves publicly in such a manner calculated to produce in the minds of their audience an impression that the speakers considered the murder of Sergeant Brett at Manchester, and the attempted assassination of H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh at Sydney, were the work of the same detestable organization, therefore, every man that had worn green at Westport on St. Patrick's Day was a sympathiser with O'Farrell, and an assassin at heart. I stated at the time that I considered those speeches, to be, to say the least of it, in very bad taste.

I knew at the time many Irishmen who would make a point of wearing green on St. Patrick's Day, as they had always been accustomed to do all their lives; who joined in the procession to show respect for the memory of Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien, and I could easily conceive that there might be among them many estimable men who would admit the justice of the sentence on these three men and the political necessity for their execution, but might at the same time consider that they had undoubtedly displayed some qualities, such as unselfish disinterested courage and patriotism, to an extent which entitled them to be distinguished from ordinary murderers, and who could not, in fact, see much difference between them and some other men, whose memories most people respect, or regard them in a different light from Kossuth, or Garibaldi, or many others whom Englishmen now delight to honour.

To hear these processionists publicly classed together by educated men as Fenians and assassins, was to me simply disgusting.

As I have used the word Fenian, I may state here that I have recently taken a good deal of trouble to ascertain what a Fenian is and if there are any in this district; and the conclusion at which I have arrived is, that if a Fenian is a member of a secret society, sworn to use any possible means to overthrow the government, and one who naturally sympathises with O'Farrell, or any like perpetrator of dastardly atrocious crimes, there are possibly none, and certainly not more than a very few; but that, if it is Fenianism to wear green on St. Patrick's Day, and to regard Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien in a different light from ordinary murderers, a very large majority especially at Addison's, are most decidedly Fenians, and I can see no objection to their being so. I can only say that I have heard the question put to an excited crowd at Addison's - whether there is an O'Farrellite amongst them? and in no place could the imputation have been more indignantly denied.

To continue my narrative of events. On the following day, April 3rd, between one and two o'clock, two or three persons arrived in Westport in a very excited state, and stated that the loyal procession, on returning to Addison's had been attacked by a mob and several persons wounded; that the crown and banner had been trampled upon, and that a very serious riot had taken place.
On the necessary information being laid, the Resident Magistrate commenced to swear in special constables, and I requested Mr. Pitt, who was acting in command of the volunteers, to assemble his men, and to await further orders, and immediately rode to Addison's with the Inspector of Police and a few troopers.

I walked through the town with the inspector, and found the people standing about the streets in a very excited state, but no actual disturbance going on. On making enquiries, I found reports of the speeches made at Westport and the Daily Papers had arrived at Addison's about two hours before the return procession, led by a woman on a white horse, had arrived singing, "Red, White and Blue" but instead of the usual chorus, some insulting and provoking words had been used by some of the processionists, that these insults were more than the people could stand, and the procession was attacked and dispersed.

I am not versed in these matters, but I gathered at the time that the mere fact of the procession being headed by a white horse was in itself considered to be deliberate insult and a challenge to all Irishmen who were not Orangemen.

I found the same sentiment expressed by everyone, viz., that there was not the slightest opposition to constituted authorities, or the bringing to justice of any who rendered himself amenable to the law, and that if the so-called loyal procession had walked quietly through the town with the Crown, and merely red, white, and blue ribbons, no one would have interfered with them, but that an open and deliberate insult and challenge of faction was more than weak human nature could be expected to stand.

On hearing these same opinions everywhere expressed, I wrote to the resident magistrate at Westport to the effect that people were much excited, but that no additional force was at present required, and I at the same time determined, and have ever since adhered to my determination that if the facts were as stated, no proceedings whatever should be initiated by the Government, but that any man who considered himself aggrieved should have his remedy in the ordinary course of law.

Although the procession was preceded by a man carrying a crown, which he dropped with much promptness and activity into the middle of the street on the first alarm, and which was trampled upon in the general alarm, I was convinced at the time, and have seen no reason to alter my opinion since, that whatever mischievous and disaffected speeches might have been made some time previously by the so-called Celtic Committee at Addison's, yet neither loyalty nor disloyalty had anything to do whatsoever with that attack on the procession, and I had determined that, so long as I had any power in the matter, the Government of New Zealand and in this district should not identify itself with a party who, under the cloak of loyalty, are animated solely by factious and partisan feelings, and that a street-row and faction fight should not be magnified into a defiance of the supremacy of the law.

I gave my letter to a messenger who was in readiness, and knowing the state of the feelings in Westport, told him to ride down as hard as he could and deliver the letter to Dr. Giles, the Resident Magistrate. The people were at the time standing about in groups in the narrow streets, in conversation, and the messenger zealously wishing, I suppose, to carry out my order literally rode at full gallop down the middle of the street, scattering the people in all directions. I stood with the Inspector of Police, laughing at the whole proceedings; but before
the messenger reached the end of the town, a cry was raised that the Westport Volunteers were coming to attack the people, and in less than two minutes a very large crowd collected, armed with any weapons that could conveniently be obtained. I assembled and addressed the people, as did also the Inspector of Police; we were listened to most attentively, and not the slightest disrespect was shown to either of us, or to the several constables who were standing amongst the crowd. I was asked whether I would promise that no steps should be taken against those who had attacked the procession, and that the Volunteers should not come up. I replied "Most certainly not," but that if any person who thought himself aggrieved laid an information in the ordinary way, warrants would be issued and executed; and with regard to the Volunteers, that they would not come up unless I sent for them; but that if the ordinary peace Officers were not sufficient to carry out the law, not only would the Volunteers, but any necessary force, no matter at what cost to the Government, be sent to execute any lawful process and to maintain order.

After some further discussion, and speeches made, all of them to the effect that the law must necessarily take its own course, three cheers were given for "Law and Order," and the majority of those assembled gradually dispersed, although some remained nearly all night.

There was no doubt a certain incongruity about the whole proceeding, for most of those who cheered for Law and Order were at the same time armed with axes, pick handles, or large stones, and a few with firearms; but at the same time the general tone of the sentiments expressed was satisfactory to me in that there was no opposition to constituted authorities or to the law taking its course, but a decided objection to open insults or to general attack on the town by the Westport Volunteers.

I then wrote another letter to Westport, directing that the Volunteers should not on any account be sent up without orders from me, and despatched it by Constable Neville, whose bridle was not cut, as was stated in the newspapers; but I afterwards learned that in passing through the bush about half a mile from Addison's, some men did put their hands on his bridle when he first came up to them, but allowed him to pass.

During that afternoon and evening some 250 Special Constables including Volunteers, were sworn in at Westport by the Resident Magistrate, who had to exercise much firmness and decision in restraining them from marching at once to Addison's.

I remained at Addison's that night, and the following morning, after walking around the place, and finding that every man had quietly resumed his ordinary work, I went down to Westport, and found the whole place in a great state of excitement; 200 or 300 men had come in from Caledonian and German Terraces, and offered their services to the Government, and they and the Westport people were most anxious to proceed to Addison's to avenge the insult, which, from the exaggerated accounts, which they had received of the crown being trampled upon, and the women being dragged off their horses, they imagined had been offered.

If these men had marched up there would have been a scene, which it would well be for some of those mischievous orators, who, by their inflammatory language, excite these violent passions, to endeavour to conceive and to reflect upon at their leisure. At the commencement of the combat there would have been about 600...
men on each side, armed with every description of mining tool and implement, from an American axe to a long-handled shovel, and, including the Constables' revolvers, about 50 or 60 firearms on each side.

Hundreds of men, moreover, would have been up from Charleston in a few hours to join both sides, and the whole of this would have arisen chiefly out of two or three disaffected and insulting speeches and a newspaper war.

To return to my narrative, I thanked the Caledonian men for their offer, but told them, that their services were not required, and in course of time they returned quietly home.

The only satisfactory part of the whole proceeding from beginning to end, is the highly creditable conduct of the men, which was very different from that of a few of the processionists to Addison's, and the others whose conduct I openly stigmatised as cowardly; these persons cried about the town that they were afraid to return home, and complained to me that they had no protection from the Government, and I continually repeated to them that if they knew any person who had threatened them, or committed any breach of the law, they had only to go to the Resident Magistrate and lay an information against them; they stated they did not know the names of some persons who had thrown stones, but they were afraid to take any proceedings against them because if they did so they did not know what might happen to them afterwards. I thereupon said that they were cowards, and I am still of the same opinion. I have made this explanation because it has been stated that I called all the loyal processionists cowards, whereas, I in fact only applied the term to the few persons above mentioned.

One man only of the processionists laid information against two men for throwing stones at him; these two men were summoned to appear at the Resident Magistrate's Court at Westport.

At the time of hearing neither the complainant nor the defendants appeared, and the Resident Magistrate had no alternative but to dismiss the case. The complainant subsequently appeared and stated that it was his intention to have appeared at the hearing, but that he did not know when the case was to be heard; he then laid fresh informations, and warrants were issued.

The next day was Good Friday, and as I intended the warrants should be executed, not quietly, in the dark, but in such a manner as to ascertain clearly whether there was any opposition to the Government, I considered it advisable to defer the execution of them until the following day.

In the meantime I had been offered the assistance of additional forces, and expected a detachment of the Armed Constabulary, and the arrival of H.M.S. Falcon.

On Saturday, April 11th, at 2.30 p.m., in the middle of the town of Addison's, two constables arrested the only two persons against whom information had been laid. No one took the slightest notice of the proceedings, but as I was not content with this and wished to come to a clear understanding, I convened a meeting of the inhabitants of Addison's Flat, and in the evening at the Daniel O'Connell Hotel, to a meeting of several hundred people. I stated the object of the meeting, and proposed a resolution.
"That every person present this evening shall express his opinions openly, straightforwardly, and honestly, upon all questions brought before the meeting!"

I then caused the following resolution to be put to the meeting.

"That no warrant shall be executed except by our consent and concurrence!"

Not a single hand was held up in favour of this resolution, but an amendment:

"That every facility and assistance be rendered to all Officers in the execution of any lawful process on Addison's Flat, against any person who in any manner renders himself amenable to the laws of New Zealand; was carried unanimously as were also the following;-

"That we are of the opinion that any person who endeavours either by inflammatory speeches, or by articles, or letters in newspapers, or by the display of offensive emblems, to introduce into this free colony the factious party feelings of the old country, or otherwise to create discord and disunion among us, thereby shows himself to be a mischievous but contemptible fool!"

"That we the inhabitants of Addison's Flat and its vicinity, while we admit and deplore the existence among us of some unfortunate animosities between individuals and factious parties, desire to take this opportunity of expressing our loyalty to the Crown, and to the Constitution and Government of New Zealand, and our determination to uphold and maintain law and order!"

The proceedings were conducted throughout in the most orderly manner, and I returned to Westport the same night.

Of this, the most important meeting ever held in this district not the slightest notice was ever taken by the Westport papers which still continued daily to allude to the whole population of Addison's Flat as a disaffected mob of disorderly ruffians and in other equally complimentary terms, and to state a reign of terror existed in the whole district.

The only excuse that I could find for this conduct of the press was that no reporter was present at the meeting, possibly in consequence of the prohibition by the women of Addison's of the sale of the Westport Times and of their having a short time previously publicly burnt the paper and intimidated the runner. I stated at the meeting that such proceedings being a direct breach of the law, could not be permitted, but as I was assured that every paper the women had burnt was paid for, and as my opinion was, that so long as the papers were paid for it was far better that they should be burnt than read, I said no more about it.

During Tuesday night the p.s. Bruce arrived from Hokitika with forty of the armed Constabulary. As there was no necessity for their services I decided to send them back to Hokitika, but requested Captain Cumming, the Officer in command, and Captain M'Donnell to accompany me to Addison's, and form their own opinion of the state of the District.

We walked round the town and diggings, and Captain Cumming, after conversing with both miners and business people con-
cerning the recent events, and ascertaining from the sergeant and four constables stationed there, that they had not the least difficulty in performing their duties, came to the same conclusion as myself, that his services were not by any means required in the district. On returning to Westport I was urgently requested by a deputation appointed at a public meeting of the inhabitants, not on any account to allow the armed Constabulary to leave, the principal reason assigned was, that although there was no "open defiance" of the authorities yet a secret terrorism existed; but as I failed to perceive the necessity for maintaining a standing army at Westport, until fears, which I considered had as little cause as is ever likely to be the case, had subsided, I saw no reason to alter my determination to send the constabulary back again, and they accordingly left the same night.

I was the more persuaded to take this course from hearing that affairs were in such a serious state in Hokitika a short time previously, that the Mayor of the Town required a body-guard, and that it had been found necessary to execute warrants secretly by night, for fear of disturbances.

On the following day the only person convicted of throwing stones at the procession was sentenced to 21 days imprisonment.

The people of Westport, after favouring me with their advice and their opinions, expressed with a degree of zeal that was no less an interesting study to me, than it must have been gratifying to them, seem to have at length resumed their ordinary avocations.

Although I had occasion to use some strong language during these proceedings, which has been distorted and misrepresented until it has been made to appear that I classed everyone in the same category as factious partisans, I take this opportunity of bringing to the notice of the Government the truly admirable conduct of these persons of all nations, who without any partisan feelings whatever, but simply from a pure love of law and order, and a determination to uphold at all hazards our free constitution, left their work and came forward, some of them from a considerable distance, to offer their services to the Government, and also of those who diligently performed the patrol duties and other arduous tasks allotted to them.

On looking back upon the whole affair, I have no hesitation in saying that some ill-intentioned seditious nonsense spoken by two or three stump orators from Addison's and some well intentioned but equally mischievous insulting expressions in reply, used by one or two persons at Westport, followed by a miserable street row, in which all the wounds received did not require 12 inches of sticking-plaster, and all the property destroyed would be well paid for by a £10 note - the whole puddle all the time sedulously stirred by the WESTPORT TIMES, and latterly also by the evening papers - nearly led to a scene of bloodshed which, in a few days, would have spread from one end of this coast to the other, and caused a War of races, which, although there could be no doubt as to the ultimate result would in the meantime have desolated these thriving settlements, and produced effects of which New Zealand would not have seen the end for years.

With regard to future action, unless I receive very distinct orders to the contrary, I do not propose to increase the ordinary force of peace Officers, or to take any steps whatever...
against any persons who have taken part in these proceedings, but simply to let the Law take its ordinary course, unless any persons henceforward show by their conduct that they can only be regarded as public nuisances, and must be abated accordingly.

I enclose a copy of a letter which I have received from Captain Cumming. I have the honour to be,

April 18, 1868, (Signed) T.A. SNEYD
KYNERSLEY.
Appendix B: Captain Cumming's Letter

To T.A. Sneyd Kynnersley, Esq., &c., &c., WESTPORT.

Sir,

In compliance with instructions contained in your letter of the 15th, I have the honour to report that I embarked with the detachment of Armed Constabulary about 8 p.m., in the Bruce, for Hokitika, where we safely arrived at 7 p.m. yesterday.

After having visited the scene of the late so-called riot, and hearing the debate between yourself and the deputation, I perfectly agree with your opinion, that retaining the detachment at Westport would only tend to foster that ill-feeling which seems to exist between two classes in your community.

The Government have shown that, at very short notice, they can bring their forces to the assistance of those who will support the law but to retain them where their services are not required cannot be expected. In Hokitika there are six important prisoners in our charge; to insure their safe keeping requires guards and constant patrols, and this could not be done if forty men were left at Westport.

I have, &c,

G.I. CUMMING, Captain,
Commanding Detachment Armed Constabulary,
Hokitika, April 17th, 1868.
Now, the works of the flesh are manifest, which are drunkenness, revellings and such like.

It is astonishing how easily one allows himself to be deceived about the gravity of a vice, when that vice has become almost general, or at least, very common; drunkenness is an instance of a deception of that kind. Looking around them, and observing what a vast multitude are given to this detestable vice and how the chief promoters of it form so large a part of the wealthy and so-called respectable class of Society, people, men and women, blind their moral sense to the heinousness of the sin, and soon come to regard it as a sort of natural weakness more to be pitied than blamed, and its degrading folly to be rather a source of laughter than a cause for fears. What is thus easily excused in others, they the more easily excuse in themselves; the intoxicating glass is raised to the lips, and they set out, amid the smiles and encouragements of friends, on the road of the drunkard, which is the road to hell. Yes, to hell! and why this?

Because drunkenness is a sin, for God has declared it so and you have just heard St. Paul rank it along with murder and adultery, for which impertinent souls are damned forever.

Drunkenness is a sin, then; nay rather it is a hydra-headed or, multifarious sin, for it is a sin against nature, a sin against the family, a sin against religion, a sin against society, a sin against God. Let us see how this is.

Firstly, the drunkard sins against nature. God made him a man, that he may act like a man, but he drops his manhood and adopts the habits of the irrational brutes. He roars like a tiger, he capers like a monkey, he wallows in the mud like a swine. Behold the miserable wretch staggering along the street, stupidity written on his human face divine, his brain on fire, the demon of fury in possession of his soul, pouring out broken curses and blasphemies, imagining everything to be his enemy and fighting with his best friends. What sort of animal is this? He is a tiger and worse. Alas! for the hour in which he reaches his house. The poor wife sees a wild beast coming home to her and not the kind man she married. Now with loud oaths and imprecations he storms about the house, breaking the furniture, smashing the doors and windows, and alarming the whole neighbourhood. See the poor children, how they cower and hide away in mortal fear from the presence of the being of whom nature would bid them never to be afraid. The wife tries to soothe him perhaps with kind words, and what is his return? Hang your heads with shame ye men born of woman and suckled at her breast, at witnessing the heavy blow and the brutal kick of a drunken husband to his poor wife! What makes you start back terror-stricken? Blood! Blood! aye, there is blood upon the floor, it flows from the prostrate, pale and motionless form of the drunken husband's wife. Oh! Was it for this she sacrificed all to follow him? Was it thus he promised to love, honour and cherish her? Ah! He has sinned against himself, he has degraded his own manhood, he has changed his exalted nature into the nature of a wild beast.

There is another. Watch him, if the sight does not sicken you. Are those the antics of a human being? Is that the language of the Christian, of the conversation of the man of business, of labour and industry? What sort of animal is he now?
His antics and grimaces are those of a monkey and his vile talk is beneath the honest chattering of a baboon. He is a monkey to all intents and purposes, a laughing stock for the whole street, a picture of shame, fit to bring a blush to every cheek.

Secondly, drunkeness is a sin against the family. The family is a sacred institution, sanctified and ennobled by the holy sacrament of matrimony: here, there are reciprocal duties of parents to children, and of children to parents; or of husband to wife and of wife to husband; these duties are binding under pain of mortal sin. But, is it not plainly evident that the fulfillment of these duties is totally incompatible with drunkeness and are we not daily witnesses of sins without number against these duties, sins of omission and commission committed by the drunken husband and father, wife and mother, son or daughter? Look at that drunkard. He a husband and a father! Why, his wife has not a change of clothing and his children shiver with cold and nakedness and cry for bread. Whose boy is that, arraigned before the judge for petty larceny? He is the drunkard's son. Poor boy! His unnatural father drove him to steal to satisfy the cravings of hunger, while he, with one hand was pouring the vile drink down his throat and with the other, his hard earnings into the publican's till. What slatternly, dirty wretch is that, with her bloated face and her black eye? She is the drunken wife whose husband works, and very hard, but whose wages help only to make his wife a sot. Then there is that son and daughter, taught to drink from their very cradles, brought up in ignorance of their religion, utterly demoralized by bad example and following the practice learned at home, curse their parents now and perhaps raise their guilty hands to strike them.

Thirdly, drunkeness is a sin against religion. Show me a drunkard and I will show you one that neglects the Sunday Mass. I will show you a family without prayer, but full of cursing; I will show you one that never goes to confession or communion, or if he does, at long intervals, and it is only to lie to the Holy ghost, by denying this sin, or remaining silent about it, or palliating and explaining it away. Show me a drunkard, and I will show you the greatest scandal in the community or congregation; you show me a drunkard and I will show you a mockery of Christianity, one who drags his faith in the mire. A drunken Catholic! Good God! and was it for this that Jesus Christ came into the world, suffered and died? Is this the fruit of his passion? Is this the pure and holy religion he established? And we who are the priests of your religion, have we left all only to be priests of a people who violate every precept of that religion! Truly, our souls go heavily! We tell those Christians, those Catholics, that drunkeness is a grievous sin, and they answer that it is only a weakness of human nature, pitiable at the worst; we tell them that they outrage religion by this scandal, and they choose the Lord's day for the time of their revellings; we denounce from the altar this vice and they go from the altar directly to the haunts of debauchery; we implore them as they value the salvation of their souls, to put an end to this sin, and those who have heard our pleadings in the morning, we blush to meet in the evening, staggering in this defilement. Truly, our souls go heavily, and here, as a priest of your religion, obedient to the stern voice of duty, I proclaim the heinousness of drunkeness and wash my hands at the lap of those who are addicted to it. Let the drunkard makers, those who encourage, countenance, dissemble, or flatter upon this vice, justify themselves, if they dare and can, at the tribunal of religion.

Fourthly, drunkeness is a sin against society. Poverty and misery, filth and disease stalk abroad around us; like so
many skeletons they meet us at every corner, and they huddle aw-
ay their victims into close, cheerless and comfortless tenements;
and what is the cause of this misery in a comparatively new com-

munity and society, where labour, means and resources of honour-
able existence, are plentiful for all: drunkenness. Yes, drunk-

enness is the source from which each social evil follows. Enter
the home of a drunkard, it is indeed a sad sight to look upon:
dirt reigns supreme: dirt on the floor, dirt on the windows, di-

rt on the broken chairs and tables; the bed is a dirty heap of
dirty rags: dirt on the man, dirt on the woman or on the child-
ren, the very dog is dirty and mangy. The door is tumbling off
its hinges, the broken window panes are stuffed with old rags,
the lining canvas falls down in many places and what is left is
begrimed with smoke from the crazy chimney; the cupboard, empty
of everything to eat, contains only a few old broken plates, bo-
tles and rust-eaten tins. The fire is out in the house, and ni-
ght is coming, the bitter blast is piercing through the disjoin-
ted boards; how it rattles the crazy door and window frames and
flickers the guttering candle. There is silence in the house
now; the man is out spending his last shilling at the nearest b-
ar, the wife has stolen away to get what drink she can, brandy,
gin or beer, no matter what it is to her, and the sickly, hungry,
whining children have, at last, sobbed themselves to sleep.

Desolation, misery, filth, here is a home for your civil-
ized society!

I call yourselves to witness: who pays his way and never
begs? Who keep the unpaid horse and thieve books? Who are not
ashamed to beg? The drunkards: who lives in the comfort able li-
title house in which there is plenty to eat and plenty to wear?
Sober people. Whose rosy cheeked and laughing children are tho-
se that run out at the close of day to meet the father coming
home from work, while the happy wife and mother, in her smooth
clean apron, stands smiling in the doorway to welcome him home?
They are the children of sober parents, and this is a home such
as christian society demands and acknowledges.

Go to the prisons: what drove their wretched inmates to
theft, to forgery, and to murder; do you not read it on their pa-
le and ghastly looks, in their haggard and half-lit eyes:
drunkenness. Enter the hospital and ask what has chained so many
poor creatures to those hard couches where sleeplessness reigns,
or fever maddens, or delirium revels: drunkenness.

But, no; it is impossible to enumerate all the evils wh-
ich drunkenness entails upon Christian and civilized society.

Fifthly, drunkenness is a sin against God; how lavish God
has been to drunkards, men and women, with blessings of all ki-
nds! Who shall estimate that sublime dignity of christians by
which they are ennobled: who has sanctified and blessed all thi-


ngs for their possession and use? And they turn these gifts by
their abuse of them, into instruments of sin. Again and again,
in the sacred tribunal of penance, has God shown the sinner his
unshakable loving kindness and forgiveness; again and again,
has he received him back into his favour, accepted his promises
and trusted him; but drunkenness has hardened his heart, and un-
mindful of mercy, he spurns the love of Christ and manifests to-
wards it the greatest contempt and ingratitude; for a glass of
liqour, he sells his birthright to heaven and barters away his
soul to the devil.

After this, who will still say that drunkenness is not a
sin, not a great and heinous sin. Yes, it is a sin against nature, a sin against the family, a sin against religion, a sin against society, a sin against God. No wonder, then, that drunkards shall never possess the kingdom of heaven, but shall fall into the guilt of everlasting woe, as St. Paul declares, when he says in today's epistle: fornication, uncleanness, immodesty, adultery, murder, drunkeness, of which I foretell you, as I have foretold to you, that they who do such things shall not obtain the Kingdom of God, while, on the contrary, they that live a holy, upright and sober life shall be eternally happy.
### Appendix D: Early Churches on the Coast.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Church</th>
<th>Date of Construction</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Addison's. Flat</td>
<td>St. Patrick's</td>
<td>1867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahaura</td>
<td>St. Mary's</td>
<td>original 1870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barrytown</td>
<td>All Saints</td>
<td>1881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blackball</td>
<td>St. Brendan's</td>
<td>1905</td>
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<tr>
<td>Brighton</td>
<td>St. John the Evangelist</td>
<td>1867</td>
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<tr>
<td>Brunner</td>
<td>Our Lady of Perpetual Succour</td>
<td>1886</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cape Foulwind</td>
<td>St. Mary's</td>
<td>1898</td>
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<tr>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>St. Patrick's</td>
<td>1867</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cobden</td>
<td>Our Lady of the Rosary</td>
<td>1910</td>
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<tr>
<td>Denniston</td>
<td>Sacred Heart of Jesus</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gravity</td>
<td>St. Joseph's</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greenstone</td>
<td>St. Patrick's</td>
<td>1875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greymouth</td>
<td>St. Patrick's</td>
<td>original 1865</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>present 1887</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hokitika</td>
<td>St. Mary's</td>
<td>original 1865</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ikamatua</td>
<td>St. Patrick's</td>
<td>1911</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kaniere</td>
<td>St. Joseph's</td>
<td>1872</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kotatahi</td>
<td>St. Paul's</td>
<td>1880</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kumara</td>
<td>St. Patrick's</td>
<td>1875</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lyell</td>
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<td>1878</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maori Creek</td>
<td>Chapel</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maori Gully</td>
<td>Chapel</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marsden</td>
<td>Chapel</td>
<td>1883</td>
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<tr>
<td>Millerton</td>
<td>St. Francis</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nelson Creek</td>
<td>St. Patrick's</td>
<td>1875</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ngahere</td>
<td>Sacred Heart</td>
<td>1909</td>
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<tr>
<td>No Town</td>
<td>St. Lawrence O'Toole's</td>
<td>1887</td>
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<tr>
<td>Okarito</td>
<td>Chapel</td>
<td>1868</td>
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<td>Reefton</td>
<td>Sacred Heart</td>
<td>1874</td>
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<td>Kimu</td>
<td>St. Brigid's</td>
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<td>Ross</td>
<td>St. Patrick's</td>
<td>1886</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rumanga</td>
<td>Sacred Heart</td>
<td>1909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staffordtown</td>
<td>St. Luke's</td>
<td>1868</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totara Flat</td>
<td>St. Munchin's</td>
<td>1885</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waimea</td>
<td>St. Michael's</td>
<td>1868</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waimangaroa</td>
<td>Our Lady of Perpetual Help</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westport</td>
<td>St. Canices</td>
<td>original 1868</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>next 1887</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix E: Parish Outlines.

1. Ahaura.

Outchurches: Blackball, Maori Creek, Maori Gully, Marsden, Nelson Creek, N0Town, Totara Flat, (altered by change in Greymouth Parish Boundaries 1883).

Parish Staff

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sep 1871</th>
<th>Fr. Eugene Pertuis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>3 Sisters of Mercy</td>
</tr>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jun &quot;74</th>
<th>Pertuis départs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nov &quot;74</td>
<td>Fr. John-Baptist Rolland</td>
</tr>
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</table>

1875 Sisters of Mercy depart Mr Heron principal of Academy
1878 Morgan O'Brien principal of Academy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Apr &quot;83</th>
<th>Pertuis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aug &quot;83</td>
<td>Rolland départs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov &quot;83</td>
<td>Pertuis départs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan &quot;84</td>
<td>Fr. James O'Donnell</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nov &quot;87</th>
<th>O'Donnell départs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dec &quot;87</td>
<td>Fr. Daniel O'Hallahan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar &quot;89</td>
<td>O'Hallahan départs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May &quot;89</td>
<td>Fr. Henry Bowers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec &quot;91</td>
<td>Bowers départs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar &quot;91</td>
<td>Fr. William Hyland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar &quot;92</td>
<td>Fr. Matthew MacManus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar &quot;93</td>
<td>Hyland départs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr &quot;93</td>
<td>Fr. Michael O'Laverty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov &quot;94</td>
<td>O'Laverty départs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan &quot;97</td>
<td>MacManus départs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar &quot;97</td>
<td>Fr. Luke Servajean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jun &quot;98</td>
<td>Servajean départs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jul &quot;98</td>
<td>Fr. Desirée Gallais</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feb &quot;99</th>
<th>Gallais départs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mar &quot;99</td>
<td>Fr. Victor Deby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr &quot;99</td>
<td>Fr. King, Deby départs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr &quot;02</td>
<td>King départs, Fr. Alex McDonnell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug &quot;02</td>
<td>Fr. Dennis Leen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb &quot;03</td>
<td>McDonnell départs</td>
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</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feb &quot;08</th>
<th>Leen départs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sep &quot;08</td>
<td>Fr. Aubry Goodman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct &quot;08</td>
<td>Fr. Edward Nouyoux</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar &quot;09</td>
<td>Fr. James Gilbert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan &quot;10</td>
<td>Goodman départs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb &quot;10</td>
<td>Nouyoux départs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jun &quot;10</td>
<td>Fr. Edward McGrath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar &quot;11</td>
<td>McGrath départs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jul &quot;12</td>
<td>Gilbert départs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Institutions

8 Apr "72 St. Mary's Day and Boarding School for girls opened.
Rolland's Academy for Boys opened
St. Columbkilles Convent built
May "81 Barrytown Church built
1883 Marsden Church built
1885 Totara Flat Church built
1898 New Ahaura Church built by Currie Bros.
1900 Blackball Church burnt down
22 Jan 1905 Blackball Church opened
2. Greymouth

Outchurches: Cobden, Greenstone, Marsden, Maori Gully, Nelson Creek, No Town, (altered by boundary changes with Ahaura in 1883).

Parish Staff

1864 Fr. Hallum - 1st Mass (Redwood Memoirs).
Fr. Tresallet - 1st Mass (Fr. Garin's diary).

Nov 1865 Fr. Emanuel Royer

Institutions

10 Dec "65 Greymouth Church built
10 Feb "66 First school opened

10 Jun "66 Bishop Viard visits
Dec "69 Fr. John-Baptist Rolland

Feb "70 Fr. Nicholas Binsfeld
Mar "70 Rolland departs
May "70 Fr. John Colomb
Jun "71 Fr. Michael Cummins
26 Jul "71 Colomb drowned
Aug "71 Cummins departs, Fr. Henry Belliard
Aug "74 Belliard departs, Fr. Joseph Ecuyer
1881 Mercy sisters
Aug "81 Ecuyer departs, Fr. Patrick McGuiness

4 Nov "82 Convent, Primary Secondary Schools opened
Jan "83 Parish boundaries changed. Barrytown, Marsden, acquired. Maori Gully, Nelson Creek, No Town lost.

Feb "83 Fr. Daniel O'Connor
Sep "83 O'Connor departs
Jan "84 McGuinness departs, Frs. Eugene Pertuis, Dennis Carew
Apr "84 Pertuis departs

17 Apr "87 Foundation Stone of New Church (Redwood) - Opened by Grimes (Pentecost).

Mar "89 Fr. John-Baptist Briand
Jun "91 Briand departs
1894 Marist Brothers
Jul "91 Fr. Luke Servajean
Apr "97 Servajean departs
Jul "97 Fr. Daniel Malone
Aug 1900 Fr. Eugene Kimbell
Jul "01 Malone departs
Aug "02 Fr. Joseph Herbert
Dec "04 Herbert departs
Feb "05 Fr. James Taylor
Feb "10 Taylor departs, Fr. Thomas McCarthy
Aug "10 McCarthy departs
Sep "10 McCarthy returns
Mar "11 Taylor departs
Apr "11 Fr. Patrick Finnerty
1911 Cobden School opened
Feb "13 Finnerty departs
### Hokitika

**Outchurches:** Kaniere, Kotatahi, Kumara (till 1877), Stafford Town, Waimea (till 1877).

**Parish Staff**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>Fr. Hallum - 1st Mass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>visits by Tresallet (May), Royer (Oct).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 1865</td>
<td>Fr. John McGirr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 May 66</td>
<td>Bishop Viard visits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 1867</td>
<td>Fr. Stephen McDonough</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb 1867</td>
<td>Fr. William Larkin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar 1867</td>
<td>Fr. Golden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jun 1867</td>
<td>Golden departs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 1868</td>
<td>Fr. Maurice Tresallet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar 1868</td>
<td>Larkin arrested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr 1868</td>
<td>McGirr departs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1868</td>
<td>Tresallet departs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jun 1868</td>
<td>McDonough departs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jul 1868</td>
<td>Frs. William Hickie, Aimée Martin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug 1868</td>
<td>Hickie departs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep 1868</td>
<td>Fr. John-Goutenoire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jul 1869</td>
<td>Goutenoire departs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar 1870</td>
<td>Fr. Nicholas Binsfeld</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jun 1870</td>
<td>Binsfeld departs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 1870</td>
<td>Mercy Sisters arrive from Ennis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jul 1871</td>
<td>Fr. Peter Regnault</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep 1872</td>
<td>Regnault departs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar 1873</td>
<td>Fr. Augustine Aubrey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov 1873</td>
<td>Aubrey departs, Fr. Lawrence Ginaty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb 1874</td>
<td>Ginaty departs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 1874</td>
<td>Fr. Augustine Le Petit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug 1874</td>
<td>Le Petit departs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov 1874</td>
<td>Fr. Daniel Malone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 1875</td>
<td>Malone departs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1876</td>
<td>Fr. Stan Mahony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec 1876</td>
<td>Mahony departs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb 1877</td>
<td>Fr. Paul Aubry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar 1877</td>
<td>Fr. John Ainsworth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr 1877</td>
<td>Aubry departs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jul 1877</td>
<td>Ainsworth departs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug 1878</td>
<td>Fr. John Clancy</td>
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**Institutions**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>24 Dec 1865</td>
<td>St. Mary's Church opened</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 May 1866</td>
<td>new church building dedicated by Viard and Fr. J. O'Reilly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>Kaniere church built</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>Convent built</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>Kotatahi church built</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Outchurches: Greenstone, Staffordtown, Waimea.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parish Staff</th>
<th>Institutions</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Apr &quot;70 Fr. John Goutenoire (from Ross)</td>
<td>17 Mar 1876 Church opened</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jul &quot;71 Goutenoire departs</td>
<td>Apr &quot;77 School opened</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct &quot;71 Fr. Peter Chareyre (from Ross)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May &quot;72 &quot; &quot; &quot; (from Waimea)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jul &quot;75 Chareyre departs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug &quot;75 Fr. Henry Belliard (from Waimea)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb &quot;76 Bishop Redwood visits</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct &quot;76 Belliard departs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov &quot;76 Fr. Michael McCaughy (from Ross)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov &quot;78 McCaughy first resident priest</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec &quot;80 McCaughy departs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan &quot;81 Fr. Thomas Devoy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr &quot;81 Fr. Michael Walshe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jul &quot;85 Devoy departs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan &quot;85 Fr. Michael Browne</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Dec &quot;85 M. Walshe departs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug &quot;86 Browne departs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep &quot;86 Fr. Matthew MacManus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec &quot;86 Fr. Thomas Walshe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov &quot;87 MacManus departs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec &quot;87 Fr. Patrick Treacy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan &quot;89 T. Walshe departs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar &quot;89 Treacy departs, Frs. Daniel O'Hallahan and Michael O'Laverty</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug &quot;89 O'Laverty departs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec &quot;89 T. Walshe returns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan &quot;92 T. Walshe departs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May &quot;93 T. Walshe returns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov &quot;94 T. Walshe departs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar 1900 Fr. Patrick Cooney</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan &quot;04 Cooney departs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar &quot;01 Fr. Dennis Leen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar &quot;01 Leen departs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov &quot;03 Fr. Alex McDonnell</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jul &quot;04 McDonnell departs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug &quot;04 Fr. John O'Dwyer</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Feb &quot;05 O'Dwyer departs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb &quot;05 Fr. Timothy Creed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May &quot;06 O'Hallahan departs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar &quot;08 O'Dwyer returns</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aug &quot;08 O'Dwyer departs</td>
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5. Reefton

Outchurches : Ikamatua, Lyell.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parish Staff</th>
<th>Institutions</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oct &quot;71 Fr. Eugene Pertuis (from Ahaura)</td>
<td>Built shed for church and school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan &quot;73 Pertuis departs, Fr. John-Baptist Rolland (from Ahaura)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May &quot;74 Rolland departs</td>
<td>1874 builds church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jun &quot;74 Fr. Michael Cummins (first resident priest)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May &quot;76 Cummins departs</td>
<td>1878 New church Church at Lyell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug &quot;76 Fr. Dennis.Carew</td>
<td>1886 church moved to present site</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jun &quot;83 Carew departs, Fr. N. Mulvihill</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov &quot;83 Rolland returns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan &quot;84 Mulvihill departs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb &quot;84 Fr. Anthony Halbwachs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jul &quot;84 Halbwachs departs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar &quot;89 Fr. Lawrence Ginty</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep &quot;89 Ginty departs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jul &quot;91 Mercy sisters arrive from Singleton</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jun &quot;93 Fr. John·Doherty</td>
<td>1893 Ikamatua school opened</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct &quot;93 Doherty departs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb &quot;94 Fr. Augustine Galerne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar &quot;95 Galerne departs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May &quot;95 Fr. Charles Bell</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan &quot;97 Bell departs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb &quot;97 Fr. John McNamara</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb 1900 McNamara departs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May &quot;00 Fr. James Hickson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Jul03 Rolland dies</td>
<td>Aug 1903 New convent opened</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar &quot;04 Fr. Desirée Gallais</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr &quot;04 Hickson departs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb &quot;07 Fr. Augustine Galerne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr &quot;07 Gallais departs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr &quot;08 Fr. P. Henry</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jun &quot;10 Henry departs</td>
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### Outchurches: Greenstone, Okarito, Rimu.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Parish Staff</th>
<th>Institutions</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1866 Visits from Fr. Golden</strong></td>
<td><strong>May &quot;66 - church opened by Viard</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jun &quot;69 Fr. John Goutenoire</strong></td>
<td><strong>21 Oct &quot;66 church dedicated</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(first resident priest)</em></td>
<td><strong>1868 Okarito church built</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jul &quot;71 Goutenoire departs</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aug &quot;71 Fr. Eugene Pertuis</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Oct &quot;71 Pertuis departs, Fr. Peter Chareyre</strong></td>
<td><strong>1871 Church enlarged, school built</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jan &quot;72 Fr. Patrick McGuiness</strong></td>
<td><strong>1872 Greenstone church built</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Apr &quot;72 Chareyre departs</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jul &quot;75 McGuiness departs, Fr. Michael McCaughy arrives</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>May &quot;78 McCaughy departs</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nov &quot;79 Pertuis returns</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jan &quot;83 Pertuis departs, Fr. Patrick Ahern</strong></td>
<td><strong>Aug &quot;84 Rimu church completed</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jun &quot;87 Ahern departs</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dec &quot;87 Fr. Matthew MacManus</strong></td>
<td><strong>1889 Mercy Sisters arrive from Hokitika</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1896 New convent opened</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Feb &quot;92 MacManus departs</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>May &quot;92 Fr. Michael Browne</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mar &quot;96 Browne departs</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jul &quot;96 Fr. William Hyland</strong></td>
<td><strong>1896 New convent opened</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Apr &quot;99 Hyland departs</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jul &quot;99 Fr. Philip Bogue</strong></td>
<td><strong>1901 Rimu school opened</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jul &quot;02 Bogue departs</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aug &quot;02 Fr. James O'Connor</strong></td>
<td></td>
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</table>
7. Westport

Outchurches: Addison's Flat, Brighton, Cape Poulwind, Charleston, Denniston, Gravity, Millerton, Waimangaroa.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parish Staff</th>
<th>Institutions</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jun 1867 Fr. Thomas Walshe</td>
<td>Brighton church built 1867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb 1878 Walshe departs</td>
<td>17 Mar &quot;68 original church opened</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dec 1878 Walshe returns</td>
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<td>Mar 1886 Fr. Daniel O'Hallahan</td>
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<td>Nov 1888 Fr. Michael Morrissey</td>
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<td>1894 Mercy Sisters arrive from Reefton</td>
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<td>Sep 1894 Fr. Edward McCormick</td>
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<td>Jun 1895 Fr. Joseph O'Connor</td>
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<td>Jul 1897 Fr. Patrick Costello</td>
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<td>Jan 1905 Fr. E. Bergin</td>
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<td>Feb 1910 Bergin departs, Fr. James McMenamin</td>
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Appendix F: Priests Serving on the West Coast, 1865-1910.

Those included in this list served in a West Coast Parish for a minimum of six months, or if their service was less than six months, they played a notable part in an episode highlighted in this thesis e.g. Fr. Victor Deby in Ahaura in 1899.

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<tr>
<td>O'CONNOR, Joseph, A.C.</td>
<td>Clogher, Ireland</td>
<td>Maynooth</td>
<td></td>
<td>1890</td>
<td></td>
<td>Westport, Jun-Nov'95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O'DONNEILL, James, J.</td>
<td>Glenroe, Limerick</td>
<td>Mt. Melleray, All Hallows</td>
<td>24/6/80</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ahaura, Jan'84-Nov'87</td>
<td>1935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O'DWYER, John</td>
<td>Kerry, 17/6/47</td>
<td>Blackrock Coll-11/5/85 Marist 1871</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kumara, Aug'04-Feb'05</td>
<td>9/1/1912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O'HALLAHAN, Daniel F.</td>
<td>Cork 1858</td>
<td>Mt. Melleray, Waterford</td>
<td>1882</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ahaura, Dec'87-Mar'89</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Notes: Years of appointment and death are given in formats such as 'Feb'00' and '14/9/1911'.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Place and Date of Birth</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Profession (where applicable)</th>
<th>Ordination</th>
<th>Appointments</th>
<th>Death</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O'LAVERY, Michael Henry</td>
<td>Lower Creggan, Monaghan, 1862</td>
<td>Dundalk, All Hallows</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10/7/88</td>
<td>Kumara, Mar-Aug'89</td>
<td>Ahaura, Apr'93-Nov'94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERTUIS, Eugene</td>
<td>Assize, France 30/11/30</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>19/3/57 Marist</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Ahaura, Oct'71-Jun'74</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REGNAULT, Peter</td>
<td>Brien, France 26/6/56</td>
<td>France, Ireland</td>
<td>8/12/81 Marist 15/9/85</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Ross, Nov'79-Jan'83</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ROLLAND, John, Baptist</td>
<td>Lorraine, 8/12/34</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>19/12/61 Marist 1859</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Greymouth, Nov'84-Apr'90</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ROYER, Emanuel</td>
<td>Pont à Mousson, Meurthe</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1861</td>
<td>Greymouth, Jan'66-6/2/70</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAYLOR, James</td>
<td>Wellington 5/4/75</td>
<td>Meanee, Italy 18/9/96 Marist</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Greymouth, Feb'05-Feb'28/7/10-Sep 10-Mar'11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TREACY, Patrick</td>
<td>Limerick 1842</td>
<td>Mt. Melleray, Waterford</td>
<td>19/6/81</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Kumara, Dec'87-Mar'89</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRESALLET, J. Maurice</td>
<td>France 1818</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1853 Marist</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Hokitika, Jan-May'68</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WALSHE, Michael</td>
<td>Cloyne</td>
<td>Maynooth</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1871</td>
<td>Kumara, Apr'81-Dec'85</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WALSHE, Thomas</td>
<td>Moonecoin, Kilkenny, 1858</td>
<td>All Hallows</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1883</td>
<td>Kumara, Dec'86-Jan'89</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WALSHE, Thomas</td>
<td>Moonecoin, Kilkenny, 1843</td>
<td>All Hallows</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>24/2/66</td>
<td>May'93-Nov'94</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Westport, Jun67-Mar20</td>
<td>12/12/1926</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix G: Parish Statistics up to 31/12/1920

These figures are subject to the same understanding of the words "Irish" and "Mixed" as given in Chapter 3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parishes</th>
<th>Ahaura</th>
<th>Greymouth</th>
<th>Hokitika</th>
<th>Kumara</th>
<th>Reefton</th>
<th>Ross</th>
<th>Westport</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Covered</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Bapts</td>
<td>1331(27.2p.a)</td>
<td>3307(61.2)</td>
<td>2464(44.7)</td>
<td>1505(30.7)</td>
<td>1725(36.8)</td>
<td>1020(20.0)</td>
<td>3254(61.4)</td>
<td>14606</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confrms</td>
<td>659</td>
<td>1199</td>
<td>1092</td>
<td>946</td>
<td>935</td>
<td>575</td>
<td>1471</td>
<td>6877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Total Confrms</td>
<td>181(3.7p.a)</td>
<td>670(12.4)</td>
<td>540(9.8)</td>
<td>298(5.7)</td>
<td>369(7.85)</td>
<td>157(3.0)</td>
<td>624(11.8)</td>
<td>2839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Irish Confms</td>
<td>619(93.9%)</td>
<td>983(82.0%)</td>
<td>941(82.6%)</td>
<td>770(81.4%)</td>
<td>759(81.1%)</td>
<td>539(92.0%)</td>
<td>1069(72.7%)</td>
<td>5680(82.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Total Marriages</td>
<td>181(3.7p.a)</td>
<td>670(12.4)</td>
<td>540(9.8)</td>
<td>298(5.7)</td>
<td>369(7.85)</td>
<td>157(3.0)</td>
<td>624(11.8)</td>
<td>2839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Irish Marriages</td>
<td>79(43.6%)</td>
<td>231(34.4%)</td>
<td>318(58.8%)</td>
<td>132(44.3%)</td>
<td>102(27.6%)</td>
<td>53(33.8%)</td>
<td>226(36.2%)</td>
<td>1141(40.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Mixed Marriages</td>
<td>45(24.9%)</td>
<td>34(5.1%)</td>
<td>64(11.9%)</td>
<td>21(7.1%)</td>
<td>58(13.0%)</td>
<td>21(13.4%)</td>
<td>137(21.9%)</td>
<td>380(13.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Irish Mixed Marriages</td>
<td>0(0%)</td>
<td>1(.15%)</td>
<td>6(1.1%)</td>
<td>1(.33%)</td>
<td>2(.54%)</td>
<td>4(2.5%)</td>
<td>12(1.9%)</td>
<td>26(.92%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bibliography

1. Contemporary Sources
   a) Newspapers.
   b) Manuscript.
   c) Books and Articles.

11. Later Works.
    a) Books and Articles.
       1. General.
       2. Ireland.
       3. New Zealand.
       4. The West Coast.
    b) Unpublished Theses and Essays.
1. Contemporary Sources

a) Newspapers.

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New Zealand Celt (1867-1868)
Tablet (1873-1907)
West Coast Times (1868-1869)

b) Manuscript.

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Annals of the Hokitika Convent (MSAC)
Annals of the Kumara Convent (MSAC)
Annals of the Westport Convent (MSAW)
Binsfeld Nicholas, Memoirs. (MAW)
Carew-Grimes Correspondence (loosely boxed) (CDA)
Colomb, John, Sermons (MAG)
Deby-Grimes Correspondence (loosely boxed) (CDA)
Diocesan Priests-Grimes Correspondence (loosely boxed) (CDA)
Grimes-Sacred Heart Fathers Correspondence (SHAC)
Illuminated Addresses (MSAC)
Redwood Correspondence (in various letter-books) (MAW)
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Harper, H.W: Letters from New Zealand, (London 1914)
Indexes of the Society of Mary: 1880, 1889, 1892, 1894, 1895, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1901, 1904, 1906, 1910. (MAW)

11. Later Works

a) Books and Articles

1. General.

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3. New Zealand

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Cobden School Jubilee Booklet, (Greymouth 1961)
Faris, I: Charleston, Its Rise and Decline (Wellington 1941).

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Grey District Jubilee Booklet, (Greymouth 1957).


--- Miner, Merchant, and Mountain, (Christchurch 1958).


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b) Unpublished Theses and Essays.


O'Brien, A.V

O'Connor, P

O'Farrell, P.J

Thomson, J
This essay emphasises the ecclesiastical archives, the material from which plays a prominent part in this study. Newspapers too were an important source, especially in chapters 111 and IV, and the Union Catalogue of N.Z. Newspapers (1961) was the indispensable starting point. This catalogue needs updating in respect to the material consulted for this thesis. Thus, apart from its large holdings of the West Coast Times, which is one of the most important sources for the 1868 Fenian funeral procession and its aftermath, the Hokitika Guardian office also holds two years' (1868-9) issues of the Hokitika Evening Star. Though the remaining incomplete run of the New Zealand Celt is found in the General Assembly Library there are also individual issues at the Alexander Turnbull Library, at the Canterbury Museum, and at the Historical Museum, Hokitika. A large collection of the Inangahua Herald not mentioned in the Union Catalogue is held at the Black's Point Museum near Reefton. In mid-1976 this collection was sent to the Alexander Turnbull Library for photocopying; it had not been indexed but seemed to include many issues from the early 1870's to the 1890's. A complete file of the New Zealand Tablet is to be found in the Tablet offices in Dunedin. An alphabetical index by subject material up to 1900 has been compiled by Miss P. Hussey of Dunedin, which is reasonably accurate and a great time-saver. The complete file of the Catholic Times 1890-93, is in the Wellington Catholic Vicariate office.

Extensive use was made of the Tablet because of its professed policy of espousing Irish issues. For this reason, however, caution is needed when employing the Tablet. In selection, preparation and tone of material, the Tablet often reflects the personal views of Bishop Moran (1871-95), who wrote some of the editorials. In the same way, though to a lesser extent, the Wellington based Catholic Times must be read in the light of a contrary view to that of Bishop Moran's, not on Catholic doctrine and law, but rather as to ecclesiastical politics in New Zealand. A third Church publication occasionally cited is the Marist Messenger, a monthly devotional magazine produced by the Society of Mary, the complete file being in the central archives of the Society of Mary at Oriental Bay in Wellington. Though this magazine began publication only in January 1932, in the first ten years especially it included reminiscences from elderly priests or religious who had known pioneer priests of the 1870's and 1880's, or extracts from diaries and newspapers that went back to the earliest days of the Catholic Church in New Zealand. Two problems face the historian in using this material. The first is that because the magazine is devotional rather than historical, sources or authorities are often not mentioned. Secondly, although an effort has been made to index the material, the index headings are very broad e.g. Pioneer Teachers, which means that valuable information can sometimes be concealed under unpromising headings. The value of the magazine to the historian is that in some instances it contains information about the early Catholic Church not found in any other source. Unfortunately, it is sometimes impossible to verify such information.

Because of the large volume of ecclesiastical source material there is a correspondingly lighter stress on official government documents. Where these became of greater relevance was at the time of events involved in the Hokitika and Addison's
Flat "riots" when warden's reports, the correspondence of the Colonial Secretary and court records become of value. The full text of T.A. Kynnersley's report on the Addison's disturbances, which is reproduced in Appendix A, p.226, was printed in full in 1868 in the Nelson Examiner. The correspondence of the Colonial Secretary, which deals mainly with the military movements occasioned by the Hokitika disturbances, is found in the National Archives, while an account of the trial of the Fenian prisoners in Hokitika is in the Richmond - Atkinson Papers, (G. Scholefield, ed., 1960).

The most important primary source used in this study came from various ecclesiastical archives in New Zealand. These archives often contain newspaper summaries written at the time of jubilees, plus other old newspaper cuttings, so I have decided to describe the full contents of each archive relevant to this area of research.

The archives of the Marist seminary at Greenmeadows, Hawkes Bay, contain some original material, mainly from elderly priests who spent their last days there. These are filed loosely in boxes, under general headings such as the station e.g. Timaru, or a particular Marist e.g. Binsfeld, or a region e.g. West Coast (2). There is no other indexing. Personal material includes a box of Dean Binsfeld's sermons, and a similar box of Fr. John Colson's including sermons preached in Greymouth and in Romford, England. Under "General Marist (3)" there is a list of all the Irish Marists who came to the New Zealand mission in the period 1870-1903, and the date of each man's arrival. Under "Christchurch Diocese" is a booklet entitled the "Acts and Statutes of the 1st Christchurch Diocesan Synod 1893, 16-18 Jan". This includes a list of the 27 priests - sixteen Marists, one Benedictine and ten diocesan - who were present on this occasion. A short history of the parish of Kumara by Fr. K. McGrath, who was a curate in Greymouth in 1920, comes under "West Coast (1)". The final items of note, also to be found in the same box, are two newspaper clippings, the first from the Auckland Star of 24 February 1838, entitled "Goldfield Days" describing some of the early Catholic priests who served on the Coast, the second from the Zealandia of 11 April 1968 giving a brief history of the Ascot parish up to the early years of this century.

The central archives for the Society of Mary in New Zealand are preserved at the Provincial House "Ceridon" at Oriental Bay. Most of the material relevant to the early history of the Wellington and Christchurch dioceses is to be found here, and is in the form of early documents or letters. These have been mounted in book-folder form and numbered in an alphabetical and numerical code. A typed précis precedes each letter or document, and there is an index for each volume. The volumes are clearly labelled according to topic e.g. Christchurch Diocese 1. Where material is still confidential the document has been removed to a separate folder but a record as to its whereabouts and general nature is left in place. It would be impossible to enumerate here the range covered by the literally thousands of letters contained in these files - parish reports, priests' wills, requests for clarification to and dispensations from church law, personal permissions, and letters of denunciation. Among these documents a number of significant ones could be singled out. There are the diaries of Frs. Garin and Pertuis, and memoirs of Archbishop Redwood and Dean Binsfeld. There is much sermon and conference material of early Marists. Another useful source are the indexes which list Marist appointments from 1889, though these were not published annually until after the turn of the century, and there
are frequent inaccuracies since appointments sometimes had to be changed quickly because of ill-health, deaths, etc. Cuttings from early newspapers containing obituaries of early Marists often provide biographical details not available elsewhere.

The main item of value in the Wellington archdiocesan archives are the Viard papers which consist of the Bishop's diary and four volumes of letters. Unfortunately these have not been available for use by historians since Miss Keys used them for her biography of Viard. They are described very briefly in the bibliography of Philip Viard, Bishop of Wellington, and much of the material contained in them is found in the unabridged manuscript of Miss Key's work, in the archdiocesan archives, which I was able to use. The full bound volumes of the Catholic Times are held at the Wellington Vicariate office and would merit longer study than I was able to give them.

The Sisters of Mercy in Wellington have some historical material about their foundations in Westport and Reefton. Two volumes of annals survive from the early days of the Westport convent. A comment about their value would apply also to the half-dozen or so convent annals to be mentioned in this bibliography. The bulk of annals material concerns the day-to-day affairs of a group of female religious and is of little interest to the historian; but every so often there is an observation about the local community or social or economic conditions that can give an interesting insight into the wider life of the community outside the convent walls. One of the sisters who came to Reefton from Australia early this century, Sr. Alphonsus Garaty, provided seventeen pages of handwritten notes of her memories of the early nuns of the Reefton community.

The greatest source of material for the history of the Christchurch diocese from the time of Bishop Grimes onwards is the Christchurch diocesan archives. Grimes was a remarkably systematic and orderly man who kept every letter that was sent to him, added the date on which he had replied, and kept a notebook listing the date of writing and destination of each letter he sent. Much of this written record of his episcopacy has survived though a few items have been lost because of poor storage. Only in the last few years has there been systematic sorting of this material, and so far it has not proceeded any further than dividing the letters and documents into boxes under major headings such as Ahaura, or Bishop Grimes, or Marist Fathers, etc.

As an illustration of the sort of material available, one finds the following in the box labelled "Greymouth": a copy of the Grey District Jubilee booklet of 1928; a large number of newspaper cuttings, mainly from the Tablet, including memoirs of Fr. J. Kennedy at the time of the Greymouth Diamond Jubilee; an article on the founding of the church at Barrytown; a record of the first Catholic school in Greymouth; a report of activities on St. Patrick's day 1879; an article on Fr. Colomb and his death; another on the Sisters of Mercy in Greymouth; a report of a plan to raise a memorial to Dean Carew. Other newspaper extracts from the Greymouth Evening Star tell of the farewell given to the Marists on their departure in 1924, and of the departure of Fr. Alexander O'Hare from Kumara. These newspaper cuttings are generally contemporaneous to the events described or are reprints on the occasion of a jubilee or closing down of a station. There is an Irish song in honour of Dean Carew on his anniversary, and a legal document drawn up between Kilgour and Perotti of Greymouth and the Roman Catholic Committee of 17 mile beach in 1881 to begin work for a church. Then come a large number of letters.
Several are relatively recent, from Fr. K. McGrath, who was curate in 1920, relating what he could remember of parish history to the parish priest of 1960. The vast bulk of the letters are dated between 1889 and 1911. There are some half dozen letters from Fr. Briand to Bishop Grimes but the majority, over fifty, are from the pen of Fr. Carew, and range from commentaries on his curates to suggestions to the bishop how to conduct the council of priests.

The Greymouth parish records are exceptional in the amount of correspondence that passed between Carew and Grimes but the type of material found there is very similar to other parishes. Other types of historical records are also in these archives. There are the parish reports from 1890-1910 giving a complete parish record of building, property, Catholic population, Church officials, and financial state. There are many old prints and portraits of Church buildings, school classes and early priests. Then there are originals of indults and decrees from Rome, usually in Latin, setting up various religious houses, or authorizing different devotions. Many testimonials are to be found, often from parish groups to bishops or priests on the opening of a church or departure or return to New Zealand. One box contains numerous applications of priests from all parts of the world, seeking to enter the diocese, most of whom were not accepted. There are numerous account books showing the expenditures and revenues of various parishes and religious houses in the early days. One particularly interesting example is a detailed list of the expenditures on the building of the cathedral under Bishop Grimes.

Another valuable source of historical information on the Catholic Church to be found in Christchurch is in the Mercy sisters' archives at St. Mary's convent. These contain the early records of the Hokitika and Greymouth convents and of the now defunct Ross and Kumara communities. This material has been sorted into boxes but no further indexing has been done.

Apart from what is contained in these boxes there are also a number of valuable records in the form of diaries, registers and summaries. A general history of the Mercy Congregation in New Zealand by Sr. Grenaiva Gaughan of Timaru in 1939 contains one chapter on the foundations of the South Island which contains a solid outline of the various houses founded from Hokitika. There is a text of a Masters thesis, 'The Catholic Missionary in Te Wai Pounamu', by Sr. Clare Clarke, written in 1929, a copy of which is also held in the University of Canterbury Library. This tends to be a lot of factual material interspersed with eulogies of various early nuns and priests, with little historical analysis, but does have the merit that the factual material seems accurate, while many of the personal reminiscences (unobtainable today) were from men and women who knew these pioneer churchmen and women personally. There are convent annals from Hokitika (July 1878-December 1911), Greymouth (November 1882-1937), and Kumara (1889-July30, 1903, then February 1907-October 1918). The early years tend to be documented very fully but as the work continues the references become shorter and more widely spaced, till they reduce to a sentence summary of important events. Another interesting record consists of the register of professions of the Hokitika convent 1881-1919, and a number of illuminated addresses. The former contains thirty beautifully illuminated records of the religious profession of the sisters of the Hokitika community, giving the name of the parents, the family and religious name of the newly professed nun and her place of birth. After the first
few novices, who were born in Ireland, New Zealand novices then begin to predominate. The six illuminated addresses were presented on the following occasions: to Dean Martin, on his return from France in 1901 by the pupils of St. Columbkille's school, and one also by the parishioners of Hokitika; to Mother Clare on her silver jubilee in 1889 by her fellow nuns, also by her pupils, and on her diamond jubilee in 1924 by Bishop Brodie, the priests of the diocese and the sisters of her congregation; and finally one presented to Mother Claver on her jubilee in 1904.

The remainder of the material is contained in three boxes labelled "Hokitika" and one "Greymouth." The first of the Hokitika boxes contains a record of the lay teachers at the Catholic school in Hokitika before 1875, then a newspaper report of the 75th jubilee of the Mercy Sisters in Hokitika. The second box contains two booklets, one of which consists of a collection of newspaper obituaries of Mother Clare, the other being a record of the centennial celebrations of St. Mary's parish, Hokitika. There is a short unacknowledged typewritten manuscript on the "Sisters of Mercy, Christchurch Diocese" containing biographical data on many of the early nuns, photocopies of the letters sent by Dean Martin to the congregation requesting sisters to be sent to Hokitika, and a list of the contents of the old convent that were auctioned in 1975. Then there are a number of newspaper cuttings, one on the history of the Catholic school at Kumara, and Tablet reports of the diamond jubilee of the sisters in Hokitika, in 1938. The third box consists largely of newspaper clippings on the history of the convents at Kumara and Ross, and obituaries of several sisters specially linked with these houses. One item of interest is a visiting book for the parish of Kumara, giving the names, addresses, and family details of all the parishioners from 1889 to 1930.

The box on Greymouth is full of much the same sort of material: booklets on the occasion of silver and diamond jubilees, newspaper articles on the Catholic schools in Greymouth and Cobden, obituaries of early nuns, an inspectors' report of a school visit in 1909, and an account of Dean Carew's death and funeral. There are numerous pages of letters and memoirs, often undated and unacknowledged.

Four other sources of Church-related records should also be mentioned. The first is twelve rolls of microfilm held by the Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington. Most are copies of early letters from French Marists in New Zealand e.g. Garin, Forest, Petitjean, to ecclesiastical superiors or religious colleagues in Rome or France, the originals being in the central Marist archives in the mother house in Rome, or in the provincial house in Lyons. There is also a long series of letters between Bishop Moran and Fr. Moreau concerning the dispute over Moreau's departure from Dunedin. Unfortunately there is no indexing of the letters and some of the reels contain over fifty or even sixty letters, so it is slow work using them. This difficulty is compounded by the fact that most of the letters were handwritten in ink on both sides, which comes through the photographed copy, making reading difficult. Most of the letters are in French, with an occasional one in English or Latin, and the scrawling hand of Fr. Petitjean is not made any easier by his habit of filling in the margins of his letter when he had run out of room elsewhere. However, despite these difficulties, the letters contain much significant information.

A second source that was of some use was the central off-
ice of the Hibernian Australasian Catholic Benefit Society in Wellington. This office holds a record of the various branches which came into existence last century in different parts of New Zealand but unfortunately most of the detailed records about membership were lost in a move from Auckland to Wellington in the mid-1930's. Through the central office it is possible to make contact with some old surviving branches which have a little about their early history, but others unfortunately have virtually nothing.

The third source that was of use for the Christchurch diocese was the Australian archives of the Sacred Heart fathers which are now located in Canberra. The archivist there was able to supply photocopies of the correspondence between the Sacred Heart provincial, Fr. Tread, and Bishop Grimes, which was used as the basis for reconstructing the reasons for the short-lived work of this religious congregation in the Christchurch diocese.

Finally mention should also be made of the files and class records of the Marist college of Dundalk and the diocesan seminaries of All Hallows and Maynooth where helpful professors searched for biographical details of early Irish priests in the Christchurch diocese. Through their efforts it has been possible to track down about 70% of these men with some certainty, though there is ambiguity in some cases e.g. where 41 different Murphys are recorded at Maynooth. It is also unfortunate that the earliest graduates of Maynooth to come to New Zealand cannot be located with certainty because of the destruction by fire in 1940 of the early files from about 1840-60.

The secondary sources consulted fall into three general areas: Irish history and nationalism, the Catholic Church in New Zealand, and the West Coast background.

The best general introduction to modern Irish history is F.S.L. Lyons's *Ireland Since the Famine* (1971). The author succeeds in tying together the social condition of Ireland, the complicated workings of English party politics and the emergence of the constitutional and revolutionary movements within the Irish people, in a lucid and very readable text. Another work that appeared shortly after Lyons's and centres on the issue of Irish nationalist movements and the fight for self-government is R. Kee's *The Green Flag* (1972). It too is very readable and contains more material on the political involvement of the Catholic Church and the consequent tension within the Church because of the nationalist movements. Both of these works devote a small section to the 'Manchester Martyrs' whose executions provoked the sympathy demonstrations that caused so much antagonism on the West Coast of New Zealand. However the fullest treatment of the attempt to rescue Kelly and Deasy, and the capture, trial and execution of Allen, O'Brien and Larkin, is contained in P.B. Rose's *The Manchester Martyrs* (1970). A slightly more analytical approach to the Fenians, studying the different backgrounds and ideologies of several of the leaders is *The Fenian Movement* (1968), edited by T.W. Moody. In this collection of essays the ones that I found most helpful were K. Nowlan's "The Fenian Rising of 1867" and Moody's attempt to place the Fenians in the wider context of Irish revolutionary movements, in "The Fenian Movement in Irish History."

The works above implied or stated directly that many of the Irish parochial clergy showed sympathy for nationalist movements
such as the Land Leagues. In an effort to determine the truth of this claim I attempted to find material on the training of Irish secular priests at this time. One article in the All Hallows Annual, the official organ of All Hallows Missionary Seminary in Dublin, which is entitled "The Old All Hallows" proved to be of limited value in this respect. When speaking of the type of student predominant in the mission seminary, it spoke of the peasant background and lack of education in the humanities of many of them, and the generally strong sense of national fervour that was found in the institution.

When it comes to studying what sort of impact Irish nationalism had on the Irish immigrant in New Zealand in the period 1864-1920, and consequently on New Zealand politics, the indispensable starting point is R.P. Davis's Irish Issues in New Zealand Politics (1974). It is the most recent and comprehensive effort to examine this question. My criticism of this work is to be found elsewhere, but I believe that Davis accepts Bishop Moran's polemics too seriously as expressing the main thrust of Catholic policy in New Zealand; also that he misunderstands Bishop Moran's reasons for becoming involved in the political arena.

Nobody has yet written a satisfactory general history of the Roman Catholic Church in New Zealand, although a few regional studies have been completed. An early attempt to give a complete survey of the early growth of the Church in Australia and New Zealand occurs in P.F. Moran's History of the Catholic Church in Australasia (1895). The section on New Zealand is based largely on second-hand accounts and contains many errors. A far more accurate and useful introduction is found in J.J. Wilson's two volumes, The Church in New Zealand (1910, 1926). This is a detailed and careful summary of the development of each Catholic parish and institution in New Zealand and the men and women involved. It has two major shortcomings. The first is that it reads too much like a mere chronicle, a list of names and dates, lacking interconnecting themes to hold it together. The second is that Wilson carefully avoids anything that might be controversial or unedifying and so inevitably distorts certain parts of the historical picture. There has been one major effort to study the influence of the early French Marists: M.C. Goulter's Sons of France (1957) which uses a biographical approach to study seven early Marist priests - Frs. Servant, Petitjean, Garin, Forest, Moreau, Chataigner, and Cognet. Mrs Goulter's study of early letters and diaries has been painstaking and she does succeed in capturing the individual character and different problems of each Marist. The disadvantage of the biographical approach is that it is difficult to see how each life fits into the general development of the Catholic Church in New Zealand and of the colonial, mainly English, society that was emerging at this time. A Masters thesis which attempts to place the Roman Catholic Church squarely in the context of colonial growth in contrast to the growth of the various Protestant missions is J. Thomas's "The Roman Catholic Mission in New Zealand 1838-1870" (1966). This is a comparative assessment of the methods, successes and failures of the Catholic and various Protestant mission groups. Its self-imposed limits are narrow. It is concerned mainly with the mission to the Maoris; it is centred on the Auckland provincial region; and it ends while Pompallier and Viard are the only Catholic bishops in New Zealand. It certainly does shed valuable light on the early period of missionary work among the Maori people, but because of this narrow scope has little relevance for the new stage of the Church's development that was marked by Bishop Moran's appointment to Dunedin.
Another important work in Australasian ecclesiastical history is J.N. Molony's: *The Roman Mould of the Australian Catholic Church* (1969). Although it deals with the Church in Australia it provides a crucial contrast with the situation in New Zealand and allows the uniqueness of the New Zealand situation to be established. Moloney's central thesis is that despite the strong Irish element among the episcopacy a more significant factor for the development of the Australian Church was the fact that nearly all the bishops were products of Propaganda College in Rome, appointed through the influence of Cardinal Cullen who had been the rector of the Irish College in Rome, whose students attended Propaganda. Because of this common background, Moloney alleges, the most striking feature of this Irish-dominated hierarchy was not their Irishness but their firm allegiance to Roman ideas of Church law and theology, especially the pre-eminent position of the papacy in doctrinal and jurisdictional decisions. Molony makes a strong case and one, I feel, that no historian of the New Zealand Church can afford to ignore. A more traditional interpretation of the Australian Church is given in Part Six of the general series, *A History of Irish Catholicism* (1971), edited by Corish, in which Australia is covered by P.J. O'Farrell and J.J. McGovern. Their main concern is the conflict between the Irish and English element in the Church and how the Irish element came to predominate, with the major effects this had on educational policy and attitudes towards such questions as mixed marriage and temperance. It seems to me that the different approaches of Molony and of O'Farrell and McGovern are not necessarily contradictory but can be seen as complementary, having rather a difference of emphasis than of final conclusion. Between them these works provide a clear background against which the "Irishness" of the Catholic Church in New Zealand can be judged. Unfortunately Part Seven of the general study of Irish Catholicism, on New Zealand, is very disappointing. One gets the impression that the author, E. Duggan, has simply followed Wilson and indicated which of the nuns and priests mentioned were Irish by birth, so that the significant comparison between the "Irishness" of the Australian and New Zealand Churches still remains to be done.

There have been individual studies made of most of the early Catholic bishops of New Zealand. *The Life and Times of Bishop Pompallier* (1957) and *Philip Viard, Bishop of Wellington* (1968) both by L.G. Keys, are well-researched and competent accounts of these men and both works include full bibliographies. H.M. Laracy's Masters thesis "The Life and Context of Bishop Patrick Moran" (1964), succeeds in capturing the controversial and belligerent style of Moran's episcopacy, concentrating especially on Moran's views on secular education and his efforts to enter the political arena. The friction over the appointments of Redwood and Grimes is mentioned briefly but Laracy did not seem to have had access to the ecclesiastical documentation to pursue this line adequately. A more detailed effort to do so is found in B.S. Allam's Masters thesis "Bishop Grimes: His Context and Contribution to the Catholic Church in Canterbury" (1968). Allam examines the tensions at the time of Grimes's appointment, and the campaign against the English in the *Tablet*. It is rather light on the internal tensions within the Christchurch diocese, failing to pick up the conflict of East and West Coasts, Bishop Grimes's difficulties in manning his diocese and the problems that this led to. One conspicuous gap in these studies is the lack of solid work on Archbishop Redwood who it seems to me, is of great importance in the story of the early Catholic Church in New Zealand.
One particularly useful publication was the jubilee edition of St. Patrick's College, Wellington, A Record of Fifty Years, 1885-1935, (1935). This contains an excellent record of the early days of the longest-surviving Catholic college in New Zealand, and an invaluable appendix of all the pupils of the first fifty years, their birth-place and years at the college. Unfortunately only 250 copies of A Record were printed and it is now a collector's item.

Material available on West Coast history is abundant but a question mark hangs over the authenticity of much of it. The indispensable starting point is the work of M. McCaskill and P. R. May.

McCaskill's fullest treatment is to be found in his doctoral thesis "The Historical Geography of Westland Before 1914" (1960). This is the most comprehensive study of the human geography of the region and includes detailed breakdowns of the population by country of origin, sex and age structure from the earliest settlements to the turn of the century. Some of this material also appears in McCaskill's essay, "The Gold Rush Population of Westland" in the New Zealand Geographer (1955-6), and in the essay, "The South Island Goldfields in the 1860's: Some Geographical Aspects" in a collection of essays entitled Land and Livelihood (1962). The West Coast Gold Rushes (1962) is the most substantial of P. R. May's works and after some pre-history centres on the peak period of the goldrushes, 1864-6. It includes detailed description of the discovery and settlement of the various diggings, the type of settlers that established themselves there and the political and social institutions that grew up to accommodate this influx. There are also good descriptions of the different mining techniques. May is also editor of a collection of essays on West Coast history, Miners and Militants (1975) that explore various aspects of Coast political history up till 1918. Essays which proved relevant to this study were May's "The Separation of Westland, 1865-7", B.J. Conradson's "County and Province 1868-76"; and J. Lockwood's "Seddon and his Electorates, 1879-90".

A number of local histories have also been written. May has produced Hokitika - Goldfield's Capital (1964) and Goldtown (1970), the latter a history of the Ross goldfield including a wealth of contemporary photographs of the diggings there. Westport is dealt with simply in B. MacDonald's Westport - Struggle for Survival (1973), while the now virtually defunct township of Charleston is described in its heyday by I. Faris in Charleston, Its Rise and Decline (1941). This work contains much useful material but in parts relies heavily on questionable verbal memories.

Two specialist studies were also used in this thesis. The first was P. J. O'Farrell's Masters thesis "The Workers in Grey District Politics, 1865 -1913" (1955). The main interest of this work is the emergence of socialist militancy and trade union and labour politics in the Grey Valley area. A. V. O'Brien's Masters thesis, "Education on the Goldfields of Westland" (1966) is a comprehensive and well documented study of the rise of different types of school on the Coast and their relationships to the authorities under which they operated. I also made use of two historical research essays on the Fenian disturbances in Hokitika and Addison's Flat in 1868, the first by P. O'Connor, a student at Canterbury University, and the second by L. V. Jackman, an Otago student. Both covered much the same ground mainly from newspaper and official sources, Jackman perhaps developing more
fully the links between the military movements on the Coast and the colonial government's desire to retain the Imperial troops in New Zealand. Another view of the Addison's riot occurs in E. Locke's article "Grandfather's Irish Riot" in Islands (1973). The vivid detail and overall agreement with contemporary narrative show that this is certainly an eye-witness account, though some of the highly coloured details are open to question. Useful biographical details about many public figures in early Westland can be obtained from volume five of the *Cyclopedia of New Zealand* (1906).

Next comes a large group of centennial publications that began to appear during Westland's official centenary in 1960. Among these Westland's Golden Century 1860-1960, (1960), edited by R.A. Kay, was of some use, and in particular F. Neate's essay "The Fenian Uprising". Also worthy of comment is K.J. Clark's *Grey Valley Parish Centennial* (1971) which is simple and concise but an accurate picture of the early Catholic life of the area.

Two volumes of historical reminiscences that should be mentioned are H.W. Harper's *Letters from New Zealand* (1914) and A.D. Dobson's *Reminiscences of A. Dudley Dobson* (1930) both of which include perceptive eye-witness accounts of West Coast life from seasoned and shrewd travellers.

Finally a word about a class of local history that contains interesting material but where unfortunately little sifting has been done to sort historical fact and interpretation from folk mythology. A.J. Harrop's *The Romance of Westland* (1923), E.J. Lord's *Old Westland* (1939), E. Matthews's *Yesterdays in Golden Buller* (1957) and M. Tracy's *West Coast Yesterdays* (1960) all fall in this group. Each gives a fascinating introduction into a world where events and characters seem so much larger than life but where the kernel is the husk of later legend.