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‘The New Zealand Tablet: The Moran Years, 1873-1895’

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A thesis submitted for the degree of
Master of Arts
at the University of Otago,
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The New Zealand Tablet from 1873-1895

This thesis is a social history which investigates the role of the New Zealand Tablet as a reflection of colonial Catholic society, and its application as a tool of social control in the years 1873-1895. It includes a history of the paper's establishment and development under the direction of its founder editor, the Right Rev. Dr. Patrick Moran, the first Catholic Bishop of the diocese of Dunedin in the provincial capital of Otago, New Zealand.

This thesis focuses on Moran's views on issues of the day including social attitudes and values of Irish Catholicism which survived relocation through migration, Catholic women in the church and society, and changes in advertising and leisure activities. Moran was renowned for his energetic building programme and his unsuccessful struggle for state funding for Catholic schools, both of which have been more extensively documented elsewhere.
PREFACE

Newspaper culture in New Zealand, a relatively unexplored topic, is rich in sources for the study of social history, and it is hoped that this dissertation will encourage future students of history to further research in this area.

Religious newspapers have been particularly neglected as a reference for the history of the church within a colonial society. Editorial selection of content and commentary unconsciously mirror the environment and thought of the times. While the religious press may not have freely invited the views of its readers it nonetheless reflected what they were encouraged to believe, demonstrating the influence of their faith on matters secular and pragmatic.

I am grateful to both the Most Reverend Dr. Leonard Boyle and the Very Reverend Monsignor Peter Mee for their interest and co-operation in this project. Ready access to photographs held in the Dunedin Diocesan archives and the privilege of undertaking most of this work on site at the Bishop’s residence enhanced the enjoyment of, and eased, my task enormously.

I am grateful to both Sister Mary Duchesne, RSM and Lily Kemp, as well as Pat McCormack of the Tablet Printing Company for their attention to my more pragmatic needs.

To my supervisors I express my sincere appreciation for their critical and tactful assistance: Dr. Dorothy Page for her scholarly wisdom and astute perception and Dr. Judy Bennett whose honest cynicism gave me the courage to express many of my conclusions.
To all those helpful librarians at Holy Cross College, the Catholic Pastoral Centre, the Hewitson Library of Knox Theological College, the University of Otago Central library, but particularly David McDonald of the Hocken Library I extend my thanks.

To my partner Dr. Sue Court, without whose encouragement, support, final proofing and computer sophistication I would never have discovered the rewards of historical study and research, let alone have completed this task.
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INTRODUCTION

The New Zealand Tablet,\(^1\) was first published on Saturday 3 May 1873 as a weekly bulletin to serve the needs of an expanding number of Irish Catholics settled within a predominantly Protestant, Scottish and English settler community of colonial Otago. The founder-editor, the Most Reverend Patrick Moran DD, first Bishop of Dunedin, recognised the need for a vehicle to publicise issues of concern to Catholics that were at variance with, or deemed inappropriate, to the secular press. Moran, dissatisfied with the local secular newspapers which had ceased to publish his critical opinions of government policies, especially those related to education, created his own platform to disseminate his views and concerns.\(^2\) The Tablet began as a weekly publication with a national distribution and boasted this level of performance until 1996. Although the Tablet is one of the earliest publications of its class in Australasia, and the first in New Zealand serving as a vehicle for religious concerns and information for Catholics, it also played a politically active role and articulated the social attitudes and values of the time.\(^3\)

The nineteenth century witnessed the emergence of the fourth estate as access to the written word became the right of every man, woman and child in the English-speaking world. Following the British Education Act of 1870,

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\(^1\) Hereinafter referred to as the Tablet unless there is a possible confusion with the Tablet of London or Dublin.

\(^2\) The Tablet relates that in a sermon at St. Joseph's Cathedral Moran railed against the injustices of the provincial system of education, committed to an 'undenominational' school system. He stated that since the local press was against Catholics he wished to have his own journal. New Zealand Tablet, 3 May 1923 p.5.

\(^3\) From 1866 the Presbyterian church made several unsuccessful attempts but it was 1880 before the New Zealand Presbyterian was published. G.H. Scholfield, Newspapers in New Zealand, Newspaper Proprietors Association, Wellington, 1958, p.258.
universal education at primary level began to produce a new literate society, which no longer had to rely for news on the informal intelligence network of the local public house or coffee shop. The age of literacy enhanced a demand for knowledge and the press enjoyed a monopoly on the reflection of the views of a society as a whole and its rapid dissemination.

Members of the Otago settler society were a product of the new literate Victorian society who thirsted for news, views and entertainment. Victorian society created the popular press, which included class circulations or genres of denominational, moral, political and educational issues. Churches, temperance organizations and movements such as the Chartists joined with daily newspapers and Victorian 'penny dreadfuls' to educate, inform and amuse the literate, they did so almost exclusively through the medium of journalism and the printed word. In their history of the nineteenth-century press in Victorian Britain Shattock and Wolff suggest that 'the first generation of city dwellers were also the first generation of newspaper readers.... The press in all its manifestations became during the Victorian period, the context in which people lived and worked and thought, and from which they derived their (in most cases quite new) sense of the outside world'.

The Tablet was but one of innumerable publications which contributed to the explosion of the Victorian press in England and its colonies. While the impact of the new literacy travelled with the colonial settlers to the New World, it can be argued that it held an even greater importance for those distanced from their familiar environment. The press served as a vehicle to retain links with old world cultures and values in succeeding generations. It may even be argued that it delayed the development of a national identity in

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colonial societies and perpetuated and entrenched many views and prejudices beyond those of their time and place of origin. Particularly in relation to its strong Irish content, this was true of the Tablet.

Shattock and Wolff argue that 'scholars writing about particular movements in Victorian politics or literature, or crucial episodes in Victorian science or religion search out the periodicals most relevant to their topic. Yet for the press as a whole, they appear to have little choice except to be satisfied with a casual glancing knowledge'. They argue that the sheer bulk is seen as too unwieldy for any broader or deeper study and speculate that writers are still too busy exploring the specifics to see the implications of the phenomenon as a whole. They see an emerging need for a more general study of the press as part of an essential resource for the study of Victorian society. The press represents and articulates what was ordinary about Victorian Britain as the first modern urbanizing society. This was also true of colonial societies. The local press faithfully reflected the culture, education and entertainment enjoyed by settlers. With this purpose in mind the present study endeavours to satisfy the need for such a scrutiny by an analysis of the Tablet.

In Otago, Roman Catholics formed a minority population cohort in a frontier society but grew to become a significant section of the work force, particularly in Dunedin. Initially Dunedin was a society numbering few Catholics and even fewer Irish, deemed unsuitable for a controlled settlement plan originating in the Free Church of Scotland. The discovery of gold led to an influx of Irish Catholics seeking their fortunes in the gold diggings of Central Otago. This sudden expansion of Irish Catholics contravened all plans and aspirations for a controlled balanced British settlement, designed by the New

5. ibid
Zealand Company to replicate an ideal British society in its furthermost outpost of the Empire.  

Otago remained a province dominated by Protestant Scots who brought entrenched religious suspicions of any denomination which did not claim its origins in either 'Wee Free' church autonomy or Presbyterianism. Neither did other denominations escape their discrimination. Anglicans were tolerated, Evangelists ignored, but Catholics, and particularly Irish Catholics, were despised as the flotsam of a shiftless race of 'ne'er-do-wells'. Political and religious differences created prejudices, and historians have differed in their views of the levels of prejudice. Patrick O'Farrell, who has compared the Irish Catholic communities in New Zealand and Australia, argues that the substantially larger population of Catholic Irish settling in Australia consciously retained its national identity. Its exclusivity, forming a political threat to its Protestant neighbours, created a ghetto mentality that did not exist in New Zealand. Bernard Cadogan's history dissertation makes a similar but unconvincing claim for an absence of Irish or Catholic marginalization, attributing this to the relative lack of a Jesuit presence in the development of New Zealand Catholicism. Contrary to these views, Richard Davis describes the strong cohesion of New Zealand Irish Catholics as a social group and argues furthermore that little has changed since the nineteenth century, that issues

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[Victoria University].

1. Between 1855-1864 the number of Catholics rose from 140 in a population of 7,000 to 7,500 Catholics in a population of 57,000. Hugh Laracy, 'Moran, Patrick 1823?-1895', The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, vol. 2, 1870-1900, Bridget Williams Books and Department of Internal Affairs Wellington, 1993, pp.333-335.


4. Bernard Francis Cadogan, 'Lace Curtain Catholics. The Catholic Bourgeoisie of the Diocese of
continue to smoulder below the surface. The Tablet's divisive editorial policy fostered and reinforced attitudes of religious and political persecution. New Zealand Irish Catholics demonstrated this ghetto mentality and a persecution complex in their obedience to and support of their bishop.

The sporadic and scattered settlement patterns of both New Zealand and Australia may well have intensified the pattern of behaviour described by O'Farrell and Davis. The faith of the colonists required an Irish Bishop and a Catholic newspaper if they were not to defect from their religious commitment. Many in urban areas faced discrimination by employers and work mates. Their rural counterparts faced spiritual deprivation from intermittent visitation and priestly ministration by clergy travelling enormous distances within their ever shifting, sparsely populated and sprawling parishes.12

A general study of the Tablet as a class, or specialist, religious publication of the colonial Victorian press provides valuable perceptions of this segment of the population in colonial society. Many scholars and students have cited the publication extensively, as a reference for New Zealand history, but only piecemeal. It has never in itself been the subject of scrutiny for its direction on, or reflection of, the views, values, life styles and activities of the Catholic laity for whom it was published. Neither has it been studied as a specific historical source, political and social, nor as a model of ideological and theological argument.

A closer scrutiny of the Tablet's vitriolic editorials reveals political issues, which Moran viewed mainly from their effect on education; he frequently directed the

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12. Bishop Moran's personal diaries are valuable indicators of the long distances that the clergy travelled by coach or on horseback, between and within parishes.
stance that its readers must take in their 'choice' of action. Moran fought passionately for the Catholic right to denominational education and in so doing opposed vehemently the use of the protestant bible in the public school system. He also challenged government policies on land monopolies and practices which discriminated against the immigration of Irish Catholics to New Zealand. Commentaries on women, Maori and Chinese, singularly lacking in Christian charity, expressed attitudes prevalent in colonial society.

Historians, preoccupied with topical and political data from editorial leaders of newspapers, have overlooked a large body of material pertaining to leisure activities, every day interests, opinions, achievements, and women's role in society. These areas, upon which this study focuses, were marginalised in the Tablet for many years. Much later than Moran's era did publications became more eclectic in serving the interests of its readers, catering more for local matters which occupied the interests and pastimes of its readers rather than the political concerns of its writers. From its inception advertisements, obituaries, school breakup ceremonies, book and entertainment reviews, and to a limited degree, sporting activities, reveal changing social values, attitudes and practices. In its accounts of these activities the Tablet embodies an invaluable assortment of changes in an emergent society.

The early Tablet both directed and reflected changes in values as perceived by the Catholic church in a Victorian society. Moran's editorship reveals a cultural separatism by the perpetuation of a supply of Irish-born religious, the marginalising of women, the denigrating of Maori and Chinese, and an antagonism (albeit reciprocal) towards Protestants. The education issue dominated Moran's era as bishop from 1871 to 1895. In a fragile economy Moran's successor, Bishop Verdon, by contrast, conceded the need for social services to relieve the poverty of a destitute working class population of Irish
immigrants and their descendants, and also for a seminary to provide a home-grown New Zealand clergy.

This dissertation focuses on the two basic functions of the Tablet. As a tool of social control it was the purveyor of content imposed upon its readers by editorial direction. As a mirror on society it reflected the lifestyle, activities and attitudes of its readers. A general overview of the development of the Victorian press in Britain and a more specific focus on the religious, and in particular the Catholic press, provides the journalistic context within which to evaluate the Tablet as a model of colonial religious publication.

Chapter one presents a history of the Tablet as a weekly periodical published by a privately owned company and its expansion into the fully operational printing and publishing house that it is today. Editorial and managerial changes and policies, marketing and distribution operations, controversies, oppositions and obstacles, successes and developments are recorded.

Chapter two provides a biographical cameo of the founding editor, Bishop Patrick Moran. His Irish background, his South African connections, his relationships with the local clergy and the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith contribute to a personal profile and help to explain the editorial policies of a man justifiably eulogised for his leadership and achievements but unwilling to compromise or accommodate to changing policies and circumstances, has been ignored by writers. His editorial influence presents the Tablet as being as much, if not more, Irish than Catholic.

Chapter three identifies digressions from the original objectives of the Tablet. It also places the paper in its historical context within European history and Irish politics. The prolix style and content of the Tablet typifies a verbose
sarcasm and innuendo commonly practised by Victorian journalists. The substantial advertising content conforms to Alan J. Lee’s argument based on Marxist ideology. Lee argues that editorial policy focused on ownership media, directs the quality and content of its supply. Only to a lesser extent did the Tablet adopt the Tocquevillian approach of determining the educational and literary levels of its readers by meeting their demand. Central to the dialectic argument of this study, this chapter illustrates the degree of social control exercised through the Tablet by the content of the paper. Moran’s ongoing fight for government-funded Catholic schools has already been documented extensively but without discussion of the consequences of this intransigence.\(^\text{13}\) Despite the Tablet’s claim to an apolitical stance, ecclesiastical interests wove an intimate relationship with domestic and national politics. Theological argument and such issues as immigration policies and Irish nationalism represent numerous determinants which emanated from his didactic pen. When debating an issue previously published in the secular press Moran invariably stated the church’s stance without addressing alternative or opposing viewpoints.

Chapter four mirrors social attitudes, many shared by colonials in general as well as Catholics. It reveals discrimination towards Catholics, particularly Irish Catholics, but also discrimination by Catholics towards non-British migrants.

Chapter five develops an antithesis by reflecting the differing requirements, activities and interests of an evolving society. Development of this theme looks at the people who were conspicuous by their absence in the earliest days of the Tablet. The emergence of women in later issues is reflected indirectly and only through accounts of their activities, many disapproving. Obituaries reflect the

perceived importance of the life hereafter over that of earthly achievement. Extensive advertising content has already reflected aspects of health, welfare, spending and leisure.

Chapter six illustrates the reflective function of the *Tablet*. Leisure was a limited commodity in a frontier society; thus organised sport reporting came late to the *Tablet*, as to the colonial press in general. Organized picnics and amateur athletic meetings were as popular with the Catholic community as they were with their Protestant counterparts. Early editions of the *Tablet* displayed an avid interest in the performing arts and reviewed theatre, opera and chamber music concerts. Later issues focused on more pragmatic accounts of amateur performances for fundraising purposes and school concerts. Heavily advertised horse racing events of early publications disappeared along with the performing arts. *Tablet* fiction was heavily moralistic and biased towards Catholic religion and Irish politics.

It could be argued that the *Tablet* imposed a form of social control rather than operating within the new liberalism of newspapers as educators of their readers.\(^{14}\) Editorial influence on the *Tablet* provided an excellent tool for conscious social control, but permitted only an inadvertent reflection of the characteristics of its readers through its advertising content.

CHAPTER ONE

Fiat Justitia: The origins of the New Zealand Tablet

An analysis of widely circulated printed matter determines the degree to which the content serves as either, or both, a tool for social control, or as a reflector of the character and interest of its readers. Newspaper historians hold divergent opinions on the degrees of direction and compliance of the print culture. Both Louis Billington, and Virginia Berridge, in their essays in *The Press in English Society from the Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries*, argue that the newspaper functions as a passive reflector of its readers' moods, needs and interests.¹ Michael Harris and Alan Lee, joint editors of *The Press in English Society from the Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries* take an opposing view when they describe the role of a newspaper as a 'process rather than a passive reflector of the existing social order', helping to define and integrate communities around dominant social and economic groups.² The *New Zealand Tablet* as a weekly religious publication fulfils both of these functions to varying degrees.

As a periodical serving one particular section of the community bonded in common by the beliefs, practices and interests of Catholicism, the *Tablet* also qualifies as a 'class' newspaper. In her essay on editing four decades of the women's magazine, the *Queen*, Charlotte Watkins defines a class journal as one


² Michael Harris, *The Press in English Society from the Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries*, Michael Harris and Alan Lee, eds., pp.21-23.
'designed to meet the special interests of a particular segment of the reading public'.³ But when the Guardian described the New Zealand Tablet as a 'class' publication Moran chose to misunderstand this term, protesting that the Tablet was published to represent a community made up not of one class but of various classes of people.⁴ With Watkin's definition in mind, the New Zealand Tablet is viewed as a 'class' newspaper, serving the interests of a particular segment of the population, the Irish Catholic community. From the perspective of Harris and Watkins the New Zealand Tablet, by virtue of its selective content, participated in the active process of social order. Billington and Berridge might argue that it was a passive reflector of beliefs, values and pursuits of colonial Irish Catholics.

The New Zealand Tablet, shared the characteristics of other religious publications of other times and places. Billington, writing of nineteenth-century England, claims that evangelical churches utilised the press to defend their political rights, claim or restrict freedoms and challenge social injustice or public order.⁵ Thomas O'Malley finds the same characteristics in the press of an earlier period. In his essay on religion and the newspaper press he argues that 'religious groups that refused to conform to the Church of England regarded the newspaper press as an active and influential mechanism in society'. From the civil war period of the 1640s and into the 1690s religion was a constant theme of the newspaper press.⁶ In the 1770s there existed only a handful of religious magazines, limited in both price and range, but a century later they numbered in the hundreds. A profusion of sects, denominations, religious societies and

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⁴ The New Zealand Tablet, 3 Jan 1874, pp.5-6.
pressure groups published periodicals varying in format, content, price and 'audience'. The tone of these early religious magazines was polemic, with doctrinal articles—sermons, biographies, obituaries, revival news, poetry, book reviews and 'snippets'—but no secular news. They provided spiritual guidance, education, and religious news. For the religious activist they provided a platform for the defence of political rights, claiming or restricting freedoms, challenging social injustice and public disorder. For those of milder disposition they promoted a religious awakening and affirmation of faith. The task here is to determine the degree to which the New Zealand Tablet as a Catholic newspaper, conformed to, and fulfilled these functions.

By means of an analysis of the content and a scrutiny of the style and function of the New Zealand Tablet, we can evaluate its role as a determining influence on historical and sociological developments among Catholics in New Zealand in general and Otago in particular.

The New Zealand Tablet emulated the appearance and layout of the British Tablet, established in 1840. However being Irish as well as Catholic the New Zealand Tablet did not always agree with the policies of its role model. In 1886 the New Zealand Tablet, describing the British Tablet as 'that pious yet malignant enemy of English Catholic minority,' accused it of holding anti-Irish and anti-Home Rule sentiments.

The New Zealand Tablet emerged in a period when the Victorian press in England was undergoing rapid expansion resulting from significant legislative and technological changes. The Education Act of 1870, building on earlier

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8. The New Zealand Tablet, 5 Mar 1886, p.17.
legislation, brought literacy to the British working classes. The abolition of the Advertisement Tax in 1853, followed by the removal of the Stamp duty and the Paper duty, improved news access to the common people. These developments were crucial to the emergence of the cheap religious newspaper. It was no longer necessary to rely on an oral rendition of news from papers read aloud in public houses, and it became illegal for public houses to purchase newspapers for this purpose. The supply of newspapers to meet new demands increased circulation, bringing affordable newspapers and periodicals to a newly literate society. The nineteenth century expansion of railroads facilitated dissemination and distribution of the press and superseded the need for shared telegraphic facilities, thus enabling new and varied news presentations. In short, periodicals disseminated information to almost every interest group or organization in the nineteenth century. Newspapers enjoyed a relative freedom and fulfilled 'inspirational, informative and integrating' functions. It was this literary tradition which the colonial settlers brought with them to the New World and to New Zealand.

The New Zealand Tablet was not only Catholic but was also a popular publication enjoying a national distribution. It came from a heritage of a strong tradition of periodicals, newspapers and other literature dedicated to the promotion of the faith and the defence of the political rights of Catholics in Britain and particularly Ireland. The struggle for Catholic emancipation occurring in 1829, and the defence of the nonconformist rights of religious liberty had produced many short-lived publications in Britain. Early ventures like the British Tablet had collapsed and were only revived with the re-establishment of the Catholic hierarchy in 1850. The Oxford Movement which stimulated

militant anti-Catholic literature, provoked the Catholic church to renew efforts to defend itself against these attacks through an invigorated Catholic press.\textsuperscript{12} In 1851 Pope Pius IX stated that providence had given a great mission to the Catholic Press, to preserve the principles of order and faith and to propagate them. In an 1853 Encyclical he also urged Catholics to ‘assist with all good-will and favour, those men ... who are publishing books and journals for the defence and propagation of Catholic doctrine’. Pope Leo XIII endorsed this policy when, blaming bad press for the deplorable state of society, he exhorted Catholic authors to exert their powers for its salvation.\textsuperscript{13}

Editors of Catholic publications in nineteenth-century England tended to emerge from one of two backgrounds. One group of papers was those derived from the initiative of the publisher, while literary gentlemen, as self-appointed editors, produced a more elite class, using the publisher as a mere agent. Those in the printing trade, wealthy lay proprietors and members of the clergy functioning as editors, and in many cases proprietors as well, reflected their involvement by the content and bias of their papers. This second category of Catholic editors catered for a more élite and better educated reader. A third group of clerical owner-editors developed to promote the Catholic Enlightenment but eventually bowed to emergent Ultramontane publications beginning with the Dublin Review in 1836.\textsuperscript{14}

The British Tablet, despite its historical setting, lays dubious claim to being ‘the oldest Catholic Paper in Great Britain’. When established in 1840, the British Tablet described its role as a publication which included original articles upon

\textsuperscript{11} Harris, \textit{The Press in English Society}, p.108.
\textsuperscript{13} New Zealand Tablet, 4 Jan 1895, p.23.
political, social, artistic, educational and religious questions, and reviews of home and foreign literature. An early Auckland correspondent described the *New Zealand Tablet* as ‘the prototype [sic] of the English Tablet’. In 1870, when Moran set sail for New Zealand to become the first bishop of the Dunedin diocese, still a widely dispersed frontier society including the whole of Otago and Southland, the British Tablet was concerning itself with reports of the Vatican Council and special treatment of the Anglican Movement.

The British Tablet was one of the later publications within the first class of lay Catholic newspapers published and edited by their proprietors. In 1840 Frederick Lucas, a convert from Quakerism, founded the Tablet with the financial backing of two leather merchants. In 1841 he went into partnership with a Protestant printer named Cox. Lucas’ vigorous support for the Irish and an over enthusiasm for Catholic claims offended many, including Cox. In 1842 their paths separated, with Lucas continuing the paper under the title of the True Tablet, in opposition to Cox’s Tablet. With the advantage of the original subscriber list plus a growing support from both Irish and English Catholics Lucas won the day over his opposition and the True Tablet having defeated its rival, reverted to its original title of the Tablet in 1843. As Lucas’ support for Irish nationalism increased, his English subscribers diminished and he moved his Tablet to Dublin in 1849. The Tablet remained there until his death in 1855 when the it returned to a London base. Changing its politics to Toryism the Tablet earned the support of Cardinal Wiseman but later conflicted with the more moderate Manning. Herbert Vaughan edited the paper as a vehicle for the high Ultramontane position of the First Vatican Council until 1872, when he became bishop and subsequently cardinal. The Tablet then returned to lay redaction consolidating its position as a

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'solid, temperate and politically conservative journal'.

In 1860 Cardinal Wiseman was also instrumental in the establishment of the popular newspaper, the *Universe*, one of the many Catholic publications to emerge during this period. The *Universe* operated in close cooperation with its Ultramontane French counterpart, *l'Univers*. The last great Catholic paper to be established was the *Catholic Herald* in 1884. As an inspiration of Cardinal Manning, this paper promoted the cause for Catholic industrial democracy. It too, provoked controversy from some of its editorials. Excerpts from many of these publications appeared in the *New Zealand Tablet* from time to time and Moran disagreed as often as he agreed on many issues.

Josef Althoz concludes his account of the redaction of Catholic periodicals by stating that 'The Catholic press was not much different in kind from other denominations, except perhaps for the tendency of its journals to become the organs of parties within the church'.

The suppression of civil, religious and political rights of Catholics, nationally and internationally, provided a variety of content, invoking a vigorous defence of their beliefs and principles. It will be seen that Bishop Moran's role as the founder editor of the *New Zealand Tablet* followed similar patterns to those of many of his predecessors.

When evaluating the influence of the news media on society, newspaper historians and sociologists apply the methodology of content analysis and historical research. Within this genre are embodied two basic techniques, quantitative analysis and qualitative analysis. As the ideal, Berridge suggests an

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amalgam of the sociologist’s objective, scientific, statistical analysis, with the stylistic, literary, linguistic and what she terms the more impressionistic, examination of the historian. Few historians however would agree with this view. She considers that combining the quantitative method with the more traditional literary and stylistic examination provides a means of penetrating latent meanings and patterns of newspapers to reveal the perceptions and consciousness of newspaper readers.¹⁹

Earlier newspaper analyses have concentrated on various sections of content, mainly editorial opinions on specific issues, with shifts in focus demonstrating editorial selectivity and only indirectly reflecting the concerns and interests of its readers. A broader conception and a sophisticated ideological analysis of the role of the newspaper in society has superseded this selective approach. Berridge for example applied her method of analysis to argue the widening gap in interests between working class and the emergent middle class of nineteenth century Britain. A similar study of the New Zealand Tablet identifies its role in Catholic society from the 1870s to the 1890s.

Emerging from this extensive background of the British Catholic press, the New Zealand Tablet became the first of many religious class publications in New Zealand.²⁰ Names of subscribers were published from time to time and many of these also became shareholders in the Tablet Company.²¹ Its expanding circulation, with a national distribution extending into Australia, also reflects an acceptance by readers of this selected material. Although many themes would

²⁰. From 1866 the Presbyterian church made several unsuccessful attempts but it was 1880 before the New Zealand Presbyterian was published. G.H. Scholfield, Newspapers in New Zealand, Newspaper Proprietors Association, Wellington, 1958, p.258.
²¹. Names and residential districts of early shareholders form 1908 are contained in the Tablet Company archives.
be reiterated from the pulpit, reading of the *Tablet* though encouraged, was not obligatory. Readers did not enjoy alternatives to the content selected at the sole discretion of their bishop for this unique publication.

Many of the Irish-born working class migrants were illiterate, possessing limited, if any reading and writing skills. Lee considers that the level of literacy in Ireland and Wales did not approach that of England and even less with that of Scotland. From the 1870s the new generation of New Zealanders enjoyed universal education to an elementary level. Moran recognised the growing need of a newspaper to reinforce the faith of this increasing number of literate Catholics still living in a scattered frontier society.

In the years immediately preceding the establishment of his paper Moran featured frequently and regularly in local newspaper publications on local issues, particularly education. The refusal by the local secular press to publish any further letters or columns in support of Moran's ongoing fight for the rights to funding for Catholic schools was his main reason for establishing the *Tablet*. Inherent in the Education Act of 1877 was the ethos of earlier legislation recognizing the responsibility of the state to provide for the education of its people. This act aspired to nurture a sense of national unity through an undenominational and secular education system and to obviate a plethora of small uneconomic schools. Moran saw this legislation usurping the authority and role of the church. Disregarding this legislation, the church continued to build and maintain Catholic schools, independent of any form of state assistance. For the rest of his life Moran expended his tireless energies on his quest for the right

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22. See statistics on illiteracy in Otago and Southland in chapter six, 'Playing in the World.'
24. Otago *Daily Times*, 6 Apr 1871, 20 Apr 1871, 2 May 1871, 28 May 1871, 8, 14, 16, 17, 21 Jun, 1871, 24, 25, 28 Jul 1871, 2, 3, Aug 1871,
to state funding for denominational schools and his opposition to religious instruction and bible reading in schools.25

Regardless of his stance against injustices towards the faithful, Moran's abrasive writings could in no way be described as diplomatic or conducive to cordial relationships with any who differed from his views or values. Not only the press, but also Protestant clerical colleagues, local dignitaries, civil servants and politicians featured regularly as the subject of his acerbic pen. As well as the education issue the Tablet embodied a substantial content of Irish news and politics, maintaining for its readers a strong bond with their homeland. Irish news also made a significant contribution towards the rekindling of Irish nationalism, reinforcing Cardinal Paul Cullen's dream of an Australasian Irish nation. Patrick O'Farrell attributes to Cullen, the nineteenth-century renaissance in Irish piety, following the long, dark period of famine and anarchy in Ireland.26 The Tablet quickly earned a reputation for being Irish rather than Catholic and was criticised when it reprinted from the Freeman, a four page supplement on Irish land politics.27

The New Zealand Tablet was, and continued to be published under the aphorism, 'Fiat justitia'.28 The first editorial stated the following objectives:

'to supply good reading matter to the Catholics of the Colony, to defend the Catholic principles and Catholic interests generally and to contain a large amount of interesting information useful to Catholics.'

27. New Zealand Tablet, 20 May and 15 Jul 1881.
28. Hereinafter referred to as the Tablet.
In the first editorial of 3 May 1873, the *Tablet* referred to the hostility of the public press, in the tone it used towards the Catholic church and also its calumnious references to the church and her pastors. For this reason Moran considered it incumbent upon Catholics to provide an antidote through the medium of their own publication. The editorial stated that ‘the tone of the *Tablet* would be eminently loyal and respectful to the “grand old Church.” Its highest honour and ambition was to proclaim and defend her principles and to refute calumnies directed against her, her Head and her ministers’. While religion and the interests of the church came first, the *Tablet* would not overlook or neglect the civil interests of society. Moran reiterated that its overall objective was to defend what was true and good in the sacred cause of justice. ‘The *New Zealand Tablet* will not ally itself with any party and although it will freely discuss political principles and measures, it will always consider them on their merits and not from the point of view of the party.’

The paper operated as a registered commercial company, employing professional journalists and printers under the watchful eye of its editor, Bishop Moran. Forming a company to run the paper, Blackett-Sharp, a West Coast lawyer, drew up the articles of the association. Incorporated under the Joint Stock Companies Act, the first prospectus of the New Zealand Tablet Company Ltd published a capital of £1500 in £1 shares. The provisional directors of were Messrs Scanlon and Bunney, with Connor as ‘printing expert’, and Moran as chairman. It also listed an expanded directorship to include Connor as manager, Bridger as secretary, Fleming as treasurer and in addition, Messrs Reany, Grogan, Murphy, Loughnan, Bunny, and Dr. O’Donoghue. A later account relates that it was Ignatius and Robert Loughnan who requested

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<th>Business Notices</th>
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<td><strong>CHINESE FANCY GOODS AND TOY SHOP</strong></td>
<td><strong>BLACKSMITH, HOSSSHORE, WHEEL-WRIGHT AND WAGGON BUILDER</strong></td>
<td><strong>JAMES KENNEDY, THE MINERS' AND TRADESMEN'S BOOTMAKER</strong></td>
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<td><strong>J. ROBERTS, HOUSE AND ESTATE AGENT, VALUATOR, SHAREBREAKER, &amp;c., Corner of Princes and Walker Streets.</strong></td>
<td><strong>J. MILLER, AUCTIONEER, VALUATOR, and GENERAL SALESMAN.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Next Gridiron Hotel, Princes Street.</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>THOS. J. HART, FAMILY AND DISPENSING CHEMIST, Princes Street South.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Dr. A. J. THOMSON, M.B., C.M.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Joseph Reany, Saddler, Collar and Harness Maker.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>JAMES WALKER, BLACKSMITH, HOSSSHORE, WHEEL-WRIGHT AND WAGGON BUILDER, Prince Street South, Opposite Market Reserve.</strong></td>
<td><strong>CLYDE.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Batray Street.</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>COALS! COALS!! COALS!!! LOOK OUT FOR THE WINTER! A FRESH SHIPMENT JUST LANDING.</strong></td>
<td><strong>THE DUNEDIN PICTURE GALLERY, George street.</strong></td>
<td><strong>W. NEALE.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AMBROSE CHIARONI, Proprietor, Importer of Chrome-Lithographs and Oleographs, Picture Frames, Prints, &amp;c.</strong></td>
<td><strong>AMBROSE CHIPPERFIELD, WALKER STREET, DUNEDIN, Proprietor of the Patent Revolving Barrel Chair, for which he was awarded First Prize Silver Medal at the Otago Agricultural and Pastoral Association, 1872. And also Silver Medal for Dairy Utensils, etc.</strong></td>
<td><strong>BY SPECIAL APPOINTMENT.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MAX. MONDERSHAUSEN, WHOLESALE AND RETAIL TOBACCO-Importer of Havana Cigars, Opposite the Monument, Princes Street.</strong></td>
<td><strong>J. MARTIN. FASHIONABLE TAILOR, (Late Cutter to D. Sampson) CRITERION BUILDINGS, PRINCES ST., Dunedin.</strong></td>
<td><strong>M. FLEMING.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>L.O.K.HONG. CHINESE FANCY GOODS AND TOY SHOP, George Street.</strong></td>
<td><strong>W. SINCLAIR. TAILOR AND CLOTHING, Princes street, OPPOSITE CRITERION HOTEL.</strong></td>
<td><strong>&quot;FUNK OF FASHION&quot; DRUG BOOT-MAKER.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NOAH'S ARK STABLES, Market Street Dunedin.</strong></td>
<td><strong>H. PALMER. GENERAL MISON AND SCOUTER, South and Monumental works, (near the Cemetery) Princes Street, South. Stone Sinks, Window Sills, Chimney Pieces and Hearth Stones. Estimates given for enclosing graves. All orders punctually attended to, Designs sent to all parts of the Colony.</strong></td>
<td><strong>To His Excellency Sir George Fergusson Bowen, Governor of New Zealand.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PATEICK PUEY keeps to inform his numerous friends and the general public, that he has taken the above well known Stable, where he treats by solicitude and attention to merit the favors so liberally bestowed on his predecessor. Good Board and Lodging.</strong></td>
<td><strong>G. XUNRO'S Monumental Works, George Street, Dunedin.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Who makes my boots so trim and neat, Who gives such comfort to my feet, Whose sole is free from all deceit? Way, Fleming. The Pink's the sweetest flower that blows From vulgar mounds a wall a-rise, When Chysanthemum Queen healed my tons, M. Fleming.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>COMMERCIAL DRY-VEST &amp; LETTING STABLES, High Street, Dunedin.</strong></td>
<td><strong>WANTED—Known—I have opened a Shop in George Street, near the Octagon, for the Repair of all kinds of Sewing Machines. Any description of light Engineering work done, or models made. All orders promptly attended to, WILLIAM MELVILLE, Engineer. (Late of the Golden Age.)</strong></td>
<td><strong>With emotion of Pilgrim to the Goal Of &quot;Desmond's Stough&quot; I used to stroll, But Fleming ran to save my soul. Thanks, Fleming.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GREY SCOTT. Proprietor. Ever so good as seen, He always sets your feet on their own.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>MICHAEL FLEMING.</strong></td>
</tr>
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|mast-head of the first issue of the New Zealand Tablet.
permission from Moran to establish the newspaper that he [Moran] wanted.\textsuperscript{21} The bankers were the Union Bank of Australia.\textsuperscript{32}

J.J. Connor Junior of Wellington gives an anecdotal and differing account of the establishment of the \textit{Tablet}. Connor relates how his father, a master printer, published and distributed Moran's announcement in leaflet form, when the local press refused to publish his letters. Connor, conferring almost daily with Moran, claims his father turned to Moran and said, 'My Lord, your efforts will never be truly successful until you have a paper of your own'. 'Mr. Connor', said the Bishop, 'do you mean it? Could it be done?' With the approval of the bishop, Connor, first spending 'many weeks of anxious thought and months of arduous organization of a thousand and one details', travelled throughout the back-blocks and goldfields as far as Skippers canyon to canvass support for the paper. 'Almost one year from the time of his discussion with the Bishop Mr. Connor handed the first number of the N.Z.\textit{Tablet} to his Lordship'.\textsuperscript{33}

The publishing firm of Mills, Dick and Company, Stafford Street, Dunedin, printed the early issues of the \textit{Tablet}. Jolly and Connor, to become Woodfield and Jolly of the Octagon, Dunedin, in October 1877 succeeded them in 1878.\textsuperscript{34} The firm imported new and 'elegant' specimens of type, both English and American, and the latest improved machinery which enabled them to offer all kinds of letter-press printing.\textsuperscript{35} The \textit{Tablet} appointed as advertising agent, the firm of Macedo, booksellers of Princes Street Dunedin and authorised the poet

\textsuperscript{30} \textit{New Zealand Tablet}, 3 May 1923, p.5.  
\textsuperscript{31} \textit{New Zealand Tablet}, 3 May 1923, p.17.  
\textsuperscript{32} \textit{New Zealand Tablet}, 17 May 1873, p.14.  
\textsuperscript{33} \textit{New Zealand Tablet}, 3 May 1923, p.17.  
\textsuperscript{34} Woodfield and Jolly admitted J.J. O'Connor, formerly overseer in the machine dept of Mills Dick and Company, to the firm which then became Woodfield, Jolly and Company.  
\textsuperscript{35} \textit{New Zealand Tablet}, 2 Dec 1879, p.12.
Thomas Bracken to sell shares, collect subscriptions and obtain advertisements throughout the province of Otago. By 1875 subscription distributions included Taradale, Wellington, Upper Hutt, Lawrence, Shotover, Nelson, Parnell, Auckland, Coromandel and Rangitikei. From 1888 the Tablet was published on Wednesdays instead of Thursdays so that it would reach Wellington and West Coast readers by Saturday.

Mr. Williamson from the Otago Daily Times served as sub-editor and secretary with no staff other than a band of 'willing helpers' who on publication day helped with posting, accounting and correspondence. Once the paper was established, the Tablet employed John Dungan from Melbourne as editor and secretary. Williamson departed to 'pastures new' and John F. Perrin succeeded Dungan, followed in quick succession by Father Lynch who later became a Redemptorist missionary. Contrary to these changes, when restating its objective to publish 'first of all, and above all, a thoroughly Catholic paper', the Tablet claimed that at the completion of its fifteenth year of publication, it had undergone no change in literary staff since its inception.

Moran continued to write the leaders and kept 'a wary eye on all things pertaining to the paper'. Even after the appointment of 'experienced and well-read' editors, Moran continued to spend every Wednesday afternoon supervising all material, including that submitted by the editor. When criticised for repeatedly denouncing 'tyranny, oppression and plunder', the Tablet stated that it could not change since 'its colours were nailed to the mast by the venerable Bishop of Dunedin ... and as long as the Tablet had life they would

36. New Zealand Tablet, 10 May 1873, p.8.
37. New Zealand Tablet, 6 Mar 1875, p.3.
38. New Zealand Tablet, 24 Feb 1888, p.17.
DUBLIN.

R W cities in the world are more favorably respected of than is the Irish capital one of whose leading streets forms the subject of our illustration this week. Art has contributed much to render the town attractive, for its public buildings are remarkable for their beauty, and those quarters in which are situated the residences of the more wealthy citizens are generally handsomely designed. But much as art has done towards the enrichment of the metropolis in question Nature has accomplished still greater wonders of Wicklow, the whole terminating in the bold promontory of Bray. But hardly might the brush of the painter, much less the pen of the writer, depict the grandeur of the landscape—its wondrous coloring, especially if it be at the season when the heather blooms and the mountains are dyed as crimson from summit to base.

Where else shall be found a city from whence such charming scenes may be gained, not only by a drive but even by a walk of no exceeding length? An hour by rail and sea-side cliffs are reached, where the descent of the crowded streets may be terminated by tanks, bordered on one side by the scent of the green blooms and immemorial wild hill flowers, while in the waves dashing against the rocks hundreds of feet below where the

A newer mast-head of the New Zealand Tablet.
remained. During his last year when a failing Moran read the Tablet, or had it read to him, he stated that 'the policy pursued by it [the Tablet] and the manner in which it has been conducted, have met with my entire approval throughout'. Despite his failing health, Moran published his last editorial in February 1895, three months before his death.

The Tablet, published in tabloid sized newspaper format, followed the traditional practice of the Victorian press in placing advertisements on the front page, until the issue of the week 16 February 1877 when a change in format took place. Engraved illustrations replaced advertisements and the mast-head was elaborated to form an arch surrounded by New Zealand themes of mountains, ships, ferns, a church and a dog in a kennel merging with Irish themes of a bible, a harp, a tower and a Celtic cross. For a brief period the Tablet was displaying a New Zealand colonial and indeed a national identity. For some weeks to follow etchings appeared, including those of St. Peters, Rome, Dublin, Vienna, Florence, Limerick, Naples, Turin and other European capitals and centres and buildings. A portrait of the Prince and Princess of Wales heralded their forthcoming visit to New Zealand. Dr. Vaughan, Archbishop of Sydney and Pope Pius IX also appeared on the front page. Other more obscure personalities and subjects remained unexplained. One, Tom Taylor, a Scottish dramatist featured among these. The river Tiber and Westminster were among the better known locations, while Greenwich hospital would have held little significance for anyone without a naval background.

This development in presentation did not go unnoticed. The Chairman of the Board, Mr. J.J. O'Connor, reported that directors of the Tablet entertained to lunch the employees of the printing firm, Mills, Dick and Company, in

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40. New Zealand Tablet, 26 Dec 1890, p.1.
observance of the change in format and typographical expertise of Mr. Woodfield. From the issue of 24 August the Tablet reverted to the original masthead but advertising remained in the body of the paper. From May 1886 the Tablet established its own printing and publishing business, which still operates from its own premises in Crawford Street, Dunedin.

Although he chaired meetings of the Directors and edited and contributed substantially to the Tablet, Moran distanced himself publicly from the workings of the Tablet by making a practice of expressing from time to time, a formal ecclesiastic approval for the management of the Tablet. Three months into publication one anonymous reader commented that 'already this spirited little paper is bearing fruits. The desire for it is readily increasing. It is awakening in the minds of many persons a spirit of enquiry.' The first issue of the Tablet in May pre-empted by four months, approval from the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith for the publication of the paper. The Tablet published this approval dated 6 August 1873, by Cardinal Alex Barnabo. Less than a year after its inception the Tablet announced that it had received complimentary comment from as far afield as India, England and America. The Tablet gained papal approval from Leo XIII in 1878 and a friend of Moran conveyed from Rome a special Apostolic Benediction.

At the end of its first year of publication, Moran stated in his editorial that

41. New Zealand Tablet, 4 Jan 1895, p.17.
42. New Zealand Tablet, 2 Mar 1877, p.11.
43. New Zealand Tablet, 1 Nov 1873, p.6.
44. New Zealand Tablet, 16 Aug 1873, p.8.
45. New Zealand Tablet, 29 Nov 1873, p.6 and Acta S. Congregationes de Propaganda Fide, Roma, microfilm, Archives of the Catholic Diocese of Dunedin.
46. New Zealand Tablet, 14 Feb 1874, p.6.
47. New Zealand Tablet, 15 Nov 1878, pp.3-4.
education was the most important consideration, that while the Tablet would maintain a political independence, he would discuss political issues and give his verdict, irrespective of individuals or parties.\textsuperscript{48} Moran's South African background, where a degree of funding existed for all schools, reinforced his commitment to the struggle for state aid.\textsuperscript{49} From this objective Moran never wavered, and education issues dominated the paper, supporting his campaign for state funding, as well as religious and educational curricular autonomy for Catholic schools.

From its earliest days the Tablet maintained a sound financial performance. The annual meeting of twenty-one shareholders in 1877, announced a 10\% dividend.\textsuperscript{50} In 1878 the Directors of the Tablet decided to enlarge its size to include more reading matter and local news.\textsuperscript{51} Regular correspondents were appointed to send letters from Dublin, Rome, Sydney and Melbourne.\textsuperscript{52} However, six months later the Tablet was urging Catholics to make prompt payments of their accounts because the additional pages had added to production costs.\textsuperscript{53} At a time when the Evening Star was charging 3d. the Tablet's inaugural price was 6d and remained so until 1914 when it was reduced to 4d.

Moran made a clandestine but abortive attempt to take over the ownership of the Tablet in 1881. His ulterior motive leaves little need for speculation. Whether Moran coveted the proceeds from this successful enterprise, or whether he was dissatisfied with his authority limited to editorial policies, will never be known. Moran's coup took place during his absence in Rome in 1881, though obviously

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{48}] New Zealand Tablet, 25 Apr 1874, p.6.
\item[\textsuperscript{49}] New Zealand Tablet, 1 Jun 1894, p.17.
\item[\textsuperscript{50}] New Zealand Tablet, 25 May 1877, p.12.
\item[\textsuperscript{51}] New Zealand Tablet, 22 Feb 1878, p.12.
\item[\textsuperscript{52}] New Zealand Tablet, 8 Aug 1879, p.14.
\item[\textsuperscript{53}] New Zealand Tablet, 12 Jul 1878, p.3.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
set in motion prior to his departure. The first intimation was a letter from a correspondent who had surrendered his shares to the bishop, and in doing so hoped others would follow, since Moran wished to purchase the Tablet's own plant.54 The editorial of 10 February 1881 confirmed this policy of a share surrender, stating that the bishop had acknowledged his action and intended to publish names of those who had donated their shares. Shareholders met to consider Moran's proposal to have shares transferred to him personally. Chairing the meeting, Francis Meenan read out a number of letters from shareholders who had protested vigorously at Moran's proposal. The Board had previously objected to the proposal, since it was considered that it would jeopardise the prospects of the paper, which was succeeding admirably under its present management. Callan also expressed the 'adverse light in which the directors had regarded the movement, and the feeling with which they had received the information as to its having been set on foot'. Deputising for Moran, Father Walsh explained that the proposal of transfer of proprietorship of the Tablet would have taken the form of a presentation to the Bishop. Since it did not receive the required unanimous decision he stated that he would pursue the matter no further. Walsh undertook to return the shares already donated to their original owners. The meeting then considered the standing and future prospects of the Tablet. Members decided that it would be 'unwise and impolitic' to change the present mode of operating the Tablet as a limited liability company. They did not consider that it would be in the commercial interest of the Tablet to transfer shares unconditionally to Moran. They considered that the property of the Tablet and the profits derived from it should remain permanently devoted to maintaining a Catholic newspaper press in New Zealand. As a consolation the meeting agreed to present the bishop with the sum of £200 from the reserve fund of the company.55

54. New Zealand Tablet, 10 Feb 1881, p.17.
55. New Zealand Tablet, 17 Feb 1881, p.17.
PROSPECTUS

of the

New Zealand Tablet Printing and Publishing Co.

(Limited),

OCTAGON, DUNEDIN.

To be incorporated under “The Companies Act 1882,” and the Acts amending the same.

Capital

Divided into 4000 shares of £1 each, which it is proposed to raise as follows:—5s per share on application, 5s per share on allotment, and the balance in sums not greater than 2s 6d per share at any one time, and at intervals of not less than three months, the first of such calls of 2s 6d per share not to be made until the expiration of 3 months from the date of such allotment.

£4000

THE MOST REV. DR. MORAN, DUNEDIN.
VEN. ARCHDEACON COLEMAN, OAMARU.
REV. FATHER O'LEARY, LAWRENCE.

NEWPORT, GORE.
" " " O'NEILL, MILTON.
" " " SHEEHAN, BLACKS.
" " " BURKE, PORT CHALMERS.
" " " LYNCH, DUNEDIN.
" " " O'DONNELL, AHAURA.
" " " WALSH, KUMARA.
J. B. CALLAN, Esq., DUNEDIN.
FRANCIS MEEHAN, Esq., "
THOMAS REYNOLDS, Esq., "
PATRICK KELIGHER, Esq., "
THOMAS MURRAY, Esq., "

PATRICK CASEY, Esq., DUNEDIN.
MICHAEL FAGAN, Esq., "
JAMES LISTON, Esq., "
PATRICK COTTER, Esq., "
FRANCIS MCGRATH, Esq., "
D. W. WOODS, Esq., "
EDWARD SHEEDY, Esq., "
MARTIN KENNEDY, Esq., GREYMOUTH.
FELIX CAMPBELL, Esq., "
T. O'DRISCOLL, Esq., TIMARU.
MICHAEL QUINN, Esq., TEMUKA.
T. McLAUGHLIN, Esq., REPTON.
P. BUTLER, Esq., "
J. M. LONARGAN, Esq., CHRISTCHURCH.
JAMES B. SCANLAN, Esq., MILTON.

MICHAEL TYNAN, Esq., OUTRAM.
(With power to add to their number.)

Bankers:

BANK OF NEW ZEALAND, DUNEDIN.

Solicitors:

MESSRS. CALLAN & GALLAWAY.

Advertisement of the prospectus of the New Zealand Tablet Printing and Publishing Company.
A development in 1886 precluded the danger of any further clandestine takeovers, when the *Tablet* was registered as a public company. Shareholders of the *Tablet* company held an extraordinary meeting on 13 April to consider a proposal from the printers, Jolly, Connor and Company to sell to the *Tablet*, its premises, machinery, plant, stores and debts. Moran 'coincided in this view', expressing his long established wish that the *Tablet* should have its own printing press. Advising shareholders that this was a serious matter requiring an injection of fifteen hundred pounds to increase capital, Moran suggested that the meeting adjourn for a month to consider the matter. In addition to this, since the Articles of Association did not authorise them to conduct a printing business, the Company would require restructuring. As well as enlarging the paper, Moran considered that the transaction would provide for a wider and more stable basis with its permanency secured. Manipulating one of his many attacks on non Irish, (particularly English) Protestant settlers, he digressed to a criticism of their developing sense of nationalism. 'Catholics in New Zealand were in the main, Irish or children of Irish and the *Tablet* protected the bond of Irish Catholicism. Irish Catholics' he stated, 'would not, having left the "Old Sod", become pure colonists and good little English children as had the Protestants. Irish Catholics', he concluded, 'would not forget their fatherland, its history, its wrongs, its hopes [and] its aspirations'.

This development reached fruition with the editorial 28 May 1886 announcing the prospectus of the New Zealand Tablet and Printing Company and later the *Tablet* reported the first Annual General Meeting, held 1 October 1886. Moran was anxious to point out that there would be no 'exclusivity in favour of Catholics'. Catholic workmen would not be exclusively employed.

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56. *New Zealand Tablet*, 16 Apr 1886, p.15.
Catholic tradesmen or other Catholics requiring printing services would not be solicited or expected to give patronage. The office was to follow in the tradition of the former owners and stand on its own merits. Not withstanding its commercial policy however, Moran stated that ‘the Tablet newspaper would remain Catholic and distinctively Irish, uninfluenced and unmoved by any opposing motive or material instinct’. The only changes anticipated were an enlargement in size and more space dedicated to local and colonial matters.\(^\text{57}\)

The restructured Tablet company advised readers that future communications connected with commercial and business departments, including post office orders and cheques, should be directed to the manager. The Tablet was careful to point out, however, that correspondence, contributions and ‘everything else intended for publication, or in anyway belonging to the literary department should be directed to the editor’.\(^\text{58}\) A brief statement shortly after this announcement reported that shares in the Tablet were being ‘freely applied for’.\(^\text{59}\)

As a commercial operation the Tablet was not free of administrative problems. Confronted with a case of embezzlement the Tablet did not hesitate to publicise the situation. A notice in the Tablet requested Mr.T. Murphy, Tablet canvasser, to communicate immediately with the secretary of the New Zealand Tablet Company and to proceed no further on his canvassing tour until he had received instructions to do so. The Tablet also ‘directed to this notice especially, the attention of subscribers in Wellington, Napier, Nelson and Marlborough’.\(^\text{60}\) A later statement announced that Murphy had ceased to act as canvasser and

\(^{57}\) New Zealand Tablet, 28 May 1886, p.15.
\(^{58}\) New Zealand Tablet, 3 Dec 1886, p.14.
\(^{59}\) New Zealand Tablet, 18 Jun 1886, p.16.
\(^{60}\) New Zealand Tablet, 10 Mar 1882, p.15.
collector for the New Zealand Tablet Company Limited.\textsuperscript{61} New appointments included Mr. M. O'Meara who travelled to Wellington to tour in the North and West.\textsuperscript{62} The Tablet appointed Mr. RA. Dunne as book-keeper, canvasser and town collector.\textsuperscript{63} Following this incident, no further commercial crises or changes in operation were published in the Tablet. Having survived the difficult period of initiation to reach a comfortable consolidation, the Tablet had proved itself as a desirable commercial operation. Its reputation as a national icon in New Zealand publishing history ensured its continuation as a commercial success.

A number of Catholic papers were published in other dioceses, but none enjoyed the record or reputation of the Tablet. The Tablet displayed a kindly disposition to the short lived Freeman's Journal of Auckland, commenting on the necessity for any large town to have its own newspaper without rivalry.\textsuperscript{64} The New Zealand Advocate followed the Freeman's Journal but both survived for only a few years in the eighties and the Catholic Chronicle, a monthly parish magazine published in Parnell, survived less than a year. The CCLS Record published by the Christchurch (Catholic) Literary society in 1895 succumbed, along with the Society, after a few years. In deliberate opposition to Tablet editorial policies the Wellington diocese published the Catholic Times for six years.\textsuperscript{65} In 1934 an Auckland publication, The Month, became the Zealandia, a weekly paper also set up in direct opposition to the Tablet.\textsuperscript{66} The Zealandia still survives but only as a monthly publication. Many Catholic publications in Australia met with problems. Queensland had established a Catholic paper at Bathurst [sic] and the Record

\textsuperscript{61} New Zealand Tablet, 24 Mar 1882, p.15.
\textsuperscript{62} New Zealand Tablet, 31 Mar 1882, p.15.
\textsuperscript{63} New Zealand Tablet, 14 Apr 1882, p.14.
\textsuperscript{64} New Zealand Tablet, 8 Aug 1879, p.3.
\textsuperscript{65} New Zealand Tablet, 16 Aug 1889, p.13. See also chapter 2, 'Sagogarh Aroon.'
\textsuperscript{66} New Zealand Tablet, 3 May 1923, p.41.
enlarged its circulation but the South Australian Tablet failed after only a few months. The knowledge that Tasmania had set up an anti-Catholic paper in opposition to the local bishop’s paper provoked an outburst against the Protestant press.

Little has survived of the records of the early days of the Tablet. Diocesan archives have preserved nothing other than copies of the Tablet, also housed at the publishing company office in Crawford Street and at Holy Cross College, Mosgiel. The earliest records available from Tablet Company archives are minute books, financial statements, share registers and wages books. Nothing predates 1908 and those records of the period are incomplete. The distribution list of 1908 is the only known surviving record to indicate the extent of the Tablet’s early circulation. The Tablet was a national and to a lesser degree an international publication but its early distribution focused mainly on the goldfield diaspora of Central Otago and the provincial capitals.

The Tablet emerged from a long tradition of Catholic publications to develop its own distinct colonial character. Bishop Moran was highly successful as an editor of a class publication to serve the needs of a predominantly Irish as well as Catholic population. With the support of a competent board of directors culled from the business sector of Catholic Dunedin and a dedicated printery the Tablet functioned as a successful commercial venture.

Subsequent chapters reveal the function of the paper as a means of social control through its content. Both its advertising and its journalistic content reflect the life style, social values and attitudes of its readers.

68. New Zealand Tablet, 16 Feb 1877, p.7.
Until April 1996 the Tablet sustained 122 years of continuous weekly publication, surviving opposition from, and outliving other journals of its kind. The bishops of New Zealand are currently considering a collective national publication to replace both the Tablet and the Zealandia.
Soggarth Aroon: The Most Reverend Patrick Moran, D.D.
CHAPTER TWO

Soggarth aroon: A dearly-loved priest

From 1873 to 1895 the Tablet was the vehicle for the opinions and policies of its first editor, Bishop Moran. As the first bishop of the newly established diocese of Dunedin in 1871 the Right Reverend Doctor Patrick Moran was a priest from an era in Irish church history, promoting Irish nationalism as assiduously as Catholicism. Moran is renowned in New Zealand history for his zealous struggle for state funding for Catholic schools, a purpose for which he had similarly fought, when a bishop in South Africa. As founder editor of the New Zealand Tablet to which he personally contributed and directed, Moran presents a different profile from the more traditional hagiographic accounts of his many achievements in the development of his diocese.

Patrick Moran was the son of Simon Moran, gentleman farmer of Rathdrum and his wife, Ann Doyle. Born of middle class parents he was educated by a private tutor from a class of tutors, eccentric, alcoholic and wild—career failures who managed to turn out good scholars. Moran's seminary, Maynooth, was established at the request of the Propaganda College to provide priests for the missions. Prior to 1826 it had produced priests from an inferior and uneducated class, but in Moran's era it catered for sons of a middle class

1. Desmond Keenan in The Catholic Church in Nineteenth-Century Ireland, a Sociological Study, Gill and MacMillan, Totawa, N.J., 1983, p.70, states that this was a commonly used term, translated as 'the dearly-loved priest', when expressing a favourable image of the Irish clergy.
emerging from commerce and agriculture. Maynooth was educating fifty percent of the Irish clergy and bishops by 1845.

Little remains of Moran's personal papers since these were inadvertently destroyed in a rubbish fire at Holy Cross College, Mosgiel, the national seminary for secular priests. Tablet editorials preserve the only record of his public writings, dedicated almost exclusively to his struggle for what he perceived as gross injustices to Irish Catholic migrants in New Zealand. Moran's own description of his life comes from the 'Annals of the Diocese of Dunedin written by Bishop Moran,' one of his two extant journals. Written in the third person the diaries are headed by date only, rather than page numbers. In these journals Moran describes himself as an Irishman born in County Wicklow on 24 May 1823, receiving his early education from tutors in his father’s house at St. Vincent's Seminary, Usher's Quay, Dublin, from St. Peter's College, Wexford and St. Vincent's Seminary Castleknock. In 1842 he entered St. Patrick's College, Maynooth to read philosophy which he had already studied, as well as theology, scripture, canon law, church history and Hebrew, for five years at Castleknock. He later worked among the poor of Dublin during an outbreak of typhus fever and a cholera. Ordained in 1847, he went to his first mission at Boderstown and Black Rock. In 1849 he received his own parish at Irishtown where he remained until he took up residence as curate at Haddington Road, Dublin. Moran's appointment in 1856 as Bishop of Dardania, in partibus, saw the beginning of his career in the missions. Succeeding the late Bishop Devereaux, he moved to Grahamstown, Cape of Good Hope, where he remained until Easter 1870.

Moran came from a background of Irish prelates committed to a policy of

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4 Interview with Ian Stewart, Librarian, Holy Cross College, Mosgiel, November 1994.
promoting Irish nationalism in Australia. Cardinal Paul Cullen’s policy of commemoration of Ireland’s ‘glorious and holy past’ and the perpetuation of the honour of ‘old Ireland’ was part of a greater policy of the Irish church to maintain itself as a separate unit within the larger church. Cullen also viewed with suspicion, the developing cordial relations between Rome and England.\(^6\) Moran’s arrival in New Zealand followed closely on the heels of an Irish clerical campaign to gain control of the Australian Catholic church. This campaign had reached what Patrick O’Farrell terms ‘its most aggressively strident in the 1850s and 1860s, linking Catholicism with Irishness and provoking public hostility to both’.\(^7\) Moran, dedicated to Irish nationalism as much as Catholicism, pursued this policy as bishop and editor, never wavering from his quest for ‘Catholic schools for Catholic children,’ the demand for justice for ‘our suffering people’ and the denunciation of ‘tyranny, oppression and plunder of the bigoted supporters of anti-catholic, unchristian and godless schools’.\(^8\)

The first entry of Moran’s diary dated ‘AD 1869’ gives a background to Moran’s appointment to the see of Dunedin. According to a brief dated 26 November 1869 Pope Pius IX ‘withdrew the provinces of Otago and Southland together with Stewart Island and the adjacent islands from the diocese of Wellington to create the new diocese of Dunedin with the See fixed in the city of Dunedin’. A further brief dated 3 December 1869 ‘freed Rev Patrick Moran from his appointment as Bishop of Dardania in Part, and Vicar Apostolic of the Eastern Districts of the Cape of Good Hope, to become the first Bishop of the See of Dunedin’. Because of his hesitation in accepting this position Cardinal Barnabo, Prefect of the Propaganda, summoned Moran to Rome, thus giving

\(^6\) Keenan, Catholic Church in Nineteenth-Century Ireland, pp.29-35.
\(^8\) New Zealand Tablet, 8 Sep 1893, p.17. The Propaganda College serves as the bureaucracy of the Vatican, negotiating and determining policy on behalf of the Pope, between the Vatican and the Missions. Barnabo was also closely associated with the establishment of the new hierarchy in England.
him the opportunity to assist at the Ecumenical Council currently meeting in the Vatican Basilica of St. Peter, but also ‘to transact more easily, the business of his translation to Dunedin’. 9

At this council the Pope received many bishops personally as well as in audiences by nations. Margaret Young states that the Eastern Vicarate was so poor that when Moran went to the Vatican Council he could not afford the passage money and again when he transferred to Dunedin he had to request his passage money. 10 E.E.Y. Hayles in Pio Nono also states that poorer Bishops and Vicars Apostolic from distant territories attended the Council at the expense of the Pope. 11

Attracted by the prospect of attending the Council Moran left for Rome the following week. He arrived to take his seat for the first time at the Council on 22 June 1869. Moran had previously visited Rome in 1856 and 1857. 12 Pleading in vain, first with Barnabo and then with the Pope himself, he finally submitted to the arrangement and expressed his desire to leave immediately for his new diocese. This request was refused and instead, he was granted the honour of attending Council discussions on Papal Infallibility, a definition for which he was a ‘strenuous advocate’. Moran also attended public sessions defining this dogma of the Faith, presided over by Pius IX.

The reward for accepting this edict to travel to the furthest out-post of Catholicism was a grand tour of the old Catholic world. Having gained

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permission first to visit Avenca, Loretto, Bologna, Ferrara, Padua, Venice, Milan, Avonce, Geneva, Lyons, Paris, London and Ireland before departing for New Zealand, he left Rome on 23 July, ‘not to return to the council for a long time, perhaps never’. Since he did not set sail for New Zealand until October 1870 one must assume that Moran took his time while visiting European centres and Ireland. While in Dublin Moran conducted a vigorous recruiting campaign for nuns and priests to bring with him to New Zealand. His failure to recruit priests almost forced him to abandon the whole project, until he finally received one volunteer, Reverend William Coleman of Cloyne. He negotiated with the Lady Superior of the Dominican convent to bring eight choir and two lay sisters, all of whom would provide their own outfits and passages to New Zealand, on the understanding that he provided a suitable dwelling and school halls. Although Moran considered this arrangement to be a substantial undertaking he was acting on information from the Marist Bishop Viard of Wellington who had advised him while in Rome, that a large house, formerly a hotel, had been bought and paid for, for use as a convent. As well, there was a large sum of money provided by the Catholics of Dunedin.

It is claimed that many of the Dominican nuns whom Moran brought to Dunedin came from wealthy and cultured backgrounds. The Prioress, Sister Mary Gabriel, an only child, had renounced the luxury of a wealthy home while Sister Mary Gertrude was famed for her illuminations. Sister Mary de Ricci was a niece of Archbishop Kirby, personal friend of Leo XIII. Sister Mary Catherine, like her sister, Lady Duffy, a pupil of Chopin, was a brilliant musician. Two of Moran’s nieces later came to Dunedin as Dominican nuns.

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1. New Zealand Tablet, 31 May 1895, p.4. Sister Carmel Walsh, OP, refutes this popular belief. Records held at Mount Sion, the Dominican mother house show that the sisters who established the order in Dunedin were desperately poor and had insufficient funds to meet their financial obligations, even to payment for furniture provided on their arrival.

The 'modernised' temporary residence of Bishop Moran and his clergy.
Moran sailed for New Zealand on 5 October 1870 with his ten nuns and one priest. Aboard were also several other nuns, postulants and priests bound for Australia, as well as a theological student for Auckland. The journey to Sydney was uneventful with no sickness or storms. The Captain, he described as a gentleman and a careful seaman. Several masses were held on Sundays and frequently on weekdays. All of these passengers studied regularly, some studying theology and others, languages.

After calling at Australian ports Moran finally disembarked at Port Chalmers on 18 February 1871 where he was met 'by a considerable number of Catholic ladies and gentlemen'. On arriving at Dunedin he went immediately to St. Joseph's church where the Te Deum was sung before he received addresses from the clergy, congregation and the Young Men's Society. It was after this ceremony that he discovered that no residence had been provided for the nuns, who were obliged to reside in the presbytery while the Bishop and his priests found lodgings in the town. The following day was Sunday and Moran took formal possession of his diocese, celebrating high mass assisted by his priests, Fathers J.P. Maloney, J. Norris, W. Coleman and F.[D]. Moreau. Appalled at his new Dunedin diocese, Viard's misrepresentation of the financial state of affairs justifiably angered Moran. At this mass he spoke to the congregation of the smallness and poverty of the church and the need for a house and school rooms for the nuns.

Calling a meeting of the Catholics of Dunedin for the following Thursday, he raised a considerable sum of money, opened a subscription list and appointed a fund raising committee. In the meantime he hired a house in Dowling street for himself and the clergy at the cost of £6-10, plus taxes per month. In March he issued a pastoral letter stating the needs and his expectations for the diocese. Moran was openly critical of the state of the diocese and expressed his disgust and disappointment that there was 'not the
remotest appearance of truth in statements made to him in Europe’. Moran, with his predisposition for Victorian innuendo did not accuse publicly either his predecessor, Father Moreau, or his superior, Bishop Viard, for this state of affairs. Tradition does relate however that Moran believed that the Marists had removed from the Dunedin diocese, vestments, altar vessels and more than that rightfully belonging to the Marist order. Evidence from the Archives of the Marist Fathers indicates that Moran did report Moreau to Rome for the mismanagement of church affairs. Undertaking an investigation at the direction of Cardinal Barnabo, the Marist Superior stated that the missionaries had taken nothing that they were not entitled to but blamed Moran for having come to Dunedin unprepared. This action may later have cost Moran any aspirations that he harboured for his pallium. Cullen, popular with Propaganda and known for his discouragement of any disagreement among individual bishops excluded such offenders from promotion.

In 1861, the same year that Gabriel Read discovered gold in Otago, Moran’s predecessor, Father Delphin Moreau established the first on-going Catholic mission in Otago, building the first Catholic churches in Dunedin and Otago amidst an almost exclusively Scottish Presbyterian settlement. Moreau was a member of the Society of Mary, an order of French priests to emerge following the French Revolution in 1789. This order, at the request of the Pope, preached the missions to the countries of Western Oceania. Moreau, at the age of twenty-nine sailed for New Zealand in 1842. Arriving at Auckland Moreau was met by another Marist, Petit-jean who later visited Dunedin in the 1850s. After working in the Auckland area and Rotorua Moreau moved to Nelson where he worked with another Marist, Father Garan, founder of St. Mary’s orphanage. Other than brief visits by the secular bishop Pompallier in 1840, and the Marists priests Petit-jean, Séon and Moreau himself in 1859 when

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there were only 80 or 90 Catholics, Otago did not enjoy the presence of a regular priest until his return in 1861. The discovery of gold created a population explosion and other priests later joined Moreau, leaving him free to concentrate on the consolidation of the Dunedin parish. In 1862 Moreau built St. Joseph's, a small brick church in Tennyson Street and a wooden presbytery, as well as establishing churches at Queenstown, Invercargill and on a number of goldfields throughout Otago. The Otago Daily Times describes the architecture of the church resting on a solid foundation of bluestone rubble, as 'English style' built of brick with freestone dressings to the doors and windows. It was a church of modest dimensions, 65 feet by 35 feet costing £1,250 and accommodating 400 people.17

Mary Catherine Goulter describes Moreau, as a priest who 'walked the streets of the city in his well-worn soutane and old shoes, ... living modestly according to the vows of his order'.18 From this account it seems unlikely that Moreau himself, misappropriated or withheld from the parish, any funds, possessions or property which were not rightfully his. The activities of fund raising in the Marist order might however throw some light on to the direction that some of this wealth had taken. Priests made regular visits to the goldfields with the express purpose of fundraising to support their own Maori mission stations.19 Otago's new source of unprecedented wealth does coincide with Viard's revitalised interest in the province. Although St. Joseph's had opened in 1862 it was October 1864 before Bishop Viard belatedly arrived from Wellington to consecrate the church in October, remaining to consecrate the bell of the church in November. Earlier that same year Otago had received a visit from the Visitor to the Marist Missions of Oceania, Father Poupinel who

17. Mary Catherine Goulter, Sons of France, a Forgotten Influence in New Zealand History, Whitcombe and Tombs Ltd., Wellington, 1957, p.140
19. New Zealand Tablet, 21 Sep 1894, pp.5-6.
reported to his European superiors, a full account of the discovery of gold and its ramifications for the Catholic church in the now wealthy province of Otago. Marist practices of financing their North Island Maori missions and garrison parishes by fund-raising visitations to the gold fields depleted financial potential of local parish donations. Viard's fore-knowledge of the break-up of his own diocese, as well as the false impressions that he gave Moran while in Rome might well explain the unaccountable poverty which understandably had angered Moran on his arrival in Dunedin. Despite the shortage of secular priests, the short-lived Marist presence in Dunedin following Moran's arrival reflects the ill feeling which had arisen between Moran and the Marist order. This ill feeling emerged again when the Marist Redwood became the first Archbishop of New Zealand.

Not all would support Moran's condemnation of either Marist mismanagement or misappropriation. Writing to the Tablet during the debate which followed Redwood's appointment as archbishop the correspondent, 'Old Identity' challenged 'as a pious exaggeration' the belief that when Moran arrived in Dunedin poverty, indifference and disunion prevailed, that there was no better accommodation than shanties for practices of religion and that there was no roof for shelter, to claim as property of the church. Expressing disbelief in the claim that there was no church suitable for the requirements of Dunedin the correspondent argued that without poverty in Dunedin there must have been a suitable priest's house and acquisition of church property in the time that the church had been organised in Dunedin. 'In those flourishing days' recalled 'Old Identity,' 'carters swilled champagne and half-drunken fellows lighted their pipes ... with pound-notes sterling. Not a man to squander, the priest had a large yearly income which he utilised for benefit of the

congregation.' The correspondent considered it preposterous that on his arrival Bishop Moran had nowhere to go but a shanty for a church and not a sod of land when piles of money were heaped on the Catholic clergymen visiting the goldfields of Gabriel’s Gully, the Dunstan and the Lakes District, and other parts of Otago. The editorial reply stated that contrary to what the correspondent believed, these facts were correct. In the same issue of the Tablet Thomas Shannesy, also making reference to the comment that priests had money poured upon them in the good old days argued that while the priests had to travel long distances and live in hotels they did not complain and were in his view better off than many priests today. He too claimed that the Catholics built houses and churches for their priests as soon as there was a chance. As late as 1923 the Tablet’s jubilee issue recalled an anecdote of the first Catholic church, built by the Marist Fathers ‘with the help ... of the hordes streaming past the town obeying the call “auri sacra fames.” And thus was paid for that old church.’

The other of the two diaries is entitled ‘Bishop Moran Early History Appointments Queenstown Cromwell Milton, In’gill Oamaru. Clergy Conferences 1873-1886’. The initial entry (pages unnumbered), headed, ‘the Dunedin Mission’ and dated ‘AD 1871-1872’ also recorded Moran’s arrival in Dunedin, accompanied by Rev Wm Coleman and ten Dominican nuns from Sion Hill convent, Black Rock, Dublin, on 18 Feb 1871. The entry recorded two priests residing in Dunedin: Rev D. Moreau and P.J. Moloney who both left for Wellington during the following August. They were replaced by Rev J. Donovan.

‘On his arrival,’ wrote Moran in the third person, ‘the Bishop was obliged to rent a small house, as a residence for himself and Father Coleman in Dowling

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24. New Zealand Tablet, 1 Jul 1887, p.18.
Rockwell House: the Italian style blue-stone residence built in 1871 by George Duncan, butcher. Moran purchased the property for the bishop’s residence in 1872 for the sum of £3,250.
Street, and the presbytery was given up to the Nuns as a convent. But it was too small for the purpose and school rooms had also to be provided.' The entry also expressed the need to enlarge the church of St. Joseph and to make provision for a vestry as well as the purchase of chalices, vestments et cetera. These extensions including and purchases of chalices and vestments at £100, incurred expenditure of £966-2/4. Other costs were for the convent and schools £981-13-71/2, in 1873 St Joseph's school £270-14, land bought from Fr Moreau £315, land in South Dunedin £205, land from Wm. Murphy £2590, Bishop's residence in 1872, £3250, and in 1874 St. Dominic's priory, totalling a sum of £1938-16-6. The following entry dated 1878 recorded the first work on St. Joseph's cathedral with the beginning of the excavations for the foundations and the first payment of £8-16-8 to three labourers on 11 May 1878. This entry also recorded the architect as 'Mr. Petre and the Bishop as Most Revd. Patrick Moran'. Contrary to his reputation for efficiency, Moran left records with gaps for the actual date of commencement of the cathedral and names of the labourers, a record which he never completed.

As early as 1873 Moran had made public in his Lenten Pastoral his ambition to build a cathedral. By 1895 this newly constructed cathedral was visible from every vantage point of an emerging city and continues to enjoy an unobstructed panorama. From its elevated and imposing position above the city the twin towered blue stone neogothic cathedral dominates contemporary and colonial architecture of Dunedin. The building of St. Joseph's cathedral could be described as one of Moran's greatest achievements, but even more so that of Francis W. Petre. A New Zealand born, qualified engineer and architect, Petre gained his education in France and England and completed his studies at Usham College, Durham before practising in London. On returning to New Zealand, he was commissioned by Moran to design the cathedral.

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25 New Zealand Tablet, 3 May 1923, p.3.
The Dream and the Reality: 'The Dream'—the architect’s elevation of St. Joseph’s Cathedral as it was originally planned.
Zealand in 1872 he supervised the construction of the Dunedin-Balclutha rail line before establishing his own practice. As well as St. Joseph's, numerous buildings in Dunedin and other parts of New Zealand also depict Petre's work, but he is remembered mostly for his design of Catholic churches and schools throughout the diocese.28

Remaining entries recorded conferences of the clergy of the diocese, naming those members of the clergy in attendance and the business discussed. For the main part Moran listed only items pertaining to the administration of the sacraments, special funding, petitions to parliament and theological treatises. The conference of 1885 displayed an irritation at the unaccounted absence of Father Kehoe, also absent from the last conference recorded. Remaining entries reported visits to various missions throughout the diocese.

Of particular interest is the entry for Naseby, dated 17 February 1876 in which Moran records a copy of a letter to Father Rodger, advising him of the transfer of the districts of Waikouaiti, Palmerston, Hampden and Moeraki from the Oamaru mission to Naseby. Explaining the reason for his actions Moran wrote of his 'desire to do something for the natives, and consequently I recommended the natives of Waikouaiti and Moeraki ... particularly to your pastoral care'. This was the only evidence of any pastoral service that Moran extended to the welfare of Maori in Otago. In contrast to the Marists whose mission was dedicated primarily to the conversion of the Maori, Moran dedicated his ministry to the spiritual welfare of his Irish Catholic migrants. Furthermore, making an editorial attack of the Presbyterian support of Maori prisoners sent down from Wellington, he was scathing of their attendance at First Church Sunday service. Disapproving of their delivery of bible readings

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27. The cathedral, originally designed to include a transept and a steeple remains unfinished.
M.C. Tither, 'The Roman Catholic Church in Otago', p.64.
without supportive explanation he referred to the prisoners as ‘bible heathens rather than bible Christians’.  

Moran again visited Rome in 1882 and in 1889. His visit in 1882 commemorated the silver jubilee of his episcopal consecration. The Tablet accounts of his departure, the detailed arrangements and progress of this visit as well as the magnitude of the celebrations following his return reflect his popularity among his people. Moran by this time had made a total commitment to Dunedin, Otago and New Zealand. None of his subsequent visits to Rome involved the protracted tour prior to his initial arrival. His commitment to his editorial role in the Tablet caused an obvious reluctance to relinquish and delegate these duties during his absence. As an ailing invalid he later displayed a similar reluctance to relinquish his administrative responsibilities of bishop of the diocese.

The Tablet editorial of 15 April 1881 announced as ‘A Word of Parting’ that ‘Circumstances have arisen which render it necessary for the Editor of this journal to discontinue his active superintendence of it for some months ...’ Moran assured readers that there would be no change as far as principles and policies of the Tablet were concerned. He informed them that the acting editor would be a gentleman who had been for several years united with him in management and also one of his chief writers. One might safely assume that if not the assistant editor Williamson, Dungan might be the ‘senior writer’ reluctantly entrusted with the dubious honour of acting editor during Moran’s absence.  

He was adamant that on his return he would resume editorial control of the Tablet. Quoting from the speech of Leo XIII to the Lombard pilgrims Moran expressed the view that the Tablet met the expectations of the

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29. New Zealand Tablet, 8 Aug 1879, p1.
30. See chapter one.
Pope who had beseeched pilgrims to 'aid actively in the development, increase and diffusion of a good Press intended for combating daily errors and for repulsing the attacks of the adversaries'. Moran claimed that the Tablet belonged to such a press in combating errors, repelling attacks on religion and Christian society by fighting the battle of Christian and Catholic education and denouncing injustice. Thanking 'those gentlemen in every province who had generously supported the Tablet and had given the Editor their entire confidence', Moran concluded by restating the objectives of the opening issue. By fulfilling these objectives the Tablet, which had 'never allied itself with any political party' had 'abided by the rights of the Church and the claims of Catholics'.

The departing Moran, before 'relinquishing his chair for a short season' expressed satisfaction at the healthy financial state of the Tablet. No mention was made of the plan that he had already set in motion for a personal takeover of the paper. This editorial expressed the humility of the bishop whenever the success of the Tablet was attributed to him. During his absence it stated that his control had by no means relaxed with the appointment of a lay editor, whom he instructed to refer to 'a certain priest attached to the Dunedin mission if in any doubt'. Moran had instructed this priest that 'there should be no departure from the lines in which it had been his own habit to conduct the paper, and in which he wished that it continue to be conducted'. 'And the Bishop's instructions have invariably been acted upon', concluded the editorial.

Informing its readers of every stage of his journey the Tablet advised its readers that Moran would leave Port Chalmers on 20 April, aboard the ss Te

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31. New Zealand Tablet, 15 April 1881, p.13
32. See chapter one.
33. New Zealand Tablet, 10 Feb 1881, p.16.
Anau en route for San Francisco and Rome. Prior to his departure for Rome the congregation made the presentation of a mitre and an address, after high mass. School children and the Children of Mary also made formal presentations. Familiar names were among those present at his embarkation from Port Chalmers, and also representing the congregation, Petre, Callan, Murphy, Carroll, Fagan, Meenan, Smith, Connor, Griffen, Daly, Woods, Murray, Sheed, O'Driscoll, Moloney Dunn and Perrin. Perrin followed Dungan as permanent editor. It is difficult to identify editorial influences but Perrin, breaking with Tablet tradition, briefly emerged from editorial anonymity to defend Moran during the debate following the appointment of Archbishop Redwood. Many of these names were well known in Dunedin. Woods built many of the churches including the cathedral designed by Petre and Meenan's merchant business advertised regularly in the Tablet. Callan, and later his son, handled legal affairs for the diocese for many years.

Expressing his intention to complete his affairs in Europe and to return to New Zealand as soon as possible the Tablet maintained a faithful account of Moran's progress throughout his entire journey until his eventual return in April 1882. The London Tablet advised that Moran had received his audience with Pope Leo XIII on 10 November when he had presented £100 to the Pope as Peter's Pence. It also stated that the Pope had discussed to some length with Moran, the development of religion in New Zealand. Moran wrote on leaving London that he was undecided as to whether he would break his journey at the Cape. Margaret Young records that he did visit the Cape in 1882 when 'he

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34. New Zealand Tablet, 10 Feb 1881, p.15.
35. New Zealand Tablet, 22 Apr 1881, p.3.
38. New Zealand Tablet, 5 Aug 1881, p.16.
39. New Zealand Tablet, 6 Jan 1881, p.15.
40. New Zealand Tablet, 10 Feb 1881, p.16.
was greeted everywhere with the most enthusiastic affection. From Ireland Moran wrote that he was ‘in good health’ and that this journey was more encouraging for him than had been his last trip since a party of priests and nuns would arrive in September. On the news of his anticipated return a meeting of ‘Catholic gentlemen’ assembled in Christian Brothers’ school house to consider a proper reception for him. Considering Moran a hard headed business man who did not appreciate any kind of ‘testimonial or complimentary presentation with which money is connected’, the meeting decided to take a special collection to offset the expenses of his trip and to support the arrival of the religious sent by him from Ireland. The collection for Moran’s presentation amounted to £48-7-0.

Plans for Moran’s arrival included a reception party of ‘Gentlemen from the congregation who would drive to Port Chalmers where the bishop would breakfast before driving to St. Joseph’s church for Te Deum and Benediction and an address of welcome from the clergy’. In the evening an address and presentation would be made from the laity. Already welcomed at Bluff, Moran was cheered by the laity as the vessel approached the Port Chalmers on 4 April 1882. On his arrival in Dunedin he was taken immediately to the church which was decorated with garlands of foliage and mottos for the occasion. ‘Arrival of the Bishop of Dunedin’ filled ten columns of speeches of welcome and replies from the bishop, who first visited schools and, in the evening, the Hibernian Society and the Confraternity of the Sacred Heart. The editorial described the arrival at Port Chalmers as imposing, with ‘few equals’. ‘The quiet

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42 New Zealand Tablet, 23 Sep 1881, p.15.
43 New Zealand Tablet, Apr 1882, pp.15 and 16.
44 New Zealand Tablet, 24 Mar 1882, p.17.
45 New Zealand Tablet, 31 Mar 1882, p.16.
46 New Zealand Tablet, 7 Apr 1882, pp. 3-13.
Cartoon parodying Moran's unsuccessful contest of the Peninsular parliamentary seat in 1883.
little town of Port Chalmers seemed roused to unprecedented astonishment when ... the array of admirably-appointed carriages, headed by a four-in-hand, intended for the bishop’s convoy to Dunedin, was driven into its streets'. Following a reception at the church of St. Mary Star of the Sea streets were lined with sightseers viewing the procession of vehicles assembled for the trip to Dunedin. On arrival at the Octagon in Dunedin the carriages stopped ‘to allow children of the schools to pass in review before His Lordship’ before again taking up their places at the head of the procession through the gala decorated town, accompanied by brass bands and ringing of church bells. The Tablet commented that a similar reception reflected Moran’s popularity when after twelve years, he visited his former diocese in Grahamstown, South Africa. At a formal welcome the Tablet staff, expressing their appreciation of his earlier work, anticipated his return to direct supervision of the paper as ‘a renewal of this newspaper’s life and the source of fresh vigour ...’

The next phase of Moran’s career did not meet with such unparalleled success. In 1883 he contested the Peninsular parliamentary seat in an endeavour to continue his fight for state funding for private schools, losing to William Larnach, a former member of parliament. An earlier criticism of Moran in the New Zealand Herald in 1874 foreshadowed a turn of events when it compared the two bishops, Redwood and Moran. The Herald, describing Redwood as ‘far from that aggressive and assumptive spirit which so distinguished Bishop Moran’, criticised Moran as ‘hardly ever at public places or meetings; and it is notorious that he is fond of retirement, and indifferent as to recognition’. Stoutly refuting this accusation, the Tablet emphasised the need for him to protect Catholic interests eroded by secular education.

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4. New Zealand Tablet, 7 Apr 1882, p.16.
High Mass on 5 June 1885 celebrating the fortieth anniversary of Moran's ordination to the priesthood was the zenith of his career. An address from the religious confraternities of Dunedin acknowledged Moran's tireless work for the diocese, his extensive travel to other parts of the colony, the building of a cathedral and the fight for Catholic education.6 Also in 1885 was Queen Victoria's fiftieth jubilee. Quoting from a speech of Gladstone's opposition to the Coercion Bill, the Tablet affirmed the view that Victoria's reign had been the most disastrous for Ireland since the reign of Queen Elizabeth.5 This attitude revealed the political baggage Moran still carried of an Ireland, barely emerged from a period of total anarchy, famine and medieval suppression. Ireland, already starving, was in constant rebellion against injustices of rent-raking imposed by English and Scottish absentee landlords and the constitutional deprivation of Home Rule.51 Moran's outburst contrasted with the celebration of Victoria's diamond jubilee in 1897 when, in her honour, his successor, Bishop Verdon opened St. Vincent de Paul's Orphanage in South Dunedin.52

As an Irishman, Moran's appointment as bishop to the diocese continued to delight those predominantly Irish born settlers and migrants who had expressed a wish for an English speaking clergy. Not only did Moran share a common language and culture, but he forcibly perpetuated Irish nationalism among his flock. Caught up in the changing policies of high places he paid the price for this folly with his own career. Moran's indiscriminate allegiance to Cullen's ideal of a repositioned Irish nation cost him his life's ambition when he was

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6. New Zealand Tablet, 10 Jun 1887, pp.10-11.
passed over in favour of the less political, more moderate and intellectual Marist, Francis Redwood SM, first Archbishop of New Zealand, in 1887. His personal disappointment at the elevation of the young Redwood was transparent in his hatred for the English or any person not Irish. In Moran's eyes Redwood personified all his prejudices. Born and educated in England by the Marist order, Redwood was the epitome of all that Moran despised. The appointments of the English born Edmund Luck to Auckland in 1882 and John Grimes, not a true Irishman in Moran's eyes, as bishop of Christchurch in 1887 surrounded his disappointment.

As senior suffragan Moran had undertaken the administration of the vacant dioceses of Wellington in 1872 and Auckland in 1875 as well as his own diocesan duties, justifying his personal disappointment that the Vatican had disregarded the recommendations he believed to be incorporated in the tertium forwarded from a recent synod which he had attended in Sydney. His inability to subscribe to a new colonial nationalism left him out of step with changing Vatican policies. Appointed during the pontificate of Pius IX he still lived and thought in Ultramontane conservative values which had changed to the more liberal political and theological policies of Leo XIII. A policy of a united Catholicism had replaced the isolated Catholicism of the Pius Popes, perpetuated in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Still smouldering from what he perceived as Marist incompetence and duplicity, Moran saw a Marist appointment to the newly established Archdiocese in Wellington as a failure to promote and perpetuate a policy of Irish nationalism. He failed to accept the replacement of an earlier colonialism by an emerging indigenous nationalism. Growing up in New Zealand, Francis

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52 McLeod, 'A Silent Testimony', p.36.
Mary Redwood was a product of this new nationalism. Born in Staffordshire he had accompanied his parents to New Zealand at the age of three years. Educated first by the Marist, Father Garan at Nelson, he later studied for the Marist priesthood in France and Ireland. Ordained at Maynooth in 1865, consecrated by Cardinal Manning nine years later, he was acclaimed the youngest Catholic bishop in the world. After returning to New Zealand he earned a reputation for his personal visitations, and his establishment of numerous hospitals and orphanages as well as St. Patrick's College, Wellington and later, the prestigious St. Patrick's College, Silverstream. As well as introducing numerous religious orders, he established the Marist seminary in Hawke's Bay and supported the foundation of Holy Cross College, Mosgiel, the seminary for secular priests. Redwood also contributed to secular activities and organizations as a member of the Senate of the University of New Zealand and life member of the Early Settlers' and Historical Society. McLintock describes Redwood's energies as 'guided by the wider claims of his own church' and 'a man of true simplicity, without pride or arrogance ... a great churchman, patriot and humanitarian'.

The Tablet announced Redwood's nomination by the Propaganda College, confirmed by the Pope, as Bishop of Wellington on 20 January 1874. It also included the appointment of the Rev. Forest of Napier as Redwood's Vicar General. Redwood was consecrated in London, prior to his return to New Zealand. With his Vicar General and six priests meeting the steamer at 7am and a procession including 170 children reaching from Hill Street to the cathedral, the Tablet description of Redwood's return differed widely from that of Moran in 1884.

The appointment of Francis Redwood as the first archbishop of New Zealand in 1887 was a disappointment from which Moran never entirely

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55. New Zealand Tablet, 12 Dec 1874.
recovered. While history must dismiss as gossip, Moran's reaction to the news of Redmond's appointment by throwing plates around the kitchen, the Tablet reflected his bitter disappointment and the consequent re-emergence of his antagonism towards the Marists. Viard, who had misled Moran about the financial status of his new diocese of Dunedin, was a Marist. Moreau, whom he held responsible for this financial disaster was a Marist. And now Redwood, not Irish and worse still of English origins and a Marist, had snatched his dream.

Following the Tablet editorial announcement of the appointment of Redwood as the first archbishop of New Zealand in 1887 the Tablet maintained a silence on the matter.56 'A Catholic Mother' initiated unprecedented and extensive correspondence from the laity,—'in praise of Bishop Moran'.57 This coincided with the receipt of a number of letters referring to the recent 'ecclesiastical arrangements' for New Zealand. While the editor concurred with the 'expressed sentiments' he asked that correspondents refrain from strong language and use names rather than pseudonyms. The editorial continued by stating that the time for action which should have been taken in the last twelve months was past. There was 'no use in continuing action, so far as present arrangements were concerned, other than to ensure against a recurrence'. Moran's true feelings on the matter were reflected in a veiled accusation of Marist subterfuge.

'Those who had been instrumental in the bringing these arrangements about had made good use of the time, leaving no representation of their project unmade. While this had been occurring the people of New Zealand had done nothing and so only one side of the representation had been presented to the Propaganda College. With the knowledge that the matter had been referred by the Holy See to the Plenary Synod in Sydney, it was never envisaged that their recommendations would have been ignored. Furthermore they had expected the Propaganda to consult with the Bishop of Dunedin, already a bishop of thirty years standing and Bishop of New Zealand Tablet, 6 May 1887, p.5.
57. New Zealand Tablet, 24 Jun 1887, p.11.
Zealand for several years before any of the other bishops had come to rule over dioceses almost exclusively Irish and who, as Administrator had governed all the other dioceses for some years. This was a natural expectation and they had all confidence in the Bishop of Dunedin thinking that it was unnecessary to take any steps to make their views known to the Propaganda. But on learning that this was not done and that the recommendations of the Plenary Synod had been disregarded it was only natural that they should be disappointed, dissatisfied, and somewhat indignant. Still we may ask *cui bono?*

Cautioning moderation, Moran continued to encourage the faithful to express the views of the laity and the clergy to Propaganda. Reminding the readers that as the official organ of the Catholic people of New Zealand the Tablet should not exclude opinions and views that may differ from ‘our own’. Moran undertook to give the ‘fullest liberty that can be legitimately claimed by any Catholic’.\(^3\)

Captioned thus: ‘THOUGHTS SUGGESTED BY THE RECENT ECCLESIASTICAL APPOINTMENTS IN NEW ZEALAND’ was a series of letters from readers relating to a local incident involving the Irish flag.\(^7\) These letters heralded an attack on the Marist order and the Vatican appointment of the non-Irish Redwood.

‘Spectator’ wrote that people confronted by the perplexities in the colonies turned to their own *soggarth aroon* for sympathetic advice. The Irish were peculiar in that they held inseparable, Ireland and Rome, nationality and religion: *Roma Loca est causa finita est*. The appointments made were unsatisfactory but they had only themselves to blame through their own ‘supineness’. Had the Holy Father known of their views he would have acceded to their requests and respected their national prejudices.

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\(^3\) New Zealand Tablet, 24 Jun 1887, p.16.
\(^7\) New Zealand Tablet, 1 Jul 1887, p.9.
‘J.B.S.’ wrote of the injustices of a French ‘ecclesiastical superior’ towards an Irish priest gaol’d for participating in a West Coast demonstration in support of three Irish martyrs in Manchester. The letter concluded stating that despite appearances favouring adverse opinion, the hearts of the Irish Catholics of Westland beat with undiminished love for their faith, their native land and their own soggarth aroon.

James Keerwin, on behalf of an anonymous ‘vagabond Presbyterian and Freethinker, questioned the rights of members of the Marist order to own property including the richest parishes of Wellington, Christchurch and Westland while secular priests, without vows of poverty served in the remotest bush districts. Keerwin asked what had become of all the money collected by the Marists from the gold diggings in Tuapeka, the Shotover and other parts of Otago. ‘What had they [the Marists] to show for it when Bishop Moran came here to kick up such a jolly row about education’.

‘Pater Familias’ replied to ‘A Catholic Mother’ suggesting that collection lists should be circulated to business people and secular priests from other diocese as had been done by the Marists when collecting for Dr. Redwood. This would enable friends of Dr. Moran throughout the colony to honour a secular bishop in a practical way. £1300 had been raised as a presentation to Redwood as Archbishop-elect. A note from the editor stated that while praiseworthy the suggestion did not meet with His Lordship’s approval.

A subsequent editorial defending the Tablet’s action in publishing criticism of propaganda decisions suggests that Moran had invoked Vatican censure. The Tablet defended its actions, arguing that it was preferable to allow correspondents to ventilate their views, rather than to suppress them and cause

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© New Zealand Tablet, 1 Jul 1887, pp.17-18.
further anger. The editorial also stated that had people been allowed to express their opinions to Propaganda the need for these letters may never have arisen. Simply because they exercised the right of every Catholic to place their views before Propaganda they were fiercely denounced and 'can now appreciate the consequences'. By abstaining from a similar policy Moran considered that it was right for people 'smarting under a sense of stress placed on their freedom' to express their views to the Holy See. Vatican views differed however and saw their actions 'as a dire offence'. 'After the editor telegraphed them subsequent publication of a letter written jointly by four correspondents, no longer subscribers to the Tablet, was withdrawn.' Moran, explained that on the direction from his superiors, he had exercised his editorial rights to deny publication of any further negative correspondence on the matter.  

Moran always argued the importance of Irish priests for Irishmen. The appointment of John J. Grimes, born of Irish parents, as Bishop of Christchurch, displeased Moran, who insisted that it should have been an Irishman. Irish parishioners from the West Coast, embarrassed by Moran's recent hostility towards the appointments of Redwood and Grimes, complained to their parish priest, Father D.P. Carew SM. As a Marist, Carew defended Redwood's appointment, accusing the Tablet of 'sour grapes' that Moran was not appointed, and that the argument against a non-Irish bishop was merely an excuse. Carew claimed that Redwood who had always had a good relationship with the Irish, was more Irish at heart and concerned for the Irish than many who made a parade of Irish nationalism. Carew reminded the Tablet that once Rome had decided matters ecclesiastical the case was finished and that Rome had decided who should be Archbishop of New Zealand and who should be Bishop of Christchurch. Carew also accused the Tablet of sowing the seeds of discord between the Irish of two dioceses and their respective bishops.

6. New Zealand Tablet, 8 Jul 1887, pp.15-16.
Dismissing these criticisms, the Tablet stated that it encouraged Catholics to express their feelings. The New Zealand Tablet it claimed, was no worse than the London Tablet, also owned by a bishop, when it criticized a bishop for condemning the Primrose League. When Carew accused 'those who revolt against the law of the church as heretics and schismatics' an anonymous correspondent replied that 'heretics and schismatics [had] been abundantly supplied to the Church from religious Orders, not from the editorial offices of Catholic journals'. The letter accused Redwood of attending a Land League meeting while in Ireland, only because in the company of an Irish bishop, he had no alternative. To Carew's claim that the Pope had appointed the man most fitting for the job, the letter stated that oratory was not all that was required of a bishop. 'Rome appoints those fitting but not necessarily most fitting, but even the least fitting, so long as they were fitting'.

'Cormac' also defended English priests who were serving well, their Irish laity, stating that veiled abuse against non-Irish clergy was unfair to these model priests. While Irish might feel aggrieved at recent events, continued Cormac, they should accept the decision with dignity and not continue with abusive tactics.

Accusing the Tablet of setting class against class rather than uniting Catholics, A.C. Nottingham from Christchurch criticized the Tablet's attitude towards the appointment of Bishop Grimes and other English clergy. Between July and August the Tablet published eighteen more letters contributing to both sides of this debate.

The Tablet professed surprise when the Auckland Evening Bell stated that

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there was little sympathy for Irish patriotism when all three recent ecclesiastical appointments were Englishmen, Archbishop Redwood, Bishop Grimes to Christchurch and Bishop Luck to Auckland. The Evening Bell saw this as an attempt to denationalize the Irish who formed nine tenths of Catholics in New Zealand. The New Zealand Advocate, an Auckland Catholic paper blamed the Tablet for these pronouncements. The Tablet rejected any suggestion of disrespect to Bishop Luck, despite the fact that he had given 'the cold shoulder' to Redmond, the renowned Irish politician, while visiting New Zealand. The Tablet exposed Moran's paranoia when it argued that its concern lay with English Catholics, English noblemen and the British government who had conspired to place Irish priests and prelates under surveillance for their national proclivities. Similarly, English or foreign prelates had been appointed to the colonies 'to observe' the national sympathies of Irish priests.

The attitude towards Bishop Luck may be attributed to a brief announcement advising readers that the Tablet understood that Dr. Redwood would receive the pallium from the hands of the Bishop of Auckland. 'We suppose', stated the Tablet, 'that Dr. Luck, in accordance with immemorial usage, has been appointed by the Pope to officiate ...' Following this news Moran left Dunedin 'for about a month, in Australia'. This absence manifested his resentment of Redwood. Having declined to officiate at Redwood's investiture Moran attended the investiture of two other bishops, Dr. Doyle, Bishop of Grafton and Dr. Hutchinson, Bishop of Maximaniopolis, (an ecclesiastical title carrying full episcopal authority). Moran also attended Bishop Reynold's investiture in Adelaide, and the foundation of an addition to

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64. New Zealand Tablet, 2 Sep 1897, p.5.
65. New Zealand Tablet, 16 Sep 1887, p.29.
67. New Zealand Tablet, 9 Sep 1887, p.29.
Happier Times: Bishop Moran with the episcopal hierarchy at the opening of the cathedral in 1886.
the cathedral a week later. 68

Provoked by the *Otago Daily Times*’ criticism of his absence from Redwood’s investiture, Moran sent the following cablegram from Australia.

‘Re ceremony in Wellington last Sunday. No bishop can, without express authority from the Pope, invest anyone with [the] pallium. I had received no such authority: naturally, therefore, I had declined to go to do what I had no power to do. I was neither expected nor desired in Wellington on Sunday last. This was clearly implied in the letter received by me. + P. Moran.’

When Redwood finally exposed Moran’s clerical insubordination Moran could no longer use the *Tablet* as a tool for his subversion. Redwood, contradicting the statement that the Pope had appointed Luck to officiate at his investiture publicly reprimanded Moran in the *Tablet*.

‘Your supposition, sir, is not correct. The Pope appointed no bishop for that purpose but left the choice of the officiating prelate entirely to the archbishop. Accordingly I wrote to His Lordship Dr. Moran, of Dunedin, asking him, as my senior suffragan bishop, to come and perform the ceremony. On receipt of his telegram of August 9th, informing me that he could not come, I applied as a matter of course, to one of my other suffragans, the Most Rev. Dr. Luck.’

Redwood also published Moran’s perfunctory telegraphic reply to this invitation which read, ‘I regret I cannot go to Wellington on 28 inst.’.

Excusing his actions Moran stated that he was not informed as to the privilege conferred by the Pope on His Grace the Archbishop of Wellington. ‘We ourselves were also ignorant of this, which fact must form our excuse for supposing that the immemorial usage of the Church had been adhered to.’ 69

Publishing an account of the investiture of Archbishop Redwood which

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68. *New Zealand Tablet*, 9 Sep 1887, p.18.
took place in Wellington on 28 August 1887 the Tablet stated that because Bishop Moran, as senior suffragan, had declined to perform the ceremony of investiture, Bishop Luck of Auckland had substituted for him. Because of the length of the ceremony the Tablet explained that no sermon was published. However, it included Pontifical Briefs read in both English and Latin, from the Congregation de Propaganda fide announcing the new metropolitan provinces, the archiepiscopal sees of Brisbane, Adelaide and Wellington. Moran delayed his return from Melbourne by a further week so that he might accompany a group of nuns from Adelaide, destined for Dunedin. On his return Moran received a presentation of a cheque for £1404.  

Moran remained unrepentant and bitter. Already divisive, setting Protestants against Catholics, and secular priests and laity against Marists, he now endeavoured to set English Catholics against Irish Catholics. This was a tactic not dissimilar to that adopted in his well known education debates in support of Catholic schools. Following Redmond’s appointment the Tablet published conciliatory presentations of testimonials to Moran in recognition of his work for New Zealand as well as the diocese of Dunedin. These were prepared by Catholics of Dunedin and smaller parishes of Otago including Kumara, Dunedin, Winton and Invercargill. The Tablet reprinted Protestant criticism from the Evening Bell, regretting the lack of recognition for Moran’s work. Still antagonistic towards English Catholics and Redmond’s administration, the Tablet continued to highlight Moran’s presentations.

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6. New Zealand Tablet, 2 Sep 1887, p.18.
8. To score points during his battle for state funding for Catholic schools Moran argued against bible reading in schools, ultimately condemning this practice as even less preferable to any form of integrated state funded education. H. M Laracy, 'The Life and Context of Bishop Patrick Moran', MA history thesis, Victoria University, 1964.
Moran disseminated his disappointment beyond New Zealand. The Tablet reprinted the Nation's praise of Moran's defence of the Irish clergy in New Zealand. Recalling that 90% of Catholics in Australasia were of Irish stock the Nation commended the Pope on his appointments to new sees in the colonies. Cardinal Moran of Sydney and Archbishop Carr of Melbourne were both Irishmen, as were most of the other bishops in Australia. Echoing New Zealand Tablet sentiments the Nation regretted however, that not all were Irish. Commenting on the Tablet's account of the installation of Archbishop Redwood it noted that Redwood, attributing his elevation as a compliment to the Society of Mary, had taken pride in being born in New Zealand but had ignored the work of the Irish clergy. The Nation concluded by describing the Catholic church in 'Southern lands' as the 'Child of the church of Ireland'.

Moran chose neither to accept the Vatican decision nor to appreciate Vatican policy in the appointment of a New Zealand born and English educated Marist. In his paranoia Moran saw the appointment of a non-Irish prelate in New Zealand as a Vatican attack on Irish politics. He related this Vatican decision to events in Ireland when the Pope did not publicize the purpose of a visit of Monsignore Persico, an Italian archbishop, on a mission to Ireland. Moran disclaimed as mere rumour, the possibility that the mission was religious and not political since rumour also claimed that it was Lord Salisbury and the Duke of Norfolk, accusing Irish priests as agitators for Home Rule, who were instrumental in this visit. Suspicious of the necessity for this visit to Ireland when prelates made reports to the Propaganda every three years, Moran stated that Rome had no right to interfere in Irish politics. Alarmed that the English might influence Rome in the appointment of prelates, Moran feared that the loyalty of Irish Catholics would be destroyed. Persico's visit was also rumoured as an attempt to prevent the involvement of Irish priests in the

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74. New Zealand Tablet, 23 Sep 1887, p.7.
disputes over rack-renting in Ireland. Claiming that some members of the English Catholic laity held more influence than 'a synod of Anglican bishops,' Moran accused them of 'importuning Rome to gag Irish priests'. He concluded by stating that nothing could be wiser than for Propaganda to dismiss all 'English Catholic intriguers'.

The London *Morning Chronicle* stated that Persico's mission had been most friendly even though he had denounced Irish priests 'for their complicity in rebellion, murderous and violent language, and inciting the people to revolt'. Rejecting any suggestion of truth in the *Chronicle's* report Moran justified his earlier attack by quoting accusations previously published in the paper. Moran stated that the *Whitehall Review* had wrongfully quoted Pope Adrian IV as describing the Irish as 'ignorant and savage tribes' and also Pope Alexander III for saying that the Irish were 'plunged in incest and bloodshed'. Also distasteful to Moran were claims that the Irish saint, Archbishop Malachi was credited with the description of the Irish as 'stubborn in manners, bestial in rites, impious in faith [and] filthy in life,' and that Giraldus Camprensis had described the Irish as 'ignorant of the rudiments of Christianity, a most filthy race sunk in sin, more ignorant than all other nations of the first principles of faith'. To St. Brigid was attributed the aphorism that 'more souls were lost in Ireland than in any other part of Christendom'. Confronted by these hagiographic accounts, Moran excused his reaction as a natural mistake when English Catholics were always so eager to denounce their Irish brethren as criminals and 'abominable people'.

Moran continued his campaign against Redwood through the pages of the *Tablet*. The *Melbourne Advocate*, lauding Moran's attributes and the merits of

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'the Tablet, published under his supervision', stated that 'if editorial secrets were disclosed it would become known that Dr. Moran's connection with the paper is even more intimate than we have indicated'.

The Marist periodical, The Illustrated Catholic Missions reviewed Marist missionary successes, reopening Moran's old wounds. In retaliation the Tablet, undermining the status of Redwood's appointment, also attacked the Marist missions by announcing that it had discovered that the term archdiocese was incorrect and not used by the Catholic church. Fearing that some might suspect an unworthy motive in making this announcement, the Tablet stated that 'we are conscious of the contrary, and the only blame we can take to ourselves is the cowardice that prevented us from saying all this long ago, through fear of unworthy motives'.

The review recalled that in 1837 Bishop Pompallier and Father Servant left Wallis Island for New Zealand and although the Maori were equally as warlike they converted 5,000, establishing numerous Christian communities within a short time. In 1850 they were called from the northern part of the North Island to take possession of a diocese in Wellington. In 1887 when New Zealand was elevated to an archbishopric, the diocese was divided into two separate dioceses of Wellington and Christchurch consisting of 40,000 Catholics, with two bishops of the Society of Mary. The Tablet claimed that the contents were misleading in implying that the two dioceses were entirely to the credit of the Marist missionaries and their Maori converts. Denying that there were even 1,000 Maori in the two dioceses and stating that there was only one Maori mission, the Tablet stated that if it were not for the Irish Catholics and their families there would not be more than one Catholic parish or mission in the

8. New Zealand Tablet, 18 Nov 1887, p17.
entire country. Entirely ignored by the Illustrated Catholic Missions, the position of the Catholic church in New Zealand, claimed the Tablet, was mainly due to the 'faith, zeal and generosity of Irish Catholics'.

Moran continued to reject any justification for the decisions of Propaganda. The Australasian Catholic Directory argued that while Dunedin possessed a fine cathedral the numbers of priests did not qualify it for selection by the Propaganda as the Metropolitan See. Expressing astonishment that statistics showed only 18 priests in the Dunedin diocese as opposed to Wellington's 40 priests, Auckland's 39 priests and Christchurch's 22 priests its editor was even more surprised that on further investigation there were only 15 priests in Dunedin when there were 60 in Wellington in 1886, the year following the plenary Council in Sydney. Moran denied the relevance of these statistics restating the recommendations of the Synod in Sydney which were overruled. He stated that the Tablet had been accused of publishing correspondence critical of the decision of the Propaganda in elevating the diocese of Wellington to the status of the Metropolitan See.

The Tablet claimed that controversy over Catholic work done in New Zealand had arisen with Redwood when he attended the opening of the cathedral in Dunedin. Cardinal Moran acknowledged Bishop Moran's work as first bishop of Dunedin, using in his sermon, the analogy of a grain of mustard seed that had already grown into a tree. At the evening service Redwood's sermon, referring to the Cardinal's analogy, expressed indebtedness for the work of the early Marists. 'They sowed in tears and we reap in joy', stated Redwood. The Tablet claimed that Redwood's message had had the opposite effect since it raised again the issue of the little that they had accomplished in Dunedin. 'While the Marists might have been saintly and zealous in religion, Dunedin had languished under their care with numbers of Catholics attending
Protestant services'. Mass attendance, continued the Tablet, was neglected and 'frequentation of the sacraments' was irregular until Moran had come to save the mission in Dunedin. 'Such ... was the task that lay before the Bishop on his arrival. And how was he equipped to perform it'. Again the Tablet restated the situation on Moran's arrival in Dunedin. Finding himself destitute Moran was presented with a church that was so small that it had since been twice enlarged and now served as a school room. There was no presbytery since that used by the Marist Fathers, on the decision of the community, was handed over to the Dominican nuns who had to pack themselves into this unsuitable accommodation. The school room was on a par with the rest of the surroundings. Viard then withdrew the three Marist priests leaving only Moran and Father Coleman to run the diocese.

An editorial written over the name of John F. Perrin, an unprecedented practice, claimed that it had been written in Moran's absence and without his knowledge. Perrin stated that he was writing at the risk of Moran's wrath since Moran was always careful to avoid criticism of the Marist Fathers and any diocese other than his own. The editorial argued that with the spiritual indifference, the poverty and the anti-Catholic bigotry experienced in Dunedin—all unknown in Wellington—it was a wonder that there were now so many priests. The wonder was that the church now owned so much debt free property. Religion in Dunedin survived and progressed. The progress of the Dunedin diocese founded in 1871, 23 years after the founding of Wellington diocese in 1848 showed that Bishop Moran had achieved more than Wellington. Other than the numbers of priests, the Tablet failed to appreciate any thing else that was 'incomparably more important'. The Wellington diocese, it continued 'possesses illustrious patrons and claims a distinction not owned by Dunedin or any other Irish diocese. 'Unrepresented in Rome, Dunedin had to rely on the impartial justice of the Holy See.' The influence of
Dunedin, it continued, had been felt by Irish Catholics the way Wellington never had and never would.

Unable to conceal his jealousy of Redwood, Moran resented any publicity or achievement of anything Marist. In direct opposition to the *Tablet* the Wellington archdiocese founded the Catholic Times. When the newly established Wellington paper published a congratulatory letter from Dublin, Moran protested that it overlooked the existence and work of the *New Zealand Tablet*. He condemned the paper as an organ of an English Catholic party in New Zealand which misrepresented itself as a supporter of Irish national sympathies.79

The *Tablet* again expressed its Marist antagonism in the appointment of Bishop Grimes to the newly established diocese of Christchurch. The appointment of John Grimes, an English Marist, was the second leg of the Propaganda's response to the requests of the Plenary Synod in Sydney in 1885 for the establishment of an archdiocese in New Zealand.80 Announcing the imminent arrival of Bishop Grimes to Christchurch, the *Tablet* was critical of the many months' delay in his arrival. The *Tablet* claimed that it was impossible to disguise the fact that Grimes' appointment was not the most popular, since Irishmen would be intolerant of any influence antagonistic to their national sentiments. The *Tablet* gained the impression that Grimes had not been in touch with Irish nationalists. Accompanied by Archbishop Redwood and five other priests Grimes arrived in Lyttleton to be met by priests, Marist brothers and laymen. After masses said in the Lyttelton church the party retired for the day to the residence of one of the priests. The *Tablet* criticized Grimes for taking the shortest and most obscure route and not making a public entry into

his diocese earlier in the day. Leaving Lyttleton by train at 5.35 pm he arrived at the Christchurch station to complete his journey in the new barouche presented to him by the people. The procession, consisting of five carriages headed by the Catholic Literary Society’s band and members of the Hibernian Society, travelled along Barbados Street to the bishop’s new home. The reception party included Children of Mary in their regalia and a guard of honour of the Sacred Heart Society in their red cloaks. The trees in the garden were hung with lanterns, messages of welcome adorned the gate and the door and the interior of the church was in the opinion of the Tablet, ‘much too profusely decorated with flowers and ferns’. The Papal brief creating the diocese of Christchurch and appointing Dr. Grimes was read at the following service. The Tablet stated that it had been the hope that the Irish people would find in Bishop Grimes a leader sympathetic to their national sentiments and promote the Irish name in their community. Contrary to the sympathetic bond cemented between Moran and his people, Grimes delivered ‘a somewhat cold address’, displaying an irritation towards the Irish question. The Tablet attributed ‘the brevity of the chilling remarks’ to his fatigue, and his references to the Irish question as ‘somewhat ambiguous’. Grimes expressed pleasure at the appointment of Archbishop Redwood and hoped that the unfairness of the present education situation might soon be resolved. The Tablet petulantly replied that ‘It would only have been generous on the part of whoever had informed the Bishop that there is the prospect of the speedy termination of the evil to have informed him also to whom that pleasant prospect is due’. The Tablet described Grimes’ speech as entirely devoid of an Irish accent. Comparing Bishop Grimes with Bishop Moran the Tablet described him as ‘amiable, gentle-mannered and unassuming and not a powerful orator ... in contrast [Moran] riveted the attention of his listeners’.  

82. *New Zealand Tablet*, 10 Feb 1888, p.5.
The *Tablet* continued to express Moran's resentment of Marist presence which ironically accompanied him to the grave. During Moran's long illness and at his death bed it was the Marist bishops who visited him and administered the last rites. Moran suffered more than two years as a chronic invalid before he succumbed finally to a debilitating illness with all the symptoms of congestive heart failure. His ill health has been attributed to the strain of building the cathedral which opened in 1886.\(^\text{62}\)

Moran last officiated outside Dunedin at the opening of the Dominican school at Lawrence in February 1893 and later in the same year attended the opening of the Oamaru parish church. Giving his last address on the thirty-seventh anniversary of his episcopal consecration on Low Sunday, 1893 he made the following request of the faithful: 'I beg of you to pray for me that God may grant me a happy death and a favourable judgment'. Celebrating his final public mass in June 1893 he last attended mass in the cathedral on St. Patrick's day, 17 March 1895.\(^\text{63}\)

On his death the *Tablet* maintained Victorian obituar tradition for the religious, laying enormous emphasis on the death ritual rather than the life of the individual. Devoting detailed descriptions to the death bed scene, the lying in state, the funeral service and the interment, it concluded with Rosary at the grave side. Accounts of Moran's life and death occupied some ten pages plus a two page supplement in the *Tablet* with only passing reference to his struggle for education, the building of the cathedral and his contribution to the *Tablet*. Funeral accounts included Redwood's sermon, the service format and an extensive list of city dignitaries present. Many of these family names, both

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\(^{62}\) Lillian Keys, unpublished manuscripts 'Bishop Moran—Last years (1886-1895), chapter 3, p.1. (Commissioned and paid for to complete the earlier publications, these manuscripts were never published by the Zealandia).

\(^{63}\) *New Zealand Tablet*, 31 May 1895, p.5.
Catholic and Protestant, still exist in Dunedin directories. The *Tablet* reprinted laudatory tributes published in many of the secular papers, including those with which he had contended bitterly in the past. The Dunedin Star, *Otago Daily Times*, *Wellington Post*, *Napier News*, *Tuapeka Times* and the *Waimea Plains Review* all lauded Moran's attributes.

The ominous tolling of the cathedral bell at 5.45 on Wednesday 22 May 1895 announced to the populace of Dunedin, the death of 'Soggarth Aroon', their 'dearly beloved priest', His Lordship, the Right Reverend Dr. Patrick Moran, at the age of 72 years'. The *Tablet* described how the tolling of the bell 'speedily drew a concourse of the people to the church where, to their great grief, they found their worst fears confirmed'.

Moran's death was more than the final departure of a devout and committed religious leader; it was the end to an era in Catholic colonial history. Patrick Moran, first Catholic bishop of Dunedin, legend throughout New Zealand, and a force to be reckoned with in the corridors of government, even created ripples within the bureaucracies of the Vatican. The magnitude and diversity of the attendance at his funeral reflected the stature of a man who had contributed to the growth of the city and the province and the defender of Catholic rights and Irish politics. Yet he had frequently conflicted with these same people who came to mourn his final departure. Moran's funeral cortege, headed by the Citizens' band, included clergy and office bearers of other denominations, the Mayor and City Councilors, the respective Chairmen and members of the Benevolent Institution and the Charitable Aid Boards, his own clergy, religious sodalities and members of the congregation, the Bishop's physicians and members of his household as well as members of the public. Many had travelled from out of town to attend the service.

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84. *New Zealand Tablet*, 31 May 1895, special supplement dated 31 May 1895 between pp.16 and 17.
At his death Archbishop Redwood, Father Newport from Port Chalmers and the cathedral priests, Fathers Lynch, Murphy and Howard were present along with members of the household staff who said the prayers for the dying. During his two year illness Drs. Fergusson and Brown and Anne Mulholland, his nurse, had cared for Moran. Archbishop Redwood, having given him the last absolution, was conducting the Rosary when Moran died peacefully, uttering his last words, 'My Jesus, mercy'.

The Tablet described the reception room at the 'palace,' converted to a mortuary chapel where requiem masses were offered for the bishop whose catafalque was placed in the centre of the room. Floor to ceiling black curtains relieved by a white fringe covering the walls, windows, door and fireplace transformed the room. The body remained there from Wednesday, the day of his death until Sunday, when the body was removed to the cathedral where a specially erected catafalque was constructed under the supervision of the architect, Francis Petre. A glass top to the coffin enabled members of the public to take a final look at their departed leader and 'soggarth aroon'. On the canopy the nuns had embroidered the bishop's arms in black, on a circular shield of white. The solemn procession accompanying the body from the palace to the cathedral included members of all of the sodalities and religious orders, while school children formed a guard of honour. The inscription on the lid of the figured red pine coffin with silver mountings read:

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85. New Zealand Tablet, 31 May 1895, p.6.
Patrick Moran, R.I.P., 1823-1895.
As a man of passion, Moran's life was dedicated to his church and to his Irish heritage. To this passion could be attributed his unflattering faith in himself and his beliefs. Sadly, it was this same passion which blinded his judgment, destroying his ambition to become the national prelate of New Zealand. Moran became an anachronism within his own church when he refused to accept changing Vatican policies which recognised the need to foster national freedoms within a greater united Catholic world. His divisive attitude towards English Catholics and Home Rule policies, and a relentless attitude towards the Marist order obscured his vision as a great church leader. Overcoming his reluctance to leave South Africa to start again, work similar to that already undertaken in the barrack diocese of Grahamstown, he eventually accepted the challenge of another frontier diocese. Having switched allegiance to his new diocese he soon became popular among his pastoral charges. He was

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*New Zealand Tablet, 31 May 1895, p.8.*
not averse to exploitation of this popularity however. When in conversation with his Anglican counterpart, Dr. Neville, Moran was alleged to have said ‘Ah! you should get your people to be like mine.... Oh! They’ll do what I tell them, if I move my little finger’. His inability to compromise destroyed his dreams, creating for himself and his parishioners a ghetto environment and perpetuating within this new-world homogenous society, a class distinction abhorrent to him.

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[57] New Zealand Tablet, 7 Nov 1879, p.15.
The Tablet: ‘Respectably dull’ or ‘personal and vulgar’?

The first chapter studied religious print culture as the background from which the New Zealand Tablet emerged, revealing the pertinence of a Catholic newspaper for New Zealand Catholics. This chapter scrutinizes the early years of the paper within an historical context of the church in the nineteenth century. It was a time when Catholicism was coming to terms with its defeat as a European political power and facing challenges to its Ultramontane absolutism. Selective Tablet content revealed the political indicators to which colonial Catholics were referred on matters of both European and Anglo-Irish politics. The editor-driven content of the Tablet ranged widely from accounts of theological dispute to litigation with the secular press; from local politics to news-clips from almost every county in Ireland. Other than a substantial advertising component, the Tablet bore little content determined by its readers.

The content of the Tablet began, and continued throughout Moran’s era and after, to be both Catholic and Irish. The paper served as a platform to reinforce his views, known well to the local community and as a medium reaching out to Catholics in rural areas and other centres beyond the province of Otago. Conscious that his flock was a minority group within a predominantly Protestant non-Irish culture, his concern was not only to promote and strengthen their religious faith but also to perpetuate their sense of Irish nationalism. Considering that literacy presented a double-edged sword, he feared the exposure of
Catholics to the non-Catholic press and Protestant prejudice and believed that every household should have a Catholic publication. Recognizing the impact of this universal literacy, Moran stated that 'there are few households wherein a newspaper is not read... His frequent practice of merging religious with Irish nationalist issues is evidenced by his accusation that journals that 'inveigh against the church also inveigh against Irish—Irish anti-Catholic is also anti-Irish. The Catholic press alone, is the friend of the Irish'.

When readers suggested changes to the character and content of the paper the editor reminded its readers of the primary objective of the paper on its establishment, as the defence of Catholic interests and the Catholic name. The Tablet provided a platform denied by the secular press to argue against 'godless schools'. It also aimed to vindicate the Irish cause and protect Irish people from defamation and prejudice. If it also provided instructive and interesting material it considered that it had surpassed its objectives. The Tablet rated secular colonial affairs as of only secondary consideration and for this reason claimed to steer clear of local and national politics. It considered that local newspapers performed this function and it would be to the exclusion of the Catholic and Irish content if the Tablet did likewise. Nevertheless it frequently commented on such issues. The Tablet made extensive use of non-Irish secular news sources from numerous other papers, some well known, others singularly obscure. As well as from the local secular press it quoted and reproduced regularly from the London Times, of which it was frequently critical. The Tablet published from other well-known papers, including the Westminster Gazette, Philadelphia Standard, Dublin Review, Pall Mall Gazette, Scotsman, the Advocate, the London Tablet, and the European Mail. Lesser-known papers were the Derry Journal, Echo

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Universal and the Queenslander.²

To the ‘incomprehensible’ suggestion (from readers) that it might include ‘light reading’ the Tablet replied that police and court reports, items of sensationalism and skits on local people and events were inappropriate and an insult to the intelligence of the readers. The Catholic and Irish content provided reading as light as was possible when referring to religious matters. The Tablet thought that extracts reprinted from the Irish newspapers, the United Ireland, the Nation and the Dublin Freeman could not be accused of ‘heaviness’. ‘Have the Irish abroad become of a more frivolous disposition?’ questioned the Tablet. While the Tablet admitted to ‘stronger language than might be advisable on occasion it was only on provocation that it did so’. The paper concluded by stating that it could not risk betraying its cause by lowering its tone.³

The style of journalism remained tiresomely prolix with little change in presentation. Lucy Brown, when discussing the distribution and circulation of newspapers in Victorian News and Newspapers states that Victorian newspapers made no attempt to adjust their presentation to people of limited education, nor did they try to enlarge the range of their readers by the use of illustrations.⁴ The Tablet followed this practice, utilizing an unvarying typeset and page layout with only limited use of illustrated advertisements.

The first issue of the Tablet included a pastoral letter from the archbishops and bishops of Ireland. This letter focused on the persecution of the Church, listing three essentials necessary for the continuation of her growth. For the ‘good estate’ of the Church, it was necessary to preserve the Christian faith, to

² New Zealand Tablet, 18 Feb 1887, p.1.
maintain of the authority of the hierarchy and to ensure 'free action on the souls of men by the word of God and the sacraments'. The letter also expressed the concerns of the church at an indirect attack by political power on Ultramontanism, claiming that this was done through materialism and science.

The birth of the Tablet coincided with a critical period for the church in Europe and early issues described this period of crisis and turmoil of the church’s history. Recent occurrences of the nineteenth century which included the capture of Rome and Pope Pius IX, the rifling of palaces and the seizure of ecclesiastical buildings, the confiscation of charitable institutions and property of religious orders and bishops’ houses, the banishment of religion from schools, the removal of episcopal authority over seminaries and the suppression of religious orders, and conscription into the army of clerical students and ordained priests were likened to events of the third century. The following week the Tablet included an account of the bishops of Tuscany who had written to King Victor Emmanuel, accusing him of destroying the Church. Events in Germany were no more comfortable, with the expulsion of the religious orders of Jesuits, Redemptorists, Lazarists, Trappists and Christian Brothers. Penal laws had been imposed upon preachers antagonistic to the policies of the Empire. The German Empire had suppressed Catholic publications and suspended ecclesiastics. In Poland Russians had prohibited the use of the Polish language. Estates of which the Catholic Church had been despoiled could be purchased only by Russians of Orthodox or Evangelical faiths, or by state officials. The clergy in Spain suffered impoverishment and enslavement. In Switzerland the state had usurped authority on dogma and jurisdiction over priests, as well as expelling members of religious orders. Priest in Belgium were ordered to refuse the burial of lapsed Catholics and Catholic cemeteries had been desecrated. Several countries had

5. New Zealand Tablet, 3 May 1873, pp.4-6.
refused to recognise marriage as a religious sacrament and recognition was given only to civil marriage. In Turkey attempts had been made to sever Catholics from dependence on the Holy See by denying papal jurisdiction.7 Catholic property had been confiscated.8 The Bishop of Geneva had been expelled from Switzerland.9 Quoting from the Paris Univers, the Tablet stated that the Emperor Napoleon III, a few weeks before his death, had claimed that had he remained in power he would never have sanctioned the invasion of Rome.10 The Tablet claimed that Napoleon had invaded Rome and imprisoned the Pope within his own diminished estate.11

Editorial content continued to reflect Moran's obsession with the sense of Irish nationalism of its readers, ranking this equally with the preservation of their Catholic faith. All that was Irish was good and all that was Catholic was right. The Tablet continued to rely heavily on overseas items to supplement local news and events from other dioceses and parishes beyond Dunedin. Cryptic telegraphic news clips topped up columns with brief accounts of national and international interest. Many of these items must have been tantalizing to those who might have read them with personal interest while others must have appeared far removed from the realities of colonial life. The following example is a selection of these items, no more than a series of cryptic and unrelated phrases:

7. New Zealand Tablet, 10 May 1873, pp.5-11.
• 'The German Parliament was opened by Emperor William in person. The Emperor's speech is pacific.'
• 'The French Chambers have been opened by President MacMahon.
• 'The British expedition has returned to Valencia, having found it impossible to reach the North Pole.'
• 'Celebration in Dublin of the escape of Fenian convicts in Australia. Escape funded by American Irish.'
• 'Women's boots would be a regular feature by 1876.'
• 'Miners flogged in Queensland for horse trading.'
• 'Christchurch City Council building a new fire station.'

A lyrical description of Dunedin rounded off this selection by describing the location of the city as 'tranquil land-locked water with grassy, tilled or wooded banks; brown hill tops rising from these; the breakers foaming wildly on the beach, and, beyond, the wide ocean ...'

Maintaining its conservative image, the Tablet was late to adopt the style or practices of 'New Journalism' which developed from the early nineteenth century. This term, first attributed to Matthew Arnold, was developed and popularized, particularly by the Pall Mall Gazette journalist, W.T. Stead and widely adopted by the press during the nineteenth century. New Journalism developed a lighter dramatised and colloquial approach with a change in emphasis from the primary importance of political to social issues. G.A. Cranfield in New Journalism, in The Press and Society from Caxton to Northcliffe defines New Journalism as 'a formula of intelligence, instruction and entertainment brought up to date'. Cranfield credits the Daily Telegraph with the lead in publishing magazine articles and features in an entertaining and arresting

manner. It was Stead, with his concern for social injustices, who enlivened newspaper reading by adopting a direct and confrontational style through the technique of interview.\textsuperscript{14} By necessity rather than design the Tablet adopted this technique during the latter stages of Moran's life. From 1893 to his death in 1895 Moran's health began to fail and he was no longer able to continue his formerly active role in the production of his Tablet. In place of his regular editorial the paper published accounts of interviews conducted with him at his Rattray Street residence. 'Although too fragile in health to commit to paper his usually outspoken views, he lost nothing in impact by use of the spoken word'.\textsuperscript{15}

Heralding changes in stance and style the Tablet featured a reprint from the Irish World, three weeks before Moran's death. The Irish World published a request made by Perrin, editor of the Tablet, to Bishop Moran. This was the first occasion that the Tablet had publicly acknowledged Perrin as editor. Citing Moran as 'Patriot Bishop of Dunedin' the Irish World had published Moran's reply to Perrin in which he declined permission for Perrin to establish branches of the Irish Confederation League in New Zealand. As 'an earnest and strenuous advocate ... of a domestic legislature for Ireland...'. Moran had stressed the need for the healing of dissensions among the supporters of Home Rule before one strong party would be formed. 'Sick and ashamed' of these dissensions and recriminations of Home Rulers, he did not recommend the taking of sides or active engagement in agitation. According to the Irish World, Moran was not alone in his views of these dissenters, who had earned the similar disapproval of Canadian and Irish prelates as well.\textsuperscript{16}

\textsuperscript{15} New Zealand Tablet, 29 Sep, p.16, 13 Oct, p.17 and 27 Oct 1893, p.17.
\textsuperscript{16} New Zealand Tablet, 3 May 1894 [sic] 1895, p.18.
The Tablet was not averse to notoriety and indeed as editor Moran on numerous occasions could justify the accusation of being, to quote the Whitehall Review, ‘personal and vulgar’.\textsuperscript{17} If on a winning streak, he would gloat unabashedly. Reluctant to concede defeat he was apt to prevaricate and deviate from the argument before conveniently dropping the matter without concession. Criticism from overseas publications failed to daunt him and he was not afraid to disagree with editorial policy or judgment. When accused by the Liverpool Catholic Times of ‘reveling in religious disputation’, of being ‘politically bumptious’ and ‘respectably dull’ the Tablet admitted to labouring under the ‘disadvantage’ of being produced by Catholic writers but felt under no obligation to enliven its columns by a ‘sprightliness of the nondescript platform’.\textsuperscript{18}

Moran disagreed strongly with the editorial policy expressed by Herbert Vaughan, bishop of Salford, when editor of the Dublin Review, and later Archbishop of Westminster. Vaughan wrote on ‘The Duty of a Catholic Editor’, stating that a Catholic editor was bound to act with greatest caution and circumspection, and not to prematurely approve or indiscriminately condemn. Remedial measures of a Catholic journalist should be guided by the Holy See which permits a difference of opinion only in political matters. Besides his duties to truth and justice, he continued, a Catholic editor must endeavour to keep Catholics united and to avoid embittering one set against the other. Where moral law was involved in political matters the editor should not anticipate the judgment of the Church nor pass judgment or pronounce anathema upon a political movement. Vaughan concluded by commending the editor of the London Tablet for his successful observation of these requirements. The New Zealand Tablet, suggesting that Vaughan may not have read its editorial views,
renewed its condemnation of the London Tablet, for its anti-Irish stance on Home Rule.\textsuperscript{19}

The \textit{Whitehall Review} described the \textit{New Zealand Tablet} as 'personal and vulgar, and incoherent and noncomprehensible'. When responding to this criticism the \textit{Tablet} commended the British \textit{Tablet} as an admirable newspaper when conducted by Frederick Lucas, but would be ashamed to have anything in common with the 'priggish production' that now bears its name.\textsuperscript{20} The \textit{New Zealand Tablet} continued this attack, accusing it of being an 'organ of the Catholic Tories of England, and a malign enemy of Home Rule ...' and of losing its circulation among the bishops and priests of Irish extraction.\textsuperscript{21} Confirming this policy of Irish nationalism a correspondent to the \textit{Pilot} observed that when reading Australian papers he saw little difference in tone or temper from that of the \textit{United Ireland} and the \textit{Nation}. The Sydney \textit{Freeman}, the Melbourne \textit{Advocate} and the \textit{New Zealand Tablet} all included news and activities of matters pertaining to Irish politics rather than local content.\textsuperscript{22}

The local Protestant press escaped no less, this \textit{Tablet} acrimony. In response to the \textit{Christian Record}'s criticism of a recent reception of Dominican Sisters from Ireland Moran described the \textit{Record} as 'a little bit of a weekly ... a mawkish chronicle of sectarian small beer, and thoroughly contemptible even from a literary point of view'.\textsuperscript{23} When the \textit{Christian Record} had criticized an address on education delivered by Moran six years previously, Moran suggested

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{19} \textit{New Zealand Tablet}, 24 Sep 1886, p.1
\item \textsuperscript{20} \textit{New Zealand Tablet}, 31 Aug 1888, p.1.
\item \textsuperscript{21} \textit{New Zealand Tablet}, 19 Oct 1888, p.31.
\item \textsuperscript{22} \textit{New Zealand Tablet}, 16 Nov 1888, p.15.
\item \textsuperscript{23} \textit{New Zealand Tablet}, 24 May, 1878, pp.2-3.
\end{itemize}
disparagingly that the paper should turn its attention to 'domestic history'. Education was always a matter of contention for Moran and he never missed the opportunity to justify and defend this stance. He deflected every editorial, regardless of its opening topic, to his ongoing battle for Catholic education. Entitled 'A contemporary becomes religious' one editorial gleefully commented on concern expressed by *The Otago Guardian* that men were not attending Protestant churches because of the poor quality of the sermons. Not having to express this concern for Catholics, Moran claimed that the problem was not the quality of the sermons in Protestant churches but the lack of Christian education.

Discord with the secular press became more serious however when the *Tablet* was entangled in litigation resulting from the libel case, Moran v. George Bell of *The Evening Star*. 'A Lie' headed the *Tablet* editorial. The *Evening Star*, *Bruce Herald*, *Tuapeka Times* all published an account of a Roman Catholic priest reputed to have taken a wife 'à la the infamous Pière [sic] Hyacinthe of Paris'. Moran responded to this 'base calumny' by bringing a case of libel against *The Evening Star* for the scandal caused to the Roman Catholic clergy and the alleged ex-Sister of Mercy. Moran prosecuted *The Evening Star* rather than the *Tuapeka Times* because of the greater damage incurred by a wider circulation. He claimed that the *Star* was anti-clergy and ant-Dominican. The Catholic architect, F.W. Petre as a witness, testified to the seriousness of this damaging statement. Bell, as proprietor of *The Evening Star* was committed to the Supreme Court where he was released on bail of £200. Moran published in his editorial a

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belated apology to the clergy, from the *Tuapeka Times*. His satisfaction from this victory was however short lived when the case against *The Evening Star* was dismissed by a Protestant jury. Making no attempt to apologise for its misleading information, *The Evening Star* angered Moran even further. When the *Otago Witness* criticised Moran for suing for libel Moran dismissed the matter as a lost cause, and thus the case drew to a close.

The *Tablet* frequently engaged in protracted dispute only to drop a matter with inconclusive and unresolved argument. One of the longest sagas was that of a philosophical dispute based upon the moral theology of Gury. This had coincided with the arrival of two Jesuit priests from Melbourne. The presence of the Jesuits in Dunedin was an event which Moran anticipated with enthusiasm since it would provide a quality education previously denied to the sons of better-off Catholic families. Despite Moran's views on the place of women in society, the Dominican presence in Dunedin, had already provided a quality convent education. Arriving with Moran in 1871 the nuns had founded a boarding establishment and offered a school curriculum which included all the subjects considered appropriate to any well-bred young lady. Until the arrival of the Jesuits, middle-class girls' education had been better served than that of their middle-class brothers.

Criticisms of Jesuit teaching by the *New Zealand Christian Record* and the Presbyterian publication, the *Evangelist*, provoked protracted and somewhat acrimonious debate between Moran and his editorial counterparts, not only

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within Protestant religious publications but also within the secular press. The timing of this criticism was an embarrassment for Moran. Not only did he strongly disagree with the accusations against the Jesuits but it followed closely on the heels of these newly arrived Jesuit priests.

On the assumption that all Jesuits still subscribed to the Jansenist teachings of Port Royal in accordance with the Provincial Lettres of Pascal, both the New Zealand Christian Record (referred to by Moran as the UnChristian Record), and the Evangelist accused the Jesuits of failing to meet their commitment to prescribed standards of morality. Central to this argument was Gury’s Compendium of Moral Theology, reviewed by a Jesuit House in England.

The Australian Christian Record’s editor, Reverend L. Mackey whose writings were reprinted in the New Zealand Christian Record, The Southern Cross, The Clutha Leader, The Otago Witness and The Evening Star all became embroiled in tortuous dispute. Central to this lengthy debate were finer points in translation from the Latin. Axiomatic to the whole dispute was the interpretation of the word ‘ignorans’ as ‘ignorant of knowledge’ or as ‘ignoring knowledge’. Protestant writers claimed that it meant ‘ignoring’ and therefore condoning the action of sin while the Catholic interpretation of ‘ignorance’ meant that without knowledge of sin, no sin was committed. By condoning Gury’s moral arguments, the Protestants alleged that the Jesuits—and Moran—encouraged Catholic teachings of moral laxity in relation to lawfulness of deceit, theft, perjury, assassination and murder. Moran’s denial of the existence of the Jesuit philosophical axiom that ‘the end justifies the means’ provoked his Protestant

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33. New Zealand Tablet, 3 Jan 1879, p.3.
34. New Zealand Tablet, 2 Apr 1879, p.13.
opponents to retaliation. The Clutha Leader challenged Moran to accept an independent translation by a panel of secular academics to which Moran responded with his own translation and interpretation. Accused of being a Jesuit himself, a flattered Moran gleefully replied that he regretted that he was not so honoured as to be a member of the Order. The Southern Cross listed nine of the original thirteen charges against Gury. When The Clutha Leader accused Moran of being afraid to place Gury’s Compendium in the hands of the Presbyterians, Moran replied that he had already given it to the Professor of Theology. Mackey then challenged Moran for not having published the full account of the correspondence in the Tablet, to which Moran replied that he would not waste space on such ‘rigmarole’. Again Mackey challenged Moran, this time on points of translation, to which Moran repeated his commentary on the points of moral and ethical questions under dispute. Mackey scored a victory by publishing the Jesuits’ confirmation of their use Gury’s Moral Theology as a handbook in their colleges. By supporting the Jesuits, The Southern Cross accused Moran of suppressing the truth and contradicting the Pope. This Moran disputed by stating that when Clement XIV disbanded the Jesuits in 1873, he did so only under political duress and demonstrated his belief in them by granting Jesuits the right to join other orders or to become secular priests.

In response to an Evangelist account of the Jesuit expulsion and their teaching, the Tablet endeavoured to conclude this saga by printing an extract

35. New Zealand Tablet, 28 Feb 1879, p.13.  
36. New Zealand Tablet, 14 Mar 1879, p.3.  
38. New Zealand Tablet, 7 Mar 1879, pp.13 and 15.  
40. New Zealand Tablet, 11 Apr 1879, p.15.  
from Paul Farrel's *Jesuits*, condemning the expulsion of the Jesuits. Among the many he named as enemies were the French Revolutionaries, Lamartine, Diderot and Talleyrand. Those in support of the Jesuits included names of Bacon, Grotius Ranke and Kern.43

Described by the *Tablet* as a 'garbled and distorted' version, *The Saturday Review* claimed that Gury's *Theology* had provided grounds for a fierce onslaught on Jesuits in the French Chamber of Deputies.44 The attack was based on a speech delivered in the Chamber by M. Bert in defence of M. Ferry. The *Tablet* criticised Bert for having confused the issue in 'taking the part for the whole. What had been done at this time or that, or under particular conditions', argued the *Tablet*, 'differed from what is always done. 'Casuistry' added the *Tablet* 'generates a particular class of unwholesome growth'. It argued that rational friends opposing rational enemies brought about benefits. 'That it caused injury, must be weighed against the benefit of the end result. Catholics stressed benefits while Protestants stressed injuries, resulting from the action.' The *Tablet*, dismissed the issue by stating that Bert was arguing an anachronism on the present day situation.45 Following this somewhat fractured defence Gury disappeared from the pages of the *Tablet*.

Editorial selection, viewed exclusively from the perspective of the church, remained dominated by Irish and European news and politics. Local content focused on the New Zealand political scene, but primarily with a view to promoting the Catholic school funding issue. As a valuable reflection of its Catholic readers, advertisements provide an insight into the changing needs and lifestyles of colonial society. To be financially viable newspapers cannot rely

44. New Zealand Tablet, 3 Oct 1879, p.1.
entirely on editorial content but must resort to advertising to contribute to the overhead costs and to enhance circulation by widening its interests to readers. Editorial and commercial practices of the Tablet followed those of most successful newspaper productions. From its inception the Tablet relied heavily on its advertising programme to support its more formal function as a vehicle of spiritual guidance. Advertisements attracted readers as well as providing an income to subsidise paper and operating costs.

As a class publication the Tablet’s editorial direction determined the content and flavour of the material presented to its readers. As a commercial operation, advertising played a major role in revenue to complement personal subscriptions from its readers. It was in this section that by virtue of what appealed to them, readers did determine a degree of Tablet content which also reflected many of their needs and their lifestyle. Advertisements served as the greatest reflector of developments in colonial society with the resultant changes in needs and preferences of its readers. This section also reveals a different code of ethics within the newspaper industry from that of present day legislation and expectations.

The advertising operation undertaken by the Tablet as a religious publication was not unusual. Terry Nevett in ‘Advertising and Editorial Integrity in the Nineteenth Century’, states that by 1870 the religious press was emulating its secular counterpart in tone and business methods. Nevett quotes Daniel Stuart when stating that ‘advertisements act and react’ by attracting readers and promoting circulation which in turn attracts advertisements.46 Berridge’s use of advertising as a form of content analysis to ‘provide useful pointers to the character of newspaper readership’ endorses this view. She considers that the

46. Terry Nevett, ‘Advertising and Editorial Integrity in the Nineteenth Century’ in The Press and English
range of advertisements indicate not merely an editorial attitude, but what was available and what held appeal, as well as illustrating the ‘collective mind’ of its readers. She saw advertisements as a reflection of the standard of living and lifestyle, increase in opportunities, leisure time and personal wealth of its readers. To perform a useful function to society newspapers’ financial viability and independence, and therefore credibility, depended on advertising. As circulation increased they provided for an growing number of less affluent readers, and the press losing its mystique as the fourth estate became a down-to-earth industry. After the abolition of the duty on newspaper advertising in England in 1853 the number of advertisers increased and continued to grow throughout the nineteenth century. In the earlier decades British newspapers had advertised the services of auctioneers, publishers, retailers, medical quacks, as well as legal and public notices, situations vacant and property sales. From the 1870s the types of advertisements reflected an expansion in consumer choice for the working class. Washing, cleaning and other utilitarian products appeared first along with food products—saucers, relishes and meat extracts. Cigarettes, confectionery and other luxury goods followed. Furniture, men’s suits, sewing machines, patterns and materials were offered, with the development of large department stores. Advertising also reflected development in other fields. Papers advertising the sale of shares, forthcoming elections, charities and transport schedules indicated more efficient communication systems. Typewriters, fountain-pens, calculating machines, piano-players, phonographs, cameras, safety razors and motor cars reflected technological developments of the last quarter of

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47. Virginia Berridge ‘Content Analysis and Historical Research on Newspapers’ in The Press in English Society from the Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries, eds. Michael Harris and Alan Lee, pp.150-152.
the nineteenth century. English newspapers recognised and utilised the power of advertising to boost sales and supplement income.49

The Tablet continued to rely upon its advertising programme as a significant supplement to its revenue. The appointment of advertising agents in other centres as well as Dunedin indicates the recognised importance of this source of revenue for the publishers, as well as offering readers the added attraction of information of a more practical nature. The change in Tablet advertising content reflects a change in the needs and social attitudes of its readers and the diversification of advertising clients illustrated a growing sophistication in the business world of commerce and retail. Advertisements grew in number from two and a half pages to fill nine and a half pages. In December 1878 the Tablet increased by four pages from twenty to twenty-four pages and in August 1880 advertising occupied eleven of the twenty-four pages.

Some Tablet advertising patterns paralleled British practices while others reflected characteristics peculiar to a colonial society. The high number of Irish publicans advertising in the Tablet revealed a new occupational group unique to colonial society, serving the needs and demands of the highly mobile and hard drinking miners. Tablet advertising also reflected the uppermost needs of the more stable and domesticated members of a colonial society who for their health, relied heavily on itinerant specialists, home cures and patent medicines. Those in the rural sector looked to agricultural related advertisements while household goods and clothing reflected the priorities of the colonial mistress and homemaker.

49. Berridge 'Content Analysis.'
Specimen page of advertisements illustrating the prevalence of the hotel industry in the 1870s.
The first issues of the *Tablet* contained two pages of advertisements for hotels and public houses throughout the province equaling the number which promoted goods and services in general. Some forty odd hotels advertising in the *Tablet* were mostly situated in the provincial capital of Dunedin, the Maniototo and other parts of Central Otago. Often they embodied Irish themes in their names and many of the proprietors were Irish. Hotel advertisements in 1873 included such names as the Shamrock Hotels at Dunedin and Lawrence, Ryan's Bendigo Hotel, Hibernian Hotel, Shamrock and Thistle Hotel, Munster Arms Hotel and the Harp of Erin Hotel. Examples of names of proprietors of Irish origin, some women, were P. O'Brien, Francis McGrath, Kelegher and O'Donnell, Mrs. Donovan, D. Toohey, M'Mahon and Walsh, Mrs. Kelly, Thomas Horrigan, Thomas O'Driscoll, S. O'Kane and Mrs. Hanning. Advertisements in the *Otago Daily Times* for the corresponding period represented a diversity of commercial operations but included no hotels.50

Ray Hargreaves in *Barmaids, Billiards, Nobblers and Rat-pits*, when discussing the expanding numbers of hotels resulting from the days of the goldrush, records 104 hotels in Dunedin by 1865.51 Hargreaves describes the multi-purpose functions of hotels in the sixties, a characteristic that was still in evidence in the early days of the *Tablet* when the Provincial hotel served as a concert theatre as well as a stock yard, and visiting medical practitioners undertook consultations from their hotel rooms.52

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50. Advertisements included shipping, 2 columns; miscellaneous wants, 1 column; drapery, 3 columns; amusements, 1 column; meetings and money shared 0.5 column; public notices, 1 item; tenders, 1.5; to let, 0.5 column; property sales 0.5 column; public companies (insurance), 1 column; auctions 2 columns; for sale, 1.5 columns; business notices, 2.5 columns; medical (patent medicines), 0.5 column; ODT, 3 May 1873, pp.1, 3, 4.


The high proportion of hotels featuring in the Tablet indicates that Irish Catholic readers of the Tablet contributed substantially to the hotel industry as consumers as well as providers of alcoholic beverages, meals and accommodation. Hotels frequently advertised availability of overseas Catholic and Irish newspapers and periodicals reflecting a strong Catholic influence and a widespread interest in Irish nationalism. Hanan's 'Post Office Hotel' at Kumera attracted guests by offering reading materials including the NZ [sic] Tablet, Melbourne Advocate, the Sydney Freeman's Journal the Nation and volumes of Irish National works—as well as a supply of wines and spirits.  

In the later decades of the nineteenth century commercial pressure on editors and proprietors from their advertising clients saw transgression from the rigid single-column style, to the use of bold print and illustrations to attract the eye of the consumer public. The editorial practice of 'puffing', giving favourable mention to products earning a high income from the advertising client, was widely used by the Victorian newspaper industry. An editorial puff on the front page of a British newspaper might cost the advertiser 10/6 instead of the usual sixpence charged for an advertisement placed in the normal advertising columns. Nevett cites an example of Thomas Holloway (whose pills were also regularly advertised in the Tablet), negotiating for a weekly newspaper insertion for £4-0-0 on condition that it published, free of charge, a weekly news item and a monthly editorial on his products. Until the Newspaper Society warned against puffing and condemned it in 1879 the industry considered puffing as an acceptable and ethical practice. Not until the end of the century did respectable newspapers condemn the practice as unacceptable. 

53. New Zealand Tablet, 5 July 1878, p.10.
Although there is no evidence of the Tablet puffing for financial gain, it frequently indulged in personal promotion for a number of its advertising clients. To enhance their credibility two medical advertisers invited the editors of local Dunedin papers advertising their skills, to observe clients undergoing examination. A fullpage advertisement announced the forthcoming visits of Dr. Grant and Professor Wallburg for consultation at Balclutha, Milton, Lawrence and Invercargill. The editors of both the Tablet and the Saturday Advertiser visited the consulting rooms and observed patients, and the Tablet published the following reports: ‘Miss White aged eleven, daughter of a settler from Oamaru, totally blind had her sight restored in three days. Having been deaf for three years, the hearing of Miss Hughes of Dunedin was fully restored. Patrick Francis had his sight restored following injury to one eye from a stone while working at Logan’s Point. Herman Schultz who had been totally deaf for years could now hear plainly.’ The Tablet urged those afflicted with blindness to consult Dr. Grant and Professor Wallenburg. In endorsement of their work, the Tablet also quoted from the Grafton Argus and the Capricomian.55

When a ‘Palestinian Aurist, the only one in the world’ visited Dunedin in 1878 for consultation the Tablet recommended his services to its readers.56 The Tablet commented frequently that Professor Gusscott, a herbalist and self-appointed ‘King of Pain’, continued to produce evidence of the cures effected by him, even though the advertisements appearing regularly, repeated many of the same letters from his satisfied patients. When clients testified to the success of a particular treatment, advertisements freely quoted their names, addresses and the nature of their indispositions, giving details of the duration of the condition and length of time required to gain relief. Thomas Davidson expressed

55. *New Zealand Tablet*, 10 Oct 1879, p.10.
appreciation for the treatment of his children’s worms, J. Harris for treatment of his cough and wheezing and chest tightness. Thomas Ferguson was cured of his rheumatism and sciatica. Other cures were enjoyed by Mrs. Isabella Frazer of her dropsy of four years duration, David Jones of his bleeding piles of eight years duration and Donald Smith of his asthma of seven years duration. Alexander Lucas recovered from a liver complaint and palpitation of the heart, of twelve years standing. The following year Professor Gusscott met with further success. Frederich Johns claimed himself a ‘new man’ having made a remarkable recovery from nervous debility of ten years, during which time he could neither sleep nor eat. William Manson who could not sleep on his left side was cured of his sleeplessness, indigestion, costive state, palpitations, chest and shoulder pain, and a feeling of cold. With the aid of one week of herbalism Ellen Brown enjoyed the ‘perfect cure’ for her three months of dysentery during which time her intestine ‘peeled away in flakes’. John O’Brien, suffering sciatica and rheumatism since working on the West Coast gold diggings in 1864 enjoyed a recovery from his symptoms within ten days and Elizabeth Waters was cured in three weeks, from indigestion which had troubled her for eighteen months.

In 1880 Professor Gusscott published the accounts of a new set of successes from his grateful patients, this time adding further credibility by supplying addresses as well as names of his clients. Richard Dobson of South Town Belt wrote of nervous debility brought on by ‘indiscretion of early youth’. Previously he had been diagnosed as having both a heart condition and consumption. The patient complained of insomnia, poor appetite, an inability to work, inattention, an inability to mix with people, as well as a dislike of his own company. In addition to this he suffered nightmares and depression, headaches, palpitations and a tendency ‘to start almost at my own shadow’. After fifteen weeks Mr.

57. New Zealand Tablet, 5 Jul 1878, p.6.
58. New Zealand Tablet, 1 Aug 1879, p.19.
Dobson wrote to Professor Gusscott informing him that his memory had been restored, his sight strong again, his mind had ceased to wander and he could once more enjoy company 'and, in short, Richard's himself again'. Eliza Watson, also of South Town Belt returned a small case of her medicine since she was now free of her painful rheumatism but thought that she would benefit from treatment for the weakness from which she still suffered. Thomas Moran of Southbridge preferred not to enter into the nature of his complaint, declining the Professor's request to advertise his cure. He did however express his gratitude for the free treatment given for his distressing nervous debility and assured Professor Gusscott of his 'restoration to perfect health'. P.M'G, from Kumera wished to remain anonymous but agreed to publication of his recovery from 'unpleasant, weakening dreams, which brought on all the unpleasant effects of languor, and loss of energy and a sort of feeling of that I was done up'. This recovery he achieved after ten weeks' treatment. 59

Professor Gusscott repeated testimonials from many of the same clients, including Richard Dobson and William Manson, but John Hall and Jane Smith replaced earlier named testimonials. Jane Smith wrote from Sydenham to explain that she was induced by a lady from Gasworks Road to approach Professor Gusscott even though she knew that Gusscott was not a doctor. For four years she had suffered from dropsy and although she had little faith in Professor Gusscott she wrote to say that after one month of his treatment she was completely restored to health. John H. Hall of Montreal Street Christchurch wrote to say that as a helpless invalid he had to be propped up in bed, suffering from 'hard' breathing and 'doomed' by medical men to suffer from asthma for the rest of his days, he was unable to attend to business. With 'that apathy with which the invalid submits' Hall suffered his daughter to 'have her way' and was placed under Gusscott's care. Hall at 54 could eat, drink, sleep well, enjoy good

59. New Zealand Tablet, 20 Feb 1880, p.10.
health and then returned to business.\footnote{New Zealand Tablet, 1 Oct 1880, p.10.}

The \textit{Tablet} did not restrict its puffing operations to health and medical advertising. When Mr. O'Neil of Bannockburn advertised for a farm manager the \textit{Tablet} offered assurance that a competent and suitable person would find the engagement a desirable one. The \textit{Tablet} assured readers that Messrs Shand and Worth of East Taieri who were establishing a butchery, would offer prices 'moderate in the extreme'. The \textit{Tablet} also vouched for the standard of work of a blacksmith named W.H. Hutton.\footnote{New Zealand Tablet, 23 Jul 1880, p.14.}

Professional advertising which appeared regularly in the pages of the \textit{Tablet}, suffered no ethical restrictions on size, content or frequency of advertising placements. Dr. Crawford, Consulting Surgeon and Accoucheur announced resumption of his practice after visiting the 'Home Country and Continent'. Dr. Crawford announced that he 'need not remind this public that he is a specialist and at the head of his profession'. Specialties included diseases, peculiar to women and children, of the throat, lungs and heart, of the eyes, skin and blood. 'Advice Gratis' was offered from 9-12 and 6-10 p.m.\footnote{New Zealand Tablet, 29 Aug 1874, p.3.}

Grey areas existed between the margins of conventional medical practice and alternative practices. One medical practitioner offered herbalism, homoeopathy and hydrotherapy as well as claiming specialist knowledge in both neurology and rheumatology. Dr. Hanson, LRCP, LRCS (Edinburgh), placed a notice of practice at his dispensary in the Octagon. He offered advice for 1/6 and claimed 'a thorough knowledge of homoeopathy and hydrotherapy', as well as
specialising in brain, nervous and rheumatic afflictions. Other health professionals also advertised their skills. The services of a herbalist and chiropodist were advertised in 1878.

Medical care did not come cheaply when related to general living costs and earnings. In 1880 Dr. Cole advertised his return to the district to resume practice of his profession after having been Assistant-Surgeon to the Taranaki district Armed Constabulary. Consultation cost 2/6, visits, 5/- and accouchments £1-10-0. Dental services were offered at the cost of 2/6 for extractions, 5/- for fillings, artificial teeth £8. Nitrous oxide ensured painless extractions and there was 'no charge for advice'. Relative costs can be determined from other advertisements. When railway workers were earning 7/- to 9/-, bushmen 8/- and brick layers 10/- to 12/-, a brewery for sale at Burkes offered building sections for £5, a butcher advertised roasting beef 3d., boiling beef 2d. and forequarters of mutton for 1/5d. per lb.

Patent medicines, potions, balms and therapeutic appliances illustrate the common disorders for which people practised less expensive self treatment. A wide range of these featured regularly in the Tablet. Holloway's Pills and ointment obtained from 'respectable Druggists and storekeepers throughout the civilised world' warned against counterfeits from the United States. The pills claimed treatment 'of colds, disorders of the liver and stomach or for disorders that served as a forerunner to fever, dysentery, diarrhoea and cholera'. Holloway's ointment joined this panacea to treat wounds, ulcers, rheumatism and all skin diseases and was suited to 'complaints which are more incidental to

63. New Zealand Tablet, 18 May 1877, p.19.
64. New Zealand Tablet, 1 Feb 1878, p.8.
66. New Zealand Tablet, 6 Aug 1880, p.3.
67. New Zealand Tablet, 8 Aug 1874, p.15.
the life of a miner or those living in the bush'.

Ghollah's Great Indian Cures were recommended for rheumatism, gout and aperient mixtures for bilious disorders, indigestion, sick headache, nervousness disorders of the liver and fever. 'They never injure anyone', assured the advertiser.

Health problems did not totally obsess colonials, although the variety and claims for cures of these disorders indicate a considerable preoccupation. The Tablet included advertisements promoting a diversity of wares offered by departmental and general stores. As well as medical and dental practitioners, services included bankers, insurance, stock and share brokers, lawyers, real estate agents, general merchants and manufacturing engineers. Advertisements of a general nature reflected a demand for, and indicated an availability of larger items like musical instruments and sewing machines. Dunedin Pianoforte Co. advertised pianos organs or harmoniums. G.M. Aldrich offered to sell or hire, instantaneously self adjusting sewing machines with triple action and balance-wheels. National or South British sold insurance policies and the Colonial Building Co. invited clients to invest with them. Shares could be bought or sold through the firm of Street and Morris. Skene's Labour Exchange offered 'separate offices for the ladies'.

A H Ross was the only optician advertising.

Many of these local firms have survived to the present day. One such firm was that of Gourley and Lewis offering undertaking services. Hugh Gourley was an Irishman from County Down. A saddler by trade, he established a coach and stabling business before setting himself up as an undertaker. The firm continues to operate in Dunedin, under the name of Hugh Gourley. Dentists were

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68. New Zealand Tablet, 29 Aug 1874, p.3.
69. New Zealand Tablet, 19 May 1876, p.2.
70. New Zealand Tablet, 15 Sep 1876, p.1.
71. K.C. McDonald, City of Dunedin, p.188.
numerous as were wood and coal merchants and butchers.\textsuperscript{72} The ‘Spanish Restaurant’ which changed hands from Mr. B. Zurbano to Mrs. Guardiola also provided forty-one rooms of single bedroom accommodation but mentioned nothing of a Spanish menu.\textsuperscript{73} Lanes Campbell and Co. offered Ginger wine, Ginger brandy, Quinine champagne, Peppermint Cordial, Raspberry Vinegar, Clove Cordial, Tonic Orange wine, Curaçao, Maraschino and Sarsaparilla. For those setting up house, James Walls offered cooking stoves, mantel pieces and fire irons, hip and sponge baths, table and pocket cutlery, tinned and enameled holloware, fancy birdcages plus other general items like nails, locks, guns and paints. Matheson Bros supplied dinner services priced from £5 to £50, dessert sets priced from 55/- to £30, Dresden, Sevres, Worcester china and Bohemian glass and cut glass chandeliers ‘to accommodate either gas or kerosene’.

The ‘Coma Clothing House’ operated by James Hardie and Co. offered Ulster overcoats, tweed page suit, knicker-bocker suits, pilot and witney jackets, frieze cloth jackets, Crimean skirts, lambswool drawers, under flannels, a choice of blue white or scarlet blankets.\textsuperscript{74} The New Zealand Clothing Factory claimed to encourage local industry with 300-400 employees making 7,000 garments weekly including hats, skirts, hosiery, umbrellas, blankets and rugs.\textsuperscript{75} R. Saunders and Co. specialised in the less utilitarian articles: new rich silks, linen and lace sets, woollen shawls, peterines, woollen gaiters, bootees, fur and feather trimming, gimps and fringes.

In 1890 the firm of Messrs A&T Inglis boasted ‘an abundance of light’ for its newly designed ‘warerooms’. Above the ground floor were two levels of galleries with a wide opening to provide light to the ground floor from skylights above.

\textsuperscript{72} New Zealand Tablet, 5 July 1878, p.20.
\textsuperscript{73} New Zealand Tablet, 6 Apr 1877, p.16.
\textsuperscript{74} New Zealand Tablet, 5 July 1878, pp. 3-4.
\textsuperscript{75} New Zealand Tablet, 5 July 1878, p.23.
Broad flights of stairs reached from the ground floor to the flat lead roof from where the city could be viewed. The stock exhibited included drapery and millinery, clothing, furniture ranging from that luxurious enough to grace a drawing room to the 'ordinary necessaries of a kitchen', bedding and bedsteads, delft and china, pictures and nick-nacks.76

Advertisements reflected the needs and interests of readers and illustrated the passages of life in an urban-rural setting of colonial society. Random specimens of advertising content in the Tablet in 1873 contained various categories of advertisements:

76. New Zealand Tablet, 26 Dec 1890, p.19.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1: Categories of Advertisements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Home Seekers and Builders</strong></th>
<th><strong>Home and Family</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>estate agent</td>
<td>drapers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>auctioneer</td>
<td>tailors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>engineer</td>
<td>boot-makers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>builder</td>
<td>woollen warehouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masons</td>
<td>sewing machines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paint and paperhangers</td>
<td>pianoforte saloon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>picture warehouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Citizenship</strong></td>
<td>watch makers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public meetings</td>
<td>booksellers, stationers and toy shops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharebrokers</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food, Shelter and Beverages</td>
<td>Health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hotels</td>
<td>chemists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cooper</td>
<td>medical practitioner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tea and coffee merchants</td>
<td>dentist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>general merchant</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coffee mills</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cordial manufacturers</td>
<td>Transport &amp; Agriculture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grocers</td>
<td>blacksmith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baker</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coal merchants</td>
<td>stables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wine, spirit &amp; provision merchants</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>merchants</td>
<td>saddler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>coach builder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nursery seedsman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>farm machinery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

77. New Zealand Tablet, 17 May 1873.
Specimen page of advertisements illustrating the decline of the hotel industry by the 1880s.
Over a period of ten years, advertising changed in content and bias. While the format differed little, advertising had become more general. Advertising occupied twelve of the Tablet’s twenty-eight pages. Trades and goods became more diversified. A substantial focus on agricultural remained but commodities of urban living created a wider range of domestic services and products. Hotel numbers fell to nineteen, plus one brewer, and now included Southland. Irish names still remained but hotel proprietors reflected a changing focus. ‘The Railway’ and ‘Supreme Court’ hotels competed with the ‘Shamrock’ and the ‘Harp of Erin’, although Mrs. M’Bride, J. Daly and D. Maloney continued to feature.

An Educational column advertising private Catholic boarding schools included St. Aloysius’ College at Waikari [sic], Marist Brothers, Wellington, Convent of the Sacred Heart, Timaru and Convent of the Sacred Heart, Queenstown, a branch of the Dominican Convent in Dunedin.

Other advertisements reflected some increased demand in the area of Home Seekers and Builders with services offered by an architect, two builders and subcontracting an electrical engineer, a plumber, a gas fitter, an asbestos agent, as well as the one real estate agent.

Home and Family increased with six clothing stores or drapers, including furniture and carpet warehouses and importers. Shoe shops fell to three and tailors to two, with still one Singer sewing machine agent. Only one toy shop and one bookseller and stationer, and a picture framer advertised, but watchmakers and jewellers, rose to four. Two music teachers, a photographer as well as a hairdresser, two undertakers and two monumental masons joined the services to
meet the needs of the family.

A total of four grocers and general merchants plus two cordial manufacturers, reflected little change in the demand for food and beverages—other than the additional service of a pastry cook. Oil merchants joined with coal merchants. Health advertising remained static but diversified with the addition of an optician and two 'commercial baths' as well as Turkish and Russian Baths, offering a choice of vapor, sulphur, warm or cold.

A public notice of a meeting of the Bank of New Zealand reflected little change in a sense of citizenship. Advertisements included only one insurance broker and the a stock broker.

The greatest changes were reflected in the diversification of agriculture and the transition of the transport industry into light industry. Engineers, foundries and coal range manufacturers joined agricultural equipment manufacturers. Wool stores and brokers, rabbit skin dealers and gunpowder dealers joined an increased number of seed and nurserymen. A ropeworks, a box manufacturer and an electroplater joined a coach builder and a blacksmith and saddler.

In 1885 the Tablet boosted its commercial activities to include among its fifteen pages of advertising, shipping notices, washing machines and musical instruments. Medical advertising reappeared in 1886. Advertisements became larger, bolder and more eye-catching and designs with cabbage trees and mountains replacing harps and heraldic crests suggested a new sense of nationalism. By 1887 only four hotels advertised in the Tablet, the only local one being the 'Leviathan Temperance Railway Hotel'.
Patent medicines remained popular and their manufacturers continued to publish accounts of their successes. Mrs. Fanny Dent of Waratah, New South Wales, who suffered for twelve years from extreme debility, pains in her back, legs and left side wrote twice in support of the beneficial effects of 'Clement's Tonic'. Having to lie down and rest frequently and finding exercise and walking tiring, she was unable to work. After the first dose and having consumed half a bottle Fanny 'felt herself a new woman'. After she had finished the bottle, work was no trouble to her and she went out for a walk after doing the washing. When her neighbour commented on her increased activity, she claimed to have done more in one week than in the past twelve years. The manufacturers did not disclose the alcoholic content of the tonic. 78

Herbal remedies also played an important role for the home apothecary, with many derived from Maori traditional medicine. Advertisements appeared in the Tablet from time to time to promote remedies sold by Mother Mary Joseph Aubert, to support the Wanganui mission. While spending most of her life working among the Maori people at Jerusalem on the Wanganui river Mother Aubert discovered remedies for many diseases, from the surrounding vegetation. Aubert recommended paramo for liver and kidney complaints, marupa for asthma and respiratory infections, natanata for diarrhoea and vomiting, and karana for use as a general tonic. Bishop Redwood, later to become Archbishop Redwood, gave testimony to the beneficial effects of the remedies of Mother Aubert when she applied for permission to ‘to dispose of the right of putting up her medicines for sale to Messrs Kempthorne, Prosser and Co’. Redwood stated that he willingly granted this permission in the hope that these vegetable medicines would become more publicly known and also assist in the cause of her work. 79 This arrangement proved to be unsatisfactory and a special notice to

78. New Zealand Tablet, 26 Dec 1890, p.29.
readers of the *Tablet* announced that Mother Aubert had won her case in the Supreme Court of Wellington against Orlando I. Kempthorne. With the agreement now cancelled, she put the Remedies back on the market. As guarantee against imitation, Aubert announced her intention of bottling the remedies herself.\(^8\)

From March 1894 the *Tablet* augmented its advertising practices when it introduced short three line advertisements at the foot of most of the pages. These advertisements, mainly from Christchurch firms, ranged from cycle manufacturers, butchers, coach builders, saddlers, watch makers, military tailors and importers to dental surgeons and purveyors of patent medicines.

Changes in the *Tablet* centred almost exclusively on advertising content and quantity, revealing a more stable and urban population who demanded domestic and industrial commodities. The earlier demand for pubs had served the needs of an itinerant mining population in and from the rural areas. The hotel industry became less 'Irish' as the need for hotel accommodation became less important to the mining community. Advertisements served as one of the few reflectors of or determined by its readers.

Viewed as a form of social control, by the 1890s content displayed little if any change in policy or selection. Although a second generation of Irish Catholics, was reading the paper, it remained as much Irish as Catholic. While it often justified the description of its critics as 'politically bumptious' and 'personal and vulgar', it was, for the most, 'respectably dull'. Argument and comment were not only frequently 'incoherent and noncomprehensible' but also highly repetitive. Moran's struggle to retain religious autonomy in Catholic schools, well studied in

\(^8\) *New Zealand Tablet*, 6 Jul 1894, p.5.
other works, and the 'Irishness' of the *Tablet* were never absent from its pages. At the cost of integrating Irish Catholics into a New Zealand identity, Moran used the *Tablet* as a highly effective tool to preserve Irish nationalism.
CHAPTER FOUR

Cultural baggage: Colonial attitudes

Thirty years of predominantly British immigration determined the values of the society from which the early Tablet readers received their cultural heritage. The quest for a more prosperous lifestyle provided the basis for the evolution of a specific New Zealand identity. Because migrants had come with the simple hope of bettering themselves materially, there was no conscious rejection of what Jeanine Graham describes as the 'values and attitudes of their parent society'.\(^1\) As with many other ethnic groups Irish Catholics retained their Irish identity and the Tablet consciously reinforced these qualities in its editorials and general content.

Contrary to the egalitarian ideal of the earlier settler society, social divisions based on wealth did occur, resulting in a colonial class distinction. Restrictive immigration policies, based on criteria of education, wealth, work-skills, religion and race, exaggerated this emerging class distinction. Catholics both suffered from and promoted many of the discriminations, described by Patrick O'Farrell as the 'cultural baggage', transported by Irish migrants.\(^2\) The Tablet fostered and nurtured many of these sentiments with examples of the double standards and dichotomies which typified Victorian society.

At the heart of this cultural baggage was an homogeneous and all-pervading sense of piety, manifested by an unquestioning acceptance and practice of the


\(^2\) Through Irish Eyes, Australian and New Zealand Images of the Irish, 1788-1948, Aurora Books, Victoria, 1994, p.21
teachings of the Roman Catholic church. These were reinforced through the medium of the Tablet. Piety was an all-pervasive attribute in Catholic life, reflecting a universal and entrenched fear of a lengthy sojourn in purgatory or, worse, an ultimate destiny in hell and the suffering of eternal damnation. Piety transcended a sense of justice to create double standards of social values and morality. Catholic view, expressed in blatant and selective racist sentiments, was coloured by their own experience as recipients of racial and religious discrimination. This experience however did not preclude them from exercising those same prejudices towards other groups. Expedient switches in moral stance were exploited unreservedly against racial, political or Protestant opponents. Hardships appeared to foster little if any resentment towards the lavish lifestyle of a European church hierarchy. The obsessive desire for a happy death negated any right to privacy for the individual in times of death or disaster.

IMMIGRATION, RACE AND CLASS

Both the implementation of immigration policies and the segregation imposed by separation of passengers between steerage and cabin class provided foundations for division of class. The Tablet's attitude towards immigration reflected double standards. Resentment against alleged discriminatory policies practised by government officials towards Irish migrants did not preclude the Tablet from joining the ranks of the majority who opposed foreign immigration, particularly Chinese. Early years of the Tablet regularly expressed concern at immigration policies and practices both in New Zealand and overseas. These tended to be isolated snippets of information having little relevance to their juxtaposition in the Tablet publication layout. Sequential editing does support a case of bureaucratic discrimination against Irish immigration. This discrimination caused the Tablet to set upon any information which might indicate or reflect

more favourable treatment of groups other than Irish. A sense of injustice however did not deter the Tablet from expressing righteous indignation and subscribing to a wide-spread discrimination against the Chinese community. Anxious to avoid a precedent in New Zealand the Tablet frequently cited examples of working conditions which involved Chinese labour in the American gold fields. A planned Scottish settlement in Otago before the goldrush era and the discovery of gold attracted and continued to attract nationalities other than Irish. This was an obstacle to the antipodean new Ireland to which Moran was committed. The Tablet openly expressed its disapproval of government policy favouring assisted immigration for English, Scottish, German and Scandinavian migrants in preference to Irish, and also of the Chinese presence.

Tablet editorials reflected Moran's personal views on this matter. Hugh Gourley, a prominent Dunedin Catholic nominated Bishop Moran for the forthcoming elections to the House of Representatives. Gourley based this action on Moran's 'satisfactory views on the Chinese question'. Stating that without doubt, if the influx of Chinese were not stopped they would become as great a pest as the rabbits, Gourley foresaw the time when 'some extreme Liberal member of the future' might table a motion in the House to similarly exterminate these 'Asiatic intruders'.

In 1877 an editorial headed 'An Alarming Prospect' expressed dismay at the prospect of an increase in Chinese immigration. The editorial saw unlimited immigration of Chinese as a danger to the morality of the people of New Zealand. The Chinese, it considered, were not highly classed as colonists. Their readiness to assist in the development of the resources of the country by working as market gardeners and working on the gold diggings in locations in which white men could not earn sufficient to support themselves was seen as a danger.

4 Gourley features among Moran's 'gentlemen' in parish events. See chapter two, 'Soggarth Aroon.'
The Chinese would compete with white labour, thus causing the poorer classes to have to associate with them. This, the editorial believed, would lead to a degradation of the European, rather than an amelioration of the Chinese. The Tablet thought it preferable to use German labour, even at a slightly increased cost. The colonists resented the fact that the Chinese sent their gold back to China rather than investing it in the local economy. Furthermore they did not integrate and become settlers, nor were they encouraged to do so. Moran believed that parents would prefer to remain childless, rather than see their children in the company of Chinese. The Tablet concluded by dismissing any sentimental notions of free labour, liberty, or British constitutional obligations.6

Sharing with numerous secular papers its racist sentiments towards Chinese immigrants, the Tablet reprinted many accounts from other papers. For example, it published an account reprinted from the Otago Daily Times, of a Mr. Ho A Mei who considered that the Provincial Government should have given recognition for his services in promoting Chinese immigration to Otago. The ODT expressed doubt that his views of his services would have been appreciated by others.7

Moran maintained his stance on Chinese immigration and was watchful of any increase in their numbers. From News of the Week the Tablet noted that in 1878 'of the six Chinese females in New Zealand, five are to be found in Dunedin and one in Auckland'.8 A following editorial considered the growing Chinese population a threat to white colonial society, expressing the view that the development of a Chinese workforce would develop 'a class of obsequious creatures who would ... occupy the place of slaves'. Moran justified these views by likening the situation to the United States of America where he considered

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5. New Zealand Tablet, 19 Jan 1883, p.3.
6. New Zealand Tablet, 5 Jan 1877, pp.10-16.
that Chinese labour had created grave dangers to society. Arguing that the
debased service of Chinese labour increased wealth by prejudicing the poor, he
gave a further example of the Australian situation where Chinese had replaced
white labour in New South Wales. The Colonial Secretary in Sydney had
advised workers that the Chinese had given little trouble to government and that
furthermore they were protected by the 'comity of nations'. Any exclusion of the
Chinese from the colonies would jeopardise England's trade through Chinese
ports.9 The Tablet noted that a tax of £10 was paid for every Chinese person
entering Queensland and that Chinese were debarred from working in the gold
fields for three years after the discovery of gold. A Sydney news item reported
that agitation had resumed following an influx of Chinese. Crews employed on
one of the steamship companies had struck because of the employment of
Chinese crews.10

The Tablet published a West Coast Times item expressing concern at
Chinese labour in the gold fields alleging that the Chinese lived on next to
nothing and then carried gold out of the country. This item affirmed that the
exclusion of the Chinese was a necessity and self preservation determined that
New Zealand must reject the Chinese. Even though England had ruined China
with the opium trade, Chinese should not be allowed to ruin her colonies.
Further Chinese immigration would reduce the New Zealand economy to a
handful of millionaires and the rest reduced to a state of want and degradation.11

Another account described a pamphlet issued in Melbourne by three
Chinese, pleading their cause for immigration. Despite describing it as 'fairly
written and not without a tolerable show of reason', the Tablet condemned it as
'very plausible, highflown and rather pathetic'. However excellent the Chinese

10. New Zealand Tablet, 22 Nov 1878, p.15.
11. New Zealand Tablet, 17 Jan 1879, p.5.
might be, the Tablet maintained that Chinese immigration must be, if not totally forbidden, narrowly constrained. 'There was no justification for permitting them to ruin the lives of New Zealanders.' The Tablet failed to see any reason why the concept of trade reciprocity between England and China should be a 'premium' to swamp English colonies with Chinese. An incident of Chinese immigrants selling cigarettes to children in Dunedin again provided the opportunity to attack trade reciprocity between England and China. English trade policies were not the only objects of displeasure relating to the Chinese. It was discovered that Presbyterian missioners brought back from China to convert the local Chinese population could not communicate because of the differing dialects. Commenting sarcastically, Moran wondered why the swarms of Chinese already converted to Christianity were not brought over to do the job.

Double standards were reflected when the Tablet expressed its disapproval of the Chinese practice of sending home earnings from the goldfields, when a similar practice among young Irish women was encouraged. An example of these double standards occurred when the Tablet published a romantic poem of Irish girls who sent their earnings to their families back in Ireland. An unfortunate incident had provoked this poem when one, Catherine Brady, died of consumption and came close to being buried in the unconsecrated ground of a pauper's grave. Catherine had died leaving a will and sufficient funds to cover hospital expenses and burial, with the balance of her estate, some £30, returning to her parents in Ireland. A hospital official considering her money would have been better spent on her parents in Ireland, authorised the sexton to dig a grave for her in the 'free ground' of the cemetery. As soon as the priest saw the hearse winding towards the 'free ground' he stopped proceedings and demanded that the sexton dig another grave in the consecrated ground of the Catholic part of

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12. *New Zealand Tablet*, 31 Jan 1879, p.2
13. *New Zealand Tablet*, 18 Jul 1879, p.1
the cemetery. The sexton refused to do so because it was a Saturday afternoon and another grave would have required a further two hours of digging. Those present offered to do the digging and finally the sexton with their assistance dug another grave. The priest waited for two hours until he could finish reading the burial service and see 'the last sod turned'. The following was the poem dedicated to the sad lot of many of these young women:

_Death and Burial_

Oh! brave, brave Irish girls,
We well may call you brave,
Sure the least of all your perils
Is the stormy ocean wave,
When you leave our quiet valleys,
And cross the Atlantic's foam
To hoard your hard-won earnings
For the helpless ones at home.15

The _Tablet_ reported that in the issue dated 29 March 1873, the _Nation_ called for local emigration agents in the different counties of Ireland. Observing that this announcement came two years after the commencement of the immigration scheme the _Tablet_ expressed the hope that Irish migration to New Zealand would be administered honestly. It reminded its readers that formerly there had been great reason for complaint and fears were still held for the good intentions of the minister in charge of immigration.16 The _Tablet_ made a further observation that only two of the fifty single women migrants aboard the _Nicol Fleming_ were Catholic.17 Editorial concern expressed disapproval that migrant ships leaving from English and Scottish ports excluded Irish migrants, since none left from Ireland.18

15 _New Zealand Tablet_, 10 Oct 1879, p.15
16 _New Zealand Tablet_, 12 Jul 1873, p.6.
17 _New Zealand Tablet_, 2 Aug 1873, p.9.
18 _New Zealand Tablet_, 9 Aug 1873, p.6.
While Caucasian migrants may have seemed preferable to Asian migrants the *Tablet* did not hesitate to express concern at 1,000 Scandinavian and German migrants included in the immigration report to government.\(^{19}\) In this case the opposition was on grounds of religion rather than ethnic origin. Claiming that migrants were selected from protestant countries only, the *Tablet* criticised the immigration policy which excluded Catholic migrants from the wine and olive growing countries, desirable for settlement in the North Island. The *Tablet* attributed this policy to the agent-general who had interpreted a balanced policy to mean English and Scottish with Scandinavian but not Irish immigration. Complaints had been made of applications ignored and warrants rejected for eight Irish women and three men wishing to emigrate to Greymouth.\(^{20}\) When the *Dover Castle* and the *Celestial Queen* brought out 160 Irish immigrants including farm labourers, mechanics and carpenters the Irish Free Immigration scheme was criticised for making a lottery of the exercise.\(^{21}\) Captain Baggot MP stated that, 'If this influx continued New Zealand would no longer remain an English colony'.\(^{22}\) From General Assembly notes on immigration, the *Tablet* reported that a committee set up to reconsider the immigration policy of 1870 had recommended the revival of Scandinavian immigration since the Irish, it claimed, tended to migrate to the United States of America.\(^{23}\)

As part of what Keith Sinclair describes as 'his disastrous expansion policies of the eighteen seventies' Julius Vogel implemented a vigorous immigration policy in Britain.\(^{24}\) This promotion however, failed to reach many of the less desired Irish peasant stock from the south of Ireland. A letter to the editor complained of

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the lack of advertising for migrants in this area. The Tablet attributed the problem to the appointment of unsuitable agents, quoting an Auckland Star account of the criticism of the Hon. Mr. O'Rourke of Featherston, the agent-general, for accepting tenders from a particular steamship line, thus giving his friends higher rates. The Tablet, advised readers that 'The Immigrants Land Bill', entitled every migrant plus each family member aged fourteen or over, to a piece of land to the value of £20. Those of five years residency were eligible to retain a block of waste land of the Crown, providing that one fifth of the land was cultivated within two years. The statutory notice of free nominated immigration first appeared in the Tablet on 1 November 1873. From 15 November regular advertisements for nominated immigrants by trade or calling appeared in the Tablet. The Tablet explained that management of immigration policy was currently in the hands of the provincial government but a dual system, both colonial and provincial, existed in Otago with a provincial policy of totally Scottish immigration. Concerns were expressed also in Canterbury that the agency continued to ignore southern Ireland. This situation was further aggravated by the establishment of agency headquarters in Glasgow with visits from the agency to northern Ireland and England and the exclusion of southern Ireland. The Waterford Daily Mail published a letter to the Editor from Caroline Howard, recently appointed as an agent for free immigration. Howard, angered by the agent general’s advice to the Irish to ‘immigrate [sic] to the United States of America’ explained to readers the availability of free passages without bond or repayment. She recommended New Zealand as a land suited especially to the cottier class. Howard advised readers that freehold land was available at £1 per

25. New Zealand Tablet, 6 Sep 1873, p.9.
27. New Zealand Tablet, 1 Nov 1387 [1873], p.5.
28. New Zealand Tablet, 15 Nov 1387 [1873], p.5.
29. New Zealand Tablet, 27 Dec 1387 [1873], p. 5.
30. New Zealand Tablet, 7 Feb 1874, p.7.
acre and added that New Zealand offered wealth and a freedom of religion never to be attained in the United States of America.\textsuperscript{32}

On their arrival antagonism and discrimination confronted those Irish who were successful in their endeavours to emigrate to New Zealand. A news item from the Auckland Star reported that passengers arriving on the ss Dorette included migrants travelling on free passage. With the exception of the single women, it described the Irish as much below average and constituting an inferior class of immigrant.\textsuperscript{33} The ss Asia arriving the following month with more immigrants caused quite an ongoing saga. Describing them as certified scum, the ODT reported the arrival of thirty-three female passengers from the reformatory at Queenstown. The Tablet hotly refuted this account, denying the existence of a reformatory but stating that there was a work house at Cork.\textsuperscript{34} To add to this injustice, the ODT did not withdraw its original comment. The Hawkes Bay Herald quoting the Otago Guardian, stated that 200 female immigrants from the ss Asia were from the Cork workhouse. The Tablet accused the Guardian of prejudiced reporting. It conceded that there were single women from the Cork workhouse, but only 86, not 200.\textsuperscript{35} A subsequent editorial however recommended that domestic servants, farm labourers, agricultural workers with limited capital and tradesmen should be encouraged to emigrate, rather than those 'shovelled out of the workhouses'.\textsuperscript{36} The arrival of 126 single women on the ss Caroline revived the issue of Cork workhouse girls from the ss Asia. Although the Captain of the Caroline reported that the forty girls from the Cork workhouse were the best behaved, the ODT published names and

\textsuperscript{32} New Zealand Tablet, 7 Feb 1874, p.7.
\textsuperscript{33} New Zealand Tablet, 4 Apr 1874, p.7.
\textsuperscript{34} New Zealand Tablet, 2 May 1874, p.7.
\textsuperscript{35} New Zealand Tablet, 23 May 1874, p.13.
\textsuperscript{36} New Zealand Tablet, 30 May 1874, pp.7-8.
'delinquencies' of the Irish, urging people not to employ any from the Caroline, but to send them back to Britain.\textsuperscript{37}

Shipboard life for assisted migrants afforded little comfort or privacy for their long journey. Keith Sinclair writes of the conditions of some chartered ships as 'appalling', with the poorer families at the immigration depots, swarming with lice.\textsuperscript{38} Charlette O'Brien describes the cramped conditions experienced by some of these passengers. A feature from the \textit{Pall Mall Gazette} painted a depressing picture which she described on her visit to an emigrant ship. This item had earned notoriety and discussion in the House of Commons. Leaving from the bay of Queenstown the emigrant ship was one normally carrying over a thousand passengers. For this particular voyage however there were only 400 passengers. Although the wealthier passengers enjoyed clean quarters with an abundance of shining brass and silver, Charlotte O'Brien contrasted this with the women's steerage quarters. The government official escorting her considered the male accommodation too bad for her to see. When passing the men's steerage quarters she described only a large dark hold reminiscent of slave trading days. The women's quarters she described as better lighted than the men's and open from one side of the ship to the other. From either side of a long central walk to the other side of the ship were suspended two enormous hammocks. The lower one was suspended about three feet from the floor with another suspended above the lower one. Each hammock she estimated, carried about 100 people. Made of sail cloth they were perfectly flat and suspended by hooks. Narrow strips of sail cloth about eight inches high divided the area into individual berths. Married men slept alongside their wives, surrounded by single women, 'compelled to live in his presence day and night'. Mothers tending their sea-sick babies and children had to climb over prostrate bodies, while innocent girls had to lie among dissolute

\textsuperscript{37} New Zealand Tablet, 18 Jul 1874, pp.5-6.
\textsuperscript{38} Sinclair, \textit{A History of New Zealand}, p.155.
men and abandoned women. Although matrons ensured the segregation of the sexes for New Zealand-bound migrant ships, Charlotte Macdonald’s description of steerage conditions matches that of Charlotte O’Brien. Unreliable matrons, medical and ships’ officers however, did not always meet the high expectations of matrons like Maria Rye and Caroline Alpenny (Howard), for the voyage.

A report on health of the passengers illustrates the detrimental effect of such cramped conditions. On the arrival of the ss Mongol after a voyage lasting fifty-one days and eighteen hours the number of health problems experienced by migrant passengers were listed as scarlet fever 21, abscesses 2, measles 67, bronchitis 8, diarrhoea 1, ulcer 1, sun stroke 1, inanition (exhaustion from starvation) 1 and 245 deaths. While this may have been an extreme case Macdonald lists similar illnesses and three and four multiple deaths on some voyages.

Not all migrants who managed to obtain a passage to the new world survived the journey. The fate of the ss Cospatrick, a migrant ship bound for Auckland, was burnt at sea with some hundreds of immigrants aboard. This tragedy illustrated hardship and potential misfortune of another kind, faced by the migrants. One of the three survivors of the Cospatrick described life on the lifeboat. Recounting that they had eaten only twice before they were rescued he described how they had drunk ‘only when ever a vein was opened’. He explained that they had divided into nine, the dreadful food which had sustained them but only three had survived the ordeal. The Tablet criticised

39. New Zealand Tablet Supplement, 8 Jul 1881, p.3.
41. New Zealand Tablet, 21 Feb 1874, p.9.
42. Macdonald, A Woman of Good Character, pp.96-97.
43. New Zealand Tablet, 13 Mar 1875, p.7.
the insensitivity of the journalists who interviewed the survivors on their arrival aboard the ss Nyana at New Plymouth.\textsuperscript{44}

The standard of living conditions provided for immigrants following their cramped journey was little better than that aboard ship. The Tablet criticised the mismanagement of the steam ship companies and port authorities that allowed ships to disembark their cargo simultaneously to inadequate accommodation. After a long and arduous voyage passengers were required to remain on board ship. Houses erected as part of the immigration scheme were crowded together. Those on a site in Anderson Bay Road, Dunedin, were exposed on all sides. The Tablet considered rentals at 16/- per week, an exploitation of the immigrants.\textsuperscript{45} In 1874 plans were in hand for thirty more three and four bed-roomed cottages to be built adjacent to the railway workshops in Hillside Road. With a metalled road and each having a yard and front garden plus a lower rental, the Tablet considered these houses more suitable for permanent tenants.\textsuperscript{46}

Immigrants suffered unnecessarily from the bad feeling and lack of cooperation which existed between the government and the agent-general.\textsuperscript{47} Failing to achieve the record of his predecessor Dr. Buller, Dr. Featherston as agent-general earned criticism in 1874 for occupying a magnificent suite of rooms but never being seen and always inaccessible.\textsuperscript{48} Authorities and migrants alike were displeased and unsatisfactory reports filtered through. One such case cited potential migrants wishing to emigrate to Wellington, being misdirected to Otago. The Tablet expressed hopes of a better performance in the future from

\textsuperscript{44} New Zealand Tablet, 3 Apr 1875, p.11.
\textsuperscript{45} New Zealand Tablet, 12 Sep 1874, p.6.
\textsuperscript{46} New Zealand Tablet, 26 Sep 1874, p.6.
\textsuperscript{47} New Zealand Tablet, 12 Sep 1874, p.6.
\textsuperscript{48} Dr. Isaac Featherston was better known as a longstanding member of parliament and a strong advocate of provincial government. Sir Walter Buller was a renowned ornithologist and author of Buller's History of the Birds of New Zealand. Both men held the post of agent-general during the 1870s.
Mr. Vogel. Vogel did not meet with the expectations or hopes of the Tablet however and an editorial accused him of an anti-Catholic policy to shut out Irish immigrants from New Zealand. The Tablet, unimpressed with Vogel’s view that there had been an over-abundant emigration from Ireland accused him of operating the ‘No Irish need apply’, principle. Neither did it accept his excuse that good times in Ireland had made emigration unpopular. This situation had coincided with the processing of applications for immigration through the Edinburgh office. The editorial closed with an attack on Macandrew’s policy that immigrants should be chiefly ‘Scotch’. The Tablet referred to a case of rejection of nomination papers reported in the Oamaru Evening Mail, claiming that this rejection tied up with many rejected applications for free passage. From the south and west of Ireland official policy systematically refused applications for free passage.

Another obstacle for these new arrivals was the social ostracism which confronted them through the local press and from potential employers. Within four years of its protests the Tablet was expressing mixed feelings on the wisdom of Irish immigration. Describing the arrival of 170 immigrants at Port Chalmers, aboard the ss Invercargill, as of fine and respectable appearance, the Tablet welcomed the new Irish settlers but warned them of prejudices and bigotry, expressing doubt for their chances of employment. As an example it quoted the new proprietor of a Dunedin business who when changing hands found excuses to sack the entire ‘Irish element’.

Despite the strong and almost exclusively Irish Catholic settlers that the Tablet served, not all Catholics were Irish. As well as a number of Europeans,

49. New Zealand Tablet, 6 Feb 1875, p.6.
50. New Zealand Tablet, 2 Aug 1878, p.3.
51. New Zealand Tablet, 7 Mar 1879, p. 2.
52. New Zealand Tablet, 11 Oct 1878, p.3
Lebanese migrants formed a noticeable group within the business community of Dunedin and still maintain a high profile in the cathedral parish. Unlike Germans and Scandinavians they did not assimilate with the local community any more than did the non-Christian Chinese. Only among later generations did intermarriage take place within the general community.\textsuperscript{53} Other than a brief explanation of their religious background, surprisingly little if anything features about the Lebanese community in the early years of the \textit{Tablet}. The \textit{Tablet} described how St. Maron, a fifth century abbot had 'converted' from Eastern Church, the Maronites, a race deriving from the Syrians. In the eleventh century they formed the advance guard of the Crusades. Holding a blood alliance with the Christians they were persecuted by Arabs and non-Christian Syrians. During massacres in 1840 and 1860, 300,000 survivors, faithful to the Catholic Church recognised the sovereignty of the pope. Monsignor Debs, Archbishop of Beirut appealed for aid and the Cardinals supported an international appeal. By 1875 Maronites were receiving an orthodox education through their religion.\textsuperscript{54} Another group from the Eastern Orthodox church, completely overlooked by the \textit{Tablet} settled in the industrial south of the city. This group, pursuing a much lower profile, tended to follow in more working class occupations and to occupy humbler homes than the prime real estate occupied by their more affluent Catholic countrymen. Discrimination towards the Lebanese may have been no more than an act of omission but the \textit{Tablet} displayed more overt racial sentiments towards other ethnic or cultural groups with its attitudes of racism.


\textsuperscript{54} \textit{New Zealand Tablet}, 1 Dec 1876, p.14.
ANTI-SEMITISM

Historically, Jews had long suffered from discrimination inflicted by the gentile world and Irish Catholics had also brought with them their resentment towards the dominant English stock. While Jews were in not threatening in number in New Zealand the Tablet did not fail to dredge up historical accounts of former activities of members of the Jewish race. The paper observed that modern thinkers were as anxious to attack the Jews as were the medieval Crusaders and claimed it was Catholic fanaticism which received the blame for their persecution. Anti-Semitism was not a regular manifestation but it did appear from time to time. For example, the Tablet approvingly quoted Goldwin Smith who described the Jews as aliens and blasphemers, claiming that the Jews were in sympathy with the Moslems. The Crusades had been a defence against Islam and similar to that against the Ottoman Empire. Indiscretion by Jews had brought about outbreaks of violence in England because of their intrusion upon the coronation of a Crusader king. In France and England they had extorted noblemen and citizens alike. While trading in money was no worse than other forms of trade, the Jews had been oppressive with their mortgage and loan repayments. The Jews had been attracted to Oxford not for theological reasons, but for social and economic reasons. After the Norman Conquest Jews had streamed into England and settled in the larger cities. Although they were disliked, they were not oppressed. Their expulsion from England had been a means of social reform. Goldwin Smith claimed that the Jews had been prevented by Christianity from developing medicine, trade and the welfare of mankind, while the Christians had squandered resources on religious art and philosophy. He asked the question of what had become of this development in medicine since the Middle Ages had produced none of their work. Trade had been developed not by the Jews but by the Italian, German Flemish and English merchants and mariners and in England trade had not suffered after their expulsion. The money trade he attributed as much to the bankers of Florence
and Augsburg as to the Jews. Jews had also been slave traders and although it had been an acceptable practice it had never been the 'noblest or the most beneficent part of commerce'.

MAORI

As well as resentment towards migrant groups of different cultural and ethnic groups, the Tablet manifested a new form of class discrimination. This attitude fostered racist antagonism towards the indigenous Maori. An attitude reflecting a substantial element of racism is hardly surprising when Otago, with the exception of a few pockets of Maori fishermen, was a predominantly pakeha settlement by Moran's era. Moran's mission in New Zealand differed widely from that of his predecessor, Father Delphin Moreau S.M. As a member of the proselytizing order of the Society of Mary, it was Moreau's task to convert to Catholicism the indigenous pagan Maori race. Moran's task was to consolidate an already established institution and to maintain the strong Catholic faith which existed among many migrant settlers. Moran's secular clerical background and experience of the spiritual needs of soldiers and their families in the South African barracks-town diocese of Grahamstown predetermined his priorities. His new pastoral flock consisted of predominantly compatriot Irish miners and labourers rather than the Moreau's scattered tribal pockets of South Island Maori, whom Moran viewed with an attitude varying from distant tolerance to apartheid racism.

The only evidence of any practical service that Moran extended to the welfare of Maori in Otago came from an entry from his diary for Naseby, dated 17 February 1876. This entry records a copy of a letter to the Naseby priest, Father Rodger, advising him of the transfer of the districts of Waikouaiti, Palmerston, Hampden and Moeraki from the Oamaru mission to Naseby.

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55 New Zealand Tablet, 6 Jan 1882, pp.3 and 5.
Explaining the reason for his actions Moran wrote of his ‘desire to do something for the natives’, and consequently recommended the natives of Waikouaiti and Moeraki particularly, to Rodger’s pastoral care.

A less charitable attitude was evidenced by his disapproval of the attendance and participation in a Presbyterian Sunday service at First Church by Maori prisoners sent down from Wellington. Disapproving of their delivery of bible readings without supportive explanation he referred to the prisoners as ‘bible heathens’ rather than ‘bible Christians’. An attack on the work of the Bible Society revealed another example of Moran’s disapproval of Maori converts. Stating that ‘Protestant converts with Bible and tract in their hands [were] as much Christians in faith and practice as [a] young Begal with a pair of trousers and a cheroot [was] a gentleman of sense and refined taste’ he accused the Bible Society of determining that the world would be converted by a ‘mistranslated and misinterpreted volume’. With the Society’s income of £200,000 he questioned how many of the eighty millions converted were still as heathen as the six millions not so favoured. As examples he cited Maori converts to Christianity who he claimed, tore out the New Testament from the Bible and also the Chinese, who made paper slippers of them.

The Tablet seldom displayed any interest in Maori life in general. When the Maori newspaper, Wananga mourned the death of the Maori chief Te Hapuku as one of the last to witness the ‘savage vigour of Maori life’ it expressed regret that the old Maori Chiefs would soon be extinct. To illustrate Te Hapuku as a man of honour, the paper recalled a story of his taking blankets at pistol point, from a hut near the Ahuriri river, but later returning in the evening with fifteen pigs as

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56. New Zealand Tablet, 8 Aug 1879, p1.
57. New Zealand Tablet, 26 Jul 1878, p5.
58. The Wananga, a government subsidised newspaper and the East Coast Waka Maori were published from the 1860s. G.H. Scholfield, Newspapers in New Zealand, Newspaper Proprietors Association, Wellington, 1958, p.258.
payment. Since the Wananga had described him as ‘overbearing and proud to excess; violent and rash yet capable of relenting; exhausting, hospitable and very jovial’, the Tablet failed to regard Te Hapuku’s death as a calamity.\textsuperscript{59} When the government subsidised publishing and printing for the Waka Maori Moran showed no sympathy, though the Tablet quoted readily from the Wananga.\textsuperscript{60}

An account of the murder of a young woman while out sketching, illustrated another example of the Tablet’s detachment towards the Maori. Relieved that a Maori had confessed to the ‘the brutal deed’ and ‘that it had not gone out to the world that any settler had been guilty of such a crime’, the Tablet expressed concern only for the reputation of the colonists which ‘might have suffered severely’.\textsuperscript{61}

Any evidence of support or concern for Maori welfare came from outside the diocese. J. Wood, the official Auckland contributor, bemoaning the fact that Auckland was bereft of episcopal authority or supervision feared that the only hope for the Maori who were dying out would be to have the influence of the Catholic church over them. Wood stated that the Maori respected and trusted the clergy as long as the church sent priests to them. Since the Catholic Mission, which was originally for their benefit, the Maori saw the church as casting them off. Wood thought that the Maori, despite their faults, were worthy of care. He described them as patriotic, courageous and hospitable. He thought it a scandal that the church and government should allow them to die out. In Wood’s view, the protestant missions had benefited the Maori also but they had also done irreparable damage to them. Englishmen had come as missioners to help the

\textsuperscript{59} New Zealand Tablet, 16 Aug 1878, p.16.
\textsuperscript{60} New Zealand Tablet, 5 Oct 1877, p.11.
\textsuperscript{61} New Zealand Tablet, 3 Dec 1880, p.2.
Maori but were now conquerors and confiscators of their land. ‘Need we wonder that the Maori look with aversion on English Christianity...’ he concluded.62

Moran, more ambivalent in his views on Maori issues readily acknowledged that the white man had little to be proud of in their handling of Maori but did not see them totally equal in citizenship. Commenting on Rewi, who wore a tweed suit when entertaining Mr. Sheahan, Minister of Maori affairs, Moran observed that no minister before Sheahan had attained such honours and he doubted that it would ever happen again. Moran was also critical of Sheahan’s drinking the health of an ‘ex-savage’ at a bar in New Plymouth.63 Moran made another reference to Maori fraternizing with politicians. When commenting on a Times account of five Wesleyan missioners having been murdered and eaten by ‘Cannibal Natives’ he speculated that when Sir George Grey and Mr. Sheahan ‘feasting and hobnobbing with the natives, ... cold missionary might be the order of the day’. He concluded with an assurance to ‘the good people of London’ that missioners were no longer in danger of forming materials for a pie, but rather it was now the case of the ‘biter bitten’. 64

Comparing the South African situation with that of New Zealand Moran considered that (pakeha) New Zealand had handled the situation of colonialism better. He accused the South Africans of indifference to privileges when they clapped into gaol ‘noble savages’ who had been fighting with them. Indulging in his sense of racial superiority he claimed that in the New Zealand situation ‘We of the Celtic stock ... have been able to produce a Yates Sacer capable of handing down to posterity the splendor [sic] of an ancient race ...’. Referring to himself as the ‘Irish Holy Prophet’ he stated that too many Maoris [sic] sleep

62 New Zealand Tablet, 15 Nov 1878, p.17.
63 New Zealand Tablet, 29 Nov 1878, p.5. Renowned for his famous war cry, ‘kaore e mau te rongo, ake, ake, ’ Rewi Manga was the Maniapoto war chief who defended the Orakau pa in 1864 but later assisted the Pakeha in Maori-Pakeha relations. McLintock, Encyclopaedia, vol.2, pp.399-400.
uncelebrated, the sleep of the just. Referring to Sheahan’s description of Rewi lamenting his dead and the decay of his people, Moran attacked Sheahan’s attempt to secure permanency of office for the Ministry of Maori Affairs since he considered that the ‘Native Question’ had already settled. 65

Moran revealed his true feelings towards Maori equality when the suggestion of a Maori bishop was made. ‘The Maoris want a bishop; that is they want a Maori bishop ... ’ he exploded. ‘If Maoris were fit to be magistrates, ministers of state and members of parliament without having full knowledge of the law, and ministers of religion without a full knowledge of the gospel, they may well claim their bishop.’ 66

Maori did not feature again in Moran’s era as editor of the Tablet. Not until 1894, by which time the influence of a failing Moran had been superseded, did they feature again. After twenty years of publication the Tablet demonstrated a new neutrality and an independence in its selection of material acknowledging the presence of the Marist Maori mission. This took the form of an historical account of the early beginnings of the Marist Maori mission stations in Taranaki and the outbreak of the Taranaki wars.

Recounting his life as a young priest among the Maori an elderly missionary described his arrival in New Zealand in 1859 after a passage of four and a half months duration. Both he and a ship-mate were sent immediately to assist at the Pakowhai parish, extending for 100 miles up the Wanganui river and completely isolated by the Maori tribal wars. 67 The two priests travelling up the Wanganui river in a large canoe manned by a number of Maori arrived before dark at

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64. New Zealand Tablet, 13 Dec 1878, p.3.
66. New Zealand Tablet, 2 May 1879, p.3.
Kaiwaiki. After Sunday mass the following day, the priests entertained the Maori and continued on their journey. Disguised by straw hats and ‘blouses’, against recognition by hostile Maori they moored at nightfall and slept in the open. Following breakfast in the rain they continued on their way with their captain and crew, aided by the paddle hoe and the long pole or tokotoko as their navigating instruments. By evening they had reached the mountains and a bush track leading to the presbytery. Another day’s rowing brought the party in front of the hostile camp where, for fear of being captured, they proceeded along the bush track. Leaving behind a canoe and a large box containing vestments and a large brass cross for the Maori to retrieve the following day, the party climbed the hill. Descending from the top of the hill they were startled by wild pigs before finally reaching the river again and their destination opposite Kawaeroa. The canoe and box however were confiscated during the night and taken to the hostile *pah* at Ranana. Ignoring the priests’ entreaties the Maori dressed themselves in the vestments and exhibited the cross at arm’s length before finally accepting a bribe in return of the contents. The two warring tribes later came to an understanding and peace reigned on the river until 1866 when the Hauhau massacre took place on Motoua Island, a little below Kawaeroa.68

The missionary described how by sitting among the Maori he began to pick up phrases, developing by experience, a sense of the finer nuances of the language. After six months he considered that he was fluent enough to make visits down stream to other settlements on the Waitara river. The Maori belonging to these pahs [sic], of which the Pukemohoe was the most important, had never seen a priest but were reputed to be kindly disposed towards hearing ‘the Word of God’. With one of the ‘Natives’ acting as guide the priest travelled to Utapa where the Maori there were very hospitable. Simple meals consisted of pork, potatoes and preserved kiwi. His bed was a piece of mat in one of the

whare. The party continued on to Tepukemohoe on the Waitara river where the priest began daily instruction from the first white man that they had seen. After a few days he moved on from Tepukemohoe to the other pa where he experienced the same friendly reception. Remaining for about two months in the district, the priest made sixteen conversions and would have made more had war not broken out in Taranaki. While saying Mass in a tent on St. Joseph's day, 19 March 1860, the priest heard the report of the first guns to fire on the Maori, only a few miles from New Plymouth. He set out with a guide to walk the 25 miles to New Plymouth. Arriving on the Waitara Plains they came across the Maori camp where they were well received but since no Maori were allowed on the disputed block the priest had to continue alone. Arriving at the town he found 'all in a commotion'. Ordered to town, the country people had left their houses which were burnt to the ground, leaving a pitiful sight of nothing but brick chimneys. While he was talking to Governor Browne a messenger arrived to report the death of three men, killed by the Maori. Browne retaliated by stating that if he could catch the Maori he would have them hung. Returning to the camp the priest endeavoured to tell the Maori that they were wrong and that they should have negotiated terms with the Governor. Taking the priest by the arm the Maori chief told him that he should go if that was the way he was going to speak. The priest returned to the pa where the Maori told him a different story from the one he had heard in New Plymouth. He learned that the true cause of the war was the Waitara block which had been sold to the government by Teteteira (Taylor), a Maori chief who, although having mana or authority over the block did not own the whole block. Private parties who owned a good part of it began to claim their property when the block was sold. Hearing of these complaints Governor Browne sent for the parties concerned to have their claims settled. In true Maori fashion, expecting the Governor to come to them, the Maori refused to go. Guns then opened fire on the Maori who remained on the block. The priest was of the opinion that the Maori account of the cause of the war was the true one and that Browne, removed immediately by the Home Government, had
hastened the war. 'Anyone could see John Bull's greed for land', stated the priest. After twelve months fighting, peace was declared, yet the troops continued to occupy the disputed land until in desperation the Maori fell upon an escort of eleven men, killing ten of them. This action caused a renewal of the war which lasted until 1870. Having witnessed the beginning of the war the priest also saw the end of it, because he was with the troops who stormed Mukumoru pa about twenty miles from Wanganui. As a compensation for the expense of the war the government confiscated the Waimea Plains, a whole tract of land extending from Hawerea to Opunake. Questioning the government's right to this land the priest considered it an unjust war and the land confiscation pure robbery. As in many other instances, he considered this a case of 'might is right'.

This account was a paradigm of many changes. Change in the church's attitude towards the Maori, from the era of Marist missioner priests to that of (predominantly) Irish secular priests; change in Tablet attitude of an almost total disregard for Maori rights welfare and change in Tablet attitude towards the work of the Marist missions.

A Tablet editorial reflects this change by the mid 1890s when it expressed the realization that the church had lost an opportunity in New Zealand by neglecting to continue the work of the early missionaries. Headed 'Missions to the Coloured Races' it likened the contents of the papal encyclical, 'Longinqua Oceani Spatii' on the American Indians and Negroes to that of the 'Maories [sic] in New Zealand' and the Australian Aboriginals. Leo XIII alluding to their 'deplorable spiritual condition' stated that of the 8,000,000 negroes in the United States only one in fifty was Catholic. Predicting that blacks would outnumber whites within less than fifty years he lamented the fact that a million children, Catholic or Protestant would never go to school. The Tablet recognised a danger that, if the native missions were not fostered, a similar situation might arise with

the 40,000 Maori in New Zealand who, after more than half a century, were not Christianised. Using the analogy of an anecdote attributed to Michaelangelo who, when passing a block of unshewn marble exclaimed ‘There is an angel in there!’ the Tablet likened the ‘noble savage’ to a rough, unpolished diamond. The Tablet regretted that Maori had been allowed to contract the vices of the whites but had not been effectively taught to acquire the virtues of Christianity. ‘It behoved the children of the white colonists’, admonished the Tablet, ‘to help on the great work (of the religious Orders) by supplying the means for establishing schools and facilitating missionary labour.’

PERSONAL PIETY AND SANCTITY

Personal piety and sanctity were qualities instilled into every devout Catholic. As well as the assurance of entry to the heavenly life hereafter it was a form of social control. Preserving a separate identity within the community nurtured the antagonism held by the Irish for past injustices suffered at the hands of the English. Tablet reflected this attitude in numerous accounts. Although deathbed descriptions showed little sensitivity, the sanctity of the family was inviolate. The Tablet likened to the oppression of Ireland and American slavery, an advertisement for ‘an experienced gardener ... no objection to married man without encumbrance [sic]’. Condemning this attitude as ‘the spirit of the tyrant’, and ‘an insult to all reputable people’, the Tablet stated that it was ‘contrary to the very laws of nature, and worse still, [to be] found in a new country.’ ‘The very sucking child may be dragged away from the mother's breast', cautioned the Tablet and likened this action to that of a slave-holder and ‘petty, oppressive owner of the soil.’

70. New Zealand Tablet, 5 April, 1895, p.17.
71. New Zealand Tablet, 13 Feb 1880, p.2.
Sanctity of the family was but one manifestation of the deep sense of piety of the Irish Catholic. Regular mass attendance and receipt of the sacraments was reinforced by periodic visitations by itinerant missioners of the preaching orders. A reflection of the level of this pious behaviour was the number of mass attendances on Christmas Day, when mass was celebrated at the cathedral every half hour from 6am, terminating with high mass at 11am. Missions, notorious for their hellfire sermons, were held at regular intervals and by invitation of the bishop of the diocese. They served as a period of renewal of one's faith, inculcating an enhanced sense of spirituality through a period of daily mass attendance and evening devotions which included intensive religious and moral instruction, supported by prayer and ritual. A description of a ten day mission at Timaru typifies these intensive affirmations of faith. Mass was celebrated daily at 6 am and again at 9.30am followed by a sermon after each Mass, and again at Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament in the evening. As well as this intensive regime of devotions the missioner spent the balance of his time in the confessional and personal visitation upon both the wealthier as well as the more devout members of the parish. Additional to these daily attendances were special ceremonies. A catafalque erected in front of the altar illustrated one sermon on 'Death'. An evening torch-light procession in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary formed in front of the church included almost the entire Catholic population of Timaru. Two men carrying a large banner headed the procession followed by young ladies of the choir, school children, ladies of the parish, the Young Men's Society and the men of the parish, all carrying lighted torches or candles. Under the guidance of the missioner the procession followed a route through the church grounds to a temporary altar erected by 'the ladies of the convent'. The assembled company in rank and file formation listened to an address by the missioner and one of the women of the parish read an act of consecration to the

71. *New Zealand Tablet*, 30 Dec 1887, p.17.
Blessed Virgin. The procession then returned to the church by the same route to listen to yet another sermon.  

Humility and the sanctity of labour paralleled piety as Christian virtues and readily justified the higher proportion of labourers and unskilled workers among the Irish Catholic population in both Ireland and the colonies. The sanctity of labour instilled a sense of self respect and dignity to a predominantly working-class society. Resulting initially from the deprivation suffered by Irish Catholics, Moran's inflexible stance on Catholic schools and opposition to the secular environment of the public service entry examination and university education reinforced this situation. An example of the justification of these values was a commentary by Father Monsabre, a French Dominican who wrote on the popular theme of the dignity of labour. Likening manual labour to the divine humiliation of Jesus Christ, the Divine Labourer, he stated that the Christian spirit, lost in the revolution that had overturned religious corporations of the church, was no longer in the work of those who laboured in the humblest of trades respected by society. Furthermore, protected by laws that regulated wages and labour, workers were no longer content with self respect and a likeness to God. Rather than being despised like slaves of pagan times continued Monsabre, the Church saw the workman as an earthly representative of God. The Tablet saw a similarity in the contemptuous attitude in colonial society displayed towards handicraft of every kind. Emphasizing the dignity of labour as a justification for a lack in higher educational qualifications, Moran warned parents unwilling to bring up their children as tradesmen and preferring to educate them for office work, that they 'were subjecting them to a life of extreme want from unemployment'.

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Manual labour remained paramount to the lives of many parents. Poor school attendance had been an ongoing and long-standing problem. In the 1870s only thirty-nine percent of the fifty-eight percent of school-aged children enrolled at New Zealand schools averaged a daily attendance.\(^76\) When the Diocesan Inspector of Schools for Canterbury reported that while attendance at town schools had been as regular as one could expect annual potato-planting, potato-picking, strawberry-picking and 'other similar matters' continued to interfere with attendance and the consequent progress of the schools. Condoning the principle of child labour, the report conceded that parents 'without serious inconvenience' could not dispense with the assistance of their children in their farming operations.\(^77\) Commenting on the imminent initial inspection of schools in the Otago region the Tablet did exhort readers to ensure that their children maintain a regular and punctual attendance since any adverse outcome would be due entirely to this factor rather than to the teaching. Not only was the teacher beyond reproach, but teacher concern also ranked equally with that for the pupil. The Tablet reflected this view by concluding that irregular attendance, not only impeded a child's progress but created 'downright drudgery and unnecessary worry' for the teacher.\(^78\)

The Tablet revealed double standards in many of the social attitudes and issues of the day. It made disparaging reference to the working class origins of the Salvation Army. From the Catholic Review an account of Salvation Army activities displayed class as well as religious condescension. Under the caption, 'Grotesque Religion' was an observation that the Salvation Army 'is now dropping its 'h's somewhere in the provinces'. Reference was also made to their interest in bonnets and camp meetings, and it was noted that, having wearied of stories of reformed priests and escaped nuns, the horrors of popery no longer drew

\(^76\) Keith Sinclair, A History of New Zealand, p.155.
\(^77\) New Zealand Tablet, 4 Jan 1895, p.19.
\(^78\) New Zealand Tablet, 1 Feb 1895, p.17.
the crowds to sermons by their preachers. The account continued with a description of a ‘boy evangelist’ who climbed upon the seats and half way up the pulpit, swinging his arms, passed among the audience ‘... making passes before their eye; now prostrate in the aisles; now towering up from a pew back, with hands beating one another, or stretched to heaven, or pointing to some startled and unoffending spectator, or rapidly flicking the leaves of the bible backwards and forwards; now uttering some stage whisper ... shrieking out disjointed sentence of thanksgiving or prayer’. This incident, commented the Tablet, had also earned Methodist disapproval. 79 The Tablet failed to reveal the source of this eye-witness account, but it would contrast vividly with the priestly focused dignity and ritual of the Catholic mass.

Anti-English sentiment, cloaked under an umbrella of piety, also embraced the virtue of self discipline. Commenting on an account of the behaviour and treatment of English soldiers, the Tablet criticised England for beginning to show signs of weakness through the lack of discipline in her army. This view was based on a report on the discipline of troops in Africa during troubles in Zululand. The report made allegations of floggings among the soldiers, outbursts of musket fire and random firing of cannons, soldiers found drunk in the streets of Pietermaritzburg and Utrecht, hotels refusing to serve alcohol being smashed, officers threatened and mess stores pillaged of their alcoholic supplies. In Boer territory behaviour was even worse. Personal safety and property were under threat with every store ransacked and families threatened in their beds at night.80

Self-discipline was more accommodating when it came to the ethics of gambling and the consumption of alcohol. Gambling produced substantial profits which contributed the finances of the church. Lottery advertisements and results

79. New Zealand Tablet, 11 Jun 1880, p.11.
featured regularly in the Tablet. In its early days the Tablet also displayed large advertisements and programmes for forthcoming racing events.\textsuperscript{81} The Tablet wrote a lukewarm response to the Gaming and Lotteries Bill. Describing the bill as well-intentioned and acknowledging that gambling could embody ‘great evil’ it expressed concern for the right of the individual’s liberties. On the same page St. Canice’s Church Art Union published results of a lottery in which there were over 4000 tickets sold with 145 winning ticket numbers.\textsuperscript{82}

Equally ambivalent was the Tablet’s attitude to temperance. Criticizing the proposed restriction on the sale of alcohol, Moran described this legislation as ‘The Permissive Bill’ and dismissed it as an advocate of moral rather than legislative means to ‘convince mankind’ of the wisdom of moderation in the consumption of alcohol. Drunkenness, he claimed, was little known in Europe, since availability of recreational pursuits fostered moderation. Eating and drinking were seen as compensation for the negative effects of the Reformation in Europe and the penal laws of Ireland. Although opposed to this ‘permissive bill’ the Tablet supported quality control of alcohol by inspecting the contents of the liquor.\textsuperscript{83} Again denouncing the ‘Permissive Bill’ the Tablet claimed that staggered hours of the sale of alcohol would increase the number of illicit stills but conceded that any feasible programme should be considered in an endeavour to destroy drunkenness.\textsuperscript{84} It suggested that a working men’s club would be one means to contest drunkenness.\textsuperscript{85} Moran’s stance was not always in tune with either the laity or the hierarchy. The Tablet reported that the Sisters of St. Clare, concerned at the drunkenness in Ireland, recommended the taking of the pledge. John Wood, a surgeon and regular contributor to the Tablet.

\textsuperscript{80} New Zealand Tablet, 30 Apr 1880, p.2.
\textsuperscript{81} New Zealand Tablet, 27 Oct 1876, p.5.
\textsuperscript{82} New Zealand Tablet, 5 Aug 1881, p.15.
\textsuperscript{83} New Zealand Tablet, 21 Jun 1873, p.5.
\textsuperscript{84} New Zealand Tablet, 2 Aug 1873, p.6.
expressed the view that the church in itself should become a Temperance League. Commending the establishment of the Total Abstinence League, Cardinal Manning also supported the Bill.\textsuperscript{86}

Some Catholics joined the ‘Good Templars Lodge’, a Protestant movement for teetotalism.\textsuperscript{87} The ‘Good Templars’ in Dunedin opposed the licensing legislation of 1862 and the repeal of the Act in 1873.\textsuperscript{88} The Baptists however, challenged this organisation whose sole objective was to spread the practice of total abstinence. Since it embraced all religions the Tablet feared that the ‘Good Templars’ were becoming too powerful.\textsuperscript{89} It listed other objections to Catholic membership of the Good Templars Lodge. The Lodge’s religious character and secret practices were seen as injurious influences, having a creed, an order of worship and a ritual, which emulated the magisterium so esteemed by the Catholic hierarchy. Admission to the Order required the submission to a test in the belief in the existence of Almighty God. The Order had gone beyond the bounds of its objective and become a church composed of believers in one great Truth, accommodating deists, Jews, Romanists and rationalists. Members wore regalia and performed a ritual. Its prayers were considered to be not Christian enough and included among the appointments, the office of ‘Worthy Chaplain’, as well as ‘Worthy Chief Templar’, ‘Worthy Secretary’, ‘Marshal’, ‘Inside and Outside Guard’ and ‘Janitor’, all sworn to secrecy. Objectors also took exception to the title of Worthy, as it was not in keeping with the lowly spirit of Christianity.\textsuperscript{90} Noting however that it was as an influential Protestant body, partly religious and partly political, Auckland newspapers reported that the

\textsuperscript{85} New Zealand Tablet, 2 Aug 1873, p.10.
\textsuperscript{86} New Zealand Tablet, 21 Jul 1873, p.6.
\textsuperscript{87} New Zealand Tablet, 8 Nov 1873, p.7.
\textsuperscript{88} As a Protestant organization, Catholic women did not join the WCTU and therefore had little voice in either liquor legislation or the support of women’s franchise.
\textsuperscript{89} New Zealand Tablet, 13 Dec 1873, p.9.
\textsuperscript{90} New Zealand Tablet, 7 Feb 1874, p.11.
'Good Templars' were applying to the pope through Archbishop Manning to sanction Catholic membership.\(^91\)

In Auckland the 'Father Matthew Society', under the patronage of Bishop Croke, also advocated total abstinence. Observing a subsequent lessening in drunkenness in Auckland the 'Good Templars' thought that Protestants were more zealous than Catholics who were letting down Father Matthew.\(^92\) Familiar to both Protestant and Catholic causes, Father Theobold Matthew 'the [international] apostle of temperance' had worked in the 1832 cholera epidemic in Ireland before identifying with the crusade against intemperance. Visiting Scotland and England between 1842 and 1843 he administered the pledge to 600,000 before crusading his cause in America.\(^93\) Matthew was known also for his successes in the treatment of physical and psychological disorders, including blindness, dementia, anorexia and hysterical paralysis.\(^94\)

With this opposition from the Baptists and support from the northern Catholics, a New Zealand Temperance Conference for Catholics advocated the American model of Temperance homes or hotels for Catholic immigrants. Modelled on the elitist Carlton Club, serving the needs of the 'upper ten' of society, the Tablet saw it as a challenge for the Hibernian Society to address. Patronising rather than excluding politics, the Carlton Club provided good eating, drinking and lodgings and was noted for its cleanliness and cheapness as well as providing facilities for billiards and other 'innocent pursuits'.\(^95\) Educated members of the laity also took an active stance against the abuse of alcohol. Many physiologists and physicians lectured on the destructive properties of alcohol, being 'quite destitute of either nutritive or medicinal power'. In viewing

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\(^91\). New Zealand Tablet, 4 Jul 1874, p.8.
\(^92\). New Zealand Tablet, 3 Jan 1874, p.11.
\(^93\). New Zealand Tablet, 24 Oct 1890, p.1.
\(^94\). New Zealand Tablet, 23 Jan 1891, p.27.
\(^95\). New Zealand Tablet, 25 Apr 1874, p.7.
it as a simple stimulant, they accused other medical men of being too ready to prescribe alcohol.96

Missioners advocated and pursued industrious programmes in this fight against alcoholic abuse. Father Hennebery travelled widely throughout the country, conducting missions of renewal and encouraging all to sign a pledge of abstinence from alcohol. In Christchurch the Tablet reported 2100 signatures carrying a reward of forty day’s indulgence97 for each day of observation of the pledge and the recitation of three Pater Nosters, three Ave Marias and one Gloria in honour of the Holy Thirst of our Lord on the Cross.98 At the conclusion of his mission in Dunedin 2600 took the pledge. A colourful procession left the church to proceed down Rattray Street, along Princes Street to the Octagon, returning up Stuart Street and back along Dowling Street (now Smith Street). Each member of the procession wore a green ribbon and a special Temperance Medal.99 Hennebery also held missions at Timaru, Waimate and Greymouth, where 500 took the pledge.100

When preaching at Timaru on the matter of abstinence and temperance another missioner stated that rather than being sinful, the Church had always condemned as heresy, the assertion that spirituous liquors were poisonous, consequently shortening life. He stated that Gnostics, Incratites and Manichees had preached this doctrine but the Church held the view that there was no harm in taking spirituous drink for medicinal purposes and in moderation. Turks and other abstaining nations were also immoral and impious. He explained that the reason that the Church forbade the joining of societies was the fact that present day societies who held this view despised those who disagreed with them.

96. New Zealand Tablet, 20 Dec 1873, p.9.
97. An indulgence is the remission of punishment still due for sins absolved by sacrament.
98. New Zealand Tablet, 21 Dec 1877, p.17.
100. New Zealand Tablet 26 Apr 1878, pp.12 and 6 Sep 1878, p.15.
Instancing saints who had abstained from alcohol however he stated that the law of the church was to discourage the consumption of fermented drinks as much as possible. He advised that all would be better without it and except those of a weakly constitution requiring nourishment. To set a good example he urged even moderate drinkers to sign the pledge, adding that Cardinal Manning, Father Matthew and Father Hennebery had also signed the pledge. 101

Abstinence received a stronger endorsement on the local scene when the inaugural meeting of a temperance association for youth, held at St. Joseph's Cathedral, required senior school children to pledge themselves to total abstinence from intoxicating liquor until they attained the age of 21. 102 A detailed account of the induction of children into the League of the Cross, already promoted throughout Australia by Cardinal Moran, followed. Acting on behalf of Bishop Moran who had given it his unqualified support, Father Lynch conducted the ceremony. 103 However, a Tablet leader condemned a meeting of the Prohibitionists, held in the Garrison Hall, because of the presence of Sir Robert Stout whom the Tablet accused of exploitation in order to promote his chances of being returned to parliament. Returning to its more moderate view the Tablet stated that while intemperance in drink was a great fault and the source of infinite mischief and destruction, it was not the source of all evil. Furthermore ‘fanaticism held out an encouragement to selfishness and tyranny’. 104

Much later Moran justified his moderate stance towards alcohol by taking to task Protestant missionaries aboard the ss John Williams which carried among its cargo 1 case wine, 1 case port, 2 cases ale and stout, 1 case schnapps, 5 cases

102. New Zealand Tablet, 4 Aug 1893, p.17.  
103. New Zealand Tablet, 8 Sep 1893, pp.27-28.  
104. New Zealand Tablet, 1 Sep 1893, p.17.
wine, 65 cases stout, 25 cases claret, 25 casks whisky and 65 cases of beer. He accused the missionaries of using money from the pennies donated by children to the missionary boxes, for their cargo. Morality came to the fore when he expressed his disapproval of this cargo, headed for the South Sea Islands. He thought it a danger to the natives who would be introduced to the ravages of alcohol.\textsuperscript{105}

Morality served as a qualification for entry to the life hereafter rather than a quality of symbiosis in a sensitive society. The preoccupation of the Victorian press with the morbid details of the death bed reflects a fascination for the macabre, to contemporary readers. Darryl Reanney in \textit{The Death of Forever} claims that the present-day reaction to death in western society is because ‘death has, in our time, been “taken off stage”, hidden in institutions, and concealed behind closed doors’.\textsuperscript{106} A firm belief in a life hereafter, combined with an environment which confronted the individual with the ongoing awareness of personal mortality, provided the devout Victorian Catholic with sufficient moral stamina to dwell upon and to absorb every detail of the final demise of those known personally to the individual, or by remote personal fame of the departed. Obituaries acknowledged not only the lifetime achievements of an individual but provided as much and often, more information on the description of the final hours and manner of departure. Indicating this general preoccupation with the lurid detail of the deathbed and a total disregard for the right to personal privacy was the \textit{Tablet’s} reference of the French writer ‘Georges Sand [who] died in great pain which caused her to writhe and shriek’.\textsuperscript{107}

Regardless of the status of the individual, privacy at death was not a right. The death bed scene of Pope Pius IX depicted every detail from the time of his

\textsuperscript{105} New Zealand Tablet, 16 April 1880, p.1.

withdrawal from daily activities to his final gasp. Yet this indicated no disrespect for the departed. In mourning for the death of their pope the Tablet surrounded with black borders not only the obituary page, but also every column of that particular issue. In the midst of this solemn piece of journalism exists a surprising juxtaposition conveniently filling the remaining two inches of a column dedicated to his obituary. This was a report of a visit by the Bishop of Queensland to some warm springs for the sake of his health.

In his obituary the Tablet explained that as an epileptic Pius IX had suffered from depression which resulted 'from his illness and the state of the church. Because of this he was exempt from his studies which subsequently removed his affliction.' Outlining his service to the church the obituary concluded with speculation on likely candidates for the Sacred College vacancies.108 Readers waited a further two months for the full account of Pius' death when the Tablet reported that at 6pm on Wednesday evening the pope's physicians noted a slight fever. During the night his slumbers were restless and broken and that at 3am a 'restorative' was administered. 'About 5am he became very ill, his limbs grew cold and his breathing became difficult. By 8.30am it was low and rapid and his bronchial tubes were obstructed by 'catarrh (mucous)' but he remained 'clear in the mind'. He received the viaticum from Monsignor Marinelli, his sacristan. At 10am his pulse was 'scarcely sensible'. The numbers of people around the Vatican increased. The nobility drove up in carriages while crowds and carriages gathered in the square. Returning to the state of health of the pope the account continued, describing how, 'the surface of his body grew livid and his difficulty with breathing increased and was accompanied by a rattle of the saddest augury ... [but] his mind was still clear and calm'. The ante chamber filled with members of the pontifical court, cardinals, ambassadors and personages of distinction. At midday, continued the Tablet, the pope's breathing became

abdominal with 'a religious silence only broken by sighs and sobs'. His breathing became more difficult and the rattling in the throat more pronounced. ‘At forty minutes past three the kindly eyes ... began to grow dim. For two long hours his suffering was heart rending’. At 5.30 pm they began to recite the Dolorous Mysteries [of the Rosary]. At the beginning of the fourth mystery the rattling in the pope’s throat had ceased and by 5.47 pm the pope was dead.109

Not only popes but other members of the church hierarchy were also subjected to the intimate details of their state of health and ultimate departure from their earthly life. The death of Cardinal Cullen was of paramount importance to Irish migrants. Cullen was instrumental in the restoration of the Catholic faith to the common man, following years of famine and anarchy in Ireland. The account of his death stated that he had transacted business as usual the day before his death. Cullen had retired to bed because he felt weak at dinner. This feeling had increased during the night. The attending physician had diagnosed heart failure when he visited at 9am but anticipating no immediate danger, had administered no medication. The Cardinal received the last sacraments and free from pain, he remained conscious to the end. At 2 pm, after reciting the litany of the Blessed Virgin Mary he crossed himself and died at 3.50 pm. ‘A placid smile seemed at the same time to play upon his countenance...’110

Of lesser eminence was the Rev James Norris, a local priest whose death, described as ‘...violent and painful, ... on account of difficulty in swallowing and instability of his stomach, the Blessed Sacrament was not administered...’111

The Tablet again went into fullscale mourning on the death of Archbishop Roger Bede Vaughan, the second Archbishop of Sydney who died suddenly, in

110. New Zealand Tablet, 27 Dec 1878, p.3.
his fiftieth year. A black border surrounded every page and column—including advertising columns. A lengthy editorial recounted Vaughan's life. Vaughan, one of five of seven sons to become a priests, had a great uncle, Cardinal Weld and an uncle, Bishop of Plymouth. Found dead in his bed by his brother, the Bishop of Salford, Vaughan's death which was attributed to heart disease had cheated readers of any morbid details of his departure.112

As in death, the rights of the living did not necessarily extend to present day ethics and standards of personal privacy. The sensationalist reporting of an accident included the name of the unfortunate individual complete with the grimmest clinical details of the sustained trauma. When a tunnel collapsed burying four workmen, two, 'Kerr and Dempsey, were found to be bruised and shapeless masses'. Another accident, an explosion in the Deborah Bay tunnel reported that 'McGrath was fearfully wounded, the drill or jumper having been driven into his chest and penetrated the left lung. His left hand was blown off.... [and] Steven's hand was successfully amputated ...'.113 The study of advertising content and practice has already reflected a similar cultural and personal insensitivity to the privacy of the individual.

Fundamental to colonial society however was a Victorian social attitude of class.114 Successful settlers, wealthy merchants, the haphazard working class and the selected migrants, all attracted by the lure of gold or the fulfilment of the demands of a buoyant economy created by this gold, adopted double standards. Their relative success or failure determined whether they imposed or suffered these double standards. Financial success or failure, political and religious stance, social status and ethnic origin all revealed the contents of their cultural baggage, forming the foundation of their new New Zealand identity.

111. New Zealand Tablet, 16 May 1874, p.9.
113. New Zealand Tablet, 13 Mar 1875, p.5.
To be Irish and Catholic spelled discrimination towards those who imposed a sudden influx onto what had been a controlled colonial settlement. The reaction to this discrimination, combined with the still vivid memories of the poverty and injustices from which they had fled reflected as resentment towards the selective immigration policies of government. By contrast to the early missioners who preceded him, Moran, charged with the spiritual welfare of his Irish Catholic migrants, showed little regard for the Maori. Piety was as much a national characteristic as a religious manifestation which sustained in the Irish, a sense of national pride and identity. This piety was a means of social control which distanced this group from their Protestant neighbours.

CHAPTER FIVE

The glory of the domestic hearth and queen in the sacred shrine of home: The role of Catholic women

From a feminist perspective the concept of a patriarchal society, with a male god heading an ordered hierarchy places women, representing humanity, in an inferior position to men. Daphne Hampson, the feminist theologian, elaborates this argument by biblical reference to the perceived characteristics of women as sinful, material and weak, contrasting with those of men as good, spiritual and strong, in the image of a male god. She claims that it is this theological concept of male godliness that from birth removes the equality of women from society.\(^1\) Quoting Simone de Beauvoir, she comments that ‘One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman’.\(^2\) As Hampson expresses it, ‘what woman is not allowed to be is simply herself’.\(^3\) Within the Catholic church it has been argued that Marian theology gives women dignity by replacing this attitude with the veneration of Mary as virgin and mother. Elizabeth Gould Davis argues that the church was ‘doomed to failure ... [until] Mary, against the stern decrees of the church, was dug out of ... oblivion’.\(^4\) On the other hand Mary Daly denies that ‘the “serene” womanhood of Mary has achieved “victory” over this [male attitude]’ and argues that the subordinate role of Mary in Christianity and her symbolism of serenity represent a male victory.\(^5\) Hampson reinforces Daly’s argument when quoting the description of Mary by the Protestant theologian, Karl Barth; ‘this non-willing, non-achieving, non-creative, non-sovereign, merely ready, merely

\(^{3}\) Hampson, *Theology and Feminism*, p.100.
\(^{4}\) Elizabeth Gould Davis, ‘The First Sex’ in Mary Daly, *Beyond God the Father, Toward a Philosophy of Women’s Liberation*, Beacon Press, Boston, 1973, pp.243-244.
receptive, virgin human being'. Christian history, she continues, paints Mary as submissive, docile and gentle. Catholicism perpetuates this reasoning when it sees the female as complementary to, and secondary to, the male.  

Such theological interpretation has provoked contemporary feminist theorists to accuse the church of being a suppresser of women's rights and the excluder of women from positions of power or authority. As a male-dominated institution, surpassing in time and entrenchment all other Western ideologies and policies, the church is viewed as being in the vanguard of this attitude. Marie Mies in her essay, *Social Origins and Sexual Division of Labour* claims that the church, in common with the state and the family, provided for women the institutional and ideological props necessary for the maintenance of self repression.  

Victorian journalism condoned and perpetuated the subordination of women in Moran's time as editor and it is small wonder that the *Tablet*, as an organ of the Catholic church, should have adopted a similar attitude to women. More surprising was the intensity of editorial indulgence in vitriolic misogyny when the *Tablet* published items pertaining to women in work, leisure, education or politics.

Whether they entered the religious life or remained in the secular world, the activities and deliberations of a male-oriented society overshadowed the work of Victorian Catholic women in Europe or the colonies. 'The nursery and the sick chamber, the home and the neighbourhood, the church and the foot of the cross were the anchor of women's existence and excellence.' For this reason it comes

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5. Mary Daly, *Beyond God the Father*, p.91.
as no surprise that the Tablet seldom acknowledged the efforts, the successes and the influence of women as mothers and teachers, on the young entrusted to their care. Only through abbreviated accounts of school break-up ceremonies does the Tablet reflect the results of religious women’s work. The relative emphasis placed on boys’ education in preference to girls’ education reveals this bias. In December 1877 St. Dominic’s girls’ high school was conspicuous by its absence when a full page account including a prize list described the ceremony at the Christian Brothers’ school break-up. The following week the Tablet dedicated a half column to St. Dominic’s prize list, but with no account of the school break-up ceremony. In 1878 the Tablet published a notably brief acknowledgment of the work of the Dominican sisters.

Only through advertisements targeted at the home maker and family carer does the Tablet reflect the role of wife and mother. Advertising frequently targeted women’s home-centred activities. The announcement of the opening of a new warehouse, with a dress department selling ‘twill camlets, wool repps., Siamese serges, figured poplins, striped diagonals, dress marinos [sic], new marinos, dress and mantle making services’ reflect what women purchased and what they wore. By including in the same advertisement items from the ‘Gentlemen’s clothing department’ which offered tweed suits, dress suits, black suits, every requisite in gentlemen’s clothing, one may perhaps infer that it might be the housewife who chose her husband’s attire. The wide selection of materials would indicate also that the housewife would either make her own garments or avail herself of the advertised dressmaking facilities, while the gentleman wore ‘off-the-peg’ apparel.

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10. New Zealand Tablet, 28 Dec 1877, p.3.
12. New Zealand Tablet, 23 Jun 1874, p.5.
Women were also conspicuous by their absence from reports of literary lectures, school committees, (other than fund raising), local body, political and sodality meetings, with the exception of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, a hands-on-welfare organization. Women from middle class background featured among the names of professional and amateur entertainers but only in the most respectable forms of entertainment—light opera, drama and charity concerts. Women's sport featured once and only to provoke a livid outburst of episcopal indignation.

Colonial Catholic women had little more occupational choice than did their medieval counterparts. For those who did not marry, the cloister was the alternative to the married state. This option destined most nuns to a life of domesticity. Many of these women chose to continue the practical lifestyle of their upbringing as a service to the church while others were possessed of neither the intellectual ability nor the material wealth required of a choir nun. The imposed perception of their inbuilt capacity for unpaid Christian charity justified this role. However Martha Vicinus believes that there was a similar perception of women as the providers of unpaid work, for Protestant as well as Catholic women in Victorian society. As the inspiration for Protestant women's work, in emulation of the Catholic religieuse, religious belief maintained 'a high idealism of [Christian] charity, ... sanctifying both the giver and the receiver'.

Secular women were discouraged from the pursuit of any form of education that did not prepare them as providers of the finer as well as the more pragmatic comforts of their husbands or employers, and carers of their children. The Tablet endorsed Coventry Patmore's perception of women, as the 'Angels in the House', giving little opportunity of "invading" the public world of work. Single or

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married, the woman's place was in the home, not in the factory or the office, and certainly not within the corridors of power or authority. Decision-making was a male attribute, doubtless determined by the innate inadequacy of the female brain. Science reinforced theology when Victorian scholars of phrenology popularised this view.  

Obituaries served as the chief record of information about women's activities and achievements in colonial Catholic society. Tablet obituaries of both secular and religious women were dismissive of their work and contributions to society. Accounts of their departure from this earthly existence marginalised their earthly activities. This attitude was not unique to the Tablet. When writing the biography of Hannah Ward Brown in The Book of New Zealand Women Judith Bassett expresses surprise that 'when Hannah died in 1898 the obituary notice included all the praise of her piety, charity and maternal virtues [but] ... passed over her strength of character, resilience and commercial shrewdness ...'.

Only in her obituary did the first Catholic nun in New Zealand feature in the Tablet. Readers were told that Sister Mary Augustine, an Irish nun who, because of poor health had left the Presentation nuns to join the Sisters of Mercy, had prior to her death served in Auckland from 1857 until 1864, when she went to Wellington.

Obituaries reflected an emphasis on piety through the detail given to funeral proceedings. As an example, an obituary some years later recorded the death of Sr. M. Dominick [sic] 'of the Dunedin community'. Known 'in the world' as Miss

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Mary Williamson, 'she had received the habit of the Order' in 1878 when Bishop Moran officiated at her reception. The first choir nun to be professed in Dunedin, Mary had been born in County Cork, but brought up in Dunedin. Known among her family and friends for her piety, 'she had received her calling at an early age'. Sister Dominick, relates the obituary, had caught a cold some eleven months previously and her health had resisted all the skill of one Dr. Borrows who had consulted also with a Dr. De Zouche. Both doctors had described the course of the disease and predicted 'with precision' her 'termination'. The obituary, describing a peaceful death, stated that she had retained consciousness even after she had lost the power of speech. Although the Tablet reported nothing of Mary's activities or achievements beyond her pious attributes the account of her funeral filled a whole page. Every detail was faithfully recorded including the fact that the boys from St. Aloysius College had arrived by carriage only because of the distance travelled from their school.18

The continuation of their dedicated work to the very point of death obviously hastened the earthly departure of many religious women. In many cases tuberculosis caused an untimely death. Received into the Sisters of Mercy by Bishop Moran, Sister M. McEvoy contracted tuberculosis at the age of thirty while teaching in the Te Aro district. She spent her last two years teaching at the convent school while 'failing' from her infection.19

An account of the funeral details including the requiem, the mass for Sister Mary Agnes Barry of St. Mary's convent Wellington, described how a congregation of both Catholics and Protestants celebrated her departure with 'grief and sorrow'. As a 'masterpiece of eloquence' the discourse using 'thrilling words ... dilated at considerable length ... on the work of the order ...' overlooked

17. New Zealand Tablet, 11 Apr 1874, p.7.
18. New Zealand Tablet, 6 May 1881, p.15.
19. New Zealand Tablet, 16 Aug 1878, p.16.
her achievements completely but described the ‘rapt attention’ of the congregation. The Tablet described how four convent schoolgirls served as pall bearers while the funeral procession included members of the Hibernians, the Young Men’s Society, convent school children, Marist Brothers, altar boys, clergy, the body of sisters, children of St. Joseph’s Providence school and the members of the general public. Only as an afterthought came an apology for a valediction, which included a flowery description of her qualities.\(^{20}\) The Tablet later described her as a highly educated lady, born in Shannon. She possessed a ‘vocal power of no common order’, and was thoroughly refined and respected for her sense of discipline. She was loved and esteemed for her genuine piety, genial disposition, candour and sincerity. Performing her duties to within a few months of her death, as in the case of Sister M. McEvoy, she died of pulmonary consumption.\(^{21}\) One wonders how many of these dedicated but consumptive teachers infected their young students before they finally succumbed to the disease. While tuberculosis did not preclude a nun from continuing in a useful occupation, visual impairment did. The Tablet reported that a Dominican sister in charge of St. Joseph’s female school returned to Ireland because of ‘weakness of the eyes’.\(^{22}\)

From time to time the Tablet included announcements of the profession of nuns from various convents throughout New Zealand. Receiving their education from St. Dominic’s two Dominican Sisters, Rose and Dominic enjoyed a full page account of their reception and profession. St. Mary’s convent, Wellington, announced the profession of ‘three young ladies’ and the reception of seven postulants.\(^{23}\) The convent of the Immaculate Conception, Nelson announced the profession of two postulants, Sisters Mary St. Claire and Mary Regius, and the

\(^{20}\) New Zealand Tablet, 29 Jan 1877, p.10.
\(^{22}\) New Zealand Tablet, 23 Feb 1877, p.11.
\(^{23}\) New Zealand Tablet, 3 May 1878, p.9.
reception of three novices. The church continued Moran's practice of recruiting nuns from Ireland. The recruitment efforts by Mother Cecilia who had left Wellington to travel to Ireland two years earlier, resulted in the arrival at Bluff, of ten Sisters of Mercy. The continuing recruitment of nuns from Ireland and the reception of local young women into the religious orders eventually enabled the church to dispense with the cost of lay teachers in Catholic schools. Country districts were slower to achieve this situation. In 1880 an advertisement for the position of female teacher at the Catholic school in Naseby offered a salary of £80.00 p.a. plus a furnished residence.

The death, at Timaru, of the Very Reverend Mother Susannah Boudreau, Vicar of the Sacred Heart, was the first obituary to give full accord to the work and achievement of a woman, and a religious. She had come to New Zealand to establish a convent, despite being in a state of delicate health, and while here had succumbed to an attack of dysentery. Members of the Order were assured that everything had been done for her physical and spiritual well being. A full description of the funeral included the procession of 'the remains' from the convent to the church and celebration of masses by the bishops of Dunedin and Wellington. In her early childhood her parents left her and her sister, aged seven and four and a half respectively, at a convent. Boudreau never forgot this separation from her parents. At the age of fourteen she entered the novitiate, making her final profession three years later at seventeen. She was mistress-general for eighteen years, superior of the house for two years, and for four years, a Superior Vicar. A later Tablet account described the arrival of the 'religieuses of the order of the Sacred Heart' at Timaru. Mother Boudreaux [sic] as superioress-general, accompanied the party but died before she could return to

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27. *New Zealand Tablet*, 20 Feb 1880, p.5.
Of secular women, little more than the occasional reference to life's rites of passage, marriage, childbirth and death were worthy of mention. Described as 'a star of the first magnitude in her profession ...', is how a brief obituary for a Miss Julia Matthews in 1876 first recorded activities of secular women. Since the Tablet did not divulge the nature of her profession and there is no known evidence, one can only assume that she was involved in the performing arts.

Working women, called neither to the religious life nor the state of holy matrimony were expected to remain safely within the domestic arena. An editorial condemnation of women employed in the printing industry criticised the Auckland Star for dismissing apprentices after five years in order to replace them with younger boys. The Star argued that the employment of girls was no threat to male labour since they were less than thirteen years old. 'Of the large number of females who essay to learn the art and mysteries of printing, few rise above mediocrity, as the majority get married', argued the Star. This, it added, was the experience also of the London newspapers. The Tablet, rejecting this argument stated that 'the mingling of the sexes in common occupations stifles the better feelings of nature and treats marriage with contempt' and concluded with the statement that 'the printing office is not the place for a young girl'.

Women clerical workers also incurred Tablet disapproval with the news that 1400 girls had entered a competitive examination for twenty positions at the London Post Office. The Tablet condemned this action as an example of misdirected labour and a cruel disappointment. 'Not of course, that there was anything to fear from the fair sex themselves, since the tenderness of a lovely

woman was well known to the *Tablet*. The real concern was that in coming forward to fill positions traditionally held by men, they might expose themselves to failure and disappointment by turning away from their traditional role of hemming and stitching. What of the men displaced by these 'girls', asks the *Tablet*. While the *Tablet* conceded that the lot of women who fail to find employment was pitiable it shared in the opinion generated by economic depression that it was not as bad as that of men in a similar situation. Woman could find shelter and be useful in many households. Enforced idleness caused greater suffering for a man than for an unemployed woman. If women filled the professions and higher offices men would sink in the social scale to a lower culture and level of refinement. The *Tablet* concluded with the warning that women's rights required close and firm examination that 'may have a solution displeasing to its advocates ...'.

The nearest concession to women's work beyond the hearth accompanied an advertisement for a patent medicine to alleviate the ailments sustained by women in pursuit of occupations frowned upon by the *Tablet*. Entitled 'Information for Working Women' a column in the *Tablet* observed that the greater variety of occupations now open to women had its drawbacks for women tempted into positions for which they were not fitted. These were women sitting all day hammering at typewriters and telegraphic instruments, standing on their feet for twelve hours on end in shops and stores or bending over desks at 'some sort of writing' or, as in England and America, women who laboured in factories over monotonous tasks in a bad atmosphere and for low wages.

While domestic work earned the highest approval for unmarried women, not all were fortunate enough to find gainful employment. Christchurch recognised

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women’s rights and separate needs when women formed their own organization to deal with ‘delicate cases unsuited to inquiries of men’. Previously at meetings of Catholic Young Men’s Association and the St. Vincent de Paul Society, men only had been present. Separate meetings for men and women were now held in the presbytery. In 1879, 200 servants attended a meeting to discuss their spiritual and temporal needs. The meeting recognised the need for a home for servants out of employment, but rejected the need for an institution. Anxious to see a building go ahead, servants, donated subscriptions ranging up to £10.32 The Tablet predicted that the proposed institution ‘should meet the approbation of all masters and mistresses of Canterbury’, since the objects of the home were to provide a temporary base for ‘blameless servants out of situations, and perfect them in domestic duties, to give them a taste for such intellectual occupation as well as suited to their state, as servants, to their capacity etc.’.33

The Tablet supported the welfare of working women when the Hibernian Society proposed to form a ladies’ section to serve as a Catholic ladies benefit society. Describing the proposal as a ‘not altogether a novel idea’ the Tablet conceded that provision should be made for ‘a large class of women, who if they fall sick have no home to go to or friends to fall back on’. The Benevolent Asylum and the hospital, it added, should not be the only resource in illness or disablement.34

Domestic service, undertaken in either the single woman’s own home or in that of a more affluent employer, served as a valuable apprenticeship for the undisputed and ultimate role of housewife. Although notices of forthcoming marriages appeared briefly in 1877, accounts of nuptials were not worthy of publication unless the bride was well known because of her father’s or husband’s

32. New Zealand Tablet, 9 Aug 1879, p.11.
33. New Zealand Tablet, 15 Aug 1879, p.15.
social standing. Katie J. Walsh’s marriage to Thomas Lynch of the ‘Railway Service’ expressed this attitude. Lynch’s reputation as a local footballer took precedence over her prominence as a member of the Gore Catholic choir and formerly St. Joseph’s choir. For the wedding an altar was set up in a room in the Pukerau Hotel and a priest from Gore celebrated mass and performed the marriage ceremony. The bride, attended by three bridesmaids from Dunedin, Pukerau and Gore wore the traditional veil and orange blossom wreath and was dressed in claret surah silk. Miss Katie Mulvie read and presented an illuminated address to the bride in appreciation of her work in the church. The bride also received a presentation of a marble time-piece, a silver mounted biscuit barrel, butter dish and silver cruets all ‘suitably inscribed’, from the choir and congregation of Gore. Other numerous and useful presents included tableware in silver and china, books and furniture. After the ceremony the wedding party sat down to a ‘substantial breakfast’ when the health of the bride and bridegroom was drunk ‘in bumpers’. The couple left Pukerau by the northern express for their new home in Balclutha.

Doubtless it was the status of the bride’s father within the Catholic community that the wedding of D.W. Woods’ daughter received a full half page account. The ceremony took place in St. Joseph’s Cathedral, which had been built by Woods, the builder of a number of churches and schools in the diocese, including St. Vincent de Paul’s orphanage at South Dunedin.

While the trivia of wedding celebrations may not have earned a regular place among the lighter features of the Tablet the duties of the young wife did on one occasion receive in-depth consideration. From The Ladies Home Journal the

34. New Zealand Tablet, 25 May 1894, p.17.
35. New Zealand Tablet, 5 Oct 1877, p.11.
36. New Zealand Tablet, 14 Nov 1890, p.5.
37. New Zealand Tablet, 22 Sep 1893, p.15.
Tablet, thinking that it would be of interest reproduced the following advice to girls about to marry:

'Do not marry until you and your fiancé have a bank account
If you worked for your own savings “What is yours is your own.”
Draw out only some of your savings for furnishings
Remember to keep some for rainy days and ill health.
Keep furnishings simple and tasty—not a swell carpet for the parlour or a walnut suite for the bedroom
Paint rooms around edges for about two feet, have tasty design in carpets and rugs and have inexpensive light wood furniture
Have a fine cloth coat, two woollen gowns and plenty of durable underwear.'

The writer endorsed this advice with a short homily of a young bride who having indulged in the purchase of a black silk dress, was seen six weeks after the marriage entertaining in her ‘Mother Hubbard’ wrapper and slipshod feet. Furthermore the front door was covered in finger marks. The concluding advice was ‘not to marry until you can see your way clear before you. Give him a loving welcome, an attentive home and a well-cooked meal’.38

Although the importance of the wife’s responsibilities featured but briefly, recognition of the certain progression to motherhood failed to emerge at all. Catholic women of the late nineteenth century still suffered their share of death by childbirth. The absence of comment emphasised their resignation to this frequent inevitability by the announcement of the death of Jeremiah Hurley of Upper Hutt, a former head schoolmistress from Tralee, aged 27. Her death preceded by one week the announcement of the subsequent death of her new-born son.39

The work of lay women did not feature again for two years, until in 1879 two obituaries announced the deaths of Miss E O’Brien and Mrs. R. A. Sherrin. The ‘untimely death’ of Miss E O’Brien, from a well known West Coast family, ‘was

38. New Zealand Tablet, 21 Aug 1891, p.29.
to be remembered by ... her catching a cold which developed acute inflammation of all the vital organs'. Described as the 'glory of the domestic hearth', the account declared that her stricken relatives could ill afford to spare her. Her funeral cortege was described as a mile long with many of the old diggers preferring to walk. The second of these obituaries introduced Mrs. R.A. Sherrin as 'a convert—whose husband was known in journalistic circles.' Known for her work with the St. Vincent de Paul Society, she left a gap in the ranks of church workers. 'Well known in her exertions for the alleviation of distress ... [she had] performed with a delicacy and tact ... which made the recipients ... feel that instead of receiving they were bestowing favours.'

The involvement of local women in public affairs was a notable event and hardly to be encouraged. The Tablet observed that at a meeting on education at the Temperance Hall in 1879 attended by 600, 'some were ladies'. Critical of the school committee voting system introduced through the 1878 Education Act, the Tablet condemned the mechanics of 4000 householders voting by a show of hands. Objecting to this practice the Tablet considered that 'Parents, that is fathers, ... may well never hear the time and place of the meeting and even worse, many are ladies who can hardly be expected to take a part in a public meeting'. The Tablet reflected its negative attitude towards the involvement of women in educational matters by a commenting on the defeat of a woman candidate for a school committee in Boston. 'Whether lovely woman votes or dresses herself, it is not to please men so much as to spite other women.'

For the most part secular women's involvement in educational matters was

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39. New Zealand Tablet, 26 Oct 1877, p.11.
40. New Zealand Tablet, 2 Nov 1894, p.9.
42. New Zealand Tablet, 21 Dec 1877, p.11.
43. New Zealand Tablet, 20 Feb 1880, p.15.
restricted to fundraising activities. The building of the Dominican convent relied heavily on the time and energies of the women of the parish. Designed by F.W. Petre and built to an Anglo-saxon style, the convent when reaching completion was described as having a ‘cheerful’ interior lighted by an unusual number of windows. Married women organized ‘sewing bees’, produce and other works for bazaars in support of the convent and the Lady Superior collected subscriptions from those who were not contributing to stalls. The Lady Superior also placed a notice of acknowledgment and thanks for payment and sales of raffle books, publishing a list of the names of ladies and gentlemen who had contributed. A meeting of all ‘Catholic Ladies’ was called at the Dominican convent to aid nuns with fundraising to build a high concrete wall along Dowling Street (now Tennyson Street), and in the same year the Crèche committee attended performances of a play by Dominican girls as a fund raising exercise for the crèche. Ladies were charged ‘only’ 3/- and children, 2/- to attend.

While the value of Catholic women’s education did not rank equally with that of Catholic men the education of Protestant women received voluble scorn and derision from Moran in the Tablet. With what a detectable element of enjoyment did the Tablet state that according to the Evangelist, the Presbyterians were upset that the Dominican Convent overshadowed the Otago Girls’ High School. Doubtless the provision of free secondary education for girls, a disturbing concern for Moran, angered by ‘those mothers who sent their daughters [there]’ provoked this and other puerile attacks. Embodied in a criticism of the British Education Act and the role and function of school boards, and entitled, ‘But What About Women?’ Moran made a lengthy attack on the Otago Girls High School in 1879:

44. *New Zealand Tablet*, 31 Aug 1877, p.13. (Those who are familiar with the interior of the building might question this description).
‘There is that fine madam over the way. Good house wives, all of you know her, with a silken train that sweeps the dust for yards on the foot path, and more hair to her head than would have made a triple robe for Lady Godiva, who walks every morning before your aggrieved eyes to amuse herself all day long in a way that makes your back ache again over the wash tub to think of it. It’s partly for her and her family that you are wearing your life out. You think it is a fine thing to get your children educated all for nothing by Government but you are paying for them and their madam’s also; and when you have to take home your girls half-educated to help you over your heavy work, or to earn a few shillings towards their support, both you and they together will be working to pay for the schooling, the singing and dancing, the playing and parley-vous-ing [sic] of Madam’s choice damsels ...

In 1883 high achievers at Otago Girls High School again earned Moran’s scorn when he condemned the ‘absurdities of our education system’ by the ‘official glorification of an association of Duces, or if you will Duxs [sic] ...’ Moran wondered what the other girls would say since ‘the merits of a dux were not so transcendent as to deserve commemoration for all time when it was by merest accident that another girl might have been selected. Success in school or college did not often prove the superior merits of the school or college heroes or heroines.’

An enraged Moran later repeated his vitriolic attack on the concept of Protestant female duces at more length. ‘A Distinguished Cast’ headed an obscure commentary in which he claimed that ‘we have no desire to form associations of pedants and to multiply the breed of Philamente, Armande and Bélise, of Vadius and Trisotin’. Questioning the nature of these associations as to whether they would be female duces Moran asked ‘... might we not appropriately call them in the plural—duckies? to herd alone, to display their superior acquirement to the female eye only ... and will they not perchance feel like the

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47. New Zealand Tablet, 7 Feb 1879, p.3.
violet they were born to blush unseen ...'. Alternatively Moran wondered whether the associations were to mix, in which case would the female dux discuss with the male dux the beauties of Greek grammar and the male dux celebrating the charms of the female dux, compliment her in impromptu Latin verse. He made the ironic suggestion that the state might marry male with female duces, to rear a peculiar race of duces. Moran wondered whether it was sufficient to write up their names in gold rather than their wearing a badge to distinguish them from the vulgar crowd, 'perhaps a wig for the males and a Minerva costume for the females'.

At an Otago Boys' High School breakup ceremony when Dr. Stuart made reference to Mr. Wilson, the newly appointed Principal of Otago Girls' High School, as the ideal person to bring up the girls to be wives and sweethearts of the boys the Tablet again made scathing comment about the Dunedin High Schools. Since Mr. Wilson had been appointed to replace Mrs. Burn, the former Principal, the Tablet concluded that a male principal had been appointed for his qualities to better recognize 'the kind of article a fellow man would require for the matrimonial market'. The Tablet predicted that the appointment of a gentleman instead of a lady would improve the standard of the wives of the future and saw a danger that another lady might have indulged in the prejudices of her own sex by training the girls '... to hold their own as heretofore'. By happy contrast, observed the Tablet, Mr. Macandrew's speech at the Otago Girls' High School appreciated the training in the skills of their grandmothers as something as valuable as science and the arts. The Tablet queried whether the damsels would condescend to vary the practice of Beethoven's sonatas, the study of Goethe or the square of a circle and vindicate women's the rights by aspiring to beat the boys. The Tablet doubted that the girls would condescend to vary their more

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50. New Zealand Tablet, 28 Dec 1883, p.5.
51. New Zealand Tablet, 26 Dec 1884, p.1.
ethereal flights by making butter or baking bread. The Tablet thought Macandrew's ideas old-fashioned and that young people had advanced beyond his criteria. The Tablet concluded by expressing the view that a conspiracy prevailed for the degradation of women who were frequently 'befooled' into being its most ardent members. In the cry for women's rights and the attempt to bring women into competition with men an unequal struggle was being prepared for them. To engage in this struggle they had to descend from their elevated position only to find that their qualities were wanting, that their strength was insufficient and that they had become the laughing stock of the world. 'Man's equal woman cannot be; she must be his superior or his slave.'

Women's education came under attack again in the 'Current Topics' column. Referring to the 'young lady duces', the Tablet justified its stance on women's education by commending the example of the Irish convents when they refused to prepare their female pupils for the Intermediate Examinations. Discussing the education of women and their rights and citing historical anecdotes of women's abuse of men's chivalry, the Tablet recalled Frenchmen's fears of the cry for women's rights: 'When the women have neither the time nor the taste to be mothers of the family, the men must try to replace them.' This, claimed the Tablet, was the reason that men viewed with suspicion the new system of female education. The fault lay not with what was learned but what was left unlearned. Objections were not raised against 'a young girl knowing scraps of algebra and chemistry' but, 'not a single moment in the day has not been preserved to teach the young girl to stay at home and content herself, a talent more essential to her happiness, and that of those belonging to her ...'. It was feared that after receiving their education women would resent menial household chores. Since everyone of them could not be school mistresses, the Tablet feared that a generation of 'unclassed females' would develop.

52. New Zealand Tablet, 26 Dec 1884, p.3.
Taking a conciliatory turn, the argument presented examples of educated women in history who had produced nothing that was not good and profitable. Medieval monastic schools had encouraged the education of young girls. Bertile, a sixth century nun had lectured on Holy scripture to a mixed audience and St. Radegonde was a scholar of the writings of the Greek Fathers Gregory, Basil and Athanaseus. Bertile had also dictated Latin verses of Fortunatus to her secretary. The tenth century Edith of Wilton and Hrotswitha of Gandesheim wrote plays which reflected the humility of women. The Abbesses Cecelia, daughter of William the Conqueror, and Emma of St. Amand were skilled in grammar poetry and philosophy. Herrad of Landsperg was credited with the first scientific encyclopaedia. Benedictine nuns had carried out the work of transcription and Montalambert refers in particular to a Bavarian nun at Wossobrun. Ladies had however restricted their learned pursuits, not to interfere with their other duties, taking turns to work in the kitchen, cleaning and carrying wood and water. The writer conveniently ignored the fact that these scholarly women, coming from a privileged class would have embarked upon menial chores in neither a secular nor an enclosed lifestyle. Assurance that 'deep learning' should cause no alarm was evidenced by the example displayed by St. Theresa declaring that she wrote against her will, since this kept her from her spinning, and being from a poor house, she had a great deal to do.

Since there was no prospect of these women coming forward 'to contest the walks of public life with men' there was no harm in the 'acquisition ... of as much learning as their heads would contain ...'. Reference to many famous women throughout history, ranging from Agrippina, mother of Nero, to Catherine of Sienna and Joan of Arc reinforced this argument. Not withstanding its reference to Frances Power Cobbe as an advocate of women's rights who cited women's performance in great works in art and literature, the Tablet claimed that women wrote from sentiment rather than reason, and therefore discounted any
argument for the need for higher education of women.

Coming to terms with contemporary issues, the argument cited the public office of jury service, in which women elsewhere had been found wanting. In America women had displayed sentiment rather than judgment, being blinded to the evidence by their feelings. Parliamentary candidates too, would be as concerned at female electors as lawyers at women jurors. There was no harm in education for women, providing it was with a legitimate goal and did not remove them from 'the sphere for which nature has fitted them'. Under the learning and professional abilities of ladies of the medical schools and law courts there was a danger that the women's [true] nature would be found and everything turned from its natural course, would suffer. Ladies leaving the stage for marriage frequently returned to the stage but this would be unsuitable for a professional lady. In the case of a lady physician she would have fallen behind in medical science. While it would be possible for a spinster to practise professionally it was considered preferable to choose a man who would head a family and provide for their future rather than a woman practising solely for her own benefit. The beneficial effect upon the world of the exaltation of women would be lost if women were to lose this respect and a retrogression from civilisation would result. If she came out into the world as a rival to men, she could no longer expect deferential treatment. Fear was expressed that women on the hustings would expect a polite hearing and then contradict the existing political notions of men. When contradicted, women might end in Tennyson's 'feeble wrath of tears'.

Women had already exercised their rights since they held in their hands the destinies of the world by moulding each generation. To remove the ruling spirit of women in the home would deprive children of the wisdom of their mothers. Entry into public life would prevent women from performing tasks which they alone can do to perfection. Advance in the wrong direction would lead to regression and, in the words of King Arthur when reproaching Guinevere, 'for
thou hast spoiled the purpose of my life ...'. Woman has her part but 'her scepter ... must remain adorned with roses ... and hidden, if she were to retain her sway'. The argument concluded with the contradictory statement that while she may even rule with a rod of iron she must be acknowledged by the modern world, as in many respects man's superior. 53

The concept for higher education for women was slow to receive approval or support from the Tablet. When a Protestant paper reported the reading of papers by two women, one a nun, at a Dublin social science conference, the Tablet, grudgingly admitted that Catholic education must keep pace with the secular school system. Relating to higher education for women and preparation for migration for women, the papers had received the enthusiastic support of the Provost of Trinity College, particularly those on higher education. The Tablet reminded readers of the views expressed by the bishop to a Wellington convent school, when he questioned the use of music, painting and languages once a girl had married. 54

The Tablet's first concession to higher education for women occurred when it reprinted an item from the Century Magazine quoting Cardinal Gibbons who saw women physicians providing no obstacle to canon law. Gibbons approved of Christian women studying medicine, but he considered that the subject of anatomy should be taught separately from men. The article continued by stating that the view that women did not have the intellectual powers to study medicine had been demolished. While conceding that men may possess a superior intelligence, it concluded that women compensated with a logical intuition. 55

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53. New Zealand Tablet, 4 Jan 1884, pp.1-5.
54. New Zealand Tablet, 6 Jan 1881, p.6.
Education for girls earned more recognition by 1895 when the *Tablet* congratulated Sir John Hall who, at an Anglican synod paid tribute to the excellence of the Catholic convent school education. 56 Extolling the work of the nuns who had emulated the work of their 'Sisters at Home', the *Tablet* regretted the failure of so many Catholic parents who withdrew their daughters who may have reached proficiency in music or public service exams, only to enter into unsuitable work or 'to do the lady at home'. Boys also terminated further study after a couple of years at secondary school. ‘Our advanced schools’ continued the *Tablet*, ‘should not rest satisfied with Civil Service or even Matriculation examinations’. It cited as an example, the ‘lady’ students whom the Dominican nuns prepared for scholarships and degrees at the Royal University in Dublin and regretted that the same opportunities were not always available for girls in New Zealand. The *Tablet* urged parents and teachers, in their own interests as well as that of Catholic education, to make the sacrifice to enable students to complete their education rather than ‘doing things by halves’ by merely veneering higher studies only to develop conceit and an unsuitability for practical work. 57

Discouraging women from the pursuit of higher education was more subtle than the blatant opposition to the women’s franchise, granted in 1893. Throughout the eighties and early nineties women’s struggle for the right to vote had emerged from numerous organizations concerned with equal rights for women. Catholic women took no part in this struggle. Contributing factors were the church’s active discouragement of women from participation in public life, their automatic exclusion from Protestant organizations such as the Women’s Christian Temperance Union and a relatively lower membership of the Trade Union movement. Moran was early in his attack on women’s franchise with the following outburst in 1878.

56. Hall, as a member of parliament was a major protagonist for women’s suffrage legislation.
57. *New Zealand Tablet*, 15 Feb 1895, p.18.
'So the ladies are about to be admitted to the Franchise, preparatory, we suppose, to their admission to seats in the Houses of Parliament. This will be very pretty indeed. It will be very nice for young bashful members to be enabled bye-and-bye to address Mrs. Speaker, and look for sympathy from that quarter, for surely the members will not be so wanting in gallantry as to neglect to place the first elected lady member in the Chair of the House. Some of the matrons will of course be called to the Upper House, if it were nothing else but to keep the old gentlemen company.'

Constant in his opposition to civic privilege based on land ownership, he added that 'it was insulting to the ladies that the proposal extended to property owners only'.

Antagonism to higher education and the franchise had become inseparable issues to Moran. An editorial in 1891 expressed his disapproval of the women's franchise movement by stating that it 'presents to our dismayed perception every young lady of twenty-one, every chit of a girl, if we must speak freely as an elector'. Moran continued that 'if they all had within their reach the best “education” if they all had attained at an early maturity to every university degree attainable except that of D.D. the hardship of confining them will be manifest'. He concluded this attack by stating that 'the sweet girl graduate cannot put on an appearance as a doctor of divinity—at least unless she chooses to pay for the distinction, and that we may be sure she will not choose to do'. Commenting again on the women's franchise Moran predicted that logically women could no longer be prevented from becoming members of parliament, prime ministers, soldiers, sailors and police. Women then, must be prepared to undertake all offices and duties of men. This attack concluded with the added comment that some women in Auckland were playing football and 'not only had God and Christ been banished from the schools, but good wise men would be banished from the political platform'.

59. New Zealand Tablet, 22 May 1891, p.17.
60. New Zealand Tablet, 26 Jun 1891, p.17.
When referring to the subject of women's franchise the editorial questioned how the
'less aggressive of the gentle sex who prefer women's privileges to women's
rights would regard their status. Did those to whom the epithet "attractive
and womanly" applied really want the franchise. How would the granting of
electoral rights to both the 'quietly domestic' and the 'unlovely loud-voiced
woman affect the vexed question of education? Women's franchise was an
innovation and a concession which lacked the support of the "popular voice."
The action of political man could be forecast but "Woman," not even an
undeveloped man, was diverse and her actions unable to be predicted. It was
idle speculation and only time would tell what effect this would have on her
on the "sacred duties of her household" when she entered this 'turbulent
field.'

Moran saw the women's vote as a compromise preferable to the strength of
the protestant vote. Conceding the electoral strength of the Catholic women's
vote, he expressed the view that women's intuition would not tolerate the
'godless system of education' and that they would be no more unreasonable than
the male advocates of 'tyranny, oppression and plunder'.

The possibility of women becoming members of parliament provoked further
derision from Moran. 'Is it coming? We hope not', were the opening words to a
Tablet editorial in 1894, entitled 'MRS M.H.R.'. Recalling that a few years ago a
daring man was laughed at for advancing such an 'absurdity' no one a decade
ago seriously thought that there should be such a thing as a lady mayor in the
Colony. 'We have one', the Tablet stated cryptically. Furthermore, it warned
that when the female franchise became law the admission of 'ladies' to
Parliament was never seriously contemplated but the franchise was now law.
The Tablet considered that in many respects this concept was disastrous.
Believing that women should be well informed in order to discuss intelligently
with their husbands the political issues of the day and the education of their

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61. New Zealand Tablet, 15 Sep 1893, p.17.
62. Elizabeth Yates became Mayor of Onehunga in 1893.
children, it saw no danger in granting the vote to women. 'But she must not be drawn away from the sphere of the true woman and neglect the sacred duties of home.' If family life were to suffer because of this legislation, the Tablet considered that both the franchise and female representation should be withdrawn. The Tablet, justifying this stance by expressing the view that if women were away from home for many months of the year family life would suffer, hastened to deny the view that women were incapable of giving wise counsel or helping materially in the affairs of the nation. Recalling a long list of illustrious women in history the Tablet considered that they were exceptional women in exceptional circumstances. Comparing with Queen Victoria, an imagined 'Wellington lady M.H.R.', who hired a domestic to care for her husband and family, the Tablet adopted a double standard by presuming that Victoria 'cared well for her family while attending to Affairs of State'. The supposed 'Lady M.H.R.' earned further criticism for the embarrassment she caused her Cabinet Minister husband by representing the Opposition. The Tablet concluded by stating that a mixed parliament of men and women members would present many extremes and far from edifying spectacles. 'Woman was not fitted by nature to leave home and take part with men in noisy debates. As queen in the sacred shrine of home', the Tablet thought that she ought to retain her sovereignty unimpaired.63

Catholic women's views on women's franchise, or for that matter, any other issue, never featured in the Tablet. Throughout New Zealand branches of the Catholic Literary Society, an all-male organization, presented papers and held debates on the women's franchise.64 Canterbury debated the same topic in 1892 and a less specific topic on 'Women' in 1894.65 Auckland branch debated

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63. New Zealand Tablet, 20 Jul 1894, p.17.
64. New Zealand Tablet, 31 Jul 1891, p.20 and 2 Sep 1892, p.19.
'Women's Franchise' in 1892. In 1899 the Invercargill branch continued to debate the topic, 'Franchise for Women'. Ashburton debated the inevitable outcome, 'Women in Parliament' in 1899. The Catholic Literary Society continued to be an all-male organization even after the Hibernian Society had made its successful application for a dispensation, the 'first step of its kind', to form a 'Female Branch' in Dunedin.

Fanny Parnell was the only woman whose work as a national and international public figure featured in the Tablet in her obituary. Born in 1848, Fanny Vessey Parnell, sister of Charles Parnell, leader of the Irish National Land League also became famous for her struggles in support of the League. On her return from finishing school in France, Fanny Parnell had arrived at the period of transition from the famine policy of 1848 to the era of coercion by the British government. Under the pseudonym of 'F.P.' she wrote for both the Irish and American press in support of her brother's fight against British rule and for the cause of Irish politics. Writing under the name of 'Aleria' she also gained a reputation for her writings of both prose and poetry. With the support of her mother she founded the 'Irish Ladies Land League', which her younger sister later carried on.

Equally as strong as the disapproval held against the place of women on the political platform, was their departure from the confines of the domestic hearth and sacred shrine of home to the outdoors. Since the Tablet published little about men's sporting events it is no surprise that women's sport should feature even less, and furthermore, should be actively discouraged. Hardly surprisingly, a San Francisco news item announcing a wrestling match between two women

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67. New Zealand Tablet, 18 Jul, 1894, p.27.
68. New Zealand Tablet, 2 Mar 1899, p. 19.
69. New Zealand Tablet, 10 May 1895, p.18.
provoked Moran to a lengthy editorial outburst. 'If we have lady-preachers, lady-lawyers, lady-doctors, everything that we might not want to have in the way of ladies; why on earth should we not have female prize-fighters? ... The church has raised woman to her highest position in the modern civilisation.' Contrasting this to the ancients, he claimed that women had been held in contempt by them. The Greek view, he explained, was one of woman's frame being the habitation of the soul that in the form of man had disgraced itself; her body being the place of punishment. Similarly, Moran argued that 'If a woman breaks with the bounds assigned by the Church and endeavours to elevate herself to the level of man in his proper calling of the higher sort or emulates him in his lower pursuits she sinks beneath the level of brutes.' Without further reference to these offending wrestlers Moran attacked 'women occupying places not allotted by Christianity, as with Mrs. Hammond, a preacher and a lay-lawyer, [who] have joined a crew more vile than Mademoiselle Theroigne of history or Madame De Farge of fiction'.

The Tablet referred again to the status of women, sinking in a 'scale of humanity to slavish and odious position ... under Paganism, barbarism and non Catholic Christians of modern times to even more degraded positions'. On this occasion the Tablet, was quoting 'Mr. Leckey, historian of Rationalism'. Catholic teaching concerning the dignity and privileges of Blessed Virgin Mary, assured the Tablet, raised women to the high position held by it in ages of faith but as the world separated from Catholicism women sank from the sight of public exhibition, as in America. On another occasion the Tablet took the opportunity to condemn women trampers when it reprinted from the New Zealand Herald a 'pedestrianism of women plus sketches'. According to the New Zealand Herald,

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70. New Zealand Tablet, 22 Sep 1882, p.5.
71. New Zealand Tablet, 26 Mar 1880, p.5.
'Miss von Berge is one on the track for exhibition walks! She is a cart horse style female, with a huge body and swinging step. How she foots it, heel to toe. Heavens! She comes down upon the flat of her foot like a thunderbolt; being neither pretty but large and coarse she excites little interest. The two champion ladies are accompanied all day by ladies who walk for pleasure, thus relieving the monotony for the jaded tramps, who must be jaded, though they are plucky to reveal the same.'

'What could be more revolting than this? asked the Tablet. 'The brutalizing influence of such sights, or even such descriptions, one of themselves enough to corrupt and debase any nation of the world. Verily the contempt of Catholic teaching entails its own punishment', concluded the Tablet.\textsuperscript{72}

Not only were women discouraged from any form of outdoor pursuit, but the Tablet also criticized the possibility of their presence where men might rightly enjoy such freedom. The Tablet disagreed with the misplaced gallantry of the police during an incident at the St. Clair baths when a 'respectable lad' was accused of indecent conduct. Captioned 'Immodest women', the Tablet, criticizing women who 'thrust themselves needlessly' where men are bathing, stated that they deserved to be shocked. 'There was no excuse for women to approach the baths while men were bathing since the path behind the baths leads only to a cul de sac', explained the Tablet. In defence of the accused, the Tablet stated that women should confine themselves to the beach for the necessary time and that the lad was simply made a victim of shamelessness owing to the punctiliousness of a sergeant devoted to women who deserve no such consideration.\textsuperscript{73}

The low profile and negative publicity accorded women by the Tablet was characteristic of general attitudes of superiority of the Caucasian male in the

\textsuperscript{72} New Zealand Tablet, 26 Sep 1879, p.2.
\textsuperscript{73} New Zealand Tablet, 15 Feb 1889, p.2.
later nineteenth century. Ironically the theory of evolution, and the new parallel science of craniology and phrenology which heralded the new discipline of anthropology, nurtured this attitude. The female was considered not only physically weaker but intellectually and morally inferior. While the church condemned evolutionary science as heresy, it practised the biblical ethos of male supremacy, readily adopting the phrenologist argument to justify this stance. Phrenologists argued that the smaller female skull paralleled women and children, as a race apart, along with the stunted development of the 'inferior races.' Bram Dijkstra, the feminist art historian, when arguing the influence of this ethos in European art cites Schopenhauer's 'Essay on Women', 1851, which states that 'women ... are themselves childish, frivolous and short-sighted ... big children all their life long—a stage between the child and the fullgrown man ...' Dijkstra also refers to Darwin's endorsement of this view which claims that the female resembled her young offspring throughout life, further ratified by Romanes who believed that not only was the female brain shallower but that it received a poorer blood supply.\(^74\) In his book, Idols of Perversity, Dijkstra presents iconographical evidence to illustrate the pervasion through society of this influence on artists, by scientists.\(^75\) In Dijkstra's view 'woman, [believed to be] incapable of the higher forms of evolution, was doomed to remain a simple tool of nature, a domestic animal ... whose sole responsibility was the reproduction of the race'.\(^76\)

Catholic interest in phrenology as a human science manifested as a topic of debate in the all-male Catholic Literary Society.\(^77\) Although the Tablet did not publish accounts of these debates Moran's opinion on the matter clearly endorsed those views generally held at that time. The Tablet exploited current thinking to

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\(^{74}\) Bram Dijkstra, Idols of Perversity, pp.167-170.

\(^{75}\) Dijkstra, Idols of Perversity, passim.

\(^{76}\) Dijkstra, Idols of Perversity, p.171.

\(^{77}\) New Zealand Tablet, 10 Oct 1884, p.19, 8 Jun.p.18, and 14 Sep p.18, 1899.
erode the emerging struggle for women's rights when an anthropological congress in Paris claimed that the 'insignificant part taken by women in the work of modern society' was due to women's lesser intellect. The argument claimed that this difference was greater between civilised men and women than between male and female savages. The Tablet warned that it was ... 'a fact full of meaning for the advocates of women's rights'.

Dismissing the argument that 'it did not prove intellectual inferiority of women taking part in the struggle for existence under the same conditions as men', the Tablet considered it 'a mere gloss ... to avert outpouring of vials of female wrath'. The Tablet dismissed as 'just a boast of civilisation', that women were on a closer footing with men than that of the barbarous nations. 'Savage woman [who] is condemned to act as a beast of burden, tiller, carer of children, forbidden entrance to councils, hunter-fighting cannot claim an equality greater than civilized woman ... evolution is a one-sided matter, man is growing towards perfection at a faster rate than woman and she bids fair to be totally distanced in the race'. The Tablet recommended to advocates of women's rights that in vain, they opposed nature herself, by advancing women to a position not intended for her, since they would first need to repress men.

The Tablet continued to argue phrenology in opposition to the growing push for women's rights. 'Women Vindicated' announced the Tablet. 'The changing size of women's heads and the belief that women by nature were the inferior of men was all a mistake,' it stated. 'She was actually vastly man's superior and it had cost man "some pains" to establish himself on a higher level. Only due to his gaining the upper hand in some "unexplained kind of way" had she become dependent on him. Instead of being in a state of development that had not reached perfection it had been "ungallantly" declared that she had gone back in

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77. New Zealand Tablet, 22 Nov 1878, p.17.
78. New Zealand Tablet, 3 Jan 1879, p.5.
the evolutionary race and now held a position inferior to that which she occupied.' A woman anthropologist's accusation that the Aryans had reduced the size of women's heads to deprive them of their real power had provoked this outburst. She argued that Aryan men found big headed women as distasteful as were women with big feet, to the Chinese. She cited the evidence of an Egyptian race, whose men at marriage gave themselves and their property over to their wives, took their wives' names, as did their sons, and where the women conducted all the business transactions. The woman was head of the family with the gens based on the female line and a council of four-fifths women, ruled the tribe and its religious observances. 'Brains or no brains', conceded the Tablet, 'women is all perfection, perfect in her big headed days when she had the whip hand over men and perfect in her days when she has a smaller head, but men must still be accountable to her ... [and] women still remain as costly as before'.

The Tablet stated that matrimony bound men to their wives as tightly in life as mummy cloths after death. Had Aryan men not succeeded in reducing the size of women's heads all government would have been carried out by women and men would have found themselves sheltering from the Egyptian mummy cloth. The 'diminished skull sits well upon women's shoulders and warns men that apart from adornments of fashion he should see in his own interest that it retains the size he demands of it' concluded the Tablet.80

If the Tablet was critical of women in general it was even more critical of the active involvement of women in Protestant religion. The Tablet described the Salvation Army as 'a peculiar lunacy' when it recorded the arrival of their members in Dunedin. 'A flock of women in red jerseys are fighting Satan with accordions, guitars, drums and instruments of torture....' A 'Major' Moore who was head of the Army in America had left the Methodist church because it was

not noisy enough. When ten more Mormons arrived the *Tablet* expressed concern, commenting on the need for existing parsons to look to their laurels. Added to this concern Te Kooti's wife was promoting another brand new religion in the North. The *Tablet* attributed this development to evangelical women promoting women's rights among the natives. The *Tablet* noted that Anglicans had suggested that spinsters or 'unoccupied females' might be engaged in teaching bible studies in the schools. The *Southland Times*, according to the *Tablet*, condemned this proposal, asserting that 'her spinstership would be wholly out of place, and would even form a leading feature in an "unacademic jumble" instead of forming ... the very centre and source of all that could be graceful and charming'. The *Tablet* asked 'what unoccupied female of independent means could possibly consent to forsake for a moment the little elegant trifles of her leisure hours at home to figure abroad as the chief feature of a jumble'. During the course of a debate on the admission of women to church committees one member of the Anglican synod claimed that had St. Paul lived in different times he would have modified his ideas, that women should not speak in churches, as women's aid was becoming increasingly used by the church. In support of the motion, the president stated the belief that the future of the church lay more with women than with men. 'St. Paul', observed the *Tablet*, 'not being present, the women would no doubt modify the apostle's ideas to suit themselves. If the women', continued the *Tablet*, 'cannot exert themselves to some better effect than that ... the future of the Church of England bids fair to be somewhat cloudy'.

The St. Vincent de Paul Society, a charitable institution of the Catholic church was one sphere in which lay Catholic women's work extended beyond

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83. *New Zealand Tablet*, 28 Nov 1884, p.3
hearth and home. While Catholic women suffered exclusion from most organizations and sodalities they played a vital role in the administration and execution of the works undertaken by the Society. The organization required money and hard work of its members and who better to provide this service than middle and respectable working class wives of the parish. Victorian society had recognized the ability of women as fund raisers and their success in this role, earning them a public profile which they would not have acquired so readily in other spheres of autonomy. Given the opportunity, the performance of Catholic women proved that they, too, were highly successful in this role.\textsuperscript{85}

The president, secretary and members of the committee of the St. Vincent de Paul Society in Dunedin were all women—but with the bishop and a priest in attendance at the meeting. Annual reports reveal the work undertaken by these women to address and remedy social problems. Functions of the society included 'visiting and comforting the poor'. One thousand visits in one year included the sick at home and in hospital. These visits were undertaken twice weekly, with gifts of fruit and flowers in summer, and books in winter. Visits made to inmates of the Benevolent Institution included instruction classes for working girls every Sunday afternoon. The Society reported in one year that '5 poor penitents' were sent to the Good Shepherd nuns at Mount Magdala, Christchurch, an institution for pregnant, unmarried women. Orphan children at the Caversham Industrial school also received religious instruction every Sunday afternoon. The Society reported that ten children were sent to St. Mary's Orphanage at Nelson and that the Society had been instrumental in bringing about sixteen baptisms and one marriage, described as 'brought about when it was desirable that it should be, the Society interesting itself in this sad case'.

\textsuperscript{84} New Zealand Tablet, 21 Nov 1890, p.2.

Firms donated coal and parcels of clothing. Some of those receiving assistance, 'desirous of helping themselves were paid at ordinary rates for needlework provided by the Society'. Articles donated to the Society included dresses, petticoats chemises, shirts, trousers, boots, sox and stockings, nightgowns, jackets and bonnets, blankets, coal and groceries. Soups, jellies, wine, eggs and oysters were fed to the sick. Assistance was provided for burying the dead, cleaning and rent, sending telegrams, cab-fares and certificates. When acknowledging the work of the Society Bishop Moran mentioned that he had endeavoured to induce government to give to the Catholic church for a reformatory, the same allowance that they gave to the industrial schools already established. Moran suspected that government refusal was based on the fear of a bigoted outcry by the people of Otago.86 Support from members of the parish was constant. In 1889 the Society boasted 300 honorary members, with an average attendance of 10 at weekly meetings. Reports from other centres reflected a similar support.87

An account in the regular Christchurch column indicated, however, that their branch was not enjoying the same level of success since their books showed the 'impecunious state' of only 'three half pence in the treasury'. With this lack of funding, the women's committee was unable to offer little more help than visitation by its members. The column described one home visit where a sick woman and her puny six week old baby lay in a two roomed house containing little furniture. Her husband, out of work and unable to work, had no one else to look after the family. The only food available was 'a junk of mutton', bread, watery tea and sticky brown sugar supplied by the Charitable Aid Board. Both the mother and the child were insufficiently clad and a request for coal had been declined by the Inspector, who had visited the house that same day.88

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88. *New Zealand Tablet*, 13 Sep 1889, p.6.
Tablet accounts of the St. Vincent de Paul Society for the most part, indicate that when women were released from the confines of their domestic hearth to enjoy the freedom to plan, to fund and to execute their own operation, they successfully fulfilled a role beyond the demands of that sacred shrine.

The Tablet's attitude towards women, their work, their education and their political status changed little, if at all, during Bishop Moran's era of influence on the Tablet. Moran continued to write editorials and to maintain a close control of the contents of the paper until chronic ill health rendered him physically incapable of continuing his duties. In the last two years of his life, during periods of remission, he continued to voice his views, particularly on education and the women's franchise, but it was only then that there was any detectable softening of the Tablet's attitude towards women.
CHAPTER SIX

Playing in the world

Colonial settlers brought to New Zealand the traditions, activities and lifestyles of their European culture. Victorian leisure focused initially on reading, music lessons and music making in the home, concerts and theatre productions. By the seventies and eighties British theatre and pleasure gardens had given way to music hall. Increasing working class prosperity afforded more leisure time. The possession of musical instruments, particularly the easy-to-play concertina and brass instruments, became a possibility for the working class while the piano became the status symbol of respectable working or middle class Victorian homes from the 1850s. Organized sport developed much later, particularly for the city-living working classes distanced from playing fields and lacking the necessary free time. Sundays, set aside for observation of the sabbath, were not for indulgence in such frivolity. The increase in the level of literacy created a demand for all categories of publications. The widening circulation of books as well as newspapers enabled publishers to reduce costs and to produce a wider selection of literature for their readers.

Leisure and entertainment followed a similar pattern in New Zealand. Musical activities took place in the home, in the school and on the stage. As the centre-piece of many colonial parlours the piano epitomised respectability. Adrienne Simpson in Opera in the Antipodes quotes E.B. Fitton's advice to

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prospective settlers in 1856: 'if such choice were necessary, to favour the piano in preference to a chest of drawers'.\(^3\) For those working in the goldfields the urgency of gold fever and an unfamiliarity with the concept of organized recreation limited time for leisure and leisure activities. Having settled in rural communities, or when drifting to the towns after the initial flush, miners adopted Victorian patterns of leisure through literature, music and theatre. Participation in organized sport was an even later development of the nineteenth century. Newspaper advertisements for musical instruments, theatre notices and concert reviews featured long before sporting events.

Mark Edward Perugini, from his own personal recollections of theatre and salon patrons of British middle class in *Victorian Days and Ways*, attributed the Victorian taste in music and music education to the influence of the Royal Court. Both Victoria and Albert, known for their active participation in music and concert performances set a fashion emulated by British upper and middle-class society.\(^4\) Simpson attributes to Queen Victoria's enthusiasm and patronage for opera a similar popularity of opera in the colonies.\(^5\) By the turn of the century Colonial opera suffered a similar decline in popularity to that experienced by British and European opera. Simpson advances several contributing factors to account for this decline. While social class marginalised European opera to an emblem of cultural superiority patronised by the wealthy and intellectual urban elite Simpson concedes that cultural division was not strong enough to be of any significance in Australasia.\(^6\) More importantly, economic recession in New Zealand, closely followed by that of Australia, created a demand for cheaper forms of entertainment. Simpson states that this factor, plus the growth of the industrialised mass media and the advent of the movies were behind its ultimate

\(^3\) Adrienne Simpson, 'Opera in the Antipodes' in *NZJH*, vol.27, no.1, April 1993, p.62.
\(^6\) Simpson, 'Antipodes', pp.73-4.
demise. By the eighties, she states, touring theatre companies could no longer afford to travel to Dunedin and the national economic recession precluded northern centres as well, from the entertainment circuit of earlier years. 7

Berridge's perspective of an emergent British working class developing its own forms and choice of entertainment is also relevant to the New Zealand situation of a changing society. Colonial societies through the forties and fifties demonstrated a balanced cross section which included educated middle-class settlers. New Zealand society in the sixties attracted a disproportionately high working class content involved directly or indirectly with the gold rushes. This created a preference for music hall type entertainment in the form of traveling concert parties performing an abundance of light operetta, vaudeville and review which was a more itinerant and less extravagant form of entertainment. Improved shipping services enabled touring companies to meet these demands, maintaining a tradition which survived into the early years of the twentieth century. 8

Theatre in New Zealand had its beginnings in Auckland as early as 1841, and in Wellington in 1843. In the South Island the Theatre Royal opened at Lyttelton in 1857 and in the sixties the advent of the gold rush brought actors, singers, dancers and musicians to Otago, in droves. Cobb and Company coaches transported performing artists from the Provincial Hotel to the gold fields. In 1861 the Provincial Hotel provided the first entertainment venue for citizens of Dunedin. Under the direction of the ubiquitous Dr. Shadrach Jones the adjacent horse bazaar soon became the Royal Princess Theatre, while the Commercial Hotel provided the first venue for the Theatre Royal. 9 The first

7. Simpson, 'Antipodes', pp.61-75.
8. Peter Downes, Shadows on the Stage, Theatre in New Zealand—the First 70 Years, McIndoe, Dunedin, 1975, passim.
Princess Theatre operated as a horse bazaar or auction market during the day and a concert hall by night. When auctioning activities had ceased for the day temporary seating would cover the central area while ornamental partitions camouflaged the surrounding horse stalls.\textsuperscript{10}

Early issues of the \textit{Tablet} reflected theatre as both an important pastime for its Catholic readers and a sign of prosperity enjoyed by the Dunedin public in general. By the end of the decade an absence of reviews suggests a possible change in episcopal attitudes towards the more lighthearted activities of theatre and concert going as well as dancing. An account from Thames recalled St. Patrick’s Day celebrations which had previously included horse racing, a public dinner and a subscription ball with supper. All had been held ever since the gold rush days of 1867. Bishop Moran, at that time acting Apostolic Administrator of the Auckland Diocese, the writer recalls ruefully, ‘set his face against dancing of all description’ and the Ball was abandoned.\textsuperscript{11}

Did Catholics patronise the more plebeian vaudeville type entertainment as well as opera? Earlier \textit{Tablet} reviews informed readers of the performances of visiting and local musicians in opera and light operetta but kept a more discreet silence with regard to vaudeville which was flourishing in Dunedin and throughout the colony.\textsuperscript{12} A review of a concert in the ‘Christy Minstrel style’ of Music Hall by the Canterbury Catholic Literary Society was the only reference to vaudeville. The first half of the programme included time-honoured exchanges between the performer and the audience, plus ‘songs, “funniosities” dangerous to the risible faculties of the audience’. The second half of the programme included a farce ‘abounding in thrilling episodes, ludicrous situations and, exciting incidents’. The plot involved an American Indian chief and a


\textsuperscript{11} \textit{New Zealand Tablet}, 4 Apr, 1879, p.15.

\textsuperscript{12} Downes, \textit{Shadows}, passim.
number of Yankees seeking a reward offered by the American government for his capture. A magazine explosion and general confusion ended the farce with the assumption that the cast had ‘gone to that happy hunting ground, in detached pieces’.13

In its early days the Tablet reviewed theatre and chamber performances, and advertised excursions and other leisure activities, with universal patronage. If not either highly lyrical or totally condemnatory, concert reviews published in the Tablet were patronizing in their opinions of performances, never analytical, and always anonymous. The review of a vocal and instrumental concert performed by St. Joseph’s choir included no names of the soloists other than a ‘Mr. Sykes who was congratulated on the efficient manner in which he accompanied the vocalists and also on his instrumental selections’. Of the soloists, the reviewer referred to ‘a lady [who] gave a solo ... in a way deserving of commendation’. The reviewer described another performance as ‘beautifully given by one of the lady members’. Yet another ‘was sung with great expression by a lady member’. The ‘lady’ members, as well as the ‘lady’ soloists, also remained anonymous to readers.14

Reviews indulged no mercy for performance nerves. A Christchurch reviewer, commenting on a performance, described ‘a slight nervousness [which] detracted from what was otherwise a very good rendering of the piece’.15 The Wellington Catholic Young Men’s Dramatic class organized drama and music evenings. The review following one such occasion reported only one criticism of a concert in which a ‘young lady who appeared rather timid’.16 Another Christchurch musical event taking place at the Globe, was the opera, La

Perichole, described as a 'wretched abortion' by the Christchurch reviewer who, the Tablet observed, had been already turned out of the stalls in Dunedin for being noisy. At Dunedin's Princess theatre Flotow's Martha and Balfe's Bohemian Girl earned the comment by the reviewer that 'with the exception of Mr. Vernon, who was always up to the mark, ... of the other characters, the least said the better'. Other performances included Michael Balfe's Satanella (or The Power of Love), 'Wallace's Maritana and Weber's Der Freischutz, also earning condemnation from the reviewer. 'Miss Alice May met with perfect ovation ... but a compliment can scarcely be paid to other members.' Alice May, heading small touring companies who performed Offenbach's French comedy and Gilbert and Sullivan operetta, was no stranger to the New Zealand comedy theatre. The Tablet, making the observation that overseas companies were not infrequent in their visits to Dunedin, reported that an English Opera Company had performed Verdi's Il Travatori.

Plays produced at the Princes theatre, an older version of the theatre which had reopened in 1876, included George Fawcett Rowe's The Geneva Cross and East Lynne. The reviewer criticised the plot of the play, considering that one scene should have been edited since it was 'hurtful' to some of the audience that it contained a drunken communist. The Tablet reviewed Charles Read's The Wandering Heir, The New Magdalen, The Soldier's Daughters, The Serious Family, and London Assurance, commenting on the versatility of actors who played multiple parts within the same play as well as opposite-sex parts. Simpson observes that this was not an uncommon circumstance in nineteenth-century

17. New Zealand Tablet, 19 May 1876, p.9.
19. Downes, Shadows, p.76.
20. New Zealand Tablet, 6 Feb 1875, p.8.
provinceal Europe and America as well as Australasia.\textsuperscript{23}

In 1876 the \textit{Tablet} reflected the excitement of Dunedin theatre goers when it described the newly opened Princess theatre, a far cry from the original Princess opened in 1862. 'Provision had been made for the comfort of the audiences with the dress circle fitted with rows of seats made in the form of fauteuils and fitted with plush velvet-pile cushions of more than ordinary softness, which have an additional feature of much utility in folding on hinges, so that their occupants may step into the recess, when it is desirable that persons should pass them by and thus avoid all unpleasant crushing.' Not so the cheaper seats, however. 'A full view of the stage may be obtained from all parts of the pit and the benches in the stalls are supplied with backs.' Lighting and acoustics, not surprisingly, were described as an important feature. The \textit{Tablet} predicted that the audience, for the opening night, could look forward to a visiting professional singer by the impressive name of Md'lle Ilma de [sic] Murska.\textsuperscript{24} Simpson depicts Ilma di Murska as a famous international prima donna.\textsuperscript{25} The review of the concert commenting on the 'description of her vocalization ... the closeness of her shake, the force of her bravura, [and] the grace of her cadenza', stated that Md'llle Ilma de Muska, accompanied on the Pianoforte by Maestro Straus, 'almost surpassed herself'.\textsuperscript{26}

A focus on elitist entertainment omitted other more commonplace amusement during 1876. Simpson reports that as well as five different dramatic companies, two circuses, two variety shows, a diorama, several itinerant lecturers and Blondin, a tight-rope walker, had passed through Dunedin within a matter

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{22} \textit{New Zealand Tablet}, 24 Apr 1875, p.12.
\item\textsuperscript{23} Simpson, 'Antipodes', p.71.
\item\textsuperscript{24} \textit{New Zealand Tablet}, 5 May 1876, p.11.
\item\textsuperscript{25} Simpson, 'Antipodes', p.69.
\item\textsuperscript{26} \textit{New Zealand Tablet}, 12 May 1876, p.11.
\end{itemize}
of months.27 A full-page advertisement in 1878 of a ‘Menagerie, Museum, Aquarium and Circus’ with prices ranging from 3/- to 5/- was the Tablet’s only inclusion of more prosaic entertainment.28 Opera seats of the same period, ranging from 2/- to 6/- differed little in price from other less erudite forms of entertainment.29

Fitzgeralds’ Circus and Menagerie heralded ‘holiday time’ for boys, in the opinion of the Tablet, since a boy was unlikely to pay attention at school until he had seen at least the outside of the circus. Fears that Dunedin might be bypassed were dispelled by the arrival of the circus and its menagerie of lions, tigers, panthers, leopards, wolves, hyenas, jaguars, cheetahs, pumas, monkeys and stud horses as well as the ring work for which Fitzgeralds were famous. Tents were erected on reclaimed land for the location of the circus.30

Not all musical entertainment reached the calibre of the elitist concert platform. The Tablet ceased to review public concerts and restricted its patronage to school concerts, those organized by the Catholic Men’s Literary Society and fund raising concerts, first for the building of the Dominican Priory and later, particularly in support of the Cathedral building fund. One concert advertised under the patronage of Bishop Moran, to finance the Port Chalmers Church building fund included twelve items and cost 2/6 admission. The Hibernian fife and drum band earned honourable mention under the baton of Superintendent Mr. W. Clark.31 Bishop Moran, several clergymen and a large number of ladies attended a two-day drama festival at St. Dominic’s Convent. The programme included Dimond’s The Foundling of the Forest and Molière’s

30. New Zealand Tablet, 15 Feb 1895, p.9.
31. New Zealand Tablet, 5 Apr 1878, p.5.
Bourgeois Gentilhomme’, performed in French. Junior classes performed Mother Goose. The Tablet was very approving of the performers who showed a high standard of ‘histrionic art, enunciation, elocution, cultivated accent and self possession’.\textsuperscript{32}

Concert-going was a pastime enjoyed by rural Catholics as well as their urban counterparts. The Tablet reported that many came from Ophir in the Maniototo to attend a concert at Tinkers (now Matakanui) to raise funds for a Catholic school. The programme included items of local themes as well as a predominance of traditional Irish themes. These ranged from a recitation, ‘Maniototo Plains’, to songs like ‘Erin’s Isle’ and ‘McSorley’s Twins’ and an Irish Jig. ‘Woman’s Rights’ was performed by a ‘male singer’ and the programme concluded with ‘Grandfather’s Clock’ sung by the present company.\textsuperscript{33} When the Christchurch convent school pupils held a fundraising concert priests, parents and friends were in good attendance but the review levelled criticism at nuns who did not attend. The programme included Emscliffe Hall, a three act drama and Fire of London or Which is Which? and numerous instrumental and vocal items’.\textsuperscript{34}

The translation of a description of the opera Poverina published by Revue des Deux Mondes featured Father Giovanni, a famous tenor who had recently died in Rome. Father Giovanni, the Tablet explained, was ‘humbly connected’ to the

\textsuperscript{32} New Zealand Tablet, 18 Jul. 1879, p. 17.
\textsuperscript{33} New Zealand Tablet, 29 Aug 1879, p. 19.
Altieri family. Princess O. Cantacuzene-Altieri wrote the account with the scene opening at Lucca cathedral during the feast of Volto Santo. She described the stateliness of the bishop surrounded by canons in their ermine capes and the orchestra bursting out answered by the choir. The voice of the tenor was as 'fresh, pure, pleading, but above all touching and tender, one of those voices that, did they lack perfection, would disarm all criticism because they make the chord of feeling that exists at the bottom of every human soul vibrate'. The description of the reaction of the soprano was equally, if not more, effusive. 'Rosina, without perceiving it, had fallen on her knees. She had forgotten all; the present had ceased to exist for her with its anguish, its misery, its unveiled deceits. She was in paradise, she was swimming in light, a sunbeam bore her up, the air she breathed was embalmed with incense and with the delicate perfume shed by the scattered rose leaves, bright angels soared around her singing.' The account continued with descriptive scenes from the story and numerous extracts from the dialogue of the libretto.  

Simpson states that local artists frequently performed with professionals from touring companies. This practice gave local artists the opportunity and experience of performing with professionals as well as augmenting the touring orchestras and choruses. A concert at the Garrison hall gave an example of this practice of combining local talent with travelling professional artists. Both professional and amateur artists performed in the same concert. A male pianist and a male cellist were the professional performers. The professional pianist, Mr. A.J. Towsey played 'Belisario' as a duo. Amateur women performers including Miss Cargill, 'placed among the first amateurs of the colony', gave vocal and piano items. Amateur vocalists sang 'Vieni! la mia vendetta' from *Lucretia Borgia*

37. Cargill was a name significant to the Catholic community of Dunedin. Frank Petre, an architect of national renown, designing many public buildings and churches including both St. Joseph’s Cathedral and
and the cavatina 'O Mio Fernando'.

The programme of a Garrison Hall concert to raise funds for Cathedral building provides an insight into music performed with ecclesiastic approval by amateur musicians. 'Trio for piano, violin and cello, Reissiger Trio in E, Donizetti arias, Verdi song, Lee cello solo, Donizetti Duo, Rossini two pianos William Tell overture. Salaman Serenade, Reichardt songs, Scherek piano solo, Liszt, Beethoven violin solo, Verdi trio. Performed by Messrs Scherek, Norman and Waud and Norman and Morley, Misses Mary and Bessie Hume.'

An organ recital at St. Joseph's church provides another example of programme content. The Tablet reported that A.J. Towsey, assisted by the church choir, gave a concert of sacred music including Handel's 'Coronation Anthem', Haydn's 'Minuet and Trio Symphony XI', Batiste's 'Offertoire in D minor', Dupret's 'Air à la Bore', Calvin's 'Minuet and Trio', Handel's 'Fixed in His Everlasting Seat', and Clark's 'Commemoration March'. Vocal items included Humble's Alma Virgo, Clifton's ECU Dues, Cartoons, Tantum Ergo and Gracie's Ave Marie.

Catholics, loyally supporting musical activities condoned by their church, may not have matched their level of appreciation with their level of understanding. As well as teaching at St. Aloysius' College the Jesuit priest, Father O'Malley, contributed much to the higher education of the laity with lectures on a variety of topics. When giving a lecture on music, in the Temperance hall, he included general laws of harmony as well as instrumental and vocal illustrations by a number of performers. Admitting that it was more beneficial to musicians 'of

St Dominic's Priory, married a descendant of Captain Cargill, one of the founders of the province of Otago.

considerable culture and advancement in the art' the Tablet described it as 'popular with all classes of society, even if the audience could not follow the lecturer in a connected manner'.\textsuperscript{41} The announcement of a forthcoming concert by the St. Patrick's Brass Band, also held in the Temperance Hall may have met with wider enthusiasm.\textsuperscript{42}

Following this period, an unaccountable absence of any leisure-related activities within the church or community is evident in the Tablet until 1891. Children performed at prizegiving ceremonies and fundraising concerts consisted of performances by local amateur artists. Programmes showed little change in the selection items or type of performance. The Tablet resurrected its practice of publishing reviews of theatre opera and concerts in 1891. Since this practice coincides with the appointment of the acclaimed musician and composer, Signor Raffaello Squarise, as cathedral choir master, one might speculate that this renewed interest was due to his influence. Squarise was 'one of the most colourful figures in Dunedin's musical history'.\textsuperscript{43}

When Madame Patey visited Dunedin the Tablet expressed the view that there had not been a contralto 'par excellence' since Madame Alboni. Others since, had been Mesdames Viaredot, Garcia, Nantier, Didier and 'lesser owners of voices by the dozen'. Resembling the voice of Mademoiselle Johanna Wagner, niece of Richard Wagner, the reviewer preferred Patey's voice to that of Garcia and likened it to that of Jenny Lind.\textsuperscript{44} As well as announcements and reviews of visiting opera, drama concert companies the Tablet publicised a not unusual

\textsuperscript{41} New Zealand Tablet, 24 Feb 1882, p.17.
\textsuperscript{42} New Zealand Tablet, 14 Jul 1882, p.13.
\textsuperscript{43} I am grateful to Dr. Dianne James who drew to my attention, from her research into the life of Raffaello Squarise, (1856-1945), the fact that Squarise, appointed in March 1891 was dismissed by Bishop Moran in August of the same year, for his appearance at a Masonic Lodge meeting. Squarise was reappointed as choirmaster from 1914-1921. Squarise Scrapbook, vol.1 Hocken Library, Dunedin.
event, when visiting artists participated in the singing at Sunday mass. One such occasion was during the visit to Dunedin by the William Musgrove Opera Company.45

Fundraising projects utilised light operetta with local amateur performers. The Tablet announced the imminent arrival in town of the ‘Gypsies’ who would appear at the Garrison Hall. ‘No one should miss their arrival’, advised the Tablet, assuring its readers that the gypsies would be ‘very picturesque, but quite civilised’.46 The Gypsy encampment was a spectacularly lavish bazaar to raise funds for the Dominican convent building fund. ‘Gay tents or bowers’, festoons of ever-green and Chinese lanterns and bannerettes decorated the venue, dominated by a fountain surmounting a rockery. The overture from Verdi’s opera Preciosa, heralded the approach of the gypsy king and queen to her bower. Attendant dancing children followed the pageant, focusing attention on the smallest child who played the role of the fortune teller. Bishop Moran introduced the Mayor who opened the bazaar. Fundraising activities included a lucky pot, a fortune teller, an exhibition of art works, antiques and curios arranged in a number of bowers and a refreshment tent which sold ice creams. Besides the presence of local priests the bishop of Christchurch and five priests from surrounding parishes attended. The bazaar, complete with its theatrical reinforcements, ran for a full week.47

Professional and amateur theatricals were also popular amongst Tablet readers. Two plays, The Shadows of a Great City and The Irish Detective were performed at the Princess Theatre by Grattan Riggs and members of the McMahon Dramatic Company. The first was a play set in New York and

44 • New Zealand Tablet, 3 Jul 1891, p.13.
45 • New Zealand Tablet, 4 Jan 1895, p.18.
46 • New Zealand Tablet, 16 Oct 1891, p.17.
surrounded the villain, a rascally nephew who pawned his dying uncle's diamonds, the hero, a sailor who witnessed the darstedly transaction, a kindly Irish woman and her daughter, and the heroine who survived a kidnapping to marry the sailor who rescued her. The second play, also with an American setting, portrayed a number of people decoyed into a secret den and murdered. Characters included the hero detective Arthur Tracy who assumes a number of disguises as a more lively Irishman, a German tradesman, a Negro hawker, an Irish fruit-woman, a Chinese pieman and an Italian padrone. The Tablet gave the company its 'unbridled' recommendation to northern audiences.48

Musicians visited Dunedin and other centres on concert tours. Pianist Herr Winklemann and cellist Herr Barmeyer assisted by the Orchestral society gave a complimentary concert to a large and appreciative audience at the garrison hall. The programme included a mixed bag of items by the guest artists and local performers. Items ranged from Mendelsshon's Concerto in G Minor to Gungl's Canon, selections from Donizetti, to excerpts from Pinsuti's Daughter of the Regiment.49 The Sapio Urso concert series at the Garrison hall included overseas artists with the exotic sounding foreign names of Madame Camilla Urso, violinist, Madame de Vere-Sapio, soprano, Signor Romualdo Sapio, pianist and Herr Benno Schereck whose fame had spread so far before him that there was not the necessity to recount the medium of his musical prowess. Following a glowing account of musical excesses the columnist stated that of Herr Benno Scarek 'it is unnecessary for us to speak'.50 Another concert in the Garrison Hall, celebrating Mozart's centenary, included selections from the Twelfth Mass and vocal items from Don Giovanni and the Magic Flute.51

47. New Zealand Tablet, 23 Oct 1891, p.15.
49. New Zealand Tablet, 6 Nov 1891, p.19.
While most other leisure activities catered for a predominantly male participation, musical activities were the domain of both men and women. The Hibernian Society and the Catholic Literary Society consisted of an all-male membership.\textsuperscript{52} The Cecilia Society, an organization providing a platform for vocal and instrumental performance as well as music education reported a steady advance in musical culture. Membership consisted of both men and women, with the parish priest as president. By 1893 Cecilian Societies existed in both Auckland and Dunedin.\textsuperscript{53}

Although sporting activities, particularly rugby, became a popular pastime among the Catholic male population, all forms of sport were absent from the \textit{Tablet} before 1876. This situation was not peculiar to the Catholic community.\textsuperscript{54} Theatre and opera had preceded organized sport by a number of years but as it developed eclectic taste and loyalties of their audiences frequently embraced sporting interest within their schedule. Cricket and opera company venues often coincided and Simpson describes cup presentations and speeches which took place between acts.\textsuperscript{55}

The Victorian press did not include sport in newspapers, other than the specialist sport papers which emerged between the 1830s and 1860s.\textsuperscript{56} Organized sport was a later development of both British and colonial Victorian culture. Newspapers which included related news and advertising reflected changing patterns in leisure activities. The inclusion in the British Victorian press of sporting activities and other leisurely pursuits had reflected improved working

\textsuperscript{52} New Zealand Tablet, 21 Oct 1892, p.18.
\textsuperscript{53} New Zealand Tablet, 23 Jun 1893, p.27.
\textsuperscript{55} Simpson, ‘Antipodes’, p.73.
\textsuperscript{56} Tony Mason, ‘Sports News, 1860-1914’ in The Press in English Society from the Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries, p.177.
conditions and an increased awareness of the need and right to physical and mental well-being for everyone. Berridge saw the provision of regularised and longer holidays in Britain, as a symptom of social control. Prior to this, people had found time for sport, music and other forms of recreation simply by staying away from work. While this view offends an egalitarian sense of social equity it must be remembered that she is referring to influences upon emergent classes who in the previous century had matched their leisure with the seasonal demands of a rural society.

Colonial sporting development paced that of Britain. Perugini writes of the love of sporting pursuits increasing steadily during the second half of the Victorian era with pugilism, racing and cricket taking the lead. The professional sports of racing along with pugilism increased steadily in popularity with a passion for gambling, particularly betting, developing in tandem. Football, he states, occurring only as an annual event resembled more the Florentine game of calcio.

The Tablet's first mention of any form of sport did not pertain to local activities. The paper reported a shooting match at Creedmoar, New York when the Irish competed against American rifle teams. A full column detailed descriptions of practices, matches and scores. Any reference to local sport was absent before 1876. Local sport reporting first appeared relating to horse racing. The Tablet regularly advertised meetings of the Dunedin Jockey Club. The first advertisement gave full accounts of the intended events including stewards, races, rules and regulations. A two page supplement published the annual

57. Virginia Berridge, 'Content Analysis and Historical Research on Newspapers', in The Press in English Society from the Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries, p.211.
59. New Zealand Tablet, 5 Dec 1874 and 26 Dec 1874, p.9.
60. New Zealand Tablet, 27 Oct 1876, p.5.
programme of the Dunedin Jockey Club. Reference was later made to a hunt meeting. The Dunedin Jockey Club occupied a supplement of two full pages of events for the annual spring meeting in September 1880. The Tablet lamented that the national sport of horseracing in England had degenerated into a gigantic system of gambling.

Gambling was not restricted to the sport of Kings however. Lotteries substantially augmented the church's revenue. Lotteries or 'Art Unions' were a common form of fundraising for convent building programmes. Convents advertised lottery results regularly in the Tablet. An endeavour to clear the Christchurch Catholic debt was made by running an Art Union and selling tickets at 10/- each. Substantial prizes included the first prize of a double seated buggy valued at £100. Other prizes included a harmonium at £18, a milking cow at £15, and a lady's gold watch, also valued at £15.

Organized sport in the form of athletic events and other competitive sports meetings predated rugby and cricket reporting in the Tablet by a number of years. The absence of public holidays had a selflimiting effect on the development of organized sport in New Zealand, which did not become popular until the nineties. An attempt in 1872 to establish an early closing day for shops did not eventuate until a weekly half holiday became mandatory by statute in 1894. The Early Closing Association regularly advertised the closing of shops at 6pm on Saturdays, urging the public to shop earlier. The Tablet also published notices in support of an early closing day.

64. K.C. McDonald, City of Dunedin, Dunedin City Council, Dunedin, 1965, pp.221-222.
65. New Zealand Tablet, Tablet, 15 Nov 1878, p.6.
This same year witnessed the establishment of the New Zealand Rugby Football Union. Handball was a popular game among the Irish. Described as a vigorous exercise and healthy recreation, the Tablet considered that it lacked the necessary strength and roughness of football. Handball was a game played by men, with clubs listed at Dunedin, Invercargill and Timaru. Gold lockets and rings were among the trophies for this sport.\textsuperscript{66} Prior to this, secondary schools had fostered rugby but ‘sport had been sporadic, spontaneous and informal’.\textsuperscript{67} The Tablet published its first account of a match in 1880, between Christian Brothers’ School Football Club and Middle District School Club, including a full description of the match and a list of players.\textsuperscript{68} Publishing the scores of a match between Christian Brothers and Middle Schools Cricket Clubs played at the Oval, the Tablet announced also a forthcoming match on the Asylum grounds, between eleven altar boys and the Christian Brothers’ School Club.\textsuperscript{69} In 1879 the Tablet’s Christchurch correspondent published an account of a football match between Christchurch and Dunedin—‘or Otago v Canterbury’, which had ended in a draw. When Wellington played Dunedin, Wellington had won by a touch down.\textsuperscript{70} The Tablet published a full account of a schoolboy football match between Timaru Catholic School and Waimate District High School.\textsuperscript{71}

First featuring in the Tablet in 1878, cricket was presented as a leisure activity for the white collar class. A cricket club attracted the displeasure of the Tablet when it placed a veto on tradesmen, allowing only ‘Gentlemen clerks’ in government offices, banks or other institutions to join. ‘Killing genteel’ sneered the Tablet. ‘This small and shabby gentility is the very worst feature of society in

\textsuperscript{66} New Zealand Tablet, 18 Oct 1878, p. 3. and 17 Feb 1888, p.7.
\textsuperscript{67} Erik Olssen, 'Towards a New Society' in The Oxford History of New Zealand, p.257.
\textsuperscript{68} New Zealand Tablet, 16 Jul 1880, p.15.
\textsuperscript{69} New Zealand Tablet, 12 Mar 1880, p.14.
\textsuperscript{70} New Zealand Tablet, 9 Aug 1879, p.15.
\textsuperscript{71} New Zealand Tablet, 4 Sep 1891, p.15.
the Old Country ... dregs of a system grown old and worthless'.72 Cricket would have earned this criticism since this class distinction excluded the predominantly working class Catholics, disadvantaged by Moran's imposed veto on higher education. By 1882 the Tablet elected a more egalitarian approach to cricket when it published results of a cricket match between the Privateers and the New Zealand Clothing factory. Scheduled to be held in the Christian Brothers school room, a meeting for intending members of the Privateers Club indicated Catholic participation and support of cricket.73 Cricket still earned mild criticism from the Tablet however, when it described the sport as requiring no special activity during the greater part of the game.74

Picnics or excursions were popular family events and provided involvement for every member of the family. The Caledonian Society Games, advertising in the Tablet, listed a variety of events: wrestling, running, walking, Highland and Irish dancing. Prizes offered ranged from £15-5-2 for wrestling to £10-5-2 for running and £2-1-10 for dancing. To enter for an event cost from 2/6 to 3/-75 The Caledonian Society sports (athletics) meeting listed something for everyone, including walking, dancing, wrestling, hammer, putting [the shot] and caber, bagpipe music, leaping, vaulting, quoiting and pony racing. Entry fees varied from 2/- to 5/- and total prize money ranged from £10 to £40-10 with £162 (presumably the most popular), for running events. The annual fete of the Hibernian Society, held on Boxing day also included running, wrestling, walking, high leap, foot race events, and Irish reel competitions. Entrance for each event cost 2/6 and prize money was valued at £1 to £2 for each event.76

72. New Zealand Tablet, 18 Oct 1878, p.3.
73. New Zealand Tablet, 15 Dec 1882, p.18.
74. New Zealand Tablet, 17 Feb 1888, p.7.
75. New Zealand Tablet, 30 Mar 1877, p.17.
76. New Zealand Tablet, 20 Dec, 1878, p.19.
The Catholic church organized similar activities specifically for the faithful, combining religion with leisure. The effects of a separate education system, combined with the parish custom of organizing picnics and sports days, tended to segregate Catholics from the rest of the community. A Boxing day excursion from Christchurch to Rangiora provided a long and eventful day for parishioners, beginning with mass at the Church of the Blessed Sacrament. Over 2000, of which 1500 were from Christchurch, attended the picnic organized by priests, school teachers and parents. The Hibernian brass band escorted the gathering which proceeded from the church to the railway station. On their arrival at their destination the picnickers were welcomed first at the station by the children of Rangiora, and then marched with banners and music to a paddock where they had lunch, and participated in races and athletic events. Back in Christchurch, the day was not yet over. After attending Benediction they finally dispersed to their homes. Before returning home those at Rangiora also attended Benediction at the Church of St. Francis de Sales. The parishioners of St. Patrick’s parish initiated an equally impressive Temperance picnic at Waimate, complete with a uniformed brass band, banners and flags. ‘Men’ wore green sashes and ‘girls’ wore white dresses. Activities of the day included sports, ‘Highland Ladies on the board’ and Irish boys doing the jig. The Irish promotion of a meeting of the Dunedin Hibernian Sports and Hurling match at the Caledonian grounds on Boxing day anticipating a strong attraction for ‘Irishmen in particular’, perpetuated a sense of Irish nationalism.

Sport was restricted to the domain of men’s recreation, but reading for leisure catered for both men and women with the inclusion of serialised fiction and poetry as well as the regular columns dealing with education, religion and politics. For the literate, colonial life left little time for reading as a form of leisure. Working conditions in goldmining, agriculture, industry or commerce were not

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77. *New Zealand Tablet*, 10 Jan 1879, p.15.
conducive to reading. Candle light and spirit lamps also restricted reading opportunity. Other than locally published newspapers, settlers depended almost entirely on books and journals from overseas. Jeanine Graham considers that the standard of literacy was high though the level of literary taste was not. The mass of the population sought second-rate literature. Reading for relaxation and entertainment and not for instruction needed to be escapist.\textsuperscript{79} However Keith Sinclair's opinion of the standard of education does not substantiate this view. When referring to the poor provincial government performance in the 1870s he states that education policies had failed with only fifty-eight percent of second generation children aged between five and fifteen years enrolled at school.\textsuperscript{80} Alan Lee discusses the problems of defining literacy and determining levels of reading and writing abilities in England. Not to compound the issue Lee ignored Scottish levels which he considered to be higher, and Irish levels which he considered to be lower.\textsuperscript{81} For this reason it is even more difficult to lay claim to any dogmatic assessment of colonial literacy and, furthermore, what is understood from the term 'literate'.

Because of the historical background to Irish education literacy among Irish Catholic migrants was, not surprisingly, low. Illiteracy in Ireland diminished following the institution of a national education system. Illiteracy among Irish children aged five years or older fell from 39% in 1861 (the beginning of the gold rush years in Otago), to 33% in 1871 (when Bishop Moran arrived in Dunedin). The nondenominational national system of education, planned as an antidote for Ireland's sectarian problems became denominational in practice. This resulted in segregation replacing planned integration, with clergy of all denominations having right of access during the hours of religious instruction.

\textsuperscript{78} New Zealand Tablet, 23 Dec 1887, p.18.
\textsuperscript{79} Jeanine Graham, 'Settler Society' in The Oxford History of New Zealand, p.129.
\textsuperscript{80} Keith Sinclair, History of New Zealand, p.155.
\textsuperscript{81} Alan Lee, The Origins of the Popular Press, pp.29-41.
Because children could not be forced to attend religious instruction in a faith other than their own, Irish Catholic children from depressed areas commonly received a devalued or non-existent education.\textsuperscript{82}

For the immigrant Irish Catholic, the overall level of literacy was higher than the Irish national average for a comparable period. Statistics reflecting the level of illiteracy among Irish Catholics in Otago and Southland were constructed from marriage certificates dated between the years 1864 and 1886, held in the archives of the Catholic diocese of Dunedin. Each certificate represents four adults (excluding the celebrant priest), the groom, the bride and two witnesses, giving a total of 2,572 individuals. (see Table 2) Those signatures represented by a cross (‘her + mark’ or ‘his + mark’) belonged to Irish-born labourers and domestics. Many signatures were written in an unformed hand, suggesting that writing skills went little beyond that of signing one’s own name. A number of certificates showed evidence of assistance from another party, possibly the officiating priest. One signature written in ink, was beneath an incomplete erasure of a pencilled prototype. Others were written with an unsteady wavering hand, suggesting that the writer’s hand may have received external guidance or that at best, the signature was the limit of their literary skill. Those who reflected literacy, that is, signatures written in a well-formed hand tended to be storekeepers, publicans, policemen, farmers, artisans and seamen. The majority of illiterate were labourers and domestics. Standards of literacy varied from district to district between the 1860s to the 1880s. Even though these statistics cover a twenty year period those marrying were not yet, second generation settlers. Many of those recorded in the cathedral parish which in the early days included Dunedin and environs, would have married in Dunedin before journeying to their rural destination, or travelled to Dunedin for the specific purpose of their marriage celebration. This may account for the high percentage

\textsuperscript{82} D.H. Akenson in 'Pre-university education, 1782-1870' in A New History of Ireland, p.536.
of illiteracy recorded for the city parishes. The same may have held for Southland since the early Invercargill records also included the goldmining areas of Hamiltons, Nokomai, Arrow and Riverton while later records still included the rural and mining areas of Alexandra, Hamiltons, Riverton and Campbelltown. The Queenstown parish extended only to Cromwell and Hyde. Central Otago areas demonstrated a greater improvement, comparable to and exceeding the levels of the city cathedral parish while Invercargill lagged behind along with South Otago.

TABLE 2: 83 LEVELS OF CATHOLIC ILLITERACY IN OTAGO AND SOUTHLAND: 1864-1886

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Parish</th>
<th>Certs.</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Witns.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1864-1873</td>
<td>10 yrs</td>
<td>Cathedral</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864-1873</td>
<td>10 yrs</td>
<td>Southland</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>16.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868-1880</td>
<td>13 yrs</td>
<td>Invercargill</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>21.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871-1880</td>
<td>10 yrs</td>
<td>Milton</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872-1878</td>
<td>7 yrs</td>
<td>Invercargill</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>24.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874-1880</td>
<td>7 yrs</td>
<td>Queenstown</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875-1877</td>
<td>3 yrs</td>
<td>Cromwell</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875-1879</td>
<td>5 yrs</td>
<td>Omakau</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880-1885</td>
<td>6 yrs</td>
<td>Cathedral</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881-1886</td>
<td>6 yrs</td>
<td>S. Dunedin</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tablet advertising displayed a decided bias towards religious literature and Irish history. J.A. Macedo of the Catholic Book Depot advertised regularly. Typical of these advertisements were such books as O'Calaghan's History of Irish Brigades in service of France and 3 volumes of the History of Ireland and a book of O'Connell's speeches. Religious works included The Diary of a Sister of Mercy

83. These figures represent the numbers of illiterate signs. The percentage represents the proportion of illiteracy within any one parish; ('her mark' or 'his mark').
and Letters, and Life of Sisters of Charity. Secular literature contained a highly moral flavour, including such titles as The Illness of Morden or God's Will and Men's Ways and Alice Herman and the Mother and her Dying Boy by an 'Exile of Erin' published by Whittaker Brothers, Lambton Quay Wellington. Also listed was the Father Poller series of six which included Rupert Aubrey of Aubrey Close, The Ferlyes of Ferlye, The Rector's Daughter, a Tale, Perry Grange and the Ocean Life, Sir Humphrey's Trial The Two Victories, a Catholic Tale or the Lesson of Life. The only example of non-Catholic literature was a review of My Clerical Friends by an Anglican minister, supportive of the Catholic church and critical of the Anglican clergy.

Typical of a regular column entitled 'Poets Corner' was a strongly nationalistic poem of Monkton West, 'The Treaty Stone'. It began with the romantic opening stanza:

Where Shannon's waters fresh and free,
With mountain leaflets strewn
Sweep back the bridge of History,
Stands Limerick's Treaty Stone.

and concluded with a highly nationalistic stanza:

And ere the dawn is done
Thy lot shall be the proudest place
In Ireland's Pantheon.

Other local publications sponsored by the Tablet included Music Book, a series of three books on the theory of sound, music theory and practical teaching methods written by the Reverend J.O'Malley, S.J., one of the two Jesuits who

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84. New Zealand Tablet, 29 Aug 1879, p.10.
85. New Zealand Tablet, 28 Nov 1894, p.8
came to Dunedin to open a private school for boys.\textsuperscript{87}

Advertised at the reduced price of 7/6 to \textit{Tablet} readers was an anthology of Thomas Bracken's poems, \textit{Flowers of the Freelands}, published by the \textit{Tablet} printers and reviewed by the \textit{Tablet}.\textsuperscript{88} Bracken's name had reappeared in the \textit{Tablet} after an absence of more than a decade. Legend claims that early on Bracken and Moran had engaged in bitter controversy, severing further communication. Bracken's reappearance in the \textit{Tablet} took the form of a romantic poem:

\begin{center}
\textit{Among the Buds}\textsuperscript{89}
\end{center}

\begin{multicols}{2}
Oh leave the buds alone, Baby
Leave the buds alone,
Each little flo'ret has a heart
As pure as is thine own;
That violet
My pretty pet,
Hath borrow'd from the skies,
Its deepest blue,
The same bright hue
That sparkles in thine eyes;
And just like thee,
In purity
And beauty it hath grown;
Then leave the buds alone Baby,
Leave the buds alone.

Those little blossoms are the gems
That stud the garden's zone;
From bell and cup
The sun-sprites sup
The nectar and the dew;
Each morn they drink,
From rose and pink,
Sweet nature's freshest "brew"
Of God's own brand;
 Thy tiny hand
To playfulness is prone,
But do not break the cups
Then leave the buds alone Baby,
Leave the buds alone.

Thy pretty younger sisters, and,
Like thee, they have but known
The sweets of spring,
When everything
Evolves God's purest breath;
They have no fear
For Autumn's sign
Nor Winter's tint of death;
Affinity
Links them and thee
To heav'n's eternal throne.
Ye are the stainless ones Baby
Then leave the buds alone Baby,
Leave the buds alone.
\end{multicols}

\textsuperscript{87} \textit{New Zealand Tablet}, 17 Feb 1874, p.15.
\textsuperscript{88} \textit{New Zealand Tablet}, 16 Feb 1877, p.5; and 23 Feb 1877, p.14.
\textsuperscript{89} \textit{New Zealand Tablet}, 30 Oct 1889 p.5.
Serialised stories in the *Tablet* epitomised Victorian melodrama. Opening with the phrase, 'It was a dark and bitter winter night ...'. *The Ward of the Prioress, a Legend of Catesby* concluded with the despairing statement that "All is lost. All is lost." Awful words on the lips of a dying man'.

The *Disinherited Son*, *A legend of Furness Abbey* serialised in thirteen weekly chapters had the tragic ending, 'Who shall tell what horror possessed that erring soul, as he sank amid the wild waves which ere mornings light, dashed him to the shore a lifeless disfigured corpse'.

The title to the tragedy, *Suema or the Little African Slave who was buried Alive*, left no mystery to its inevitable outcome.

Highly moral and religious in content, stories were enshrouded in flowery and romantic prolixity. The following is one example of the many serialised stories. *The Acolyte at Newgate, a legend of the Charter House* took the form of a conversation between a stray waif and a comely lace dealer. When visiting Father Green, imprisoned by Henry VIII, an orphan explained that his father was killed at the war and that his mother was dead. Father Green had taken him to live at the Charter House, teaching him to read, to write and to serve at mass. 'Oh the King, the King!' muttered, the lace dealer, listing a litany of the King's wrong doing, the demise of Queen Katherine and the Princess Mary, and the depositing of God’s altars. 'He chooses servants like unto himself. Oh foul fare his light-o-love Anne Boleyn, for she has been the curse of all.' Though no informer, her denunciations were uttered in an inaudible tone, 'else might they have cost her life'. Provided by the Charter House, the child wore a worn out blue serge garment exposing a white shoulder, mere skin and bone, protruding through a long rent. His feet, blue and purple, bled onto the hard stones. The child described the beatings that he endured after the monks had fled and how he

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90. *New Zealand Tablet*, 6 Feb, p.13; and 27 Feb 1875, p. 11.


92. *New Zealand Tablet*, 10 Apr 1875, p.3.
finally ran away. While in conversation with the lace dealer the jailer appeared to take the boy to see Father Green who lay dying, and the other monks from the Charter House. Also a Franciscan monk, Dr. Forrest, confessor of Katherine of Aragon and witness to her marriage to the King, comforted the boy while administering to his colleague. Imprisoned at Newgate, Dr. Forrest still enjoyed privileges in the hope that he would recant his condemnation of the King's marriage to Anne Boleyn. Returning with the jailer's wife to the lace dealer the story is marred by the friar's prediction that the boy would soon be in heaven. The concluding chapter describes how the boy vaulted the barrier and to leap into the funeral pyre as the monk hung over the fire at Smithfield. Drugged by the flames the boy died in the arms of the hangman. The story ends with the friar consumed by smoke and flame and 'the soul of the little acolyte winging its flight to heaven in the shape of a white dove'.

Romance of the nobility held equal attraction to that of poverty and martyrdom, with the priest as a facilitator in uniting two young lovers. In The Handkerchief at the Window by Lady Georgina Fullerton, the wealthy Count Adelbarchi, his daughter Geltruda, her childhood sweetheart Count Carlo dei Ubaldi and Fra Mauro a begging Franciscan brother are the characters in a story with a Mediterranean coastal setting. On the death of her mother Geltruda kept house for her father and her brothers and saw little of Carlo whom her father had received rather coldly. Confessing to her father that she had helped some peasant beggars the Count banished Geltruda from the house. Going off into the night to find the house of her fiance's parents she stumbled upon the chapel of Fra Mauro where she slept the night, before receiving the news from her brother that she was to be brought back and imprisoned until she could be married to Baron Vitelleschi. During the days of her imprisonment she resolved to model her life on that of the Poor Clares, an order that she had visited with her mother.

Left as the sole survivor after a plague struck down the whole family the imprisoned Gertruda waved her handkerchief at the window to attract the attention of the monk who had come to give absolution to her dying father. When she discovered the tragedy she sent the monk off to her loved one's house for help. Defying the troops who had isolated the castle Carlo set off to the rescue. Fulfilling the condition of his access to the castle he set it alight to destroy everything. Living together in a hut Carlo and Geltruda 'spent many days in idyllic surroundings'. Each day she waved her handkerchief to let Carlo's mother know that all was well. Before they finally left for the palace Geltruda confessed to Carlo that she planned to enter a convent. Already suspecting this, Carlo had offered up her love to God and intended to follow suit. The story ended with Carlo's mother also entering a religious order and the Ubaldi Palace becoming a hospital.94

Accounts of martyrdom were frequent and spared the reader no detail of the macabre. As a martyr Friar Stone was hanged and par-boiled at Canterbury in 1539. His execution was an expensive exercise for his captors, whose invoice included the following items:

'paid for half a ton of timber to make a pair of gallows for to hang Friar Stone, 2s 6d; to a carpenter, for making the same gallows, 1s 4d; to a laborer that digged the hole, 3d; other expenses of setting up same, and carriage of timber from stable gate to the dungeon, 1s; for a hurdle 6s; for a load of wood and for a horse to draw him to the dungeon, 5s 3d; paid to men that sat at the kettle and pre-boiled him, 1s; to three men that carried his quarters to the gates and set them up, 1s; for halters to hang him and sandwich cord and for screws, 1s; for a woman that scummed the kettle, 2s; to him that did execution, 3s 8d; total 14s 8d.'95

Book reviews occurred rarely. When reviewing The Australian Ladies' Annual Father R.C. Hopkins judged it as a novelty, if not a success. Confessing his prejudice, Hopkins dismissed all Christmas editions as worth no more than the

94. New Zealand Tablet, 31 Aug 1883, p.7; 7 Sep 1883, p.7; 14 Sep, 1883 p.5.
paper that they were written on and condemned them as 'literary garbage'. He conceded that 'the ladies showed that they were capable of holding their own amongst the literary “sisterhood”'. Questioning the accuracy of interpretation of a sketch on Hamlet, Hopkins accused the author of 'street writing'. The Annual contained local flavour with an item on the Melbourne Cup, a poem of the Australian bush and a satire on Auckland society by a Clara E. Cheeseman. In 'Heroines of Fiction' Anne C. Donnelly reviewed the merits of lady novel-writers. Hopkins reviewed the reviewer of George Eliot's Ouida concluding that 'although rather hurried, it is well and pleasantly written and displays considerable acumen'.

In the literary field the Tablet probably better served women's tastes through these romantic morality serialised novelettes. Men tended to receive their education and recreation through the Men's Literary Society. The Society was for men only, excluding women from all meetings other than those of more social occasions, when women might attend concert evenings. The Catholic Literary Society published brief accounts of meetings held in various branches. The Tablet first noted a meeting of the Dunedin Catholic Literary Society in 1874 but did not publish topics studied, as a regular feature until 1883. Subjects tended to be historical or religious. The Rev. Lynch spoke on Buddhism and Dean Burke on Egyptian Mythology. Historical events included the Inquisition and Canossa.

96. New Zealand Tablet, 10 Jan 1879, p.17.
97. New Zealand Tablet, 12 Dec 1874, p.8.
100. New Zealand Tablet, 8 Mar 1889, p.13.
101. New Zealand Tablet, 12 Aug 1892, p.27.
Other branches tended to be more lighthearted in their choice of activities, particularly Christchurch, which recorded regular events including Glee Club concerts and Drama Club performances.\textsuperscript{102} As a very active branch it became even more eclectic in its activities when in 1886 it incorporated a cricket club and a brass band.\textsuperscript{103} The branch also adopted a more liberal and progressive attitude when in 1889 women received access to use of the library and admission to meetings in 1892.\textsuperscript{104} This decision had followed a meeting with Bishop Grimes, when the club underwent reorganization.\textsuperscript{105} From 1897 Auckland held ‘open meetings’\textsuperscript{106} and Wellington introduced ‘lady’ members in 1898.\textsuperscript{107} The Invercargill branch disbanded in 1889\textsuperscript{108} but enjoyed a revival in 1897.\textsuperscript{109} The Society adopted the Christchurch model, focusing its activities on recreation rather than serious study, with cricket,\textsuperscript{110} gymnastics\textsuperscript{111} and football.\textsuperscript{112}

Women’s leisure took the form of reading and it could be safely assumed that with the nature of its serialised fiction and poetry the \textit{Tablet} had women in mind. Much weightier topics were considered more suited to men through their attendance at the Catholic Men’s Literary Society. The changing nature of this society reflected sociological change in two spheres. An increase in the hours available for leisure time enabled men at least, by utilizing the existing infrastructure of the Literary Society, to seed sporting organizations. The society recognised that women too could cope with more than the froth and bubble of romantic fiction and sentimental poetry. Accessing the society to women

\begin{itemize}
\item[102.] \textit{New Zealand Tablet}, 6 Apr 1883, p.23.
\item[103.] \textit{New Zealand Tablet}, 10 Dec 1886, p.13.
\item[104.] \textit{New Zealand Tablet}, 16 Mar 1889, p.7; and 24 Jun 1892, p.25.
\item[105.] \textit{New Zealand Tablet}, 29 Jan 1892, p.31.
\item[106.] \textit{New Zealand Tablet}, 24 Sep 1897, p.6.
\item[107.] \textit{New Zealand Tablet}, 12 Aug 1898, p.4.
\item[108.] \textit{New Zealand Tablet}, 5 Jul 1889, p.27.
\item[109.] \textit{New Zealand Tablet}, 12 Nov 1897, p.15.
\item[110.] \textit{New Zealand Tablet}, 24 Nov 1898, p.6.
\item[111.] \textit{New Zealand Tablet}, 27 Apr 1899, p.19; and 20 Apr 1899, p.18.
\end{itemize}
reflected the acceptance of women’s intellectual capacities beyond the home and hearth.

As a form of fundraising, gambling has always been so much part of everyday life to Catholics, obliged to support heavy building programmes. It could be identified as a form of pleasure rather than leisure.

The advent of economic recession and a suggested episcopal puritanism removed from the Tablet the strong bias towards the performing arts. Reported entertainment then focused on amateur productions, athletic meetings and parish picnics. As legislation provided greater leisure time, organized sport became more evident. Evidence of women’s leisure, initially featuring only in the form of serialised novelettes, eventually migrated from the hearth to join their menfolk in the Literary Society. This Society not only fulfilled an important role in adult education, but also provided the infrastructure for the later development of organized sport.
CONCLUSION

The task of this thesis has been to examine the role of the *New Zealand Tablet* as a religious paper published in a plural colonial society resulting from an unforeseen influx of predominantly Irish Catholic goldminers into a controlled Protestant settler society. It formed part of what Shattock and Wolff refer to as reflecting 'the context in which people lived and worked and thought and from which they derived their sense of the outside world'. Further examination revealed the degree to which the paper supported the argument of Billington and Berridge, as 'a passive reflector of its readers' moods, needs and interests'. This examination gave equally strong support to the view of Harris and Lee that producing a newspaper was a 'process ... to define and integrate communities'. The application of this 'process' enabled its editor to use the paper as a powerful tool for social control.

As a class newspaper within Watkins' definition it could be said that the *Tablet* successfully achieved its educational objective of 'supplying good reading matter to Catholics, defending Catholic principles and interests and containing a large amount of interesting information useful to Catholics'. Typical of the style of Victorian print culture was the prolix journalism of the paper. However, the substantial content of Irish news and politics, nurturing Irish nationalism at the expense of the New Zealand identity, justified the

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criticism of its being more 'Irish than Catholic'. For this reason it would be difficult to argue that the Tablet fulfilled its policy 'not to ally itself with any party'. Its anti-English Irish political position, anti-Marist stance and social separatism resulting from educational policies and organization of recreational pastimes, all manifested a strong political directive to its readers. The Tablet was concerned with educational rather than social issues, which were not addressed during Moran's era. Irish nationalism virtually consigned any New Zealand identity to total obscurity among Irish Catholics.

Because of similarities in presentation, the New Zealand Tablet has been identified with its namesake, the British Tablet. In their origins, history and editorial policies, however, the papers have frequently been at variance. The New Zealand Tablet often displayed a hostility towards its namesake, particularly on Irish political issues. Established on the foundation of the New Zealand Tablet Printing and Publishing Company as a sound commercial operation the Tablet was, and continued to be, a highly successful paper with an ever-expanding circulation.

This thesis aims at a detailed consideration of the New Zealand Tablet under the direction of its founding editor, Bishop Moran. The paper's continuous and unflattering publishing record from the time of its inception in May 1873 through to April 1996 would also provide a journalistic model for comparisons of the social, political and religious values, and attitudes of the Victorian period with those of later times. Another study might compare it with contemporaneous periodicals of other denominations such as the Evangelist (which became the New Zealand Presbyterian in 1879), the Christian Outlook (1894) and the Otago Christian Record (later known as the New Zealand Christian Record (1879)).

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Astute marketing practice combined circulation promotion with a substantial advertising programme, subsidising the publication of the paper and thus enabling the Company to establish itself as a profitable commercial enterprise in the printing and publishing industry. Even in Moran’s time changes in advertising reflected changes in society. The level of hotel advertising at first matched the characteristics and life-style of one section of its readers—hard drinking and highly mobile itinerant miners in a frontier society. Changes in advertising later reflected the emergence of a more urban, sophisticated, established society and the resultant changes in consumer consumption and lifestyles of its readers. The advertising of fewer hotels reflected this decline of a frontier society. An increase in the number of advertisements for agricultural and domestic products, and for professional and commercial services, illustrated characteristics of both rural settlement and urban growth. Home remedies featured significantly among the substantial number of health related advertisements, revealing a range of disorders which troubled readers. Evidence suggests that neither readers nor management showed much concern for the ethics of puffing or personal privacy. In short, it was the commercial arm of the paper which reflected reader- or laity-driven content. All other content was almost exclusively editor-driven to reinforce the church’s determinants of mores, lifestyle and beliefs of the laity, as interpreted by Patrick Moran as bishop and editor.

So financially successful was the paper that Bishop Moran, already possessing full editorial autonomy, coveted the paper for his own personal ownership. This unsuccessful bid was one of his lesser known failures. It also demonstrated that male members of the Catholic laity, when it was thought necessary, did have the temerity to confront their bishop.

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The Tablet reveals an image of Moran as founder-editor, which differs from that traditionally held of the much eulogised first bishop of Dunedin. In a post Vatican II era we must be mindful that for Moran, as a man of his time, the absolutism of his episcopal authority was the norm. As a bishop his charisma obviously commanded a high level of reverence and respect from his pastoral wards who implicitly accepted his authority. His vision, leadership and achievements indisputably established an impressive heritage on which his successors continued to build.

It must be stated also that his role as editor exposes a man unable to negotiate or compromise; this intransigence was to cost him his life ambitions. From the time of Moran's arrival in Dunedin when he castigated the Marist order for the impoverished state of his new diocese, he manifested an implacable attitude to those perceived as perpetrators of a Marist plot. The price he paid for his unrelenting hatred of English injustices in Ireland, and an inability to accommodate to changing Vatican policies of political reconciliation, was his failure to gain the pallium of the archdiocese of New Zealand.

It was the same inability to compromise on the Catholic education debate which denied Catholics the opportunity both for careers in the public service and for a university education. Bishop Moran's zealous pursuit of an exclusively Catholic and autonomous government funded education system overshadowed all other social needs. The needs of orphaned children were of limited concern to him. For many years he dismissed the needs of those children placed in the state-administered charitable institutions, and not relocated to Nelson. The prison system attracted his attention only for his disapproval of the appointment of prison officers recruited from the English constabulary. The importation of Irish priests and nuns continued throughout
Moran's era and it was not until Bishop Verdon's era that secular priests had the opportunity to train at a local seminary.

Irish nationalism was consciously preserved and perpetuated to the exclusion of the loyalties of all other ethnic or national groups. Maori welfare was virtually absent from the Tablet's view of issues of the day. The Tablet, contributing to the commonly prevalent antagonism towards Chinese migrants, also conveyed resentment towards the presence of other nationalities which might threaten employment opportunities.

Only by an unconscious and inadvertent reflection of their role and place in society did women emerge from an imposed obscurity. Opposition to their attempts at social or civic mobility manifested in vitriolic attack, absenting Catholic women from any form of public life other than charitable work.

The paper reflected leisure as a scarce commodity, limited in its early days to middle-class cultural pursuits and reading matter of high moral and religious content. It published serialised stories, at times continuous and at others intermittent. It identified a decade when amateur fundraising concerts replaced theatre and opera. It reflected the late development of organized sport in Victorian society and the favour of rugby over cricket. The Men's Literary Society changed from its exclusively educational role to embrace a more eclectic role by providing the network for this new development in leisure time.

The New Zealand Tablet was a class newspaper produced for an Irish-Catholic community which functioned as a religious and ethnic minority group in a settler society. The paper preserved for these settlers dislocated from their homeland and church, a strong sense of Irish nationalism and a spiritual integrity. For the years under consideration it provides a mirror on
this social group, reflecting the changes in needs, lifestyle, and the role of women during a twenty year period. It reflected not what readers thought, but what they were directed to think by their episcopal editor.

Moran was either unwilling or incapable of delegation of editorial responsibility. As a bishop he had established the paper as a vehicle to advance his own personal agenda. For these reasons Moran must be held accountable, as an editor: the years 1873 to 1893 were above all the years of Moran's Tablet.
APPENDIX 1

History of the Catholic press

Editors of Catholic publications in nineteenth century-England tended to emerge from one of two backgrounds. One group of papers was those derived from the initiative of the publisher, while literary gentlemen as self appointed editors, produced a more elite class, using the publisher as a mere agent. Of the former class, William Eusebius Andrews published first the Orthodox series containing foreign and Irish news. Articles defended the Catholic tradition and included reports on schools, societies and agencies of general interest to Catholics. Andrews, a printer by trade, produced these publications in London between the years 1813 and his death in 1837. George Keating, a partner in an opposition firm also published journals between 1815 and 1826. A third publisher was Charles Dolman of the house of Booker, an established firm of booksellers. From 1838 Dolman published the Dublin Review as well as the Catholic Magazine which was renamed Dolman’s Magazine in 1845. In 1849 this publication was renamed yet again as the Weekly Register before it ceased publication in 1850. The Weekly Register, revived in 1855 along with another short lived paper, the Catholic Standard, rivaled the Irishness of the Tablet. As the Weekly Register, it passed through a varied redaction including such editors as Cardinal Manning and Wilfred and Alice Meynell. As the only liberal Catholic publication of the period, it finally succumbed to the firmly entrenched Ultramontane policies of the Vatican and died in 1902.

Those in the printing trade, wealthy lay proprietors and members of the clergy functioning as editors, and in many cases proprietors as well, reflected their involvement by the content and bias of their papers. This second category
of Catholic editors catered for a more élite and better educated reader. Charles Butler, of an eminent Catholic family published the Catholic Gentlemen's Magazine in 1818. In 1822 Ambrose Cudden began publishing the Catholic Miscellany, later taken over by Rev. T.M. McDonell of Birmingham.

From this transaction a third group of clerical owner-editors developed. In 1831 McDonell replaced this journal with the Catholic Magazine owned by a group of Midland clergymen promoting the Catholic Enlightenment. In its last year, as the Catholicon, it bowed to emergent Ultramontanism and finally faded in 1836. In that same year the Ultramontane Dublin Review emerged with Nicholas Wiseman, later Bishop, as proprietor and editor, a position which he held until he went to Rome. He then appointed as editor, for a brief period, Michael J. Quin, an Irish lawyer, followed then by H.R. Bagshaw, a barrister. Wiseman did not release his control of the Dublin Review and was considered by many, still to be the true editor. This control he shared with Rev. Charles W. Russell, a professor at Maynooth College, until Wiseman became Cardinal Bishop in 1850, when he relinquished proprietorship to Henry Edward, later Cardinal Manning. In 1863 Manning appointed William George Ward as editor, retaining though an active editorial role to temper the ultraconservative Ward. When Ward retired in 1878 Manning handed over the Dublin to Herbert Vaughan, then bishop of Salford and later archbishop of Westminster, with editorial duties undertaken by Cuthbert Hedley, a Benedictine monk, also later to become a bishop. In 1862 the Dublin Review experienced its last clerical editor, Canon James Moyes and the paper returned to lay redaction with the appointment of Ward's son Wilfred in 1906.¹

The British Tablet lays questionable claim to the reputation of being 'the oldest Catholic Paper in Great Britain'. When established in 1840, the British

¹ Josef L. Altholz, ‘The Redaction of Catholic Periodicals’ in Innovators and Preachers, the Role of the Editor
Tablet described its role as a publication which included original articles upon political, social, artistic, educational and religious questions, and reviews of home and foreign literature. An early Auckland correspondent also described the New Zealand Tablet as 'the prototype [sic] of the English Tablet'. In 1870, when Moran set sail for New Zealand to become the first bishop of the Dunedin diocese, still a widely dispersed frontier society including the whole of Otago and Southland, the British Tablet by contrast was concerning itself with reports of the Vatican Council and special treatment of the Anglican Movement.

The British Tablet had been one of the later publications within the first class of lay Catholic newspapers published and edited by their proprietors. In 1840 Frederick Lucas, a convert from Quakerism founded the Tablet, with the financial backing of two leather merchants. In 1841 he went into partnership with a Protestant printer named Cox. Although Lucas gained wide support from his Catholic readers his vigorous support for the Irish and an over enthusiasm for Catholic claims offended many, including Cox. In 1842 their paths separated, with Lucas continuing the paper under the title of the True Tablet and Cox employing Quin, late of the Dublin Review, as editor of the Tablet. With the advantage of the original subscriber list, plus a growing support from both Irish and English Catholics, Lucas won the day over his opposition and the True Tablet having defeated its rival, reverted to its original title of the Tablet in 1843. As Lucas' support for Irish nationalism increased his English subscribers diminished and he moved his Tablet to Dublin in 1849. The Tablet remained there until his death in 1855 when John Wallis, an English barrister returned the Tablet to a London base. Wallis edited the paper himself and in changing its politics to Toryism the Tablet earned the support of Cardinal Wiseman but later

conflicted with the more moderate Manning. The Tablet then emulated the redactive record of its predecessors when in 1868 Wallis sold out to Manning’s protégé, Herbert Vaughan who edited the paper as a vehicle for the high Ultramontane position of the First Vatican Council. Vaughan edited the Tablet until 1872 when he became bishop and subsequently cardinal. The Tablet then returned to lay redaction with the appointment of G.E. Rankin, formerly subeditor and eventually under J.G. Smead-Cox consolidated its position as a ‘solid, temperate and politically conservative journal’.

Like the Tablet, the more liberal Rambler, was also a product of the 1840s. Oxford converts, educated former parsons, reduced to the laity by their marital status, published this more liberally disposed journal under the editorial leadership of John Moore Capes with John Henry, later Cardinal Newman as theological adviser. The Rambler fell into conflict with the church hierarchy and following the death of Capes in 1857, was eventually taken over by a syndicate of Capes’ brother, Richard Simpson (a controversial convert and subeditor) and the Liberal Catholic politician, Sir John Acton. The Rambler continued to earn the disapproval of the Ultramontane hierarchy who made a number of unsuccessful attempts to influence the paper. To avoid censure and also to expand circulation they changed the Rambler to the Home and Foreign Review which operated in competition with the Dublin Review. The Home and Foreign Review came to an end in 1864 when a Papal rescript condemned the principles for which it stood. Rather than sacrifice scholarship, independent of ecclesiastical authority, Acton, with the concurrence of his associates closed down the paper.

\footnote{3. Tablet, 8 Jan 1870, p.57.}
Other contemporary English Catholic publications were edited by people of differing backgrounds. In 1860 Cardinal Wiseman was instrumental in the establishment of the popular newspaper, the *Universe* which operated in close cooperation with its Ultramontane French counterpart, *l'Univers*. This was followed in 1864 by the *Month*, founded by Fanny Margaret Taylor, a former editor of the *Lamp*. The *Lamp*, another Catholic periodical which underwent a varied redaction between 1850 and 1905 when it was finally extinguished. The *Month* enjoyed a number of notable editors including Henry Coleridge (grandnephew of Samuel Taylor Coleridge) and Sydney Smith. Later owned and edited collectively by the Farm Street Jesuits, it became a serious publication. As a vehicle for Jesuit writings it also earned disapproval, resulting particularly from the Modernist views of George Tyrrell. Amalgamating with the *Northern Press* founded in 1860 and the *Catholic Opinion* founded in 1867 the *Catholic Times* first served as a vehicle to promote the issue of Home Rule for Ireland. In 1926 it became the organ of the Catholic Mission Society. The last great Catholic paper to be established was the *Catholic Herald* in 1884. As an inspiration of Cardinal Manning, this paper edited by Charles Diamond promoted the cause for Catholic industrial democracy. It too, provoked controversy from some of its editorials. Josef Althoz concludes his account of the redaction of Catholic periodicals by stating that 'The Catholic press was not much different in kind from other denominations, except perhaps for the tendency of its journals to become the organs of parties within the church'.

The suppression of civil, religious and political rights of Catholics, nationally and internationally, provided a variety of content, invoking a vigorous defence of their beliefs and principles. Excerpts from many of these publications appeared in the *New Zealand Tablet* from time to time and Moran disagreed as often as he agreed on some issues. In the long term the paper followed similar patterns by

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changing from clerical to autonomous lay editors but during Moran's life-time the New Zealand Tablet remained firmly under the supervision of its founder editor.
The beginning of the end

The Tablet’s regular reports on Moran’s health throughout his protracted illness and decline reflected the concern of the laity and the esteem in which they held him. The Tablet recorded the first signs of Moran’s illness when it published the Bishop’s apologies for absence due to travel fatigue, at a fundraising concert on behalf of the St. Vincent de Paul Society.\(^1\) Moran’s health ‘was improved after a month in Auckland and attending a spa’\(^2\). Bishop Grimes of Christchurch visited Moran\(^3\) but four months later when he was ill again.\(^4\) The leader of 8 September 1893 announced again the serious illness of Bishop Moran. Describing him as the founder, guide and counsellor of the Tablet, the paper paid tribute to Moran’s fairness, consistency and fearlessness. The Tablet recalled Cardinal Bamabo’s letter of congratulations from the sacred Congregation of Propaganda on the founding of the Tablet twenty years before. It reiterated Moran’s policies of ‘Catholic schools for Catholic children’, the demand for justice for ‘our suffering people’ and the denunciation of ‘tyranny, oppression and plunder’ of the ‘bigoted supporters of anti-catholic, unchristian and godless schools’. Sympathy and prayers were then expressed for their soggarth aron, that he might remain amongst his faithful. A footnote to this editorial announced that as the Tablet went to press Moran’s health had deteriorated.\(^5\)

\(^1\) New Zealand Tablet, 19 Dec 1890, p.13.
\(^2\) New Zealand Tablet, 9 Jun 1893, p.18.
\(^3\) New Zealand Tablet, 25 Aug 1893, p.17.
\(^4\) New Zealand Tablet, 5 Jan 1894, p.17.
\(^5\) New Zealand Tablet, 8 Sep 1893, p.17.
Although Moran's health began to improve he appointed Father Mackay as administrator during his illness, with the instruction that all diocesan business should be sent to Oamaru. A notice on the Cathedral door announced the convocation of a diocesan synod by Moran scheduled for 24 Jan 1894. The synod continued as planned with Father Mackay representing the Bishop. With his health reported as 'weaker' and 'deteriorating', the death of Dr. Ricards, Bishop of Grahamstown, an intimate friend of Moran and his successor, with whom he had shared a house at the Cape, was sad news for a man already facing his own end. Another contemporary, but this time from the Presbyterian opposition, the Rev. Dr. Stuart of Knox Church also died about this time. Despite past differences the Tablet praised Stuart for his benevolence and charity. After a brief period his health improved enough to enjoy the sunshine on his balcony. Moran's health again deteriorated and reference at Vespers to this included an announcement that the Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of the propaganda had conveyed sympathy and special blessing from Pope Leo XIII.

The Tablet next published a copy of a message from Moran, read at the Sunday Mass at St. Joseph's cathedral. Moran, having 'rallied considerably' had renewed his interest in diocesan affairs. Dictated as he slowly spoke them, to hold the ipsissima verba of their Bishop, Moran issued directions which should be followed 'to the letter' in relation to the early opening of St. Patrick's church at South Dunedin. Moran commented that while the work was not complete the debt which remained was insignificant and that no colonial work was ever

6. New Zealand Tablet, 15 Sep 1893, p.17.
7. New Zealand Tablet, 22 Dec 1893, p.17.
9. New Zealand Tablet, 12 Jan 1894, p.17.
complete. Moran expressed gratitude the young men of the city who had provided the seating and urged the congregation to clear this debt as quickly as possible.\textsuperscript{15} Moran had hoped to drive down to visit the new church of St. Patrick's for a few minutes and hopes had been entertained that he might even attend the opening but his condition deteriorated.\textsuperscript{16} A move with the help of his physician, Dr. A.J Fergusson, kindled hope for Moran's eventual recovery when he stayed at Dr. Browne's peninsula residence which had been placed at his disposal.\textsuperscript{17} An improvement in Moran's health saw him resuming his pastoral duties and an announcement in the \textit{Tablet} informed readers that Bishop Moran had granted his consent for the celebration of midnight mass at the cathedral on Christmas Eve.\textsuperscript{18} The editorial 28 December 1894 referred to Moran's 'short, vigorous characteristic speech ... informing of the audience at the Christian Brothers' High School, that the hierarchy had made a request to Education Boards of the Colony to have Catholic schools examined by Board Inspectors'. The editorial, congratulating Moran on the improvement in his health which enabled him to be at his old post again observed that Moran, 'though necessarily emaciated and still showing signs of weakness ...' had been present in the sanctuary during Sunday mass at the cathedral.\textsuperscript{19}

In January 1895 Moran travelled by train to Milton to stay for a few days.\textsuperscript{20} For the first time in months Moran was able to walk up stairs that night, and he continued on to Lawrence the next day.\textsuperscript{11} The editorial of the following week assailed its readers with hearty New Year greetings of a 'Happy New Year' and 'many happy returns'. Questioning the origins of this expression, whether it had come down from Catholic ancestry or from the worship of the pagan god Janus

\textsuperscript{15} New Zealand Tablet, 7 Sep 1894, p.18.
\textsuperscript{16} New Zealand Tablet, 5 Oct 1894, p.17.
\textsuperscript{17} New Zealand Tablet, 26 Oct 1894, p.18.
\textsuperscript{18} New Zealand Tablet, 21 Dec 1894, p.22.
\textsuperscript{19} New Zealand Tablet, 28 Dec 1894, p.18
\textsuperscript{20} New Zealand Tablet, 18 Jan 1895, p.17.
on the first day of the new year with events of the day taken as signs of the coming year, it thanked staunch friends for their support. Criticised for persistently denouncing ‘tyranny, oppression and plunder’, it stated that it could not change since ‘its colours were nailed to the mast by the venerable Bishop of Dunedin ... and as long as the Tablet had life they would remain’. The editorial also commented that this policy had met with Moran’s approval throughout his illness. It quoted Moran as saying that he had read or had had the Tablet read to him during the past year. He stated that ‘the policy pursued by it, and the manner in which it has been conducted, have met with my entire approval throughout’. 22

Moran published what would be his last pastoral letter in the editorial column of the 22 February 1895 issue. Written in the first person plural the letter to the clergy and laity of Dunedin thanked them for their ‘great charity towards us during our long and trying illness’. The Pastoral continued in a similar vein, finding ‘ourselves able to congratulate you ...’ on the continued success of the Catholic schools. Congratulating the New Zealand Tablet on its upholding of Catholic standards for twenty-two years he acknowledged this support by the Catholic body, but qualified his appreciation by stating that there were ‘a few unworthy Catholics whose worldly interests’ it would not uphold.

The pastoral also set out the conditions necessary for fast and abstinence during the liturgical season of Lent. These regulations stipulated that butter, cheese and milk as well as flesh meat be permitted at dinner on all days but Wednesdays and Fridays, the Saturday of Quarter Tense and the Monday in Holy Week but fish and meat could not be eaten at the same meal. With the exception of Ash Wednesday and Good Friday ‘a moderation of butter, cheese, and milk’ was permitted in the collations of fast days ‘and by indult the use of

21 New Zealand Tablet, 25 Jan 1895, p.18.
dripping and lard'. Eggs too, could be eaten at dinner or collation on these days.

There was neither fast nor abstinence on the Sundays of Lent. All days other than Sundays and St. Patrick's day, if it did not fall on a Friday or within the period of Quarter Tense were days of fast and abstinence. Unless excused for health reasons or by nature of their employment these regulations applied to all who had turned twenty-one. All 'who had arrived at the years of discretion' were bound to go to Communion within Easter, commencing on Ash Wednesday through to the end of the Octave of Saints Peter and Paul. He directed the clergy to read this Pastoral at Mass in all churches and chapels and to place a copy in a conspicuous position at the beginning of Lent.23

The Tablet announced that taking full advantage of the weather the 'Most Reverend Dr. Moran had driven frequently in the country about Dunedin', and hoped to be present at the St. Patrick's at celebrations at the Garrison Hall.24 These celebrations took place in the form of a charity concert, ranging from recitations by secondary school pupils to vocal solos of predominately Irish themes and band performances. 'Effectually prevented' by the inclement weather, Moran was unable to attend the concert but he was fit enough to attempt a trip south ten days later. This trip was curtailed at Milton, also because of the weather.25 Moran's health was again in decline, so much so that his physicians recommended that he should be relieved of all diocesan business which was then undertaken by his secretary, the Very Rev. P. Lynch.26 Moran had already died on 22 May 1895 when the next issue of the Tablet reporting that Archbishop Redmond had arrived in Dunedin to visit Moran, stated that Moran's condition was 'disquieting'.27

22. New Zealand Tablet, 4 Jan 1895, p.17.
23. New Zealand Tablet, 22 Feb 1895, pp.16-17.
24. New Zealand Tablet, 8 Mar 1895, p.17.
25. New Zealand Tablet, 22 Mar 1895, pp.6 and 17, and 29 Mar 1895, p.19.
27. New Zealand Tablet, 24 May 1895, p.18.
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