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**More a Part than Apart**  
**the Catholic Community in New Zealand Society**  
**1918-1940**

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for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History and Religious Studies  
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## Abstract

The Catholic community in New Zealand between 1918 and 1940 maintained a distinct identity while being fully integrated into the wider society, as this investigation of the demography, spirituality, organization, ethics and politics of Catholics demonstrates.

While Catholics, one seventh of the total population, were somewhat over-represented among lower socio-economic groups, they were distributed quite evenly throughout the country and retained little of the ethnic identity of the original Catholic immigrants.

Religious practices among Catholics followed overseas models, especially in the development of devotional piety and active spirituality, in emphasizing the Eucharist and the liturgy, and in basing lay spirituality on the religious life. Catholic spirituality and its underlying doctrines contrasted sharply with contemporary Protestant beliefs and practices, but while Catholics refused to worship with Protestants, Catholic spirituality was more commonly ignored or respected than criticized by them.

In establishing organizations and institutions for charitable, educational, social, cultural and sporting purposes, the Church did not seek to isolate its members from the rest of society but to ensure that they could participate in society without compromising their religious integrity. Catholic associations co-operated with their non-Catholic counterparts and Catholic schools taught the national syllabus while adding religious teaching and observances. The degree of social interaction between Catholics and Protestants is demonstrated by the prevalence of mixed marriages.

Catholic views on gender roles, apart from the exaltation of religious celibacy, were similar to those endorsed by the rest of society. The main Protestant churches reassessed their attitudes to ethical issues like birth control and divorce, but retained much in common with the Catholic Church. Despite clerical triumphalism, Catholics, too, restricted the size of their families and were no more opposed to divorce than Protestants were. Relatively liberal Catholic attitudes towards Sunday observance, drinking and gambling were more in keeping with those of responsible secular opinion - and practice - than with the views expressed by Protestant clergy.

Intense sectarian strife during and immediately after the First World War was not typical of the period and by the Second World War the Catholic Church enjoyed warm relations with the Government and the main Protestant denominations. Catholics were somewhat divided over Prohibition, but, as in the country at large, most opposed it. The Church was not committed to any political party although Catholic social teaching and the socio-economic status of numerous Catholics led to strong Catholic support for the Labour Party. In this, Catholics shared in a new political consensus during the 1930s.

No government could openly give financial assistance to Catholic schools - and some recent concessions were lost during the early 1920s - but indirect aid, especially under the Labour administration, reflected increased acceptance of the Catholic education system. Lack of support by politicians or the public at large for state-endorsed Bible reading in public schools, as demanded by the Bible in Schools League, demonstrated the weakness of the League's assumption that New Zealand was a Protestant country and vindicated Catholic opposition to the League.

## Preface

This thesis investigates the relationship between the Catholic community and the rest of New Zealand society from the end of World War One to the beginning of World War Two. It argues that while retaining, and indeed cultivating, a distinct religious identity, Catholics sought to participate fully in the social and political life of the country. This interpretation is advanced by examining five dimensions of Catholic life: demography, spirituality, organization, ethical beliefs and practices, and politics. The Catholic Maori population is not considered here since it was quite separate from the rest of the Catholic community and writing its history would require a different set of sources and skills. Nor is it possible in a thesis concerned with the Church throughout New Zealand to give much attention to regional variations.

Chapter one is concerned with the Catholic population and considers its ethnic composition, geographical distribution, demographic features, employment patterns and rates of imprisonment. In chapter two, lay Catholic spirituality, especially devotional piety and active spirituality, the Eucharist and the liturgy, and the modelling of lay religious practice on the religious life are discussed before assessing their significance for the relationship between Catholics and the wider society. The aims and activities of Catholic organizations and institutions are reviewed in chapter three, which treats Catholic schooling and mixed marriage as case studies of Catholic integration. Catholic attitudes to issues of gender and personal ethics - as well as statistical evidence for contraception and divorce - are studied in chapter four. Chapter five focuses on sectarian controversy, the Prohibition issue, political parties and ideologies, and the growing rapprochement between the major churches. The politics of religious education are discussed in chapters six and seven, which are concerned with the quest for state aid for private schools and with the Catholic response to the Bible in Schools movement.

This thesis seeks to balance the concerns of history and religious studies. While students of religion are commonly tempted to divorce religious beliefs and practices from their historical context, historians all too often overlook religion - or pass ill-informed judgments on its significance. Religion is a cultural phenomenon, or group of phenomena, and can only be understood properly within its changing cultural contexts. Investigating religious beliefs and practices should form an essential part of the agenda of social historians - and not only because religion has a direct bearing on

other issues, such as the birth rate or the use of leisure. While religious history needs to be integrated into social and political history, for none of these exists in isolation, it also warrants investigation in its own right because, in varying degrees, it has been an important dimension of ordinary life. There has been very little academic writing on the Catholic community in New Zealand during the twentieth century. Parish and diocesan histories, while often of a very high standard, are usually preoccupied with the clergy and neglect the laity. Bishops and priests naturally feature on the pages of this thesis more than do any lay men or women - that is a reflection of both the organization of the Church and of the primary sources - but this thesis is not an institutional history. It endeavours, rather, to combine religious, social and political history.

The principal primary sources used in this thesis are the Catholic newspapers, especially the *New Zealand Tablet* (published in Dunedin), the *Month*, and the *Zealandia*, its successor from 1934 (both of which were published in Auckland). For the 1930s, two other Catholic journals have been used: the *Marist Messenger*, published by the Society of Mary, and *Catholic News*, published by St Joseph's parish in Wellington. Secular newspapers and official government publications, especially the census reports, *Parliamentary Debates* and the *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives* have also proved very useful. Some unpublished material in the National Archives and the Alexander Turnbull Library has been used. Catholic archival sources have also been important for this study, although most of the Catholic diocesan archives are either incomplete, unorganized or inaccessible. It is particularly disappointing that the best organized and most complete Catholic archive, that of the Auckland diocese, in which all the papers of Bishop Cleary (who died in 1929) were catalogued and made available to researchers by Father E.R. Simmons, has been effectively closed for most of the time during which this thesis was being researched. Full access was granted to the Marist archive and the Christchurch diocesan archive but elsewhere a lack of interest in promoting historical research and the fear that something embarrassing might be uncovered led to severe restrictions, although some very useful material was made available.

Numerous people have contributed in a variety of ways to the production of this thesis. I would like above all to thank my supervisors, Drs Peter Lineham and Peter Donovan. Among the many others to whom thanks are due for advising me and particularly for commenting on drafted material, I am especially grateful to Professors Ivan Snook and Barrie Macdonald, Drs James Watson, David Thomson and Colin

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## Abbreviations

<i>ACD</i>	<i>Australasian Catholic Directory</i>
AGS	Anglican General Synod, Proceedings
ACDA	Auckland Catholic Diocesan Archive
<i>AJHR</i>	<i>Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives</i>
ATL	Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington
CCDA	Christchurch Catholic Diocesan Archive
<i>CE</i>	<i>Catholic Encyclopedia</i>
<i>CIC</i>	<i>Corpus Iuris Canonici</i> (Code of Canon Law)
CSSR	Congregation of the Most Sacred Redeemer (Redemptorist)
DCDA	Dunedin Catholic Diocesan Archive
HACBS	Hibernian Australasian Catholic Benefit Society
<i>JLC</i>	<i>Journals of the Legislative Council of the Dominion of New Zealand</i>
MAW	Marist Archive, Wellington
MAC	Methodist Annual Conference, Minutes
MYB	Marist Year Book
<i>NCE</i>	<i>New Catholic Encyclopedia</i>
NZEI	New Zealand Educational Institute
<i>NZPD</i>	<i>New Zealand Parliamentary Debates</i>
PGA	Presbyterian General Assembly, Proceedings
PPA	Protestant Political Association
SM	Society of Mary (Marist Fathers)
WCAA	Wellington Catholic Archdiocesan Archive

## *Chapter One*

# **A People Apart? A Population Profile**

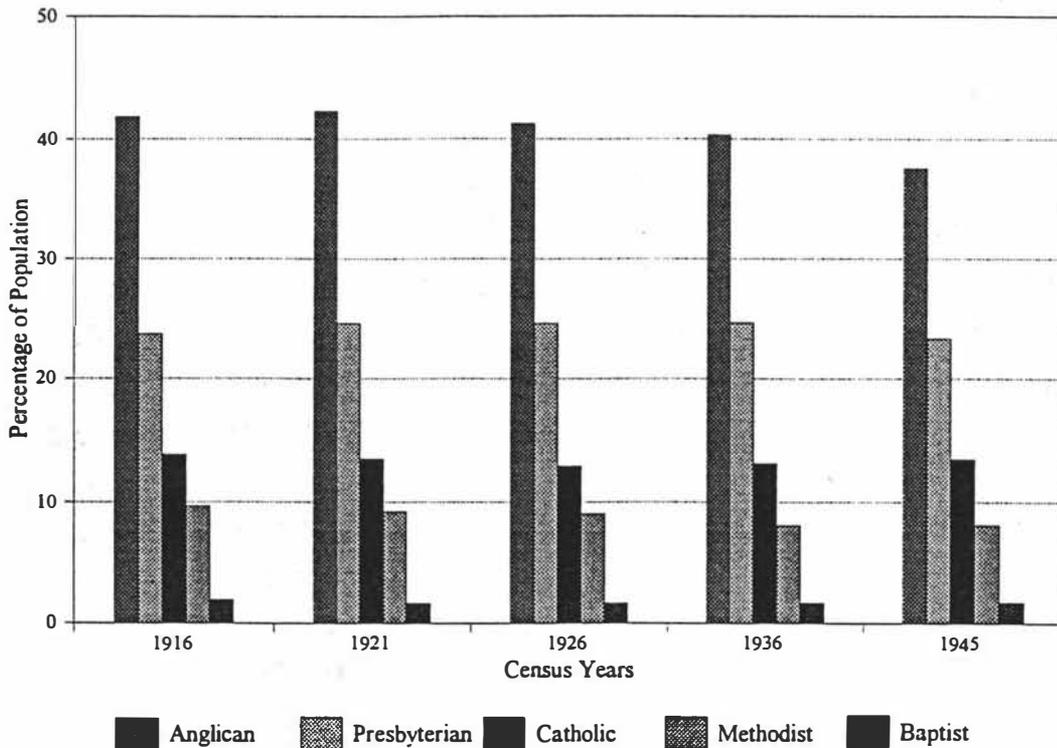
In the first census after the Great War, the overwhelming majority of New Zealanders declared their adherence to one of the four largest Christian denominations, as Graph 1.1 shows.<sup>1</sup> Of the non-Maori population in 1921, 89.48 per cent considered themselves to be either Anglicans (42.22 per cent), Presbyterians (24.57 per cent), Catholics (13.47 per cent), or Methodists (9.22 per cent). The many other denominations and sects were all very small by comparison with these four - even Baptists, the Salvation Army and Brethren accounted for only 1.90, 0.91 and 0.89 per cent respectively. This pattern of religious affiliation was quite stable: the same rank order and similar proportions were recorded by the four leading denominations in the 1870s and would continue beyond the Second World War.<sup>2</sup> Although they constituted the third largest denomination in the country, Catholics were very much a minority, since whatever tensions might exist among Protestants, they had more in common with each other than any of them did with the Catholic population. No doubt a large proportion (perhaps a majority) of those who declared themselves members of a particular church had but a tenuous connection with the ecclesiastical institution concerned, yet the consistent pattern of the census returns over a long period testifies to the importance attached to identifying oneself by a religious label.<sup>3</sup> Each denomination had its own demographic characteristics and the issue to be examined in this chapter is how much the Catholic community differed from or resembled the others. Since the Catholic Church and the three other principal Churches were so much larger than any of the smaller religious categories, it is appropriate to compare

<sup>1</sup> See also Table 8.1, on which Graph 1.1 is based.

<sup>2</sup> H. Mol, *The Fixed and the Fickle: Religion and Identity in New Zealand* (Dunedin: Pilgrims South Press, 1982), pp. 76-77.

<sup>3</sup> Table 8.1 shows a growing tendency to take advantage of the right not to declare one's religion. The proportion of people taking this option remained under five per cent in the interwar period, however, and most of them were probably no less religious than the rest of the community. Since a disproportionately large number of young children were counted as objectors, it is evident that some parents declined to preempt the religious choice of their offspring (NZ Census, 1936, vol. VI, pp. 20, 22).

*Graph 1.1*  
**The Major Denominations, 1916-1945**



Catholics with the three main Protestant denominations, or with the population as a whole, and in the following discussion, the smaller denominations will usually be ignored.

Census reports constitute the most important primary source for this chapter but will be supplemented by other official statistics as well as a variety of other sources including the Catholic press, fiction, archival records and personal recollections. Apart from the recent work of Donald Akenson, which suffers from a number of inadequacies, as will be seen, little use has been made of the interwar censuses to investigate the Catholic community.<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately the censuses, normally conducted

<sup>4</sup> D.H. Akenson, *Half the World from Home: Perspectives on the Irish in New Zealand, 1860-1950* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1990). See especially the references to Akenson's discussions of Catholic employment and imprisonment below. Several studies on other ethnic groups will be cited in the first section of this chapter.

quinquennially, were interrupted by the Depression and the Second World War: no census was undertaken in 1931 or in 1941. The 1945 census also departed from the five-yearly pattern, being only nine years after the 1936 census. These irregularities make intercensal comparisons problematic. Comparisons over time are also rendered more difficult by changes in the way in which the results of the censuses were reported, either by omitting certain information or by grouping the data into different categories. Further, many potentially informative cross-tabulations (such as matching religious affiliation with income) were simply not made before the original census returns were destroyed.

It will be argued that while the demographic profile of the Catholic community was distinctive, in most respects it did not differ dramatically from that of the population as a whole. In the first section of the chapter, it will be seen that although Catholics in New Zealand were descended from a number of different national groups, particularly the Irish, by the interwar period only a small proportion had been born overseas and there was little evidence of continued Irish sentiment. The second part of the chapter will consider the geographical spread of the Catholic population, showing that Catholics were quite evenly distributed through the country and in all the main towns. A variety of demographic variables will be examined in the third section, notably sex ratios, age profiles, mortality, and marriage rates. It will be seen that the Catholic community was comparatively youthful and had relatively high rates of mortality and non-marriage. In the fourth part of the chapter, an examination of Catholic employment patterns will show that Catholics were under-represented in skilled occupations requiring advanced training or education but over-represented in some forms of government employment and other activities open to persons with little capital or limited qualifications. By drawing particularly on imprisonment statistics, which reveal a high crime rate among Catholics, the final section of the chapter will provide further evidence that Catholics were disproportionately represented in lower socio-economic groups.

### **Ethnicity**

Immigrants from a number of different countries contributed to the Catholic population of New Zealand during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. At St Anne's convent school, Newtown, during the 1930s, there were many Irish names but also a few Lebanese, Italian and German ones.<sup>5</sup> Only a small proportion of Catholics,

<sup>5</sup> Mary Scully (née Krebs), untitled autobiographical essay (University of Canterbury B.A. essay in Education, 1984).

however, were recent immigrants. At the time of the 1926 census, 77 per cent of the Catholic population had been born in New Zealand. Of the 39,050 who had been born overseas - nearly 23 per cent of the Catholic population - at least 18,837 (48 per cent) had been in the country for over twenty years.<sup>6</sup> The Catholic population of interwar New Zealand consisted principally of the descendants of Irish, English, French, German, Polish, Dalmatian, Italian and Lebanese settlers. It would be beyond the scope of this discussion to detail the history of immigration to New Zealand by Catholics of different nationalities. However, their impact on the ethnic character of the Catholic community and especially the extent to which it retained an Irish ethos will be considered. It will be argued that while a few of the smaller ethnic groups had some local influence on the character of the Catholic community, there was little evidence of Irish sentiment by the end of the period.

In interwar New Zealand, the total number of Catholics from continental Europe and Lebanon, or their immediate descendants, was quite small. Only in the case of the Lebanese do census data correlate religion and ethnicity, but some other nationalities were almost exclusively Catholic. The immigrants from Italy and especially Dalmatia were predominantly men. In 1921, there were 559 New Zealand residents who had been born in France but by 1936 this number had declined to 368.<sup>7</sup> Some 500 ethnic Poles had migrated to New Zealand before World War Two, although many had been only temporary residents during the gold rushes. About 150 came for employment on public work schemes during the Vogel period and by 1914 about 300 had settled permanently.<sup>8</sup> In 1921, there were 399 Polish-born residents in New Zealand and there were 366 in 1936.<sup>9</sup> The New Zealand Government quietly discouraged immigration by Yugoslavs, Italians and Lebanese during the 1920s, but limited numbers continued to arrive.<sup>10</sup> In 1921, there were 485 "Syrian" Catholics (255 men and 230 women)

<sup>6</sup> NZ Census, 1926, vol. VIII, p. 34; 4,062 Catholics had not stated their period of residence.

<sup>7</sup> NZ Census, 1936, vol. VII, p. 3.

<sup>8</sup> I.H. Burnley, "The Greek, Italian and Polish Communities in New Zealand: a Geographical Contribution to the Study of Ethnic Migration, Settlement and Adjustment" (Victoria University of Wellington Ph.D. thesis in Geography, 1969), pp. 341, 344. For further discussion of these German-speaking Poles, see James Bade (editor), *The German Connection: New Zealand and German-Speaking Europe in the Nineteenth Century* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1993), chapters eight and nine (especially pp. 72-74, 82 where reference is made to their religion).

<sup>9</sup> NZ Census, 1936, vol. VII, p. 3.

<sup>10</sup> P.S. O'Connor, "Keeping New Zealand White, 1908-1920", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 2/1 (April 1968), p. 64.

living as permanent residents in New Zealand and in 1936 the number had risen to 694 (369 and 325).<sup>11</sup> Between 1920 and 1939, 856 Italians (632 men and 224 women) came to New Zealand with the intention of remaining; there were 530 Italian-born residents in 1921 and 917 in 1936.<sup>12</sup> Constituting the largest non-Irish Catholic immigrant group, Dalmatians had begun to arrive in significant numbers during the 1890s, usually to work on the kauri gumfields of Northland. Most were single men who aimed to return home and buy land with their savings but of those who decided to stay, married men would often travel ahead and later send their wives the fare, while single men typically returned home to find a bride.<sup>13</sup> In 1921, there were 1,588 Yugoslavs (1,480 men and 108 women) in New Zealand; the number rose to 2,721 (2,205 men and 516 women) in 1936.<sup>14</sup> An article in the *Month* estimated that there were 4,000 Dalmatians in New Zealand in 1928, a number which may be reasonably accurate if taken to include their New Zealand-born descendants.<sup>15</sup>

The minor Catholic ethnic groups were usually too scattered to form enclaves in New Zealand, although during the interwar period immigrants and their descendants were still living in significant proportions in a few areas and there they retained something of their ethnic heritage. Even where there were relatively high concentrations of these ethnic groups, however, they almost invariably lived as minorities interspersed with the wider population. From the turn of the century, and especially during the interwar years, there were some hundreds of Dalmatians living in boarding houses clustered near Auckland's Queen Street but during the 1930s, they tended to move into the suburbs.<sup>16</sup> The largest population of Italians and their descendants was in Island Bay where they constituted about one third of the parish. Built up by chain migration from Massalubrense and Stromboli, the Italian community in Wellington long retained a distinctive character.<sup>17</sup> In Dunedin, there was a

<sup>11</sup> The numbers refer to "race aliens of full blood"; there were smaller numbers of "half-castes": 52 in 1921 and 174 in 1936 (NZ Census, 1921, part VI, p. 34; 1936, vol. IX, pp. 21-22). Since these figures are higher than the total numbers of residents born in Syria or Lebanon (338 in 1921 and 354 in 1936 - NZ Census, 1936, vol. VII, p. 3), they evidently include New Zealand-born descendants of Lebanese immigrants.

<sup>12</sup> Burnley, p. 251; NZ Census, 1936, vol. VII, p. 3.

<sup>13</sup> A.D. Trlin, *Now Respected, Once Despised: Yugoslavs in New Zealand* (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1979), pp. 26-27, 41-42, 47, 165.

<sup>14</sup> NZ Census, 1936, vol. VII, p. 3.

<sup>15</sup> *Month*, 15 May 1928, p. 18.

<sup>16</sup> Trlin, pp. 145, 148.

<sup>17</sup> Burnley, pp. 280-286, 336; Pat Hutchison (editor), *St Francis de Sales, Island Bay, Parish History, 1906, 1920-1990* (Wellington: printed by CHB Print, 1990), pp. 33-36.

substantial Lebanese community centred on Carroll Street (called Walker Street from 1916), but this was a poor area which also attracted other ethnic groups, such as the Chinese.<sup>18</sup> Puhoi was a notable exception to this pattern of distribution because the town had been founded by Sudeten Germans in 1863 and had attracted few other settlers apart from friends and relatives of the original group.<sup>19</sup> At the time of its seventieth anniversary in 1933, the settlement was described as remaining "almost exclusively Catholic".<sup>20</sup> Ethnic identity was often maintained by endogamy, for example the Lebanese strongly discouraged their children from marrying outside the community, although those born in New Zealand were less inclined to accept such a restriction.<sup>21</sup>

By far the largest ethnic contribution to the Catholic population was that of the Irish, but by the interwar period, the overwhelming majority of New Zealand Catholics were of Irish descent rather than Irish themselves. The gold rushes of the early 1860s encouraged numerous Irish migrants to seek their fortunes in New Zealand - often after living in Australia - but many did not stay. For the future Catholic population of New Zealand, the 1870s and early 1880s were more important, since assisted passages and guaranteed employment (railway building and other public works) attracted many thousands of permanent settlers. The rate of Irish immigration from Great Britain declined rapidly thereafter because, without government subsidies, it was much cheaper to sail across the Atlantic than to the South Pacific. However, substantial numbers of immigrants of Irish descent continued to arrive from Australia until about 1920.<sup>22</sup> Between 1922 and 1931, 8,394 persons of Irish nationality came to New Zealand as permanent settlers from the British Isles; between 1932 and the first three months of 1940, 1,210 immigrants arrived from the whole of Ireland.<sup>23</sup> While the term "Irish nationality" is rather ambiguous, at least for the early 1920s, and the religion of these people is not recorded, it is clear that by the interwar period Irish immigrants

<sup>18</sup> D. Page and J. Farry, *The Hawkers: a Family Story* (Dunedin: Shinbone Alley Press, 1990), pp. 45-46.

<sup>19</sup> On this settlement, see, *inter alia*, D.V. Silk, *A History of Puhoi* (Dunedin: NZ Tablet Co., 1923) and Judith Williams, "Puhoi, the Bohemian Settlement" in Bade, chapter eight.

<sup>20</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 12 July 1933, p. 6.

<sup>21</sup> Jamelie Joseph and Latifie Kallil, interviews, 30 May 1991; Page and Farry, p. 99.

<sup>22</sup> Akenson, *Half the World*, pp. 24-27. For estimates of the numbers of immigrants before the interwar period, see *ibid.* chapter one and appendix A.

<sup>23</sup> Totals calculated from the figures collected in Akenson, *Half the World*, p. 26.

were only a small minority within the Catholic community. At the time of the 1921 census, there were 34,419 people in New Zealand who had been born in Ireland and in 1936 there were 25,865.<sup>24</sup> Had they all been Catholics, they would have made up only 21 and 13 per cent of the Catholic population - markedly declining proportions which are overestimates since the Irish-born included Protestants.<sup>25</sup> In April 1921, the average age of those born in Ireland was 53.86 years, whereas that of the Catholic population (including the Irish-born) was 27.61.<sup>26</sup> During the interwar years, the overall character of the Catholic community in New Zealand would be determined by the second and third generation of Irish descendants rather than by the recent arrivals. An important exception to this generalization is that certain immigrants placed in positions of influence, such as nuns and priests, might have reinforced the Irish identity of other Catholics. The most notable example is Dr James Kelly, editor of the *New Zealand Tablet* from 1917 to 1931.<sup>27</sup>

Catholics of Irish descent were more concerned to participate in New Zealand society than to maintain Irish culture or links with Ireland.<sup>28</sup> Kelly organized an annual Irish history competition but it seems to have died out after he resigned from the editorship.<sup>29</sup> Catholic schools formed rugby, cricket and basketball teams, rather than promoting Irish sports like hurling - although football matches could sometimes take on the aura of a national and religious struggle.<sup>30</sup> In 1924, some hoped that New Zealand would send representatives to the Tailteann Games in Dublin but one of the organizers, noting that no team had registered, wrote that "there is apparently a strange apathy amongst the Irish in New Zealand".<sup>31</sup> Nor did the Catholic press show much

24 NZ Census, 1936, vol. VII, p. 3.

25 The percentages have been calculated from the figures in Table 8.1.

26 NZ Census, 1921, General Report, pp. 104, 129.

27 For Kelly's militant Irish politics, see chapter five below.

28 Participation by Catholics in the wider society will be discussed more in chapter three.

29 *NZ Tablet*, 15 May 1919, p. 13; 10 July 1919, pp. 17-19; 22 September 1921, pp. 15-16; 15 December 1921, p. 17; 12 June 1924, p. 18; 24 September 1924, p. 18; 24 November 1926, p. 31; 23 May 1928, p. 5; 14 November 1928, p. 44; 17 November 1929, p. 5; 27 November 1935, p. 5; 13 May 1931, p. 3.

30 D. Davin, *Roads from Home*, edited and introduced by Lawrence Jones (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1976; originally published in 1949), pp. 24-25. See chapter three below for evidence of Catholic schools' preoccupation with the sports popular in New Zealand.

31 *NZ Tablet*, 31 January 1924, p. 33; 10 April 1924, p. 35 (letter from C. Gifford Wilson).

interest. A brief item in 1936 noted that there were to be teams from the United States, Canada, Australia and South Africa, but there was no mention of New Zealand.<sup>32</sup> In Dan Davin's *No Remittance*, Mr O'Connor acknowledges a few years before World War One to his prospective son-in-law, an Englishman and a nominal Protestant, that in another generation all the Irish and English in the country would be New Zealanders - but warns that Mrs O'Connor would not accept such a prediction.<sup>33</sup>

Interest in Irish culture, as reflected in the establishment of ethnic clubs and their apparent demise, was evidently the intermittent concern of a few enthusiasts. An Irish Literary, Musical and Social Society was founded in Dunedin in 1920 but it was noted in the first annual report that the membership of 261 scarcely reflected the number of "Irish" people in and around the city.<sup>34</sup> A similar Club was established in Wellington two years later.<sup>35</sup> In 1924, Kelly praised the Wellington Irish Club, contrasting it with its less enterprising Dunedin equivalent. The Wellington Club welcomed new arrivals and taught them Irish songs and dances - which were evidently more significant to migrants than to the Irish at home. It also published an annual review and sold imported Irish goods.<sup>36</sup> Two hundred "members and friends" attended the Club's annual picnic in 1927.<sup>37</sup> Evidently it did not survive much longer, since a new Irish National Club was established in 1933 and the following year an Irish National Society was founded in Auckland.<sup>38</sup> Nor did apparently Irish organizations necessarily concentrate on Irish affairs or culture. When the "Celtic Literary, Social, Debating and Dramatic Club" was formed in Addington in 1938, the inaugural meeting was spent debating equal pay for women, the encyclicals of Pope Pius IX, trotting and tennis.<sup>39</sup> The largest "Irish" organization was the Hibernian Australasian Catholic Benefit Society - but the Irish element was only secondary. J.J. Marlow, the Otago District-Deputy, explained that "the organisation was a friendly society first", although it was

<sup>32</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 15 July 1936, p. 13; cf. 17 October 1928, p. 29 for another brief reference.

<sup>33</sup> D. Davin, *No Remittance* (London: Michael Joseph, 1959), pp. 67-68.

<sup>34</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 1 July 1920, p. 28; 9 June 1921, p. 32.

<sup>35</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 9 March 1922, p. 14.

<sup>36</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 12 June 1924, p. 18.

<sup>37</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 2 February 1927, p. 27. The same page reports on the annual meeting of the Dunedin Irish Society.

<sup>38</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 22 November 1933, p. 27; 5 September 1934, p. 2; *Zealandia*, 30 August 1934, p. 3.

<sup>39</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 1 June 1938, p. 44.

also "out to maintain the national sentiment" as well as the Catholic faith of its members.<sup>40</sup>

A useful index of the declining sense of Irish identity among New Zealand Catholics is provided by the celebrations to mark St Patrick's Day. During the early interwar years, when Irish nationalists were struggling to attain independence, St Patrick's Day celebrations in New Zealand sometimes assumed a political significance which no doubt stimulated Catholics of Irish descent to participate.<sup>41</sup> St Patrick's Day (a public holiday) was typically celebrated with Mass, sometimes followed by a picnic and, invariably, a "national concert". In the larger centres there were organized sports and in Wellington and Auckland, there were even public processions with floats; the various celebrations were often spread over several days.<sup>42</sup> After the British Government granted the right of self-determination to the Free State by the Treaty of 1921, the political significance of St Patrick's Day evaporated and less interest was evinced in the annual occasion. In 1924, the procession and sports in Wellington were replaced by the celebrations to mark Archbishop Francis Redwood's episcopal jubilee - he had been consecrated on St Patrick's Day - and they were not resumed in 1925.<sup>43</sup> It was noted, moreover, that "the concert was quieter" - in part because the children were not there - and that there was "less green worn than in other years".<sup>44</sup> From 1926, the annual procession was no longer held in Auckland, but sport, dancing and other activities were arranged for the city's Catholic schoolchildren the following Saturday.<sup>45</sup> A 1929 report claimed that the Auckland celebrations that year were the best there had been for some time but admitted that interest had been diminishing for a number of years.<sup>46</sup> The Depression was to hasten the decline of the St Patrick's Day observances: in Auckland in 1931 and Christchurch in 1932, the usual sporting events

<sup>40</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 27 April 1927, p. 57. For further discussion of the Society, especially its unsuccessful attempts to boost membership during the 1930s, see chapter three.

<sup>41</sup> See chapter five below, especially the reference to resolutions passed at concerts.

<sup>42</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 20 March 1919, p. 23; 27 March 1919, pp. 18-19, 21; 3 April 1919, pp. 33-34; 25 March 1920, pp. 19-22, 37; 1 April 1920, pp. 21-23; 8 April 1920, pp. 18-19, 21-22; 15 April 1920, p. 37; 22 April 1920, p. 22.

<sup>43</sup> *Month*, 15 April 1924, p. 21; *NZ Tablet*, 4 February 1925, p. 30.

<sup>44</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 25 March 1925, p. 31; but cf. *NZ Herald*, 18 March 1926, p. 13 for reference to green ribbons in Auckland. For a later anecdote indicating the almost complete absence of green ribbons on St Patrick's Day in Wellington, see *NZ Tablet*, 15 April 1931, p. 21.

<sup>45</sup> *NZ Herald*, 17 March 1926, p. 12; 22 March 1926, p. 6.

<sup>46</sup> *Month*, 16 April 1929, p. 23; cf. 19 March 1929, p. 39 for the planning of the occasion.

and associated festivities were not held, although celebrations on a much reduced scale were conducted for the schoolchildren.<sup>47</sup> The athletic meeting was briefly revived in Christchurch in 1933 but in Auckland the "usual picnic" was "abandoned", apart from "a small programme of races".<sup>48</sup> There were regional variations in the observance of St Patrick's Day: in Greymouth, not only the Mass and the concert but also the picnic and sporting events continued longer than in the larger cities - despite the weather.<sup>49</sup> Nevertheless, Patrick O'Farrell recalls that the St Patrick's Day observances in Greymouth during the 1940s were "a Catholic celebration, encouraged by nuns, brothers and the priests, rather than an Irish one."<sup>50</sup> Catholic children of Lebanese descent in Dunedin wore green ribbons on St Patrick's Day during the 1920s, for, as Jamelie Joseph recalls, St Patrick was not only the patron of Ireland but also a Catholic saint.<sup>51</sup> Similarly, the Dalmatian children in Amelia Batistich's portrayal of life in a Northland town wore green at the St Patrick's Day concert.<sup>52</sup>

Unlike the other festivities, the annual concert survived with full capacity audiences - it was reported that people had to be turned away in Dunedin in 1939.<sup>53</sup> The concert's longevity, however, is less attributable to a sense of Irish identity on the part of performers or audiences than to its role in fund-raising for local (not Irish) purposes. After attending the 1930 concert in Wellington, P.J. O'Regan noted in his diary that, due to the poor quality of the music, it had been "somewhat of a bore" and that "the Catholic community is becoming less Irish as the years go on and

47 *Month*, 2 March 1931, p. 39; 1 April 1931, p. 37; 1 April 1932, p. 23. When the picnic and sports became too expensive, Father Francis Terry, organizer of the St Patrick's Day activities, arranged Catholic basketball teams as a replacement (Nora Felton, interview, 24 October 1991; cf. chapter three below).

48 *Month*, 1 April 1933, pp. 8, 16. In Christchurch, the annual sports for children were held in 1935 (*Zealandia*, 28 March 1935, p. 5).

49 *NZ Tablet*, 8 April 1920, p. 19; 9 April 1930, p. 33; 3 April 1935, p. 14; 1 April 1936, p. 9; *Zealandia*, 8 April 1937, p. 3; Eileen Kelly in *Reflect, Rejoice: Sisters of Mercy Celebrate One Hundred Years in Greymouth, 1882-1982* (Greymouth: Mercy Centennial Planning Committee, 1982), p. 50 (on the 1920s). In Blenheim, too, the annual sports survived longer than in most other places (*Month*, 16 April 1929, p. 38; *NZ Tablet*, 3 April 1935, p. 14; *Zealandia*, 28 March 1935, p. 3).

50 P. O'Farrell, "Catholicism on the West Coast: Just How Irish Was It?", *NZ Tablet*, 3 May 1973, pp. 54-55.

51 Jamelie Joseph, interview, 30 May 1991.

52 A.E. Batistich, *Sing Vila in the Mountain* (Auckland: Hodder and Stoughton, 1987), p. 93.

53 *NZ Tablet*, 29 March 1939, p. 23 (Dunedin); *Zealandia*, 23 March 1939, p. 2 (Auckland).

hence...there is less appreciation of Irish music and song."<sup>54</sup> St Patrick's Day recalled the increasingly distant Irish ancestry of most New Zealand Catholics, but it usually had no connection with contemporary Ireland. Kelly complained that the same songs were sung every year: he suggested a number of neglected melodies and reminded readers who might not know how to obtain scores that, "there is a place called Dublin in Ireland, and by the exercise of ordinary intelligence it ought to be possible for most people to establish communications with the Irish capital, where such songs are sold in abundance."<sup>55</sup> If the concerts failed to arrest the decline of Irish sentiment, they remained an essential source of revenue for Catholic institutions and other charities, and in this they resembled numerous other events arranged by Catholic parishes, schools, clubs and societies.<sup>56</sup> Describing the concert as "somewhat of an annual ordeal" and remarking again upon the decline of interest in Ireland, O'Regan noted in 1932 that since the proceeds were used for Catholic education, "most people who attend do so as a matter of duty".<sup>57</sup> The annual concert in Wellington raised funds for the Wellington Catholic Education Board, while in Christchurch, the concert proceeds were given to Nazareth House.<sup>58</sup> In 1931, concert profits in Dunedin and Auckland were used to assist victims of the Napier earthquake.<sup>59</sup>

Despite their distinctiveness as ethnic groups, even the southern European and Lebanese Catholics had little impact on the character of the Catholic community as a whole. Potentially the most unusual were the Lebanese, but links with western European Catholicism over many centuries had led to the development of a westernized liturgy and spirituality among the Maronites. Jamelie Joseph recalls that the Lebanese were "real fanatics about religion", a view confirmed by Beryl Bartlett, who describes the descendants of Lebanese immigrants in Palmerston North as "very

54 O'Regan diary, 17 March 1930, ATL 76-165-2/3.

55 *NZ Tablet*, 22 April 1931, p. 4.

56 For Catholic social activities and fund-raising, see chapter three.

57 Being more preoccupied with Ireland's affairs than most of his contemporaries, O'Regan also regretted that even the *Tablet* now showed little concern over developments there (O'Regan diary, 17 March 1932; 13 April 1932, ATL 76-165-2/5).

58 For Nazareth House, see *NZ Tablet*, 3 April 1919, p. 33; 1 July 1920, p. 18; 12 May 1926, p. 31; 3 April 1935, p. 13; 25 March 1936, p. 6; *Month*, 1 March 1932, p. 21; *Zealandia*, 28 March 1935, p. 5. Between 1912 and 1928, the Wellington Catholic Education Board raised £2,589 from the annual St Patrick's Day celebrations (*Evening Post*, 3 December 1928, p. 10); for reference to other years, see *NZ Tablet*, 3 April 1935, p. 13; 25 March 1936, p. 6; 16 March 1938, p. 44; 23 October 1940, p. 23.

59 *Month*, 2 March 1931, p. 39; 1 April 1931, p. 37.

fervent, devout Catholics".<sup>60</sup> In Dunedin, Lebanese Catholic life was centred about St Joseph's Cathedral and, apart from the intensity of religious sentiment, there was little to distinguish it from that of other Catholics.<sup>61</sup> Except during the visits of Lebanese priests, Maronites became, in effect, Latin rite Catholics.<sup>62</sup> Dalmatian attitudes to religion were very different from those of the Lebanese but their religious practices were not usually very distinctive either, although they, too, had a liturgical rite of their own.<sup>63</sup> While not himself a religious man - like most other Dalmatians - Mate Delich, who lived in Mount Albert, expected his wife and children to say the Rosary together each evening.<sup>64</sup> Redemptorist missionaries thought the Dalmatians particularly indifferent to the demands of religion. Father Gill, after a brief mission at Oratia in 1927, noted that all the inhabitants - apart from one Frenchwoman - were Dalmatians, who "like most of their countrymen" were "very careless about their religion", although they did attend the mission. Ten years later, Father Crowe, returning from the same place, despaired: "A hopeless lot of Dalmatians".<sup>65</sup> Among the Italians in Wellington, only a few distinctive religious practices existed during the interwar years, notably the commemoration of village saints' days and the blessing of fishing boats.<sup>66</sup> However, the latter tradition was not introduced until the 1930s, after the loss of the *Santina*.<sup>67</sup> Content to attend church on important occasions like Easter and Christmas, many men in Island Bay, according to the parish history, "were not great church goers".<sup>68</sup> After conducting a mission in Eastbourne, Joseph Spillane SM noted that although the response was good, there were "Many careless people there, especially

<sup>60</sup> Jamelie Joseph, interview, 30 May 1991; B.H. Bartlett, "Recollections, Impressions, Opinions and a few Facts, in the parish of St Patrick's Church, Palmerston North (and environs)", manuscript in Miss Bartlett's possession, vol. 2, p. 70.

<sup>61</sup> Page and Farry, pp. 22-23, 99.

<sup>62</sup> Lebanese priests will be discussed in the next paragraph.

<sup>63</sup> *Month*, 15 May 1928, pp. 18-19; 16 October 1928, p. 31. After a period of limited use, the Roman-Slavonic or Glagolitic Rite was revived after 1918 (M. Lacko in *NCE*, vol. 14, p. 1085).

<sup>64</sup> Josephine Minto (née Delich), interview, 29 January 1992.

<sup>65</sup> "Annales Laborum Apostolicorum domus Sancti Gerardi apud Wellington NZ 1916-1938" (Inside title: "Chronicle of the Apostolic Labours of Mt St Gerard's beginning with the year 1916"), formerly kept at St Gerard's Monastery, Wellington. In addition to the entries for 1927 and 1937 quoted here, see also Father McHenry's comments in 1934 after a mission at Awanui in the parish of Kaitaia.

<sup>66</sup> Burnley, p. 336.

<sup>67</sup> Hutchison, p. 36.

<sup>68</sup> Hutchison, p. 35.

Italians".<sup>69</sup> Ironically - or perhaps as a matter of ecclesiastical policy - the two groups most noted for religious indifference (at least among the men), had churches dedicated to their own saints. In 1930, a church under the patronage of Saints Cyril and Methodius was opened at Oratia and, in 1936, a new Church of San Antonio was built in Eastbourne after the old church was converted into a school.<sup>70</sup> However, while the choice of patrons reflected the presence of Dalmatians and Italians, these churches were not for their exclusive use and there was seldom a Dalmatian or Italian priest available.

Nevertheless, the religious and ethnic identity of several groups within the Catholic community was sometimes affirmed by the presence of Catholic priests of the same nationality. With a view to promoting religious commitment among the Dalmatians, Bishop Henry Cleary tried for many years to secure the services of a priest from their homeland. He finally succeeded in 1928, when Milan Pavlinovich took up residence in Auckland.<sup>71</sup> There was an element of anti-clericalism amongst Dalmatians influenced by Socialist politics. Members of the Yugoslav Reading Room, established in December 1927, decided not to offer an official welcome to Pavlinovich.<sup>72</sup> Several of Batistich's stories feature Uncle Taddi, who claimed to be a Bolshevik and was opposed to religion.<sup>73</sup> In her story about a Yugoslav picnic, the priest, Father Pavich - evidently a fictional version of the historical Pavlinovich - is described as "a man of standing, to be respected for his position, even if there were one or two who disapproved of the clergy generally."<sup>74</sup> Pavlinovich returned home in 1937 but a New Zealander of Dalmatian descent, George Marinovich, was ordained in 1939.<sup>75</sup> The Lebanese community was sometimes visited by priests from Australia or Lebanon. In 1919, Father Zoukra returned to Syria after having been stationed in New Zealand for several years and in February 1932, Archimandrite Khoury arrived in Auckland to begin visiting "Syrians" throughout the country.<sup>76</sup> Father Abdullah Assaf (a Maronite

<sup>69</sup> "Marist Mission Record, 1929", p. 56 (February-March 1939), MAW.

<sup>70</sup> *Month*, 20 May 1930, p. 39; *NZ Tablet*, 11 March 1936, p. 6; *Zealandia*, 13 August 1936, p. 3.

<sup>71</sup> *Month*, 15 May 1928, pp. 18-19; 16 October 1928, p. 31; *NZ Tablet*, 29 January 1930, p. 15.

<sup>72</sup> *Trlin*, p. 174.

<sup>73</sup> A.E. Batistich, *Holy Terrors and Other Stories* (Auckland: Vintage, 1991), pp. 104, 128-129.

<sup>74</sup> A.E. Batistich, "The Picnic", in *An Olive Tree in Dalmatia and Other Stories* (Auckland and Hamilton: Paul's Book Arcade, 1963), p. 97; for Pavlinovich's attendance at an annual Yugoslav picnic, see *Zealandia*, 16 January 1936, p. 5.

<sup>75</sup> *Zealandia*, 28 October 1937, p. 5; 14 December 1939, p. 2.

<sup>76</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 5 June 1919, p. 21; 11 May 1932, p. 46; *Month*, 1 March 1932, p. 19.

priest with a parish at Redfern, Sydney) worked among the Lebanese Catholics of Dunedin for some months in 1938 and the following year Father Michel Bardouil (a Melkite from Beirut) began a prolonged stay in the North Island.<sup>77</sup> Assaf celebrated the liturgy in Syriac and preached in Arabic, but, while familiar to Lebanese Catholics, these languages were increasingly exotic and unintelligible to their children born in New Zealand.<sup>78</sup> In 1936, Severinus Mambrini, an Italian Franciscan priest based in Sydney, visited New Zealand for about five months, travelling to a number of centres in the North and South Islands. He conducted missions and other observances for Catholics of Italian descent and for the Third Order of St Francis.<sup>79</sup> Archbishop Thomas O'Shea had endeavoured for some time to secure the services of an Italian priest. He hoped that "given the opportunities there would be a religious revival among the Italian Catholics of this country", but his desire for annual visits or even a resident Italian priest was not fulfilled before the war.<sup>80</sup>

The Catholic community at large continued to depend on Irish priests and nuns, although they were increasingly outnumbered by local recruits. At intervals, Irish priests took a year's leave to return home, thereby reinforcing their links with Ireland.<sup>81</sup> Having arrived in Christchurch in 1921, Father Thomas O'Regan took twelve month's holiday to visit Ireland in 1927.<sup>82</sup> New Zealand bishops paid the fees

<sup>77</sup> *Zealandia*, 12 May 1938, p. 6; 2 November 1939, p. 2; 28 December 1939, p. 3; 8 February 1940, p. 5; *NZ Tablet*, 30 March 1938, p. 45; 6 April 1938, p. 6; 20 April 1938, p. 10; 27 April 1938, p. 43; 6 December 1939, p. 35; 24 January 1940, p. 29; *ACD*, 1941, pp. 332, 383 (Bardouil listed as residing in Newtown; cf. p. 153 for his Redfern parish). The *Tablet* (17 January 1940, pp. 5-6) used the opportunity provided by these visits to proclaim "the Catholicity of the Church". It is not clear whether there were any Melkites in New Zealand: according to a contributed article, all the "Syrians" in New Zealand and Australia were Maronites - there was no mention of the Orthodox Lebanese, whose presence cannot have been unknown to the author - but another brief item stated that Bardouil was visiting relatives (*NZ Tablet*, 30 March 1938, p. 9; 6 December 1939, p. 35).

<sup>78</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 30 March 1938, p. 45; Latifie Kallil, interview, 30 May 1991; cf. Page and Farry, p. 99.

<sup>79</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 22 January 1936, p. 36; 5 February 1936, p. 37; 10 June 1936, p. 7; *Zealandia*, 30 January 1936, p. 5; 12 February 1936, p. 3; 4 June 1936, p. 5; St Joseph's parish notices, 24 May 1936, WCAA. For the Third Order, see chapter two.

<sup>80</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 10 June 1936, p. 7. The provision of a new church and school, along with Mambrini's visit, were presumably part of a policy of promoting religious commitment among the Italians of Wellington.

<sup>81</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 29 May 1919, p. 27 (Murphy, Riverton); 4 September 1919, p. 34 (O'Boyle, Greymouth); 26 February 1920, p. 23 (Corcoran, Queenstown); 8 April 1925, p. 29 (McManus, Palmerston North); 1 November 1933, p. 7 (Doolaghty, Taihape); 21 August 1935, p. 29 (Herlihy, Palmerston North); *Month*, 15 April 1924, p. 20 (O'Neill, Waikiwi, and O'Donnell, Gore); *Zealandia*, 21 May 1936, p. 3 (Moore, Masterton); 28 January 1937, p. 5 (Murphy, Auckland); 9 February 1939, p. 4 (Ryan, St Heliers).

<sup>82</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 24 February 1921, p. 22; 16 March 1927, p. 57.

of selected students from families of limited means attending Irish seminaries and after their ordination the young priests were sent to work in the bishops' dioceses.<sup>83</sup> The Auckland diocese, for example, continued to receive Irish-born and educated priests, although their numbers were apparently not large in most years.<sup>84</sup> Between 1918 and 1940 inclusive, 138 priests were ordained after completing all or part of their training at New Zealand's national seminary in Mosgiel.<sup>85</sup> Since new arrivals from Ireland would have been much fewer than this, the proportion of Irish priests must have been declining, although it was still significant at the end of the period and the proportion varied from one diocese to another. According to a 1937 report on the Christchurch diocese, there were 40 secular priests, of whom 20 were Irish, nineteen New Zealanders and one English.<sup>86</sup> The Wellington archdiocese in 1938 had 69 secular priests, of whom 24 were Irish, 42 New Zealanders, two English and one Swiss.<sup>87</sup> Having its own secondary schools as well as a number of parishes, the largest order of priests, the Society of Mary, had some advantage obtaining local recruits. Of 75 Marist priests in Wellington in 1938, 65 were New Zealanders, four Australian, three French, one English, one Scottish and one from Luxembourg.<sup>88</sup>

Some orders of nuns recruited young Irish women who trained and served in New Zealand.<sup>89</sup> A trip to Ireland by Mother M. Josephine Kenny and Mother M. Benignus Henson in 1922 led to a record profession in Auckland in 1926: of 25 new Sisters of

- 83 See, for example, John Foley, President of St Patrick's College, Carlow, to Brodie, 18 March 1919, and Richard Alyward, President of St Kieran's College, Kilkenny, to Brodie, 24 October 1922, CCDA. For a list of priests who served on the West Coast between 1865 and 1910, including their place of training, see N. Vaney, "The Dual Tradition, Irish Catholics and French Priests in New Zealand: The West Coast Experience, 1865-1910" (University of Canterbury M.A. thesis in History, 1977), pp. 247-252.
- 84 *Month*, 20 December 1927, p. 7 (O'Meara, Power, Dunne, O'Neill, Kehoe, Tully, Browne); 20 November 1928, p. 18 (McMahon, Conboy, Kerans); *Zealandia*, 6 December 1934, p. 3 (Fahy); 5 August 1937, p. 5 (O'Callaghan, O'Neill, Clarke, Flynn); 14 December 1939, p. 2 (O'Connor). This list is incomplete but it is noteworthy that there were altogether 102 secular priests in the Auckland diocese in 1939 (*ACD*, 1940, p. 489).
- 85 D.P. O'Neill (editor), *Mosgiel '75, 1900-1975* (Mosgiel, Holy Cross Seminary, 1975), pp. 43-44.
- 86 "Prospectus Status Missionis", 1937, CCDA.
- 87 "Prospectus Status Missionis", 1938, WCAA.
- 88 *Ibid.* The Wellington archdiocese had the largest number of Marist priests; there were another 65 in training, who had presumably all grown up in New Zealand, but they were intended to serve the whole country.
- 89 M.A. McCarthy OP, *Star in the South: the Centennial History of the New Zealand Dominican Sisters* (Dunedin: St Dominic's Priory, 1970), p. 221.

Mercy, seventeen were Irish, seven New Zealanders and one Australian. In 1937, Mother M. Liguori Marnell and Mother M. Berchmans Fortune recruited another sixteen candidates who arrived in 1938 and were professed in 1941.<sup>90</sup> These were record years, however, and the Mercy Sisters were in origin an Irish order - albeit the largest congregation of nuns in New Zealand.<sup>91</sup> In 1937, of 120 Mercy Sisters in the Christchurch diocese, 30 were Irish, 82 New Zealanders and eight Australian.<sup>92</sup> Wellington had 212 Sisters of Mercy in 1938: nineteen Irish, 172 New Zealanders, seven English and fourteen Australian.<sup>93</sup> The postulant nuns usually came to New Zealand at a very young age: the 1938 group ranged from fifteen to twenty-one years.<sup>94</sup> No doubt most of the New Zealand-born recruits were also of Irish descent, but like the Catholic population as a whole - only at a slower rate - the priesthood and the religious orders were losing their Irish character.

Stereotyping, reinforced by the tendency of some groups to marry among themselves, live in close proximity and to speak their own language, sometimes led to prejudice against ethnic groups. Dalmatians who had not become New Zealand citizens were classified as "enemy aliens" during World War One - they were commonly but inaccurately called "Austrians" - and the Italians experienced similar difficulties during the Second World War.<sup>95</sup> Tension between the Dalmatians and the authorities during and immediately after the First World War was heightened by an Irish Catholic, John Cullen, the recently retired Police Commissioner who was appointed to supervise the "Home Service" programme in which Dalmatians were employed by the Government.<sup>96</sup> In this instance at least, ethnic differences proved

<sup>90</sup> *Gracious is the Time: Centenary of the Sisters of Mercy, Auckland, New Zealand, 1850-1950* (Auckland: Sisters of Mercy, 1952), p. 178; *Month*, 15 September 1923, p. 19; 16 February 1926, p. 22; *NZ Tablet*, 24 February 1926, p. 31; *Zealandia*, 17 February 1938, p. 5. The numbers vary slightly in these accounts.

<sup>91</sup> For the profession of much smaller numbers of Mercy Sisters, see *NZ Tablet*, 13 February 1929, p. 31 (Christchurch: one Irish, five New Zealanders); 27 May 1936, p. 8 (Timaru: four Irish, two New Zealanders).

<sup>92</sup> "Prospectus Status Missionis", 1937, CCDA.

<sup>93</sup> "Prospectus Status Missionis", 1938, WCAA. This report says there were only four Australians but accompanying rough notes give the number as fourteen and both record the total as 212.

<sup>94</sup> *Zealandia*, 17 February 1938, p. 5.

<sup>95</sup> Trlin, chapter five; E. and H. Laracy, *The Italians in New Zealand and Other Studies* (Auckland: Società Dante Alighieri, 1973), pp. 18-19.

<sup>96</sup> Trlin, pp. 114-120; *Zealandia*, 2 November 1939, p. 3; *NZ Tablet*, 8 November 1939, p. 8 (obituaries).

more important than a shared religion. Irish Catholics also experienced some prejudice. In 1938, when Kathleen Doyle was about to purchase a house in Christchurch, the owners' lawyer hesitated, doubting whether Catholics paid their bills, but when it was explained that Kathleen's father was English, the sale was approved.<sup>97</sup> Even during the early 1920s, however, when it was difficult to separate Irish culture from the strife of Irish politics, the cultivation of Irish identity was not necessarily a source of conflict. In 1922, members of the Dunedin Irish Society were invited to a meeting of the Gaelic Society (and returned the invitation). At the meeting, Bishop James Whyte spoke in praise of the Scots; presumably the hosts were as Scottish and as Presbyterian as their guests were Irish and Catholic.<sup>98</sup>

By far the most important ethnic group in the Catholic community were the Irish - or more precisely their descendants. The contribution of non-Irish peoples to Catholic life in New Zealand was easily overlooked, especially by a single-minded Irish patriot like Kelly: "The humble homes of green Erin have sent forth across the world the priests and nuns and the pious men and women to whose faith is due whatever of true religion is in the new world to-day."<sup>99</sup> While the smaller Catholic ethnic groups retained some of their distinctive identity during the interwar period, this was only of local significance and the ancestral languages and customs were dying out. Insofar as the different groups maintained their distinctive identities, it was due only in a limited way to religion. Most were too scattered to form exclusive congregations and they usually lacked priests of their own nationality. Moreover, while some ethnic groups were noted for their piety and others for their religious indifference, none maintained a distinctive form of Catholicism. Being by far the largest ethnic group, the Irish were a special case, but although the Church in New Zealand continued to depend on the services of Irish nuns and priests, there seems to have been little attempt to sustain a distinctively Irish religious community after the 1920s. Annual St Patrick's Day concerts were no doubt nostalgic occasions, but their main purpose was to raise funds for local Catholic institutions.

<sup>97</sup> K.S. Doyle, *Kathleen's Story* (Christchurch: published by the author and K.M. Gallagher, 1984), pp. 59-60.

<sup>98</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 7 September 1922, p. 19.

<sup>99</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 26 December 1928, p. 3.

### Geographical Distribution

During the nineteenth century and for much of the twentieth, Irish Catholic immigrants often settled predominantly in specific areas of the receiving countries. In New Zealand, as André Siegfried observed after visiting the country in 1899, Irish Catholics had "spread all over the country", and were "too scattered" to have "given their stamp to any of the towns in the Colony".<sup>100</sup> A comparison of the proportions of Catholics and members of the other large denominations in the country's provinces and cities during the interwar period will demonstrate the validity of Siegfried's observation. Table 8.2 records the numbers and proportions of Anglicans, Presbyterians, Catholics and Methodists in each of the ten provinces, while Table 8.3 gives similar information for the fourteen largest urban areas. Some reference will also be made to the proportions of Catholics in boroughs in 1921 and 1936; a complete list is given in Table 8.4.<sup>101</sup> Detailed investigation into nineteenth and early twentieth century immigration patterns would explain much about the distribution of Catholics during the interwar period, but, as in the previous section, it will not be possible to discuss this subject in any detail, although a few examples will be noted. The present concern is with the distribution of the Catholic community and other denominations through the country, rather than with how the pattern arose.

The most unusual province was Southland, half of whose inhabitants were Presbyterian, followed by Otago where almost half the people belonged to that denomination: in the country as a whole, Presbyterians accounted for only a quarter of the total population. Their concentration in the two southernmost provinces reflected the strongly Presbyterian character of early European settlement in the region and its continued attraction for Scottish immigrants. Having such large concentrations in the far south, Presbyterians were relatively under-represented in the other provinces. Methodists and especially Anglicans were under-represented in the two southern provinces. Catholics, too, were noticeably under-represented in Otago (11.43 per cent in 1921 and 11.39 per cent in 1936) but not in Southland, where they had fractionally higher proportions (14.15 per cent in 1921 and 13.27 per cent in 1936) than in the country overall. Catholics were more under-represented in Dunedin than in Otago as a

<sup>100</sup> A. Siegfried, *Democracy in New Zealand*, translated by E.V. Burns (Wellington: Victoria University Press with Price Milburn, 2nd edition, 1982), p. 317. Siegfried's claim that Catholics were more concentrated in the North Island seems to have been less accurate.

<sup>101</sup> Unless otherwise indicated, figures for cities will be cited from Table 8.3 rather than 8.4 when the same name occurs in both tables.

whole, though their proportion of the city's population increased slightly during the interwar period (from 10.98 per cent in 1921 to 11.21 per cent in 1936). The Catholic population of Invercargill (13.17 per cent and 13.13 per cent) was about the same as the national average. If the Presbyterian character of Otago had deterred Catholic settlement, this had not occurred in Southland. Shipping patterns may have been a more important influence, with "Irish" immigrants from Australia, such as the future Prime Minister Sir Joseph Ward, disembarking at Bluff rather than travelling on to Port Chalmers.<sup>102</sup> The proportion of Catholics in Bluff itself declined from 16.80 to 13.46 from 1921 to 1936.

In the one-time Anglican province of Canterbury - by contrast with the continued Presbyterian dominance in Otago and Southland - the Church of England was only slightly over-represented during the interwar period. Catholics (12.39 per cent in 1921 and in 1936), like Presbyterians, were somewhat under-represented there, while there was a relatively high proportion of Methodists. There was a greater under-representation of Catholics in Christchurch (10.96 per cent in 1921 and 11.74 per cent in 1936) than in the province as a whole. This contrast is attributable in part to the relatively strong Catholic presence in South Canterbury, which had been built up through chain migration, particularly from County Kerry.<sup>103</sup> The proportion of Catholics in Temuka grew from 20.31 per cent in 1921 to 22.15 per cent in 1936 and from 12.00 to 16.68 in Waimate during the same period. In Timaru, it grew slightly from 14.00 to 14.80 per cent. Akaroa, despite its origins as a French settlement, was only 16.80 per cent Catholic in 1921 and 15.95 per cent in 1936 - not a large over-representation in a population of 619 and 515.

As a result of the gold rushes, Catholics were particularly well represented in Westland - while Anglicans, Presbyterians and Methodists were correspondingly under-represented. With 31.48 per cent of its people Catholic in 1921, the province had the highest concentration of Catholics in New Zealand but their over-representation had declined somewhat to 27.74 per cent by 1936. The proportion of Catholics varied considerably on different parts of the Coast, from a consistent 43 per cent in Kumara to only 16.93 per cent in Brunner in 1936, a decline from 29.03 per

<sup>102</sup> M. Bassett, *Sir Joseph Ward: a Political Biography* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1993), pp. 5-6.

<sup>103</sup> S.G. Brosnahan, "The Battle of the Borough and the Saige O' Timaru: Sectarian Riot in Colonial Canterbury" (unpublished paper presented to the New Zealand Historical Association Conference, May 1991).

cent in 1921. In Westland's largest town, Greymouth, the proportion of Catholics (31.13 percent in 1921 and 28.15 in 1936) was close to the average for the province but declining slowly, while in Hokitika it fell from 29.80 to 25.75 in the same period. Westport's high proportion of Catholics (27.33 per cent in 1921 and 23.68 per cent in 1936) effectively extended the Westland pattern into the Nelson province. In local terms, the high proportion of Catholics contributed to the distinctive character of the West Coast, but it is important to recall that the proportion of Catholics was declining and that Westland accounted for little more than one percent of the country's total population. If the 14,181 inhabitants of Westland in 1921 had conformed to the national pattern of denominational affiliation, 1,910 of them, rather than 4,464, would have been Catholics. An over-representation of only 2,554 individuals in such a small community was indeed significant but was not a large number by national standards.

Catholics were marginally over-represented (14.25 per cent) in Nelson in 1921, but by 1936, the proportion of Catholics was almost the same (13.05 per cent) as in the country as a whole. Marlborough, by contrast, had a consistent and quite substantial over-representation of Catholics throughout the period (16.79 per cent in 1921 and 17.08 per cent in 1936). Several prominent English families had settled in this area and their presence had presumably attracted other English Catholics.<sup>104</sup> The Nelson urban area had only a small proportion of Catholics (9.87 per cent in 1921 and 9.58 per cent in 1936) but in Picton they made up about 20 per cent of the population and in Blenheim over 18 per cent. Anglicans were somewhat over-represented in Nelson and quite markedly so in Marlborough, while Presbyterians were notably under-represented in both provinces. Methodists were found in proportions close to their national averages for the three census years in both provinces.

In the North Island, the major denominations, and Catholics in particular, were more evenly distributed than in the South Island. The provinces of Wellington, Taranaki, Hawke's Bay and Auckland all had noticeable but declining over-representations of Anglicans, while Presbyterians were consistently under-represented except in Hawke's Bay where they approached their national average. The proportions of Methodists were quite close to their national figures in Auckland and Wellington but the denomination was somewhat under-represented in Hawke's Bay and considerably over-represented in Taranaki - a legacy of immigration from the West Country of England.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. S. Eldred-Grigg, *A Southern Gentry: New Zealanders Who Inherited the Earth* (Auckland: Heinemann Reed, 1980), pp. 156-157.

Catholics were generally distributed in proportions extremely close to the national figures in all four northern provinces. In Taranaki, they were over-represented by a little more than one percent in 1921 (14.14 per cent), but this small over-representation declined slightly in the next two censuses (13.88 per cent and 13.78 per cent). The proportion of Catholics in New Plymouth (10.08 per cent in 1921 and 10.23 per cent in 1936) was lower than in any of the other fourteen largest urban areas. A small under-representation of Catholics in Wanganui in 1921 (12.81 per cent) had turned to an over-representation (14.59 per cent) by 1936 but in Palmerston North, Catholics were slightly under-represented in both years (12.85 per cent and 12.55 per cent). The Wellington urban area had a marked over-representation of Catholics (15.46 per cent in 1921 and 15.18 per cent in 1936).<sup>105</sup> Hastings had a Catholic population similar in proportion to the country as a whole (13.44 per cent and 13.22 per cent), but Napier had an over-representation of Catholics (15.92 per cent in 1921 and 14.87 per cent in 1936), evidently a legacy of settlement at Meeanee by Irish soldiers who had served in India.<sup>106</sup> In the province of Auckland, Gisborne had a relatively high proportion of Catholics (14.37 per cent and 14.28 per cent) while Hamilton's proportions (13.28 and 13.06) were similar to the national average. The Auckland urban area had a very slight over-representation of Catholics (13.81 per cent in 1921 and 13.43 per cent in 1936). The high proportion of Catholics in Dargaville (20.50 per cent in 1921 and 19.12 per cent in 1936) is attributable to the presence of Dalmatian gum diggers and their descendants.

By comparing the proportions of Catholics in boroughs forming a part of the larger urban concentrations with their overall proportions in these cities, it is possible to draw some conclusions about the distribution of Catholics within the main cities.<sup>107</sup> Catholics made up 10.98 to 11.21 per cent of the population of greater Dunedin between 1921 and 1936, but only slightly more (11.48 to 11.65 per cent) of the population of the city of Dunedin. In the Christchurch urban area, they accounted for 10.96 per cent of the population in 1921 and 11.74 per cent in 1936, while in the city of Christchurch, they made up 11.72 per cent and 12.20 per cent in the same years. The differences between the proportions of Catholics in the Wellington urban area

<sup>105</sup> This was perhaps attributable to the high proportion of Catholics in certain forms of government employment, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

<sup>106</sup> For an account by W.P. Payne, see *NZ Tablet*, 5 July 1933, p. 21.

<sup>107</sup> In this paragraph, percentages for cities are taken from Table 8.3 and those for boroughs are from Table 8.4.

*Table 1.1*  
**Urban-Rural Distribution of the Major Denominations, 1921-1936**

Denomination	Year	Number Urban	Total Population	Percentage Urban	Percentage Rural
Anglican	1921	262,604	514,607	51.03	48.97
	1926	295,748	553,993	53.38	46.62
	1936	319,549	600,786	53.19	46.81
Presbyterian	1921	127,270	299,545	42.49	57.51
	1926	150,308	330,731	45.45	54.55
	1936	164,984	367,855	44.85	55.15
Catholic	1921	78,527	164,133	47.84	52.16
	1926	87,298	173,364	50.36	49.64
	1936	101,497	195,261	51.98	48.02
Methodist	1921	56,669	112,344	50.44	49.56
	1926	63,619	121,212	52.49	47.51
	1936	62,814	121,012	51.91	48.09
Total Population	1921	599,997	1,218,913	49.22	50.78
	1926	693,391	1,344,469	51.57	48.43
	1936	770,448	1,491,484	51.66	48.34

Sources: Tables 8.1 and 8.3

(15.46 per cent and 15.18 per cent) and in Wellington city (15.77 per cent and 15.85 per cent) were observable but not as great. In Auckland, by contrast, there was a sharp distinction between the proportions of Catholics in the greater metropolitan area (13.81 per cent in 1921 and 13.43 per cent in 1936) and in the city proper (16.80 per cent and 15.77). There was, then, an over-representation of Catholics, relative to their proportion in the greater metropolitan area, in the central areas of each of the four main cities. Catholics living in the larger urban areas were evidently concentrated to some extent in the inner cities and older established suburbs. In other words, they tended to occupy the less expensive housing and many would have been employed in clerical work or the railways and factories close to this form of transport.

Catholics, like the rest of New Zealand's population, were also becoming increasingly urban, as Table 1.1 indicates. If "urban" is defined as living in one of the country's fourteen largest towns, then 49.22 per cent of New Zealanders were urban in 1921 and by 1926 51.57 per cent were urban. At the beginning of the period, Catholics (47.84 per cent urban) were slightly less urbanized than the overall population, but they, too, had passed the rural-urban threshold by 1926 (50.36 per cent). Ten years

later, the proportion of Catholics living in the fourteen largest centres (51.98 per cent) was marginally higher than the equivalent proportion for the total population (51.66 per cent). Methodists were fractionally closer than Catholics to the national mean in their rural-urban distribution, while Anglicans were rather more urban and Presbyterians were much more rural than average.

While the distribution of each religious group had its own peculiarities, usually due to immigration patterns and in some cases to church settlements, the Catholic pattern was not exceptional. Each major denomination had areas of relative concentration, such as Catholics on the West Coast and Methodists in Taranaki, but none matched the Presbyterians in Otago and Southland. Catholic patterns of urbanization were similar to the national norm, although Catholics were somewhat under-represented in the suburbs. That Catholics were, for the most part, scattered quite evenly as a minority group through the country, had an important implication for their relationship to the wider society. With the possible exception of the West Coast, which had only a small population, Catholics could exercise only a limited influence on the character of any region or town. Nowhere could they establish any collective political dominance, even supposing they had sufficient unity of purpose.

### The Life Cycle

The interwar censuses permit a comparison between Catholics and other religious groups according to several demographic characteristics. In this discussion, sex ratios, age profiles, mortality and rates of marriage (or, more precisely, non-marriage) will be investigated. Some indications of the socio-economic levels of Catholics will also be noted. Further consideration of the birth rate and levels of separation and divorce among Catholics will be reserved for chapter four. It will be argued that, in several of its demographic features, the Catholic community was quite distinct but its differences from other denominations were not usually great.

A characteristic feature of early European society in New Zealand was the disproportionately large number of males in the population, resulting from the immigration of more men than women to the new colony. Only gradually did there emerge a comparatively even male to female ratio, that is, the number of males per hundred females.<sup>108</sup> Between 1921 and 1936, the male to female ratio in the overall

<sup>108</sup> E. Olssen, "Towards a New Society", in G.W. Rice (editor), *The Oxford History of New Zealand* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, second edition, 1992), pp. 255-257. In a stable population, male births exceed female births but adult women outnumber men because the latter have higher mortality rates.

*Table 1.2*  
**Sex Ratios, 1921-1936**

	Anglican	Presbyterian	Catholic	Methodist	Total Population
1921	104.11	104.53	101.81	94.59	104.63
1926	102.87	102.05	99.60	93.82	104.30
1936	101.51	101.51	99.63	94.58	102.85

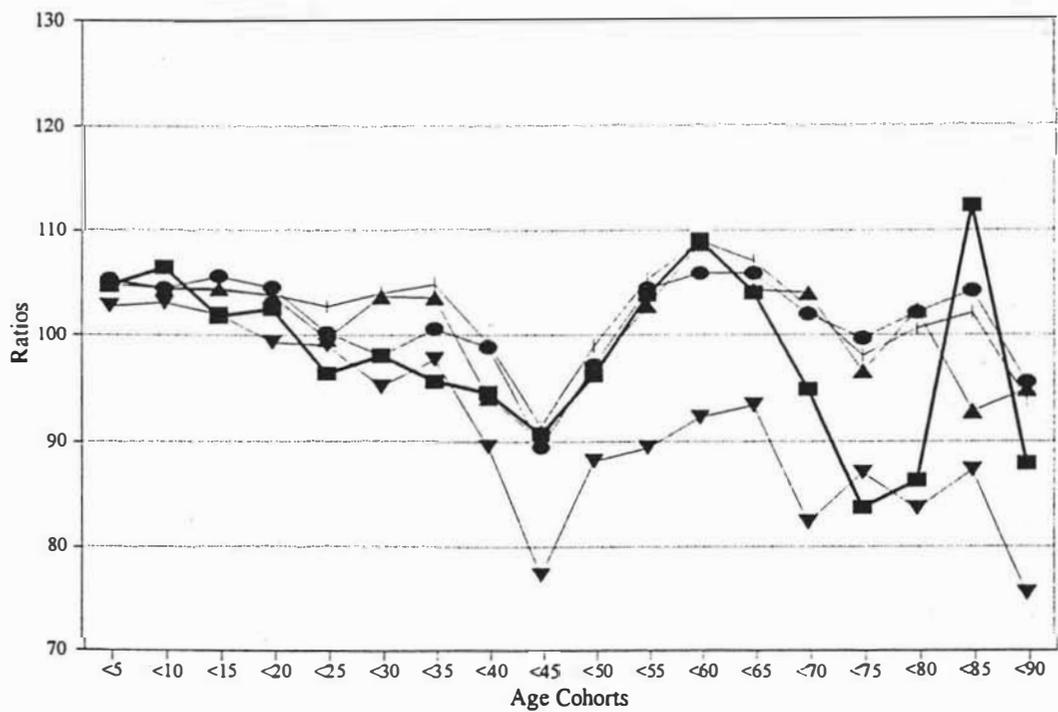
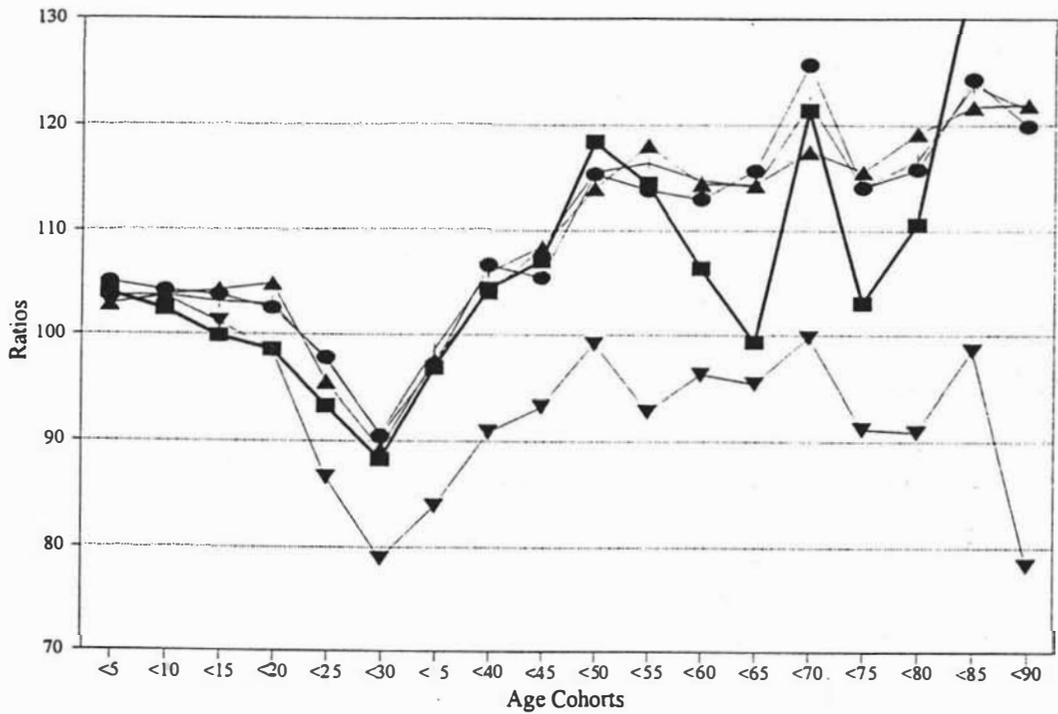
Sources: New Zealand Census, 1921, part VII, p. 16; 1936, vol. VI, p. 3.

population declined from 104.63 to 102.85. Table 1.2 shows that the sex ratio of the Catholic population measured by each of the interwar censuses was lower than those of the Anglican and Presbyterian communities but closer to them than was the very low ratio of the Methodists. This similarity of the three largest denominations and the unusual profile of the smallest is confirmed by an examination of the male to female ratios of each age-group as shown in Graph 1.2.<sup>109</sup> The death of large numbers of men belonging to each denomination in World War One is clearly reflected in the severe dip in the twenty to forty year age-group in the 1921 curves and in the thirty-five to fifty-five year olds in the 1936 curves. In most age-groups, Catholics were close to the pattern set by the other two large denominations, with markedly higher male to female ratios among the older cohorts in 1921. The sex ratios were much more even by 1936. Among the older cohorts, there were somewhat fluctuating ratios, especially in 1921, and the Catholic pattern appears as an exaggerated version of the two large denominations, presumably reflecting immigration patterns during the later nineteenth century.

The age profiles of the four largest denominations and of the total population can be compared by calculating a divergence index for each five-yearly age cohort. With each cohort of the overall population set at 100, the extent to which the same age-group in any particular denomination gives a figure above or below 100 provides a measure of the comparative age structure of that religious group. To calculate the divergence indices, it is first necessary to find the percentage of each religious group, and of the whole population, belonging to each age cohort - for example, the percentage of Catholics under five years old. The resulting percentages for each

<sup>109</sup> Graph 1.2 is based on NZ Census, 1921, part VII, pp. 28-31 and 1936, vol. VI, pp. 20-23.

Graph 1.2  
Male-Female Ratios, 1921 and 1936



▲ Anglican      ● Presbyterian      ■ Catholic      ▼ Methodist      + Total Population

denomination are then divided by the percentages for the corresponding age cohorts in the total population and multiplied by 100.<sup>110</sup> Graph 1.3 presents the age profiles of the four largest denominations in 1921 and 1936.<sup>111</sup> The total population is represented by a line parallel to the x-axis and intersecting the y-axis at 100. Among the higher age cohorts, the number of individuals involved is comparatively small and interdenominational comparisons are consequently more misleading than illuminating. All those aged seventy and more years have therefore been grouped together. In both parts of the graph, the age profiles of Anglicans and Presbyterians were close to the norm, which is not surprising, since they were the two largest religious bodies, together making up about 65 per cent of the total population. By comparison with the total population and with the other main denominations, Catholics had a relatively youthful profile, with high proportions of children and low proportions of adults. The Catholic community evidently had higher than average rates of fertility and mortality.

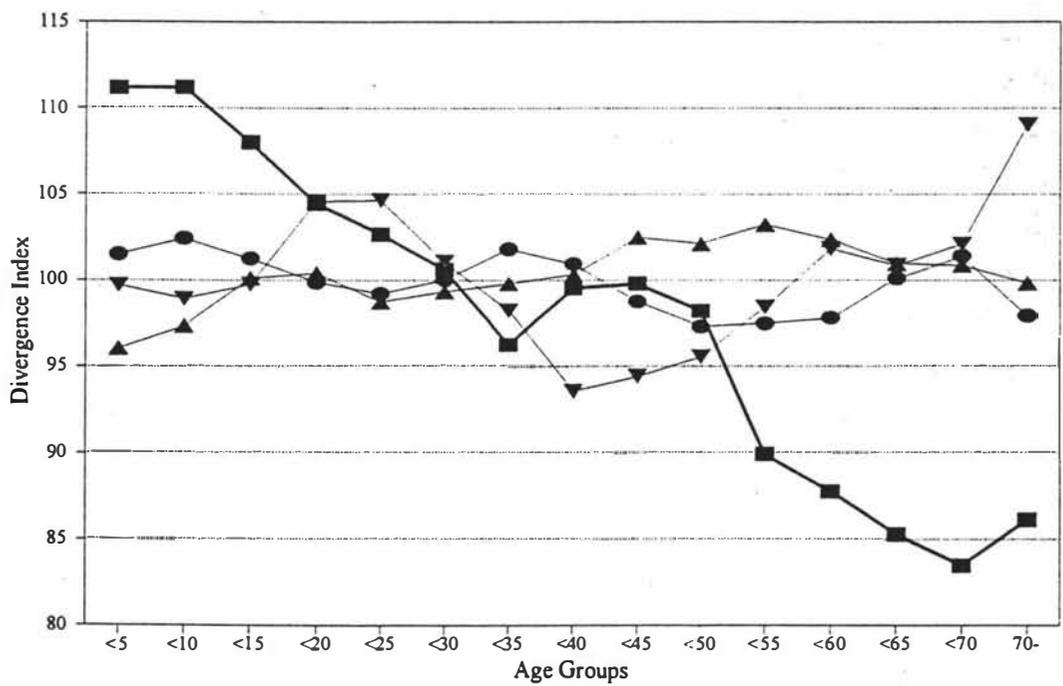
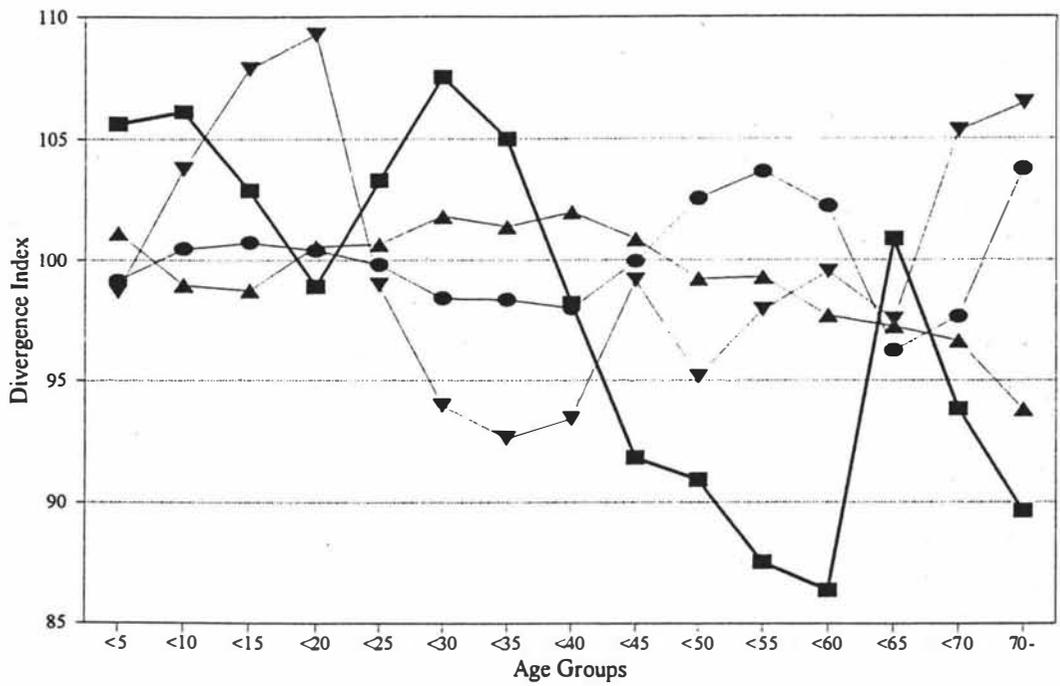
The 1926 and 1936 census statistics on marital status also give some indication of relative mortality and thus compensate in some measure for the lack of statistics correlating death rates and religious affiliation. In 1926, 13.42 per cent of women who had ever married were widows and in 1936, 13.80 per cent were widows, as Table 8.6 indicates. Meanwhile, the percentages of widowed Catholic women were 15.44 and 15.00 - notably above average and higher than those of any of the other main denominations. There were also higher proportions of Catholic widowers (7.80 per cent in 1926 and 7.52 per cent in 1936) than among once-married men in general (6.51 per cent and 6.44 per cent); again, the Catholic proportions were higher than for any other large denomination. Admittedly, these figures should be treated with some caution since it is, in principle, quite possible that widowed Protestants remarried more than did widowed Catholics, thus reducing the numbers of non-Catholic widows and widowers recorded by the censuses. While condoning remarriage, the Catholic Church officially taught that the state of chaste widowhood was more honourable, although it may be doubted whether this teaching had much influence on the attitude of Catholic widows and widowers.<sup>112</sup> If married Catholic men and women tended to live shorter

<sup>110</sup> For examples of this technique, see M. Hill, "The Sectarian Contribution", in B. Colless and P. Donovan (editors), *Religion in New Zealand Society* (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 2nd edition 1985), pp. 126-127, 137-140

<sup>111</sup> The graph is based on NZ Census, 1921, part VII, p. 35; 1936, vol. VI, pp. 20-23.

<sup>112</sup> *CIC*, canon 1142.

Graph 1.3  
Denominational Age Profiles, 1921 and 1936



▲ Anglican    ● Presbyterian    ■ Catholic    ▼ Methodist

lives than other married New Zealanders, it was presumably because they worked in more hazardous conditions or had a poorer diet than other New Zealanders, which suggests that they had a lower socio-economic standing than the non-Catholic population.

Before reviewing the other statistics on marriage, it will be useful to consider the age at which people married. Since the report on the 1936 census correlates marital status with age, it is possible to calculate the "singulate mean age at marriage" (SMAM) for each of the main denominations. In this procedure, the mean number of years spent unmarried by the members of a given population aged fifty years and younger is taken to be equivalent to the average age at first marriage of a hypothetical cohort.<sup>113</sup> There is remarkably little difference in the SMAMs of the four main denominations and of the total population: the average age at marriage for men is twenty-eight and for women it is twenty-five, as Table 1.3 shows. For both sexes, the age calculated for Catholics is slightly higher than for the other denominations, but the differences among the various churches are too small to be significant.

*Table 1.3*  
**Singulate Mean Age at Marriage**

	Anglican	Presbyterian	Catholic	Methodist	Total Population
Men	28.20	28.34	28.45	28.22	28.26
Women	25.20	25.48	25.98	25.61	25.46

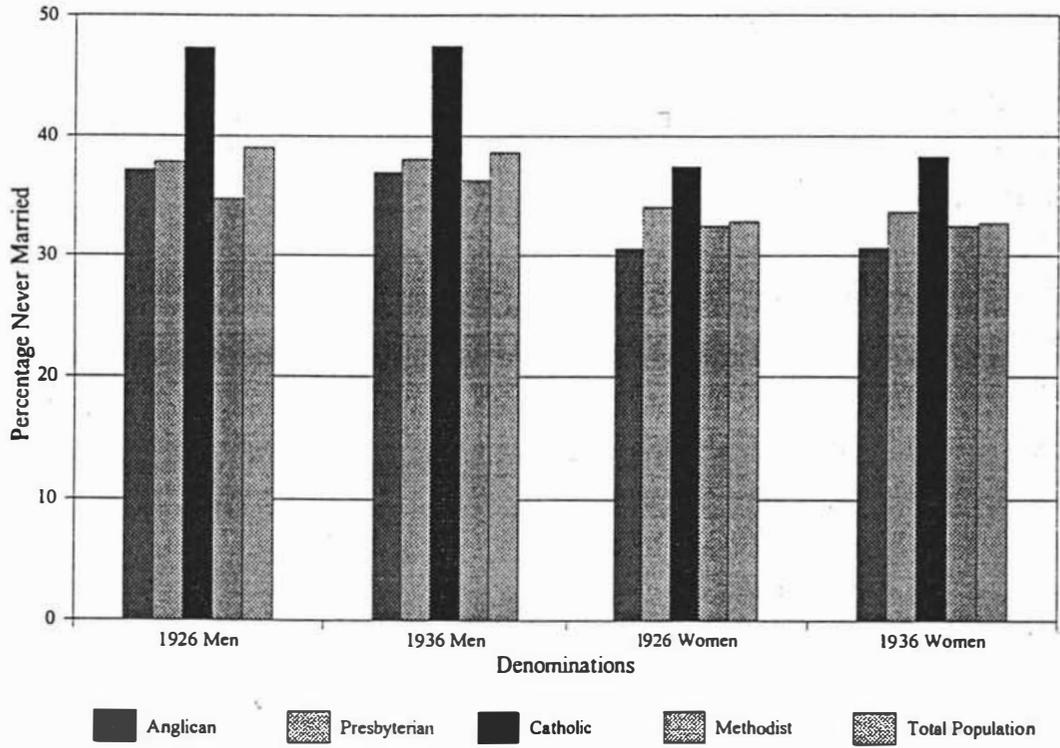
Source: New Zealand Census, 1936, vol. IV, p. 33 and vol. VI, pp. 24-25.

Graph 1.4 shows that a relatively high proportion of Catholics, especially men, never married.<sup>114</sup> In 1926, 32.83 per cent of New Zealand women aged sixteen or over had not married and in 1936, the proportion was 32.71 per cent. The comparable percentages for Catholic women were 37.48 and 38.29, while the other major denominations were close to the average. In all the main denominations, there were

<sup>113</sup> This procedure was first developed by John Hajnal in "Age at Marriage and Proportions Marrying", *Population Studies*, 7 (1953) 111-136, and is also explained in Colin Newell, *Methods and Models in Demography* (London, Belhaven Press, 1988), pp. 97-101.

<sup>114</sup> The statistics used to make the graph, some of which are cited here, are recorded in Table 8.6.

Graph 1.4  
Proportions of Adults Never Married, 1926 and 1936



higher proportions of men who had never married than of unmarried women and the variations among the different denominations were greater than in the case of women. Within the Catholic population, however, the proportion of men aged sixteen and over who had never married (47.29 per cent in 1926 and 47.44 per cent in 1936) was markedly greater than in any of the three large Protestant denominations or in the overall population (39.07 per cent in 1926 and 38.66 per cent in 1936). Since these statistics include thousands of young people who were too young to have married at the time of the census but who did marry some time later, it is useful to concentrate only on the older age cohorts, which can be done on the basis of statistics published from the 1936 census and recorded in Table 8.5. Among persons in their twenties, the proportions of unmarried Catholics were somewhat higher than for the population as a whole, indicating that Catholics married, on average, at a slightly later age than did the members of the other large denominations. In the older age-cohorts, the differences between the proportions of unmarried Catholics and unmarried Protestants increased but reached quite stable levels among people in their forties. While about one seventh of women in the overall population did not marry, a somewhat larger proportion of Catholic women, about one fifth, did not marry. The difference was much greater among men: whereas about one seventh of New Zealand men did not marry, nearly a quarter of Catholic men did not.

Several explanations can be offered for the relatively high levels of singleness among Catholics and their variation from the norm should not be exaggerated. In 1926, there were 2,684 more unmarried Catholic women than would be expected if the Catholic population had conformed to the national pattern; in 1936, there were 3,855 more than might have been expected.<sup>115</sup> There were some 1,463 nuns in New Zealand in 1926 and in 1936 there were about 1,718.<sup>116</sup> Approximately 55 per cent of the "extra" unmarried Catholic women in 1926 were nuns and in 1936, about 45 per cent were nuns. Apart from the sisterhood, which was a specifically Catholic lifestyle, there were not large numbers of unmarried Catholic women by contemporary

<sup>115</sup> These figures are calculated by multiplying the average percentages for the country (32.83 in 1926 and 32.71 in 1936) by the total number of Catholic women aged sixteen and over (57,785 and 69,079) and subtracting the results (18,971 and 22,596) from the number of Catholic single women (21,655 and 26,451). The numbers of Catholic women aged sixteen years and over are derived from NZ Census, 1926, vol. VIII, pp. 30-31 and 1936, vol. VI, pp. 22-23.

<sup>116</sup> ACD, 1927, p. 277; 1937, p. 443. The *Directory* published figures collected during the year before publication, but not, of course, on census day.

standards. Moreover, from the late 1880s until the 1940s, there was an increasing tendency for women in the population as a whole not to marry and Catholic women evidently conformed to this pattern.<sup>117</sup> The high proportion of Catholic men who never married cannot be explained by reference to the celibate priesthood or the religious life. There were 4,655 more unmarried Catholic men in 1926 than would be anticipated by the national average and 5,928 more in 1936.<sup>118</sup> Subtracting the small numbers of priests and brothers (whose combined total was approximately 359 in 1926 and 480 in 1936) would make little difference to these figures.<sup>119</sup> Unlike Catholic women, religious motivations do not appear to have played a statistically significant role in discouraging Catholic men from marrying. In New Zealand society as a whole, there was a high but declining proportion of unmarried men.<sup>120</sup> Since the proportions of unmarried Catholic men actually rose fractionally from 1926 to 1936, rather than declining, it would seem that they perpetuated the colonial pattern of male celibacy longer than did the rest of the population. The gradual balancing of the sex ratios already noted would have reduced the difficulty of finding a partner, so the principle reason for not marrying was evidently economic, or, more precisely, an established Irish response to economic conditions. A high rate of male singleness was characteristic not only of contemporary Irish society, but also of the Irish<sup>in</sup> the United States. In Ireland, nearly one third of men born at the turn of the century did not marry, a comparable but higher level of celibacy than among New Zealand Catholics.<sup>121</sup> The relatively low rate of marriage among Catholic men suggests that a significant number were not prepared to accept the financial responsibilities of a family, especially during the Depression.<sup>122</sup>

<sup>117</sup> E. Olssen and A. Lévesque, "Towards a History of the European Family in New Zealand", in Peggy E. Koopman-Boyden (editor), *Families in New Zealand Society* (Wellington: Methuen, 1978), p. 2.

<sup>118</sup> These figures are derived by multiplying the average percentages for the country (39.07 in 1926 and 38.66 in 1936) by the total number of Catholic men aged sixteen and over (56,627 and 67,545) and subtracting the results (22,124 and 26,113) from the number of Catholic single men (26,779 and 32,041). The numbers of Catholic men aged sixteen years and over are derived from NZ Census, 1926, vol. VIII, pp. 28-29 and 1936, vol. VI, pp. 20-21.

<sup>119</sup> ACD, 1927, p. 277; 1937, p. 443.

<sup>120</sup> Olssen and Lévesque, p. 2.

<sup>121</sup> D. Fitzpatrick and B.M. Walsh in A. Cosgrove (editor), *Marriage in Ireland* (Dublin: College Press, 1985), pp. 116-120, 133, 138; cf. *Month*, 15 November 1922, p. 21 for a contemporary comment on the low rate of marriage among Irish immigrants.

<sup>122</sup> Fear of the economic responsibilities of a family may have been heightened by rejection of birth control as immoral (cf. Cosgrove, p. 149, note 8), while some men may have been discouraged from marriage by over-protective mothers (cf. Akenson, *Half the World*, p. 116).

Further evidence of low socio-economic status among Catholics is provided by their high rates of institutionalization. Catholics were markedly over-represented in charitable and medical institutions by comparison with their proportions in the overall population.<sup>123</sup> In 1921, they accounted for 22.44 per cent of male inmates in orphanages, benevolent institutions and hospitals and 27.70 per cent of females. The male population of mental hospitals in 1936 was 18.51 per cent Catholic, while the female population was 16.33 per cent Catholic. In the same year, 30.87 per cent of male inmates in other hospitals and benevolent institutions were Catholics and 40.91 per cent of female inmates were Catholics. Since benevolent institutions run by the Catholic Church also served the wider community, it seems likely that some non-Catholic inmates may have become Catholics (or simply considered themselves to be Catholics) as a result of their stay in a Catholic institution. This was evidently the case in Salvation Army institutions, since that denomination was also over-represented among dependants. In 1921, 4.40 per cent of males in orphanages or benevolent institutions were counted as Salvationists, as were 5.45 per cent of females.<sup>124</sup> Fifteen years later, 5.60 per cent of the males and 5.65 per cent of females in hospitals or benevolent institutions were reckoned as belonging to the Salvation Army.<sup>125</sup> Comparison with Table 8.1 indicates that these percentages were much higher than the small proportion of Salvationists (less than one per cent) in the overall population. Even assuming that the census statistics exaggerate somewhat the levels of institutionalization among Catholics, however, it is clear that there were disproportionate numbers of Catholics who were impoverished or debilitated through alcoholism, injury and ill-health, perhaps due to sub-standard accommodation or inadequate nourishment.

Although the Catholic demographic profile was distinctive in several respects, it seldom diverged markedly from the other major denominations or society as a whole. The sex ratios of the Catholic community were only slightly lower than for the total population and much closer to the norm than comparable figures for Methodists. Catholics had a more youthful age profile than did the other three large denominations:

<sup>123</sup> For the following statistics, see Tables 8.14 and 8.15; the overall denominational populations are given in Table 8.1.

<sup>124</sup> NZ Census, part VII, pp. 40, 42.

<sup>125</sup> NZ Census, 1936, vol. VI, pp. 27, 29.

they had higher birth rates and also higher mortality rates. While Catholics married at about the same age as the rest of the population, relatively high proportions, especially of Catholic men, did not marry at all. The indications of higher mortality and non-marriage, as well as the over-representation of Catholics in hospitals and benevolent institutions, suggest that Catholics, or rather a significant proportion of them, occupied a lower socio-economic level than did the overall population.

### Employment Patterns

Indications that Catholics were over-represented among the lower socio-economic groups can also be found in contemporary observations. In their advocacy of financial concessions for the Church's schools, Catholics often emphasized the limited means of the community they represented. As a member of an inter-church delegation to the Municipal Association Conference in 1921, Father John O'Connell, President of the Catholic Federation, pleaded that the imposition of rates on denominational schools would "inflict an injustice on the poor Catholic working people".<sup>126</sup> Opening a new school in Seatoun, O'Shea observed that, "The Catholics of New Zealand...were not overblessed with a surplus of this world's goods, and whatever they possessed had been earned by hard work."<sup>127</sup> According to Mary Goulter, Catholics had traditionally been "a poor and struggling community" and D. McLaughlin, Treasurer of the National Union of Unemployed, could write that, "The Catholic Church is famous because of the large number of poor members."<sup>128</sup>

To examine socio-economic status in more detail, it is necessary to consider the employment patterns of Catholics. Ideally, such a discussion would consider their levels of education and training, their precise occupations and responsibilities as well as their incomes. While there is no comprehensive record of such information, the interwar census reports do list the industries in which members of all the larger denominations worked. Comparing the occupations of Catholics with those of the population as a whole, Akenson (who identifies Catholics in general with Irish Catholics) says that "the dead-centre normality of Irish Catholics is striking."<sup>129</sup> This

<sup>126</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 13 October 1921, p. 21; cf. 20 March 1919, p. 43 for a similar remark by the same speaker.

<sup>127</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 15 March 1923, p. 17.

<sup>128</sup> *Month*, 17 August 1926, p. 37; *NZ Tablet*, 28 February 1934, p. 21.

<sup>129</sup> Akenson, *Half the World from Home*, p. 76. This part of Akenson's book is taken almost verbatim from his earlier work, *Small Differences: Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants, 1815-1922, an International Perspective* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988), p. 58 and also reproduced in "Immigration and Ethnicity in New Zealand and the U.S.A. - the Irish Example", in Jock Phillips (editor), *New Worlds? The Comparative History of New Zealand and the*

conclusion is based simply on the proportions of Catholics in each of eight extremely broad occupational categories compared with the corresponding proportions for the total population as set out in the "General Report" on the 1921 census.<sup>130</sup> Since each of these categories includes a range of occupational statuses and forms of employment, such a blanket comparison is almost meaningless. A much more accurate indication of the employment patterns of Catholics in the interwar years can be derived from the extensive tables in other census reports and reproduced, with comments on their interpretation, in the appendix to this thesis.<sup>131</sup>

In the following discussion, both occupational status and the main areas of employment within each of seven broad categories will be considered.<sup>132</sup> The principle issues to be considered are whether Catholics were under or over-represented in any given area of employment, by comparison with their representation in the workforce as a whole or within a category of employment, and in what capacity they were engaged, for example as employers or employees. It will be argued that Catholic employment patterns, as revealed in the censuses, were consistent with claims that the Catholic community was over-represented among the lower socio-economic groups. Men and women will be discussed separately and each of the occupational categories will be considered in turn, namely the primary sector, industrial occupations (manufacturing and construction), transport and communication, commerce and finance, professional employment, domestic occupations and "other groups". In 1921, the proportion of Catholic men in the paid workforce was 12.89 and in 1936 it was 12.36. Catholic women made up 15.90 per cent of the paid workforce in 1921 and 15.35 per cent in 1936 - but these figures would be reduced to 14.88 and 14.29 if nuns were excluded. In 1926, Catholic men constituted almost 12 per cent of the male workforce, while women made up about 15 per cent.<sup>133</sup>

Catholic men were considerably under-represented among employers (9.77 per cent and 9.17 per cent) in 1921 and 1926. They were also somewhat under-

*(Footnote continued from previous page.)*

*United States*, (Wellington: NZ-US Education Foundation, Stout Research Centre, 1989), pp. 45-46.

<sup>130</sup> NZ Census, 1921, "General Report", p. 130.

<sup>131</sup> In the following discussion, figures from these tables will normally be cited without further reference.

<sup>132</sup> One of Akenson's categories, dependants, is not relevant to this discussion.

<sup>133</sup> For the derivation of these figures, see the appendix and Table 8.7

represented among the self-employed in 1921 (11.74 per cent) but rather less so in 1926 (11.54 per cent). At the same time, Catholic men were notably over-represented among relatives assisting without payment in 1921 (14.07 per cent) and more so in 1926 (15.20 per cent). They were quite markedly over-represented among the unemployed in both years (15.82 and 14.63 per cent). While they were proportionately less over-represented among employees receiving wages or salaries (13.57 and 12.38 per cent), it must be noted that this category was many times larger than any of the others, so even a small proportional deviation involved a very large number of individuals.

Catholic men, according to these statistics, were under-represented among the higher-status (and more remunerative) occupational categories and over-represented in the lower-status categories. To some extent, this pattern must have been influenced by the younger age profile of Catholics, a disproportionate number of whom were not yet old enough to have their own businesses. Under-representation among employers and the self-employed, however, is a rather crude measure of career success, since it takes no account of those who were promoted within large public or private concerns. It will be seen below that Catholics were under-represented in commerce and, along with their more limited financial resources, this rendered them more likely to be employees rather than employers or self-employed.

Among the primary industries in 1921, Catholics made up 12.77 per cent of the male workforce - only marginally less than their share of the overall male workforce. Catholics were notably under-represented among primary sector employers (10.28 per cent) but only slightly under-represented among the self-employed (12.14 per cent). They made up a disproportionately large share of relatives assisting without payment (14.14 per cent) and were also over-represented among wage and salary earners (13.85 per cent). Although Catholic men were just about as likely to work in primary occupations as were other men, Akenson's equation of primary producers with farmers and his assertion that the "typicality" of Catholics was "striking" are quite unjustified.<sup>134</sup> While they tended to be self-employed rather than employers of others, Catholic men were evidently more likely than non-Catholics to be employed on someone else's farm or in someone else's mine.

It is therefore not surprising to find that they were over-represented in primary occupations which employed unskilled or semi-skilled labour. Catholics accounted for

<sup>134</sup> Akenson, *Half the World*, p. 77.

15.92 per cent of fishermen in 1921 and 19.76 per cent in 1936.<sup>135</sup> They were markedly over-represented among bush sawmillers (17.54 per cent in 1921 and 15.97 per cent in 1936). The extremely high proportion of kauri-gum gatherers who were Catholics (463 or 45.13 per cent out of 1,026 in 1921) reflects the large number of Dalmatians in this occupation. In 1921, a very high proportion of bushfellers and scrub cutters (21.54 per cent) were Catholics and among male workers in government nurseries and plantations in 1936, 18.91 per cent were Catholics.

There was a consistent pattern of Catholic over-representation among gold-miners in 1921 and 1936 (18.91 per cent and 18.55 per cent for quartz; 21.91 per cent and 19.04 per cent for alluvial gold). Similarly there was a high proportion (18.66 per cent) of Catholics extracting road-metal, gravel and sand in 1921. Catholic men were not over-represented among coal-miners (12.32 per cent in 1921 and 11.46 per cent in 1936), but their under-representation was not significant. Although coal-mines on the West Coast no doubt employed a large proportion of Catholics, the Coast's population was itself small and the coal-mines of Westland employed only a very small proportion of the country's miners (2.20 per cent in 1921 and 4.55 per cent in 1936).<sup>136</sup> Moreover, coal-mining drew immigrants from parts of the United Kingdom where there were comparatively few Catholics.

A similar explanation may account in part for the under-representation of Catholics among sheep farmers (10.89 per cent in 1921 and 10.66 per cent in 1936). Catholics were not necessarily under-represented among workers on sheep farms but they were undoubtedly under-represented among the owners, given their under-representation among primary sector employers. By contrast, Catholics were notably over-represented in agricultural farming (14.97 per cent in 1921 and 14.01 per cent in 1936, no doubt because this occupation offered work to large numbers of low-skilled employees.<sup>137</sup> Catholic men were slightly under-represented among dairy farmers (12.16 per cent in 1921 and 11.57 per cent in 1936). Among the occupational categories used in the interwar census reports, dairy farming included the largest number of men: 51,229 in 1921 and 71,480 in 1936, of whom 6,228 and 8,270 were

<sup>135</sup> A number of Italian Catholics living in Island Bay were engaged in fishing as indicated in the discussion of Catholic ethnic groups at the beginning of this chapter.

<sup>136</sup> In 1921, there were only 105 Westland men employed in coal-mining out of a national total of 4,780 (NZ Census, 1921, part VIII, p. 24). The comparable figures for 1936 were 239 and 5,255 (NZ Census, 1936, vol. X, p. 23).

<sup>137</sup> The 1921 and 1936 figures in this category were probably compiled differently, as noted in the appendix.

Catholics. If Catholic men had been represented among dairy farmers in the same proportions as they were in the total male workforce, there would have been 6,603 of them in 1921 and 8,835 in 1936: an under-representation of only 375 and 565.<sup>138</sup> Among mixed farmers, too, Catholics were quite close to the proportion of Catholic men in the total male workforce (13.46 per cent in 1921 and 11.23 per cent in 1936). Dairy and mixed farms were relatively small and often economically marginal family businesses: when Catholics did own their own farms, it must often have been farms of this kind. Indeed, this is precisely the milieu described in Dan Davin's short stories and novels set in rural Southland.<sup>139</sup> By 1930, the growth of dairying in the Auckland province led to an urgent need for Catholic schools in Matamata, Te Aroha and Morrinsville.<sup>140</sup> In other types of small-scale farming and horticulture, Catholics were markedly under-represented. They accounted for only 5.84 per cent of orchardists in 1921 and 9.42 per cent of fruit and nut growers in 1936. Only 5.16 per cent of market gardeners were Catholics in 1921, a proportion which rose somewhat to 8.86 per cent in 1936.

Of all the men in industrial occupations (that is, manufacturing and construction) in 1921, 12.07 per cent were Catholics, somewhat less than the Catholic proportion of the male workforce. The proportion of Catholic industrial employers was quite low (8.09 per cent) and the proportion of Catholic men who were self-employed was not much greater (10.45 per cent). Conversely, Catholic men were over-represented among wage and salary earners (12.62 per cent), given their proportion in industrial occupations.

There were relatively low proportions of Catholics in industrial categories where high levels of technical skill were required. Only 9.58 per cent of those employed in founding and engineering in 1921 were Catholics and in 1936 only 9.71 per cent were Catholics. Among motor engineers, 9.42 per cent were Catholics in 1921 and 8.34 per cent in 1936. Joinery works employed a small proportion of Catholics (6.25 per cent in 1921 and 7.14 in 1936) and Catholics were also somewhat under-represented among cabinet-makers (10.17 per cent and 10.16 per cent). In 1921, few Catholics were employed in the manufacture of horse-drawn vehicles (9.61 per cent) or motor cars

<sup>138</sup> These figures were calculated by multiplying the total number of men by the percentage of Catholics in the workforce.

<sup>139</sup> See especially "The Vigil", "Milk Round" and "Growing Up" in Dan Davin, *The Gorse Blooms Pale* (London: Nicholson & Watson, 1947).

<sup>140</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 28 May 1930, p. 47.

(9.42 per cent) but as assembly-line production of cars expanded, creating new, unskilled jobs, the proportion of Catholics increased (to 11.74 per cent in 1936). Catholic men were also under-represented in butter and cheese production (7.96 per cent in 1921, increasing to 9.91 per cent in 1936 as dairy factories increased in size and became more mechanized) and in bread making (10.53 per cent and 10.05 per cent). They were somewhat under-represented in printing and publication (10.64 per cent in 1921 and 11.29 per cent in 1936) and in job and general printing (10.66 and 10.11 per cent), presumably because these occupations employed a large proportion of skilled men. Catholics were not under-represented among blacksmiths (13.99 per cent in 1921 and 12.67 per cent in 1936), but, unlike the other skilled industries just mentioned, blacksmithing was a rural occupation which could be learnt without a formal apprenticeship and which would have been widely practised among Irish immigrants and their immediate descendants. Catholics were over-represented in grain-threshing (17.77 per cent in 1921, declining to 15.42 per cent in 1936), which was a labour-intensive, unskilled occupation. They were also somewhat over-represented among freezing workers and others involved in food preserving (14.64 per cent and 13.28 per cent).

Drink production required large numbers of unskilled workers and 17.97 per cent of men employed in breweries in 1921 were Catholics, while 15.47 per cent of those involved in manufacturing cordials and aerated waters were Catholics. No comparable figures were published for 1936 but the overall proportion of Catholic men employed in drink production in 1921 was 17.33 per cent, declining to 16.18 per cent in 1926 and to 14.81 per cent in 1936. Protestants were more likely than Catholics to consider alcohol production an uncongenial form of employment.<sup>141</sup>

The same pattern of Catholic under-representation among skilled tradesmen and over-representation among the unskilled prevailed in the building and construction industries. In 1921, only 9.88 per cent of painters, paperhangers and glazers were Catholics and in 1936 only 10.08 per cent. The under-representation of Catholic men in carpentry, building and construction (9.60 per cent in 1921 and 9.35 per cent in 1936) presumably reflects the high levels of skill involved in such work.<sup>142</sup> Higher

<sup>141</sup> See the discussions of leisure in chapter four and of Prohibition in chapter five.

<sup>142</sup> According to the published statistics, the number of general carpenters in 1936 was 7,061 fewer than in 1921 while, at the same time, the number of men engaged in building and construction increased by 8,840. Evidently, the two categories were not distinguished in a consistent manner and it is necessary to combine them in order to obtain comparable figures for the two census years.

proportions of Catholics were found among bricklayers (11.35 per cent in 1921) and plumbers, gasfitters and drainlayers (11.20 per cent in 1921 and 10.28 per cent in 1936), no doubt because these trades, especially the latter, included more unskilled workers. The over-representation of Catholic men in the predominantly unskilled work of road, railway and earthwork construction was particularly high. In 1921, 23.82 per cent of those involved in roading were Catholics and in 1936 Catholics accounted for 18.62 per cent.<sup>143</sup> Among land drainage and irrigation workers, 26.40 per cent were Catholics in 1921 and 22.34 per cent in 1936.<sup>144</sup>

In 1921, Catholic men were notably over-represented in transport and communication (15.67 per cent). They were markedly under-represented among employers in this occupational category (10.26 per cent) and somewhat under-represented among the self-employed (12.79 per cent). The great majority of Catholics involved in transport and communication (7,431) were wage and salary earners, making up 16.00 per cent of the male workforce in this area.

Many of these men worked for the government, particularly in the railway and postal services, which explains why so many of them were employees. In 1921, when the census enumerator included employees of the Post Office Savings Bank in the number of postal service workers, Catholic men were not as over-represented (14.46 per cent) as they were in the 1936 figures (15.37 per cent) which excluded employees of the Post Office Savings Bank. Since the categories in these two years are not the same, the percentages cannot be taken as certain evidence of an increase in the proportion of Catholics working in the postal service. There is better evidence for an increase in the already high proportion of Catholics working in the telegraph and telephone service. The 1921 census counted 3,872 men working in the telegraph and telephone service (of whom 599 or 15.47 per cent were Catholics) as well as 1,682 "undefined" postal, telegraph or telephone officers (including 237 or 14.10 per cent Catholics). In 1936, there were 4,600 men in the telegraph, cable and telephone service (of whom 756 or 16.43 per cent were Catholics) and only 905 working in postal and telegraph services "not otherwise designated" - of whom an indeterminable proportion were Catholics.<sup>145</sup> There was a marked but declining over-representation of

<sup>143</sup> The 1936 total (11,480, of whom 2,138 were Catholics) is much higher than the 1921 figure (4,949, including 1,179 Catholics) and no doubt includes a substantial number of relief workers.

<sup>144</sup> The increase from 875 workers (including 231 Catholics) in 1921 to 1,719 (including 384 Catholics) in 1936 evidently reflects the growth of government work schemes.

<sup>145</sup> NZ Census, 1936, vol. X, p. 9. Since the "undefined" category was much smaller in 1936, it seems likely that it was partially absorbed into the more specific postal and telegraph categories, thus reducing the comparability of the 1921 and 1936 figures. However, even though the proportion of Catholics in the "undefined" figure for 1921 was lower than in either the postal or telegraph figures

Catholic men in the railway service (17.88 per cent in 1921 and 16.07 per cent in 1936). The railways offered work to large numbers of unskilled men and it seems quite possible that the high proportion of Catholics in the interwar period was made up of descendants of the assisted Irish immigrants brought to New Zealand for public works in the 1870s.

Among those engaged in the "loading and discharging of vessels", there was a very considerable over-representation of Catholics in 1921 (18.62 per cent) but this had declined by 1936 (16.51 per cent).<sup>146</sup> There was also an over-representation of Catholic men in the shipping service (14.97 per cent in 1921 and 14.79 per cent in 1936). An over-representation of Catholic men engaged by harbour boards in 1921 (14.27 per cent) was reduced to an under-representation by 1936 (11.23 per cent), perhaps because the considerable reduction in personnel (from 2,404 to 1,264) had most impact on unskilled employees.<sup>147</sup> In the tramway service - also largely controlled by local bodies - there was no over-representation of Catholic men comparable to the large proportion of Catholics in the government-controlled railways. This was a much smaller occupational category, requiring proportionately fewer unskilled personnel, but the percentage of Catholics (12.40 in 1921 and 11.24 in 1936) showed some decline, perhaps again a reflection of economic conditions having a greater impact on the unskilled.<sup>148</sup> The over-representation of Catholics engaged in carrying and cartage (15.29 per cent in 1921) was reduced to approximately the same proportion (12.34 per cent) as Catholic men in the overall workforce by 1936, presumably because the replacement of horses and carts with trucks required a greater capital investment. In 1936, there was a high proportion of Catholic men employed in

*(Footnote continued from previous page.)*

for that year, its absorption into those categories in 1936 (if it occurred) did not prevent the proportion of Catholics counted as working in postal and telegraph services from increasing.

<sup>146</sup> Of the 5,447 men in this group in 1921, 4,965 were designated as watersiders (NZ Census, 1921, part VIII, p. 71).

<sup>147</sup> The occupations of harbour board employees included a high proportion of unskilled jobs (NZ Census, 1921, part VIII, p. 72).

<sup>148</sup> The proportions of Catholic men employed in gasworks - another local body concern - (12.25 per cent in 1921 and 13.80 per cent in 1936) was close to the proportion of Catholics in the male workforce, although showing some increase between the censuses. A smaller and remarkably consistent proportion of Catholics was to be found among the increasing numbers of men engaged in electricity generation and supply: 11.08 per cent in 1921 and 11.07 in 1936.

taxi services (15.60 per cent) but an under-representation in the skilled work of motor-garages (10.42 per cent).<sup>149</sup>

Catholic men were markedly under-represented in commercial and financial occupations at 9.82 per cent in 1921. They were considerably under-represented among commercial employers (6.82 per cent) but not among the self-employed (10.61 per cent). Given the under-representation of Catholic men in commerce - a relatively large number of them (709) operated their own small businesses without employing assistants and a rather smaller number (511) owned more substantial enterprises. At the same time, Catholic men were over-represented among wage and salary earners (10.20 per cent) working in commerce.

There were comparatively low proportions of Catholic men involved in occupations dealing with finance. Only 8.15 per cent of men described as capitalists or proprietors of houses and land in 1921 were Catholics. A low proportion of men employed in banking were Catholics (9.13 per cent in 1921 and 7.84 per cent in 1936 - though the figures are not quite comparable because the former includes, while the latter excludes, employees of the Post Office Savings Bank.<sup>150</sup> Catholic men were also under-represented in insurance (10.00 per cent in 1921 and 9.94 per cent of "all classes" of insurance in 1936) and as stock and station agents (9.82 per cent in 1936).

The proportion of Catholic men involved in selling goods also tended to be quite low. Among the large number (4,466) of "manufacturer's agents, merchants, indent agents, or importers" in 1936, only 8.78 per cent were Catholics. Even in small businesses requiring one's own capital investment, such as the sale of hardware and machinery (8.37 per cent and 8.05 per cent), and of textiles and clothing (9.73 per cent and 10.44 per cent), Catholics were under-represented.

In two kinds of commercial enterprise, Catholics were still under-represented in comparison with the total workforce, but not with respect to commercial activities as such. Among the more widespread and less capital intensive small shops, the under-representation of Catholics was less extreme. Catholics accounted for 10.51 per cent of those involved in selling groceries and provisions in 1921 and 11.50 per cent in 1936 while 11.52 per cent of butchers in 1921 and 11.49 per cent in 1936 were

<sup>149</sup> The 1921 census report combined these two occupations, giving an aggregate proportion of 11.37 per cent, little different from the 1936 aggregate of 11.66 per cent - a typical case of the way in which the consolidation of employment categories conceals significant differences between skilled and unskilled occupations.

<sup>150</sup> See "banking" and "postal" in Table 8.14.

Catholics. Secondly, commercial activities involving significant numbers of workers with limited skills or training also attracted comparatively more Catholics, such as the sale of horses and livestock (10.29 per cent in 1921), of coal and firewood (12.45 per cent in 1921 and 10.51 per cent in 1936) and of timber (11.70 per cent and 10.83 per cent). Similarly, Catholic men were less under-represented in department and general stores (10.04 per cent in 1921 and 11.06 per cent in 1936) and most of the Catholics working in such enterprises were presumably waged employees.<sup>151</sup>

Catholics were slightly over-represented among professional men in 1921, accounting for 13.13 per cent of them. These professional Catholics, however, were notably under-represented among employers of others (8.89 per cent) and the self-employed (9.15 per cent) and were correspondingly over-represented in the very much larger category of wage and salary earners (13.55 per cent). Of the 289 men to whom these occupational status categories did not apply, 132 or 45.67 per cent were Catholics - a proportion evidently swelled by the inclusion of lay brothers.<sup>152</sup> The high proportions of Catholic "professional" men among employees and the low proportions among employers reflect the tendency of these men to work for the government rather than the private sector.

At first sight the relatively high proportion of Catholic professional men may appear to conflict with the impression built up so far of a comparatively unskilled Catholic workforce. If, following the proportion of Catholics in the total male workforce, 12.89 per cent of the 29,803 "professionals" in 1921 were Catholics, however, there would be 3,842 of them: a mere 70 fewer Catholic men than there were in fact (3,912). The "professional" category, moreover, included not only clerks and several occupations which could be entered with a minimum of formal qualifications (such as the police force and the army) but also labourers and other unskilled persons who worked in such industries as government and health.<sup>153</sup> At 14.12 per cent in 1921 and 13.72 per cent in 1936, Catholics were over-represented among "general

<sup>151</sup> The number of men employed in these stores declined from 7,122 (715 Catholics) in 1921 to 2,766 (306 Catholics) in 1936, perhaps reflecting economic conditions or a change in the method of calculating this category - the number of manufacturers' agents etc. increased by a comparable number.

<sup>152</sup> There were over 60 brothers in New Zealand in 1921, most of them school teachers (but effectively unpaid) and therefore classified as professional (*ACD*, 1922, p. 253).

<sup>153</sup> It should be recalled the statistics on religion and employment record the industries in which people worked rather than their actual occupations. For breakdowns of the total "professional" category according to the personal occupations of those associated with it, see *NZ Census*, 1921, part VIII, pp. 90-98 and 1936, vol. X, pp. 48-49, 57-58.

government administrative officers and others not elsewhere included". Among the 3,365 men thus classified in 1921, there were 1,305 clerks, 335 labourers, 130 messengers, 45 night watchmen and 45 storemen.<sup>154</sup> In 1921, there was a considerable over-representation of Catholics among "local government administrative officers and others" (16.84 per cent) but this declined (to 12.86 per cent) in 1936. The total figure for all religious groups in 1921 (4,269) included 1,901 labourers - the latter no doubt including a high proportion of Catholics.<sup>155</sup>

There was a marked over-representation of Catholics in the police force, of which they constituted 30.53 per cent in 1921, falling to 22.06 per cent in 1936. The police force offered an attractive career to respectable and ambitious but unskilled young men from humble origins. Before 1921, the high proportion of Catholics in the force had already declined considerably: an 1898 Royal Commission found that 41.6 per cent of policemen were Catholics. This over-representation was attributed to recruitment from the Royal Irish Constabulary - a practice which seems to have led to an over-representation of Presbyterians as well.<sup>156</sup> Commissioner John Cullen, already mentioned in the discussion of ethnicity, was a member of the Royal Irish Constabulary for six years before coming to New Zealand in 1876.<sup>157</sup> Cullen's successor, John O'Donovan - another Catholic - advertised in the *Tablet* for recruits.<sup>158</sup> After his retirement in 1922, there may have been a policy of reducing the intake of Catholics.<sup>159</sup> In O'Donovan's last year, 34 of the 147 new officers (23 per cent) were Catholics, but the following year, only seven out of 75 new policemen (9 per cent) were Catholics.<sup>160</sup> The actual number of Catholics in the force declined from 290 in 1921 to 276 in 1936, even though the total force increased from 950 to 1,251 men in

<sup>154</sup> There were also 189 cadets, a number of people in small categories and 826 "others" (NZ Census, 1921, part VIII, p. 89). Comparable statistics for 1936 do not appear to be available.

<sup>155</sup> NZ Census, 1921, part VIII, p. 89. Since they include so many labourers, these central and local government figures cannot be used to demonstrate a Catholic penchant for clerical work as J. Watson, "Were Catholics Over-Represented in the Public Service During the Early Twentieth Century?" *Political Science*, 42/2 (December 1990), p. 31 assumed.

<sup>156</sup> "Report and Evidence of the Royal Commission on the Police Force of New Zealand", *AJHR*, H.-2, 1898, p. viii. For further discussion, see Watson, pp. 31-32.

<sup>157</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 8 November 1939, p. 8.

<sup>158</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 27 March 1919, p. 23; 3 April 1919, p. 9; 21 October 1920, p. 35.

<sup>159</sup> See *NZ Tablet*, 18 May 1922, p. 21 and 28 December 1922, p. 43 for O'Donovan's retirement and a trip to "the Old Country".

<sup>160</sup> Annual Police Reports, *AJHR*, 1922, vol. II, H.-16, p. 5; 1923, vol. II, H.-16, p. 6. The proportions in the preceding and subsequent years are consistent with this interpretation.

the same fifteen years. Meanwhile the over-representation of Presbyterians actually increased.<sup>161</sup>

In professional occupations requiring higher education or training, Catholics were notably under-represented. Only 7.99 per cent of civil engineers, surveyors and architects were Catholics in 1921 and Catholics made up only a small proportion of public accountants (5.62 per cent in 1921 and 6.67 per cent in 1936). Again, only 8.06 per cent of male school teachers were Catholics in 1921 and 8.49 per cent in 1936, while a mere 6.96 per cent of technical and other teachers were Catholics in 1921. The medical and dental professions employed few Catholics: 4.83 per cent and 7.53 per cent respectively in 1921 (both figures relate only to private practice). Public hospital staff members were 12.41 per cent Catholic in 1921, but most of those included in this category were not medical personnel.<sup>162</sup> The under-representation of Catholics was less pronounced in the legal profession, although the proportion of Catholics there declined from 11.06 per cent in 1921 to 9.44 per cent in 1936 and by no means all those represented in these percentages were qualified lawyers.<sup>163</sup> That Catholics were less under-represented in law than in other learned professions may owe something to experience in the police force and to Catholic secondary education, which inclined towards the academic rather than the commercial or technical.<sup>164</sup>

Occupations classified as "professional" but employing large numbers of unskilled men attracted a greater share of Catholics. The growing number of picture theatres employed an increasing proportion of Catholics (12.57 per cent in 1921 and 16.67 per cent in 1936). There was also a considerable over-representation of Catholics in horse-racing (22.76 per cent in 1921 and 21.95 per cent in 1936). To an important degree this must be explained in terms of the popularity of horse-racing among the Irish and their descendants in New Zealand - and to disapproval of gambling among many Protestants.<sup>165</sup>

The proportion of Catholic men in occupations classified as domestic in 1921 was 19.76 per cent, a considerable over-representation. A very high proportion of male employers in such work were Catholics (25.83 per cent), although only 14.54 per cent

<sup>161</sup> Watson, p. 30.

<sup>162</sup> Only 87 out of 1,267 were doctors (NZ Census, 1921, part VIII, p. 93).

<sup>163</sup> The figures for accountancy and law are commensurate with those already cited for Catholic involvement in occupations concerned with finance.

<sup>164</sup> See the discussion of Catholic education in chapter three below and Watson, pp. 31-32.

<sup>165</sup> See the discussion of leisure in chapter four.

of the self-employed (a much smaller group than the employers) were Catholics. Conversely, male Catholic domestic workers receiving wages and salaries were slightly under-represented (19.16 per cent) as a proportion of domestic workers. Licensed hoteliers largely account for the over-representation of Catholic men (and of Catholic employers in particular) in domestic occupations. Like horse-racing, maintaining a licensed hotel was a traditional Irish occupation and more likely to meet approval among Catholics than some Protestants. In 1921, 27.64 per cent of the men working in licensed hotels were Catholics and in 1936 the proportion was still 27.49 per cent. The much smaller but related occupation of working in private hotels and boarding houses also had an over-representation of Catholics, albeit a much lesser one (14.67 per cent in 1921).

Most of the men in the 1921 "other groups" category of Table 8.8 and in the almost equivalent "no industry, or industry not specified" category in Table 8.14 were either retired or waged employees.<sup>166</sup> Among the men who failed to indicate the industry to which they belonged,<sup>167</sup> there were very few employers, self-employed men or relatives assisting without wages; indeed the total numbers involved were so low that the proportions of Catholics cannot be regarded as particularly significant.

In 1921, there was a considerable over-representation of Catholic men among those who either did not specify their industry or were not involved in one (18.20 per cent) - an over-representation which is best understood in the light of the high proportion of labourers it included.<sup>168</sup> Catholics were again markedly over-represented among labourers who did not indicate their industry in 1936 (18.40 per cent) and among the typists and clerks who also failed to specify their industry in that year (15.42 per cent). There was also an over-representation of Catholics among the unemployed who did not specify their industry in 1936 (16.23 per cent) - perhaps because they lacked any vocational skills.

<sup>166</sup> Since the great majority of workers in this category were labourers, typists or clerks, it may be assumed that they were wage rather than salary earners.

<sup>167</sup> Occupational status categories such as those used in Table 8.8 would not be applicable to pensioners and while it is conceivable that a few men of independent means were classed as employers, it seems more likely that they too were included under "not applicable". Consequently it seems justified to assume that men counted in other categories had simply failed to indicate their industry on the census form.

<sup>168</sup> Of 10,452 men who failed to indicate their industry, 7,207 were labourers (NZ Census, 1921, part VIII, p. 104).

According to the 1936 census, there were 8,101 men (including 1,204 Catholics) receiving pensions in April of that year.<sup>169</sup> Fewer than half of these men (3,495) were old age pensioners<sup>170</sup> and the census figures for men and women receiving pensions are far below the official numbers.<sup>171</sup> Despite the anomalies in these statistics, it is tempting to suggest that, in view of the high proportions of Catholic men on pensions in the census figures (14.86 per cent of men at a time when Catholic men made up only 10.86 per cent of the population aged sixty-five and older)<sup>172</sup> and the income restrictions which rendered most elderly people ineligible to receive pensions from the state, Catholics were in greater need, especially during their old age. This impression is confirmed by the under-representation of Catholic men among the much larger population (29,066) of men designated simply as "retired" (9.81 per cent or 2,850 individuals).

By comparison with women in the other large denominations and with the female population as a whole, Catholic women were more likely to be in paid employment. Assuming that almost all working women were aged between fifteen and sixty-four years of age, this difference can be demonstrated in several ways, as seen in Table 1.4. Only among Catholics was the proportion of women in the workforce consistently higher (by over two per cent) than the proportion of women in the fifteen to sixty-four age bracket. Another way of comparing the denominations is to express the number of workers in each church as a proportion of the number of women of working age. Whereas 34.27 per cent of eligible Catholic women were working in 1921 and 32.71 per cent in 1936, in the other denominations and in the total population, fewer than 30 per cent of women were in the paid workforce in either year. There are several reasons for this over-representation of Catholics. One possible cause - which would be difficult to demonstrate - is that Catholic women, whose husbands would, on average, earn less than those of other denominations, felt a greater need to supplement the family income. Secondly, as has already been observed, nuns increased the Catholic proportion of the female workforce by about one per cent. A third explanation is

<sup>169</sup> The equivalent figures for 1921 combined men with independent incomes and pensioners into a heterogeneous category of no value for the present discussion.

<sup>170</sup> NZ Census, 1936, vol. X, pp. 51.

<sup>171</sup> The *New Zealand Official Year-Book* for 1937 (p. viii) gives the total number of old age pensions for men and women as 47,743 for October 1936, whereas the 1936 census total for all pensioners is only 13,068. Evidently, most pensioners preferred to regard themselves as retired or still associated with a particular industry.

<sup>172</sup> The latter proportion is calculated from NZ Census, 1936, vol. VI, p. 21.

*Table 1.4*  
**Women and the Workforce**

Year	Anglican	Presbyterian	Catholic	Methodist	All Women
<b>(1) Proportions of the Female Workforce made up by each Denomination</b>					
1921	45,076	26,400	17,525	10,240	110,251
	40.88	23.95	15.90	9.29	100.00
1936	54,189	33,159	21,331	11,796	138,927
	39.01	23.87	15.35	8.49	100.00
<b>(2) Proportions of Women aged 15 to 64 (inclusive)</b>					
1921	161,986	93,595	51,142	36,719	380,095
	42.62	24.62	13.46	9.66	100.00
1936	204,786	123,973	65,213	42,429	499,864
	40.97	24.80	13.05	8.49	100.00
<b>(3) Ratios of Working Women to Working-Age Women (as percentages)</b>					
1921	27.83	28.21	34.27	27.89	29.01
1936	26.46	26.75	32.71	27.80	27.79
<b>(4) Unmarried Women aged 15 to 64 (inclusive)</b>					
1936	70,775	46,603	27,563	15,697	183,827
	38.50	25.35	14.99	8.54	100.00

This table affords a comparison of the proportion of the female workforce made up by the main denominations with each denomination's share of the female population of working age and of the population of unmarried women. The second line in each section of the table (except section 3) represents the percentage of women in the given denomination as a proportion of the total number of women (from the right-hand column). Sources: (1) New Zealand Census, 1921, part VII, p. 42; 1936, vol. VI, p. 29. (2) Census, 1921, part VII, p. 34; 1936, vol. VI, pp. 22-23. (3) Calculated from (1) and (2). (4) Census, 1936, vol. VI, p. 25 and vol. IV, p. 33. Since the conjugal status tables include only women aged sixteen years and over, the numbers of fifteen year olds have been added to the figures in section (4) from the sources used for section (2) on the assumption that no fifteen year olds had married.

offered by the relatively high proportion of unmarried Catholic women in New Zealand. As Table 1.4 shows, the proportions of unmarried women aged from fifteen to sixty-four and the proportions of working women in each denomination are very close.

The overall occupational status pattern for Catholic women was rather different from and less stable than that of men. Catholic women were somewhat over-represented among employers (16.13 in 1921 and 15.75 per cent in 1926) and, in 1921, among the self-employed (16.16 per cent). By 1926, this had declined into a slight under-representation (14.32 per cent). Meanwhile the proportion of women who assisted relatives without remuneration (15.40 in 1921) had apparently increased

(18.12 in 1926).<sup>173</sup> In 1921, Catholic women were represented among wage and salary earners in proportion to their share of the female workforce (14.81 per cent)<sup>174</sup> but they were under-represented in 1926 (13.88 per cent). There was a slight over-representation of Catholics among unemployed women, but the number of individuals involved was too small for this to be significant. Catholic women in the paid workforce showed greater occupational independence than did Catholic men, that is, they were more likely to be employers or self-employed, but this was less so in 1926 than in 1921. Perhaps Catholic women who had managed small farms or hotels in wartime only gradually relinquished them during the early 1920s.

In 1921, Catholic women were somewhat under-represented in the primary sector (13.87 per cent), although the number of women involved (9,200 of whom 1,276 were Catholics) was not large.<sup>175</sup> Almost all of these Catholic women (1,262) were engaged in farming (especially dairy-farming) and a disproportionate number of them were self-employed (16.82 per cent) or employers of others (15.02 per cent), perhaps because their husbands had died or deserted them. Conversely, the proportions of Catholic women among relatives assisting without pay (13.30 per cent) and among wage earners (12.92 per cent) were slightly under their proportions in primary employment generally.

The proportion of Catholic women (14.22 per cent) engaged in the various manufacturing and construction industries was rather less than their proportion in the workforce in 1921, but not much lower than the proportion of women in the paid workforce when nuns are excluded. Like the women of other denominations, Catholics were predominantly waged employees, making up a proportion (14.13 per cent) consistent with their representation in the industrial workforce. Most of these women were no doubt unskilled factory workers and some clerical staff. Among the self-employed, Catholics made up a somewhat higher proportion (14.91 per cent), while there were too few women in the other grades of employment to make their relative proportions significant.

In most forms of manufacturing, consistent with their overall under-representation in industry in 1921, Catholic women were under-represented in all three interwar

<sup>173</sup> Since the actual numbers of unpaid relatives assisting in all denominations recorded for 1926 are much lower than for 1921, the basis of calculating the figures had evidently changed.

<sup>174</sup> This figure lies between the two alternative figures given in Table 8.7.

<sup>175</sup> It may be inferred that the relatively high proportion of Catholic women in the overall workforce was concentrated in urban employment. In 1921, Catholic men were only very slightly under-represented in primary employment overall (12.77 per cent).

censuses but the numbers of individuals involved would not justify detailed discussion. There was, however, a relative over-representation of Catholic women in 1921 associated with tailoring (17.20 per cent), clothing (16.15 per cent) and dressmaking (15.33 per cent)<sup>176</sup> but these proportions had declined by 1936 (to 15.77 per cent, 14.14 per cent and 13.77 per cent respectively). Many of these women would have worked at home and the decline may be attributable to increasing competition from clothing factories. At the same time, there was some increase in the proportion of Catholics working in woollen-mills (10.37 per cent to 11.34 per cent) and in footwear manufacturing (10.59 per cent to 12.05 per cent) - both of which were growing industries.

Catholic women were over-represented in transport and communication (21.05 per cent) but with only 2,670 members (including 562 Catholics), this was by far the smallest occupational category in 1921. The great majority of these women (2,610, of whom 553 were Catholics) were employees receiving wages or salaries - in most cases, no doubt, for clerical work. There was some over-representation of Catholic women working for the Post Office. Since the number of women said to be engaged in the postal service in 1921 excluded those working for the Post Office Savings Bank and the 1936 figure included them, it is impossible to determine whether the proportion of Catholic women (20.10 per cent in 1921 and 17.67 per cent in 1936) actually declined or not. Moreover, the small numbers of women involved (602, including 121 Catholics, in 1921 and 651, including 115 Catholics, in 1936), reduce the significance of the Catholic over-representation. In 1921, 24.92 per cent of women in the telegraph and telephone service were Catholics but this category (249 Catholics out of 999 employees) was very small.

Of the 20,601 women employed in commercial enterprises, 17,225, of whom 2,316 were Catholics, were waged employees. Like Catholic men, women were noticeably under-represented in commercial forms of employment (13.64 per cent) in 1921. Their proportions among wage earners (13.45 per cent), relatives assisting without payment (12.54 per cent) and employers (13.20 per cent) were commensurate with this figure, but they were somewhat over-represented among the self-employed (17.32 per cent). This suggests that a number of them (up to 234) were involved in small-scale selling, possibly of home bakery products or clothing. Catholic women were well-represented among women engaged in the sale of pastry and confectionery (14.42 per cent in 1921

<sup>176</sup> This proportion is only an over-representation if nuns are excluded from the workforce.

and 15.08 per cent in 1936 - the latter figure including cakes, bread and biscuits) and those selling clothing and drapery (14.71 per cent in 1921 but declining to 13.46 in 1936). Most of these textile and clothing saleswomen - who made up the largest commercial category - were probably unskilled, like the large proportions of Catholic women working in department stores (14.50 per cent in 1921 and 15.52 per cent in 1936).

Catholic women were consistently over-represented in professional occupations throughout the interwar period (17.60 per cent in 1921 and 17.59 per cent in 1936) - proportions inflated by the inclusion of nuns. The "Not Applicable" column of Table 8.10 includes 1,234 Catholic women, accounting for 93.48 per cent of that professional sub-category; there were about 1,300 nuns in New Zealand at the time of the 1921 census.<sup>177</sup> If the not-applicables are removed from the professional category, only 12.78 per cent<sup>178</sup> of professional women would be Catholics - a significant under-representation which is commensurate with their proportions among the self-employed (13.55 per cent) and wage or salary earners (12.74 per cent).<sup>179</sup> Only a small proportion (7.58 per cent) of Catholic professional women were employers of others.

In 1921, 17.49 per cent of the 1,138 women engaged in general and local government administration were Catholics, mostly as clerks and typists.<sup>180</sup> Catholic women were usually under-represented in privately operated financial businesses, such as accountancy (10.52 per cent in 1936) and law (13.40 per cent in 1921, but rising to 15.92 per cent in 1936), even though the female staff of these two industrial categories were also made up predominantly of typists and clerks.<sup>181</sup>

They were also under-represented among health professionals in private practice such as nurses and mid-wives (11.99 per cent in 1921 and 12.06 per cent in 1936). In the report on the 1921 census, when mental hospital staff were included in the figures

<sup>177</sup> Some nuns, particularly those who had retired from teaching or nursing and perhaps those still in training, would not be included among the not-applicables, thus explaining why this number is lower than the total number of nuns.

<sup>178</sup> This would give a total of 20,762 (22,082 minus 1,320) professional women of whom 2,653 (3,887 minus 1,234) were Catholics.

<sup>179</sup> They were also under-represented among professional employers (7.58 per cent) but this category was too small to be very significant.

<sup>180</sup> The total figures include, as well as smaller occupations in both types of government service, 349 clerks and 361 typists in general government service and 185 clerks and 73 typists employed by local government (NZ Census, 1921, part VIII, p. 89).

<sup>181</sup> NZ Census, 1921, part VIII, pp. 91, 97 and NZ Census, 1936, p. 57.

for all public hospital staff and attendants, the proportion of Catholic women was 14.92 per cent. That the inclusion of the generally less-skilled staff and attendants of mental hospitals has inflated this proportion is clear from the considerable over-representation of Catholic women working in mental hospitals (26.20 per cent) in 1936. By contrast, the percentage of Catholics among the female staff of public hospitals in 1936 was only 11.87. There was a higher proportion of Catholic women on the staff of private hospitals, rising from 14.76 per cent to 21.13 per cent. Since the Catholic Church maintained a number of hospitals, which were run by nuns, it is to be expected that there would be a higher proportion of Catholic women working in private hospitals and the increase is at least partially attributable to growth in the size and number of Catholic hospitals and to the presence of trainee nurses in private hospitals after 1930.<sup>182</sup> If the numbers employed in public and private hospitals during each of the two census years are conflated, it is evident that there was a proportional increase in the number of Catholic women working in hospitals from 14.88 per cent in 1921 to 15.19 per cent in 1936.<sup>183</sup>

In 1921 and 1936, teaching nuns were evidently included among school teachers, giving Catholic women a marked over-representation (21.55 per cent and 21.26 per cent) in that profession.<sup>184</sup> Without them, Catholic women would have been considerably under-represented. Nuns (and probably other single Catholic women) also account for the high proportion of female Catholic teachers of music and other specialist subjects (18.70 per cent in 1921), music lessons being an important source of convent income. The equivalent category for 1936 was defined as including correspondence school and business school teachers: an increase in the proportions of

<sup>182</sup> Of 2,781 women engaged in public hospitals in 1921, 1,839 were nurses, while the 1,145 women working in private hospitals included 491 nurses (NZ Census, 1921, part VIII, p. 93). In neither case is it possible to determine what proportion of them were Catholics but the lower proportion of nurses in private hospitals is attributable to the absence of trainees. For discussion of the expansion of Catholic hospitals, see chapter three.

<sup>183</sup> There were 584 (415 in public and 169 private) Catholic women out of a national total of 3,926 (2,781 public and 1,145 private) on the staff of hospitals in 1921 and 1,022 (554 public, 299 private and 169 mental) out of 6,726 (4,666 public, 1,415 private and 645 mental) in 1936.

<sup>184</sup> Most nuns in New Zealand were school teachers and the numbers of women classified as having specifically religious occupations in 1921 and 1936 were not large enough to include all nuns. The 1921 table which subdivides industries according to specific occupations gives the number of teachers who were nuns as only 194 (NZ Census, 1921, part VIII, p. 95), presumably a direct reflection of what they wrote on their census forms. The majority of teaching nuns evidently (and appropriately) declared their industry to be education and their occupation to be teacher. There was no question to which "sister" or "nun" would have been the most suitable answer.

such teachers would explain the declining representation of Catholics (15.90 per cent).<sup>185</sup>

Catholics were over-represented among women engaged in religious and welfare work - again because this category included nuns. In 1921 they made up 28.93 per cent of the group labelled "religion", and in 1936 they constituted 51.46 per cent of those associated with "religion, including persons connected with churches, etc.". These groupings were evidently compiled on a different basis in 1921 (when 140 out of 484 women were Catholics) and 1936 (when there were 545 Catholics out of 1,059 women).<sup>186</sup> The considerable over-representation of Catholic women working in benevolent institutions such as orphanages (26.22 per cent in 1921 and 25.74 per cent in 1936) was largely made up of nuns whose orders were engaged in this charitable work.<sup>187</sup>

Paid domestic occupations made up the largest category of female employment, Catholics accounting for 17.59 per cent of the workforce in 1921. In that year there was a marked over-representation of female Catholic employers (24.40 per cent), self-employed women (20.69 per cent) and relatives assisting without pay (27.63 per cent). The proportion of domestic wage earners (16.96 per cent) was higher than the proportion of Catholics in the female workforce but was lower than the proportion of Catholic women in domestic work.

Most of the "extra" Catholic women in domestic occupations worked in hotels. The proportion of Catholic women engaged in licensed premises was extremely high (37.18 per cent in 1921 and 34.92 per cent in 1936). Catholic women were also over-represented in private boarding hotels and boarding houses in 1921 (20.90 per cent). The numbers involved in these two forms of accommodation were recorded separately for 1936, yielding percentages of 22.90 for private hotels and 19.11 for boardinghouses and lodgings. To judge from the numbers of Catholic women counted as employers, self-employed or relatives assisting without payment, a good number of these establishments were evidently managed by Catholic women or their husbands

<sup>185</sup> It seems likely that there was a reduced demand for music teachers during the Depression of the early 1930s. For further reference to music teaching by nuns, see the discussion of gender roles in chapter four.

<sup>186</sup> The 1921 figure includes at least 101 nuns (NZ Census, 1921, part VIII, p. 91) and that of 1936 seems to include 306 nuns (Census 1936, vol. X, p. 57).

<sup>187</sup> Among the 484 women counted as working in religion and social welfare in 1921, there were 101 nuns and 123 Salvation Army officers (NZ Census, 1921, part VIII, p. 91). In the 1936 figures, there were included 306 nuns (NZ Census, 1936, vol. X, p. 57).

and fathers.<sup>188</sup> There were also high proportions of Catholic women engaged in the largely unskilled work of restaurants and tearooms (17.09 per cent in 1921 and 19.01 per cent in 1936).<sup>189</sup> It is less obvious why there was a consistent under-representation of Catholic women in private domestic service (12.95 per cent in 1921 and 13.47 per cent in 1936) - which was by far the largest category of paid female employment and one which offered work to the unskilled - although the high representation of Catholic women in hotels and boarding houses offers at least a partial explanation.

Catholic women were somewhat under-represented among women in "other groups" who were not engaged in any industry or who did not indicate their industry on the census form: they made up 12.45 per cent of this group in 1921. Among the 1,747 women in this category who were employed as wage earners, the largest group (to judge from the 1936 census), were typists or clerks who had not named the industry to which they belonged. In this group, Catholics were well-represented (15.60 per cent).

Most of the women in the "no industry or industry not specified" category were past the age of paid employment (and therefore appear in the "not applicable" column among the 1921 sub-categories in Table 8.10). As in the case of men, the statistics on pensions present some anomalies although they tend to confirm the impression of the Catholic community built up so far.<sup>190</sup> In 1936, Catholic women were under-represented among the very small numbers with independent means (7.31 per cent) or superannuation (8.64 per cent) and in the substantial group designated as retired (11.24 per cent). Among those counted as pensioners, by contrast, Catholic women were over-represented (15.68 per cent, while only 11.64 per cent of women aged sixty-five or over were Catholics).<sup>191</sup> Like their male counterparts, elderly Catholic women were probably not a prosperous group and their limited personal means qualified them for pensions.

<sup>188</sup> The probable reasons for the over-representation of Catholics in these industries have already been discussed in the context of male employment and will be examined in chapter four.

<sup>189</sup> The 1936 figure includes railway tearooms (Census 1936, vol. X, p. 22) and may not be comparable to the 1921 figure.

<sup>190</sup> The 1921 census report on religions combines women having independent means with pensioners and superannuitants and the gap between the number of pensioners in the 1936 census and the number given in the *New Zealand Official Year-Book* has already been commented upon.

<sup>191</sup> The latter proportion is calculated from NZ Census, 1936, vol. VI, p. 23. From 1913, women could receive an abated pension from the age of sixty (*New Zealand Official Year-Book, 1919*, p. 679 and *Year-Book 1940*, p. 620), but the proportion of Catholic women in the population aged sixty and over (11.53 per cent, derived from the same table), is not very different from the figure quoted above.

During the interwar period, then, Catholics - both men and women - were over-represented in unskilled or semi-skilled employment. Conversely, they were under-represented in both skilled and capital-intensive industries. They were also generally under-represented among male employers, although there was a comparatively large number of small-scale female Catholic employers. In certain kinds of occupations, Catholics tended to be over-represented or under-represented. For example, there were quite large numbers of Catholics in the police force and in the various entertainment and accommodation industries, while there were low proportions of Catholics in commerce.

An important general explanation for the pattern of Catholic employment is that many New Zealanders of Irish descent lacked the capital to invest in business (or large-scale farming) or to pay for a post-primary education. However, the under-representation of Catholic men in professional and financial occupations is only partially explicable as a consequence of the costs of obtaining secondary and tertiary education. Members of the working or lower middle classes would be less likely to aspire to occupations in which they had no friends or relatives to act as role models, and who could help them secure a position, than would young people who did have these advantages. This could be why even "professional" occupations which could be entered with a minimum of formal qualifications and for which training could be undertaken in the course of employment (such as surveying or accounting) attracted comparatively few Catholics.

The over-representation of Catholics in some areas of employment was no doubt to some extent self-perpetuating: having a relative or family friend in a particular occupation would make this an obvious and perhaps somewhat easier form of employment to enter, since the relative would be in a position to offer suitable advice.<sup>192</sup> It has also been suggested that the cohesiveness of the Catholic community, reinforced by high levels of church attendance and a separate school system, would have helped young Catholics find employment by bringing them into contact with well-placed co-religionists.<sup>193</sup> Comparatively low levels of Catholic representation in commerce and high representations in government employment should probably be regarded as obverse sides of the same phenomenon and likely to change only gradually.

<sup>192</sup> Watson (p. 30) suggests that having policemen in the family could have encouraged young Catholics to seek other forms of government employment as well.

<sup>193</sup> Watson, pp. 32-33

In explaining the distinctive patterns of Catholic employment, it has not usually been necessary to refer to religion as such, except in the case of the Catholic Church's relatively permissive attitude to gambling and drinking. It is also likely, but difficult to demonstrate, that at least some non-Catholic employers preferred not to employ Catholics. Such prejudice would be most likely to occur in small businesses where the employer had personal contact with the staff - that is, one of the areas in which Catholics were notably under-represented, especially as employers. During the early 1920s, it was often alleged that religious affiliation was a criterion of employment in certain businesses and that the Protestant Political Association (PPA) encouraged discrimination against Catholic applicants and employees.<sup>194</sup> In 1924, when William Nosworthy, a notorious anti-Catholic, was Minister of Agriculture, the Dairy Control Board advertised the position of Secretary and Chief Executive Officer; a form was issued which asked for the applicant's religion.<sup>195</sup> There could also have been a reluctance on the part of some Catholics to work for Protestants. Such sectarian barriers, if they existed to any significant extent - or were thought by Catholics to exist - would also serve to encourage Catholics to seek government employment. With relatively high proportions of Catholics in some branches of the public service, including personnel in senior positions, the prospects of Catholic applicants would no doubt have been better than in private business.

To a considerable extent, government employment was popular among Catholics because of the kinds of jobs offered rather than because Catholics had a stronger preference for government service than did the adherents of other denominations. The government was a large employer of unskilled or semi-skilled workers and the Catholic community included many such people. Like the police force, general and local government administration offered employment opportunities to people with limited previous education and the Catholic education system, though ill-equipped to teach its pupils trade skills or commerce, was able to prepare them for the Public Service Examination.<sup>196</sup> Many of those who entered the civil service before 1912 had not needed any formal qualification.<sup>197</sup>

<sup>194</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 28 October 1920, p. 35; 18 November 1920, p. 14; 24 February 1921, p. 39; 22 February 1923, p. 25; 22 March 1923, p. 18; 12 April 1923, p. 26; *Month*, 16 October 1922, p. 3; *NZPD*, 1920, vol. 189, p. 623 (William Jennings).

<sup>195</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 27 March 1924, p. 19; 8 May 1924, pp. 18-19; For further information on Nosworthy, see chapter five and for a later reference to the apparently common practice of enquiring after an applicant's religion, see *NZ Tablet*, 3 July 1935, p. 24.

<sup>196</sup> Watson, p. 31.

<sup>197</sup> Olssen in Rice (editor), pp. 259-260.

Responding to allegations that Catholics were "stuffing" the public service, the clergy often urged them to seek other employment, especially farming. While affirming the equal right of Catholics to government employment, Bishop Cleary hoped "to see an increasing proportion of our young manhood going on the land or engaging in other occupations, where ability, industry, and independence may meet with more ample - even if at times more hard-earned - rewards."<sup>198</sup> Kelly, as editor of the *Tablet*, scorned government employment, declaring that Catholic pupils were too well educated for such routine work with limited prospects of advancement. Catholics would be better advised to work on the land or to enter commerce, the professions, trades, arts and crafts.<sup>199</sup> Similarly, Father James Coffey, angry at the Government's withdrawal of the right to use state-funded scholarships in private secondary schools, vowed to discourage Catholic boys from entering the public service - even though he believed that they were in demand there. Speaking at the Christian Brothers' School prize-giving in 1920, he declared that their education qualified Catholics for better positions than they would attain in the service of the state.<sup>200</sup> Evidently lay Catholics tended not share these embittered views, despite repeated clerical appeals to return to the land, often citing the advice of Bishop Moran, founder of the *Tablet*, and declaring rural life to be more conducive to the maintenance of the family, religion and virtue.<sup>201</sup>

The divergence of Catholics from the rest of the country's workforce should not be exaggerated. Even without reviewing in detail the distribution of other denominations in specific industries, it is clear from the tables in the appendix that the other large denominations had their own distinctive employment patterns. Presbyterian men, for example were over-represented in primary industries and under-represented in domestic occupations.<sup>202</sup> Moreover, the over-representation of Catholics in a number of industries (for example drink manufacturing, road construction, the railways, public

<sup>198</sup> *Month*, 15 March 1920, p. 6.

<sup>199</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 1 August 1918, p. 25; 17 July 1919, p. 14; 1 July 1931, p. 3.

<sup>200</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 13 January 1921, Supplement, p. 8.

<sup>201</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 5 June 1919, p. 26; 12 May 1921, p. 18; (Bishop Whyte); 6 April 1922, p. 18 (Whyte); 26 June 1924, p. 19; 7 April 1926, p. 33; 4 January 1928, p. 33; 13 June 1928, p. 6; 26 December 1928, p. 3; 1 July 1931, p. 3; 29 August 1934, p. 7 (Bishop Brodie); 19 July 1939, p. 5; 10 May 1939, pp. 25-26; *Zealandia*, 4 June 1936, p. 4; 6 July 1939, p. 4.

<sup>202</sup> See Table 8.9.

administration and the police force) was declining in the period between 1921 and 1936. There was no single industry dominated by Catholics and, in most occupations, the under or over-representation of Catholics was a matter of only a few percentage points. Nor could it be said, without further evidence of the actual occupations of Catholics within their respective industries, that the Catholic community was predominantly working class, as distinct from having a proportionately large number of working class members. If the employment patterns of Catholics were certainly not "dead-centre normal", they were not outstandingly aberrant either.

### **Crime and Imprisonment**

The disproportionate numbers of Catholics in gaols and reformatory institutions constitute a *prima facie* case for supposing that the Catholic community was not well integrated into the wider society - as some Protestant contemporaries argued. It will be argued, however, that while the high rate of criminal conviction among at least nominal Catholics can be explained in terms of their socio-economic background, prisoners and other inmates were not representative of the Catholic community as a whole.

Among the figures included in the exceptionally detailed "Industrial Distribution" tables in the 1921 census report on religion, are the numbers of prisoners belonging to the larger denominations. Of 1,080 men and boys in gaols, industrial schools and comparable institutions, 513 were Anglicans, 171 were Presbyterians, 315 were Catholics and 34 were Methodists.<sup>203</sup> Anglicans (47.50 per cent of male prisoners but only 42.12 per cent of the total male population) were somewhat over-represented. Presbyterians (15.83 per cent of male prisoners but 24.56 per cent of the male population) were under-represented, while Methodists (3.15 per cent of male prisoners but 8.76 per cent of the overall male population) were even more under-represented. Catholics, by contrast, were dramatically over-represented, making up 29.17 per cent of male prisoners but only 13.29 per cent of the country's male population. This over-representation of Catholics was even more striking among the 309 female "Inmates of gaols, &c." on census day in 1921. Only 63 of these women and girls were Anglicans, 24 were Presbyterians and 4 were Methodists but 192 were Catholics.<sup>204</sup> Expressed as

<sup>203</sup> NZ Census 1921, part VII, p. 40. The following denominational percentages are calculated from the same source. For convenience, all these prisoners and inmates will be referred to as "prisoners" but it will be shown below that many were not in fact in gaol.

<sup>204</sup> NZ Census, 1921, part VII, p. 42. The denominational percentages given below are based on the same source.

percentages, these statistics present a marked contrast to each denomination's share of the New Zealand female population, of which Anglicans (20.39 per cent of female prisoners) constituted 42.33 per cent, Presbyterians (7.77 per cent of prisoners) composed 24.59 per cent, Methodists (1.29 per cent of prisoners) formed 9.69 per cent and Catholics (62.14 per cent of prisoners) made up only 13.65 per cent.

Many of these delinquent Catholics, and especially the Catholic women, were in reformatory institutions rather than gaols. Of the 309 females of all denominations, 124 were children under the age of fifteen, another four were under twenty-one and 137 were "inmates", evidently of institutions other than gaols, for there were only 28 "prisoners" - and sixteen "others".<sup>205</sup> In 1921, there were 184 committals to institutions like Salvation Army homes although this figure may count some individuals more than once and may include males.<sup>206</sup> Girls and women of all denominations entered Mount Magdala in Christchurch either voluntarily or after being committed by the courts.<sup>207</sup> In July 1921, a woman was sentenced to one month in gaol and twelve months' residence at Mount Magdala for importuning passers-by and a second woman, guilty of breaching a prohibition order and of being idle and disorderly, had to live there for two years.<sup>208</sup> Another woman, who pleaded guilty in 1929 to charges of drunkenness and to being a rogue and a vagabond, was released and ordered to appear for sentencing if summoned within twelve months - on condition that she went to Mount Magdala.<sup>209</sup> It seems quite likely that some women committed to this institution adopted the religion of their hosts - at least for census purposes - incidentally contributing to the high number of Catholic women included in the 1921 census figure. The Salvation Army, which also ran such institutions for women, accounted for 21 (6.80 per cent) of the female "Inmates of gaols, &c." in April 1921: a very high number for a denomination which included only 1.03 per cent of the national female population.<sup>210</sup> Among the 1,080 males counted in the 1921 census as being in gaols and other reformatory institutions, 30 were under fifteen years of age, 367 were "inmates", evidently in institutions such as industrial schools, and 683 were

<sup>205</sup> NZ Census, 1921, part VIII, p. 103.

<sup>206</sup> *Report on the Justice Statistics of the Dominion of New Zealand for the Year 1921*, p. vii.

<sup>207</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 17 October 1918, p. 17; 25 November 1920, p. 21; 22 December 1921, p. 22; 26 June 1924, p. 18; *Month*, 15 March 1922, p. 14; 1 July 1931, p. 27; *Zealandia*, 27 February 1936, p. 2.

<sup>208</sup> *Press*, 4 July 1921, p. 5; 7 July 1921, p. 4.

<sup>209</sup> *Press*, 8 October 1929, p. 8.

<sup>210</sup> NZ Census, 1921, part VII, p. 42.

prisoners.<sup>211</sup>

The high crime rate among Catholics was not new in 1921. Akenson has sought to explain the apparent delinquency of the Catholic population in the 1880s by reference to its immigrant origins and age structure. Other immigrant groups, except the Chinese, also had a higher proportion of malefactors than the New Zealand-born population, though none approached the rate of imprisonment found among the Irish. The Catholic community (half of which consisted of Irish-born immigrants), amounted to only 14.0 per cent of the colony's population, but accounted for 34.4 per cent of prisoners convicted in 1886. These statistics, Akenson argues, reflect the unfavourable position of Irish Catholics in a society dominated by Protestants. Most of the over-representation of Catholics in prison, however, should be attributed to drunkenness - as distinct from more serious crimes - on the part of the disproportionately large number of single, unskilled males among the Irish immigrants of Vogel's time. Akenson expected that later generations of New Zealand Catholics of Irish descent would show fewer signs of deviance.<sup>212</sup>

Fortunately, in addition to the 1921 census data already discussed (and which has no counterpart in other censuses), there is available a series of statistics concerning prisoners and their religious affiliations from 1872 to 1931.<sup>213</sup> From 1891, these statistics included the percentages of new prisoners belonging to the four major denominations, beginning in 1887. These figures are represented in Graph 1.5.<sup>214</sup> The consistency of each denomination's contribution to the prison population is one of the most striking features of the graph. As a proportion of the total prison population, Anglicans declined during the First World War and fluctuated somewhat afterwards. In large measure, this must have reflected the high numbers of men serving overseas, some of whom no doubt found it difficult to settle back into civilian life upon their return. The higher percentages of prisoners not claiming adherence to one of the four large denominations in 1917 and 1918 evidently include gaoled conscientious

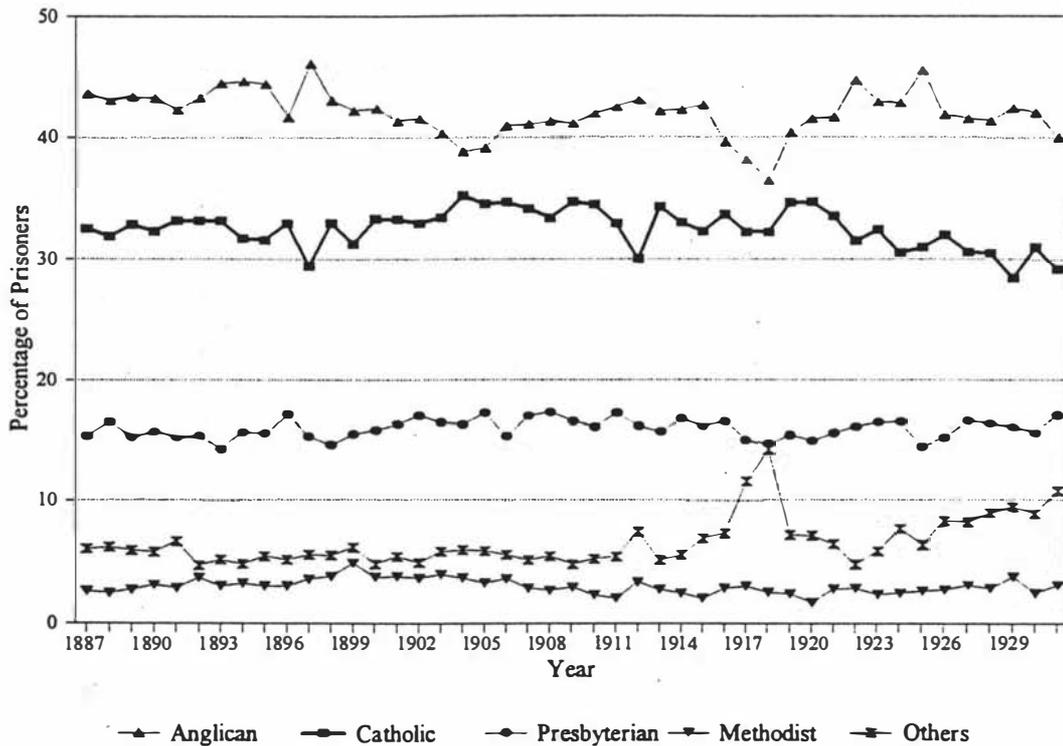
<sup>211</sup> NZ Census, 1921, part VIII, p. 103.

<sup>212</sup> Akenson, *Half the World*, pp. 80-82.

<sup>213</sup> *Statistics of New Zealand for 1872*, part V, no. 12 and subsequent volumes. Figures for 1921 onwards were published in the *Report on the Justice Statistics of the Dominion of New Zealand*. Akenson (*Half the World*, p. 82) says that he could not find "information on the relation of crimes, national origin, and religion later in the nineteenth century or in the twentieth." Neither the 1921 census figures, nor this long run of statistics (which includes the country of origin as well as the religious affiliation of convicted prisoners) feature in his study.

<sup>214</sup> For the figures used in the graph, see Table 8.16.

Graph 1.5  
Denominational Proportions of New Prisoners, 1887-1931



objectors, most of whom belonged to small sects or professed no religion (some of them being Socialists).<sup>215</sup> This increase in the proportion of prisoners not belonging to the four main churches also contributed to the dip in the proportion of Anglican prisoners. Not until the 1920s does the record of Catholics in prison offer some evidence of the "regression towards the national norm" anticipated by Akenson.<sup>216</sup> Although they constituted only about one seventh of the country's population aged fifteen years and over, Catholics made up approximately one third of prisoners convicted each year.<sup>217</sup> In the years directly relevant to this study and for which

<sup>215</sup> *Statistics of New Zealand, 1917*, vol. I, p. 286 and *1918*, vol. I, p. 293; cf. P. Baker, *King and Country Call*, (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1988), pp. 170, 175-8 and 243.

<sup>216</sup> Akenson, *Half the World*, p. 82.

<sup>217</sup> The *Justice Statistics* for each year record very few prisoners under this age.

*Table 1.5*  
**Imprisonment of Catholic Men and Kinds of Offences, 1918-1931**

	Person		Property		Miscellaneous			Totals
	Ind.	Sum.	Theft	Mischief	Vagr.	Drunk.	Other	
<b>Catholic Men</b>								
1918	11	18	77	14	47	117	206	490
1919	18	27	130	13	45	102	214	549
1920	19	30	166	8	49	101	230	603
1921	9	39	138	6	73	172	195	632
1922	15	27	168	10	78	145	176	619
1923	16	33	154	6	73	165	228	675
1924	26	35	135	13	75	188	214	686
1925	13	29	157	26	74	214	337	850
1926	21	43	185	22	110	196	238	815
1927	18	34	213	20	103	147	244	779
1928	17	12	199	30	78	163	228	727
1929	22	33	184	14	81	156	188	678
1930	21	35	199	18	119	162	272	826
1931	22	35	249	22	108	131	306	873
<b>All Men</b>								
1918	48	51	284	54	114	296	717	1,564
1919	70	76	399	70	113	273	588	1,589
1920	77	91	554	32	158	268	573	1,753
1921	49	90	546	18	184	420	603	1,910
1922	94	69	690	30	200	349	558	1,990
1923	93	88	639	33	192	390	685	2,120
1924	105	97	614	48	188	452	777	2,281
1925	68	104	587	93	177	483	1,249	2,761
1926	93	119	731	71	258	513	820	2,605
1927	84	104	832	76	302	361	818	2,577
1928	79	84	761	83	216	396	812	2,431
1929	95	98	767	63	227	411	814	2,475
1930	90	103	845	87	263	395	921	2,704
1931	109	106	1,032	91	280	357	1,092	3,067

statistics are available (1918 to 1931), between 28.43 per cent and 34.69 per cent of newly committed prisoners were Catholics. Meanwhile, the proportion of gaol'd Anglicans was close to that denomination's proportion aged fifteen or over. Presbyterians and Methodists, by contrast, were under-represented in gaol.

While the overwhelming majority of prisoners of all denominations were men, Catholic women were even more markedly over-represented. The average number of new female prisoners to declare themselves Catholic between 1918 and 1931 was 53, while the average proportion was 41 per cent. Among men, the average number of

Table 1.5 (continued)

	Person		Property		Miscellaneous		Totals	
	Ind.	Sum.	Theft	Mischief	Vagr.	Drunk.		Other
<b>Percentage Catholic</b>								
1918	23	35	27	26	41	40	29	31
1919	26	36	33	19	40	37	36	35
1920	25	33	30	25	31	38	40	34
1921	18	43	25	33	40	41	32	33
1922	16	39	24	33	39	42	32	31
1923	17	38	24	18	38	42	33	32
1924	25	36	22	27	40	42	28	30
1925	19	28	27	28	42	44	27	31
1926	23	36	25	31	43	38	29	31
1927	21	33	26	26	34	41	30	30
1928	22	14	26	36	36	41	28	30
1929	23	34	24	22	36	38	23	27
1930	23	34	24	21	45	41	30	31
1931	20	33	24	24	39	37	28	28
Mean	21	34	26	26	39	40	30	31

Sources: *Statistics of the Dominion of New Zealand*, published annually until superceded by *Report on the Justice Statistics of the Dominion of New Zealand* from 1921. Abbreviations referring to kinds of offences and methods of conviction: Ind., Convicted on Indictment; Sum., Summarily Convicted; Theft, Theft and Deceit; Vagr., Vagrancy ("Including importuning, consorting with rogues &c."); Drunk., Drunkenness.

Catholic prisoners was 700 and the average proportion was 31 per cent.<sup>218</sup> The principal crime for which Catholic women were gaoled was vagrancy, which included "consorting with rogues" and "importuning", amongst other offences.<sup>219</sup> Drunkenness and theft were also relatively common crimes among Catholic women inmates.

Catholic men were over-represented in all the categories of crime for which imprisonment and religious affiliation were recorded, as Table 1.5 shows. By far the majority of males summarily convicted of crimes against the person were guilty of common assault - and no doubt this generalization applies to Catholic men so convicted.<sup>220</sup> The greatest over-representation of Catholic men was among those convicted for vagrancy and drunkenness. As a note accompanying the published tables

<sup>218</sup> For the numbers of female prisoners, see *Statistics of the Dominion of New Zealand for the Year 1918*, p. 292 and subsequent volumes. For men, see Table 1.5

<sup>219</sup> It may also have included prostitution, but few women were imprisoned for this offence: only nine in 1921 (*Justice Statistics for 1921*, p. xii).

<sup>220</sup> *Justice Statistics for 1921*, p. vii.

always pointed out, drunkenness was far more common than was indicated directly by the rate of imprisonment for the offence, since it was more usually punished by a fine. The over-representation of Catholics among those imprisoned for drunkenness is perhaps in part a consequence of their being repeat offenders and therefore subjected to the harsher penalty of imprisonment. Many of the Catholics gaoled for drunkenness, however, would have served a prison sentence because they were unable to pay a fine.<sup>221</sup> This eventuality was noted by Dr Cleary, writing as editor of the *New Zealand Tablet*, whose verbosity could not conceal the admission of a flaw in the Irish character:

The mercurial disposition of the Western Celt (which is a racial, not a religious, trait) impels him, when tipsy, more than his phlegmatic neighbors [*sic*], to offences of pugnacity; while his greater comparative poverty makes him do his drinking more in the open, where he is relatively more liable to arrest, and exposes him relatively more to imprisonment, on account of his greater inability to pay a fine. He is, in so far, relatively more exposed to enumeration on the denominational statistics of legal crime.<sup>222</sup>

An important point overlooked by Cleary was that a melancholic or sanguine Celtic Catholic was more likely to drink too much alcohol than a phlegmatic Anglo-Saxon Protestant. While Irish society tolerated high levels of alcohol consumption - especially among young men forced for economic reasons to defer marriage - it did not sanction chronic drunkenness. Among Irish migrants in the United States, however, heavy drinking continued to be common but was less controlled; a similar pattern evidently developed in New Zealand.<sup>223</sup>

Prison statistics seldom give an accurate indication of the amount of crime in a society and invariably emphasize the sorts of crimes committed mostly by the lower classes. White collar crime is less easily detected - not least because it does not receive the attention given to more visible breaches of public order. Any group which is over-represented in the lower classes of society will invariably be over-represented in statistics of criminal behaviour - and of imprisonment. This point was emphasized by Cleary as early as 1908. Cleary estimated that Catholics were at least twice as numerous in the "poorer and poorest classes" as were "the members of [the] other

<sup>221</sup> In 1921, for example, 416 people went to gaol rather than pay a fine after being convicted of drunkenness and in 1930, 420 were imprisoned in lieu of paying a fine (*Justice Statistics for 1921*, p. xv; *1930*, p. xvi).

<sup>222</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 11 February 1909, p. 210.

<sup>223</sup> M.B. Clinard and R. Meier, *Sociology of Deviant Behavior* (Fort Worth: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 7th edition, 1989), p. 217. For discussion of Catholic attitudes to alcoholic drink and involvement in the liquor industry, see chapter four.

chief denominations taken collectively" and noted that it was the poor who "furnish the numerically greatest (but not necessarily the worst) part of our prison population". Catholics, he argued, should therefore be compared not with the total population but class by class with the rest of New Zealand society.<sup>224</sup>

In addition to lower socio-economic status and propensity to drink excessively, youthfulness and high proportions of single men evidently contributed to Catholic rates of imprisonment. Violence and theft are crimes associated particularly with young males, of whom the Catholic community had a somewhat disproportionate number. Moreover, the age profile for various categories of offence, which was published in the same tables as the denominations of prisoners, shows that more middle aged and older men were gaoled for vagrancy and drunkenness than were younger men.<sup>225</sup> Older, unmarried men, in particular, would have contributed disproportionately to the number of Catholics gaoled for these two offences. (This is not to suggest that young men were not arrested for drunkenness, but those under twenty-one years of age were probably sent to Borstal or an industrial school, rather than gaol, if their offence was deemed serious enough to warrant a period of detention.<sup>226</sup>) It seems that Akenson was correct in ascribing much of the blame for Catholic crime statistics to the large numbers of single men: what he did not notice, however, was that there continued to be disproportionate numbers of single Catholic men well into the twentieth century.

Although the proportion of prisoners belonging to the Catholic Church was high, the numbers of individuals involved was not great and it cannot be inferred that the Catholic population at large was made up of malefactors - as some contemporary Protestant polemicists implied. It would be quite unjustified, for example, to characterize the 81,331 Catholic girls and women in 1921 according to the 192 in some form of custody on census day that year.<sup>227</sup> Even among Catholic men, there were

<sup>224</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 10 December 1908, p. 22; 11 February 1909, p. 210. The latter reference will be quoted below.

<sup>225</sup> *Statistics of New Zealand for 1918*, p. 292 and subsequent issues.

<sup>226</sup> The Prevention of Crime (Borstal Institutions Establishment) Act of 1924 made provision for detaining offenders aged between fifteen and twenty-one (or twenty-three in some instances) in Borstal in cases where a prison sentence would otherwise have been imposed (*Justice Statistics for 1925*, pp. xii-xiii). Prison statistics for that age-group are therefore probably an underestimate of delinquency by comparison with older age-groups, although older persons, especially "habitual drunkards" were also committed to private institutions, such as those run by the Salvation Army, presumably when it was recognized that rehabilitation or long term care were needed (*Justice Statistics for 1921*, p. xv).

<sup>227</sup> *NZ Census, 1921*, part VII, p. 42.

never more than 873 individuals imprisoned in any year between 1918 and 1931. Catholics were embarrassed by the ill-repute brought upon them by their criminal brethren, especially since, until 1909, a table recording the religions, ages and country of birth of prisoners had been published in the *New Zealand Official Year-Book*.<sup>228</sup> Howard Elliott of the PPA, evidently not realizing that these statistics continued to be published elsewhere, sought their reinstatement and used them to denigrate the Catholic education system.<sup>229</sup> The Baptist J.J. North argued that the ill-effects of auricular confession were demonstrated by the over-representation of Catholics among criminals.<sup>230</sup>

Investigations before and after the interwar period indicate that most Catholic prisoners were at best only nominal adherents of the religion they professed. In March 1908, Charles Venning SM, Catholic chaplain at Wellington Prison, investigated the spiritual condition of the Catholic prisoners in his care. Only six of the thirty-six prisoners had received any formal Catholic education and only eleven had made their first Communion. Three were not even baptized. Similar findings resulted from investigations in the Dunedin and Lyttelton gaols.<sup>231</sup> A year later, six out of thirty "Roman Catholics" in the Wellington Terrace Gaol could not make the sign of the cross; eight could not recite the Lord's Prayer and three knew only the Protestant version (perhaps they had learnt it in gaol). Some of the prisoners interviewed by Venning claimed to have been confirmed by priests and others who had declared themselves Catholics without any legitimate claim to being members of the Church admitted as much after close questioning.<sup>232</sup> D.P. O'Neill's study of juvenile delinquent Catholics between 1949 and 1951 showed that a disproportionate number were only nominal Catholics. Of all delinquents aged between seven and seventeen, 19.8 per cent were Catholics, while Catholics made up only 15.72 per cent of the total non-Maori population in this age-group. Almost two thirds of the delinquent Catholics in the study had not attended their Church's schools.<sup>233</sup>

<sup>228</sup> *New Zealand Official Year-Book, 1909* (Wellington, 1909), p. 184.

<sup>229</sup> *NZ Herald*, 27 May 1919, p. 8; *Month*, 14 June 1919, pp. 5-6; *NZ Tablet*, 6 June 1918, pp. 14-5, 7 April 1921, pp. 25-6; 1 July 1925, p. 22; but cf. *Month*, 15 November 1922, p. 4 for a reference to the continued publication of the statistics. On Elliott and the PPA, see chapter five.

<sup>230</sup> J.J. North, *Roman Catholicism: Roots and Fruits* (Napier: printed by G.W. Venables and Co. Ltd, 1922), p. 97.

<sup>231</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 24 December 1908, p. 12; 11 February 1909, p. 211.

<sup>232</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 18 February 1909, pp. 251-2; 7 April 1921, p. 26. In Australia, too, there were reports of prisoners falsely claiming to be Catholics (*NZ Tablet*, 18 March 1909, p. 409).

<sup>233</sup> D.P. O'Neill, "Catholics and Delinquency" (Victoria University M.A. thesis, 1951), cited by H. Mol and M.T.V. Reidy in S.D. Webb and J. Collette, (editors), *New Zealand Society: Contemporary*

Catholic over-representation in crime statistics evidently reflects the Church's inadequate pastoral care for its wayward members. Preoccupation with the righteous seems to have precluded going in search of the lost sheep. In 1921, Father John Golden, chaplain to St Joseph's Home for the Aged Poor in Ponsonby, wrote a letter to the *Tablet*, lamenting the spiritual condition of some of his elderly charges.<sup>234</sup> Most of the inmates were "devoted Catholics" but others he characterized as "stray sheep". In their younger days, the majority of them "had known a priest at a safe distance" but the "ambassador of Christ" had not fulfilled his finest and most meritorious duty by recalling them to the practice of their religion. Now it was too late: "The pension and Johnnie Walker lure them away to the police cells...". Single men could easily be overlooked by a Church whose chief institutions, the school and the parish, were primarily oriented towards families. In their old age, indigent Catholic men might benefit from the Church's charity, but it was too late for a change of lifestyle.

The failure of the Catholic Church in this respect reflects the more difficult task it had before it than the other churches did. In all western societies, the churches have found it easier to retain their middle class than their working class constituents and the Catholic Church in New Zealand had a disproportionate number of such members. Such people were more likely to be only nominal Catholics; they were also inherently more likely to be caught breaking the law. The Anglican Church's high proportion of prisoners (by contrast with the relatively low proportions of Presbyterians and Methodists) was no doubt also due to the disproportionate number of nominal, working class adherents of that denomination. As Venning wrote of the "Catholic" prisoners he interviewed in 1909:

They are in gaol, not because they are Catholics, but because they had no Catholic influence in their early lives; they had been without a Catholic home, Catholic companions, Catholic teaching, Catholic schools.<sup>235</sup>

In all likelihood, most of them had also lacked the advantages of a middle class or respectable working class upbringing: social and ecclesiastical marginality went together.

Catholics were markedly over-represented in prisons and other corrective institutions, although the small numbers of inmates, especially women, cannot be taken

(Footnote continued from previous page.)

*Perspectives* (Sydney, Wiley and Sons, 1973), p. 268.

<sup>234</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 18 August 1921, p. 35.

<sup>235</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 18 February 1909, p. 251; also quoted in *ibid.*, 7 April 1921, p. 26.

as representative of the Catholic community as a whole. Prisoners and other inmates who described themselves as Catholics tended to have had little contact with the Catholic community and showed little appreciation of its beliefs and practices: they had not been effectively socialized as Catholics. Most of them had committed offences typically associated with lower socio-economic groups, such as drunkenness and vagrancy. The relatively youthful profile of the Catholic population and its high proportion of single men no doubt contributed to its disproportionate share of petty criminals. Moreover, heavy drinking, without the traditional social constraints, seems to have been a common pattern among Irish immigrants and their descendants. Although there was some decline in the proportions of Catholic prisoners before the statistics ceased to be published in 1931, the long-term trend demonstrated by Graph 1.5 shows that there was a significant number of nominal Catholics who were not well integrated into either the Catholic community or respectable society as a whole.

### **Conclusion**

Catholics made up about one seventh of the New Zealand population, the rest being predominantly Anglican, Presbyterian or Methodist. In origin, the Catholic community in New Zealand was overwhelmingly Irish but by the interwar period, while some Irish immigrants continued to arrive, only a small and declining proportion of Catholics had themselves been born in Ireland. Other nationalities also contributed to the Catholic population, but the largest, the Dalmatians, numbered only several thousand immigrants and their descendants. The smaller ethnic groups influenced the character of the Catholic population in some areas, for example the Italians of Island Bay and Eastbourne. However, there were no Catholic enclaves except for the small population of Puhoi, which was unusual in having been settled almost exclusively by small groups of German Catholics. The minor Catholic ethnic groups largely conformed to the prevailing patterns of New Zealand Catholicism, although occasionally they received visits from clergy of their own nationality and the Dalmatians had a resident Yugoslav priest for much of the period. The Church in New Zealand continued to depend on Irish priests and nuns but, as a community, it showed little evidence of any continuing sense of Irish identity. Like the descendants of other settlers from the British Isles, Catholics of Irish descent had not forgotten their origins but they regarded themselves as New Zealanders.

One of the principle reasons for the failure of the Irish and other Catholic ethnic groups to retain any strong ethnic identity was their dispersion throughout the country.

Even those who settled in relatively large clusters, like the Italians, nevertheless lived among other Catholics and non-Catholics. Although the unique character of the West Coast owed much to its relatively high Catholic population of Irish descent, this was a very small province and even there, Catholics were not dominant in a manner comparable to that of the Presbyterians in Otago or Southland. In other areas where there was an over-representation of Catholics, it was usually only by a few percentage points and there were no large towns with significant concentrations of Catholics. Almost everywhere, Catholics were but a small minority.

In most other respects, the Catholic population did not diverge widely from the rest of New Zealand society, although it had some quite distinct features. Catholic male to female ratios in 1921 and 1936 were very similar to those of the Anglican and Presbyterian communities. The age profiles of the Catholic population reveal higher proportions of children and fewer old people than do the profiles of the other large denominations. Catholic men and women appear to have married at ages only slightly older than those of non-Catholics but Catholic women and especially Catholic men were more likely to remain single than were members of other churches. In the case of Catholic women, about half the "extra" unmarried women were nuns, but the unmarried men were more likely to have been influenced by economic constraints. Catholics were markedly over-represented in hospitals and charitable institutions and in the country's prisons, although it has been seen that those who thus demonstrated their failure to integrate into the wider society were also unlikely to have been adequately socialized as Catholics.

The employment patterns of Catholics had some distinctive features. Catholics were over-represented in certain areas of government employment, especially the police force, the railways, the telegraph and telephone service and in the rather miscellaneous category of general government employees. Catholics were under-represented in commerce and in private business and Catholic men were more likely to be employers than employees. A relatively high proportion of Catholic women were in paid employment, many of them as proprietors of licensed hotels. Catholic men and women were more likely than Protestants to work in industries connected with drinking or gambling. Such patterns of employment were self-perpetuating in that younger Catholics no doubt often followed older role models or sought their help and advice. Moreover, the Catholic religion and Irish culture had relatively tolerant attitudes towards drinking and gambling. The high proportions of unskilled or semi-skilled Catholics suggest that they tended to lack capital or advanced education. This

would also have encouraged them to seek government employment, a tendency perhaps reinforced by concern about sectarian employment policies in businesses run by non-Catholics. Moreover, the government was a very large employer of unskilled labour. It would be easy to exaggerate the distinctiveness of Catholic employment patterns since they did not dominate any area of employment and were usually over or under-represented by a only a few per cent.

From a variety of indices, a cumulative case has been established that Catholics were over-represented in the lower socio-economic groups - as contemporaries themselves affirmed. Catholics, a relatively urbanized community, were somewhat over-represented in the four large cities as distinct from their outer suburbs. The relatively low proportion of Catholics in the older age groups and the large proportion of Catholic widows and widowers suggest that the Catholic mortality rate was higher than for the other denominations. Coupled with high rates of admission to hospitals and benevolent institutions, this suggests that the health of a substantial number of Catholics was undermined by such causes as depression, alcoholism, poor accommodation, or unsafe working conditions. Large numbers of Catholic men did not marry - continuing a pattern found among the Irish and their descendants in other countries - and the most compelling explanation is that many were too poor to support a family. Catholics were over-represented in labour-intensive occupations requiring little skill or education and conversely under-represented in employment requiring higher education or large amounts of capital. The high rate of Catholic imprisonment for crimes such as drunkenness and vagrancy further indicates that there was a high proportion of poor Catholics.

## Chapter Two

# "The Only True Religion"? Spirituality and Religious Identity

Claiming to be "the only true religion", the Catholic Church was in principle an exclusive community.<sup>1</sup> In 1932, Cecil Crocker SM, addressing a meeting of the Hibernian Society in Wellington, declared that

The Catholic Church....is different from anything we see about us going under the name of Church....It has its own laws and its own regulations; its own philosophy and its own life....The self-denial that is the command of the Laws [*sic*], the conclusion of the philosophy and the consequence of the life cuts us off from being completely one with those in the midst of whom we live. Our surroundings are not Catholic; I do not think at the present time they are anti-Catholic - they are simply un-Catholic. But, un-Catholic or anti-Catholic, it is one in this - we can never be of them. We are a people apart; we are in the New Testament, even socially, what the Jews were in the Old. It is the price and the privilege of our being the Chosen People of Messianic times.<sup>2</sup>

According to the Baptist J.J. North, "the Roman people" in New Zealand were "separate[d] from the rest of the population by mental and religious barriers".<sup>3</sup> For the Catholic community as a whole, religious rituals and observances, rather than sermons or theological reflections, were the most important means of expressing their distinct religious identity and it will be seen that Catholics tended to emphasize precisely the religious practices which most distinguished them from Protestants. Catholic spirituality, it will be argued, was inherently likely to isolate Catholics from the wider society and the issue to be determined in this chapter is the extent to which it did so in practice.

Spirituality can be defined as the complex of attitudes, beliefs and practices in which people express and experience their religion. It does not refer directly to the perennial or universal features of a religious tradition but rather to those which are emphasized in a particular historical context. In this discussion, particular emphasis will be placed on those elements of spirituality which were undergoing significant

<sup>1</sup> *Month*, 17 April 1928, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 23 March 1932, p. 39.

<sup>3</sup> J.J. North, *Roman Catholicism: Roots and Fruits* (Napier: printed by G.W. Venables and Co. Ltd, 1922), p. 6.

change and reflection since they will serve best to illustrate the argument. Thus, the Mass and the Eucharist will be considered in some detail, whereas other sacraments which were important in the religious experience of Catholics, like confession, will be largely ignored. Much of Catholic spirituality, particularly devotional practices directed towards God or the saints, can be described as "piety", but the notion of spirituality is broader. It includes the cultivation of specific virtues, involvement in charitable activities and political activism based on religious (sometimes sectarian) principles. In this sense, "spirituality" refers to all that Catholics did as Catholics. Thus the efforts of Catholic parents to provide a separate education system for their children, for example, were often described as "sacrificial".<sup>4</sup> At the opening of a new school in Invercargill in 1923, Dr James Kelly even asserted that the financial sacrifices of Catholics united them "with the sufferings of the martyrs who died for the Faith on the sands of the Roman Coliseum [*sic*]" as well as with those who had suffered for their faith in Ireland in more recent times.<sup>5</sup> Catholic educational, charitable and other activities discussed in chapter three, as well as the moral and political attitudes investigated in subsequent chapters, were a part of the overall pattern of Catholic spirituality. The discussion of spirituality in this chapter will of necessity adopt a narrower focus, but the shifting balance between devotional piety and an active spirituality, which sought to effect change in society at large, is one of the main themes of the chapter. Piety and active spirituality were inseparable in practice and cannot be wholly separated for the purposes of historical analysis. Since this thesis is concerned with the place of the Catholic community as a whole in New Zealand society, the discussion will concentrate on lay spirituality, ignoring practices which were peculiar to the clergy and religious orders. To a large extent however, the laity, the clergy and the religious shared a common spirituality.

Although little use has been made of it by historians, Catholic newspapers during the interwar period provide abundant evidence of contemporary spirituality. The Catholic press published numerous articles explaining particular devotions and movements and also reported on events throughout the country and overseas. This information can be supplemented by a few archival sources, such as parish notices and

<sup>4</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 27 February 1919, p. 21; 3 March 1921, p. 26; 26 April 1923, p. 19; 8 October 1924, pp. 26, 27; 14 April 1926, p. 19; 10 October 1928, p. 22; 11 September 1929, p. 3; 14 May 1930, p. 47; 31 August 1932, p. 12; 25 January 1933, p. 3; 7 February 1934, p. 1; 1 May 1935, p. 20; 9 February 1938, p. 6.

<sup>5</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 26 June 1924, p. 21; cf. 29 November 1923, p. 25.

the records of some parish societies. Little indication can be obtained from these sources about the spirituality of individuals and families but the recollections of Catholics who lived during the period tend to provide illustrative material without altering the general patterns suggested by the Catholic press. Moreover this chapter, being concerned with the relationship of the Catholic community as a whole to the wider society, is less concerned with private Catholicism than with its collective manifestations. Particular attention will be paid to organized religious activity, whether in the form of public worship or of lay movements.

It will be argued that the spirituality of Catholics was based entirely on trends in international Catholicism and therefore distinguished them sharply from the Protestant majority in New Zealand. While Catholic spirituality was often manifested even in public streets and parks, however, it only occasionally aroused antagonism on the part of non-Catholics. Catholics regarded their religion as conducive to loyal citizenship and compatible with maintaining cordial relations with non-Catholics - most of whom seem to have agreed.

This chapter is divided into five sections, of which the first three review the five principal international trends in Catholic spirituality which were evident in New Zealand. The first section will consider both the continued flourishing of nineteenth century devotional piety and, secondly, the newer, more active and assertive forms of lay spirituality, which were often described as "Catholic Action". In the second section, the third and fourth trends will be discussed. During the later nineteenth century, there was a renewed devotion to the Blessed Sacrament as an object of devotion and this third trend continued well into the twentieth century. By then, however, there was an increasing emphasis on the sacred host as a Sacrament to be received as often as possible. More frequent Communion was linked to the fourth trend, namely the liturgical movement, which promoted more active involvement by the laity in the liturgy. In the third section, it will be seen that efforts to intensify lay spirituality by using the religious life as a model constitute a fifth trend, manifested especially through the expansion of third orders and promoting retreats for the laity.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> For standard overviews of Catholic spirituality during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, see: R. Aubert *et al.*, *The Church in a Secularised Society*, translated by J. Sondheimer (vol. 5 of "The Christian Centuries"; London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1978), chapters 6 and 21 (by R. Aubert); H. Jedin *et al.* (editors), *History of the Church*: vol. 8, *The Church in the Age of Liberalism*, by R. Aubert *et al.*, translated by P. Becker, chapter 15 (by R. Aubert); vol. 9, *The Church in the Industrial Age*, by R. Aubert *et al.*, translated by M. Resch, chapters 17 (by O. Köhler) and 27-28 (By R. Aubert); vol. 10, *The Church in the Modern Age*, by G. Adriányi *et al.*, translated by A. Biggs, chapter 9 (by E. Iserloh), (London: Burns & Oates, 1981).

The fourth part of the chapter will consider the nature and extent of New Zealand Catholics' dependence on overseas patterns of spirituality and the fifth section will examine the implications of this international spirituality for Catholic life in New Zealand. It will include a discussion of the extent to which Catholics actually participated in the forms of spirituality introduced in the course of the chapter.

### **Devotional Piety and Active Spirituality**

The often emotional and even sentimental piety which developed in nineteenth century Europe was in part a reaction against the rationalism of the previous century but also, more importantly, a clerically-orchestrated response to the widespread rejection and even persecution of organized religion by anti-clericalists - not least in predominantly Catholic countries. Pius IX (1846-1878) and other ultramontanists enhanced the popular standing of the clergy and the papacy by promoting carefully selected devotions, based on mediaeval models, which gave an indispensable role to the priesthood. In the face of contemporary irreligion as well as scientific and historical studies which threatened the credibility of traditional Catholicism, these devotions, and the doctrines which undergirded them, stressed the miraculous and the mythological, thereby creating for Catholics a mental ghetto.<sup>7</sup> The clergy in New Zealand - as elsewhere - emphasized precisely those features of Catholic belief and practice which most distinguished Catholics from other Christians.<sup>8</sup> Devotion to the saints and to the Sacred Heart of Jesus were central features of this spirituality, which continued beyond the interwar period. During the twentieth century, the Church made a more active response to anti-clericalism and religious indifference. A variety of new lay organizations originating in Europe, were introduced to New Zealand, notably the Catholic Women's League, the Legion of Mary, the Grail organizations and the Catholic Action groups.

During the nineteenth century revival of the cult of saints, the unique status of the Blessed Virgin was underscored by apparitions and a newly-defined doctrine. Mary's

<sup>7</sup> W. McSweeney, *Roman Catholicism: the Search for Relevance* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1980), pp. 32-52. According to McSweeney (p. 36) "The Pope could not depend upon physical boundaries to prevent the incursion of ideas and attitudes which threatened his authority and the legitimacy of religion. If the ghetto was to survive its boundaries must be internalized, moralized, clearly drawn in the minds of Catholics...".

<sup>8</sup> H. McLeod, "Building the 'Catholic Ghetto': Catholic Organisations 1870-1914", in W.J. Sheils and Diana Wood (editors), *Voluntary Religion*, ("Studies in Church History" volume 23; Oxford: Basil Blackwell for the Ecclesiastical History Society, 1986), pp. 428-429.

Immaculate Conception had been affirmed in 1830 by the Virgin herself in an apparition to Catherine Labouré (1806-1875), a French nun who was beatified in 1933 and canonized in 1947. The doctrine was authoritatively proclaimed by Pius IX in 1854, and confirmed by a further apparition to Bernadette Soubirous (1844-1879, canonized in 1933) at Lourdes in 1858.<sup>9</sup> In accordance with Mary's instructions to St Catherine, a Sodality for girls - the Children of Mary - was established by her Vincentian Confessor, J.M. Aladel, in honour of the Immaculate Conception. Given formal approval by Pius IX in 1847, the Sodality was associated with the Prima Primaria, originally established by the Jesuits in 1563 as a Sodality for boys.<sup>10</sup> The Jesuits appointed a National Director for the Children of Mary and other societies affiliated to the Prima Primaria but individual branches of the Children of Mary (usually based in parishes) required a letter of aggregation from the Vincentians.<sup>11</sup> Established in Auckland and Dunedin during the 1870s, the Children of Mary flourished throughout the country during the interwar period, at least in urban parishes.<sup>12</sup> Some 200 women gathered for the diamond jubilee reunion of the St Joseph's branch in Dunedin in 1933.<sup>13</sup> There were over 1,200 Children of Mary at the women's Mass during the 1938 Catholic centennial celebrations in Auckland and

<sup>9</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 26 July 1933, p. 3; 4 December 1935, p. 3; 11 August 1937, p. 5; 22 November 1939, p. 7.

<sup>10</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 19 January 1924, p. 53; 23 March 1938, p. 8; *Marist Messenger*, 1 July 1933, pp. 37-38; 1 August 1937, pp. 17-18; *Prayer Book or Manual of the Children of Mary* (Sydney: Pellegrini and Company, 1932, Australian edition), pp. 1-2 (reprinted in *NZ Tablet*, 29 November 1933, p. 3); F.G. Ruffin in *CE*, vol. 2, p. 659; J. Hilgers in *ibid.*, vol. 14, p. 128; A.J. Conley, in *NCE*, vol.13, p. 409. In 1935, the Children of Mary in Dunedin celebrated the 350th anniversary of the Sodality. According to the *Tablet* report, it was inaugurated in 1685, evidently a misprint for 1585, although the canonical erection of the Prima Primaria by Pope Gregory XIII actually took place in December 1584 (*NZ Tablet*, 11 December 1935, p. 7; cf. Hilgers and Conley, *op. cit.*).

<sup>11</sup> J. Nerney SJ, the National Director, visited New Zealand during the 1938 centennial celebrations (*Zealandia*, 12 March 1938, pp. 10, 20; *NZ Tablet*, 23 March 1938, p. 3; cf. 3 May 1939, p. 7; *Zealandia*, 4 May 1939, p. 3. For the establishment of sodalities, see *Prayer Book or Manual of the Children of Mary*, p. 3. A Sodality of the Blessed Virgin Mary was established at the Christian Brothers' School in Dunedin in 1929 (*NZ Tablet*, 6 November 1929, p. 45; 13 November 1929, p. 46; 26 November 1930, p. 43; cf. 13 May 1931, p. 41 and 22 November 1933, p. 6 for references to the connection between this and the Children of Mary). There were also branches of the Children of Mary Sodality for boys in Granity (*NZ Tablet*, 8 September 1926, p. 27) and at Sacred Heart College, Auckland (*Zealandia*, 12 January 1939, p. 4).

<sup>12</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 8 October 1924, pp. 17 (Dunedin Sodality established in 1873); E.R. Simmons, *In Cruce Salus: a History of the Diocese of Auckland, 1848-1980* (Auckland: Catholic Communications Centre, 1982), p. 138 (establishment of the Sodality in Auckland given as 1978, obviously a misprint for 1878, cf., p. 194 for a reference to the movement in the 1890s).

<sup>13</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 22 November 1933, p. 6.

1,600 at an address in the Cathedral.<sup>14</sup> The French origins of the movement continued to be reflected in the common practice of using the abbreviation "E. de M." (*Enfant(s) de Marie*).<sup>15</sup> Mary had also told St Catherine to have a medal struck in honour of the Immaculate Conception. The "Miraculous Medal", as it became known, was a part of the regalia of the Children of Mary but was also worn by many other Catholics because of the favours received by wearers through Mary's intercession.<sup>16</sup> The centenary of the Miraculous Medal was marked by a triduum at Port Chalmers. Meanwhile in Dunedin, pupils of St Joseph's Convent School and St Dominic's College were invested with the Medal in an afternoon ceremony which included crowning a statue of Mary, followed by a Rosary procession and Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament.<sup>17</sup> Catholic families were encouraged to pray the Rosary together daily and the prayer was also used in congregational worship.<sup>18</sup>

Of all the places where Mary was believed to have appeared in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Lourdes, with its stories of miraculous cures, became the most famous Marian pilgrimage centre. New Zealand Catholic readers and audiences were repeatedly told of the visions and miracles at Lourdes.<sup>19</sup> The Catholic press

<sup>14</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 16 March 1938, p. 33; *Zealandia*, 12 March 1938, p. 10.

<sup>15</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 14 December 1922, p. 11; 8 April 1936, p. 29; *Month*, 15 January 1924, p. 5; 20 September 1927, p. 39; *Zealandia*, 9 April 1936, p. 5; 11 March 1937, p. 5.

<sup>16</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 26 July 1933, p. 3; 11 August 1937, p. 5; 22 November 1939, p. 7; *Marist Messenger*, 1 July 1932, pp. 12-15

<sup>17</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 3 December 1930, p. 45. A triduum was a series of devotions lasting over three days, usually in preparation for an important feast or to ask God for a special favour (*NZ Tablet*, 1 August 1918, p. 29).

<sup>18</sup> *Month*, 21 October 1924, p. 39; *NZ Tablet*, 7 October 1936, p. 3; Pauline O'Regan, *Aunts and Windmills* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1991), pp. 156-158; Pius XI, *Ingravescentibus Malis*, paragraph 28: for the full text, see *NZ Tablet*, 8 December 1937, pp. 3-4, 8 and *The Papal Encyclicals, 1903-1939*, edited by Claudia Carlen IHM (Wilmington, North Carolina: McGrath Publishing Company, 1981), pp. 563-566.

<sup>19</sup> Addresses: *NZ Tablet*, 12 September 1918, p. 19; 19 September 1918, p. 21; 18 September 1919, p. 35; 6 May 1920, p. 23; 8 June 1922, p. 23; 20 September 1923, p. 26; 17 January 1924, p. 31; 31 January 1924, pp. 21, 23, 27; 10 February 1926, p. 21; 9 February 1938, pp. 41, 43; *Month*, 19 February 1924, pp. 33, 35; 18 March 1924, p. 45; 18 November 1924, p. 15; *Zealandia*, 20 October 1938, p. 4.

Articles: *NZ Tablet*, 7 August 1919, pp. 19, 21; 31 August 1922, p. 30; 27 October 1926, p. 33; 12 December 1928, p. 23; 18 June 1930, p. 5; 10 February 1932, p. 17; 22 June 1932, p. 5; 12 October 1932, p. 27; 10 October 1934, p. 31; 15 March 1933, p. 6; 24 January 1934, p. 2; 20 February 1935, p. 7; 27 February 1935, p. 3; 22 May 1935, pp. 20-21; 4 December 1935, p. 3; 26 February 1936, p. 3; 10 June 1936, p. 20; 9 September 1936, p. 13; 4 November 1936, pp. 1-2; 18 November 1936, p. 11; 31 March 1937, p. 4; 26 October 1938, pp. 24-25, 32; *Month*, 16 September 1924, p. 37; 20 January 1925, p. 27; 21 December 1926, p. 35; 17 April 1928, pp. 12-13; 17 July 1928, p. 7; 21 January 1930, p. 25; 1 February 1932, pp. 9-10; 1 January 1934, pp. 13, 15; *Zealandia*, 5 July 1934, p. 1; 13 February 1936, p. 1; 11 August 1938, p. 7; 20 October 1938, p. 6; 24 August 1939, p. 9; 18

triumphantly contrasted the carefully authenticated cures at Lourdes with the alleged achievements of contemporary non-Catholic faith healers, such as J.M. Hickson, an Anglican layman who visited New Zealand in 1923, and the Maori Prophet Wiremu Ratana.<sup>20</sup> Readers of the *Tablet* were asked in 1919 to contribute to the cost of sending New Zealand soldiers to Lourdes before their return home.<sup>21</sup> In imitation of the site where the Virgin had appeared to Bernadette, numerous outdoor grottos, featuring statues of Mary and sometimes of St Bernadette as well, were built in interwar New Zealand.<sup>22</sup> The Lourdes grotto at Nazareth House in Christchurch was blessed by Brodie on the feast of the Immaculate Conception in 1933 - the day of St Bernadette's canonization.<sup>23</sup> In Palmerston North, outdoor processions in honour of "Our Lady of Lourdes" were held from 1925 and in 1939 a grotto was opened in the convent grounds.<sup>24</sup>

Another popular Marian devotion, to "Our Lady of Perpetual Succour", was based on an icon depicting the Christ child grasping his mother in fear when confronted by the Angels Michael and Gabriel bearing the cross and other symbols of the passion. The original image, associated with miracles and said to be derived ultimately from a portrait painted by St Luke, had been displayed in the Redemptorist Church of St

(Footnote continued from previous page.)

January 1940, p. 5; *Marist Messenger*, 2 January 1939, pp. 7-8; 1 February 1939, pp. 11-12; 1 May 1939, p. 19; 1 July 1939, pp. 22-23.

<sup>20</sup> Hickson and others: *Month*, 15 February 1923, pp. 5-6; 15 September 1923, pp. 4, 7-10, 13, 16, 19; 15 October 1923, pp. 7-12; 15 November 1923, pp. 11, 23; *NZ Tablet*, 11 October 1923, p. 29. Ratana: *Month*, 15 June 1921, pp. 6-7; 15 September 1925, p. 15; 20 October 1925, p. 24.

<sup>21</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 20 March 1919, pp. 9, 31; 3 April 1919, pp. 9, 21, 23; 17 April 1919, p. 39; 8 May 1919, p. 33; 10 July 1919, p. 28.

<sup>22</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 18 December 1919, p. 21 (Sacred Heart Church, Ponsonby); 2 June 1921, p. 21 (St Mary's, Christchurch); 20 January 1926, pp. 29-30 (St Patrick's College, Oamaru); 16 June 1926, p. 57 (Timaru parish church); 12 October 1932, p. 46 (Temuka convent school); 13 December 1933, p. 6 (St Mary's Convent, Kaikorai); 5 June 1935, p. 7 and 19 June 1935, front cover (St Mary's Basilica, Invercargill); 30 March 1938, p. 46 (Seatoun); *Zealandia*, 28 February 1935, p. 5 (Home of the Little Sisters of the Poor, Auckland). References to existing grottos: *Month*, 1 June 1932, p. 15 (Lewisham Hospital, Wellington); *NZ Tablet*, 21 October 1920, p. 32 (Otaki); 23 November 1927, p. 31 (Seminary at Mosgiel: photo); 2 March 1938, p. 46 (Sacred Heart Convent, Remuera); *Zealandia*, 19 August 1937, p. 6 (Convent of the Sisters of the Society of Mary, Wellington). On the grotto at Teschmakers, see further, M.A. McCarthy, *Star in the South: the Centennial History of the New Zealand Dominican Sisters* (Dunedin: St Dominic's Priory, 1970), pp. 206, 217, 237.

<sup>23</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 17 January 1934, p. 38.

<sup>24</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 25 February 1931, p. 48; 29 March 1939, p. 41; *Zealandia*, 13 April 1939, p. 4; cf. *NZ Tablet*, 8 March 1939, pp. 41-42 (Oamaru); *Zealandia*, 27 February 1936, p. 3 (St Mary's Convent, Wellington).

Alphonsus Liguori in Rome since 1866. Reproductions were often enshrined in churches and hung in Catholic homes.<sup>25</sup> In 1935, W. Monaghan, the parish priest at Port Chalmers, decided to build a church at Seacliff as a national shrine dedicated to Our Lady of Perpetual Succour.<sup>26</sup> An annual pilgrimage to the shrine took place each March in commemoration of its dedication.<sup>27</sup> In several parishes, and at the Redemptorist Church in Wellington, there were branches of the Confraternity of Our Lady of Perpetual Succour for women, which had been founded by the Redemptorists and approved by Pius IX in 1871.<sup>28</sup> At St Joseph's Cathedral parish in Dunedin, which had had a shrine and a branch of the Confraternity since 1888, hundreds of women attended special devotions on Wednesday nights.<sup>29</sup>

Apart from the Blessed Virgin herself, the most popular embodiment of Catholic devotional piety during the interwar years - both in New Zealand and internationally - was St Thérèse of Lisieux (1873-1897), "the Little Flower of Jesus", a Carmelite nun who was canonized in 1925. After publishing her picture on its front cover, the *Month* was persuaded by readers to provide copies suitable for framing.<sup>30</sup> Some New Zealanders claimed to have received cures and other favours through her intercession.<sup>31</sup> By withdrawing from the hostile and rationalistic society of her time to

<sup>25</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 29 October 1924, p. 53; 17 January 1934, p. 7 (Church of the Immaculate Conception, Mosgiel); 18 July 1934, p. 13 (St Joseph's Cathedral, Dunedin); 8 May 1935, p. 31; 10 March 1937, pp. 21-22; *Month*, 16 April 1929, pp. 3, 5.

<sup>26</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 8 May 1935, p. 31; 21 August 1935, p. 11; 6 November 1935, p. 5; 4 December 1935, p. 7; 18 March 1936, p. 6; 15 April 1936, p. 23; *Zealandia*, 9 April 1936, p. 5.

<sup>27</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 10 March 1937, p. 7; 9 March 1938, p. 44; 28 March 1938, p. 7; 22 March 1939, p. 4; 6 March 1940, p. 34; *Zealandia*, 14 April 1938, p. 5.

<sup>28</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 18 July 1934, p. 13; *Month*, 16 April 1929, p. 5 (St Joseph's in Dunedin, St Gerard's in Wellington, St Patrick's in Auckland); *Month*, 21 May 1929, p. 38 (Ponsonby, new branch); 10 June 1930, p. iii (Hamilton); *Zealandia*, 2 September 1937, p. 10 (St Heliers); 5 December 1935, p. 3 (St Patrick's).

<sup>29</sup> Quinquennial report, Diocese of Dunedin, May 1927, item 74, pp. 31 and 46, DCDA (attendance of 300-350); *NZ Tablet*, 26 October 1922, p. 31 (enrolment of 550 women); 18 July 1934, p. 13; 18 March 1936, p. 6. Monaghan had been a chaplain to the Confraternity before his appointment to Port Chalmers. By designating the new Church as a national shrine based on a popular devotion, he was able to draw contributions from Catholics throughout the country (*NZ Tablet*, 27 November 1935, p. 4; 4 December 1935, p. 7; 7 October 1936, p. 6; 15 February 1939, p. 45). The shrine itself, for example, was given by F. Hart of Wellington (*NZ Tablet*, 6 November 1935, p. 5; 15 April 1936, p. 23).

<sup>30</sup> *Month*, 17 August 1926, p. 18; cf. 1 July 1932, p. 33 for an example of a regular advertisement for pictures of the saint by Catholic Supplies Ltd.

<sup>31</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 17 May 1923, p. 23; 2 July 1924, p. 25; 16 November 1932, p. 42.

live a secluded life of innocent suffering for love of Jesus, St Thérèse epitomized what has been called the "feminized" Catholic piety of the period.<sup>32</sup> She suffered not only as a consumptive, but particularly through the normal vexations of daily life, which, far from evading, she deliberately sought out.<sup>33</sup> In 1926, laying the foundation stone for one of several churches dedicated to the new saint, Bishop James Whyte explained how she illustrated the principle that "holiness consists not in doing extraordinary actions but in doing ordinary actions extraordinarily well."<sup>34</sup> Father P.J. Cooney, after returning from a trip to Europe, during which he had visited Lisieux, encouraged devotion to St Thérèse among his Lyttelton parishioners. A statue of the saint was placed in an oratory in the parish church in 1929.<sup>35</sup> Each year, before her feast in October, there was held a triduum, consisting of early morning Mass and evening devotions with a sermon.<sup>36</sup> The settlement of the Carmelite nuns in Christchurch (1933) and Auckland (1937) - developments which no doubt owed something to the popularity of St Thérèse - provided further stimulus to the cult.<sup>37</sup> The Christchurch monastery was described as a national shrine to the Little Flower and relics of the saint were venerated at both monasteries on her feast day.<sup>38</sup>

Of the new saints and other outstanding Catholics honoured during the interwar period, a high proportion, like St Thérèse, represented the devotional spirituality of

- 32 Barbara Corrado Pope, "A Heroine Without Heroics: the Little Flower of Jesus and her Times", *Church History*, 57 (March 1988), pp. 53-55.
- 33 For accounts of her life and spirituality in the Catholic press, see: *NZ Tablet*, 23 May 1918, pp. 15, 17; 3 November 1921, pp. 17-18; 25 November 1925, p. 15; 30 September 1931, p. 17; 28 September 1932, p. 3; 31 May 1933, p. 2; 27 September 1933, p. 3; 3 October 1934, p. 3; 29 September 1937, p. 5; *Month*, 16 June 1925, pp. 9, 11; 21 July 1925, p. 9; 15 May 1928, p. 11; 2 October 1933, p. 23; *Zealandia*, 7 November 1935, p. 10; 28 September 1939, p. 9. The spelling of the name varies, presumably because Thérèse Martin became Sister Teresa of the Child Jesus in religion.
- 34 *NZ Tablet*, 2 June 1926, p. 17 (Outram); cf. 13 May 1925, p. 45 (Riccarton, church-school); 1 July 1925, p. 27 (Tuatapere); 9 May 1928, p. 42 (Wairoa); 27 August 1930, p. 46 (Riccarton, new church); 13 December 1933, p. 6 (Waipahi); *Month*, 21 July 1925, p. ii (Tuatapere); MYB, 1928, p. 133 (Karori - opened 25 September 1927); 1929, p. 129 (Wairoa - opened in May 1928).
- 35 *NZ Tablet*, 30 October 1929, p. 23.
- 36 *NZ Tablet*, 15 October 1930, p. 33; 14 October 1931, p. 46; 12 October 1932, p. 42; 18 October 1933, p. 21; 14 October 1936, p. 8; 20 October 1937, p. 31; *Zealandia*, 14 October 1937, p. 4.
- 37 *NZ Tablet*, 1 March 1933, p. 7; 16 December 1936, p. 6; *Month*, 1 March 1933, p. 34; *Zealandia*, 17 February 1938, p. 6; 17 November 1938, p. 11.
- 38 *NZ Tablet*, 15 March 1933, p. 6 (Christchurch); 19 September 1934, p. 31 (relic in Christchurch); *Zealandia*, 17 December 1936, p. 5 (Christchurch); 29 September 1938, p. 6 and 28 September 1939, p. 2 (veneration of relics at both monasteries).

nineteenth century France. Mother Mary Joseph Aubert (1835-1926), who came to New Zealand with Bishop Pompallier and later founded the Sisters of Our Lady of Compassion, had known eighteen of them.<sup>39</sup> One of the most famous, St John Baptist Vianney, the Curé of Ars (1786-1859), had counselled the young Suzanne Aubert and apparently foretold her achievements in New Zealand.<sup>40</sup> Vianney's canonization in 1925 naturally occasioned a celebration at the Home of Compassion where Aubert spent her final years.<sup>41</sup> During and after her lifetime, Aubert's associations with these saints were important to New Zealand Catholics. As Mary Goulter exclaimed, "How it links us up in little New Zealand with the great saintly names of the Eldest Daughter of the Church!"<sup>42</sup>

Devotional piety not only encouraged the cult of saints but also promoted a distinctive approach to Jesus Christ. Strong emphasis was placed on Christ's passion - a subject on which Archbishop Francis Redwood even wrote a pamphlet for meditation.<sup>43</sup> One of the more popular Catholic devotions, undertaken individually or collectively, was the stations of the cross: around the interior of most churches were fourteen images depicting Christ's passion, which were used as a focus for reflection and prayer, especially during Lent.<sup>44</sup>

During the later nineteenth century, as the Church was increasingly subjected to anti-clerical attacks, the predominant image of Christ came to be that of the Sacred

<sup>39</sup> *Marist Messenger*, 1 July 1935, p. 29.

<sup>40</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 10 June 1925, p. 15; 13 October 1926, p. 25; *Month*, 19 May 1925, p. 21; 16 November 1926, pp. 17, 33; 15 February 1927, p. 14; cf. 19 May 1925, p. 27; *Marist Messenger*, 1 July 1935, p. 29; Pat Rafter, *Never Let Go! The Remarkable Story of Mother Aubert* (Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1972), pp. 10, 13-14, 17-19. Madeleine Sophie Barat (1779-1865, canonized in 1925) had also apparently foretold co-operation between her order (the Sisters of the Sacred Heart) and that of Aubert - see Phyllis Mary Goulter, *Sowers and Reapers: a Short History of the Society of the Sacred Heart in New Zealand* (Auckland: Society of the Sacred Heart, 1982), pp. 34-35.

<sup>41</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 17 June 1925, pp. 15, 17.

<sup>42</sup> *Month*, 16 November 1926, p. 27; cf. 14 July 1923, p. 27; 19 October 1926, pp. 3, 16-17, 33; *NZ Tablet*, 10 June 1925, p. 15; 31 January 1940, p. 6; 7 February 1940, p. 34 (sermon by Archbishop Duhug of Brisbane); N.H. Gascoigne, *The Book of the Congress, 1940* (Wellington: Chancellery of the Archdiocese, 1941), p. 60 (Duhig); D.M. Taylor in *NZ National Eucharistic Congress Souvenir Programme*, [edited by P.A. Lawlor], (Wellington: printed by Whitcombe and Tombs, 1940), p. 3.

<sup>43</sup> F. Redwood, *The Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ* (Wellington: printed by Tolan Printing Co., 1926); cf. *Month*, 20 April 1926, p. 43 (review).

<sup>44</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 20 March 1919, p. 23; 11 April 1934, p. 6; 13 May 1938, pp. 3-4, 41; 1 March 1939, pp. 34-35; *Month*, 18 March 1924, p. 3; *Zealandia*, 30 March 1939, p. 5. For Lenten devotions, see MYB, 1929, pp. 120 (Thorndon), 123 (Meane), 132 (Nelson), 138 (Waimate); *NZ Tablet*, 10 March 1937, p. 7 (Geraldine).

Heart of Jesus suffering at the hands of unbelievers. In its modern form, the devotion was based on the teachings of St Margaret Mary Alacoque (1647-1690, canonized in 1920), whom Christ had instructed, in a series of apparitions, to promote devotion to his heart. Central to this cult was the notion of reparation to the heart of Jesus "for the coldness and ingratitude with which His love is met by so many of the men and women [for] whom He died to save from Hell."<sup>45</sup> In 1899, Leo XIII dedicated the whole world to the Sacred Heart and the bishops of Australasia similarly dedicated their own countries.<sup>46</sup> On 29 June 1919, at the behest of the bishops, Australasia was similarly consecrated by the reading of an Act of Consecration in parish churches.<sup>47</sup> One of the most popular forms of reparation to the Sacred Heart was to receive Holy Communion on the first Friday of nine consecutive months. According to the twelfth of a series of promises attributed by St Margaret Mary to Jesus Christ, those who so honoured him were guaranteed "the grace of final perseverance" and access to the sacraments at the time of death. In popular thinking, this seems to have been interpreted as an assurance of ultimate salvation, although Catholic publications were more cautious.<sup>48</sup> Another increasingly widespread form of reparation based on St Margaret Mary's revelations, especially during the 1930s, was the Holy Hour. Whether undertaken in private or as a parish congregation, the Holy Hour was inspired by Christ's plea to the disciples in the Garden of Gethsemane to watch with him for one hour.<sup>49</sup> Throughout New Zealand, schools and parishes were placed under the patronage of the Sacred Heart. Since the later nineteenth century the Sacred Heart Confraternity, with separate branches for men and women, had been established in a

<sup>45</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 31 May 1923, p. 29. For explanations of the devotion and the story of St Margaret Mary, see *NZ Tablet*, 30 May 1918, pp. 25-26; 26 June 1919, pp. 17-19, 25-26; 9 September 1920, p. 18; 14 October 1920, p. 25; 2 June 1921, pp. 25-26; 31 May 1923, p. 29; 3 June 1925, p. 57; 26 May 1926, p. 33; 1 June 1927, p. 33; 28 August 1929, p. 41; *Month*, 18 May 1926, p. 3; 1 June 1931, p. 16; 1 June 1933, p. 5; *Zealandia*, 7 November 1935, p. 6.

<sup>46</sup> C.J. Moell, in *NCE*, vol. 12, p. 819; O. Köhler, in *Jedin*, vol. 9, p. 262; L. Verheylezoon, *Devotion to the Sacred Heart: Objects, Ends, Practice, Motives* (London: Sands & Co., 1955), p. 144.

<sup>47</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 26 June 1919, pp. 17-19, 25-26; for examples, see 3 July 1919, pp. 22, 27.

<sup>48</sup> Mary Dudson, interview, 27 January 1989; *NZ Tablet*, 1 January 1920, p. 13; 28 December 1922, p. 3; 14 June 1923, p. 29; 20 December 1933, p. 95; *Marist Messenger*, 1 June 1932, p. 4; 1 August 1940, p. 21; MYB, 1928, p. 66. In a list of the promises of the Sacred Heart published on the *Tablet's* children's page, the twelfth one was omitted (*NZ Tablet*, 1 June 1938, p. 17).

<sup>49</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 17 March 1926, p. 49; 25 September 1929, p. 41; 10 June 1931, p. 41; 17 August 1932, p. 3; 2 November 1932, p. 7; 10 May 1933, p. 27; 1 January 1936, p. 15; 24 August 1938, p. 21; 5 April 1939, p. 20; *Zealandia*, 28 February 1935, p. 5; *Marist Messenger*, 1 January 1932, pp. 23-24; cf. Matthew 26:40.

number of parishes.<sup>50</sup> New branches continued to be established during the interwar period, for example in Nelson in 1939.<sup>51</sup>

While devotion to the Sacred Heart and other forms of devotional piety continued to flourish, there emerged a second principal trend, namely the development of more active and assertive forms of lay spirituality. The gradual transition from the older, affective piety to a more active spirituality can be seen in the contrasting imagery of the Sacred Heart and Christ the King. During the twentieth century, alongside the continuing cult of the Sacred Heart, Christ was increasingly depicted not only as the suffering victim of human sin, but also as the conquering King to whom all the world owed obedience.<sup>52</sup> If the Sacred Heart represented the Church's suffering at the hands of its enemies, the proclamation of Christ's kingship represented a renewed determination to wrest the initiative in the struggle with a hostile society. When Pius XI established the annual feast of Christ the King on the last Sunday of October, as a permanent legacy of the 1925 Holy Year, he declared that genuine liberty and peace would only come about when both private individuals and governments acknowledged the kingship of Christ.<sup>53</sup> Similar themes were emphasized by Catholic writers in New Zealand.<sup>54</sup> Secular authorities were also called upon to recognize the independent authority Christ had delegated to the Church in all matters pertaining to eternal salvation.<sup>55</sup> The feast of Christ the King was celebrated in a number of centres with

- 50 The sodality of the Sacred Heart was established in Auckland by the 1890s - E. Simmons, *In Cruce Salus*, p. 194; S.C. MacPherson, "'A Ready-made Nucleus of Degradation and Disorder'? A Religious and Social History of the Catholic Church and Community in Auckland, 1870-1910" (University of Auckland M.A. thesis in History, 1987), p. 91. Presumably the Confraternity established in New Zealand was affiliated to the organization founded in Rome in 1797 and raised to an Archconfraternity in 1803 - see J. Hilgers in *CE*, vol. 14, p. 123 and Verheylezoon, p. 258.
- 51 *Month*, 1 December 1932, p. 34 (reorganization of the Sodality in Napier); *NZ Tablet*, 19 August 1931, p. 45 (Wairoa); 25 October 1939, p. 30 (Nelson).
- 52 The continuing importance of the cult of the Sacred Heart was emphasized by Pius XI's promulgation of two encyclicals on this devotion (*Miserentissimus Redemptor*, 1928 and *Caritate Christi Compulsi*, 1932) after the publication of his encyclical on Christ the King (*Quas Primas*, 1925). For full texts, see Carlen, pp. 271-279, 321-328, 475-483; *NZ Tablet*, 24 March 1926, pp. 25, 27 (and subsequent issues).
- 53 *Quas Primas*, paragraph 19; cf. *NZ Tablet*, 24 February 1926, p. 25.
- 54 *NZ Tablet*, 10 February 1926, p. 33; 3 November 1926, p. 33; 26 October 1927, p. 33; 7 December 1927, pp. 25, 27; 1 November 1933, p. 3; 3 November 1937, p. 5; 26 October 1938, p. 5; *Zealandia*, 25 October 1934, p. 4; 24 October 1935, p. 4; 22 October 1936, p. 4; 28 October 1937, p. 6.
- 55 *Quas Primas*, paragraphs 24, 31; cf. *NZ Tablet*, 17 February 1926, p. 17; 29 December 1926, p. 15; 23 February 1938, p. 6; *Month*, 16 March 1926, p. 9; 19 October 1926, p. 3 and *NZ Tablet*, 13 October 1926, p. 31 (pastoral letter by Redwood); *Zealandia*, 25 October 1934, p. 9; 22 October 1936, p. 4.

large outdoor Eucharistic processions, in which members of Catholic societies wore their distinctive regalia and carried banners.<sup>56</sup> In the largest of these celebrations, up to 8,000 Catholics processed annually through the grounds of the Cathedral and the surrounding schools in Christchurch to acknowledge Christ the King, although the numbers fluctuated.<sup>57</sup>

The contrast between these two Christological motifs was blurred, for the Sacred Heart was often spoken of in terms appropriate to the idea of Christ as King. Pius XI explained that, even though "Christ is already reigning in the beatitude of Heaven", it was appropriate for Christians to offer him solace retrospectively for what he suffered in advance on behalf of sinners in all ages. Moreover, in the form of his mystical body, the Church, he continued to suffer.<sup>58</sup> New Zealand Catholics followed the instruction to transfer to the feast of Christ the King the annual renewal of the dedication of humanity to the Sacred Heart by reading the Act of Consecration.<sup>59</sup> In the dedication of families and nations to the Sacred Heart, Pius saw a recognition of Christ's kingship.<sup>60</sup> For families, this was carried out by the "enthronement of the Sacred Heart", which was promoted from 1907 by a Latin American priest, Mateo Crawley-Boevey (1875-1960), who had received a miraculous cure at Paray-Le-Monial, the scene of St Margaret Mary's revelations.<sup>61</sup> Redwood and others

<sup>56</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 2 November 1927, p. 35 and 23 November 1927, p. 31 (Holy Cross College, Mosgiel); 27 November 1929, p. 48 (Marist Brothers' Juniorate, Tuakau); 12 November 1930, p. 37 (Marist Seminary, Greenmeadows); 25 November 1931, p. 31 (Invercargill); 7 November 1934, p. 6 (Sacred Heart Convent, Island Bay); 8 November 1939, p. 31 (Sacred Heart Convent, Island Bay and Nelson); *Zealandia*, 5 November 1936, p. 4 (Palmerston North); 11 November 1937, p. 5 (various centres). Eucharistic processions will be discussed below.

<sup>57</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 6 November 1929, pp. 48-49 (8,000); 2 November 1932, p. 6 (7,000 and 1,000 spectators); 8 November 1933, p. 7 (6,000); *Zealandia*, 8 November 1934, p. 5 (6,000); 7 November 1935, p. 2 (3,000); 5 November 1936, p. 3 (over 5,000); 11 November 1937, p. 5 (6,500); 9 November 1939, p. 2 (over 5,000); 7 November 1940, p. 2 (6,000 - said to be the largest gathering for many years).

<sup>58</sup> *Miserentissimus Redemptor*, paragraphs 13-14.

<sup>59</sup> *Quas Primas*, paragraph 28; cf. *NZ Tablet*, 17 February 1926, p. 17; 24 February 1926, p. 25; 22 October 1930, p. 3; *Month*, 16 March 1926, p. 9; pastoral letter by Redwood: *Month*, 19 October 1926, p. 3 and *NZ Tablet*, 13 October 1926, p. 31. For the reciting of the Act on the feast of Christ the King, see *NZ Tablet*, 9 November 1927, p. 31 (Christchurch); 6 November 1929, p. 52 (Mosgiel); 12 November 1930, p. 37 (Marist Seminary, Greenmeadows); 8 November 1933, p. 7 (Christchurch); 31 October 1934, p. 7 (Mosgiel); 1 November 1939, p. 33 (St Bernadette's, Dunedin); *Zealandia*, 19 November 1936, p. 3 (Greymouth). The text of the Act is given in *NZ Tablet*, 22 October 1930, p. 3 and *Marist Messenger*, 1 October 1936, p. 5.

<sup>60</sup> *Quas Primas*, paragraph 26.

<sup>61</sup> F. Larkin in *NCE*, vol. 4, p. 416 and vol. 12, p. 820; Verheylezoon, pp. 135-136.

encouraged Catholic families to consecrate their homes by placing an appropriate image of the Sacred Heart in a prominent place and solemnly reciting the Act of Consecration.<sup>62</sup> The intertwining of the two Christological images led to the use of spiritual mixed metaphors like "enthronement of the Sacred Heart", which Redwood described as "the practical acknowledgment and affirmation of the Kingship of the Sacred Heart".<sup>63</sup>

There was no sodality under the patronage of Christ the King but the more assertive and masculine spirituality it expressed also underlay the Holy Name Society, which rapidly became the largest sodality for Catholic men during the interwar period.<sup>64</sup> The Society traced its origins back to Pope Gregory X's promotion of devotion to the name of Jesus at the Second Council of Lyons (1274) but, in its modern form, the Society had developed in the United States during the late nineteenth century.<sup>65</sup> Evidently impressed by a large gathering of Holy Name men at the 1926 International Eucharistic Congress in Chicago, Liston returned home and established a branch in St Patrick's Cathedral parish in October that same year.<sup>66</sup> Within a few years, branches had been inaugurated in each diocese of New Zealand.<sup>67</sup> New branches of the Society required a Diploma of Affiliation from the Dominicans'

<sup>62</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 20 June 1918, pp. 18-19 (pastoral letter by Redwood); cf. 29 April 1920, p. 27 (Marist missionaries in Dunedin); 3 June 1925, p. 57 (text of the Act of Consecration). Suitable images were advertised in the *Tablet* (26 August 1920, p. 29; 9 August 1933, p. 30).

<sup>63</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 20 June 1918, p. 18.

<sup>64</sup> It may be noted that the feast of Christ the King was adopted by the Holy Name Society in Auckland as its official feast day (*Month*, 1 October 1931, p. 33).

<sup>65</sup> David J. Griffin, *The Australian Holy Name Society Handbook* (Goulburn: Goulburn Holy Name Society, revised edition, 1938; originally published 1932), pp. 5, 8; *The Story of the Holy Name Society*, (Printed by Advocate Press, Melbourne, 1964), 30 page pamphlet with introduction by Dominic Fitzmaurice OP; *Month*, 15 March 1927, p. 11; 17 September 1929, p. 40; *NZ Tablet*, 1 January 1936, p. 3.

<sup>66</sup> *The Story of the Holy Name Society*, p. 25; Griffin, pp. 8-9; *Holy Name Annual*, December 1931, p. 37; MYB, 1929, p. 147. A brief note in the *Month* (19 October 1926, p. 15) attributes the decision to inaugurate the movement to Cleary and does not mention Liston, but the convention of attributing any new development to the ruling bishop does not preclude a subordinate's having taken the initiative. Liston left Auckland on 13 April and returned on 16 August (*Month*, 20 April 1926, p. 17; 21 September 1926, p. 17). Simmons (*In Cruce Salus*, p. 247) confuses the formation of the diocesan union in 1928 with the original introduction of the Society (see *Month*, 19 June 1928, p. 7).

<sup>67</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 12 December 1928, p. 31 (Timaru - Christchurch diocese); 16 April 1930, p. 45 (Dunedin); *Month*, 18 December 1928, p. 37 (Timaru); MYB, 1929, p. 147 (Timaru). For Wellington, see below.

headquarters in Victoria.<sup>68</sup> Dominican preachers such as William Vincent McEvoy, National Director of the Holy Name Society for Australia and New Zealand, visited New Zealand to address Holy Name meetings.<sup>69</sup> By honouring the name of Jesus and combating blasphemy, the Society sought to defend the doctrine of Christ's divinity.<sup>70</sup> Respectable language, as demanded by the Society, was deemed "symbolic of the cleansing of the heart that makes for honourable living, responsible citizenship and spiritual growth."<sup>71</sup> Although essentially a pious association, concern over moral purity led the Society to lobby against immoral literature and films.<sup>72</sup> Moreover, by wearing the Society's badge, which depicted the head of Christ as a boy of twelve, and by participating in rallies and processions, Holy Name men declared openly their commitment to the Church.<sup>73</sup> Their first public appearance was as participants in the annual Corpus Christi procession at Sacred Heart Convent, Remuera in June 1927.<sup>74</sup> About 800 Wellington Holy Name men held a rally in February 1936 at St Patrick's College, Silverstream, where the Blessed Sacrament was carried in procession by O'Shea. There followed an address, recitation of the Society pledge and Benediction.<sup>75</sup> A Wellington procession in 1939 was expected to be "an act of public piety suitable to the virile devotion which membership of the Society fosters".<sup>76</sup> The Holy Name Society thus offered men a more assertive, masculine spirituality than did the Sacred Heart Sodality. At St Joseph's parish, Wellington, the last meeting of the men's branch of the Sacred Heart Sodality was held in December 1928; in March 1929, the first Wellington branch of the Holy Name Society was inaugurated there

<sup>68</sup> Griffin, p. 20; *A Simple Holy Name Manual* (Wellington: T.J. Tiller, new edition, 1932), p. 108; cf. *NZ Tablet*, 12 December 1928, p. 31 (Timaru).

<sup>69</sup> *Month*, 21 February 1928, p. 40 (Father Powell OP at St Benedict's); *Zealandia*, 27 February 1936, pp. 3, 5 and 9 April 1936, p. 3 (McEvoy in Auckland); 24 February 1938, p. 5 and *NZ Tablet*, 13 April 1938, p. 27 (McEvoy in Wellington); 22 February 1939, p. 41 (McEvoy in Palmerston North); *Zealandia*, 17 February 1938, p. 6 (McEvoy in Christchurch); 25 March 1937, p. 2 and 8 April 1937, p. 4 (Father A. Fogerty OP in Christchurch).

<sup>70</sup> *Month*, 19 October 1926, p. 13; 15 March 1927, pp. 11, 13; 19 November 1929, p. 37; 1 April 1932, p. 23; *Zealandia*, 5 July 1934, p. 4.

<sup>71</sup> *Month*, 17 January 1928, p. 40.

<sup>72</sup> *Holy Name Annual*, December 1931, p. 3; *Zealandia*, 1 July 1937, p. 5; 29 September 1938, p. 5; *NZ Tablet*, 7 July 1937, p. 43; 29 March 1939, p. 46; 18 October 1939, p. 32.

<sup>73</sup> *Month*, 15 March 1927, p. 11; 20 December 1927, p. 38; *Zealandia*, 21 June 1934, p. 8.

<sup>74</sup> *Month*, 21 June 1927, p. i; 19 July 1927, p. 11.

<sup>75</sup> *Zealandia*, 27 February 1936, p. 5; *NZ Tablet*, 4 March 1936, p. 29.

<sup>76</sup> T.F. Connolly to clergy, 3 February 1939, copy in St Joseph's parish notices, WCAA.

with an unexpectedly high enrolment of nearly 200 men.<sup>77</sup> Despite its differences from older organizations, however, the Holy Name Society remained essentially a devotional sodality rather than an active movement.

As a charitable organization prepared to undertake a variety of activities in the service of the Church, the St Vincent de Paul Society was an early expression of active spirituality among the laity. Founded in Paris by Frederick Ozanam in 1833,<sup>78</sup> the Society's first New Zealand branch ("conference") was established in Christchurch in 1867 or 1868 but did not survive and had to be re-established in 1888.<sup>79</sup> Later foundations in the other three main centres also lapsed but the Society was re-established there between 1905 and 1907.<sup>80</sup> Only in 1932, with the establishment of the New Zealand Superior Council, did the St Vincent de Paul Society in New Zealand attain independence from the Superior Council of Australasia.<sup>81</sup> It remained responsible to the Council General in Paris, to which it had to report annually on its activities.<sup>82</sup> New conferences (established on a parochial basis) still required a letter of aggregation from the Council General.<sup>83</sup> The principal work of the Society's members was personally visiting poor families, who were given contributions of food and other necessities, as well as being encouraged to practise their religion. Other activities included the distribution of religious literature and sponsoring the Apostleship of the Sea (*Apostolatus Maris*).<sup>84</sup> After a number of unsuccessful attempts by several Catholics to establish a similar organization, the Apostleship of the Sea was founded in

<sup>77</sup> St Joseph's parish notices, 9 December 1928, 17 March 1929, WCAA; *Month*, 15 January 1929, p. 19; 19 March 1929, p. 40.

<sup>78</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 9 June 1926, p. 33; 14 July 1926, p. 33; 3 May 1933, pp. 1-2; *Month*, 1 February 1932, p. 35.

<sup>79</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 24 September 1930, p. 15 (1868); 12 August 1931, p. 14 (1888); *Zealandia*, 5 March 1938, p. 25 (1867 and 1888).

<sup>80</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 24 September 1930, p. 15 (Wellington); 4 July 1934, p. 39 ("Twenty-nine years ago the St. Vincent de Paul Society was started in Dunedin."); MacPherson, pp. 109-115 (Auckland); Simmons, *In Cruce Salus*, pp. 194, 210, 247 (Auckland).

<sup>81</sup> *Month*, 1 March 1932, pp. 20-21; *NZ Tablet*, 2 March 1932, pp. 42-44.

<sup>82</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 7 September 1932, p. 35; 29 March 1933, p. 41; 15 August 1934, p. 9.

<sup>83</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 18 January 1933, p. 35; 15 July 1936, p. 36.

<sup>84</sup> The Catholic press regularly reported on the activities of the Society and sometimes published the annual reports of its conferences and regional councils (see, for example, the Auckland Particular Council's annual reports in the *Month*, 19 February 1929, pp. 13-15; 18 March 1930, pp. 17-19; 1 April 1931, pp. 29-32). With the formation of the Superior Council in 1932, the *Tablet* began to publish its reports (*NZ Tablet*, 7 September 1932, p. 3, 35).

Glasgow by Peter Anson in 1920.<sup>85</sup> Joseph E. Rockliff, an English priest and International Promoter of the Apostleship of the Sea, toured New Zealand in 1934 to encourage the spread of the London-based organization.<sup>86</sup> In New Zealand, it was effectively a subsidiary of the St Vincent de Paul Society, which organized seamen's conferences to carry out the work. Members of the Society had begun visiting ships in Auckland and Wellington in 1910 and the first Catholic Seamen's Institute was opened in Dunedin in 1926, followed by Wellington in 1934.<sup>87</sup> In ports around the country, the Apostleship of the Sea sought out Catholic sailors, giving them rosaries and religious literature and encouraging them to attend Confession and Mass.<sup>88</sup> Individuals and groups were encouraged to become associate members of the Apostleship, offering prayers on its behalf and paying a subscription towards its costs.<sup>89</sup>

By emphasizing personal sanctity and concentrating on the relief of poverty - without a comparable interest in scrutinizing the social and political causes of distress or taking a public stand on moral issues - the St Vincent de Paul Society differed to some extent from newer movements. Charitable activities such as assisting the poor were regarded as a means towards achieving the main object of the Society, namely the personal sanctification of its members.<sup>90</sup> On the whole, however, given the Society's wide range of activities, more of which will be noted in chapter three, it must be taken as an exception among the predominantly devotional lay associations founded during

<sup>85</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 5 May 1926, pp. 27-31; 33; 5 June 1935, p. 3; 27 April 1938, pp. 10, 24-26; 17 August 1938, p. 24; 24 August 1938, pp. 24, 26; *Zealandia*, 10 May 1934, p. 2; 5 December 1935, p. 9; 2 February 1939, p. 9.

<sup>86</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 2 May 1934, p. 6; *Zealandia*, 10 May 1934, pp. 2, 6.

<sup>87</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 16 June 1926, p. 21; 5 September 1934, p. 8; 27 April 1938, p. 24; *Zealandia*, 13 September 1934, p. 5. It is not clear from these references precisely when the Seamen's Conferences of the St Vincent de Paul Society first became affiliated to the Apostleship of the Sea. In Dunedin a seamen's conference of the Society was formed in 1924 (annual report for 1924 in *NZ Tablet*, 17 June 1925, p. 27). A 1931 article on the Society in Wellington noted that one branch was organized as the Apostolatus Maris (*Month*, 1 July 1931, p. 8). Late in 1932, it was noted that the Superior Council of the Society had fulfilled a request from the Apostleship's headquarters "to establish a regional headquarters of the Apostolatus Maris in New Zealand" (*NZ Tablet*, 11 January 1933, p. 15) but Rockliff established an Auckland branch only in 1934 (*Zealandia*, 10 May 1934, p. 2; 24 May 1934, p. 6).

<sup>88</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 5 May 1926, p. 31; 16 July 1930, p. 33; 15 August 1934, p. 9; 19 August 1936, p. 34; 14 July 1937, p. 23; 7 December 1938, p. 26; 6 September 1939, pp. 38-39.

<sup>89</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 12 May 1926, p. 49; 30 May 1934, p. 31; 15 August 1934, p. 9; 5 June 1935, p. 3; 27 April 1938, pp. 25-26; 24 August 1938, pp. 24, 26; 2 August 1939, p. 20.

<sup>90</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 14 May 1930, p. 43; 2 March 1932, pp. 42-43; 18 January 1933, p. 35; 25 January 1933, p. 1; 28 July 1937, pp. 9, 23; 5 March 1938, p. 24.

the nineteenth century; it is noteworthy that it lacked the mass membership acquired by pious sodalities.

In principle, the St Vincent de Paul Society was essentially a men's organization, although, as Archdeacon Holbrook explained, "by courtesy the women had been allowed to carry the title".<sup>91</sup> In fact, the women's auxiliary groups accounted for much of the Society's work; by 1938, there were 73 men's conferences and 57 ladies' auxiliaries in New Zealand.<sup>92</sup> There were other women's charitable organizations, too, such as St Anne's Guild which was founded in Timaru during the 1920s.<sup>93</sup> In 1930, the Catholic Women's Needlework (or Sewing) Guild was established in Dunedin on the basis of an English model founded in 1886. At the Bishop's urging, the Dunedin St Vincent de Paul Society, once run exclusively by women, had been taken over by men in 1923. At first, the women were reorganized as auxiliaries with the name "Ladies of Charity" but they had evidently found this unsatisfactory.<sup>94</sup>

The most important means of promoting an active spirituality among lay women was the Catholic Women's League, first established in Auckland by Liston in 1931.<sup>95</sup> Brodie, aware of the activities of the League in Auckland, encouraged Christchurch women to form a similar organization in 1936.<sup>96</sup> The League was based on an English movement of the same name, founded in 1906 by Margaret Fletcher, an Anglican convert to Catholicism.<sup>97</sup> New Zealand members of the League were often reminded

<sup>91</sup> *Month*, 1 February 1932, p. 35; cf. *Marist Messenger*, April 1930, p. 1.

<sup>92</sup> *Zealandia*, 26 May 1938, p. 6.

<sup>93</sup> MYB, 1929, p. 136; *NZ Tablet*, 11 August 1921, p. 28; 20 August 1930, p. 49; Barbara Harper, *The Harvest: History of the Catholic Church in Timaru, 1869-1969* (Timaru: Centennial Committee, Catholic Presbytery, Timaru, 1969), pp. 88, 97; Edgar Murphy, *Centenary, Sacred Heart Primary School, Timaru, 1879-1979* (Timaru: Centennial Committee, 1979), p. 31.

<sup>94</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 19 April 1923, p. 31; 2 August 1923, p. 31; 27 March 1924, p. 26; 15 April 1931, p. 35; 4 July 1934, p. 39. The Ladies of Charity properly so-called had been founded by St Vincent de Paul himself in 1617 (R.J. Gallagher, in *NCE*, vol. 8, pp. 309-310).

<sup>95</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 19 August 1931, p. 45; 9 September 1931, pp. 53-54; *Month*, 1 September 1931, p. 10; N. De Courcy, *A History of the Catholic Women's League of New Zealand, 1931-1990* (Dunedin: NZ Tablet Co., 1990), p. 9.

<sup>96</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 25 March 1936, pp. 38-39; 1 April 1936, p. 8; 29 April 1936, p. 6; 22 July 1936, p. 7; *Zealandia*, 9 April 1936, p. 7; 7 May 1936, p. 3; J. van Montford, *Let Your Light Shine: Catholic Women's League, Diocese of Christchurch, New Zealand 1936-1986* (Christchurch: Catholic Women's League, 1986), pp. 17-21.

<sup>97</sup> G.F. Puch, "The Catholic Women's League of New Zealand and the Changing Role of Women: a Sociological Analysis with Emphasis on a CWL Parish" (University of Auckland M.A. thesis in Sociology, 1978), pp. 48-59. For a recent assessment of the League in England as a means of isolating Catholic women and reinforcing conservative views of womanhood, see P.M. Kane, "'The Willing Captive Of Home?': The English Catholic Women's League, 1906-1920", *Church History* 60 (1991) 331-355.

of the activities of sister organizations overseas and were affiliated to their counterparts in England and South Australia.<sup>98</sup> In 1938, Miss Rose Donnelly, President of South Australian League, gave an address at the Centennial Celebrations, placing the League in an international perspective.<sup>99</sup> Established as a direct response to the Depression, the League in Auckland aimed "to unite Catholic women to work along charitable, intellectual and social lines".<sup>100</sup> Circles were established to assist the work of other Catholic organizations and institutions such as the St Vincent de Paul Society and the Church's orphanages, as well as catering for the annual charity ball.<sup>101</sup> However, the League's charitable activities were not limited to the Catholic community and its members were encouraged to promote Catholic moral and social ideals as well as alleviating distress.<sup>102</sup> Its affiliation to other community organizations provided an opportunity to advocate the Catholic perspective on contentious issues.<sup>103</sup>

Another expression of active lay spirituality was the Legion of Mary. Founded by Frank Duff in Dublin in 1921, its structure was modelled on that of the Roman armies. Legionaries promoted religious commitment among the laity through such means as home visits, distributing Catholic literature and encouraging enrolment in sodalities. Impressed by the Legion during a stay in Ireland, in the course of which he came to know the founder, Dr M.J. Klimeck wrote a series of articles for the *Tablet* and established the first New Zealand branch ("praesidium") in Dunedin in December 1933.<sup>104</sup> At the request of Whyte, who had also been impressed by Duff and his

<sup>98</sup> *Month*, 1 November 1932, p. 21; 1 April 1933, p. 22; 2 April 1934, p. 29; *Zealandia*, 13 September 1934, p. 5; 10 October 1935, p. 7; 13 February 1936, p. 7; 26 March 1936, p. 7; 23 April 1936, p. 7; 12 August 1937, p. 10; 5 March 1938, p. 22; *NZ Tablet*, 13 September 1939, p. 4. For the League's international affiliations, see Puch, p. 62 and De Courcy, p. 10.

<sup>99</sup> *Zealandia*, 14 April 1938, p. 9.

<sup>100</sup> *Month*, 1 September 1931, p. 10; *NZ Tablet*, 9 September 1931, pp. 53-54.

<sup>101</sup> Puch, pp. 62-64; De Courcy, pp. 9-10.

<sup>102</sup> The charitable activities of the League will be referred to on several occasions in the course of chapter three. See also the address to League members by Liston (*NZ Tablet*, 12 July 1939, p. 27 - quoted in chapter four).

<sup>103</sup> *Zealandia*, 5 March 1938, p. 22; cf. the references to the League's affiliation to the National Council of Women given below.

<sup>104</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 8 November 1933, pp. 1-2; 15 November 1933, p. 21; 22 November 1933, p. 21; 6 December 1933, p. 21; 13 December 1933, p. 23; cf. the reprinted article by Vittorio Mangiarotti showing that the movement was endorsed by the Vatican and the episcopate (*ibid.*, 29 November 1933, p. 21).

movement during a visit to Ireland, and following the example of the Legion in Ireland, the new group undertook a census of Catholics in Dunedin largely in order to locate non-practising Catholics. Other activities were also modelled on those the parent organization.<sup>105</sup> The Legion was initially limited to young women but the first men's praesidium was inaugurated in May 1934.<sup>106</sup> Over the next few years, branches were established in Christchurch and Auckland.<sup>107</sup> The League in Dunedin, and presumably elsewhere, reported to the Concilium Legionis in Dublin on its progress, while Klimeck maintained correspondence with Duff.<sup>108</sup> New Zealand praesidia were organized and conducted according to the Legion's handbook.<sup>109</sup> An article reprinted in the *Tablet* from a Legion publication discussed the success of the movement in Britain, the United States and elsewhere.<sup>110</sup>

The Grail movement, which was established in the Netherlands in 1929, quickly spread to other countries, including Australia in 1936. At its core were the Women of Nazareth (founded in 1921), better known in English-speaking countries as the Grail Ladies, celibate laywomen who worked with girls and unmarried women, promoting a wide variety of specialized associations.<sup>111</sup> The movement's founder, Jacques van

<sup>105</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 13 December 1933, p. 23; 7 March 1934, p. 42; 5 December 1934, p. 11; 5 August 1936, p. 13 (progress report); cf. 27 February 1935, p. 8 (Whyte's impressions of the Legion).

<sup>106</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 5 August 1936, p. 13 (progress report). For allusions to "young women" as forming the movement, see *ibid.*, 16 May 1934, p. 3 and 23 May 1934, p. 4.

<sup>107</sup> *Zealandia*, 14 March 1935, p. 5; 25 July 1940, p. 2 (Grey Lynn and five other parishes); *Marist Messenger* 1 April 1938, p. 24 (Christchurch and Dunedin); *NZ Tablet*, 21 September 1938, p. 37 (Christchurch); 20 September 1939, p. 45 (Remuera and Ponsonby). An article by Pat Lawlor about the Legion in Christchurch, originally published in the *Tablet* (21 September 1938, p. 6) was reprinted in a slightly amended form in the *Zealandia* (27 October 1938, p. 10); only the second version alluded to the existence of the Legion in Auckland.

<sup>108</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 11 September 1935, p. 9.

<sup>109</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 18 April 1934, p. 7; 27 March 1935, p. 6; 18 September 1935, p. 8; 18 March 1936, p. 34; 11 May 1938, pp. 5-6.

<sup>110</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 20 July 1938, pp. 23, 38.

<sup>111</sup> On the background of the movement and its early history in Australia, see Sally Kennedy, *Faith and Feminism: Catholic Women's Struggles for Self-Expression* (Sydney: St Patrick's College, Manly, "Studies in the Christian Movement" series, 1985), especially chapters five and six. Readers of the Catholic press were informed about the Grail long before its advent in New Zealand, although, as in Australia, there was a strong tendency to portray the Grail Ladies as nuns and to understate the novelty of their lifestyle and activities: *Month*, 1 September 1933, pp. 6-7; *NZ Tablet*, 2 November 1932, p. 23; 9 August 1923, p. 3; 6 June 1934, pp. 1-2; 4 November 1936, pp. 20, 27; 6 January 1937, p. 7; *Zealandia*, 24 October 1935, p. 4; 13 February 1936, p. 7; 27 February 1936, p. 7; 27 August 1936, p. 7; 24 September 1936, p. 7; 8 April 1937, p. 7; 17 June 1937, p. 7; 26 August 1937, p. 10; 2 September 1937, p. 10. For further articles, printed after the movement was first introduced to New Zealand, see *NZ Tablet*, 30 November 1938, p. 13; 8 February 1939, pp. 3-4, 8, 41; 25 October 1939, pp. 32-33; *Zealandia*, 12 January 1939, p. 5.

Ginneken SJ, chose the name "Grail" to represent the difficult quest of Catholic women for the Kingdom of God through a more active role in Church and society.<sup>112</sup> In January 1938, four young women (two from Christchurch and two from Auckland) were sent to the Grail headquarters in Sydney for a training course.<sup>113</sup> At the invitation of the New Zealand bishops, two leading Grail women from Sydney, Dr Lydwine van Kersbergen and Judith Bouwman, attended the Catholic centenary celebrations in February and then visited the main centres to explain the movement.<sup>114</sup> As a result of their visit, a few groups for young women were established, at least in Christchurch and Wellington. The Wellington group "confined its activities to regular visits to the Home of Compassion", but in Christchurch, under the auspices of the Catholic Women's League, the Grail groups, known as the Guild of St Thérèse, included musical, missionary, study, Training College and University circles.<sup>115</sup> Early the following year, again at the invitation of the bishops, Bouwman toured the country, selecting leaders and founding groups in the larger cities.<sup>116</sup> Among others, there were youth groups (responsible for maintaining contact with school leavers), country groups (to liaise between urban and rural girls), home makers' groups (to train prospective wives and mothers), culture groups (for singing and drama) social groups (for charitable work, including visiting institutions) and congress groups (to prepare for the forthcoming Eucharistic Congress).<sup>117</sup> Although the Women of the Grail were never established in New Zealand, the groups they had inspired continued to function - and to use the name "Grail" - for some years. Pending the establishment of a Grail House

<sup>112</sup> Kennedy, p. 126.

<sup>113</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 12 January 1938, p. 46; 2 February 1938, p. 35; *Zealandia*, 3 February 1938, p. 9; Kennedy, pp. 143-145. The Christchurch delegates (Patricia Wall and Marjorie Short) were nominated by the Catholic Women's League at the suggestion of Brodie (*Zealandia*, 23 December 1937, p. 9; 30 December 1937, p. 6).

<sup>114</sup> Minutes of bishops' meeting, 7 April 1937, CCDA; *Marist Messenger*, 1 April 1938, p. 25 (centenary - in Auckland); *NZ Tablet*, 9 March 1938, p. 8 (centenary); 23 March 1938, pp. 7, 44-45 (Dunedin and Christchurch); 30 March 1938, p. 43 (Wellington); *Zealandia*, 24 February 1938, p. 11 (centenary); 7 April 1938, p. 9 (Christchurch).

<sup>115</sup> Christchurch: *NZ Tablet*, 6 April 1938, p. 4; 22 June 1938, p. 44; 12 October 1938, p. 4; *Zealandia*, 19 May 1938, p. 9. Wellington: *NZ Tablet*, 21 September 1938, p. 43; 22 September 1938, p. 9.

<sup>116</sup> Minutes of bishops' meeting, 4 May 1938, CCDA.

<sup>117</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 22 February 1939, p. 43 (Wellington); 1 March 1939, pp. 45-46 (Christchurch and Dunedin); *Zealandia*, 9 February 1939, p. 11 (Auckland); 2 March 1939, p. 4 (Wellington); 9 March 1939, p. 4 (Christchurch and Dunedin); 23 March 1939, p. 4 (Invercargill).

in New Zealand, however, the Wellington groups adopted the Maori name "Ramahi" ("Torch of Dawn"), but continued to be identified as the Grail.<sup>118</sup>

Increasingly during the interwar period, the catch-phrase of lay spirituality was "Catholic Action", a concept which was subject to considerable discussion. The term had been used for specific movements in France and Italy during the late nineteenth century but was adopted by Pius X to refer to organized lay activity led by the clergy.<sup>119</sup> It received its classical definition from Pius XI as "the participation of the laity in the apostolate of the hierarchy".<sup>120</sup> While lay Catholics were being urged to undertake an active role, it was stressed that they were to be organized under the direction of the bishops.<sup>121</sup> According to the Rev. Francis Bennett of Holy Cross Seminary - the principal exponent of Catholic Action in New Zealand - "Catholic Action...is not an independent apostolate but only a participation in the apostolate of the clergy, and hence it must be exercised in complete obedience and submission to the hierarchy."<sup>122</sup> It was because, in modern societies, lay men and women could exercise a Catholic influence where priests had no access that they were called upon to share in an apostolate which was not theirs by right.<sup>123</sup> Bennett explained that the ultimate aim of Catholic Action was to save souls, while its more proximate concerns were "individual conversions" and "the complete reconstruction of our civilisation on Christian principles."<sup>124</sup> Usually, it was only the last of these aims which was

<sup>118</sup> *Zealandia*, 23 November 1939, p. 2; *NZ Tablet*, 29 November 1939, p. 34; cf. 26 June 1940, p. 34.

<sup>119</sup> Aubert in Aubert, pp. 137-143; Mario Bendiscioli in Jedin, vol. 9, p. 87; Aubert in *ibid.*, pp. 418-419; D.J. Geaney in *NCE*, vol. 3, p. 262.

<sup>120</sup> Iserloh in Jedin, vol. 10, p. 307; cf. *NZ Tablet*, 31 October 1928, p. 3; 5 August 1931, p. 3; 26 August 1931, p. 3; 16 August 1933, p. 20; 4 October 1933, p. 2; 8 November 1933, p. 2; 6 March 1935, p. 8; 27 May 1936, p. 20; 11 November 1936, p. 9; 17 March 1937, p. 1; 14 December 1938, p. 32; *Zealandia*, 20 December 1934, p. 6; 9 May 1935, p. 2; 1 August 1935, p. 4; 30 January 1936, p. 2; 8 October 1936, p. 10; 11 August 1938, p. 3; 16 February 1939, p. 5; 2 March 1939, p. 7.

<sup>121</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 19 September 1928, p. 3; 27 April 1932, p. 43; 25 May 1932, p. 12; 8 November 1933, p. 2; 27 May 1936, p. 21; 11 November 1936, p. 9; 17 March 1937, pp. 1-2; 7 April 1937, p. 9; *Zealandia*, 16 August 1934, p. 4; 9 May 1935, p. 2; 1 August 1935, p. 4; 30 January 1936, p. 2; 7 May 1936, p. 1; 8 October 1936, p. 10; 22 April 1937, p. 3; 15 June 1939, p. 4.

<sup>122</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 25 October 1933, p. 20. For Bennett's activities, see F. Finlay in B. Mannes (editor), *Golden Jubilee: Holy Cross College Mosgiel, New Zealand: a History of the College through Fifty Years, 1900-1950* (Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1949), p. 126.

<sup>123</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 27 May 1936, p. 20; 4 November 1936, p. 9; 6 July 1938, p. 10; 14 December 1938, p. 32; 15 February 1939, p. 42; 8 March 1939, pp. 25-26; *Zealandia*, 30 January 1936, p. 2; 24 September 1936, p. 10; 2 March 1939, p. 7.

<sup>124</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 4 October 1933, p. 2.

emphasized, whether in terms of establishing Christ's Kingdom on earth or more specifically in terms of combating such un-Christian influences as unrestrained Capitalism, Communism or immoral films.<sup>125</sup> As the *Tablet* explained, it was no longer enough to dispense charity within the Catholic community or even to defend the Church against attacks from outside: the laity was called to "conquer the new paganism", just as the first Christians had had to convert the pagans of old.<sup>126</sup> Catholic Action was not directly concerned with politics, although, as individuals, Catholics who had been trained in Catholic Action movements were encouraged to promote the application of Christian moral principles by participation in politics.<sup>127</sup> The principle method of Catholic Action was encapsulated in the French expression *pénétration du milieu*.<sup>128</sup>

As in other countries, the term "Catholic Action" was often applied loosely to undertakings which did not fit its technical meaning.<sup>129</sup> Its inherent imprecision and the inconsistent usage of even official sources led to a number of interpretations and some controversy. Pius XI was quoted as describing Catholic Scouting and the Catholic Women's League as forms of Catholic Action.<sup>130</sup> Other organizations described as Catholic Action included the Hibernian Benefit Society, the Catholic Students' Guild, the St Vincent de Paul Society, the Apostleship of the Sea, the Catholic Big Brother Society and the Catholic Nurses' Guild.<sup>131</sup> Supporting the

<sup>125</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 23 November 1927, p. 33; 5 August 1931, p. 3; 26 August 1931, p. 3; 27 May 1936, pp. 20-21; 11 November 1936, p. 9; *Zealandia*, 7 June 1934, p. 4; 16 August 1934, p. 4; 20 December 1934, p. 6; 21 November 1935, p. 4; 30 January 1936, p. 2; 30 July 1936, p. 4; 16 February 1939, p. 5.

<sup>126</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 24 July 1929, p. 3; 20 April 1932, p. 3 (reprint of the same editorial).

<sup>127</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 31 October 1928, p. 3; 12 December 1928, p. 3; 5 August 1931, p. 3; 25 October 1933, p. 20; 28 February 1934, p. 2; 22 January 1936, p. 9; 17 March 1937, p. 1; 21 July 1937, p. 9; *Zealandia*, 7 June 1934, p. 4; 16 August 1934, p. 4; 9 May 1935, p. 2; 16 February 1939, p. 5; 15 June 1939, p. 4.

<sup>128</sup> *Zealandia*, 25 March 1937, p. 6; *NZ Tablet*, 24 March 1937, p. 39; cf. 5 July 1939, p. 5.

<sup>129</sup> See, for example, P. O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community: an Australian History* (Kensington, New South Wales: University of New South Wales Press, 1985), pp. 384-387.

<sup>130</sup> *Zealandia*, 14 April 1938, p. 9 (Donnelly); *Month*, 17 May 1927, p. 12; cf. other references to Catholic Scouting as Catholic Action: *Month*, 2 January 1933, p. 38; 1 December 1933, p. 19; *NZ Tablet*, 4 January 1933, p. 43; 20 February 1935, p. 23; 9 December 1936, p. 39 (Catholic Guiding); 8 June 1938, p. 26; *Zealandia*, 2 July 1936, p. 2.

<sup>131</sup> *Month*, 1 September 1931, p. 22 (various). Hibernian Society: *NZ Tablet*, 6 March 1929, pp. 43-44; 4 May 1932, p. 13; 28 December 1932, p. 2; 22 March 1933, p. 13; 13 September 1933, p. 27; 6 June 1934, p. 27; 24 June 1936, p. 13; cf. Brodie's more qualified view that Hibernianism was Catholic Action "in a degree" (*NZ Tablet*, 5 June 1935, p. 6). Catholic Students' Guild: *NZ Tablet*, 22 March 1933, p. 6. St Vincent de Paul Society: *NZ Tablet*, 25 January 1933, p. 2; 2 May 1934, p. 31. Apostleship of the Sea: *Zealandia*, 8 April 1937, p. 4; *NZ Tablet*, 24 August 1938, p. 24; 15

Catholic press was often described as Catholic Action.<sup>132</sup> Defining Catholic Action as "any activity spiritual or temporal which will keep our Catholic fellow-men banded together for the benefit, ultimate or immediate, of Catholicism generally", a 1936 article even described the organization of Catholic basketball associations in Auckland as a variety of Catholic Action.<sup>133</sup> Klimeck described the Legion of Mary as "undoubtedly a perfect instrument of real Catholic Action" and believed that it embodied the principles enunciated by Pius XI.<sup>134</sup> Bennett, however, declared that even the Legion was not a Catholic Action movement in the proper sense, arguing, for example, that it was not primarily apostolic but concerned with the sanctification of its members and that it was responsible to headquarters in Dublin rather than to the local bishops.<sup>135</sup> His restricted application of the term "Catholic Action" drew a sharp response from Patrick Timoney, a priest involved with the Legion in Christchurch, who defended the Catholic Action credentials of existing groups, including not only the Legion but also devotional sodalities, the Hibernians and the Vincentians.<sup>136</sup> A detailed and forceful rebuttal by another writer argued that the Legion's concern for personal sanctification was a means to undertaking apostolic activity and that the Legion did in fact fulfil the strict requirements of Catholic Action.<sup>137</sup> In 1937, a *Tablet*

(Footnote continued from previous page.)

February 1939, p. 35. Catholic Big Brother Society: *Month*, 1 January 1931, p. 20. Catholic Nurses' Guild: *Zealandia*, 5 May 1938, p. 8. Organizations in this list not already introduced will be referred to below or in chapter three.

<sup>132</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 12 December 1928, p. 3; 13 July 1932, p. 4; 5 October 1932, p. 4; 9 November 1932, p. 12; *Zealandia*, 24 May 1934, p. 4; 7 June 1934, p. 4.

<sup>133</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 8 April 1936, p. 29. For other references to sport as Catholic Action, see *NZ Tablet*, 18 January 1933, p. 43 and 18 April 1934, p. 11.

<sup>134</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 11 September 1935, p. 9; 22 November 1933, p. 21. For other references to the Legion as an expression of Catholic Action, see *NZ Tablet*, 25 May 1932, p. 23; 29 November 1933, p. 21; 16 May 1934, p. 3; 23 May 1934, p. 4; 6 March 1935, p. 23.

<sup>135</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 7 April 1937, p. 9; *Zealandia*, 22 April 1937, p. 3. By this time, Klimeck had left New Zealand to join the Dominicans (*NZ Tablet*, 11 March 1936, p. 13; cf. 31 January 1934, p. 4).

<sup>136</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 14 April 1937, p. 6; 28 April 1937, p. 6; cf. *Zealandia*, 27 October 1938, p. 10 for Timoney's connection with the Legion. For Bennett's responses and other contributions to the debate, see *NZ Tablet*, 21 April 1937, p. 6; 5 May 1937, p. 8; 9 June 1937, p. 8.

<sup>137</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 9 June 1937, pp. 26-27, 33 ("M.M. Miles"); cf. 16 June 1937, p. 8 (Bennett); 7 July 1937, pp. 9, 37 ("M.M. Miles"). References to the aim of personal sanctification in general articles on the Legion tend to support Bennett's view (*NZ Tablet*, 5 August 1936, p. 13; 26 January 1938, p. 35; 20 July 1938, p. 38; 21 September 1938, p. 6; *Zealandia*, 27 October 1938, p. 10). Moreover, the enrolment of auxiliary members who could gain spiritual benefits without active involvement in the Legion's projects suggests that sanctification was the principal aim.

editorial declared that there existed in New Zealand "many groups" through which Catholics could exercise "both the personal and the social sides of Catholic Action."<sup>138</sup>

By contrast, a later editorial article urged that, however worthy they were, the St Vincent de Paul Society and other lay associations ought no longer be called "Catholic Action" and that the term ought to be reserved for new movements fulfilling the official criteria.<sup>139</sup> Speaking in 1936, Liston asserted that, "so far we have no Catholic Action in the proper sense" in New Zealand.<sup>140</sup> The better-informed exponents of Catholic Action recognized that, although essential to the spiritual formation of the laity, devotional sodalities were not, in themselves, Catholic Action because they were concerned with personal sanctification and not with apostolic activity - that is, being sent out on a mission by an appropriate authority. Even active groups like St Vincent de Paul Society were not Catholic Action strictly so-called, but merely its "auxiliaries" because they were only involved in specific kinds of activity and were not conducted by the laity under the direct guidance of the episcopate.<sup>141</sup>

In this narrower sense, particularly as expounded by Bennett, Catholic Action had to be organized in a quite specific manner, with associations for particular age groups and occupations, and co-ordinated by parochial, diocesan and national committees, as in Italy and especially Belgium.<sup>142</sup> Bennett held that Catholic Action had to develop through the formation of a lay élite by means of study groups and retreats, rather than by co-ordinating existing groups or directly imitating overseas movements without suitable preparation.<sup>143</sup> With small groups of young Dunedin Catholics, he carried out this preparation without publicity for nearly two years before the Catholic League of

<sup>138</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 1 September 1937, p. 5.

<sup>139</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 6 July 1938, p. 10.

<sup>140</sup> *Zealandia*, 30 January 1936, p. 2 and *NZ Tablet*, 27 May 1936, p. 20; cf. 17 March 1937, p. 2 (Harold Bird CSSR). Liston himself continued to use the term "Catholic Action" in its wider sense, for example he applied it to the Federated Catholic Clubs' competition in 1937 (*Zealandia*, 8 April 1937, p. 5).

<sup>141</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 5 August 1931, p. 3; 27 May 1936, pp. 21, 23; 11 November 1936, p. 9; 25 November 1936, p. 9; 24 March 1937, p. 39; 7 April 1937, p. 9; 23 June 1937, pp. 9, 26; *Zealandia*, 30 January 1936, p. 2; 8 October 1936, p. 10; 19 November 1936, p. 10; 25 March 1937, p. 6; 22 April 1937, p. 3.

<sup>142</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 11 May 1932, p. 43; 25 May 1932, pp. 12-13; 18 November 1936, p. 9; 25 November 1936, p. 9; 17 March 1937, p. 2; 26 May 1937, pp. 25-26; 14 July 1937, pp. 7-8; 23 June 1937, pp. 10-11; *Zealandia*, 19 November 1936, p. 10; 16 February 1939, p. 5; 2 March 1939, p. 7.

<sup>143</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 24 March 1937, p. 39; 7 April 1937, pp. 9, 11; *Zealandia*, 25 March 1937, p. 6; 22 April 1937, p. 3.

Young Men and the Catholic League of Young Women announced their existence at a public meeting in November 1938.<sup>144</sup> Training continued and further groups were established in Dunedin, Invercargill, Mosgiel and Oamaru.<sup>145</sup> Early in 1939, they were reorganized along occupational lines, according to the "Jocist" (*Jeunesse ouvrière chrétienne*) pattern pioneered by the Belgian priest Joseph Cardijn and widely applied in France. By this means, the Catholic Actionists would help each other in applying Christian principles to their respective environments according to the maxim "See, Judge, Act". Even the French initials were used: *JIC* ("Young Christian Independents" - that is, professional and clerical workers), *JEC* ("Young Christian Students" - that is, school pupils) and *JOC*, ("Young Christian Workers" - that is, predominantly manual workers).<sup>146</sup>

The restricted and somewhat legalistic interpretation of "Catholic Action" which prevailed in Dunedin contrasted with its application in the Wellington archdiocese but developments in Auckland were closer to the Dunedin model. Since 1932, Catholic social study classes had been conducted in Wellington and other parts of the archdiocese.<sup>147</sup> Members of the Catholic Social Guild (which contributed articles on social teaching to the Catholic press) and other study groups were formally organized in August 1938 as the Catholic Action movement.<sup>148</sup> A variety of groups, including a Girls' Youth Movement and a Boys' Youth Movement, reported to the Director of Catholic Action, J.A. Higgins SM, and the Catholic Action Secretariat. The Catholic Action group in Wairoa, for example, conducted an "information class" for Catholics, managed a library, distributed religious literature and monitored Catholic school-leavers.<sup>149</sup> By December 1940, there were over eighty Catholic Action groups in the archdiocese, including at least one Jocist group (in Petone) as well as the Ramahi circles.<sup>150</sup> In Auckland, the League of Catholic Youth had been forming since early in

<sup>144</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 14 December 1938, pp. 24-26, 32; cf. 5 July 1939, p. 5 ("Two years ago last March...").

<sup>145</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 22 February 1939, p. 43; *Zealandia*, 9 March 1939, p. 4.

<sup>146</sup> *Zealandia*, 13 July 1939, p. 7; 28 December 1939, p. 3; *NZ Tablet*, 5 July 1939, p. 5. The abbreviations, not explained in these references, stood for *Jeunesse indépendante chrétienne*, *Jeunesse étudiante chrétienne* and *Jeunesse ouvrière chrétienne*. For yet other Dunedin groups on the Franco-Belgian model using French acronyms, see *NZ Tablet*, 11 December 1940, p. 7; 18 December 1940, pp. 3-4, 6, 29.

<sup>147</sup> For further details, see chapter five.

<sup>148</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 31 August 1938, p. 43; *Zealandia*, 25 August 1938, p. 5.

<sup>149</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 28 December 1938, p. 8; *Zealandia*, 29 December 1938, p. 4.

<sup>150</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 21 June 1939, p. 33; 11 December 1940, p. 7; *Zealandia*, 6 July 1939, p. 3 (Wanganui).

1939. At its core was the large cast which had performed the drama *Credo* during the centennial celebrations the previous year; the recently launched Grail groups were also involved. Discussion meetings, leadership training, play readings and hiking were organized.<sup>151</sup> In years to come, especially after World War II, Catholic Action movements on the Franco-Belgian model would become a widespread and influential force among lay Catholics in New Zealand.<sup>152</sup>

Both devotional piety and the more active forms of spirituality found among Catholics in interwar New Zealand were based on overseas models. Specific devotions and movements were derived above all from France, but also from England, the United States, Ireland, Belgium and the Netherlands. Devotional piety continued the ultramontane spirituality of the nineteenth century, with its emphasis on the sentimental and the miraculous, but was sometimes expressed in new forms, such as the cult of the Little Flower. The new feast of Christ the King, like the Holy Name Society, combined devotional piety with a more recent tendency towards a more active and assertive lay spirituality. This second tendency found its fullest expression in such movements as the Catholic Women's League, the Legion of Mary, the Grail and, above all, the Catholic Action groups.

### **The Eucharist and the Liturgy**

The third and fourth trends in Catholic spirituality, internationally and in New Zealand, concerned the development of Eucharistic and liturgical worship. Increasing devotion to the Blessed Sacrament outside the context of the liturgy was a notable feature of later nineteenth century piety and continued well into the twentieth century. Extra-liturgical devotion to the Blessed Sacrament, however, came to be accompanied around the turn of the century by more frequent reception of Communion and the admission of children to the Sacrament at a younger age. This renewed appreciation of Holy Communion as an essential part of the liturgy (sometimes called the "Eucharistic movement") eventually combined with the liturgical movement, which, during the twentieth century, promoted the increasing involvement of the laity in the liturgy as a form of corporate worship.

Individual devotion to the Eucharist, especially by entering a church to pray before the Blessed Sacrament in the tabernacle ("making" or "paying a visit"), was a popular

<sup>151</sup> *Zealandia*, 30 March 1939, p. 2; 6 April 1939, p. 2; 20 April 1939, p. 3 (article by June Grevatt of the Grail movement); 27 April 1939, p. 2; 15 June 1939, p. 2; 24 August 1939, p. 2 (address by Grevatt); 14 September 1939, p. 2; 16 November 1939, p. 2.

<sup>152</sup> Simmons, *Brief History*, pp. 103-104.

Catholic practice encouraged by pious associations and other means.<sup>153</sup> Christ was perceived as the "Prisoner in the Tabernacle" who needed the consolation of visitors.<sup>154</sup> In 1937, a Catholic who had recently arrived in Auckland was impressed by the devotion to the Blessed Sacrament shown in frequent visits to St Patrick's Cathedral by lay people during the day.<sup>155</sup> A Redemptorist priest encouraged Catholics to "make a daily visit to the Blessed Sacrament" in preparation for the 1940 Eucharistic Congress.<sup>156</sup> In 1924, an Altar Society meeting in the Convent of the Sacred Heart in Remuera changed its name to the "Guild of the Blessed Sacrament" and became affiliated to the Arch-Association of Perpetual Adoration of the Most Adorable Sacrament and the Work for Poor Churches and Missions, whose headquarters was in Rome. The Guild sought to encourage devotion to the Blessed Sacrament and to make vestments and altar linen for poor churches: members were expected to spend an hour in adoration of the Blessed Sacrament each month. Men could join as associate members (they were not expected to sew but paid a higher subscription).<sup>157</sup> In 1938, the People's Eucharistic League was established in Auckland. Its members - men, women and children - promised to spend an hour in prayer before the Blessed Sacrament at least once a month. The League had been founded in 1859 by Blessed Peter Julian Eymard, originally a Marist but later the founder of the Priests of the Blessed Sacrament and the Servants of the Blessed Sacrament, a congregation of nuns. Being affiliated to these congregations, the League offered its members, a share in their spiritual merits.<sup>158</sup> Catholic men were expected to raise their hats when passing by a church.<sup>159</sup> The Knights of the Blessed Sacrament

<sup>153</sup> Mary Scully, untitled autobiographical essay (University of Canterbury B.A. essay in Education, 1984). Among children in particular, the production of "spiritual bouquets" (discussed below) was a means of promoting individual prayer in churches, as well as other pious practices.

<sup>154</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 17 March 1926, p. 30 ("the Prisoner of Love in the Tabernacle"); 27 November 1935, p. 39.

<sup>155</sup> *Zealandia*, 2 December 1937, p. 2; cf. 29 June 1939, p. 4 (editorial noting that the custom was widely observed).

<sup>156</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 13 September 1939, p. 9; cf. 22 November 1939, p. 5 for an editorial commendation of this suggestion. The congress is discussed below.

<sup>157</sup> *Month*, 15 April 1924, p. 5; 20 January 1925, p. 10; 16 February 1926, p. 37; *Zealandia*, 14 February 1935, p. 3; 17 December 1936, p. 7; J. Hilgers in *CE*, vol. 14, p. 122. For further reference to altar societies, see the section on gender roles in chapter four.

<sup>158</sup> *Zealandia*, 18 August 1938, p. 6; 15 December 1938, p. 6; 7 December 1939, p. 2; cf. F. Costa, in *NCE*, vol. 1, pp. 142-143. Eymard was canonized in 1963.

<sup>159</sup> *Zealandia*, 31 January 1935, p. 6.

would raise their hats and say "Hail My Lord and My God" if they did not have the opportunity to go inside. The Knights had been founded among soldiers during the First World War by Edmund Lester, an English Jesuit, and were established in New Zealand during the early 1920s.<sup>160</sup>

Worship could even be offered to the Blessed Sacrament reserved in the tabernacle without actually being in the presence of a consecrated host. Since 1880, St Patrick's Cathedral, Auckland, had had a branch of the Guard of Honour of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus, originally founded at Bourge-en-Bresse, near Lyons, in 1863 and sponsored by the Visitation Nuns - the order to which St Margaret Mary had belonged. On ceremonial occasions such as Eucharistic processions, its members (all girls) wore white veils and crimson cloaks but their main activity was to dedicate consciously all the activities of one pre-determined hour each day, wherever they were, to Christ in the Blessed Sacrament.<sup>161</sup> From 1933, New Zealand Catholics were encouraged to join the League of Night Adoration, whose members promised to spend a specified hour (between 8 pm and 8 am) once a month in prayer directed to Christ in the tabernacle. Membership was especially recommended for women, the sick, travellers and rural people who could not readily visit churches where the Blessed Sacrament was reserved. Founded in Paris in 1846, the League had been entrusted to the Society of Mary and was also referred to as the "Marist Eucharistic League".<sup>162</sup> Like "visiting in spirit the Blessed Sacrament", the practice of making a "spiritual Communion" could be undertaken by consciously desiring Christ's presence in one's heart. A spiritual Communion could be made anywhere, even while attending Mass but unable to receive the Sacrament (for example because one had not fasted).<sup>163</sup> Members of the Confraternity of the Holy Family were expected to make a spiritual Communion each morning.<sup>164</sup>

<sup>160</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 28 October 1920, p. 22; 4 February 1925, p. 35; 8 September 1926, p. 27; *Month*, 17 February 1925, p. 24; *Zealandia*, 6 December 1934, pp. 3, 8; 7 November 1935, p. 7; 24 November 1938, p. 1.

<sup>161</sup> *Zealandia*, 16 June 1938, p. 6; 7 July 1938, p. 6; 14 July 1938, p. 11; 3 November 1938, p. 6; *Month*, 15 May 1928, p. 12 and *NZ Tablet*, 16 March 1938, p. 7 (reference to the colour of the cloaks); J. Hilgers in *CE*, vol. 14, p. 123; M.L. Lynn in *NCE*, vol. 14, p. 721; Verheylezoon, pp. 259-261.

<sup>162</sup> *Marist Messenger*, 1 March 1933, pp. 9, 11; 1 August 1933, pp. 29-31; 1 September 1933, pp. 14-15; 1 November 1933, pp. 31-33; 1 February 1934, pp. 13-14; 1 June 1934, pp. 9-10; 1 October 1934, pp. 31-32; *NZ Tablet*, 25 October 1933, pp. 1-2. All but the first of these articles were written by Mary Goulter.

<sup>163</sup> *Marist Messenger*, 1 January 1936, p. 17; *NZ Tablet*, 29 October 1924, p. 53; 8 July 1936, p. 15.

<sup>164</sup> *Manual of the Archconfraternity of the Holy Family* (Limerick: Repository of Mount St Alphonsus, sixth edition, no date but published before 1921), p. 17; cf. p. 34. This organization will be

Eucharistic piety was also expressed in Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament and related extra-liturgical ceremonies. During Benediction, a brief but impressive ceremony involving elaborate vestments, incense, candles and bells, a large consecrated host was taken from the tabernacle and placed in a monstrance for display on the altar. After the intoning of litanies and the singing of hymns, the ritual reached a climax in which the priest, using the monstrance, made the sign of the cross over the congregation.<sup>165</sup> Benediction formed a part of the evening devotions held regularly in parish churches on Sunday evenings and on important occasions, sometimes outdoors.<sup>166</sup> Celebrating his episcopal diamond jubilee in 1934, after a huge procession from Molesworth Street to the Basin Reserve, Redwood gave Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament to a crowd of about 25,000 people.<sup>167</sup> Sometimes, Benediction in a church was preceded (or, it could be said, lengthened) by leaving the host exposed on the altar for a period of time amidst flowers and lighted candles.<sup>168</sup> Typically, "Exposition" would be held one Sunday each month, beginning after the final morning Mass, and the faithful were encouraged to visit the church to pray. The Children of Mary took turns attending the parish church in Invercargill during Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament on the first Sunday each month.<sup>169</sup> Similarly, during Exposition in the Church of the Holy Angels at Darfield on 5 June 1932, half-

(Footnote continued from previous page.)  
discussed below.

<sup>165</sup> For a detailed description of the ceremony, see A. Fortescue, *The Ceremonies of the Roman Rite Described* (London: Burns & Oates, second revised edition, 1919), pp. 240-246. This work was reviewed in the *NZ Tablet* (1 May 1919, p. 19).

<sup>166</sup> MYB, 1929, pp. 119 (St Mary of the Angels, Wellington), 122 (St Francis de Sales, Island Bay), 125 (St Patrick's, Napier), 131 (St Mary's, Blenheim), 134 (St Mary's, Christchurch), 138 (St Patrick's, Waimate), 139 (Church of the Immaculate Conception, Geraldine).

<sup>167</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 28 February 1934, p. 7 (giving the crowd as over 20,000); 7 March 1934, pp. 19, 22; *Month*, 1 March 1934, pp. 17-18 (crowd estimated as 25,000), ii-iii (photograph and caption reckoning the crowd as 30,000). For another illustrated account of the celebrations, see A.J. McRae, *Pictorial Record and Narrative of the Proceedings in connection with the Episcopal Diamond Jubilee of His Grace Archbishop Redwood, S.M. D.D. Wellington, New Zealand, February 25th - 28th, 1924* (Wellington: Catholic News, 1934). Public Benediction had also been given after a similar procession (from Molesworth Street to St Patrick's College) celebrating Redwood's golden jubilee in 1924 (*NZ Tablet*, 28 February 1924, pp. 31-32; *Month*, 18 March 1924, p. 17). On both occasions, the Blessed Sacrament had been carried in a smaller procession from St Joseph's Church; outdoor Benedictions were usually given in the course of such Eucharistic processions, as discussed below.

<sup>168</sup> Fortescue, pp. 247-249.

<sup>169</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 30 August 1923, p. 45.

hour vigils were kept by the Children of Mary and other parishioners until evening Benediction.<sup>170</sup> Early in the evening, Benediction would be preceded by a procession of the Blessed Sacrament in which the Children of Mary and members of other sodalities, in regalia, walked before the priest holding the monstrance.<sup>171</sup> On particularly important occasions, especially the feast of Christ the King, as well as at regular intervals, there would be a "Forty Hours' Adoration", essentially an extended Exposition during which there were three masses, other devotions, sermons and opportunities for Confession.<sup>172</sup> The length of the Exposition (not measured at all precisely) was usually explained as recalling the interval between Christ's entombment and his resurrection. Although it dated from the sixteenth century, the devotion had not been common outside Italy until the later nineteenth century and was still often referred to as the *Quarant' Ore*.<sup>173</sup> Liston encouraged priests to make the ceremony surrounding the Forty Hours as elaborate as possible and to engage a guest preacher and confessor.<sup>174</sup> Men from the parish would be rostered to attend through the night, a responsibility which, for example at the Wellington parishes of St Joseph's and St Patrick's, increasingly fell to the Holy Name Society.<sup>175</sup> In 1939, the Nocturnal Adoration Society for Men, originally founded in Rome in 1810, was established in Auckland. For one hour each month (presumably during the *Quarant' Ore*), members prayed before the exposed Sacrament.<sup>176</sup> The Forty Hours' Adoration usually began and ended with Eucharistic processions.<sup>177</sup>

<sup>170</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 22 June 1932, p. 45.

<sup>171</sup> St Joseph's Cathedral, Dunedin: *NZ Tablet*, 5 September 1918, p. 27; 7 November 1918, p. 27; 6 March 1919, p. 27; 11 December 1919, p. 27; 9 September 1920, p. 27; St Joseph's parish, Wellington: notices, 23 January 1927, WCAA, and *Catholic News*, August 1932, p. 2; Marist parishes: MYB, 1929, pp. 119-141.

<sup>172</sup> For yearly schedules of the Forty Hours' Adoration in the Auckland diocese, see *Month*, 15 April 1930, p. 40; 2 March 1931, p. 35; 1 February 1933, p. 31; *Zealandia*, 14 February 1935, p. 5; 9 April 1936, p. 6; 11 February 1937, p. 5; 7 April 1938, p. 6; 23 March 1939, p. 2.

<sup>173</sup> Fortescue, pp. 361-371; J.M. Champlin, in *NCE*, vol. 5, p. 1036; Aubert in Aubert, p. 122 and Aubert in Jedin, vol. 8, p. 221 (referring to "nocturnal adoration" and "perpetual adoration", without specific mention of the Forty Hours); *NZ Tablet*, 7 November 1918, p. 29; 27 September 1939, p. 5; *Zealandia*, 9 April 1936, p. 6; 18 June 1936, p. 8.

<sup>174</sup> J.M. Liston, circular letter to clergy, 26 January 1922, ACDA CLE 76-13/5.

<sup>175</sup> *Holy Name Annual*, December 1932, pp. 50, 51; *Month*, 19 November 1929, p. 37; 1 December 1932, p. 38; *NZ Tablet*, 23 November 1932, p. 43.

<sup>176</sup> *Zealandia*, 22 June 1939, p. 4; 29 June 1939, p. 4; 27 July 1939, p. 2; cf. E.R. Falardeau in *NCE*, vol. 1, p. 142.

<sup>177</sup> For instances of the Forty Hours' Adoration, see *NZ Tablet*, 14 November 1918, p. 19 (St Anne's, Newtown); 2 July 1924, p. 31 (Sacred Heart, Dunedin, beginning on the feast of the Sacred Heart); 1 December 1926, p. 15 (St Mary of the Angels, Wellington); 27 November 1929, p. 48 (Tuakau,

Eucharistic processions were also held, sometimes in public, on certain holy days - such as the feast of Christ the King - and on other significant occasions.<sup>178</sup> About 2,000 people attended the Eucharistic procession held in the grounds of the Sacred Heart convent in Timaru on the first Sunday of October each year throughout the interwar period. The procession marked the anniversary of the dedication of the parish church in 1911 and also celebrated the feast of the Holy Rosary. Participants, grouped according to sodalities and other associations, were followed by a priest or Bishop Brodie carrying the host in a monstrance. Flowers, banners and statues adorned the route and Benediction was given twice from two temporary outdoor altars.<sup>179</sup> Similar processions were held for some years to celebrate the feast of Corpus Christi in several centres, including Remuera, Napier, Oamaru and Mosgiel.<sup>180</sup> The 1921 diamond jubilee celebrations of St Dominic's convent in Dunedin included a Eucharistic procession from the cathedral to the grounds of the priory (for Benediction) and back.<sup>181</sup> When Redwood visited Palmerston North to lay the foundation stone of the new convent, in May 1925, he carried the Blessed Sacrament in a procession of over 2,000 local Catholics, wearing the regalia of their various sodalities and carrying banners as they marched from the new St Patrick's church in Broadway to the convent site in Fitchett Street.<sup>182</sup>

The climax of the 1938 Catholic centennial celebrations in Auckland was a two-hour Eucharistic procession from St Benedict's to the Domain. Singing hymns and

(Footnote continued from previous page.)

ending on the feast of Christ the King); 2 November 1932, p. 7 (Mosgiel, ending on the feast of Christ the King); 16 November 1932, p. 37 (Dannevirke, ending on the feast of Christ the King); 12 July 1933, p. 6 (Gore, beginning on the feast of the Sacred Heart); *Month*, 21 July 1925, supplement, p. ii (St Benedict's, Auckland); 1 November 1930, p. 35 (Thames); *Zealandia*, 7 November 1935, pp. 2, 3 (Wanganui, beginning on the feast of Christ the King; St Joseph's, Wellington, ending on the feast of Christ the King); 3 December 1936, p. 3 (St Mary's, Christchurch); 9 December 1937, p. 2 (New Plymouth).

<sup>178</sup> For Eucharistic processions held in honour of Christ the King, see the references cited above.

<sup>179</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 16 October 1919, p. 22; 6 October 1921, p. 27; 18 October 1923, p. 13; 24 October 1928, p. 45; 18 October 1933, p. 7; 13 October 1937, p. 34; 12 October 1938, p. 26; *Month*, 20 October 1925, p. 22 (nearly 3,000 present).

<sup>180</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 17 July 1919, p. 33 and 16 June 1921, p. 19 (Napier); 24 June 1920, p. 22; 9 June 1921, p. 23 (Remuera); 29 June 1927, pp. 27, 29 and 27 June 1928, p. 44 (Oamaru); 5 June 1929, pp. 50-51 and 30 October 1931, p. 41 (Oamaru and Mosgiel); 8 June 1932, p. 42 (Oamaru); *Month*, 21 July 1925, supplement, p. ii (Remuera); 17 July 1928, p. 30 (Oamaru).

<sup>181</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 10 February 1921, p. 17.

<sup>182</sup> *Month*, 16 June 1925, p. 30. The number did not include children, who were not allowed to assemble in groups because of the polio epidemic (Beryl Bartlett, interview, 22 March 1990).

carrying banners, 11,000 Catholics joined the procession as thousands of onlookers lined the streets. School children in white, Children of Mary and the Guard of Honour Sodality in their distinctive colours, uniformed Scouts and Guides, Holy Name men, Yugoslavs in national costume, Maori and mission priests, Hibernians in regalia, a detachment from the French cruiser *Jeanne d'Arc*, ex-servicemen and chaplains, religious brothers and clergy, and about twenty boys and girls scattering flower petals all preceded the Blessed Sacrament. The monstrance was carried by Liston under a canopy held up by Marist Brothers, surrounded by a guard of honour made up of prominent laymen, followed by the New Zealand bishops and visiting prelates, with the Sacred Heart College boys as a rearguard. Once the processionists had joined the 10,000 or more other people already waiting in the Domain, they listened to an address by Father Francis Owen Dudley, of the Catholic Missionary Society in London, on the authenticity of the Catholic Church and the significance for Catholics of Christ's presence in the Eucharist. Liston gave Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament before the singing of *Faith of Our Fathers*.<sup>183</sup>

Similar processions were held at the end of Eucharistic congresses, which were used to unite the New Zealand Catholic community in spirit with its overseas counterparts. The first Congress was held at Lille in 1881, largely as a result of the efforts of Marie Tamisier (1834-1910), one of the many saintly Catholics known to the Aubert family.<sup>184</sup> According to the *Month*, the twenty-ninth International Congress at Sydney in 1928 was "officially termed the Australian and New Zealand Congress", although reference to New Zealand had been omitted from most of the information bulletins emanating from Sydney.<sup>185</sup> The bishops encouraged New Zealand Catholics to attend, or, at least, to buy and wear membership badges, and a small Maori delegation was sent.<sup>186</sup> Archdeacon Holbrook led a delegation of 124 New Zealand

<sup>183</sup> *NZ Herald*, 7 March 1938, p. 13; *NZ Tablet*, 9 March 1938, pp. 43-44 (13,000 spectators in the Domain); 16 March 1938, pp. 7-8; 30 March 1938, pp. 26-27 (text of Dudley's address); *Zealandia*, 12 March 1938, pp. 2-4.

<sup>184</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 30 June 1926, p. 33; 16 May 1928, p. 31; 18 May 1932, pp. 31, 39; 29 June 1932, pp. 1-2; 30 May 1934, p. 7; 28 November 1934, pp. 20-21; 8 January 1936, p. 9; 5 July 1939, p. 8; 31 January 1940, p. 7; *Month*, 1 June 1932, pp. 8-9; *Marist Messenger*, 1 November 1934, pp. 29-30; *Zealandia*, 6 July 1939, p. 4; Aubert in Jedin, vol. 8, p. 222; Köhler in Jedin, vol. 9, pp. 260-262. For references to Mother Aubert, see above.

<sup>185</sup> *Month*, 20 March 1928, p. 17.

<sup>186</sup> *Month*, 19 April 1927, p. 13 and *NZ Tablet*, 14 March 1928, p. 30 (joint pastoral letters by the bishops). For the Maori delegation, see *Month*, 29 September 1928, pp. 47, 71; *NZ Tablet*, 26 September 1928, p. 33; 10 October 1928, p. 44; cf. *Month*, 15 May 1928, p. 23 and *NZ Tablet*, 16 May 1928, p. 13 for an appeal for funds for the Maori delegates.

pilgrims to the Dublin Congress in 1932, taking two large banners prepared for the occasion. The delegation divided at Naples, some travelling directly to London, while the rest went to Rome where they had two audiences with the Pope.<sup>187</sup> Overseas congresses always occasioned appropriate observances in New Zealand. Commenting on the Chicago Congress in 1926, the *Tablet* declared that "every Catholic was in some way a sharer in the great manifestation of love and loyalty and on every one a share in the blessings and graces it merited will descend."<sup>188</sup> In anticipation of the Sydney Congress, nearly 15,000 Auckland Catholics held a Eucharistic procession converging on the grounds of Sacred Heart College; a similar event before the Dublin Congress attracted nearly 20,000.<sup>189</sup> Almost all the parishioners at St Joseph's, New Plymouth, received Holy Communion at the early Mass on the Sunday coinciding with the Sydney Congress. After the late Mass, there was Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament and the Holy Hour in the evening included a procession, Benediction and a sermon on the Blessed Sacrament.<sup>190</sup> During the 1930 Congress in Carthage, the Catholics of Palmerston North reported that, "In union with our fellow-Catholics the wide world over, we united in spirit with the multitudes assembled at Carthage" by holding Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament.<sup>191</sup>

New Zealand Catholics held their own Eucharistic Congress in Wellington during the first week of February 1940. The Congress was preceded by a civic reception for the Papal Legate, Archbishop John Panico - attended by Deputy Prime Minister Fraser as well as Mayor T.C.A. Hislop. Other highlights included Martinez Sierra's play, *The Kingdom of God*, performed by the Catholic Players under the direction of Maria Dronke, special Masses and addresses for religious, children, women and men, as well as meetings for diverse groups, including a Catholic Writers' Conference. Speeches by O'Shea and visiting dignitaries were broadcast and addresses were relayed from England's Cardinal Hinsley, unable to attend because of the war, and from Pope Pius XII. Maori celebrations were held at Otaki and there was also a Maori concert in the

<sup>187</sup> *Month*, 1 June 1932, p. 37; 1 July 1932, p. 35; 1 August 1932, p. 19; 2 January 1933, p. 19; *NZ Tablet*, 13 April 1932, p. 43; 15 June 1932, pp. 3, 6; 10 August 1932, p. 13.

<sup>188</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 30 June 1926, p. 33; *cf.* 14 May 1930, p. 3 and 15 June 1932, p. 3 for similar reflections on other congresses.

<sup>189</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 16 May 1928, pp. 44-45; *Month*, 17 April 1928, p. 32; 15 May 1928, pp. 12-13, 33; 1 April 1932, p. 15; 2 May 1932, pp. 8-10.

<sup>190</sup> *Month*, 16 October 1928, p. 40; *cf.* the report on Wanganui on the same page.

<sup>191</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 21 May 1930, p. 49.

Wellington Town Hall. The climax of the Congress was the procession in which at least 10,000 Catholics marched through the city streets, watched by 40,000 to 50,000 spectators. Panico carried the Blessed Sacrament from St Mary of the Angels to St Patrick's College where he gave Benediction.<sup>192</sup>

Just as the images of the Sacred Heart and Christ the King were intertwined, both concepts were also blended with the doctrine of Christ's presence in the Blessed Sacrament. It was said that, "The Sacred Heart now dwells in the Blessed Eucharist, and is still a victim for sinners in the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass."<sup>193</sup> A report on the Children of Mary and Handmaids of the Blessed Sacrament in Invercargill observed that the fervour with which they promised "to become at least weekly communicants must have given joy to the Heart of Jesus in the Tabernacle".<sup>194</sup> The purpose of the Guard of Honour of the Sacred Heart was to honour the Blessed Sacrament and to offer reparation to the Sacred Heart; members promised "to keep their hour of guard every day united with the Sacred Heart of Our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament".<sup>195</sup> To go into a church was to enter the presence of Christ the King: "In the tabernacle is His sacramental throne and the church is His audience chamber where we may come at all times to visit Him and to speak to Him."<sup>196</sup> Eucharistic congresses were seen as acknowledging the Kingship of Christ and the "primary object" of the National Eucharistic Congress in 1940 was "the honour of Christ the King in the great Sacrament of the Eucharist".<sup>197</sup> Catholics participated in the procession "to show their love for their Eucharistic King."<sup>198</sup>

<sup>192</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 7 February 1940, 14 February 1940 and *Zealandia*, 8 February 1940, 15 February 1940 (*passim*); *NZ National Eucharistic Congress Souvenir Programme*, *op. cit.*; N.H. Gascoigne, *The Book of the Congress, 1940* (Wellington: The Chancellery of the Archdiocese, 1941). The figures for the procession are taken from the *NZ Tablet* (7 February 1940, p. 33); higher estimates were given by the *Zealandia* (8 February 1940, p. 2 - 25,000 in the procession; 22 February 1940, p. 5 - 15,000 in the procession and over 50,000 spectators). Maria Dronke, a teacher of voice and acting, had arrived in Wellington in August 1939 and was to make a considerable contribution to Catholic culture in the years to come - see Edith Campion in Charlotte Macdonald, *et al.* (editors), *The Book of New Zealand Women* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1991), pp. 193-195; *cf. NZ Tablet*, 31 January 1940, p. 32; *Zealandia*, 1 February 1940, p. 7.

<sup>193</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 28 August 1929, p. 41; *cf.* 14 August 1929, p. 41.

<sup>194</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 22 October 1924, p. 33.

<sup>195</sup> *Zealandia*, 3 November 1938, p. 6.

<sup>196</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 14 May 1930, p. 3.

<sup>197</sup> *Month*, 21 August 1928, pp. 16-17; *NZ Tablet*, 21 June 1939, p. 5; *cf.* 31 January 1940, p. 7 (referring to the Congress as an "act of homage to Christ the King"); *cf. Quas Primas*, paragraph 26.

<sup>198</sup> *Zealandia*, 22 February 1940, p. 5.

While the sacred host continued to be an object of extra-liturgical devotion in its own right, there developed in the later nineteenth century, and especially during the twentieth, a renewed emphasis on receiving Holy Communion at Mass. Even in New Zealand, there was evidence of the crypto-Jansenist scruples which had long discouraged frequent Communion among the Irish (whose clergy had been trained in France during penal times).<sup>199</sup> Since the pontificate of Pius X (1903-1914), Eucharistic congresses had been used not only as opportunities to venerate the Eucharist but also as occasions to promote more frequent reception of Holy Communion. Controversy over the frequency with which Catholics should receive Communion and the age at which children should be admitted to the Sacrament was resolved by the Vatican decrees *Sacra Tridentina Synodus* (1905) and *Quam Singulari* (1910) respectively. It was determined that the laity should be encouraged to receive Communion often, even daily if possible, and that children should begin to receive the Sacrament at the age of reason - about seven years.<sup>200</sup> New Zealand Catholics continued to be reminded of these recent developments during the interwar period.<sup>201</sup> First Communion, often taken in large groups made up of one or more primary school classes, was an essential rite of passage for Catholic children. Boys wore white shirts with sashes, while girls dressed as "brides of Christ" in white dresses and veils - sometimes from their mothers' wedding clothes.<sup>202</sup> Having fasted since midnight, they were usually given a celebratory breakfast in the parish hall afterwards.<sup>203</sup> The ideal of daily Communion was also promoted in New Zealand.<sup>204</sup> While there were relatively few Catholics who could attend daily Mass and even fewer who could fulfil the fasting

<sup>199</sup> O'Regan, p. 144; but *cf. ibid.*, pp. 142-144 and B.F. Cadogan, "Lace Curtain Catholics: the Catholic Bourgeoisie of the Diocese of Dunedin, 1900-1920" (University of Otago B.A. Honours dissertation in History, 1984), pp. 77-84 for evidence of a quite different attitude on the part of Irish Catholics.

<sup>200</sup> Aubert in Aubert, pp. 123-125; Aubert in Jedin, vol. 9, pp. 403-406; Iserloh in Jedin, vol. 10, pp. 312-313.

<sup>201</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 19 June 1919, p. 26; 14 August 1935, p. 36; *Month*, 2 January 1933, p. 7; *Zealandia*, 5 December 1935, p. 6.

<sup>202</sup> B.H. Bartlett, "Recollections, Impressions, Opinions and a few Facts, in the parish of St Patrick's Church, Palmerston North (and environs)", manuscript in Miss Bartlett's possession, vol. 1, p. 4.

<sup>203</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 12 September 1918, p. 28 (Dunedin); 17 November 1921, p. 21 (Timaru); *Month*, 18 November 1924, p. 23 (Napier); 1 October 1930, p. 34 (Dargaville); *Zealandia*, 10 May 1934, p. 6 (St Joseph's, Wellington); 9 December 1937, p. 7 (Ponsonby); O'Regan, pp. 153-155; Aim, pp. 7-8.

<sup>204</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 16 November 1927, p. 61; 26 September 1928, p. 3; 3 February 1932, p. 3; *Zealandia*, 2 June 1938, p. 11.

requirements, "general Communion" of the whole parish, or of a significant part of it, used peer pressure to encourage increased reception of the Sacrament, especially on important occasions.<sup>205</sup>

Pious sodalities provided another important means of promoting more frequent Communion, since one of the members' principal duties - if not the single most important duty - was to attend the monthly sodality Mass and receive Communion.<sup>206</sup> Holy Name Men were told that, "Attendance at meetings may be good, but the one thing necessary is the question of Holy Communion."<sup>207</sup> At St Joseph's parish in Wellington during the 1930s, the Sacred Heart Sodality for women attended the 7:30 am Mass and received Communion together on the first Sunday of each month; the Holy Name Society did the same on the second Sunday and the Children of Mary on the third.<sup>208</sup> Similar arrangements prevailed in parishes throughout the country during the interwar years.<sup>209</sup> Not only did sodality days encourage members to form the habit of at least monthly Communion, but by sitting together at the front of the church, wearing their distinctive regalia and approaching the altar rails as a body, participants set an example for the rest of the congregation. Some pious associations were established principally to promote more frequent Communion. The Knights of the Blessed Sacrament, like the Handmaids and Pages of the Blessed Sacrament, who were also founded by Lester and soon introduced to New Zealand, undertook to receive Communion at least weekly, while daily Communion was their ideal.<sup>210</sup> In Invercargill, schoolgirls who were too young to join the Children of Mary were encouraged to become Handmaids of the Blessed Sacrament; wearing crimson mantles and veils, they joined the Children of Mary at their monthly Mass and Communion.<sup>211</sup>

<sup>205</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 31 March 1921, p. 17 (men's annual Communion, Wanganui); 12 May 1926, p. 30 (general Communion at the Church of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart, Epsom); *Month*, 15 May 1928, p. 17 (general Communion of St Joseph's parish, Aramoho, on the Sunday before the patronal feast); *Zealandia*, 5 November 1936, p. 4 (first Holy Communion and general Communion on the feast of Christ the King in Palmerston North).

<sup>206</sup> *Month*, 17 February 1925, p. 11.

<sup>207</sup> *Month*, 19 June 1928, p. 40.

<sup>208</sup> *Catholic News*, August 1932, p. 2; December 1934, p. 6.

<sup>209</sup> MYB, 1929, pp. 125 (Napier), 134 (St Mary's, Christchurch); Beryl Bartlett, interview, 8 September 1989 (Palmerston North).

<sup>210</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 28 October 1920, pp. 22-23; 20 January 1921, p. 21; 28 April 1921, p. 22; 10 August 1922, p. 22; 4 February 1925, p. 35; *Month*, 17 February 1925, p. 24; *Zealandia*, 30 August 1934, p. 5; 6 December 1934, pp. 3, 8; 7 November 1935, p. 7; 24 November 1938, p. 1.

<sup>211</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 30 August 1923, p. 45; 25 October 1923, p. 27; cf. 17 December 1924, p. 25 for a similar practice at St Dominic's School in Dunedin).

During the course of their annual retreat in 1927, some 350 Children of Mary in Invercargill "pronounced aloud their promises as Handmaids of the Blessed Sacrament to receive Holy Communion at least once a week and to visit the Blessed Sacrament as often as possible."<sup>212</sup> The dedication of Christchurch's Cathedral of the Blessed Sacrament, reflected the new emphasis on the Eucharist at the time of its opening (1905). Bishop Grimes' efforts to establish the Archconfraternity of the Blessed Sacrament in the Cathedral parish in 1907 initially failed but it was revived in 1911 by a Redemptorist priest, Father Creagh, on the model of the Confraternity of the Holy Family, with separate branches for men and women, and continued through the interwar period.<sup>213</sup> Like pious sodalities, even Catholic clubs and associations formed for cultural or sporting purposes held annual or more frequent general Communion.<sup>214</sup>

In promoting more frequent reception of the Blessed Sacrament, the Eucharistic movement remained individualistic in its focus and thereby conformed with the tendency for Catholics to view the Mass as a context for their own personal devotions rather than as a collective act of worship. The passive role of the congregation in the liturgy was reflected in references to "hearing Mass".<sup>215</sup> For much of the liturgy, Catholics often ignored the priest, who offered Mass, in Latin, on behalf of the people (and therefore faced the altar, with his back to the congregation), while they prayed the Rosary or read from a prayer book based only very loosely on the structure of the Mass itself. From the beginning of the twentieth century, however, the liturgical movement - the fourth international trend in Catholic spirituality to be considered here - came to incorporate among its aims the greater participation of the laity in the liturgy. This movement was originally concerned only with liturgical reform in a few continental Benedictine monasteries during the nineteenth century but with the blessing of Pius X its application was broadened. In an address to Catholic teachers in 1937, explaining the place of Church music in the liturgical movement, Anthony Loughnan, a Dunedin

<sup>212</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 9 November 1927, p. 31. Retreats held for groups like the Children of Mary consisted of morning and evening devotions and sermons for several days in succession; they differed from the week-end enclosed retreats discussed later in this chapter.

<sup>213</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 2 May 1918, p. 22; 5 July 1923, p. 45; 23 June 1926, p. 29; *Zealandia*, 22 October 1936, p. 3.

<sup>214</sup> Examples will be cited in chapter three below.

<sup>215</sup> *Month*, 15 March 1922, p. 9; 15 April 1924, p. 20; 17 February 1925, p. 35; 15 November 1927, p. 1; 10 June 1930, p. 17; *NZ Tablet*, 27 May 1936, p. 5; 8 July 1936, p. 15; 20 January 1937, p. 15; 2 August 1939, p. 7; 31 January 1940, p. 27; *Zealandia*, 12 September 1935, p. 6; *Holy Name Annual*, December 1931, p. 31 (disparagement of this expression by T. Heffernan SM precisely because it implied passivity).

priest, described the movement as a challenge to "an ever increasing individualisation of our religious life" as expressed in "personal private devotion" during public worship by the use of prayer books and Rosaries.<sup>216</sup> On a similar occasion two years later, Father Patrick Herlihy of Palmerston North derided the tendency to regard the liturgy merely as an opportunity to receive Holy Communion and stressed the public and corporate character of the Mass, which was most fully realized when the congregation sang in traditional chant.<sup>217</sup>

Restoration of traditional liturgical music, on the basis of the pioneering work of the French monks of Solesmes under the leadership of Prosper Guéranger, was an integral part of the liturgical movement. In 1903, Pius X, in the *motu proprio Tra Le Sollecitudini*, declared Gregorian Chant to be the model for ecclesiastical music and called for its restoration in the liturgy throughout the Church - while still allowing an important role for polyphonic music and modern compositions which conformed to the traditional patterns.<sup>218</sup> Adoption of the new rules was slow in New Zealand: in 1919, an Australian visitor commented that the *motu proprio* seemed to have been "quite overlooked".<sup>219</sup> In 1929 an apostolic constitution of Pius XI (*Divini Cultus*) reaffirmed and developed the norms laid down by Pius X, calling for the use of Gregorian Chant by the faithful so that they might "more actively participate in divine worship".<sup>220</sup> By this time, O'Shea had already engaged the services of a graduate of the Pius X School of Liturgical Music in New York, to teach Gregorian Chant to the schoolchildren of the archdiocese.<sup>221</sup> In 1934, Liston invited Dom Moreno OSB of New Norcia to teach liturgical music in Auckland.<sup>222</sup> During the 1930s, the Catholic press published

<sup>216</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 24 February 1937, pp. 11, 17.

<sup>217</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 15 February 1939, p. 37.

<sup>218</sup> Aubert in Aubert, p. 126; Aubert in Jedin, vol. 9, pp. 407-409. A *motu proprio* is a decree issued and signed by the pope himself ("by his own initiative"); other decrees (such as those already referred to on the subject of receiving Holy Communion) are issued by the responsible Roman congregations.

<sup>219</sup> Vincent Aloysius Dawson to the editor, *NZ Tablet*, 27 February 1919, p. 13.

<sup>220</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 26 June 1929, pp. 22-23; 10 May 1939, pp. 3-4, 8 (different translation; the quotation is from paragraph IX).

<sup>221</sup> *Month*, 29 September 1928, p. 55; 15 January 1929, p. 19; *NZ Tablet*, 10 October 1928, p. 31; 17 July 1929, p. 22; St Joseph's parish notices, 2 March 1930, WCAA. The teacher originally announced was Mary Saunders but it was Lilian Honiss who came.

<sup>222</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 9 May 1934, p. 7; 8 August 1934, p. 7.

numerous articles to promote the implementation of liturgical reform.<sup>223</sup> However, Loughnan noted in 1936 that New Zealand choirs were reluctant to accord Gregorian Chant the primacy which was demanded by the Vatican.<sup>224</sup> Earlier that year, a contributor to the *Tablet* initiated a prolonged controversy by arguing that there should be no hymns sung during the liturgy: the only singing should be the plainsong of the Mass itself.<sup>225</sup> In November, O'Shea appointed a Church Music Commission which produced detailed regulations and a list of approved liturgical music for the archdiocese.<sup>226</sup> Pupils in Catholic schools were to spend at least half an hour each week learning Gregorian Chant and other church music.<sup>227</sup> Ernest Jenner was commissioned to prepare text-books for teaching liturgical music to schoolchildren.<sup>228</sup> The *Tablet* noted that Pius X's instructions were "gradually beginning to be observed, not only in one diocese but from end to end in our country."<sup>229</sup> Schoolchildren in particular, especially in the Wellington archdiocese, increasingly sang plainchant during Mass.<sup>230</sup>

Advocates of liturgical reform also sought to involve the laity more fully in the liturgy by discouraging the use of non-liturgical prayers during Mass and promoting the missal. *Tablet* editor Alan Carter lamented that the pioneer French and Irish priests had brought to New Zealand an individualistic attitude towards the Mass, encouraged by "sentimental prayer books which, in flowery language, instilled a selfish concept of Christianity which unfortunately supplanted the communal or social concept which is

<sup>223</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 4 January 1933, p. 13; 16 May 1934, pp. 20-21, 31; 23 May 1934, pp. 13, 31; 20 February 1935, pp. 20-21; 9 October 1935, pp. 9-10; 23 September 1936, pp. 21, 36; 30 September 1936, pp. 21, 29; 21 October 1936, pp. 20, 29; 24 February 1937, pp. 9, 11, 17; 3 March 1937, pp. 9, 11; 3 November 1937, pp. 24, 37; 15 June 1938, p. 8; 28 September 1938, pp. 24, 32; 22 March 1939, pp. 3-4; 29 March 1939, pp. 3-4; 5 April 1939, p. 6; 3 May 1939, pp. 3-4, 8, 41; *Month*, 18 March 1930, p. 3; 15 April 1930, pp. 17, 19; 20 May 1930, p. 25; 10 June 1930, p. 25; 2 August 1930, pp. 31, 33; *Zealandia*, 13 January 1938, p. 12.

<sup>224</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 23 September 1936, p. 21.

<sup>225</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 18 March 1936, pp. 21, 36; 1 April 1936, p. 13; 8 April 1936, p. 23; 22 April 1936, pp. 13, 23; 29 April 1936, pp. 23, 34; 6 May 1936, p. 23; 13 May 1936, p. 34; 20 May 1936, p. 23; 27 May 1936, pp. 34, 36; 3 June 1936, pp. 6-7, 29.

<sup>226</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 28 October 1936, p. 6; 25 November 1936, pp. 21, 27; 21 April 1937, pp. 23-27; *Zealandia*, 16 July 1936, p. 3.

<sup>227</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 21 April 1937, p. 23.

<sup>228</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 10 March 1937, p. 11; 7 April 1937, p. 22; 31 August 1938, p. 35.

<sup>229</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 28 April 1937, p. 5.

<sup>230</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 16 November 1932, p. 37 (Dannevirke); *Zealandia*, 9 December 1937, p. 2 (New Plymouth).

the basis of the true Christian life."<sup>231</sup> As Thomas Heffernan SM pointed out, even *The Key of Heaven* and *The Garden of the Soul* - the most popular prayer books of the interwar period - contained only the unchanging "ordinary" of the Mass but not the "propers" which varied according to the liturgical season.<sup>232</sup> To understand and participate in the liturgy, it was necessary to follow the proceedings in a missal, which included the ordinary, the propers and the Scriptural readings. By the end of the nineteenth century, the long-standing prohibition of translations of the Latin missal had been withdrawn and vernacular missals were being published in France and Germany for the use of the laity.<sup>233</sup> In interwar New Zealand, lay people were increasingly encouraged to adopt the missal, whether printed wholly in English or with the Latin text in parallel columns, and available in a number of different editions.<sup>234</sup> Eileen Duggan, expressing the official view, described the missal as "a book no Catholic should be without".<sup>235</sup> At their school in Timaru, the Sisters of the Sacred Heart, who maintained stronger links with religious education in continental Europe than did most other teaching orders, taught the use of the missal many years before it became popular among other New Zealanders.<sup>236</sup> During the 1930s, laymen's retreats were used as opportunities to teach about the Mass and to encourage the use of the missal.<sup>237</sup>

There was some resistance to the missal, not only because Catholics were accustomed to offering their own private devotions, but also because finding the correct prayers at the right time required both a good understanding of the Mass and some practice. Young Pauline O'Regan, whose family had been introduced to the

<sup>231</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 9 March 1938, p. 5; for similar views, cf. *Month*, 1 October 1930, p. 36; 1 September 1931, p. 7; *Marist Messenger*, July 1930, p. 1.

<sup>232</sup> *Holy Name Annual*, December 1931, p. 33; cf. *Marist Messenger*, 1 July 1932, p. 27; *Garden of the Soul* [title page missing from the copy used; probably published in London by Burns Oates and Washbourne Ltd, in 1923]; *The Key of Heaven: a Manual of Prayer for the Use of the Faithful* (London: R. & T. Washbourne, Ltd, 1910; reprinted in London by Burns Oates and Washbourne Ltd, 1923).

<sup>233</sup> Köhler in Jedin, vol. 9, p. 266; Aubert in Aubert, p. 125.

<sup>234</sup> In addition to the items cited elsewhere in this paragraph, see *NZ Tablet*, 30 December 1925, p. 57; 16 December 1936, p. 9; 15 March 1939, p. 37; *Month*, 18 February 1930, pp. 31, 33; 10 June 1930, p. 17; MYB, 1927, p. 9; 1928, pp. 201-203 (includes a list of five editions available in New Zealand). For missal advertisements and reviews, see *NZ Tablet*, 5 September 1918, p. 24; 16 January 1919, p. 28; 30 March 1922, p. 27; 24 March 1926, p. 17; 20 July 1932, p. 43; *Month*, 19 October 1926, p. 43; 15 January 1929, p. 1; 19 November 1929, p. iii.

<sup>235</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 7 January 1931, p. 23 (Duggan wrote under the pseudonym "Pippa").

<sup>236</sup> *Month*, 19 November 1929, p. 22 and *Zealandia*, 7 July 1938, p. 7 (articles by Mary Goulter).

<sup>237</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 7 February 1934, p. 34; 30 January 1935, p. 39; 27 January 1937, p. 7.

missal by a sister at boarding school, much preferred the familiar *Key of Heaven*, or, failing that, *The Garden of the Soul*.<sup>238</sup> Writing in 1938, Carter complained that some Catholics used the missal like a traditional prayer book, failing to read each part of the Mass at the same time as the priest did; he acknowledged that, "to the uninitiated", the missal was "a complex and puzzling book".<sup>239</sup> In an effort to overcome such difficulties, Dom Lambert Beauduin of Mont César, near Louvain, began in 1909 to distribute pamphlets containing the text of the Mass in French, with a commentary.<sup>240</sup> Following an American example but obviously reflecting this European development, Liston initiated in 1930 *The Leaflet Missal*, published in weekly parts, "to enable the faithful to take part, consciously and completely, in the offering of the Sacrifice". Using this pamphlet, the congregation could follow, in English, the ordinary of the Mass and the propers, which were printed in a continuous sequence.<sup>241</sup> *The Leaflet Missal*, available on a subscription basis, was intended primarily as a means of encouraging the laity to take up the use of the official missal.<sup>242</sup> Heffernan expected users to take up the missal after twelve months' practice with the leaflets.<sup>243</sup>

While the use of the missal had become much more widespread during the interwar period, it was by no means universal and even the ecclesiastical authorities were not consistent in their endorsement of it. Even while commending the missal, a *Zealandia* columnist could describe the praying of the Rosary during Mass as "permissible".<sup>244</sup> A correspondent to the *Marist Messenger* observed in 1940 that the common practice in country churches of reciting the Rosary aloud during Mass in October was not in keeping with the Church's promotion of the missal. It was explained in reply that the 1937 Plenary Council of the hierarchies of Australia and New Zealand had decreed that the Rosary was to be recited in all parish churches either during Mass in the morning or during Exposition in the evening throughout the month. Saying the Rosary

<sup>238</sup> O'Regan, pp. 87-88.

<sup>239</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 30 March 1938, p. 5.

<sup>240</sup> L.C. Sheppard, in *NCE*, vol. 8, p. 901; Aubert in Aubert, p. 128; Aubert in Jedin, vol. 9, p. 412; Iserloh in Jedin, vol. 10, pp. 300-301.

<sup>241</sup> *Month*, 20 May 1930, p. 1; 10 June 1930, pp. 1, 17; 1 November 1930, p. 34; *The Leaflet Missal* for 25 February 1934 (Auckland: printed by M. Smethurst, c. 1934).

<sup>242</sup> *Zealandia*, 19 July 1934, p. 5.

<sup>243</sup> *Holy Name Annual*, December 1931, p. 32. Carter thought *The Leaflet Missal* self-defeating because it did not familiarize the reader with the Latin of the Mass (*NZ Tablet*, 30 March 1938, p. 5).

<sup>244</sup> *Zealandia*, 21 May 1936, p. 10; 17 December 1936, p. 10.

during Mass was justified on the grounds that it did not necessarily distract the congregation from "the thought of our Saviour's sacrifice which is renewed on the altar". Moreover in many churches it was impossible for the congregation to attend evening devotions.<sup>245</sup> As a convert to Catholicism in 1949, Roderick Finlayson noticed that many or even most of those who attended Mass were not concerned with what the priest was doing but were absorbed in the Rosary or some other form of private meditation.<sup>246</sup>

Despite the increasing use of the missal, it remained customary for only the altar servers to give the congregational responses to the celebrant during Mass, (although, at some Masses, choirs or others with suitable training would sing in Latin). However, by the end of the interwar period, the "recited" or, more accurately, "dialogue Mass" was being offered occasionally in New Zealand. The first such Mass had been celebrated at the German monastery of Maria Laach in 1918.<sup>247</sup> In a dialogue Mass, not only the responses but also some of the principal prayers, including the *Gloria*, the *Credo*, the *Sanctus*, the *Agnus Dei*, the *Pater Noster* and the *Confiteor* before Communion were said aloud by the congregation - or those members of it who were able.<sup>248</sup> Since training was required, the dialogue Mass was most easily introduced among school pupils and other organized groups, especially if they had already learnt plainsong. In 1939, the congregation at Mount Magdala in Christchurch - nuns and other residents numbering about 400 individuals - celebrated a dialogue Mass.<sup>249</sup> They had been trained by the Rev. Dr J.T. McMahon of Perth, who also taught the girls of Sacred Heart College and the Grail girls, who participated in a dialogue Mass in the Cathedral later that year.<sup>250</sup> Pupils of the Christian Brothers' High School and St Dominic's College, as well as Scouts and Guides, also participated in dialogue Masses

<sup>245</sup> *Marist Messenger*, 2 December 1940, p. 28; *Concilium Plenarum IV Australiae et Novae Zelandiae, Habitum Apud Sydney, Anno Domini 1937, Editio Officialis* (Manly: printed by the Manly Daily Pty Ltd, n.d., c. 1939), p. 113, rule 541; Mary Dudson recalled during an interview (27 January 1989) that in Oamaru during the 1930s, the Rosary was said aloud by the congregation in May and October.

<sup>246</sup> Roderick Finlayson, "A Rather Protestant Catholic", *Zealandia*, 10 June 1988, p. 13.

<sup>247</sup> Iserloh in Jedin, vol. 10, p. 301; cf. Aubert in Aubert, p. 598.

<sup>248</sup> *Zealandia*, 13 April 1939, p. 6; 17 August 1939, p. 5.

<sup>249</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 12 July 1939, pp. 25-26; cf. 19 July 1939, p. 20; 8 November 1939, pp. 19, 29; 3 March 1943, p. 5.

<sup>250</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 27 December 1939, p. 17; *Zealandia*, 28 December 1939, p. 3 (Father Joyce also trained the Grail members).

in Dunedin that same year.<sup>251</sup> Bennett celebrated a dialogue Mass with the Catholic League of Women and Catholic League of Young Men in the Cathedral in November.<sup>252</sup> The Catholic Youth Movement in Auckland was officially inaugurated with a dialogue Mass celebrated by Liston and attended by 100 young people.<sup>253</sup> At the first Dialogue Mass in Wellington, offered in May 1941 at St Joseph's, the responses were given by 50 members of the Ramahi groups who sat at the front of congregation.<sup>254</sup>

Lay interest in the liturgical movement was strongest among the newer, more active religious groups like the Grail and the Catholic Action organizations, whose members sought not only to sanctify themselves but also to exercise a Christian influence on society at large. A Redemptorist contributor to the *Tablet* assumed that among "those who are in the van of the movement, Catholic Actionists especially", it was "commonplace" that "Liturgy must be the life-blood to the Lay Apostolate."<sup>255</sup> At the retreat during which Catholic Action was officially organized in Wellington, participants were told that "the Liturgy is the Mystical Body of Christ at prayer" and that "Catholic Action is the same Mystical Body of Christ in action".<sup>256</sup> After studying the fundamentals of Catholic Action, the Catholic Youth Movement in Auckland turned its attention to the liturgical movement.<sup>257</sup> The link between Catholic Action and the liturgy was stressed by Carter: "Catholic Action depends upon Christian formation, and Christian formation upon active participation in the Liturgy".<sup>258</sup> Among the resolutions of the conference of the National Secretariat of Catholic Action held in Melbourne in February 1939, and attended by Higgins, were several urging the study of the Mass and the promotion of the Missal - issues which were highlighted in the *Tablet*.<sup>259</sup> While acknowledging the significance of the Eucharistic Congress procession as "a public manifestation of faith", Carter warned that "it must never be

<sup>251</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 12 July 1939, p. 5; 22 November 1939, p. 34; 29 November 1939, p. 5.

<sup>252</sup> *Zealandia*, 16 November 1939, p. 3.

<sup>253</sup> *Zealandia*, 20 April 1939, p. 3; cf. 30 March 1939, p. 2 and 6 April 1939, p. 2 for the preparations.

<sup>254</sup> *Catholic News*, July 1941, p. 2.

<sup>255</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 27 December 1939, p. 19.

<sup>256</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 31 August 1938, p. 43; *Zealandia*, 25 August 1938, p. 5.

<sup>257</sup> *Zealandia*, 6 July 1939, p. 7; 24 August 1939, p. 2; 14 September 1939, p. 2.

<sup>258</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 3 May 1939, p. 5; cf. 9 March 1938, p. 5 ("Catholic Action is but the further development of the liturgical life".)

<sup>259</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 17 May 1939, pp. 5, 34-35; cf. *Zealandia*, 24 August 1939, p. 4.

forgotten that public and private acts of adoration are not comparable to the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass and that Our Divine Lord instituted the Blessed Sacrament primarily to be the food of our souls". Moreover, while reception of Holy Communion was becoming more frequent, "with a few exceptions those Communion are acts of individual piety", they were "not social acts, not sensible corporate or communal acts."<sup>260</sup> As long as Catholics failed to appreciate "the social implications of Catholicism", treated the Mass as a "private devotion" and regarded Holy Communion as an "individual matter", they would not understand their "function in the Mystical Body of Christ" and would not exert the influence they ought to have on their own country.<sup>261</sup>

Eucharistic and liturgical piety among New Zealand Catholics was consciously derived from western European models. An account of a procession during the 1934 Forty Hours' Adoration at St Mary's Convent, Ponsonby, noted that, "The scene in the sunlight of a beautiful afternoon as the procession wended its way along, with the new convent buildings in the background, awakened memories of similar scenes in the Old World."<sup>262</sup> The cult of the Eucharist outside the context of the Mass, emphasizing public adoration and the miracle of transubstantiation, was of a piece with the devotional piety discussed earlier in this chapter. Following the example of their co-religionists overseas, New Zealand Catholics were encouraged to develop a new understanding of the Eucharist and the liturgy. While extra-liturgical worship of the sacred host continued to flourish, there was a new emphasis on more frequent reception on the Eucharist. Although encouraged by lay societies, receiving Communion was long regarded as an individual act of devotion but increasingly came to be linked to the liturgical movement. Along with the emergence of an active spirituality, the laity were increasingly encouraged to participate consciously and actively in the liturgy by using a missal and even by praying aloud in dialogue with the priest. Herlihy explained that just as Catholic Action meant the participation of the laity in the apostolate of the clergy and the hierarchy, the liturgical movement promoted the participation of the laity in the Church's official worship.<sup>263</sup> In urging the use of the missal, "the one official Mass-Book of the Church", Heffernan argued

<sup>260</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 24 January 1940, p. 5.

<sup>261</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 14 February 1940, p. 5.

<sup>262</sup> *Zealandia*, 16 August 1934, p. 5.

<sup>263</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 15 February 1939, p. 37.

that "what is prescribed for the priest is also best for the people", who by using the same book, "would come to appreciate their priesthood and exercise it actively during the Holy Sacrifice."<sup>264</sup>

### The Religious Model: Retreats and Third Orders

Encouraging the laity to take Holy Communion more often and to participate more fully in the liturgy reflected the fifth tendency to be discussed here, namely the modelling of lay piety on that of the religious life. Two other important ways in which lay spirituality was increasingly modelled on that of the religious life were the development of the retreat movement and the growth of third orders. Here, as in the other trends already discussed, the Church in New Zealand followed international developments.

Having achieved their classical form in the Spiritual Exercises of St Ignatius Loyola, retreats were traditionally the preserve of the clergy and religious. During the later nineteenth century and particularly during the twentieth century, however, they were increasingly conducted for the laity as well.<sup>265</sup> Retreats for lay women had been conducted in New Zealand since well before World War I and were being offered annually by the interwar period at the Convents of the Sacred Heart in Timaru, Island Bay and Remuera and at the Dominican Nuns' school in Oamaru.<sup>266</sup> Although the first retreat for laymen took place at St Patrick's College in June 1910, men's retreats were not offered regularly until Alfred Herring SM revived the practice during the early 1920s. Retreats for men were held at the Marist Fathers' Colleges in Christchurch and Wellington, at the Marist Brothers' College in Auckland, at the Seminary in Mosgiel and at several locations in Wanganui.<sup>267</sup> In 1936, a Laymen's Retreat Guild was

<sup>264</sup> *Holy Name Annual*, December 1931, p. 31.

<sup>265</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 11 August 1921, p. 28; 26 February 1936, p. 13; *Month*, 1 August 1933, p. 5; *Zealandia*, 20 December 1934, p. 10; 1 February 1940, p. 2.

<sup>266</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 10 December 1908, p. 21 (advertisements, Timaru and Island Bay); 21 November 1918, p. 28 (advertisements, Timaru and Oamaru); 25 January 1923, p. 19 (retreats were held annually); *Month*, 21 December 1926, p. 33 (advertisement, Sacred Heart convents in Auckland, Wellington and Timaru). For comments indicating that women's retreats - in contrast to men's - were held regularly, see *NZ Tablet*, 11 August 1921, p. 28; 17 November 1921, p. 15; 1 November 1923, p. 29.

<sup>267</sup> *Month*, 15 December 1925, p. 13; MYB, 1928, pp. 135, 196-198; P. Ewart SM (editor), *The Society of Mary in New Zealand, 1838, 1889-1989* (inside title: *Aspects of the Apostolates of the Society of Mary in New Zealand since 1838*; Wellington: Society of Mary, 1989), pp. 73-74; *NZ Tablet*, 8 September 1921, p. 23 (Christchurch); 9 February 1922, p. 21 (Wellington); 6 July 1922, p. 23 (Auckland); 7 February 1924, p. 51 (Wanganui; cf. 9 February 1927, p. 51 for a change of location); 19 April 1924, p. 34 (Mosgiel). A 1922 article claimed (wrongly) that the first retreat was held at St Patrick's College seven years earlier and (more credibly) that the war had prevented the holding of

formed in Wellington to organize retreats and, ultimately, to establish a permanent retreat house.<sup>268</sup> The Franciscans opened a retreat centre in Auckland in 1940.<sup>269</sup>

By attending a retreat, lay people adopted for a few days something of the lifestyle of the religious and, as in the religious life, contemplation was intended to lead to action. In a single-sex community, retreatants participated in religious devotions, listened to spiritual talks, observed periods of silence, prayed and meditated - all according to a strict timetable. It was noted that when retreats were conducted at St Bede's, "the college would take on the aspect of a monastery".<sup>270</sup> A retreatant at the Sacred Heart Convent, Island Bay, described how "we put away for the nonce the trappings of the world and don our black silk veils, which are tucked away in camphor for the rest of the year...and are now called our 'retreat veils'".<sup>271</sup> However, there was time for recreation and withdrawal from the world had its consolations. One layman, anticipating "something approaching the austerity of the monastic life", found that while the exercises were initially difficult, they were soon "eagerly carried out".<sup>272</sup> Accounts of retreats, often contributed to the Catholic press by participants, emphasized the tranquility, comfort and even conviviality of the surroundings, away from the distractions of daily life and the preoccupations of one's business or other employment.<sup>273</sup> Pat Lawlor, in a article entitled "A Spiritual Holiday", advised that "picnic clothes" - tennis shoes and a blazer - "make the ideal 'habit' for the temporary monastic life."<sup>274</sup> The spiritual benefits of retreats were not only the concern of monks

(Footnote continued from previous page.)

further retreats (*NZ Tablet*, 9 February 1922, p. 21).

<sup>268</sup> *Zealandia*, 10 September 1936, p. 3; 3 December 1936, p. 3; 28 January 1937, p. 3; 11 February 1937, p. 3.

<sup>269</sup> *Zealandia*, 1 February 1940, p. 2.

<sup>270</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 2 February 1927, p. 17 (anonymous article).

<sup>271</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 20 January 1937, p. 7.

<sup>272</sup> *Month*, 15 July 1922, pp. 7-8.

<sup>273</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 4 August 1921, p. 28; 29 December 1921, p. 23; 9 February 1922, p. 21; 28 September 1922, p. 19; 1 February 1923, p. 27; 7 February 1924, p. 51; 7 January 1925, p. 15; 14 January 1925, p. 35; 4 February 1925, p. 30; 11 February 1925, pp. 29-31; 11 March 1925, pp. 13, 15; 12 February 1930, p. 50; 30 January 1935, p. 39; 11 December 1935, p. 23; 20 January 1937, p. 7; 27 July 1938, p. 38; *Month*, 15 July 1922, p. 13; 15 December 1925, p. 13; *Zealandia*, 15 August 1935, p. 4; 11 March 1937, p. 7. Most of these accounts were by men and obviously intended to encourage more men to attend: presumably women needed less persuasion.

<sup>274</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 7 December 1938, p. 7. "Christopher Penn" was one of Lawlor's pseudonyms.

and nuns, for lay people were also called to sanctify themselves and save their souls.<sup>275</sup> Retreats, moreover, prepared lay Catholics for the "Lay Apostolate" or Catholic Action.<sup>276</sup> Urging laymen to attend retreats, Liston, in a letter to the Auckland clergy, declared: "This is the century of the laity, the age of the lay apostolate." Since Catholics had to live "in an atmosphere tainted by worldliness, heresy and irreligion", they needed the religious enthusiasm generated by retreats lest they be drawn away from the Church and its standards.<sup>277</sup> Pius XI's 1929 encyclical on the Spiritual Exercises emphasized their value for "the manifold cohorts of the Catholic Action".<sup>278</sup>

Like retreats, third orders offered lay people, whether married or single, something of the spirituality of the religious life as a means of cultivating personal sanctity.<sup>279</sup> The first Third Order was founded by St Francis of Assisi early in the thirteenth century; the Second Order was that of the Poor Clares. By the early fourteenth century, lay followers of St Dominic had also been formed into a Third Order. The Third Order of Mary was established in 1832, shortly after the founding of the Society of Mary (Marist Fathers), and received papal approval in 1850.<sup>280</sup> Having suffered a period of decline since the French Revolution, third orders were revived once again in France during the 1860s and later in other countries.<sup>281</sup> Prospective members undertook a period of spiritual training modelled on that of the religious life and were professed after their postulancy and novitiate. Franciscan tertiaries wore a scapular and cord under their clothing, while Dominican tertiaries wore a white scapular; at certain times they could wear the habit of the Order and they could be buried in it.<sup>282</sup>

<sup>275</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 4 August 1921, p. 28; 29 December 1921, p. 23; 6 November 1929, p. 4; 11 December 1935, p. 23.

<sup>276</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 1 November 1923, p. 29; 30 January 1935, p. 39; 27 February 1935, p. 3; *Zealandia*, 12 July 1935, p. 5; 6 January 1938, p. 6; *Marist Messenger*, 1 September 1938, p. 7.

<sup>277</sup> *Month*, 15 June 1922, p. 4; 15 June 1923, p. 4; *Marist Messenger*, 1 December 1932, p. 41; cf. *NZ Tablet*, 11 August 1921, p. 28 for an address by Herring using the same words. For the original, undated, letter, see ACDA CLE 76-12/10.

<sup>278</sup> *Mens Nostra*, paragraph 11; full text in Carlen, pp. 335-343.

<sup>279</sup> For an introduction to third orders, see the articles by S. Hartdegen and G.J. Reinmann in *NCE*, vol. 14, pp. 92-97. See also Peter Regnault (a New Zealand Marist), *The Third Order of Mary: its Origins, Rules, Membership* (Melbourne: Australian Catholic Truth Society, 1925).

<sup>280</sup> Regnault, pp. 10, 14; MYB, 1929, p. 145; Hartdegen, p. 96; *Manual of The Third Order of Mary* (Lyons: Librairie Catholique Emmanuel Vitte, eighth edition, 1926), pp. 11-23.

<sup>281</sup> Aubert in Aubert, p. 117.

<sup>282</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 16 March 1932, p. 13 (Franciscans); 31 January 1934, p. 39 and 15 January 1936, p. 7 (Dominicans).

Some Catholics wore scapulars derived from the habit of religious orders without necessarily having any direct contact with the order concerned. The most popular was the brown scapular associated with the Carmelites; since 1910, it had been permissible to wear a medal instead.<sup>283</sup> Marist tertiaries wore a cord and were deemed to be members of the Society of Mary.<sup>284</sup> Tertiaries shared in the spiritual benefits of the first orders' Masses, prayers and other meritorious works.<sup>285</sup> The Marist Third Order was also affiliated to the Cistercian and Carthusian Orders and its members were said to "share largely in the graces of the religious state."<sup>286</sup> At a retreat for Dominican Tertiaries in 1925, Prior Hogan explained that, "A Tertiary living in the world is a true member of the Order of St. Dominic, and in consequence participates in all the merits of the Order accumulated through the seven centuries."<sup>287</sup> Franciscan Tertiaries were required to say prescribed prayers and examine their consciences daily and, if possible, to attend Mass. They were expected to attend monthly meetings and receive the sacraments each month. At all times they had to observe the ten commandments and those of the Church, to avoid immoral theatrical entertainments and to live moderately.<sup>288</sup> Pope Benedict XV, in a 1921 encyclical promoting the Third Order of St Francis - of which he was a member - emphasized the Franciscan Tertiaries' witness against the "unlimited desire of riches and...insatiable thirst for pleasures" in contemporary society.<sup>289</sup> Dominican and Marist Tertiaries were also admonished not to attend immoral forms of entertainment and to dress simply and modestly as a protest against contemporary excesses. The rule of the Third Order of Mary further required certain daily prayers, fifteen minutes' pious reading or meditation and the avoidance of luxury.<sup>290</sup>

<sup>283</sup> *Month*, 17 February 1925, p. 35; 17 May 1927, p. 3; 1 July 1931, p. 7; *NZ Tablet*, 30 July 1930, p. 41; *Zealandia*, 6 June 1935, p. 6; 1 August 1935, p. 6.

<sup>284</sup> Regnault, p. 18; *Marist Messenger*, 1 October 1932, p. 12; cf. Regnault, pp. 7, 25 and *NZ Tablet*, 16 December 1931, p. 12; *Manual of The Third Order of Mary*, pp. 64-67.

<sup>285</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 4 February 1925, p. 27; 16 December 1931, p. 12; 16 March 1932, p. 13; 31 January 1934, p. 39; 11 March 1936, p. 8; 24 March 1937, p. 7; *Marist Messenger*, 1 January 1934, pp 31-32; *Zealandia*, 26 March 1936, p. 7.

<sup>286</sup> Regnault, pp. 19-22; MYB, 1929, p. 146; *Marist Messenger*, March 1930, p. 1.

<sup>287</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 4 February 1925, p. 27.

<sup>288</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 16 March 1932, p. 13.

<sup>289</sup> *Sacra Propediem*, in Carlen, pp. 207-211 (quotation from paragraph 18); cf. *NZ Tablet*, 28 September 1922, p. 27.

<sup>290</sup> Regnault, pp. 15-16; MYB, 1929, pp. 145-146; *NZ Tablet*, 16 December 1931, p. 12; 31 January 1934, p. 39; *Manual of The Third Order of Mary*, pp. 58-59.

Given its well-established presence in the Wellington and Christchurch dioceses, and its return to Auckland in 1924, the Society of Mary had perhaps some advantage over the other Orders which sponsored tertiaries in New Zealand.<sup>291</sup> While there were no Dominican Friars in New Zealand and no Franciscans until 1939, there were Dominican Nuns, and Friars from Australia visited to promote and assist their respective Third Orders.<sup>292</sup> A local initiative led to the establishment of Franciscan Tertiaries in Palmerston North in 1921 but not until the early 1930s did the movement become widespread in New Zealand.<sup>293</sup> In 1932, Father J. Celsus Kelly OFM of Waverley, New South Wales, toured New Zealand establishing new branches and receiving about 540 new members; he returned the following year.<sup>294</sup> Dominican Tertiaries (evidently all women) were concentrated in the Dunedin diocese where the Dominican Nuns taught in a number of convents.<sup>295</sup> When the Dominican Tertiaries were established in Auckland by McEvoy - to support the work of the Nuns who had recently settled in Northcote and Helensville - it was anticipated that a priest of the Order would visit annually.<sup>296</sup> A number of New Zealand clergy were licensed to receive new members to the Third Order of St Francis and some, including Liston and Brodie, were themselves Franciscan Tertiaries.<sup>297</sup> Whyte was professed as a Dominican Tertiary in 1937.<sup>298</sup> Regnault inaugurated the first New Zealand branch of the Third Order of Mary, which held monthly meetings, in Wellington in 1923.<sup>299</sup>

<sup>291</sup> For the Marists' return to Auckland, see MYB, 1928, p. 163; Simmons, *In Cruce Salus*, p. 233 and Ewart, p. 49.

<sup>292</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 4 February 1925, p. 27 (Prior Hogan OP in Oamaru); 24 March 1937, p. 7 (Father Fogarty OP in Oamaru); *Zealandia*, 27 February 1936, p. 6 (Father Mambrini OFM in Palmerston North); 6 May 1937, p. 5 (Father Damien OFM in Auckland); 25 March 1937, p. 5 and 22 April 1937, p. 6 (Fogarty in Oamaru). For further reference to Mambrini's visit, see chapter one. On the return of the Franciscans to Auckland (the Order had worked there in the nineteenth century), see *Zealandia*, 15 December 1938, p. 7; 13 April 1939, p. 2.

<sup>293</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 16 March 1932, p. 13 (branches only at Palmerston North and Te Aroha); 11 May 1932, p. 45 (reference to founding of the Palmerston North branch); 30 August 1933, p. 20 ("Palmerston North is the parent fraternity of the Dominion..."); Bartlett, "Recollections", vol. 1, pp. 20-22.

<sup>294</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 6 July 1932, p. 46; 30 August 1933, p. 5; 25 October 1933, p. 7; 1 November 1933, p. 7.

<sup>295</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 4 February 1925, p. 27 (retreat at Oamaru); 31 January 1934, p. 39 (Dunedin).

<sup>296</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 11 March 1936, p. 8; cf. 5 April 1939, p. 44 (visit by Father Ryan OP); *Zealandia*, 26 March 1936, p. 7; cf. 11 March 1937, p. 5 (visit by Father Fogarty OP).

<sup>297</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 6 July 1932, p. 46.

<sup>298</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 3 March 1937, p. 34; 11 March 1937, p. 5.

<sup>299</sup> "Register of Professed Members of the Third Order of Mary since inauguration in Wellington by the Very Rev. Dean Regnault, S.M. in July 1923", MAW; Ewart, p. 84; *Marist Messenger*, 1 November 1939, p. 30.

Branches, often with substantial memberships, seem to have been established almost everywhere there were Marist parishes: there were over 200 Christchurch members in 1937 and 703 members in Wellington by the end of 1938.<sup>300</sup>

In addition to the third orders affiliated to the Franciscan, Dominican and Marist Orders, lay associations also formed about other religious congregations. During World War I, a Mercy Guild was established in Auckland for women interested in supporting the charitable work of the Sisters of Mercy (who staffed the Mater Misericordiae Hospital).<sup>301</sup> Under the auspices of the Catholic Women's League, Carmelite Circles were formed in Auckland and Christchurch during the late 1930s for women and men who gave material support to the Carmelite monasteries.<sup>302</sup> It has already been observed that devotional sodalities were usually sponsored by religious orders - the Children of Mary by the Vincentians and the Jesuits, the Holy Name Society by the Dominicans, the Confraternity of Our Lady of Perpetual Succour by the Redemptorists. This Congregation was also responsible for the Confraternity of the Holy Family founded in Liège in 1844 and established in several New Zealand parishes.<sup>303</sup> The most successful branch met every Tuesday evening for one hour at St Gerard's monastery in Wellington. About eighty men attended for the Rosary, an instruction, and Benediction. Although the Confraternity's ostensible aim was to honour and imitate the Holy Family, addresses were given on any topic of Catholic interest.<sup>304</sup>

The retreat movement and the growth of third orders in New Zealand, like the other tendencies already discussed, reflected developments in international Catholicism. The revival of third orders in the time of Pius IX can be seen as part of the growth of devotional spirituality in that period but by the interwar years they were being seen as a means of preparing the laity for Catholic Action.<sup>305</sup> Bennett himself, noting that St

<sup>300</sup> "Register of Professed Members" (Wellington); *Marist Messenger*, May 1931, p. 2 (Mount Albert); 1 September 1933, p. 40 (Blenheim, 130 members); 1 January 1935, p. 17 (Wanganui, 127 members); 2 December 1935, p. 49 (Napier, 70 professed members); 1 April 1937, p. 14 (Christchurch); 1 November 1939, p. 30 (Wellington).

<sup>301</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 9 May 1918, p. 21; *Month*, 1 October 1930, p. 19.

<sup>302</sup> *Zealandia*, 10 November 1938, p. 10; 20 July 1939, p. 2; 10 August 1939, p. 2; *NZ Tablet*, 13 September 1939, p. 4.

<sup>303</sup> J. Magnier, in *CE*, vol. 7, p. 407; *Manual of the Archconfraternity of the Holy Family*, pp. 7-8; *NZ Tablet*, 18 July 1918, p. 19 and 11 March 1920, p. 22 (Cathedral, Auckland).

<sup>304</sup> *Manual of the Archconfraternity of the Holy Family*, pp. 5-6; *NZ Tablet*, 20 May 1920, p. 23; 7 September 1938, p. 42.

<sup>305</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 2 September 1931, p. 42; 30 August 1933, p. 5; 25 October 1933, p. 7 (Franciscan); *Zealandia*, 18 June 1936, p. 5 (Dominican); *Marist Messenger*, 1 April 1932, p. 12.

Francis was the patron of Catholic Action, recommended the Franciscan Third Order as a means of attaining the personal holiness which was "a prerequisite for participation in Catholic Action."<sup>306</sup> If the Church was to reassert its influence in contemporary society by promoting a more active lay spirituality, it would be necessary to intensify the religious experience of the laity. Among Catholics, the formal religious life provided the model for Christian sanctity so, if the laity were to be encouraged to cultivate personal holiness, it was natural that they should imitate in some measure the religious life. As in the religious life, contemplation was intended to encourage religious action. Participation in retreats and third orders, like more frequent reception of Holy Communion and more conscious involvement in the liturgy, gave the laity something of the experience of priests and religious in the expectation that they would carry the mission of the clergy and religious into secular society.

### **The International Character of Catholic Spirituality**

It has been seen that Catholic spirituality in New Zealand followed international trends, especially in the development of devotional piety and more active forms of spirituality, in Eucharistic devotions and the liturgical movement, as well as in modelling lay piety on that of the religious life. The international character of Catholic spirituality in this country was further evidenced by support for the Church's missionary efforts, in the observance of sacred times and by interest in sacred places overseas. It will be argued that local conditions did not give rise to indigenous forms of spirituality but served only to determine which international developments were adopted in New Zealand. In particular, it was the clergy who shaped Catholic lay spirituality through such means as parish missions.

An increasingly important means of expressing solidarity with the universal Church was by supporting its missionary efforts. Mission Sunday - observed on the penultimate Sunday of October from 1926 - was given considerable publicity by the *Tablet* in particular during the 1930s.<sup>307</sup> A "Propagation of the Faith Rally" was held at the beginning of the 1940 Eucharistic Congress.<sup>308</sup> The Association for the

<sup>306</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 25 October 1933, p. 20.

<sup>307</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 19 October 1932, pp. 3, 17; 23; 7 October 1936, p. 3; 14 October 1936, p. 3; 19 October 1938, p. 5; 18 October 1939, p. 5; cf. *Month*, 18 October 1927, p. 1; *Zealandia*, 25 October 1934, p. 1; 20 October 1938, p. 6; *Marist Messenger*, 1 October 1934, pp. 6-7; 1 October 1936, p. 4.

<sup>308</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 7 February 1940, pp. 9-10; *Zealandia*, 8 February 1940, p. 3.

Propagation of the Faith was originally founded in 1822 by Pauline Jaricot - a friend of Aubert's mother - whose cause for beatification was introduced in 1926.<sup>309</sup> In 1922, Pius XI reorganized it as the official pontifical agency for financing the Catholic missions and commanded that it be established in every parish. National and diocesan directors were appointed in New Zealand in 1926. As well as contributing one halfpenny each week, members said one "Our Father" and a "Hail Mary" each day, adding the invocation "St Francis Xavier, pray for us".<sup>310</sup> A children's branch, the Holy Childhood Society, was founded in 1843; in New Zealand, members contributed one halfpenny each month and prayed each day one "Hail Mary" adding the words "Holy Mary ever virgin, pray for us and the poor pagan children".<sup>311</sup> Catholics - especially but not only the children - were often told that in "pagan countries" such as India, China and the Solomon Islands, parents commonly abandoned or sold their children who could be redeemed by Catholic missionaries. Children were asked to contribute their pennies for buying the "Black Babies".<sup>312</sup> A *Tablet* editorial claimed that since most of the 500,000 abandoned babies baptized each year by Catholic missionaries died soon afterwards, "nearly every one saved means another soul sent to heaven."<sup>313</sup> Other lay missionary organizations included the Pontifical work of St Peter the apostle, which raised funds for training indigenous clergy, and the Sodality of St Peter Claver, which supported the African missions.<sup>314</sup> By the later 1930s, the *per*

<sup>309</sup> *Month*, 19 October 1926, p. 21; 15 November 1927, pp. 9, 11; *NZ Tablet*, 7 August 1935, p. 13; 8 January 1936, pp. 9, 11; 20 October 1937, pp. 26-27; *Marist Messenger*, 1 October 1936, p. 28; 2 November 1936, pp. 14-15; 1 December 1936, p. 15; 1 October 1937, pp. 13-14; 1 October 1940, pp. 7-8; Redwood, pastoral letter, 25 May 1922, WCAA; cf. *NZ Tablet*, 10 August 1922, pp. 21-22 (article by Redwood).

<sup>310</sup> Minutes of bishops' meetings, 6 May 1925 and 28 April 1930, CCDA and ACDA CLE 1-5; *Month*, 16 November 1926, p. 7; 15 February 1927, p. 21; 17 January 1928, p. 13; *NZ Tablet*, 7 April 1926, p. 31; 15 October 1930, p. 39; 22 October 1930, p. 39; 14 October 1931, p. 42; 16 October 1935, p. 4; *Marist Messenger*, 1 October 1932, pp. 8-9; 2 April 1934, pp. 24-25; MYB, 1928, pp. 206-208.

<sup>311</sup> *Month*, 15 February 1927, p. 21; 17 January 1928, p. 13; *NZ Tablet*, 30 November 1927, p. 39; 14 October 1931, pp. 42-43; *Marist Messenger*, November 1930, pp. 7-8.

<sup>312</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 25 April 1928, p. 19; 14 October 1936, p. 19; *Month*, 1 September 1931, p. 37 (includes a photograph of rescued Chinese babies); *Marist Messenger*, 5 October 1931, p. 15; 1 January 1932, p. 17; 1 October 1937, p. 20; 1 October 1938, p. 25; Scully, autobiographical essay; Bartlett, "Recollections", vol. 1, p. 30; A.E. Batistich, *Holy Terrors and Other Stories* (Auckland: Vintage, 1991), p. 17.

<sup>313</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 19 October 1932, p. 3.

<sup>314</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 7 October 1925, p. 55; 14 October 1931, p. 43; 13 November 1935, pp. 20-21, 29; *Month*, 21 January 1930, p. 33 (regular advertisement for the St Peter Claver Society); *Zealandia*, 12 August 1937, p. 9.

*capita* contributions of New Zealand Catholics were amongst the highest in the world - in some years they were the highest.<sup>315</sup> Through their prayers and subscriptions, lay Catholics participated in a vast international enterprise directed from Rome.

Catholic spirituality in New Zealand not only replicated international trends but also linked New Zealand Catholics to their overseas co-religionists - and distinguished them from Protestants - by recognizing its own sacred times. It has already been noted that general Communion and other solemnities were held to coincide with international Eucharistic congresses and the new feast of Christ the King also united Catholics throughout the world by simultaneous observances. Celebrating Mass on the feast of Christ the King in 1936, Liston reminded the congregation that, on that day, "New Zealand Catholics were united in worship with their fellow-Catholics throughout the world."<sup>316</sup> Certain months were dedicated to characteristically Catholic devotions. May was dedicated to Mary, June to the Sacred Heart, October to the Rosary and November to the souls in Purgatory.<sup>317</sup> Less emphasis was placed on March as the month of St Joseph, July as the month of the Precious Blood and October as the month of the Holy Angels.<sup>318</sup> However, the latter, and indeed all the special months, were probably emphasized somewhat more for the benefit of children than for adults.<sup>319</sup> The assigning of certain months to specific devotions - a practice given impetus by the devotional revival of the nineteenth century - was usually based on feast days already occurring during those months, for example the feast of the Holy Rosary on the first

<sup>315</sup> *Zealandia*, 26 March 1936, p. 4; 5 March 1938, p. 12; *NZ Tablet*, 18 October 1939, p. 5.

<sup>316</sup> *Zealandia*, 5 November 1936, p. 4; cf. *NZ Tablet*, 3 November 1937, p. 5 (similar comment in an editorial).

<sup>317</sup> May: *NZ Tablet*, 16 May 1928, p. 37; *Marist Messenger*, May 1931, pp. 4, 19. June: *NZ Tablet*, 30 May 1918, p. 25; 2 June 1921, p. 25; 31 May 1923, p. 29; 1 June 1927, p. 33; *Month*, 21 June 1927, p. 14; 1 June 1931, p. 37; *Marist Messenger*, June 1931, p. 3. October: *NZ Tablet*, 24 September 1924, p. 29; 2 October 1929, p. 3; 30 September 1931, p. 3; 11 October 1933, p. 15; 7 October 1936, pp. 3, 15; 7 October 1936, p. 3; *Marist Messenger*, 5 October 1931, p. 3. November: *Month*, 20 November 1928, p. iii; *NZ Tablet*, 7 November 1928, p. 3; 20 November 1929, p. 3; 7 November 1934, p. 3; 17 November 1937, p. 5; 2 November 1938, p. 5; 1 November 1939, pp. 5, 11; *Marist Messenger*, November 1930, p. 3; 4 November 1931, p. 3.

<sup>318</sup> *Marist Messenger*, 2 May 1932, p. 5 (various); 1 July 1936, p. 16 (Precious Blood); *NZ Tablet*, 18 July 1934, p. 3 and 28 June 1939, p. 21 (Precious Blood). For the month of the angels, see *NZ Tablet*, 4 October 1923, pp. 29-30; 8 October 1924, pp. 29-30; 26 September 1934, p. 3; 6 October 1937, p. 5.

<sup>319</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 30 May 1934, p. 17 (May and June); 25 May 1932, p. 32 and 15 June 1932, p. 17 (June); 3 July 1935, p. 17 (July); 30 September 1931, p. 17 (October and the Angels); 27 September 1933, p. 19 and 29 September 1937, p. 17 (October as the month of the Angels and the Rosary); 28 October 1931, p. 17 and 2 November 1932, p. 17 (November).

Sunday of October (originally in thanksgiving for the Christian victory at Lepanto in 1571) determined Leo XIII's choice of October as the month of the Rosary.<sup>320</sup> Like other elements of devotional spirituality, the designated months served to emphasize distinctively Catholic beliefs. A *Zealandia* editorial remarked *à propos* of the month of November, that, "Outside of Catholic thought the doctrine of the Communion of Saints is a meaningless, empty phrase."<sup>321</sup> In parish churches, appropriate observances, such as the Rosary in May and October, were held during these months.<sup>322</sup> On each Sunday in May 1919, a procession in honour of the Blessed Virgin was held in St Patrick's Cathedral; a decorated statue was carried on a platform by four Children of Mary.<sup>323</sup> The *Tablet* noted in 1923 that during the month of June, New Zealand Catholics should "take our share in the worldwide devotions which true children of the Catholic Church" would practise in honour of the Sacred Heart.<sup>324</sup> In Auckland, an annual requiem Mass was celebrated in November for the deceased bishops, clergy and laity of the diocese.<sup>325</sup> The Rosary procession held in Timaru each October has already been mentioned; similar processions were held in centres influenced by the Dominican tradition, particularly in the Dunedin diocese.<sup>326</sup> In 1924, "the usual Rosary Procession" at the Dominican school in Oamaru was rendered more solemn by turning it into a Eucharistic procession, with three Benedictions as well as the fifteen decades of the Rosary.<sup>327</sup> It was recommended that the Joyful mysteries of the Rosary be recited on Mondays and Thursdays, the Sorrowful mysteries on Tuesdays and Fridays and the Glorious mysteries on Wednesdays and Saturdays, while the liturgical season should determine the choice for Sundays.<sup>328</sup>

<sup>320</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 2 October 1929, p. 3; 7 October 1936, p. 3; *Month*, 1 October 1931, p. 18; cf. Köhler in Jedin, vol. 9, p. 263 for October and Aubert in Aubert, pp. 119, 121 for May and June.

<sup>321</sup> *Zealandia*, 7 November 1935, p. 4.

<sup>322</sup> MYB 1929, pp. 119-140; St Joseph's parish notices, 11 May 1930, 28 September 1930; 9 October 1932, WCAA; *NZ Tablet*, 9 May 1918, p. 22 and 7 October 1920, p. 19 (Christchurch churches); 25 October 1939, p. 31 (Geraldine).

<sup>323</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 19 June 1919, p. 19.

<sup>324</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 31 May 1923, p. 29.

<sup>325</sup> *Month*, 1 December 1932, p. 17; 1 December 1933, p. 11; *Zealandia*, 7 November 1935, p. 5; *NZ Tablet*, 10 November 1937, p. 6.

<sup>326</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 10 October 1918, p. 23 (Dunedin); 14 October 1920, p. 32 (Invercargill) 18 October 1923 (Invercargill); 29 October 1930, p. 45 (Oamaru - photographs); *Zealandia*, 22 October 1936, p. 5 (Invercargill); 13 October 1938, p. 4 (Oamaru); 12 October 1939, p. 3 (Queenstown).

<sup>327</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 15 October 1924, p. 31.

<sup>328</sup> *Zealandia*, 26 September 1935, p. 6.

The significance of the "Nine First Fridays" has already been noted; on all Fridays (except major feast days), and, during Lent, on Wednesdays as well, Catholics were obliged to abstain from eating meat.<sup>329</sup> As Pauline O'Regan recalls, this was indeed a penance to some but to others the custom of eating fish on Fridays was a welcome change of menu.<sup>330</sup> Arguably more important than the ascetic dimension was the value of a dietary law as a means of distinguishing Catholics from Protestants: for this purpose, eating fish was at least as useful as not eating meat. It is significant that, when non-Catholic school children chanted abuse at their Catholic peers, they specifically referred to their not eating meat on Fridays and that the requirement to abstain from meat was withdrawn (in 1966) at a time when Catholics were seeking to overcome their differences from other Christians.<sup>331</sup> A few years later, James Joyce SM, referring to Friday abstinence in his memoirs, commented that it was "a good thing for the faithful in a mixed community to have some badge of their Catholicity."<sup>332</sup> Lent served a similar function - and again the ascetic dimension was liable to be undermined. On Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent, according to Mary Goulter and Eileen Duggan, it was necessary to "think out novel dishes within the family purse".<sup>333</sup> In 1933, the regulations for Lenten fasting and abstinence in the Auckland diocese were published in the *Month* beside an advertisement for Sanford's fresh fish.<sup>334</sup> Auckland shops advertised special prices for fresh and canned fish in Lent in the *Zealandia* during the 1930s and the same newspaper published Lenten fish recipes, observing that New Zealanders ate too much meat.<sup>335</sup> If eating fish instead of meat during Lent distinguished Catholics, it did not isolate them from the community: even the *Herald* advertised seafood for Lent and published "Lenten recipes" on its women's page.<sup>336</sup>

<sup>329</sup> Minutes of bishops' meeting, 14 December 1920, ACDA CLE 1-5, CCDA. For the detailed regulations governing fasting and abstinence during Lent, see *NZ Tablet*, 20 February 1919, p. 28; 26 February 1920, p. 28; 10 February 1921, p. 37; *Month*, 1 March 1933, p. 30.

<sup>330</sup> O'Regan, p. 164.

<sup>331</sup> The children's rhyme will be quoted in full in the discussion of Catholic education in chapter three below.

<sup>332</sup> James Joyce SM, "Memoirs of a Marist" (unpublished typescript, 1971, MAW), p. 18.

<sup>333</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 21 May 1930, p. 23.

<sup>334</sup> *Month*, 1 March 1933, p. 30.

<sup>335</sup> *Zealandia*, 14 March 1935, p. 5; 12 March 1936, p. 5; 26 March 1936, p. 5; 11 February 1937, p. 6; 11 March 1937, p. 6; 25 March 1937, pp. 3, 6; 12 March 1938, p. 17 and 2 March 1939, p. 8 (recipes).

<sup>336</sup> *NZ Herald*, 8 April 1919, p. 4; 17 March 1938, p. 4.

Although they lived far from the sacred places of Catholicism, New Zealand Catholics demonstrated more interest in them than in local sites. Some New Zealand Catholics could make pilgrimages overseas, for example by participating in the tour to Dublin in 1932. A pilgrimage to Rome and Lourdes was organized during the 1925 Holy Year.<sup>337</sup> For most, however, there could be only vicarious experience of such places. In 1933, the *Marist Messenger* published an account of a New Zealander's experiences at Lourdes and in 1937 the Rev. Dr Buxton gave an illustrated lecture on his recent travels in the Holy Land.<sup>338</sup> Readers of the Catholic press often learnt about the Oberammergau Passion Play.<sup>339</sup> Occasionally they heard from people who had attended it and in 1935 a film of the previous year's performance was shown.<sup>340</sup> At the end of the extended 1933 Holy Year - in April 1935 - a Triduum of prayers and Masses, with particular emphasis on prayer for international peace, was held at Lourdes and simultaneously in New Zealand and other countries.<sup>341</sup> Unable to travel overseas as pilgrims to international Eucharistic Congresses, members of the Catholic Women's League were reminded that they could attend "in spirit" and that there was a "little way" open to them in the form of "pilgrimages" to Catholic orphanages and other institutions.<sup>342</sup> Friends of the Carmelites in Auckland and Christchurch were invited in 1938 "to make the feast-day of Our Lady of Mount Carmel a day of pilgrimage to the monasteries."<sup>343</sup> Prompted by a *Month* article on Ars, J.F. Donovan

<sup>337</sup> *Month*, 21 October 1924, p. 28 (notice); 21 April 1925, p. 22 (departure of Dunedin representatives). For examples of individual travellers, see *Month*, 18 March 1924, pp. 40-41; 16 June 1925, p. 22 (Mary Finnerty); 21 July 1925, supplement, p. ii (Leo Whittaker).

<sup>338</sup> *Marist Messenger*, 2 January 1933, pp. 17-23; *Zealandia*, 20 May 1937, p. 5.

<sup>339</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 23 September 1920, pp. 26-27; 15 June 1922, pp. 25-26; 24 August 1922, p. 18; 2 November 1922, pp. 9, 11, 13; 30 November 1922, p. 33; 21 May 1930, pp. 3, 24-25, 33; 13 August 1930, p. 7; 26 April 1933, pp. 1-2; 21 March 1934, p. 21; 4 April 1934, p. 23; 11 July 1934, pp. 1-2; 22 August 1934, p. 19; 3 October 1934, pp. 20-21; *Month*, 1 October 1930, p. 9.

<sup>340</sup> *Month*, 1 December 1932, p. 37; *Zealandia*, 19 July 1934, p. 6; 25 October 1934, p. 7; *NZ Tablet*, 6 March 1935, p. 8; 3 April 1935, p. 31; 10 April 1935, p. 39.

<sup>341</sup> O'Shea to clergy and laity (undated pastoral letter announcing the event), WCAA; *Zealandia*, 11 April 1935, pp. 5, 7; 24 April 1935, pp. 4, 5; 9 May 1935, pp. 4, 5, 8; 6 June 1935, p. 1; 20 June 1935, p. 2; 4 July 1935, p. 7; *NZ Tablet*, 20 March 1935, pp. 20-21; 3 April 1935, p. 3; 24 April 1935, p. 7; 1 May 1935, p. 6; 26 June 1935, p. 7. Holy Years will be discussed below.

<sup>342</sup> *Month*, 1 October 1932, p. 21; cf. 19 February 1929, p. 14; 1 March 1933, p. 33; 1 April 1933, p. 22; *Zealandia*, 24 October 1935, p. 7. The "little way" was an allusion to the spirituality of Thérèse of Lisieux. For another use of the word "pilgrimage" (by the St Vincent de Paul Society) in reference to visiting a charitable institution, see *NZ Tablet*, 4 March 1925, p. 31.

<sup>343</sup> *Zealandia*, 7 July 1938, p. 6.

suggested that New Zealanders be encouraged to make pilgrimages to the site of Blessed Peter Chanel's martyrdom at Futuna in 1841.<sup>344</sup> An article by a soldier who had visited the island during World War I was duly published but the idea does not seem to have been adopted.<sup>345</sup> Nor do pilgrimages to the "national" shrine to Our Lady of Perpetual Succour at Seacliff appear to have attracted any more than local participation. Artificial grottos focussed attention on the apparitions and miracles of Lourdes rather than rivaling it.

Drawing its inspiration from overseas, the Catholic Church in New Zealand made few local adaptations in its spirituality. No alteration could be made to the liturgical cycle or to the supplementary devotions at particular times, although, as in all Catholic communities, certain saints were more prominent than others for historical or ethnic reasons.<sup>346</sup> It was recognized that the significance of May as the month of Mary was lost in New Zealand, for the annual renewal of creation in spring - symbolizing the bringing forth of the Saviour from the Virgin's womb - occurred at a different time of year from the northern hemisphere.<sup>347</sup> New Zealand's seasons, however, did have some influence over which festivals were celebrated outdoors. The annual Eucharistic procession at the Sacred Heart Convent in Remuera, held in June to celebrate the feast of Corpus Christi since about 1917, was later transferred to the feast of Christ the King in October - because the weather was better then.<sup>348</sup> In 1927, Eucharistic processions to mark the feast of Corpus Christi were inaugurated at the recently opened St Kevin's College, Oamaru but poor weather in 1934 led to the postponement of the annual outdoor procession to October. It was originally intended to hold the procession on Rosary Sunday, but, in the event, it was held thenceforth on the feast of Christ the King - and the smaller Rosary procession continued to be held.<sup>349</sup>

<sup>344</sup> Donovan to the editor, *Month*, 15 March 1927, p. 21.

<sup>345</sup> *Month*, 19 April 1927, pp. 8-9.

<sup>346</sup> For St Patrick's Day celebrations, see chapter one above.

<sup>347</sup> *Month*, 17 May 1927, p. 11; cf. *NZ Tablet*, 4 May 1938, p. 24.

<sup>348</sup> *Month*, 15 July 1924, p. 26; *NZ Tablet*, 16 November 1932, p. 2; *Zealandia*, 3 November 1938, p. 6; P.M. Goulter RCSJ, *Sowers and Reapers: a Short History of the Society of the Sacred Heart in New Zealand* (Auckland: Society of the Sacred Heart, 1982), p. 60. See also the references to the Corpus Christi procession already cited above.

<sup>349</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 29 June 1927, pp. 27, 29; 31 October 1934, p. 7; 28 October 1936, p. 36; *Zealandia*, 5 July 1934, p. 7; 25 October 1934, p. 3; 8 November 1934, p. 9; 24 October 1935, p. 9; 21 October 1937, p. 4. Rosary Sunday was at the beginning of October and the feast of Christ the King at the end, but the relative importance of the two feasts - that of Christ the King represented the increasingly assertive trend in Catholic spirituality - was presumably more important than the weather in determining the choice.

A more important way in which local conditions influenced Catholic spirituality was in the selection of lay organizations introduced to New Zealand. The Catholic press often reported on the evangelistic and apologetic activities of the Catholic Evidence Guild in England and Australia - in part because of the prominent role of Vernon Redwood, nephew of the Archbishop.<sup>350</sup> It was sometimes suggested that the Guild should be established in New Zealand, but it was not.<sup>351</sup> During the early interwar period, when New Zealand was recovering from a sectarian epidemic, it would have been unwise to provoke public religious controversy.<sup>352</sup> Moreover, there were few Catholic lay intellectuals capable of giving convincing apologetic addresses. Consequently this means of seeking conversions was left to the clergy (speaking in churches rather than on public platforms) especially during the 1930s. The efforts of Father Frank Seward - himself a convert from Anglicanism - to establish a congregation of priests dedicated to this apostolate were unsuccessful.<sup>353</sup> However, non-Catholics were encouraged to attend apologetic sermons during parish missions and Harold Bird CSSR ran several courses of lectures on Catholic topics in Wellington and Auckland, as did a few other priests.<sup>354</sup> In 1938, two Auckland priests, Alfred Bennett and Frederick Walls, began training with the Catholic Missionary Society based in London; they returned to New Zealand just after the outbreak of war.<sup>355</sup> Having, it was declared, "gained valuable insight into the non-Catholic mentality",

<sup>350</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 25 July 1918, p. 35; 5 June 1919, p. 34; 12 June 1919, p. 37; 3 July 1919, p. 18; 16 December 1920, pp. 37-38; 10 February 1921, p. 14; 23 March 1922, p. 14; 28 January 1931, p. 25; *Month*, 16 November 1926, p. 21; 17 January 1928, pp. 15-16; 17 April 1928, p. 9; 15 May 1928, p. 21; *Zealandia*, 20 June 1935, p. 6; 5 December 1935, p. 6. On the Guild in England, see D. Campbell, "The Catholic Evidence Guild: towards a History of the Laity" *Heythrop Journal* 30 (1989) 306-324.

<sup>351</sup> *Month*, 19 June 1928, p. 7; 1 October 1930, p. 24; 1 December 1932, p. 14; 2 January 1933, p. 14; *NZ Tablet*, 11 May 1932, p. 43; 1 February 1933, p. 35; *Zealandia*, 5 July 1934, p. 4.

<sup>352</sup> On sectarianism in this period, see chapter five below.

<sup>353</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 22 August 1934, p. 9; 29 August 1934, p. 9; 5 September 1934, pp. 13, 34; 20 April 1938, pp. 24, 27; M. O'Meehan, *Held Firm by Faith: a History of the Christchurch Diocese* (Christchurch: Catholic Diocese of Christchurch, 1988), pp. 160-161.

<sup>354</sup> *Catholic News*, June 1935, p. 1; February 1937, p. 1; April 1937, p. 2; May 1937, p. 6; October 1938, p. 10; November 1938, p. 5; *Zealandia*, 23 September 1937, p. 8; 7 October 1937, p. 5; 8 September 1938, p. 6; 3 November 1938, p. 4; *NZ Tablet*, 16 July 1924, p. 31 (Inglewood); 6 October 1926, p. 30 (Gisborne); 10 November 1926, p. 30 (Cathedral parish, Christchurch); 3 July 1935, p. 4 (mission for non-Catholics conducted by Father M.D. Forrest MSC); *Month*, 1 March 1933, p. 34 (lectures by Father Innocent Doyle OP).

<sup>355</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 24 November 1937, p. 10; *Zealandia*, 27 October 1938, p. 6; 30 March 1939, p. 2; 26 October 1939, p. 2.

they were ready to embark on the work of promoting the conversion of New Zealand.<sup>356</sup>

It was the clergy, and especially the bishops, who determined how lay spirituality, whether devotional or active, would be expressed. Even in the family home, they could claim for themselves pride of place. Advising Catholics on the enthronement of Sacred Heart, Redwood declared that,

The presence of the priest is very desirable and highly recommended, to preserve for him the whole prestige and ascendancy to which he is entitled in every family. The Enthronement establishes the connecting link which, in the spirit of the Church, ought always to exist between the Church and the family. In both the priest speaks the words of life.<sup>357</sup>

An article on Catholic sodalities, written by a layman, described the good attendance of men at the weekly meetings of the Confraternity of the Holy Family in Wellington as "a striking testimony of the hold the good priests of St Gerard's have on the men of their congregation."<sup>358</sup> In the absence of local lay initiative, Catholic spirituality depended on the clergy's choice of what overseas developments were appropriate for New Zealand. The Catholic Women's League, originally founded by a lay woman, was introduced to New Zealand by Bishop Liston. At the inaugural meeting in Auckland, the President, Mrs J.J. O'Brien, declared, "I feel sure I can speak in the name of my fellow-members and pledge to His Lordship our whole-hearted support in all the works of religion and charity which he may wish us to undertake." Liston had already nominated the committee members.<sup>359</sup> Matters of policy were referred to the bishop for confirmation.<sup>360</sup> All the officers of the Holy Name Society were all laymen, except for that of the Spiritual Director (a priest), who "watches over the spiritual wants of the Society, and decides all important questions."<sup>361</sup> In 1932, P.D. Hoskins thanked Redwood for appointing him first President of the Superior Council of the St Vincent de Paul Society.<sup>362</sup> Members of the Society were admonished to obey their parish priest even if he seemed to be wrong.<sup>363</sup> The Legion of Mary was described as

<sup>356</sup> *Zealandia*, 14 March 1940, p. 3; cf. 21 March 1940, p. 3 for the first in a series of articles by Bennett on the subject.

<sup>357</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 20 June 1918, p. 19.

<sup>358</sup> *Month*, 17 February 1925, p. 11.

<sup>359</sup> *Month*, 1 September 1931, p. 10; cf. *NZ Tablet*, 9 September 1931, p. 53.

<sup>360</sup> *Zealandia*, 5 March 1938, p. 22.

<sup>361</sup> *A Simple Holy Name Manual*, p. 109.

<sup>362</sup> *Month*, 1 March 1932, p. 21; *NZ Tablet*, 2 March 1932, p. 44.

<sup>363</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 29 March 1933, p. 41; cf. 7 September 1932, p. 35; 20 September 1933, p. 27.

"a mould for forming apostles", a mould which could "be handled with full effectiveness by the priest alone".<sup>364</sup> Even when it was acknowledged that Catholic Action was "laymen's business", and that the laity retained a certain autonomy, especially in civic and social matters, the clergy continued to be seen as indispensable: "Everything depends on the ecclesiastical assistants, the chaplains appointed by the Bishops to guide the movement."<sup>365</sup>

One of the most effective means of directing lay spirituality was through parish missions. Missions had been conducted intermittently during the later nineteenth century in New Zealand, for example by Father Patrick Hennebery of the Society of the Precious Blood, who toured the country from 1877 to 1879.<sup>366</sup> At Redwood's invitation, the Redemptorists established their first New Zealand foundation in Wellington in 1905.<sup>367</sup> The Marists, hitherto reluctant to take up the work, responded to the competition by forming a permanent mission team in 1908.<sup>368</sup> Missions were usually held in a parish every two or three years and, in urban parishes, lasted a fortnight.<sup>369</sup> Non-practising Catholics were visited by the missionaries and urged to attend.<sup>370</sup> Early in the morning and, at greater length in the evening, there were devotions and sermons. Processions and general Communion were also held, and the parishioners had an opportunity to unburden themselves to new confessors. The addresses, exhorting the faithful to greater religious commitment and the practice of Catholic morality, were noted for their emphasis on the four last things but they also stressed other specifically Catholic doctrine and apologetic themes; Marist missions

<sup>364</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 26 January 1938, p. 38.

<sup>365</sup> *Zealandia*, 16 February 1939, p. 5.

<sup>366</sup> Jackson, *Churches and People*, pp. 66-69.

<sup>367</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 9 September 1931, p. 33; 21 October 1931, p. 42; *Zealandia*, 27 October 1938, p. 7. Jackson (*Churches and People*, p. 70) gives the date as 1906, but the priests had lived in temporary accommodation (in Kilbirnie) for a year before their first permanent home (in Oriental Bay) was ready.

<sup>368</sup> Joyce, "Memoirs", p. 54; *Marist Messenger*, 1 April 1938, p. 27; Ewart, p. 73.

<sup>369</sup> For reports of Marist missions illustrating the features described here, see *NZ Tablet*, 1 August 1918, p. 22 (Ponsonby); 13 October 1921, p. 37 (Temuka); 1 December 1921, p. 37 (Greymouth); 31 May 1923, p. 35 (Hamilton); 21 April 1926, p. 41 (Blenheim); 13 October 1926, pp. 30-31 (Cathedral parish, Auckland); 24 November 1926, p. 30 (Wanganui); 26 April 1933, p. 37 (Wairoa); *Zealandia*, 21 October 1937, p. 4 (Dargaville).

<sup>370</sup> Joyce, "Marist Missions and Retreats Pre-Vatican II" (unpublished typescript, no date, MAW), pp. 17-18. Joyce was a missionary in New Zealand from 1925 to 1931 and, after returning from similar work in Australia, from 1936 to 1937.

ended with a sermon on the claims of the Catholic Church.<sup>371</sup> On the last night of the mission, the lights were extinguished while the members of the congregation held up lighted candles and renewed their baptismal vows.<sup>372</sup> The fervour aroused in the course of missions was typically channelled into parish sodalities which were founded, revived or simply expanded by new enrolments, as occasion demanded. Branches of the Holy Name Society, for example, were often founded in the course of parish missions.<sup>373</sup> The first branch in the Christchurch diocese was inaugurated during a Timaru mission in December 1928, while "hundreds of the ladies of the parish were received into the Sacred Heart Society" and the membership of the Hibernians, the Children of Mary and other societies was also increased.<sup>374</sup>

New Zealand Catholics expressed their solidarity with international Catholicism in a variety of ways. Earlier sections of this chapter have discussed the imitation of five important international trends in lay spirituality. By supporting the Association for the Propagation of the Faith, Catholics involved themselves in the efforts of the international Church to convert the world. Observance of sacred times, especially the months dedicated to characteristically Catholic devotions, the fulfilment of Catholic dietary laws, and interest in sacred places overseas further emphasized that New Zealand Catholics belonged to an international community. Of course, not all new forms of spirituality were adopted in New Zealand: some, like the Catholic Evidence Guild, were probably unsuitable. The bishops and clergy seem to have exercised a decisive influence over the introduction of voluntary religious movements, which were often promoted during parish missions in order to take advantage of heightened religious enthusiasm.

<sup>371</sup> Joyce "Marist Missions", pp. 8, 10; "Memoirs", pp. 56-57; O'Regan, pp. 158-160; for the summary of a mission sermon on the Church, see *NZ Tablet*, 22 June 1932, p. 2.

<sup>372</sup> Joyce "Marist Missions", pp. 20-21; "Memoirs", pp. 60-61.

<sup>373</sup> *Month*, 16 November 1926, p. 30 (St Benedict's); 19 April 1927, p. 12 (Ponsonby); 20 September 1927, p. 11 (Remuera and Onehunga); 20 December 1927, p. 38 (Grey Lynn); 15 May 1928, p. 40 (Dominion Road); *NZ Tablet*, 16 April 1930, p. 45 (Dunedin, two parishes); 23 October 1929, p. 52 (Invercargill); *Holy Name Annual*, December 1931, pp. 35 (Thorndon), 37 (Hawera); December 1932, p. 51 (Napier).

<sup>374</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 12 December 1928, pp. 31, 43-44.

### Catholic Spirituality and Religious Integrity

Having seen that Catholic spirituality in New Zealand was adopted with few modifications from overseas sources, the implications of this spirituality for Catholics living in a predominantly Protestant society can now be examined more closely. It will be seen that Catholics were expected to avoid involvement in non-Catholic worship, while their own spirituality emphasized whatever distinguished them from Protestants. External observances and triumphalist displays drew attention to distinctively Catholic doctrines like transubstantiation. Catholics were reminded from time to time that Protestants disapproved of important elements in their religion but, for the most part, the distinctive features of Catholic worship were treated respectfully. Without compromising their religious principles, Catholics themselves sought to demonstrate that their religion was conducive to good citizenship and respectable values. Moreover, since the involvement of most Catholics in organized religious activity was limited, concentration on officially endorsed spirituality can easily lead to an exaggerated impression of Catholic uniqueness and isolation.

In principle, Catholics were not permitted to attend non-Catholic religious services because, as adherents of the one true Church, they could not lend credibility to any false church. They rejected the common Protestant notion that the various denominations were equally valid branches of the invisible Church of Christ.<sup>375</sup> Refusal to join in worship with other denominations was "a logical consequence of the fact that the Catholic Church knows that she alone is infallibly right."<sup>376</sup> For such reasons, opposition to Catholic participation in interdenominational religious services was reaffirmed by Pius XI's 1928 encyclical *Mortalium Animos*.<sup>377</sup> When a Day of Prayer was held at the request of the Archbishop of Canterbury shortly after the outbreak of war in 1939, Acting Prime Minister Fraser and representatives of "all Protestant denominations" attended a service at the Taranaki Street Methodist Church.<sup>378</sup> In 1937, the *Tablet* was outraged to learn that Catholic children in a health

<sup>375</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 13 January 1926, p. 25; 24 January 1934, p. 11; 14 February 1934, p. 33; *Month*, 15 May 1928, p. 21; *Zealandia*, 14 March 1935, p. 6; 18 June 1936, p. 10; 26 August 1937, p. 12; 3 November 1938, p. 3; 20 April 1939, p. 12; *Marist Messenger*, 1 September 1939, p. 25. Several of these items were reprinted from overseas sources or were heavily dependent on such sources but in this, as in other matters, the Church in New Zealand derived its policies from the international Church: the other items are mostly answers to enquirers.

<sup>376</sup> *Zealandia*, 5 October 1939, p. 10.

<sup>377</sup> Carlen, pp. 313-319; *NZ Tablet*, 14 March 1928, pp. 22-23, 42.

<sup>378</sup> *Dominion*, 2 October 1939, p. 11.

camp had been made to attend a Protestant service, despite undertakings that their religion would be respected and in the face of objections by the children themselves.<sup>379</sup> It was considered inadvisable even to listen to Protestant services broadcast on the radio, even in order to study the practices of non-Catholic sects, since this could lead to religious indifference.<sup>380</sup> However, a distinction was made between active participation in non-Catholic worship, which was always prohibited, and a more passive attendance which could sometimes be justified, for example at weddings or funerals.<sup>381</sup> There does not appear to have been a completely uniform practice but while a parish priest might give permission for attendance at a wedding or funeral, neither he nor the bishop was likely to allow a Catholic to be a bridesmaid or groomsman unless the circumstances were exceptional.<sup>382</sup> Dr Rumble advised a New Zealand enquirer that Catholics could attend the funeral of a Protestant father but "could not take part in the religious service itself" - they should "withdraw a little" during the religious rites.<sup>383</sup> The prohibition against participating in the weddings and funerals of non-Catholic friends created a barrier which strained inter-denominational friendships, not least in small rural communities. As Pauline O'Regan recalls, considerable moral pressure could be applied by the clergy to enforce the Church's strict policy - although it was sometimes ignored by Catholics not content with waiting outside a Protestant church until the service was over.<sup>384</sup>

In contrast to Protestant spirituality, the ultramontane Catholic piety which emerged during the nineteenth century and continued to flourish in New Zealand and other countries during the interwar period stressed external observances.<sup>385</sup> This preoccupation with exterior acts of devotion and their cumulative value was expressed in the practice of presenting "spiritual bouquets" which listed the works of piety

<sup>379</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 15 December 1937, p. 5.

<sup>380</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 25 July 1928, p. 6; *Zealandia*, 4 November 1937, p. 12.

<sup>381</sup> *CIC*, canon 1258; cf. *NZ Tablet*, 11 October 1933, p. 35 and 23 June 1937, p. 15 (Rumble); *Zealandia*, 18 June 1936, p. 10.

<sup>382</sup> *Month*, 18 March 1924, p. 3; *Zealandia*, 15 September 1938, p. 12; *Marist Messenger*, 2 December 1940, p. 29; P. Lawlor, *The Demanding God: some Boyhood Recollections* (Dunedin: NZ Tablet Co., 1972), p. 50 (on funerals). Lawlor recorded numerous details of Catholic spirituality during his childhood in the 1890s, many of which survived into more recent years, but only occasionally does he specifically indicate that these patterns continued through the interwar period.

<sup>383</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 31 July 1935, p. 13.

<sup>384</sup> O'Regan, pp. 163-164.

<sup>385</sup> Aubert in Jedin, vol. 8, p. 304.

performed by a specified group of people. On the first anniversary of his episcopal consecration, Whyte was tendered a spiritual bouquet at St Vincent's Orphanage and O'Shea was given one in book form by Wellington schoolchildren for his silver jubilee.<sup>386</sup> At the 1940 Eucharistic Congress, the Apostolic Legate was presented with a spiritual bouquet on behalf of schoolchildren throughout the country. Each Catholic school had completed a form recording the number of Masses, Holy Communions, Benedictions, visits to the Blessed Sacrament, Stations of the Cross, decades of the Rosary, other prayers and acts of self-denial its pupils had accumulated. The forms were bound with the individual children's details (in many cases recorded in their own writing) in three large volumes, one for the two southern dioceses and one each for the two northern dioceses.<sup>387</sup> "Anne", who wrote a children's page for the *Tablet*, encouraged her young readers to say forty "Hail Marys" per day from the first of December each year so that they could present the Infant Jesus with a thousand of them on Christmas morning.<sup>388</sup> In 1939, she forgot to remind them in time and suggested that they offer more than forty each day to catch up.<sup>389</sup> On the reverse side of the assignment sheets to be completed by pupils enrolled in the Auckland diocese's religious correspondence course, there was a table entitled "Monthly Practice of My Religion". There were spaces for writing in the daily count of Masses, Communions, Rosaries, Prayers, Aspirations and Little Acts of self-denial - and the monthly totals.<sup>390</sup> It was not only children who were encouraged to accumulate merit and apply it to worthy causes. In 1933, Vincentians were asked to contribute to an "Album of Masses" to be presented to the Pope at the end of the Holy Year as a record of the number of week-day masses offered "for the intentions of the Holy Father".<sup>391</sup> Before

<sup>386</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 15 December 1921, p. 23; *Zealandia*, 25 August 1938, p. 7; "A Jubilee Gift from the Children of the Archdiocese", WCAA. For further examples, see *NZ Tablet*, 10 November 1921, p. 17; 26 January 1922, p. 23; 21 March 1928, p. 31; 8 January 1930, p. 45; 17 May 1939, p. 38; 26 July 1939, p. 11; *Month*, 15 May 1928, p. 36; 19 June 1928, p. 40; 5 July 1930, p. 25.

<sup>387</sup> "New Zealand Centennial National Eucharistic Congress, Wellington, 1st to 4th February 1940, Children's Spiritual Bouquet", WCAA; cf. *NZ Tablet*, 7 February 1940, p. 34; 1 May 1940, p. 34; *Zealandia*, 8 February 1940, p. 9; Gascoigne, p. 47. For the bouquet presented at the Catholic centennial celebrations, see *Zealandia*, 24 June 1937, p. 5; 2 September 1937, p. 9; 13 January 1938, p. 10; 17 February 1938, p. 7; 12 March 1938, p. 9.

<sup>388</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 28 November 1928, p. 17; 25 November 1931, p. 17; 29 November 1933, p. 17; 30 November 1938, p. 17.

<sup>389</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 6 November 1939, p. 25.

<sup>390</sup> Materials dated November 1933 in CCDA; cf. *Month*, 2 February 1931, p. 15 for an introduction to the scheme, including reference to the table of religious practice.

<sup>391</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 15 November 1933, p. 13.

the Melbourne Eucharistic Congress in 1934, the *Tablet* reported that, "The Legion of Mary is endeavouring to popularise the practice of making an offering of every sign of the cross made with holy water for the success of the Congress".<sup>392</sup> Individuals could also profit from the merits earned by others. It has already been noted, for example, that tertiaries and members of the People's Eucharistic League shared in the accumulated spiritual merits of the first and second orders. Belief in the transfer of merit found its most distinctively Catholic expression in the form of indulgences.

Allocations from the "treasury of merit" accumulated by Christ and the saints were available to all Catholics on the fulfilment of specified conditions, including going to Confession, receiving Communion and reciting certain prayers on particular occasions. Indulgences were either plenary (potentially removing all the punishment still due - in this life or in Purgatory - for sins which had been forgiven in Confession), or partial (deemed to be equivalent to a specified number of days' penance imposed on repentant sinners in earlier times).<sup>393</sup> Some plenary indulgences could be attributed to the souls in Purgatory.<sup>394</sup> On All Souls' Day, children were encouraged to enter a church, offer the requisite prayers, go outside and repeat the process as often as possible, releasing a soul from Purgatory for each "visit".<sup>395</sup> Indulgences had been deliberately revived in the time of Pius IX; they were actively promoted and the schedules were sometimes revised to make them more generous.<sup>396</sup> During the Jubilee Year of 1925, and again during the extraordinary Holy Year of 1933 (the 1900th anniversary of the Redemption), a plenary indulgence was offered for the pilgrimage to Rome. Specified classes of people unable to travel could obtain the indulgence locally and for a period after each Jubilee Year it was available to anyone who visited designated local churches a number of times to pray for the "intentions of the Pope" concerning the propagation of the faith, world peace and the safeguarding of the Holy Places in

<sup>392</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 11 April 1934, p. 9.

<sup>393</sup> For expositions of the doctrine, see *NZ Tablet*, 9 March 1922, p. 33; 2 June 1926, pp. 51, 53. As Jackson has observed (*Churches and People*, pp. 72-73), the official doctrine that since a "plenary" indulgence depended on the disposition of the recipient, and was therefore presumably never plenary in practice, was seldom clearly explained (but see *NZ Tablet*, 18 April 1934, p. 3; 7 August 1935, p. 31).

<sup>394</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 28 October 1920, p. 32; 30 May 1934, p. 3; *Month*, 1 February 1933, p. 31.

<sup>395</sup> Mary Dudson, interview, 27 January 1989.

<sup>396</sup> Aubert in Jedin, vol. 8, p. 219; *NZ Tablet*, 18 April 1934, p. 3; 29 August 1934, p. 11; *Zealandia*, 13 September 1934, p. 1; 25 October 1934, p. 6; 15 August 1935, p. 7.

Palestine.<sup>397</sup> There were also much easier ways of qualifying for a plenary indulgence, for example by visiting a church during the Forty Hours' Adoration and praying for the Pope's intentions after having been to Confession and received Holy Communion.<sup>398</sup> In 1932, the indulgences for making the stations of the cross were revised; a plenary indulgence was offered even to those who, through illness, could do no more than look upon a specially blessed crucifix "without the necessity of uttering even an ejaculation".<sup>399</sup> A plenary indulgence was available on joining a sodality and on occasions of particular importance to it; numerous partial indulgences were also offered to members.<sup>400</sup> Marist tertiaries were able to gain a plenary indulgence on 64 days of the year.<sup>401</sup> The Children of Mary could receive a seven years' indulgence for, among other pious deeds, attending the funeral of any Catholic, "Praying for the agonizing or for the dead at the tolling of the bell" or "Hearing Mass on week days."<sup>402</sup> Holy Name Society Men could gain a 300 days' indulgence every day they wore their sodality badge visibly in public and said, at least once, "Blessed be the Name of the Lord".<sup>403</sup> Members of the St Vincent de Paul Society could earn an indulgence of seven years and seven quarantines for attending a meeting and a plenary indulgence for attending three of the four monthly meetings or a quarterly festival meeting.<sup>404</sup> They were told that, "It should be the business of every Catholic to secure as many indulgences as he possibly can."<sup>405</sup>

Not only did Catholic spirituality accentuate pious works, thereby distinguishing itself from the Protestant stress on salvation by faith alone, but it was precisely those devotions which expressed characteristically Catholic doctrine which were most emphasized. The 1919 Rosary procession in Dunedin was described as "a glorious

<sup>397</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 10 December 1924, p. 31; 15 April 1925, p. 31; 23 June 1926, p. 35; 19 April 1933, p. 3; 30 May 1934, p. 3; *Month*, 16 June 1925, p. 29; 16 March 1926, p. 41; 20 April 1926, p. 3; *Zealandia*, 10 May 1934, p. 4; 5 July 1934, p. 4.

<sup>398</sup> *Month*, 1 February 1933, p. 31; *NZ Tablet*, 29 August 1934, p. 11.

<sup>399</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 23 March 1932, p. 23; *Month*, 1 April 1932, p. 7.

<sup>400</sup> *Prayer Book or Manual of the Children of Mary*, pp. 4-7; *Manual of the Third Order of Mary*, pp. 42-44.

<sup>401</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 16 December 1931, p. 12; Regnault, p. 20.

<sup>402</sup> *Prayer Book or Manual of the Children of Mary*, pp. 5-6.

<sup>403</sup> *Month*, 15 March 1927, p. 11.

<sup>404</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 18 February 1931, p. 33; 7 December 1932, p. 35; 22 February 1933, p. 37; 30 May 1934, p. 23; 12 April 1939, p. 44. A quarantine was equivalent to forty days' penance.

<sup>405</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 20 September 1933, p. 27.

sight and a striking external act of faith in our Catholic devotions".<sup>406</sup> Devotion to the Blessed Sacrament assumed extraordinary significance in large measure because the doctrine of transubstantiation was so distinctively Catholic that it served as a symbol for Catholicism as a whole. According to Liston, writing about the Dublin Eucharistic Congress, "To this generation of Catholics, as to the first, the Blessed Sacrament appears as the sum and substance of all our Catholic history and thought, the centre and heart of spiritual life, the *Tree of Life* planted in the *Garden of Paradise*."<sup>407</sup> At the end of the 1926 parish mission in Timaru, according to the *Tablet's* correspondent, "the true test of Catholicity was witnessed in the number of communicants, no fewer than 1066 approaching the Holy Table".<sup>408</sup> When the entire congregation attending early Mass at St Joseph's Church in New Plymouth received Communion on Congress Sunday in 1928, they were congratulated by Father Peter Breen "on their demonstration of faith".<sup>409</sup> The *Quarant' Ore* held at the Holy Name Church, Dunedin, in 1937 "afforded the parishioners with an opportunity of showing their belief in the Real Presence of our Loving Saviour in the Blessed Sacrament."<sup>410</sup> A *Zealandia* editorial on the 1940 Eucharistic Congress declared that it was "in the first place a public affirmation of Catholic belief in the doctrine of the Real Presence".<sup>411</sup> Catholics were much given to public, triumphalistic demonstrations of their faith in the form of processions and large gatherings. One of the highlights of the 1938 centennial celebrations was the first English-language performance of *Credo*, which portrayed God's judgment on modern Babylon and the rebuilding of a virtuous civilization by the repentant. Originally written for the 1936 Catholic Congress in Malines by a Belgian Redemptorist, Joseph Boon, the drama involved a thousand-member cast and was produced by George Duke Walton before an audience of 30,000 at Western Springs Stadium. The performance ended with Benediction.<sup>412</sup>

<sup>406</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 16 October 1919, p. 28.

<sup>407</sup> *Month*, 1 July 1932, p. 20 (original italics).

<sup>408</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 17 March 1926, p. 30.

<sup>409</sup> *Month*, 16 October 1928, p. 40.

<sup>410</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 10 November 1937, p. 6.

<sup>411</sup> *Zealandia*, 1 February 1940, p. 4.

<sup>412</sup> *NZ Herald*, 7 March 1938, p. 13; *Zealandia*, 20 January 1938, p. 4; 12 March 1938, pp. 14-15; *NZ Tablet*, 9 March 1938, p. 43; Joseph Boon, *Credo: a scenic play in which all the people of the land have their part*, with music by Arthur Meulemans, translated by F.J. Sheed for the New Zealand Catholic Centenary (Auckland: printed by Whitcombe & Tombs, 1938).

Catholics were often reminded that key elements in their spirituality were rejected by Protestants. In 1923-1924, an anonymous Protestant and Dean William Burke engaged in a newspaper controversy over claims that the Catholic Church had once sanctioned the sale of indulgences.<sup>413</sup> A more publicized controversy broke out in Palmerston North in 1925 when a WEA lecturer, A. Ernest Mander, was challenged by Father E.J. Lynch to substantiate the assertion that Leo X had endorsed the sale of indulgences. A committee of three, including Mayor F.J. Nathan, found that Mander had not established his case but the issue was referred, on his behalf, to Chief Justice Robert Stout and the four history professors of the University of New Zealand. Stout predictably supported Mander while the historians considered the matter indeterminable without the primary sources not available in New Zealand. Although ostensibly an historical issue, the matter was of immediate significance because, at least in Cleary's view, the authority and credibility of the Catholic Church had been impugned by a state-employed lecturer.<sup>414</sup> A circular issued by the Presbyterian Church in 1926 counted "worship of the Virgin and the Saints" and the doctrine of "the actual presence of Christ's body and blood in the Mass" among the errors it "most earnestly repudiate[d]".<sup>415</sup> In 1927, the *New Zealand School Journal* reprinted from *Punch* - in "slightly altered" form - a poem about a child who lost a sixpence. On finding the coin, *Punch's* child "prayed a little Thank You to St. Anthony who found him"; the *School Journal's* child thanked a fairy instead.<sup>416</sup> The *Month* drew the inference that "while it is superstitious to pray to the Saints to obtain us favours from God, it is a commendable and salutary procedure to pray to the fairies."<sup>417</sup> Perhaps it was not so much superstition *per se* which bothered the editor of the *School Journal* as a *Catholic* superstition. As the *Month* itself pointed out, references to fairies are usually understood to be merely "mythological".<sup>418</sup> A reference to St Anthony, by contrast, ran the risk of being taken seriously and thereby offending Protestant sensibilities.

<sup>413</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 27 December 1923, pp. 18-19; 10 January 1924, p. 17; 17 January 1924, p. 25.

<sup>414</sup> *Month*, 21 July 1925, p. 19; 18 August 1925, pp. 15-16, 20; 15 September 1925, p. 23; 15 December 1925, pp. 25, 27; cf. *NZ Tablet*, 22 July 1925, p. 22; 19 August 1925, pp. 30-31.

<sup>415</sup> PGA, 1926, p. 155; cf. PGA, 1927, pp. 209-210; 1928, p. 221.

<sup>416</sup> *Month*, 19 July 1927, p. 19.

<sup>417</sup> *Month*, 19 July 1927, p. 25.

<sup>418</sup> *Ibid.*

Living in a nominally Protestant country, Catholics were particularly sensitive about accusations that their Church neglected and even discouraged the reading of Scripture.<sup>419</sup> Debating a Bill to enlarge the scope of the Nelson System of religious education in state schools, C.J. Carrington MLC sought to refute the claim that Catholics were discouraged from Scripture reading; he cited papal teachings and statistics on the sale of Catholic Bibles by the English Catholic Truth Society.<sup>420</sup> According to Kelly, there was "a Bible in every normal Catholic home" but, even<sup>if</sup> he was right, the Bible was not necessarily read.<sup>421</sup> Mary Dudson, growing up in Oamaru during the 1930s, would surreptitiously look at the pictures in the family Bible but was not allowed to read it lest she stumble upon some prurient tale.<sup>422</sup> Mary Goulter regarded the familiarity with the Scriptures inculcated among their pupils by the Sacré Coeur Nuns to be one of the unusual qualities of the education they offered.<sup>423</sup> Heffernan reflected the situation more accurately than Kelly when he acknowledged that, "It is a lamentable fact that the Holy Bible is a sealed book to many of our people" and that, "sad to say, non-Catholics seem to appreciate the Sacred Scriptures and use them more than we do." While many Catholics had read a life of Christ, relatively few had read the Gospels.<sup>424</sup> Representations of the ideal Catholic home typically referred to statues and pictures, to family prayers, especially the Rosary, and to Catholic literature and magazines - without mentioning the Bible.<sup>425</sup> Readers of Catholic newspapers were urged only occasionally or incidentally to read Scripture and little advice was offered on the subject.<sup>426</sup> Finlayson was disconcerted in 1949 to find

<sup>419</sup> For a Protestant polemicist's critique of Catholic attitudes to the Bible, see North, *Roman Catholicism*, chapter 5 and *idem*, *The Plain Points of Protestantism* (Auckland: H.H. Driver, 1938), pp. 60-64.

<sup>420</sup> *NZPD*, 1929, vol. 223, p. 723; *Month*, 19 November 1929, p. 15.

<sup>421</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 19 August 1920, p. 14.

<sup>422</sup> Mary Dudson interview, 27 January 1989; *cf.* Lawlor, p. 99 for a similar experience during the 1890s.

<sup>423</sup> *Month*, 19 May 1925, p. 35; but *cf.* *NZ Tablet*, 22 March 1933, p. 14 for an educational article which assumes that Catholic primary and secondary pupils had copies of the New Testament.

<sup>424</sup> *Holy Name Annual*, December 1931, p. 33.

<sup>425</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 27 December 1923, p. 25 (K. Turner); 6 April 1938, p. 25 (Owen Dudley); *Month*, 19 January 1926, p. 13; 1 November 1932, p. 8 (Betsy Davis).

<sup>426</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 24 April 1919, pp. 26-27; 10 July 1919, p. 26; 28 July 1921, p. 18; *Month*, 19 May 1925, p. 35; 17 August 1926, p. 9.

that very few lay Catholics had any personal knowledge of the Bible, apart from the "snippets" read at Sunday Mass.<sup>427</sup>

Discussion of the Bible was almost entirely dominated by an apologetic agenda. Catholics denied Protestant claims - reiterated on such occasions as the 400th anniversary of William Tyndale's Bible (1925) and of Henry VIII's order to place the Bible in all churches (1938) - that the mediaeval Church had forbidden the reading or translation of Scripture. However, Catholic teaching had been received from the Apostles before the New Testament was written and orthodox doctrine had to be based on tradition as well as the Bible. It was the Catholic Church which had determined the canon of Scripture and the Bible could not be reliably interpreted without the guidance of the Church.<sup>428</sup> Catholics were encouraged to read the Bible - as was evidenced by the granting of a 300 days' indulgence for a quarter of an hour's reading.<sup>429</sup> When Lord Bledisloe observed at the annual meeting of the Wellington Auxiliary of the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1930 that Tyndale had been executed for making the Bible available in English, the *Tablet* tactfully responded that the Governor-General was mistaken and devoted its editorial page to correcting the error.<sup>430</sup> Nor was the debate limited to the Catholic press. The *Otago Daily Times* published an advertisement and an editorial celebrating the 1938 centenary, recalling the alleged efforts of the pre-Reformation Church to prevent Bible reading and translation. Francis Bennett complained to the editor and, not surprisingly, there was a chorus of Protestant counter-claims.<sup>431</sup>

Since Eucharistic processions were the most provocative manifestations of Catholic doctrine and spirituality, they naturally aroused a forceful response from some Protestants. Others, however, thought it best to keep silent or to emphasize the

<sup>427</sup> Finlayson, *Zealandia*, 10 June 1988, p. 13.

<sup>428</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 5 December 1918, p. 26; 22 June 1922, pp. 14-15; 18 March 1925, p. 23; 1 July 1925, p. 22; 8 July 1925, pp. 33-34; 15 July 1925, p. 33; 21 August 1935, pp. 9, 11; 4 September 1935, p. 36 (correction of preceding article); 29 June 1938, p. 5; *Month*, 15 October 1923, p. 19; 18 March 1924, p. 3; 21 April 1925, p. 35; 19 July 1927, p. 41; 17 January 1928, p. 1; 15 May 1928, p. 1; 1 December 1931, p. 29; *Zealandia*, 5 July 1934, p. 10; 1 August 1935, p. 9; 23 June 1938, pp. 7-8; 30 June 1938, p. 7; 7 July 1938, p. 7.

<sup>429</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 10 May 1923, p. 21; 31 December 1924, p. 23; *Zealandia*, 28 March 1935, p. 6.

<sup>430</sup> *Evening Post*, 10 October 1930, p. 3; *NZ Tablet*, 29 October 1930, p. 3.

<sup>431</sup> *Otago Daily Times*, 18 June 1938, pp. 9, 14; 20 June 1938, p. 12 (Bennett's letter, reprinted in *NZ Tablet*, 22 June 1938, p. 6); 22 June 1938, p. 12; 24 June 1938, p. 12; 27 June 1938, p. 14. On Bennett's suggestion, the debate was confined to himself and one other correspondent (*ibid.*, 28 June 1938, p. 7; 29 June 1938, p. 12).

most acceptable features of Catholic spirituality. At Pitt Street Methodist Church, and in several nearby buildings linked with radio amplifiers, a 3,000 strong "meeting of Protestant witness" was held shortly after the Catholic centennial celebrations. The Rev. E.T. Olds, explaining that the "Roman Catholic Church" had no more right to the name "Catholic" than did Protestants, argued that the City Council would not have given permission for the procession had it realized "what lay behind it":

The procession was a part of Roman Catholic worship that we look upon as definitely blasphemous....To carry the Host in procession is adoration, and any act of adoration is idolatry. Thus we urged our people to stay away from the procession for the sake of peace and harmony.

He declared that, "Only propaganda for public consumption was presented to our public by Rome during the celebrations" but "Rome...would never win the world because of the scriptural evidence against the claims made by her." J.J. North endorsed Olds' comments, describing the procession as "a most improper proceeding" which offered Aucklanders "the cruel alternative of staying indoors or witnessing idolatry".<sup>432</sup> Perhaps a more representative view was that of John Thomson, who suggested that Catholic idolatry was "no more displeasing to God than the worship of Mammon". Deploring religious intolerance, he suggested that Olds leave his "wealthy congregation" and follow the example of John Wesley by promoting a spiritual revival in "the highways and byways".<sup>433</sup>

The Rev. P.G. Hughes, in a contribution to the Presbyterian *Outlook*, acknowledged the significance of the celebrations for Catholics and argued that "dignified silence" on the part of Protestants would have been better than the "mild panic" which led to the organization of a "counter demonstration". He understood that the grandeur of the celebrations - and of Catholic architecture - was intended to give glory to God, and contrasted this with the inelegant buildings and "slipshod ritual" found in many Protestant churches which were often maintained by people who themselves "live in gorgeously furnished homes". Hughes was impressed by the presentation of Catholic doctrine in sermons and addresses during the centennial and, noting how much the churches had in common, anticipated the time when they would view what separated them in a different light. In particular, he urged Protestants to

<sup>432</sup> *NZ Herald*, 14 March 1938, p. 15. A series of inter-church meetings in the Town Hall, beginning at the end of March, may have been intended to sustain the image of Protestant unity evoked in response the triumphalist Catholicism of the centennial celebrations (*NZ Herald*, 25 March 1938, p. 11).

<sup>433</sup> Thomson to the editor, *NZ Herald*, 21 March 1938, p. 13.

"stand shoulder to shoulder" with Catholics "against the menacing secularism and paganism of our age."<sup>434</sup> The editor of the *Outlook* was less eirenic, noting that the Auckland newspapers' attention to the centennial celebrations had angered "some of our brethren" and contrasting the "great parade of luxurious vestments" with the "simplicity of Jesus as He is pictured in the New Testament". While the "leaven of reasonableness is sometimes seen in that totalitarian church we call the Church of Rome", there was little prospect of unity "so long as the Roman Church maintains its present attitude and un-churches all who will not bow before her."<sup>435</sup> Ignoring the editorial, the *Tablet* acknowledged that Hughes' article "deliberately tries to find common ground with us on subjects which to the Presbyterian are usually unwelcome".<sup>436</sup>

Daily newspapers, which often reported Catholic religious activities, did so with a tone of approval. An appraisal of the treatment of Catholic affairs in the secular press, published in 1931, argued that, "The men who write the daily news of New Zealand are not as a whole animated by any feeling of hatred towards Catholics" and needed to be fair because they wanted to sell newspapers to all sections of the community. It was noted that the recent Forty Hours' Adoration in St Joseph's Church "could not be called a subject of wide interest to the general public, and yet both Wellington's dailies gave comprehensive and not by any means short reports of it."<sup>437</sup> Even the more triumphalist manifestations of Catholic spirituality, such as the Christ the King procession in Christchurch, were usually reported in the newspapers with admiration rather than criticism.<sup>438</sup> The *Month* was so pleased with the laudatory accounts published in the *New Zealand Herald* and the *Auckland Star* of the Eucharistic procession held in anticipation of the Dublin Congress that it quoted extensively from them.<sup>439</sup> On the last Sunday of February 1939, nearly 2,000 Holy Name men, carrying

<sup>434</sup> *Outlook*, 13 April 1938, pp. 16-17.

<sup>435</sup> *Outlook*, 13 April 1938, p. 3.

<sup>436</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 4 May 1938, p. 5. The *Tablet* also thought it necessary to correct Hughes' claim that, in distinguishing between the worship offered to Mary and that offered to God, the Catholic Church was changing its "presentation of its faith".

<sup>437</sup> *Holy Name Annual*, December 1931, p. 34; cf. *Evening Post*, 27 October 1931, p. 15. For other examples of such reporting, see the *Press*, 31 October 1927, p. 12 (observance of the feast of Christ the King at the end of a parish mission at St Mary's, Christchurch); 27 October 1930, p. 4 (Forty Hours' Adoration at St Mary's).

<sup>438</sup> *Press*, 26 October 1931, pp. 11, 14.

<sup>439</sup> *Month*, 2 May 1932, pp. 8, 10.

banners with the words of the Society pledge, marched from St Mary of the Angels to St Patrick's College where they listened to an address, renewed their pledge and received Benediction. The *Dominion's* report introduced the Society to its readers, outlined the event and summarized the sermon by Father Bird.<sup>440</sup> Extensive and favourable coverage of the Catholic centennial celebrations by the Auckland newspapers was a source of satisfaction for Liston and other Catholics.<sup>441</sup> The *New Zealand Herald* reported that the celebrations were brought to "a fitting culmination" as "for the first time in the history of Auckland the Blessed Sacrament was borne through the streets of the city" and the "whole line of march was thronged with respectfully interested spectators". The Domain was described as a "beautiful setting for a great religious ceremony."<sup>442</sup> Some Protestants complained that, during the celebrations, the press consistently referred to "the Catholic Church" without qualifying it as "Roman Catholic", thereby implicitly supporting its exclusivist claims.<sup>443</sup>

During the 1930s, radio transmission of Catholic religious services became common: despite its peculiarities, the Catholic Church was being treated as one denomination among others.<sup>444</sup> In 1932, station 1YA broadcast the proceedings of the Eucharistic procession in Auckland and in 1934 the *Zealandia* complained that the Rosary broadcast from St Gerard's in Wellington was being mumbled and rushed.<sup>445</sup> With the encouragement of the bishops, Masses and evening devotions were broadcast regularly in each of the four main centres by 1938.<sup>446</sup> The Christchurch Grail, assisted

<sup>440</sup> *Dominion*, 27 February 1939, p. 10; cf. *NZ Tablet*, 22 February 1939, p. 41; 8 March 1939, p. 42; *Zealandia*, 9 March 1939, p. 6. In the *Dominion*, Bird's initials were given incorrectly as "A.V." rather than "H.V."

<sup>441</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 14 September 1938, p. 41; *Zealandia*, 5 March 1938, pp. 5, 12; 12 March 1938, p. 5; 16 March 1938, p. 10; 31 January 1940, p. 35. The likelihood that Catholic journalists wrote some of the articles does not detract from the editors' evident intention to portray the celebrations favourably.

<sup>442</sup> *NZ Herald*, 7 March 1938, p. 13.

<sup>443</sup> *NZ Herald*, 26 February 1938, p. 7 (T.H.C. Partridge, President of the Anglican Auckland Clergy Association; 11 March 1938, p. 14 (E.S. Little); 14 March 1938, p. 15 ("Non-Anglican").

<sup>444</sup> For an earlier complaint that, in Christchurch at least, Catholics were not getting their share of religious broadcasts, see *NZ Tablet*, 25 July 1928, p. 6.

<sup>445</sup> *Month*, 2 May 1932, p. 8; *Zealandia*, 7 June 1934, p. 4.

<sup>446</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 3 June 1936, p. 6 (Wellington); 27 April 1938, p. 3 (Dunedin); 15 June 1938, p. 5 (editorial comment); 5 October 1938, p. 10 (list of coming broadcasts); *Zealandia*, 6 January 1938, p. 5 (Auckland); 13 January 1938, p. 5 (reference to anticipated Mass broadcasts in Christchurch).

by its Spiritual Director, Father E. Joyce, began recording programmes for the 3YA Children's Devotional Session in 1939.<sup>447</sup>

On numerous occasions, Protestants demonstrated an eirenic attitude towards Catholics and their religion. During the Catholic centennial celebrations, the Farmers' Trading Company, whose founder and Chairman of Directors, Robert Laidlaw, was one of the most prominent contemporary Evangelicals, provided a Sunday luncheon for the clergy and allowed the Children of Mary to use the shop premises after hours to don their regalia before hearing an address in St Patrick's Cathedral nearby.<sup>448</sup> Despite Catholic reluctance to attend the funerals of non-Catholics, it was not uncommon for Protestants to attend the funerals of leading Catholics. The funeral of Thomas Gilbert SM, Rector of St Bede's College, was attended by several notable members of other denominations, including the city's Baptist Mayor and the principals of Christ's College and St Andrew's College.<sup>449</sup> Numerous non-Catholic dignitaries, including the Anglican Archbishop Averill, were present at the requiem Masses held throughout the country in February 1939 for Pius XI.<sup>450</sup> Non-Catholics, including local politicians and mayors, sometimes attended the laying of the foundation stones or the dedication of new Catholic churches and were thanked for their financial support.<sup>451</sup> The opening of a new Catholic church at Devonport in 1919 was attended by two non-Catholic politicians (A.E. Glover and A. Harris) and the Mayor, J. Henderson, "a member of the kirk next door". Noting that the Anglicans owned a nearby section, Henderson hoped that they too would soon build a church, since competition, which was good for business, might also benefit religion. He anticipated that as the three congregations strove "in friendly rivalry" to further the glory of God, each in its own way, they would "maintain the cordial relations which have ever existed between the various religious bodies in Devonport."<sup>452</sup> James Gemmell, the Presbyterian Minister at

<sup>447</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 30 August 1939, p. 41; 18 October 1939, p. 34; 21 August 1940, p. 31; 25 September 1940, p. 6; *Zealandia*, 22 June 1939, p. 2; 31 August 1939, p. 2; 15 February 1940, p. 7.

<sup>448</sup> *Zealandia*, 12 March 1938, p. 10. The company also advertised in the *Zealandia* (16 June 1938, p. 2).

<sup>449</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 3 December 1930, p. 46 (Rev. J.K. Archer, Rev. E.C. Cross and Mr A.K. Anderson respectively).

<sup>450</sup> *Zealandia*, 23 February 1939, p. 7.

<sup>451</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 13 November 1919, p. 17 (St Mary of the Angels, Wellington); 8 April 1925, p. 13 (Palmerston North); 31 October 1928, p. 42 (Whangarei); 4 November 1936, p. 7 (Geraldine); 6 September 1939, p. 6 (Waikiwi); *Month*, 20 July 1926, p. 11 (Otahuhu); *Zealandia*, 2 January 1936, p. 5 and 19 November 1936, p. 3 (Geraldine).

<sup>452</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 6 March 1919, p. 33.

Seacliff, was present for the laying of the foundation stone of the Church of Our Lady of Perpetual Succour in 1935.<sup>453</sup>

Some Protestants thought there was too much toleration of Catholic forms of worship. The *New Zealand Baptist* saw the invitation to Protestant leaders to attend Bishop Cleary's requiem Mass in 1929 as a cunning challenge on the part of the Catholic Church. Averill, W.D. Morrison-Sutherland (Moderator of the Auckland Presbytery), and others who attended, had been placed in a "predicament" by "Rome" and had betrayed their Protestant heritage.<sup>454</sup> Shortly before the 1940 Eucharistic Congress, the *Nation* denounced the "awful silence of the Protestant Ministers of Wellington" who failed to protest against the Catholic proposal "to parade the darkest superstition of Rome in the streets".<sup>455</sup> Such reactions suggest that extreme Protestantism was more isolated and insecure than was the Catholic Church in New Zealand.

Despite their triumphalism, Catholics did not seek to antagonize members of other churches by public expressions of their religion but regarded their dual loyalties to Church and state as mutually reinforcing. An important reason for the popularity of the Holy Name Society was that it allowed Catholic men to demonstrate simultaneously these two allegiances: "The Holy Name Society is ever the exponent of the purest patriotism, loyalty to the Law of God and the Laws of the Country".<sup>456</sup> The 1938 centennial celebrations were used in several ways to demonstrate the compatibility of commitment to the Church and to the nation. As the *Wanganella* approached the New Zealand coast, Archbishop Panico, the Apostolic Delegate, and the Governor-General, Viscount Galway, exchanged greetings.<sup>457</sup> Later, messages of loyalty were sent to the Pope and, through the Governor-General, to the King.<sup>458</sup> Auckland Mayor Sir Ernest Davis gave Panico a civic reception which was attended by Prime Minister Savage and the Leader of the Opposition, Adam Hamilton. The

<sup>453</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 4 December 1935, p. 7; *Zealandia*, 19 December 1935, p. 5. The name was given incorrectly as "Gemmal" in the *Tablet* and "Gemmell" in the *Zealandia*.

<sup>454</sup> *NZ Baptist*, January 1930, p. 2; cf. *Month*, 17 December 1929, pp. 27, 47; *NZ Tablet*, 18 December 1929, p. 6. The *Baptist* was right to doubt whether "a Roman priest would attend the Anglican cathedral or a Presbyterian church for any funeral obsequies whatever."

<sup>455</sup> *Nation*, 10 January 1940, p. 11.

<sup>456</sup> *Month*, 17 July 1928, p. 44.

<sup>457</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 2 March 1938, p. 44 (cf. 9 March 1938, p. 7 for another message from Galway); *Marist Messenger*, 1 April 1938, p. 22.

<sup>458</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 2 March 1938, p. 45; *Zealandia*, 5 March 1938, p. 12.

Delegate explained that since they were taught to be "faithful to the laws of God", the Church's "children" would be "good and loyal citizens of the State".<sup>459</sup> Accompanied by the Mayor, he later placed a wreath at the Cenotaph in the Auckland Domain.<sup>460</sup> Prominent in the Eucharistic procession were 400 Catholic returned soldiers with their ribbons and medals and 4,000 Holy Name Society men carrying banners pledging their allegiance to religious and civil authorities.<sup>461</sup> Responding to "some misguided people" who criticized the Eucharistic procession in particular, the *Tablet*, declared that

Our pride in our membership of the Catholic Church, and our loyalty to Christ the King and to His Vicegerent, our Holy Father the Pope, in no way conflicts with our loyalty to our country, to its lawful governors and to our King, George VI....In fact it is just that loyalty to the King of Kings and to His Church which makes good Catholics the best citizens of any country in which they happen to be born.<sup>462</sup>

In response to the Government's invitation to the churches, the Eucharistic Congress in Wellington, and the Catholic Pavilion in the National Centennial Exhibition, were offered as the Catholic contribution to the celebrations marking the nation's first century.<sup>463</sup> Dr Noel Gascoigne, organizer of the Catholic Pavilion, declared that it would "represent the desire of the Catholic people of New Zealand to express their full community of interest in the great national undertaking of the Centennial celebrations."<sup>464</sup>

An increasingly important expression of patriotism in interwar New Zealand was Anzac Day, but, while Catholics were anxious to participate, the religious nature of the public observances usually prevented them from attending. In 1919, Catholic returned soldiers marched from Bunny Street to the Sacred Heart Basilica where Redwood offered a solemn requiem Mass and preached on the demands of loyal citizenship.<sup>465</sup>

<sup>459</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 2 March 1938, p. 45; *Zealandia*, 5 February 1938, p. 2. Savage and Davis also attended the official Catholic welcome to the Delegate in the Town Hall that evening (*NZ Tablet*, 9 March 1938, p. 7; *Zealandia*, 5 March 1938, p. 2).

<sup>460</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 2 March 1938, p. 46; *Zealandia*, 5 March 1938, p. 11.

<sup>461</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 9 March 1938, p. 43; 16 March 1938, p. 7; *Zealandia*, 12 March 1938, pp. 2-3.

<sup>462</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 23 February 1938, p. 9.

<sup>463</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 7 June 1939, p. 46; 21 June 1939, p. 5; 20 September 1939, p. 3 (joint pastoral letter by the New Zealand bishops); 8 November 1939, p. 29; 10 January 1940, p. 7; *Zealandia*, 1 September 1938, p. 5; 28 September 1939, p. 4 (pastoral letter); 9 November 1939, p. 2; 1 February 1940, p. 4; 1 February 1940, p. 1.

<sup>464</sup> *Zealandia*, 24 August 1939, p. 5; cf. 10 August 1939, p. 4 for Gascoigne's role.

<sup>465</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 1 May 1919, pp. 17-19.

A correspondent to the *Tablet* complained that only in a few towns was there any Catholic observance; noting that Catholics could not attend "combined services" he was anxious that the Church itself should mark the occasion.<sup>466</sup> This was evidently a widespread view for the bishops of Australasia duly sought from Rome, and obtained in 1923, permission to hold one requiem Mass in each parish church on 25 April even though that was the feast day of St Mark the Evangelist and would periodically fall on a Sunday.<sup>467</sup> Henceforth requiem Masses were held every Anzac Day in Catholic churches, sometimes with returned soldiers, territorials and cadets in attendance.<sup>468</sup> The bishops agreed in 1925 that the reason why Catholics did not participate in Anzac Day services was generally understood by non-Catholics but that priests should be reminded of it.<sup>469</sup> In fact, little effort seems to have been expended in dissuading Catholics from attending such services.<sup>470</sup> In Auckland, from 1930 onwards, Liston and other Catholics attended the public function arranged by the Returned Soldiers' Association at the Cenotaph, where wreaths were laid on behalf of the Catholic community.<sup>471</sup> This did not reflect any change of policy on the part of the Church in

<sup>466</sup> H. McSherry to the editor, *NZ Tablet*, 8 May 1919, p. 28; cf. *Month*, 15 May 1922, p. 3 (Pontifical Requiem Mass was offered at St Benedict's by Liston and Masses in other churches were offered for the repose of the souls of those who died in the war - but these would not have been requiem Masses).

<sup>467</sup> Liston to clergy, 20 February 1923, ACDA CLE 76-12/7; Minutes of bishops' meeting, 6 May 1925, CCDA, ACDA CLE 1-5. In 1937, when Anzac Day fell on a Sunday, the bishops reaffirmed their decision to hold the customary requiem Mass (Minutes of bishops' meeting, 7 April 1937, CCDA and *NZ Herald*, 17 April 1937, p. 16).

<sup>468</sup> *Month*, 20 May 1924, p. 23 (St Mary of the Angels, Wellington), p. 24 (Cathedral, Christchurch), p. 26 (Hokitika and Cathedral, Dunedin); 17 May 1927, p. 25 (Greymouth, returned soldiers, territorials and cadets in attendance); 21 May 1929, p. 35 (Nelson, territorials and cadets in attendance); 20 May 1930, p. 37 (all Wellington churches); *NZ Tablet*, 28 April 1926, p. 35 (Cathedral, Dunedin); 10 May 1933, p. 33 (editorial reply to a correspondent); 2 May 1934, p. 8 (Cathedral, Dunedin); 29 April 1936 (Geraldine); 3 May 1939, p. 43 (Wanganui), p. 44 (Cathedral, Christchurch, with returned soldiers in attendance), p. 45 (Oamaru); *Zealandia*, 6 May 1937, p. 5 (all Christchurch churches; parade at the Cathedral).

<sup>469</sup> Minutes of bishops' meeting, 6 May 1925, CCDA and ACDA CLE 1-5.

<sup>470</sup> For an explanation of the official Catholic position, see *Month*, 15 May 1928, p. 21; cf. *NZ Tablet*, 3 March 1937, p. 33 for an Australian view. A notice read at St Joseph's, Wellington, in 1934 acknowledged that it was commendable to participate in the "civic ceremonies" (St Joseph's parish notices, 22 April 1934, WCAA). This may indicate that the public observances in Wellington were not considered to be religious, but by the later 1930s, that was certainly not the prevailing view.

<sup>471</sup> *Month*, 15 April 1930, p. 21; 20 May 1930, p. 38; 1 May 1931, p. 36; 2 May 1932, p. 36; 1 May 1933, p. 15; *Zealandia*, 10 May 1934, p. 6; 9 May 1935, p. 5.

Auckland, but rather a change in the Anzac Day observances themselves.<sup>472</sup> The *Herald* explained that, "It was the first Anzac Day upon which the whole public had opportunity to unite in one ceremony." Not only was the Town Hall (where the main ceremony had been held in previous years) too small for the purpose, but "the religious character of the service made it impossible for one important branch of the Church to attend". Although some religious music was played, the new afternoon ceremony was essentially secular; a more religious service was held in the Town Hall in the morning.<sup>473</sup> In 1939, a Wellington parish newspaper complained that although the city's War Memorial had been built by members of different denominations in honour of both Catholic and non-Catholic soldiers, the refusal of the civic authorities to hold a purely civil function effectively excluded Catholics from participating. They therefore arranged their own parade for Catholic returned servicemen but were clearly embarrassed by the unnecessary tension between their religious and patriotic loyalties.<sup>474</sup>

In some respects, Catholic spirituality was becoming more similar to that of Protestants. Meanwhile Catholic men, in particular, sought to combine their piety with conventional respectability. Devotion to the consecrated host outside the context of the liturgy emphasized the doctrine of transubstantiation as an end in itself and thereby stressed the differences between Protestants and Catholics. By contrast, the Eucharistic and liturgical movements, which restored the Blessed Sacrament to its original liturgical context and encouraged the laity to participate more consciously and directly in the Mass, made Catholic worship resemble more closely that of Protestants. While these developments occurred over a much longer time-frame than the interwar years, the 1930s in New Zealand witnessed discernible changes of emphasis whose

<sup>2</sup> Cf. M. Sharpe, "Anzac Day in New Zealand 1916-1939", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 15/2 (October 1981), p. 105. Sharpe suggests that the change was attributable to Bishop Cleary's close relations with the RSA, but Cleary had died in December 1929. It is probably his views which are recorded in a 1928 editorial explaining why Catholics could not attend united religious services on Anzac Day (*Month*, 14 May 1928, p. 21). Moreover, *pace* Sharpe (pp. 101, 105), Catholics in Auckland and elsewhere continued to hold Anzac Day requiem Masses well beyond the late 1930s.

<sup>3</sup> *NZ Herald*, 26 April 1930, p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> *Catholic News*, April 1939, pp. 1-2; May 1939, p. 9; cf. *NZ Tablet*, 3 May 1939, p. 42. Plans for a Catholic parade at the Cenotaph in 1937 had been cancelled at the request of the Health Department (Lieutenant Colonel Roache to clergy, 31 March 1937 and 15 April 1937, copies in St Joseph's parish notices, WCAA). There was a serious epidemic of poliomyelitis at the time (Annual Report of the Director-General, Department of Health, *AJHR*, 1937-1938, vol. 3, H.-31, p. 14).

long-term significance can be best appreciated by observers living after the dramatic changes of the 1960s. Nevertheless, Carter looked forward to "that bright day" when every Mass would be a dialogue Mass - though he foresaw "no very great advantage" in a vernacular liturgy.<sup>475</sup> The emergence of Catholic Action heralded a more autonomous laity - as in the Protestant churches - even though the official definition of Catholic Action attributed to the laity a role subordinate to that of the hierarchy. Higgins declared in 1940 that "one of the healthiest signs in the work of the Lay Apostolate is that Actionists now do not so much need work given to them, but require the aid of the priest in the works they themselves discover and undertake."<sup>476</sup> The Holy Name Society emphasized values which would be appreciated by non-Catholics, such as patriotism and clean speech - epitomized by the biblical concept of the Name of the Lord - rather than the more cloying aspects of Catholic piety such as the Sacred Heart. It could even point to an American Protestant organization, the Hallowed Name League, with similar aims.<sup>477</sup> An active member of the Holy Name Society was expected to be "first and foremost a Christian gentleman, in season and out of season, at home and abroad."<sup>478</sup> Before the Society's Wellington procession in 1939, members were admonished to dress appropriately: "Those in sports attire or blazers will not be permitted to march."<sup>479</sup>

In a society which did not encourage conversation about such personal and contentious matters as religion, Catholic isolation was no doubt reinforced by its distinctive language, although at least one prominent Catholic tried to dissuade his co-religionists from using unnecessarily obfuscatory expressions.<sup>480</sup> Catholics rendered some Biblical names differently from Protestants, like "Isaias", "Jeremias" and "Malachaias".<sup>481</sup> However, the forms "Messias" and "Messiah" were both used.<sup>482</sup>

<sup>475</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 10 November 1937, p. 5; 30 March 1938, p. 5.

<sup>476</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 11 November 1940, p. 7.

<sup>477</sup> *Month*, 5 July 1930, p. 27.

<sup>478</sup> *Holy Name Annual*, December 1932, p. 3.

<sup>479</sup> St Joseph's parish notices, 26 February 1939, WCAA.

<sup>480</sup> Geoffrey Webster, who became a Catholic in 1931, later remarked upon the Church's "lack of evangelizing zeal", and noted that, "It seemed to be commonly accepted that Catholics never mentioned religion to non-Catholics" (*NZ Tablet*, 3 May 1973, p. 48).

<sup>481</sup> *Month*, 1 October 1932, p. 7; 1 December 1932, p. 20; *NZ Tablet*, 7 February 1924, p. 51; 29 June 1938, p. 4.

<sup>482</sup> *Month*, 16 November 1926, p. 3 (Messiah); 15 February 1927, p. 3 (Messias); *Zealandia*, 12 May 1938, p. 11 (Messias); *NZ Tablet*, 29 June 1938, p. 3 (Messiah).

Specifically Catholic activities and devotions inevitably required their own names, like "triduum", "sodality", "spiritual bouquet", "scapular", "monstrance", the "Little Flower", the "Sacred Heart", the "Children of Mary", the "Miraculous Medal", "Nocturnal Adoration", "Benediction" and "Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament".

The *Marist Messenger* reported that in Christchurch on the feast day of St Thérèse in 1933, the "Tertiaries joined with the Sacred Heart Confraternity in honouring the Little Flower."<sup>483</sup> There was also a tendency to favour expressions derived from Latin and the Romance languages against more commonplace English equivalents, for example *Quarant' Ore*, the "Seven Dolours of Our Lady", "Our Lady of Perpetual Succour" or the quite misleading "Invention of the True Cross". *Tablet* editor Alan Carter deprecated the use of such terms because they raised unnecessary obstacles to interdenominational understanding.<sup>484</sup> The *Marist Messenger*, however, defended words like "dolours" because they distinguished the emotions described from ordinary human experience.<sup>485</sup> Returning to the subject some years later, Carter recalled that his views had been "severely criticised" but extended his attack to such Catholic idioms as "going to Confession", "making one's Easter duty" and "making a retreat". He appealed to Catholics to reform their speech in order "to break down one of the useless barriers between the Church and our separated brethren".<sup>486</sup>

By concentrating on the spirituality of relatively committed Catholics, this discussion has highlighted the distinctiveness of the Catholic population but there were many thousands of Catholics who did not participate in religious activities even to the extent of attending Mass regularly. In the censuses of 1921 and 1926, officials in all churches were asked how many people were usually present at the largest attended services; in 1921 the Catholic total was 58,861 and in 1926 it was 55,248.<sup>487</sup> For Catholics, the most important Sunday service was morning Mass, but since urban parishes had as many as four Masses, these figures must considerably underestimate the size of the Mass-going population.<sup>488</sup> Census estimates of the numbers of people in

<sup>483</sup> *Marist Messenger*, 1 November 1933, p. 7.

<sup>484</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 31 August 1938, p. 5.

<sup>485</sup> *Marist Messenger*, 1 October 1938, p. 16.

<sup>486</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 16 June 1943, p. 7.

<sup>487</sup> NZ Census, 1921, General Report, p. 225 and Appendix E, p. vii; 1926, vol. 15, p. 8.

<sup>488</sup> A Mass count at St Joseph's parish, Wellington, on 4 March 1934 (discussed below) reported an attendance of 180 at the 6 am Mass, 520 at 7:30 am, 413 at 9:00 am and 386 at 10:30 am (St Joseph's parish notices, 11 March 1934, WCAA). On 6 May, the figures were 122, 410, 427, and 366 (*ibid.*, 13 May 1934). For discussion of this issue in regard to the 1916 census, see *NZ Tablet*, 17 April 1919, p. 15.

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each "district" (parish) who attended church therefore give a more probable indication of how many Catholics went to Mass regularly. (Since Catholics were obliged to attend weekly, it is unlikely that many "regular" attenders only went fortnightly or monthly as could have been the case in Protestant churches.) In 1921, the total was given as 92,528 (56.37 per cent of the Catholic population) and as 91,527 (52.79 per cent of Catholics) in 1926. Assuming that the individual estimates were reasonably accurate, even these figures would be slightly lower than the actual attendance because some census returns were incomplete.<sup>489</sup> On 4 March 1934, the Wellington Catholic Education Board, concerned over the rate of contributions to its Sunday penny collection, counted a total attendance of 8,341 at the city's fourteen churches. Two years later, the national census recorded a Catholic population of 18,281 in Wellington city.<sup>490</sup> Assuming that this was slightly higher than the March 1934 population, the Mass attendance at the time of the survey can be conservatively estimated as 46 per cent. This figure would seem to confirm the downward trend evident in the census figures for the 1920s, although it is difficult to reconcile with the much higher attendance recorded in surveys taken in other cities after World War Two - evidently the trend had altered by then, or there may have been regional variations.<sup>491</sup> While Catholic attendance was much higher than among Anglicans and Presbyterians, however, it is apparent that only about half the Catholic population attended Mass.<sup>492</sup> The total attendance at the two churches in St Joseph's parish in the 1934 survey was 1,899, while the parish's own census listed 2,700 Catholics.<sup>493</sup> Since these figures would yield an improbably high attendance of 70 per cent, it is evident that a substantial number of nominal Catholics were unknown to their local clergy.

<sup>489</sup> NZ Census, 1921, General Report, p. 225 and Appendix E, p. vii; 1926, vol. 15, p. 8. For the total Catholic population, see Table 8.1 below. H. Jackson by considering only Catholics aged 15 or over, gives the percentages as 53.5 and 46.9 but Catholic children were required to attend Mass from seven years ("the age of reason") - "The Late Victorian Decline in Churchgoing: Some New Zealand Evidence", *Archives de Sciences Sociales des Religions*, 56/1 (July 1983), p. 101.

<sup>490</sup> NZ Census, 1936, vol. VI, pp. 13 (8,405 males), 15 (9,876 females).

<sup>491</sup> A 1949 survey in Auckland city found that 75 per cent of Catholics had attended church on Sunday 17 July - H. Mol, *The Fixed and the Fickle: Religion and Identity in New Zealand* (Dunedin: Pilgrims South Press, 1982), p. 82.

<sup>492</sup> For discussion of Protestant attendance based on the 1921 and 1926 censuses, see Mol, p. 83 and Jackson, "The Late Victorian Decline in Churchgoing", p. 100.

<sup>493</sup> *Catholic News*, May 1934, p. 3.

Even among regular Mass attenders, only a minority participated fully in other religious activities. A Wellington correspondent to the *Tablet* claimed in 1933 that attendance at Sunday evening devotions in city churches had declined so much over the previous twenty years that many congregations filled only a quarter of the seating capacity.<sup>494</sup> Men, in particular, were less pious than women - as contemporaries expected. Speaking at the Sydney Eucharistic Congress, Whyte described women as "the pious female sex".<sup>495</sup> In Dan Davin's *Roads from Home*, Jack Hogan describes women as having a "craze for going to church", especially during a mission, and Mrs Conroy recalls that her mother used to say, "never trust a man that's fond of going to Church, or a woman that isn't".<sup>496</sup> The men's rally at the Catholic centennial celebrations was intended to demonstrate that Catholicism was "the Faith not alone of pious women and innocent children but of responsible men".<sup>497</sup> Duggan was impressed by the 1939 Holy Name procession in Wellington precisely because it consisted only of men, whereas "the piety of women is assumed as normal".<sup>498</sup> It was much easier to recruit female than male members of mixed pious organizations, such as the Third Order of Mary - which was run by Marist priests. When five Wellington men joined in 1925 a separate branch was formed, but limited enrolment led to re-absorption by the main branch in 1929. A second men's branch, established in 1934, was more successful (in May 1936, there were 113 male members but 425 female members) although by 1940 concern was being expressed over the level of attendance at the men's branch meetings.<sup>499</sup> While conceding that it was natural for women to be more numerous than men in the Third Order of Mary, the *Marist Messenger* sought to dispel the impression that it was only for women and that its piety was effeminate.<sup>500</sup>

<sup>494</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 13 December 1933, p. 2.

<sup>495</sup> W. Leonard (editor), *Addresses Delivered at the Twenty-Ninth International Eucharistic Congress, Sydney, Australia, September 1928*, (Sydney: Printed by Green Press Ltd, 1929), p. 28; *NZ Tablet*, 26 September 1928, p. 31 and 23 January 1929, p. 42; *Month*, 29 September 1928, p. 30 ("the devout female sex"); cf. a similar comment by Archbishop Downey of Liverpool at the Melbourne Eucharist Congress (*Zealandia*, 20 December 1934, p. 7).

<sup>496</sup> Dan Davin, *Roads from Home*, edited by Lawrence Jones (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1976; originally published 1949), pp. 170, 182.

<sup>497</sup> *Zealandia*, 21 October 1937, p. 5.

<sup>498</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 8 March 1939, p. 42.

<sup>499</sup> "Register of Professed Members"; *Marist Messenger*, 1 November 1939, p. 30; Ewart, p. 84. The figures cited exclude deceased and associate (rural) members.

<sup>500</sup> *Marist Messenger*, May 1931, p. 21; 1 January 1934, p. 30.

In the Holy Name Society, the Church had discovered a relatively successful formula for encouraging piety among men, but, to attract a mass membership, its demands had to be limited. The Society was said to ask "nothing but what the Church demands."<sup>501</sup>

Devotional societies, with their monthly Communion and meetings naturally attracted much larger memberships than did the more active and demanding groups. Mary Goulter asked in 1919, "Do not the same few familiar names appear year after year, and even decade after decade, as officials and active members of our St. Vincent de Paul Societies?"<sup>502</sup> In 1938, the St Vincent de Paul Society had about 2,000 members - a figure which evidently included honorary members and women - while the Holy Name Society had that many men in the Auckland diocese alone.<sup>503</sup> By September 1940, there were 49 Holy Name branches in the diocese, claiming a membership of over 3,600.<sup>504</sup> It was emphasized that the rules of Third Orders were very simple, placing minimal obligations on their members.<sup>505</sup> By the end of 1938, there were about 1,200 Franciscan Tertiaries in New Zealand and over 700 Marist Tertiaries in Wellington.<sup>506</sup> Nearly three years after its establishment in Dunedin, the Legion of Mary had seventy-nine active members (of whom thirty-five were women, thirty were schoolgirls and fourteen were men), as well as 249 auxiliaries who were "unable or unwilling to assume the duties of active membership".<sup>507</sup>

The lack of religious enthusiasm among most Catholic men is evident from the slow growth of the retreat movement. In November 1923, the *Tablet* described lay retreats as "a recognised feature in the Catholic life of the community" but at the beginning of the same year, a layman who had attended the second annual Marist retreat in Wellington thought that, "The average layman has little or no idea of what a

<sup>501</sup> *Month*, 19 June 1928, p. 40.

<sup>502</sup> *Month*, 15 May 1919, p. 14.

<sup>503</sup> According to one reference, the St Vincent de Paul Society had 73 men's conferences and 57 ladies' auxiliaries (*Zealandia*, 26 May 1938, p. 6), giving a total number of 130; two later references gave the number of conferences as 130, with 2,000 members (*Zealandia*, 5 March 1938, p. 25; *NZ Tablet*, 12 April 1939, p. 44). For the Holy Name Society, see *Zealandia*, 29 September 1938, p. 5.

<sup>504</sup> *Zealandia*, 5 September 1940, p. 4; *NZ Tablet*, 11 September 1940, p. 7. There were 64 parishes in the diocese (*ACD*, 1941, pp. 336-340, 343).

<sup>505</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 16 March 1932, p. 13 (Franciscans); 4 February 1925, p. 27 and 31 January 1934, p. 39 (Dominicans); Regnault, pp. 15, 25 (Third Order of Mary); *Manual of The Third Order of Mary*, p. 39.

<sup>506</sup> *Zealandia*, 15 December 1938, p. 7; *Marist Messenger*, 1 November 1939, p. 30.

<sup>507</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 5 August 1936, p. 13.

Retreat really is", assuming that retreats were only for priests and religious or "the special prerogative of the pious".<sup>508</sup> Retreats for laymen continued to be regarded as a novelty, by some men at least, for years to come<sup>509</sup> and men were not expected to be enthusiastic about attending a retreat.<sup>510</sup> The presence of 106 men at the annual men's retreat at Silverstream in 1935 was a record. There were 150 the following year but the numbers declined again during the rest of the decade.<sup>511</sup> A law student reporting on a retreat in 1925 admitted to having mixed feelings before arriving, fearing that he might be bored by an experience more suited to "girls and elderly ladies" or to men contemplating a religious vocation. The "average man of the world" thought Sunday Mass and Communion at Christmas and Easter was religion enough, amidst the business of "getting on in life".<sup>512</sup> It was probably middle class men who were most willing to attend: having completed his retreat, the law student declared his aspiration not so much to worldly success or cultural refinement as to "the honest, upright and saintly life of the ideal man - the Catholic gentleman."<sup>513</sup> In August 1934, a free retreat with 100 places for the unemployed and relief workers in Auckland attracted only 44 participants - even though, during the last weeks before it began, it was opened to men in employment.<sup>514</sup>

Although, in a number of respects, their spirituality deliberately emphasized those features of Catholicism which contrasted with Protestantism, Catholics did not seek isolation from the rest of the community as an end in itself. In the words of a *Zealandia* article, Catholics were not allowed to participate in the rituals of other denominations because, "The Catholic Church is extraordinarily jealous of her people's integrity of faith." However, Catholics could still "mix or mingle with others on a purely civil or social basis".<sup>515</sup> It is from this perspective that Catholic

<sup>508</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 1 November 1923, p. 29 (cf. 25 January 1923, p. 19); *NZ Tablet*, 1 February 1923, p. 27.

<sup>509</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 4 February 1925, p. 39; 9 February 1927, p. 51; 11 December 1935, p. 23; *Month*, 15 December 1925, p. 13.

<sup>510</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 1 February 1923, p. 27; 4 February 1925, p. 39; *Month*, 15 December 1925, p. 13.

<sup>511</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 30 January 1935, p. 39; *Zealandia*, 31 January 1935, p. 5; 30 January 1936, p. 5; 28 January 1937, p. 3 (120); 27 January 1938, p. 4 (over 130); 26 January 1939, p. 3 (120).

<sup>512</sup> *Month*, December 1925, p. 13.

<sup>513</sup> *Month* 15 December 1925, p. 13.

<sup>514</sup> *Zealandia*, 24 May 1934, p. 6; 5 July 1934, p. 1; 19 July 1934, p. 3; 16 August 1934, p. 4; 30 August 1934, p. 1.

<sup>515</sup> *Zealandia*, 27 September 1934, p. 10.

triumphalism must be understood: its primary function was to reinforce the religious commitment and identity of a Catholic minority living in a society in which Christianity<sup>was</sup> defined in Protestant terms and in which there was widespread religious indifference. By emphasizing external observances, notably those which were based on the doctrine of transubstantiation, Catholic faith was both instilled and defined in opposition to Protestant belief and practice. This interpretation is consistent with the view already advanced that international developments were the principal determinants of New Zealand Catholic spirituality. The evolution of Catholic spirituality, particularly in western Europe, was itself, in large measure, a reaction against Protestantism, anti-clericalism and unbelief of various kinds, including atheistic Socialism. While Catholic devotional piety and the cult of the Eucharist contrasted sharply with Protestant religious practice, efforts to deepen the laity's religious experience and to promote an active spirituality were a response to secularization rather than to Protestantism. Although there was little militant anti-clericalism in New Zealand, the Catholic community adopted those new forms of spirituality which had official endorsement, including, for example, the feast of Christ the King and the *JOC*, which had originally been developed in response to European conditions. Public demonstrations of Catholic allegiance, such as Holy Name processions, affirmed the religious commitment of Catholics in opposition to widespread indifference to religion, not simply in opposition to Protestantism.

Considering the frequency with which Catholics engaged in public displays of their distinctive spirituality, open Protestant antagonism was quite limited. While some Protestants chose to demonstrate their religious credentials by attacking Catholic practices, secular newspapers sought to deal even-handedly with religious affairs, whether Catholic or Protestant. Catholics themselves endeavoured to demonstrate that their distinctive religious beliefs supported the qualities of good citizenship and were aggrieved when forced to choose between Catholicism and patriotism, notably when Anzac Day commemorations were conducted as Protestant services. The religiously committed saw no contradiction between respectable values and their religion, and their position<sup>was</sup> affirmed at least tacitly by most Protestants. More nominal Catholics conformed to the rather secular ethos of the wider society.

### Conclusion

The development of Catholic spirituality in interwar New Zealand reflected international patterns. Five overlapping trends, manifested in religious observances and the growth of appropriate organizations, have been identified in this discussion. First, nineteenth century devotional piety continued to flourish, especially in the form of devotion to the Blessed Virgin and the saints, and to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. Secondly, there developed more active forms of lay spirituality, notably in such movements as the Legion of Mary, the Catholic Women's League and the various Catholic Action organizations. Devotion to Christ the King and the Holy Name Society, while essentially manifestations of devotional piety, also reflected something of the new active spirituality. The third trend, allied to devotional piety, was the developing cult of the Blessed Sacrament. Whether in the tabernacle or displayed in a monstrance, the sacred host was an object of veneration in its own right but more frequent reception of the Sacrament was also increasingly promoted. This tendency complemented the fourth trend, namely the liturgical movement, which encouraged more active participation by the faithful in the liturgy, particularly through the use of the missal and, by the end of the interwar period, in occasional dialogue Masses. Fifthly, the religious life was increasingly used as a model for promoting holiness among the laity, notably through the retreat movement and the growth of third orders.

These developments occurred in response to changes in nineteenth and twentieth century societies. Devotional piety and the cult of the Eucharist were fostered by ultramontane interests to cultivate a distinctively Catholic outlook at a time when the hierarchical Church was competing for popular support with secularizing forces such as nationalism and anti-clericalism in Europe. Not content with loyal but passive congregations, the Church in the twentieth century sought to extend its influence in society through a more active laity. If lay Catholics were to adopt roles hitherto restricted to the clergy, their own religious experience needed to be intensified: the active apostolate had to be grounded in personal sanctification and a new awareness of corporate identity and mission. The religious life, with its daily Mass, frequent Communion, regulated devotions and annual retreats provided the obvious model. While New Zealand conditions influenced the choice of which movements would be adopted, even the bishops had no control over general trends, which were endorsed by the authorities in Rome.

Insofar as they adopted these international patterns of spirituality, Catholics affirmed their solidarity with their co-religionists overseas and set themselves apart

from the rest of the New Zealand community. Catholic religious identity was reinforced by support for worldwide Catholic missionary efforts, by observing sacred times and dietary laws and by taking an interest in sacred places such as Lourdes, whose apparitions and miracles confirmed Catholic teaching and practice. Lay spirituality was dominated by the clergy who introduced new developments and strongly discouraged any involvement in non-Catholic worship. Not only did Catholic piety emphasize external observances (for example by offering spiritual bouquets), but it particularly stressed activities which differentiated Catholics from Protestants, most emphatically when the sacred host was worshipped outside the context of the liturgy. Catholics showed comparatively little interest in such "Protestant" activities as private Bible reading - except when responding to Protestant criticism.

Despite the triumphalist tone of Catholic spirituality, the Church did not desire interconfessional strife but sought rather to maintain both its religious identity and the respect of non-Catholics. The purpose of public observances was not to antagonize Protestants but to affirm the religious commitment of Church members. Catholic faith was defined not only against Protestantism but also against widespread religious indifference. Before the 1939 Holy Name rally in Wellington, the men of St Joseph's parish were told that the absence of any man known to be a Catholic would be taken as an indication that he was ashamed of a demonstration of which even a non-Catholic would be proud. By participating in the procession and carrying banners quoting from the Holy Name pledge, Catholic men affirmed their faith in Jesus Christ and also their loyalty as citizens.<sup>516</sup> Catholic spirituality was seldom a cause of serious interconfessional strife; Protestant rejoicing over four centuries of the English Bible was more an affirmation of one particular kind of Christianity than an attack on another variety of it. Direct criticism of Catholic practices, notably at the "meeting of Protestant witness" in 1938, was intended to confirm the faith of Protestants in the face of Catholic triumphalism but most Protestants evidently considered such displays unnecessary. The secular press probably reflected popular attitudes by reporting impartially and respectfully on both Protestant and Catholic events. Meanwhile, Catholics sought to combine their spirituality with secular values like patriotism: they offered Masses for the deceased soldiers on Anzac Day and participated in public commemorations when there was no conflict with their religious principles. Many thousands of Catholics demonstrated only a limited commitment to their faith and their

<sup>516</sup> St Joseph's parish notices, 12 February 1939, WCAA.

attenuated spirituality was unlikely to isolate them significantly from their non-Catholic peers.

Nor did the distinctive spirituality of more committed Catholics necessarily isolate them from non-Catholics in other respects. In Christine Johnston's recent novel, the Catholic Chambers family lived next door to the Jamieson sisters, who were Anglicans. On the evening of the day when New Zealand entered World War Two, both households knelt in prayer, but although the "Jamiesons and the Chambers got on well...they had never prayed together and never would."<sup>517</sup> An essay on mixed marriage printed in the *Month* argued that a "truly Catholic young man" would participate in all the activities of his parish while remaining on the best of terms with his non-Catholic neighbours.<sup>518</sup> Addressing the Wellington Hibernians, Crocker urged them to "cultivate the habit of looking at things as a Catholic should" by reading Catholic literature and periodicals and by joining an organization like the St Vincent de Paul Society, the Holy Name Society or the Third Order of Mary. The purpose of this advice was not to isolate Catholics as an end in itself but to encourage them to maintain their religious commitment while living in a non-Catholic society.

Immediately after the words quoted at the beginning of this chapter, he went on to say

Are we then to live in a desert place apart? Are we to disdain association of any sort with those who are not of the Household of the Faith? Most emphatically not. We have been placed by God in the world and we cannot fly from it; but we must so live in that world that the sacred gifts we have received are preserved intact and the supreme call on every one of us, to be found ever ready, is never forgotten.<sup>519</sup>

The Catholic community's involvement in the wider society will be the subject of the next chapter.

<sup>517</sup> Christine Johnston, *Blessed Art Thou Among Women* (Auckland: Reed Books, 1991), p. 72.

<sup>518</sup> *Month*, 20 January 1925, p. 13.

<sup>519</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 23 March 1932, p. 39.

### *Chapter Three*

## **Isolation or Integration? Catholic Organizations and Institutions**

Comparing the history of the Catholic Church in Australia and the United States, John Tracy Ellis noted that, "In both communities an environment unfriendly to their religious faith nurtured a separatist spirit which varied according to time and place but which in general bred a so-called ghetto mentality."<sup>1</sup> Despite his caution over the word, Ellis himself bears some responsibility for the application of the term "ghetto" not merely to a particular outlook but also to the strategy of maintaining a religious community's distinctive beliefs and practices by isolating itself from the rest of society.<sup>2</sup> In the United States and elsewhere, the Catholic ghetto was sustained to a considerable extent by the establishment of denominationally-based organizations and institutions which reduced the need for Catholics to associate with non-Catholics in their daily lives. Since it was not only Catholics who developed ghettos,<sup>3</sup> the tendency of different subcultures to maintain their own organizational structures is perhaps better described by the Dutch concept of "pillarization" (*verzuiling*). From the later nineteenth century until the 1960s, in the Netherlands, Belgium, and to a lesser extent in other parts of continental Europe, Catholics, Protestants and Socialists developed more or less self-sufficient parallel societies or "pillars". Each pillar maintained its own social structures, including cultural associations, sports clubs, educational institutions, social security organizations, trade unions, political parties, newspapers and broadcasting networks. Collectively, the pillars were thought of as supporting the nation and governments encouraged their development (for example by subsidizing denominational schools) because it was assumed that minimizing the contact between antagonistic communities like Catholics and Calvinists was necessary to avoid social conflict.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> John Tracy Ellis, "Australian Catholicism: an American Perspective", *Journal of Religious History* 10/3 (June 1979), p. 314.

<sup>2</sup> M.E. Marty, "The Catholic Ghetto and all the other Ghettos", *Catholic Historical Review*, 68/2 (April 1982), pp. 185-186.

<sup>3</sup> Marty, pp. 189-205.

<sup>4</sup> E.H. Kossmann, *The Low Countries, 1780-1940* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), pp. 304, 568-69; Karel Dobbelaere, "Secularization, Pillarization, Religious Involvement, and Religious Change in the Low Countries", in Thomas M. Gannon SJ (editor), *World Catholicism in Transition*

Before and during the interwar period in New Zealand, as in other countries, the Catholic community organized a great variety of pious, charitable, recreational and educational associations. It was possible to be born and to die in a Catholic hospital, to be brought up in a Catholic orphanage or educated in Catholic schools, to participate in numerous pious sodalities and charitable organizations, to belong to a Catholic benefit society, to play sport for a Catholic club and to take part in drama, debating, dancing, card-playing and other forms of recreation under the Church's auspices. Ideally, those who did not join a religious congregation or the priesthood would meet their future spouse in a Catholic context and raise children who would also attend Catholic schools and support the Church's many organizations. In the Marist parish of Timaru, there were established by 1928 the Children of Mary, the Sacred Heart Sodality (for women), St Anne's Guild (a women's charitable society), an Altar Society, the Hibernian Australasian Catholic Benefit Society, a Girls' Club for former pupils of the school, a choir and the Catholic Club. Affiliated to the latter were St John's Tennis Club, the Celtic Cricket and Football Club, St Patrick's Rifle Club, the Catholic Choral Society, the Literary and Debating Club, the Dramatic Club and the Swimming Club.<sup>5</sup>

A review by B.J. Barnao of Catholic organizations in Wellington in 1936 discussed a number of pious and charitable associations: the Holy Name Society (600 members), the Children of Mary Sodality (several hundred members), the Sacred Heart Sodality for women at St Joseph's parish (150 members), the St Vincent de Paul Society (400 members) - which managed the Seamen's Institute - the Third Order of St Francis (200 members), the Third Order of Mary (400 members, most of them women) and the Theresians (a new group with about twelve members). He also referred to Catholic Scouting (with 45 scoutmasters and cub mistresses), the Hibernians (involving about 800 men and 100 women), the Catholic Readers' Club (100 members), the Sociology

(Footnote continued from previous page.)

(New York: Macmillan, 1988), pp. 82-90; P. Dekker and P. Ester, "Ideological Identification and (De)pillarisation in the Netherlands", *Netherlands Journal of Social Sciences*, 26/2 (October 1990), pp. 168-170. Viewing the Catholic community in isolation, another alternative concept to describe the strategy of self-sufficient organization is *Vereins-* or *Verbandskatholizismus* - see Hugh McLeod, "Building the 'Catholic Ghetto': Catholic Organisations 1870-1914", in W.J. Sheils and Diana Wood (editors), *Voluntary Religion*, ("Studies in Church History" volume 23; Oxford: Basil Blackwell for the Ecclesiastical History Society, 1986), p. 411.

<sup>5</sup> MYB, 1928, pp. 136-137; cf. *Month*, 1 April 1931, p. 6-7 (article on organizations in the Timaru parish by L.J. Cronin) and Barbara Harper, *The Harvest: History of the Catholic Church in Timaru, 1869-1969* (Timaru: Centennial Committee, Catholic Presbytery, Timaru, 1969), p. 87 and *passim*.

classes,<sup>6</sup> and the Catholic Students' Guild (80 members). Former pupils' organizations included the Marist Brothers' Old Boys' Association (600 members), which sponsored a Debating Club and a number of sports teams, St Patrick's College Old Boys (several hundred Wellington members and 2,000 nationally), which included a Junior Social Club, and St Mary's Old Girls (200 members), as well as branches of associations for former pupils of Catholic schools in other cities. Individual parishes had their own cultural groups and sports teams, notably the "Variety Vagabonds" of St Anne's and the hockey and basketball teams at St Joseph's. There were eleven parish tennis clubs (700 members). Some 300 couples had attended the annual Charity Ball and the women's hostel accommodated 50 young women.<sup>7</sup> The most notable omission from Barnao's list was the Catholic Women's League, which was established only in Auckland and Christchurch before the Second World War, but Wellington, like other centres, also had a Catholic hospital and several other charitable institutions, notably the Home of Compassion, and orphanages in the Hutt Valley.<sup>8</sup>

Quite different interpretations have been placed upon this proliferation of Catholic organizations and institutions. E.R. Simmons argued that, during the 1920s and the subsequent generation, efforts to establish denominational associations turned the Catholic community "inwards on itself" so that it avoided participation in the wider community and developed "a sort of parallel society".<sup>9</sup> Erik Olssen has characterized the Catholic community as pursuing "a strategy of institutional separatism", but observes that, simultaneously, "Catholics continued to work for acceptance by the community".<sup>10</sup> After a review of sectarian tensions and the efforts of the ecclesiastical authorities to promote Catholic institutions and discourage interdenominational

<sup>6</sup> The Saturday classes (with attendances up to 150) were temporarily in recess during the absence of the principal lecturer, J.A. Higgins SM, (see chapter five) but thirty people still attended the Tuesday classes.

<sup>7</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 11 March 1936, pp. 9, 11.

<sup>8</sup> For a listing of Catholic institutions, including some lay associations, see *ACD*, 1941, pp. 331-332, 343, 351, 356.

<sup>9</sup> E.R. Simmons, *A Brief History of the Catholic Church in New Zealand* (Auckland: Catholic Communications Centre, 1978), pp. 100-101.

<sup>10</sup> E. Olssen, "Towards a New Society" in G.W. Rice (editor), *The Oxford History of New Zealand* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, second edition, 1992), p. 271. Olssen describes this Catholic policy as a reaction to the rise of the Protestant Political Association but as Bernard Cadogan has noted ("Lace Curtain Catholics: the Catholic Bourgeoisie of the Diocese of Dunedin, 1900-1920", University of Otago B.A. Honours dissertation in History, 1934, pp. 27-28), and as Olssen himself indicates, Catholics began to develop their own schools and other organizations well before the rise of the PPA and continued to do so long after its demise.

marriages in Australia and New Zealand, H.R. Jackson concludes that, "There never was a Catholic ghetto in the nineteenth century and this century did not see one come into being."<sup>11</sup> None of these authors has made the detailed study of the organization of the Catholic community in New Zealand during the interwar period which would be necessary to adjudicate between their varying estimates of the degree of Catholic separatism.

Church newspapers are the richest source for investigating Catholic institutions and organizations: during the period under investigation, regional correspondents provided the editors with a wealth of information on local events. Some archival material, including parish notices, correspondence and episcopal records, as well as official publications and oral history, will be used to supplement these sources.

This chapter will argue that while Catholic organizations and institutions fostered a distinct communal identity, they did not prevent a high degree of interaction between Catholics and non-Catholics. Catholic associations were not comprehensive enough to constitute a Catholic pillar or ghetto and this was not their purpose. Rather, Church associations were established to sustain religious faith and practice, among the young in particular, so that Catholics would be able to participate in the wider society without sacrificing their religious commitment. Terms like "organization" and "institution" will be used in a very broad sense to include any association or regular activity conducted under the auspices of the Church or some section of it; the variety of these organizations and activities has already been indicated. Catholic hospitals, orphanages and schools were staffed primarily by religious congregations but most of their inmates and pupils were lay Catholics and the Catholic community raised most of the funds required, so such establishments must be included in this discussion. Since the family was considered to be the fundamental institution of society, the issue of mixed marriage is also relevant here.<sup>12</sup>

The first section of the chapter will investigate a comprehensive range of Catholic organizations and institutions to show that, while serving to consolidate a distinct identity based on Catholic spirituality, they also encouraged interaction with non-Catholics. In the second section, it will be argued that the occasional exclusion of Catholic sports teams from public competitions was not primarily based on sectarian motives and did not undermine Catholics' efforts to combine their religious identity

<sup>11</sup> H.R. Jackson, *Churches and People in Australia and New Zealand, 1860-1930* (Wellington: Allen & Unwin in association with Port Nicholson Press, 1987), p. 103.

<sup>12</sup> For Catholic attitudes to the family, see chapter four.

with integration into the wider society. Further evidence for the view that the Church's institutions fostered Catholic identity without actually isolating their members from the wider society will be offered in the third section of the chapter, which will treat Catholic schools as a case-study, since they were arguably the most influential institutions for the laity. Finally, the hostility of the clergy towards mixed marriage will be contrasted with the high proportion of interdenominational unions, which not only bore testimony to the considerable degree of Catholic-Protestant interaction but also perpetuated it.

### Religious Identity and Social Integration

By means of numerous organizations and institutions for charitable, welfare, cultural and sporting purposes, Catholics maintained a distinct communal identity. As a small minority in a non-Catholic society, they were concerned to prevent "leakage" from the Catholic community by maintaining their own newspapers, libraries, schools, and numerous other organizations.<sup>13</sup> Particular emphasis was placed on encouraging young Catholics to socialize within the Catholic community in order to reinforce Catholic beliefs, morals and religious devotions - and to encourage endogamy. It will be argued, however, that the primary reason for maintaining denominational organizations was to prepare Catholics for participation in the wider society with a minimum of danger to their faith. Moreover, Catholic charitable institutions, welfare organizations, cultural societies and sports teams interacted with the wider society rather than isolating their members from it.

The sheer variety and proliferation of Catholic organizations and institutions during the interwar period constitutes a prima facie case for supposing that the Catholic community did seek to isolate itself from the wider society. Catholic schools gave rise to numerous former pupils' organizations, of which the Marist Brothers' Old Boys' Association (MBOBA) was probably the largest, not least because it tended to serve as a general Catholic club not confined to men who had been educated by the Brothers.<sup>14</sup> A new organization formed in Auckland in 1936, the Marist Old Boys'

<sup>13</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 5 November 1924, p. 29; 29 February 1928, p. 6; 6 May 1931, pp. 31, 33; 22 March 1933, p. 13.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. P. Gallagher, *The Marist Brothers in New Zealand, Fiji and Samoa, 1876-1976* (Tuakau: Marist Brothers' Trust Board, 1976), pp. 161-164. At the 1926 MBOBA annual meeting in Christchurch, there was discussed a proposal to amalgamate the Association with the Catholic Club - a suggestion which evidently was implemented (*NZ Tablet*, 14 April 1926, p. 43; cf. *Zealandia*, 20 March 1935, p. 37). The Christian Brothers' Old Boys' Association also absorbed an independent Young Men's Club in Dunedin (*NZ Tablet*, 3 May 1923, p. 30) but the main reason for the larger size of the Marist Association was the greater number of schools maintained by the Marist Brothers.

and Catholic Men's Association, sought "to unite within its membership all the Catholic men of Auckland".<sup>15</sup> The MBOBA was best known for its sports teams but it also encouraged other activities: the Association already sponsored a Debating Society open to any Catholic man.<sup>16</sup> Neither schoolchildren nor former pupils had a monopoly on denominational sports. A contributor to the *Month* noted in 1928 that "wherever one goes, there are Catholic Tennis Clubs" and that in the larger centres there were associations which organized inter-club competitions.<sup>17</sup> Increasingly, there were also inter-city and inter-provincial competitions; teams from Wellington, Auckland, and later other North Island centres, competed annually for the Watson Shield during the 1930s.<sup>18</sup> In Christchurch at the end of the decade, Catholic tramping and bowling clubs were established.<sup>19</sup> Catholic groups and institutions often paralleled those of other denominations or secular organizations, such as the Scouts and Guides, established from the late 1920s (after some initial hesitation on the part of the hierarchy).<sup>20</sup> A number of parishes and Church groups had libraries of which one of

<sup>15</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 11 March 1936, p. 6; *Zealandia*, 13 February 1936, p. 4; 27 February 1936, p. 5; 12 March 1936, p. 2.

<sup>16</sup> *Zealandia*, 5 July 1934, p. 5.

<sup>17</sup> *Month*, 16 October 1928, p. 15.

<sup>18</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 19 October 1932, p. 43 (Inter-Straits Challenge Cup); 2 November 1932, p. 31 (review of the Wellington Catholic Lawn Tennis Association); 8 February 1933, p. 39 (Watson Shield); 30 May 1934, p. 11 and 9 January 1935, p. 34 (Manawatu-Wanganui tournament); 19 September 1934, p. 34 (visit to Dunedin by the Invercargill tennis team); 15 January 1936, p. 38 (Watson Shield); *Month*, 19 March 1929, p. 17 and 1 February 1933, pp. 15, 25 (Watson Shield); *Zealandia*, 17 January 1935, p. 8 (Watson Shield); 12 January 1939, p. 9 (Watson Shield competition with entrants from throughout the North Island).

<sup>19</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 4 May 1938, p. 6; *Zealandia*, 12 October 1939, p. 2.

<sup>20</sup> The Catholic Scout troop attached to the Good Shepherd Church in Dominion Road, Auckland was thought to be the first of its kind (*NZ Tablet*, 13 October 1921, p. 22). However, Bishop Grimes of Christchurch had been a member of the movement's Dominion Council as early as 1912 (S.G. Culliford, *New Zealand Scouting: the First Fifty Years, 1908-1958*, Wellington: Boy Scouts Association of New Zealand, 1958, p. 42). Major D. Cossgrove, the Dominion Chief Scout, had encouraged Grimes to establish Catholic Scout troops but the Bishop evidently had difficulty in finding priests to take the initiative (Cossgrove to Grimes, 30 October 1909, 7 November 1909 and 6 March 1910, CCDA). Although the Marist Brothers agreed to establish Scout troops (Cossgrove to Grimes, 30 March 1910), their efforts must have been short-lived, since they were apparently not remembered by the hierarchy during the 1920s. In 1928, the bishops discussed the idea of Catholic Scouting and Guiding but reached no conclusion (Minutes of bishops' meeting, 3 May 1928, CCDA, ACDA CLE 1-5). The following year, Cleary reported that the Scout and Guide authorities were anxious to see Catholic groups organized and noted that Catholic girls had joined Protestant companies. O'Shea, Brodie and Whyte were recorded as expressing disapproval and no further action was to be taken (Minutes of bishops' meeting, 24 April 1929, CCDA, ACDA CLE 1-5). By 1931, the bishops evidently agreed that "there was promise in the movement" but were concerned that it might interfere with attendance at Mass and evening devotions (Minutes of bishops' meeting, 29 April 1931, CCDA). O'Shea and Cleary, however, had evidently decided not to wait for the

the most extensive was probably the Sacred Heart Library in Timaru, which posted books to remote subscribers lacking similar local facilities.<sup>21</sup> Larger libraries were established in three of the main centres during the late 1930s.<sup>22</sup> In 1932, a Catholic Repertory Society was established in Auckland, and the following year a Play Reading Circle was formed because it was not possible to offer roles in stage productions for all those interested.<sup>23</sup> A similar society was established in Wellington four years later and the Catholic Drama Club in Christchurch was revived in 1937; there was also a Catholic Dramatic Society in Dunedin (originally called the Magneto Club).<sup>24</sup> When a guild for Dunedin's Catholic students was established in December 1921, the example was soon followed in other university cities.<sup>25</sup> The first annual Catholic Charity Debutante Ball in Wellington in 1928 was imitated in other centres throughout the

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other bishops: the former had begun to initiate Scouting and Guiding in Wellington in 1927, while Cleary's *Month* published reports on Catholic Scouting overseas (*Month*, 15 March 1927, p. 23; 19 April 1927, pp. 12, 22; 17 May 1927, p. 12). A 1932 report referred to the establishment of a Scout troop among the pupils at the Vermont Street school just over four years previously. By this time, further Catholic troops had already been established in Auckland and Wellington (*Month*, 1 November 1932, p. 38).

- 21 MYB, 1928, p. 211 (Timaru); Harper, p. 89; *NZ Tablet*, 10 July 1919, p. 27 (several parishes); 4 July 1918, p. 22 (St Joseph's, Wellington); 22 July 1920, p. 39 (St Mary's, Christchurch); 12 May 1921, p. 22 (Timaru); 12 January 1922, p. 31 (MBOBA, Wellington); 14 October 1925, p. 19 (Wellington Catholic Students' Guild); 7 May 1930, p. 23 (library run by Catholic Supplies Ltd in Dunedin); 11 May 1932, p. 13 (Newtown HACBS); *Month*, 15 July 1922, p. 8 (St Benedict's); 15 April 1930, p. 12 (Auckland Catholic Students' Guild).
- 22 Central Catholic Library, Dunedin: *NZ Tablet*, 23 June 1937, p. 5; 23 March 1938, p. 47. Auckland Catholic Library: *Zealandia*, 21 April 1938, p. 8; 2 February 1939, p. 7; 28 December 1939, p. 2. Basement Library, Christchurch: *NZ Tablet*, 26 July 1939, p. 7; *Zealandia*, 11 May 1939, p. 3; 13 July 1939, p. 2; 20 July 1939, p. 2; 26 October 1939, p. 2. The Wellington Catholic Readers' Club was also slowly building up a library: there were 107 books in October 1934 and 499 in November 1939 (*Zealandia*, 11 October 1934, p. 5; *NZ Tablet*, 10 October 1934, p. 8; 17 November 1937, p. 4; 29 November 1939, p. 27).
- 23 *Month*, 1 August 1932, p. 21; 1 March 1933, p. 32; 1 April 1933, p. 23; 1 June 1933, p. 25.
- 24 *NZ Tablet*, 8 April 1936, p. 7; 25 May 1938, p. 7 (Dunedin); *Zealandia*, 9 April 1936, p. 4; 7 May 1936, p. 5; 24 September 1936, pp. 3-4; 1 July 1937, p. 7 (Christchurch); for references to other towns, see *Zealandia*, 5 July 1934, p. 7 (New Plymouth and Wanganui); 31 December 1936, p. 5 (Napier).
- 25 *NZ Tablet*, 15 December 1921, p. 23 (Dunedin); 13 April 1922, p. 30 (Wellington); 12 October 1922, p. 26 (Auckland); *Month*, 15 November 1922, p. 10 (Auckland); 1 April 1931, p. 23 (review of the Dunedin Guild). T.A. Gilbert SM, who had founded the Wellington Guild, established a similar organization in Christchurch after his transfer there in 1929 (*NZ Tablet*, 3 December 1930, p. 47; 4 February 1930, p. 47).

country during the 1930s.<sup>26</sup> With the opening of the Lewisham Hospital in Wellington in 1929 and Dunedin's Mater Misericordiae Hospital in 1936, each of the four main centres had a Catholic hospital.<sup>27</sup> The Sisters of Our Lady of Compassion, long established in Jerusalem (Wanganui) and Island Bay, opened new homes in 1933 for the destitute and the aged in Silverstream and for unmarried mothers and their babies in Ponsonby; the latter was replaced by a new institution in Herne Bay in 1939.<sup>28</sup> In a number of centres, during the late 1930s, there were inaugurated branches of the Catholic Nurses' Guild, most of whose members worked in public hospitals.<sup>29</sup>

To establish and maintain their churches, presbyteries, schools, convents, hospitals, orphanages and other institutions, Catholics were committed to incessant fund-raising activities. Entertainments organized by parish groups were invariably intended to generate revenue but they also served to promote a sense of community spirit. According to the *Tablet's* Auckland correspondent, the parishioners of St Benedict's were "never more happy than when engaged in raising funds for some parochial movement".<sup>30</sup> While the winter euchre evenings in aid of the rebuilding fund of St Joseph's parish, Wellington, were "a great success financially as well as socially", they were considered "primarily social gatherings".<sup>31</sup> Individual socials, dances and card-evenings were often only a part of the build-up to large-scale bazaars and queen

<sup>26</sup> The 1928 event was the sixth annual Charity Ball but the first Debutante Ball. *Month*, 21 August 1928, pp. 29, 39 (Wellington); 1 October 1930, p. 21 (Dunedin); 1 August 1932, pp. 31, 33 (Christchurch, Dunedin, Auckland); 1 December 1932, p. 22 (Hamilton); *NZ Tablet*, 30 July 1930, p. 49 (Invercargill); 1 October 1930, pp. 46-47 (Dunedin); 9 September 1931, p. 50 (Gore); 29 June 1932, p. 35 (Christchurch); 21 September 1932, pp. 14, 42 (Timaru); 19 July 1933, p. 6 (Hastings); 27 September 1933, p. 6 (Ohakune); 29 November 1933, p. 6 (Te Aroha); 11 July 1934, p. 6 (Hawera); 17 August 1938, p. 23 (Masterton), p. 39 (Te Karaka, Poverty Bay); 10 May 1939, p. 38 (Wairoa); 9 August 1939, p. 7 (Dargaville).

<sup>27</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 28 August 1929, pp. 46-47; 12 February 1936, pp. 8, 36; *Month*, 17 September 1929, p. 33; *Zealandia*, 13 February 1936, pp. 1-3.

<sup>28</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 23 August 1933, p. 2 and *Month*, 1 September 1933, p. 14 (opening of St Vincent's Home of Compassion, Ponsonby); *NZ Tablet*, 22 November 1933, pp. 7, 27 (opening of St Joseph's Home of Compassion, Silverstream); *Zealandia*, 17 August 1939, pp. 7, 9 (St Vincent's Home, Herne Bay). See Rafter, pp. 153-155 for these and other institutions run by the Sisters of Compassion.

<sup>29</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 29 September 1937, p. 7 (Dunedin); 4 May 1938, p. 37 (Wellington); 24 August 1938, p. 43 (Auckland); *Zealandia*, 5 May 1938, p. 8 (Wellington); 4 August 1938, p. 8 (Palmerston North); 6 July 1939, p. 3 (Wanganui); 10 August 1939, p. 2 (Christchurch); *Marist Messenger*, 1 June 1938, p. 13 (Wellington).

<sup>30</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 18 December 1919, p. 19.

<sup>31</sup> St Joseph's parish notices, 26 April 1931, WCAA.

competitions, which involved the more dedicated members of the parish in a sustained joint effort. Over a number of months, parish groups, each sponsoring a young "queen" candidate would raise funds to pay for materials and ingredients used to make goods to be sold at a bazaar held in the evenings and typically lasting over a week, after which the candidate sponsored by the most successful group would be crowned in the elaborate celebration. Nancy McCullough, the Hibernian candidate, was crowned after the Catholics of Christchurch had raised over £6,000 for education in their 1919 Victory Fair.<sup>32</sup> Catholics in Te Aroha raised £2,350 for a new school in 1929 and £5,443 was collected in Greymouth in 1938 to pay for a new home for the Marist Brothers.<sup>33</sup> After three months' work by "energetic committees" of the Devonport parish, raising £344 by means of a popular girl competition, Father M.J. Furlong noted that the contest had been successful both financially and socially.<sup>34</sup>

By organizing activities which could be undertaken in a secular context, the Church was to some extent creating a Catholic pillar or ghetto. In a 1918 *Tablet* editorial, Kelly advised his readers that *Sinn Fein* ("ourselves alone") was as much the proper policy in religion as it was in politics.<sup>35</sup> Catholic organizations whose main function was not strictly religious, especially sports teams, social clubs and cultural societies, duplicated activities undertaken by other agencies open to Catholics and thus competed with them for members. The MBOBA in Wellington decided to organize a rugby team in 1918 after realizing that a number of Catholics were playing for other clubs.<sup>36</sup> Only after "a large percentage of their pupils" had joined existing Scout troops did the Christian Brothers decide to establish the first Catholic troop in Dunedin.<sup>37</sup> Urging the Hibernians to launch a membership campaign, P.D. Hoskins, the District President, warned that "if Catholics do not cater for their own, then prospective members would join other societies".<sup>38</sup> When Father F.G. Walls of Hamilton presided over the inauguration of a Social and Dramatic Club in 1937, he

<sup>32</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 21 August 1919, p. 39; 28 August 1919, p. 22; 4 September 1919, p. 23; 11 September 1919, p. 23; 11 September 1919, p. 25; 25 September 1919, p. 19; 16 October 1919, pp. 21-22.

<sup>33</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 18 December 1929, pp. 47-48; 14 December 1938, p. 7.

<sup>34</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 12 December 1934, p. 7; cf. 1 March 1939, p. 43 (a popular girl contest lasting six months in Grey Lynn raised £1,684).

<sup>35</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 9 May 1918, p. 17.

<sup>36</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 25 July 1918, p. 35.

<sup>37</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 12 July 1933, p. 29.

<sup>38</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 13 June 1934, p. 34.

expressed the hope that "the new club would cater for the many young people in the parish who hitherto had been obliged to join non-Catholic bodies for their social entertainment."<sup>39</sup> It was anticipated that the Basement Library organized by the Grail in Christchurch, which opened with 3,000 volumes of fiction and general reading, would "rapidly outstrip other [book club] libraries in the service and range of books to be offered to its members".<sup>40</sup> Catholic literary and debating clubs naturally gave some attention to apologetic or ecclesiastical subjects; for example, P.J. O'Regan spoke to the Wellington Catholic Readers' Club on Martin Luther in 1933.<sup>41</sup> Other issues considered by public speaking clubs might lend themselves to a specifically Catholic treatment, such as the proposition "That the present system of education does not educate".<sup>42</sup> More usually, however, they considered topics which would scarcely have led to different conclusions in a secular club, like "Do New Zealand manufactures reach the standard of Old World products?".<sup>43</sup> Similarly, most of the plays read or performed by Catholic dramatic societies do not appear to have been religious and could well have been performed by other clubs.<sup>44</sup>

Even if their functions were not exclusively pious, denominational associations created an environment in which Catholic beliefs, values and practices were accepted and thus reinforced. At a time when even the churches - apart from the Catholic Church - were believed to be capitulating to moral decay, it was essential to inoculate Catholics against worldly influences.<sup>45</sup> Among the aims of the Catholic Women's

<sup>39</sup> *Zealandia*, 8 April 1937, p. 3.

<sup>40</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 26 July 1939, p. 7.

<sup>41</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 16 August 1933, pp. 1-2. Unlike other Catholic literary societies, this Club was formed specifically to popularize Catholic literature and discuss current events concerning Catholics; a similar Club was formed in Nelson (*ibid.* 10 October 1934, p. 8).

<sup>42</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 15 October 1930, p. 33 (St Columba Club, Greymouth, and St Mary's Club, Hokitika).

<sup>43</sup> *Zealandia*, 1 June 1939, p. 3 (Oamaru Literary and Debating Club). Further examples of secular topics include: *Month*, 1 April 1933, p. 23 ("That International Competition in Sport Has Done More Harm than Good" - Marist Debating Society); *NZ Tablet*, 16 May 1934, p. 34 ("That Chinese be allowed to enter New Zealand free of tax" - St Mary's Literary and Debating Society, Christchurch); 15 September 1937, p. 8 ("That the time is now opportune for the return to Germany of her former colonies" - Dunedin Hibernian Social and Debating Club); *Zealandia*, 7 September 1939, p. 3 ("That Science has done more than the Arts for Mankind" - teams from St Catherine's and the Ex-Pupils' Association, Invercargill).

<sup>44</sup> For examples, see *Month*, 1 June 1933, p. 25; 1 July 1933, p. 33; 2 October 1933, p. 11; *NZ Tablet*, 20 September 1933, p. 6; 4 October 1933, p. 8; 7 April 1937, p. 7; 4 May 1938, p. 6; 25 May 1938, p. 7; 15 March 1939, p. 46; 21 June 1939, p. 46.

<sup>45</sup> For Catholic attitudes on contemporary moral issues, see chapter four.

League was to reinforce Catholic attitudes on issues like birth control.<sup>46</sup> Wellington Hibernians were reminded by Hoskins in 1933 that the Society was established to "provide in a mixed community a Catholic environment for our Catholic manhood".<sup>47</sup> In contrast to other benefit societies, the HACBS offered "the vital advantage of friendly social intercourse between Catholics in a Catholic atmosphere."<sup>48</sup> Catholic institutions enabled the faithful to carry out in a Catholic environment activities upon which religion had some bearing (such as recreation or debating topical issues) but which would otherwise have to be performed in a secular context. The evening before Patrick Lawlor underwent an operation in Wellington's Lewisham Hospital, "a beautiful little miniature of Our Lady" and "a small bottle of holy water" were placed on his bedside table and he was tactfully invited to go to Confession and receive Holy Communion in the morning.<sup>49</sup> Regular general Communion of Catholic organizations, such as the Hibernians, were regarded as particularly important and edifying demonstrations of Catholic faith.<sup>50</sup> At the 1923 annual Communion breakfast of the MBOBA in Wellington, Brother Phelan "congratulated the association on the splendid display of Faith witnessed that morning" and "reminded his hearers that the principal object of the M.B.O.B.A. was the keeping of the boys to their duties as Catholics".<sup>51</sup> A general Communion of over 180 members of the Scouting and Guiding movement in the Basilica, South Dunedin, was described as "really edifying" and "a wonderful manifestation of Faith".<sup>52</sup> A report on a general Communion of the Scouts and Cubs at St Joseph's, Wellington, noted that "their demonstration of Catholicity indicates what the Catholic Scout movement stands for."<sup>53</sup> Monthly

<sup>46</sup> *Zealandia*, 1 August 1935, p. 7.

<sup>47</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 13 September 1933, p. 27; cf. 12 June 1935, p. 11 (a similar statement by Hoskins in Timaru).

<sup>48</sup> *Month*, 15 August 1923, p. 5; cf. *Zealandia*, 7 June 1934, p. 4.

<sup>49</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 28 March 1934, p. 20. Lawlor wrote under the pseudonym "Christopher Penn"; cf. *ibid.*, 21 February 1934, p. 59 for a reference to his being in the Lewisham hospital and "Pat Lawlor Remembers", 3 May 1973, p. 45 for an allusion by Lawlor himself to his article.

<sup>50</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 16 March 1922, p. 22; 23 March 1922, p. 19; 29 May 1924, p. 33; 2 April 1930, p. 52; 8 April 1931, p. 39; 28 March 1934, p. 34; 3 April 1935, p. 9; 1 April 1936, p. 11; 6 December 1939, p. 6.

<sup>51</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 7 June 1923, p. 45; for similar reflections on the same organization in a later year, see *Month*, 18 December 1928, p. 25.

<sup>52</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 22 November 1939, p. 34; cf. 29 November 1939, p. 5.

<sup>53</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 23 November 1932, p. 7 and 1 December 1932, p. 38; cf. 29 March 1933, p. 6; 1 August 1934, p. 34.

church parades and general Communion attended by Catholic Cubs and Scouts were regarded as essential activities of the movement.<sup>54</sup> The "central feature" of the annual conference of the Federated Catholic Clubs and Societies was said to be the Easter Communion, which demonstrated that the movement was "first and foremost Catholic in its outlook and practice".<sup>55</sup>

Catholic organizations and institutions further reinforced the Catholic worldview indirectly by promoting wholesome recreation and directly through literature, talks and debates. Socials, dances and sporting events held under the auspices of Catholic parishes and clubs could be expected to conform to Catholic ethical norms. When Whyte opened the new Invercargill parish hall, which included a 3,000 square foot dance floor, he anticipated that any dances held would be "under strict supervision".<sup>56</sup> In Auckland and Christchurch, the Grail organized fashion parades to demonstrate that young women could select tennis- and beachwear, in particular, which conformed to Catholic standards of dress.<sup>57</sup> The Catholic Seamen's Institute in Wellington offered soft-drinks, concerts and facilities for dancing, card-playing and gymnastics to sailors who might otherwise be lured into bars or brothels.<sup>58</sup> After the final performance by the Catholic Repertory Society of J.M. Barrie's *Mary Rose*, in the Auckland Town Hall Concert Chamber, Gaston Mervale, the producer, declared that people were "tired of the rubbish and suggestive entertainment that is so often placed before them" and that it was the duty of societies like his to offer more acceptable productions.<sup>59</sup> Kelly was a strong advocate of parish libraries from which young Catholics in particular

<sup>54</sup> *Month*, 1 September 1933, p. 25; *NZ Tablet*, 28 February 1934, p. 9. For specific examples, see *NZ Tablet*, 23 November 1932, p. 7 and *Month*, 1 December 1932, p. 38 (four Wellington Scout troops); *NZ Tablet*, 29 March 1933, p. 6 (Wellington Scouts); 27 March 1935, p. 7 (Guide parade at St Joseph's Cathedral); *Zealandia*, 24 November 1938, p. 3 (Wanganui Scouts); *Zealandia*, 8 April 1937, p. 3 (Auckland).

<sup>55</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 24 March 1937, p. 3 (editorial).

<sup>56</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 7 July 1937, pp. 26-27. There were weekly dances in the Invercargill parish during the 1930s (Rev. John Walls, interview, 8 February 1991). For a discussion of Catholic attitudes to dancing and other forms of leisure, see chapter four.

<sup>57</sup> *Zealandia*, 20 July 1939, p. 2; 24 August 1939, p. 2; 2 November 1939, p. 9; *NZ Tablet*, 1 November 1939, p. 6; cf. 2 February 1938, p. 35 for mention of such a parade during a Grail training course in Australia (attended by four New Zealand delegates).

<sup>58</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 27 April 1938, p. 25; 7 December 1938, pp. 26-27; 8 March 1939, p. 32; 6 September 1939, p. 38.

<sup>59</sup> *Month*, 1 August 1933, p. 15; *NZ Tablet*, 26 July 1933, p. 7; cf. *Zealandia*, 24 September 1936, p. 4 for an expression of similar sentiments on the part of J.B. Callan in association with the Wellington Catholic Players.

could borrow books which were morally and theologically acceptable - he also hoped that a high proportion of the books would be Irish.<sup>60</sup> When a Catholic library was established in Dunedin in 1937, the *Tablet* observed that "the reading of suitable literature is one of the principal necessities in the retention of the Faith".<sup>61</sup> According to John Vibaud SM, speaking at a conference of the Federated Catholic Clubs, "it was the aim of the Catholic club movement to thoroughly instruct laymen in Catholic doctrine."<sup>62</sup>

Nowhere was the establishment of organizations to inculcate Catholic values and promote religious practices considered more critical than among the young: Catholic youth organizations were intended to complement the work of the schools. As Liston explained, the Holy Name Society assisted Catholic Scouting in Auckland not simply to provide entertainment but to complement the work of the schools in moulding the boys' character.<sup>63</sup> According to a regular *Tablet* feature on Scouting, "Catholic Scouting is first, last and always a matter of giving the boys a healthy Catholic outlook".<sup>64</sup> Advocating the establishment of a boys' club, in an address to the Christian Brothers' Old Boys' Association Executive, Dr M.J. Klimeck argued that the immediate post-school years were the most important "in the formation of the good practical layman". This period of life, moreover, was also the time when "the greatest part of the leakage from the Church occurs".<sup>65</sup> Discussing the value of parish social centres, a *Zealandia* editorial noted that on leaving school after a Catholic education, the young boy or girl entered an "alien atmosphere" and that his or her eternal destiny could depend on the associations formed during the critical transition period between adolescence and adulthood. It was essential that young Catholics socialized in an environment where Catholic faith and moral standards were confirmed rather than undermined.<sup>66</sup> In 1934, the St Vincent de Paul Society in Wellington established a

<sup>60</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 22 August 1918, p. 26; 26 December 1918, p. 27; 10 July 1919, p. 27.

<sup>61</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 23 June 1937, p. 5.

<sup>62</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 29 April 1931, p. 35.

<sup>63</sup> *Zealandia*, 23 March 1939, p. 2; cf. *NZ Tablet*, 27 December 1933, p. 27 for a similar statement by Brodie with reference to the Scout troop sponsored by the Marist Brothers in Christchurch. For similar views on Scouting, see *NZ Tablet*, 25 January 1939, p. 34 and *Month*, 1 December 1932, p. 38.

<sup>64</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 10 May 1939, p. 41.

<sup>65</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 25 April 1934, p. 39. It was eventually decided to make the Legion of Mary responsible for establishing a club (*NZ Tablet*, 23 May 1934, p. 39; 20 June 1934, p. 8).

<sup>66</sup> *Zealandia*, 21 May 1936, p. 4; for similar editorial views, cf. *NZ Tablet*, 18 March 1931, p. 3.

committee to monitor boys leaving Catholic schools, encouraging them to join Catholic societies and continue to practise their religion.<sup>67</sup> Concerned that school-leavers were induced by non-Catholic and irreligious influences to "become lax in their religious duties", Kelly urged them to "keep together": "Join Catholic clubs and Catholic societies and form friendships with Catholics."<sup>68</sup> According the first annual report of St Joseph's Tennis Club in New Plymouth, the Club had "attained its main objective, viz. social intercourse for the Catholic tennis players of the town".<sup>69</sup> Catholic amateur dramatic societies promoted not only an appreciation of drama but also "social intercourse" among their members, who appear to have been mostly younger Catholics.<sup>70</sup> In Dunedin, the Christian Brothers encouraged school leavers to join the Hibernian Social and Debating Club.<sup>71</sup> Wellington Hibernians were reminded in 1931 that their Society "steps in and carries on the good work started off by the Sisters and Brothers".<sup>72</sup> At the 1923 annual smoke concert of the MBOBA in Christchurch, W.E. Simes urged the establishment of a "social room where healthy recreation could be provided for members" since, "It was essential that the Association should look after the younger players right from the time of their leaving school."<sup>73</sup> In the larger cities, there were hostels where young Catholic women who came to town for employment could live "in a Catholic atmosphere" where they were "immune from the evils which might result from being housed in ordinary accommodation houses."<sup>74</sup>

Another crucial function of Catholic sporting and cultural associations was to bring together young Catholics of marriageable age. Socializing with non-Catholics was

<sup>67</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 28 February 1934, p. 34; 15 August 1934, p. 9; 27 July 1938, p. 46; 12 April 1939, p. 45; cf. 6 January 1932, p. 3 (editorial advocating such a scheme); 20 September 1933, p. 27 (outline of the scheme).

<sup>68</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 5 November 1924, p. 29.

<sup>69</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 30 October 1935, p. 29.

<sup>70</sup> *Month*, 1 July 1933, p. 33 (Auckland Catholic Repertory Society's Reading Circle); *NZ Tablet*, 19 October 1932, p. 43 (St Patrick's Concert and Dramatic Club, Waimate); cf. 14 June 1933, p. 7 (referring to the "Vagabonds' Society", drawn from "the younger set" in St Anne's parish, Newtown).

<sup>71</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 5 February 1930, p. 35.

<sup>72</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 8 April 1931, p. 39. However, the speaker, Brother Dallow, lamented that "the average boy takes a lot of drawing to become a member of our society."

<sup>73</sup> *Press*, 31 October 1923, p. 11; *NZ Tablet*, 15 November 1923, p. 51.

<sup>74</sup> *Month*, 16 April 1929, p. 31 and *NZ Tablet*, 8 May 1929, p. 47; cf. *NZ Tablet*, 2 May 1918, p. 47; 16 May 1918, p. 37; 27 June 1918, p. 25; 1 April 1920, p. 33; 22 April 1920, p. 39; 17 June 1920, p. 22; 3 December 1930, p. 23; *Month*, 21 August 1928, p. 29; *Zealandia*, 28 December 1939, p. 2.

discouraged lest unsuitable marriages should ensue. The sermon outlines for the Auckland diocese in 1932 required priests to preach on the "Qualifications for Marriage" on Sunday 27 November, reminding the congregation of the Church's attitude to mixed marriages and endorsing the maxim "Let Catholics associate with Catholics".<sup>75</sup> Dances were often held under the auspices of Catholic parishes and lay organizations.<sup>76</sup> In September 1925, the newly-formed Gore Catholic Debating Club held a mock banquet, after which "dancing was indulged in until midnight".<sup>77</sup> According to the 1932 annual report of the Auckland Catholic Students' Guild, "a short dance was held regularly after the Friday night meetings".<sup>78</sup> It was observed in 1933 that the weekly Saturday evening dances in St Joseph's Hall, under auspices of Dunedin Catholic Social Club, had been "running for many years", which was taken "as proof of their popularity".<sup>79</sup> On its establishment in 1937, one of the first priorities of St Benedict's Social Club in Auckland was to revive Saturday night dances.<sup>80</sup> Catholic tennis clubs, which held dances and other social functions as well as offering tennis facilities, were particularly suitable venues for meeting prospective marriage partners since they attracted young Catholics of both sexes.<sup>81</sup> In reports on the activities of Catholic tennis clubs, the title "Miss" occurs much more often than "Mrs"; no doubt a similar proportion of the male members were also unmarried.<sup>82</sup> Barnao,

<sup>75</sup> *Course of Catechetical Instructions for the Year 1932, Diocese of Auckland* (Auckland: printed by Dawson Printing Co., 1931), p. 14.

<sup>76</sup> See the reference to new dancing facilities in Invercargill earlier in this section and the discussion of leisure in chapter four.

<sup>77</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 14 October 1925, p. 17.

<sup>78</sup> *Month*, 1 December 1932, p. 12.

<sup>79</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 19 April 1933, p. 45.

<sup>80</sup> *Zealandia*, 11 March 1937, p. 5; 8 April 1937, pp. 5, 7. Presumably earlier St Benedict's clubs had lapsed - cf. *NZ Tablet*, 9 May 1918, p. 21 (annual meeting of the Catholic Club); 17 July 1919, p. 28 (establishment of a Men's Club); 28 April 1921, p. 22 (farewell organized by the Men's and Women's Clubs).

<sup>81</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 5 October 1932, p. 42 (Petone); 19 October 1932, p. 43 (Blenheim); 29 March 1933, p. 43 (Wellington); 24 May 1933, p. 6 (Dunedin); 25 October 1933, p. 7 (Auckland and Kilbirnie); 19 June 1935, p. 7 (Wellington); 30 October 1935, p. 29 (Wellington); 30 October 1935, p. 29 (Wellington); *Month*, 1 July 1932, p. 21 (Christchurch).

<sup>82</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 5 November 1930, p. 33 (Waimate); 5 October 1932, p. 42 (various clubs); 19 October 1932, p. 43 (Blenheim); 27 September 1933, p. 7 (Seatoun); 25 October 1933, p. 7 (Kilbirnie); 19 September 1934, p. 34 (Seatoun); 19 June 1935, p. 7 (WCLTA); 6 February 1935, p. 13 (Watson Shield competition); 30 October 1935, p. 29 (various); 6 November 1935, p. 13 (Wellington); 4 November 1936, p. 11 (Napier); 10 May 1939, p. 8 (Wellington); *Month*, 21 February 1928, p. 37 (Napier); 1 July 1932, p. 21 (Christchurch, Cathedral).

who characterized the 700 members of Catholic tennis clubs in Wellington as "all young people", noted that Catholic tennis had been "an important factor in bringing boys and girls together and thus avoiding the danger of contracting mixed marriages".<sup>83</sup> A 1940 report reflected that, "it has become accepted that there should be a good number of Catholic marriages as a result of each tennis season's activities."<sup>84</sup>

The isolation of young Catholics in particular during at least a part of their leisure time not only reinforced the Catholic worldview and promoted Catholic marriages, but also prepared Catholics for confident participation in the wider, non-Catholic society. Catholic libraries were not established to promote Catholic exclusiveness as an end in itself, nor simply to inculcate Catholic doctrine - although this was important - but primarily to compete with the increasing supply of cheap, salacious literature and Communist writings which Catholics might be tempted to read.<sup>85</sup> When the Left Book Club opened in Dunedin, Catholics were advised to "join a 'right' book club", namely the new Central Catholic Library.<sup>86</sup> By December 1933, the Sacred Heart Library in Timaru had between three and four thousand books, including a high proportion of carefully selected fiction by non-Catholic authors.<sup>87</sup> Charles Dickens was recommended in a *Tablet* editorial as an author who could portray "the seamy side of life without becoming tainted with uncleanness."<sup>88</sup> A. Lysaght SM advised an audience of Hibernians not to limit their reading to Catholic authors or publishers lest they become intellectually isolated and incapable of exercising any influence among non-Catholics.<sup>89</sup> At a time of moral ferment, as Brother Borgia of Sacred Heart College explained, Catholic student guilds were expected to form a nucleus from

<sup>83</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 11 March 1936, pp. 9-10.

<sup>84</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 24 April 1940, p. 32. For similar observations on the Irish Club in Wellington, see *NZ Tablet*, 9 July 1924, p. 25; 8 October 1924, p. 28.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. *NZ Tablet*, 7 May 1930, p. 23; 14 September 1932, p. 3; 26 July 1939, p. 7; *Zealandia*, 21 April 1938, p. 8; 20 July 1939, p. 2.

<sup>86</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 6 April 1938, pp. 5-6; cf. 17 March 1937, p. 4 for an earlier reference to the Communist bookshop.

<sup>87</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 6 December 1933, p. 39; cf. 23 June 1937, p. 5 (the new Dunedin Catholic library would be stocked "chiefly, though not exclusively, with Catholic books"); *Zealandia*, 21 April 1938, p. 8 (Auckland Catholic Library).

<sup>88</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 14 September 1932, p. 3.

<sup>89</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 31 March 1937, p. 6.

which Catholic ideals would be disseminated.<sup>90</sup> As the Rev. C.J. Collins noted, Catholic students were "constantly moving among Protestants, agnostics and unbelievers", read books and journals which were "decidedly non-Catholic" and listened to lectures expounding theories "diametrically opposed to the Church's teaching".<sup>91</sup> In response, the guilds provided a forum for lectures expounding the Catholic perspective on topical and theological issues, often with an apologetic agenda.<sup>92</sup> Addressing members of the Catholic Students' Guild in Wellington, J.A. Higgins SM argued that the "chief aim" of the Guild was "the preservation of the Catholic Faith among Catholic students of the University, and to imbue members with the correct interpretation of the Church's attitude towards the social problems confronting the world to-day." Thus prepared, Catholic students were "able to present the case for Holy Mother Church in the common-room and from the debating platform at Victoria University College, with authority and confidence."<sup>93</sup>

While young Catholic club-members were encouraged to deepen their appreciation of the faith and defend it among non-Catholics, they also broadened their education and prepared to advance in secular callings. Repertory societies, reading circles and debating clubs developed their members' speaking and administrative skills, while promoting a knowledge of the arts and an understanding of current social and political issues. At the inauguration of a reading circle attached to the Basement Library, Eileen Webster explained "that the aims of the group were to raise the standard of Catholic culture in Christchurch and to supply a deficiency in the education of children leaving school by exerting a wise guiding influence on their reading."<sup>94</sup> In an appeal to young Catholics to join the HACBS, they were told that through participating in the Society, they would "acquire a knowledge of business methods and the conduct of public meetings, which, later, may prove very useful".<sup>95</sup> The Hibernian Social and Debating Society in Dunedin was said to be "an intellectual centre for Catholic young

<sup>90</sup> *Month*, 15 November 1922, p. 19; *NZ Tablet*, 9 November 1922, p. 26; cf. *ibid.*, 14 October 1925, p. 19 (O'Shea).

<sup>91</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 1 April 1936, pp. 1-2 and *Zealandia*, 9 April 1936, p. 5; cf. 11 May 1922, p. 14 and *Zealandia*, 14 March 1935, p. 5 for similar comments.

<sup>92</sup> *Month*, 20 October 1925, p. 11; 1 April 1931, p. 23; 1 December 1932, p. 12; *NZ Tablet*, 13 April 1922, pp. 30-31; 10 August 1922, p. 14; 5 October 1922, p. 22; 5 July 1923, p. 26; 18 October 1923, p. 17; 14 October 1925, pp. 17, 19; 10 May 1933, p. 29.

<sup>93</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 18 April 1934, p. 21.

<sup>94</sup> *Zealandia*, 24 August 1939, p. 2 and *NZ Tablet*, 30 August 1939, p. 41.

<sup>95</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 31 August 1927, p. 57.

men".<sup>96</sup> St Patrick's Young Men's Club in Auckland decided in 1939 that each member would conduct the meetings for a month in turn, in order to gain experience useful for "business life later on".<sup>97</sup> The annual conferences of the Federated Catholic Clubs and Societies brought together representatives of affiliated organizations to compete in sporting and public speaking events. It was often observed that the latter provided young men pursuing professional careers with useful education and experience.<sup>98</sup> D.G. Sullivan, Mayor of Christchurch and MP for Avon, told delegates to the 1933 Conference that membership of St Mary's Club "many years ago" had proved "of the utmost value to him".<sup>99</sup> At the 1939 conference in Christchurch, Thomas Hefferman SM emphasized "the value of debating and public speech training as given in the Catholic clubs" and urged young men, if they had the opportunity, to participate in civic or parliamentary affairs.<sup>100</sup>

Charitable activities undertaken by Catholics were also oriented, to a significant extent, towards the wider society beyond the Catholic community. Catholic organizations helped to raise money for non-denominational charities - although they were less likely to contribute officially to specifically Protestant causes. During the Depression, Catholic sewing guilds affiliated to the St Vincent de Paul Society in Wellington contributed to the work of local relief depots organized by inter-church committees. St Joseph's Sewing Guild established a depot for distributing clothing from the Red Cross.<sup>101</sup> In 1932 and 1933, the St Vincent de Paul Society in Christchurch and Timaru shared the proceeds of the annual Charity Ball with the civic relief organizations.<sup>102</sup> Dunedin's Catholic orphanages shared the profits of the annual

<sup>96</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 23 August 1933, p. 3.

<sup>97</sup> *Zealandia*, 2 March 1939, p. 6.

<sup>98</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 1 May 1935, p. 7; 26 February 1936, p. 8; 19 April 1939, p. 7 (Brodie); W.F. Brown (editor), *Federated Catholic Clubs and Societies of New Zealand: Golden Jubilee, 1902-1952*, (Christchurch, printed by Griffin Press, 1952), pp. 7, 33, 36. On the history of the Federation, which, although founded in 1902, was almost defunct during the 1920s but experienced a significant revival during the 1930s, see *ibid.*, pp. 9-13, 27-28.

<sup>99</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 26 April 1933, p. 37. For a similar observation with regard to St Joseph's Men's Club in Dunedin, see *NZ Tablet*, 3 May 1923, p. 30.

<sup>100</sup> *Zealandia*, 20 April 1939, p. 4.

<sup>101</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 5 August 1931, p. 46; *cf. Month*, 1 August 1931, p. 17. For co-operation between the Dannevirke St Vincent de Paul Society and the local relief organization, see *NZ Tablet*, 17 August 1932, p. 27.

<sup>102</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 29 June 1932, p. 35 and 5 July 1933, p. 8 (Christchurch); 21 September 1932, p. 14 and 20 September 1933, p. 7 (Timaru); *Month*, 1 June 1932, p. 32 (Christchurch); 1 December 1932, p. 31 (Timaru); Harper, p. 98.

ball with the Otago Branch of the Crippled Children Society from 1935 to 1937 and with the Plunket Society in the next two years.<sup>103</sup> The Catholic Women's League in Auckland and the Catholic Needlework Guild in Dunedin provided collectors and stallholders to raise funds for the St John Ambulance Association and other charities.<sup>104</sup> During the first year of its existence, the Catholic Women's League in Christchurch assisted such community organizations as the Sanatorium Service Society and the Friends of St Helen's Hospital, and collected money for the King George V Hospital fund and the Red Cross appeal for Spanish children.<sup>105</sup>

Although Catholic charitable institutions catered chiefly for Catholics, it was often emphasized - by members of various denominations - that non-Catholics were also cared for. The Catholic Seamen's Institute in Wellington provided recreational facilities for sailors of all religious affiliations.<sup>106</sup> During the 1918 influenza epidemic, Catholic institutions, such as the Church's schools in Ponsonby and Grey Lynn, were converted into temporary hospitals staffed by nuns.<sup>107</sup> Cleary's contribution was recalled in 1936 by W. Wallace, Chairman of the Auckland Hospital Board, at the opening of the Mater Misericordiae Hospital's new building.<sup>108</sup> That same year, opening St Joseph's Orphanage for girls in Halswell, Brodie explained that "while primarily the orphanage was for Catholic children, children of other denominations could be admitted".<sup>109</sup> At the opening of Dunedin's Mater Misericordiae Hospital, Whyte alluded to the Catholic hospitals in the other main centres and expressed the "fond hope that this hospital may be of similar service to the citizens of Dunedin,

<sup>103</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 3 July 1935, p. 6; 10 July 1935, pp. 3, 6; 23 June 1937, p. 5; 22 June 1938, p. 5; 19 July 1939, p. 5; 26 July 1939, p. 6; *Zealandia*, 1 August 1935, p. 3.

<sup>104</sup> Catholic Women's League and St John Ambulance: *Month*, 1 November 1931, p. 35; 1 December 1932, p. 37; *Zealandia*, 25 October 1934, p. 7; 24 October 1935, p. 7; 18 November 1937, p. 10; 16 November 1939, p. 2. Other charities assisted by the Catholic Women's League: *Month*, 1 September 1933, p. 14 (Society for the Protection of Women and Children, Daffodil Day street stall); *Zealandia*, 7 June 1934, p. 3 (Sunshine Community Association - which, it was noted, benefited many Catholic children); 23 May 1935, p. 5 (SPWC and SCA). Catholic Needlework Guild and St John Ambulance street collection: *NZ Tablet*, 14 December 1938, p. 7; 13 December 1939, p. 6. For earlier evidence of St Vincent de Paul Society women assisting St John Ambulance collections, see *NZ Tablet*, 6 April 1922, p. 27 (Dunedin) and 22 June 1922, p. 22 (Wanganui).

<sup>105</sup> *Zealandia*, 12 August 1937, p. 10 (annual report); cf. 30 December 1937, pp. 3, 6.

<sup>106</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 5 September 1934, p. 8; 3 August 1938, p. 8; 30 August 1939, p. 33; *Zealandia*, 13 September 1934, p. 5.

<sup>107</sup> *Month*, 15 November 1918, p. 15; 14 December 1918, p. 6; 15 February 1919, p. 9.

<sup>108</sup> *Zealandia*, 26 March 1936, p. 3.

<sup>109</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 4 March 1936, p. 9.

Catholics and non-Catholics alike."<sup>110</sup> The long-term goal of these hospitals was to open free public wards for the benefit of the poor and a number of patients were treated at a reduced cost or free of charge.<sup>111</sup> Responding to an inquirer in 1920, O'Shea was able to cite Protestant witnesses, including George Petherick, Chairman of the Wellington Charitable Aid Committee of the Hospital and Charitable Aid Board - and an Orangeman - to the effect that the Catholic orphanage in Upper Hutt - in contrast to institutions managed by other churches - accepted without question children of all denominations.<sup>112</sup> At the opening of a new convent for the sisters who staffed the Home of Compassion in Island Bay, Robert McKeen MP acknowledged that, "No one was asked what their religion was" before admission to the Home and that, "Patients of every creed were ministered to by ministers of their own churches."<sup>113</sup> Indeed, during the second decade of its existence (1918-1927), 47 per cent of the foundlings and chronically ill patients cared for at the Home were non-Catholics.<sup>114</sup>

Since Catholic charitable institutions served the wider community, they often received active support and endorsement from non-Catholics, including ministers, politicians and governors-general. Mayors and mayoresses sometimes attended Catholic Charity Balls at which debutantes were presented to the bishop.<sup>115</sup> In 1925,

- <sup>110</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 12 February 1936, p. 8; *cf. Month*, 15 May 1923, p. 13, 17 March 1925, p. 20 and 20 October 1925, p. 31 on the Little Company of Mary who accepted all denominations in their Lewisham Hospitals.
- <sup>111</sup> *Month*, 20 November 1928, p. 5, 1 November 1930, p. 14 and *NZ Tablet*, 9 December 1925, p. 27 (Mater Misericordiae, Auckland); *NZ Tablet*, 18 April 1934, p. 6 and 7 April 1937, p. 7 (Lewisham Hospital, Wellington); St Joseph's parish notices, 16 June 1938, WCAA (reference to free treatment and reduced costs at Lewisham). The intention of opening free wards seems to have been rendered unnecessary by the passage of the Social Security Act (1938) which provided for universal free hospital treatment.
- <sup>112</sup> *Dominion*, 2 November 1920, p. 10; *cf. NZPD*, 1920, vol. 189, pp. 623-624 (Jennings); *NZ Tablet*, 11 November 1920, p. 19, 21.
- <sup>113</sup> *Evening Post*, 11 September 1930, p. 6; *NZ Tablet*, 17 September 1930, p. 47; *cf. Month*, 14 July 1923, p. 27 (article on the Sisters of Compassion by M. Goulter); 1 December 1931, p. 6 (report on the Home by L.J. Cronin - a Catholic); 1 July 1933, p. 6 and 1 August 1933, p. 34 (St Vincent's Home of Compassion in Auckland); *Zealandia*, 17 August 1939, p. 7 (the same institution's new building in Herne Bay); see also *NZ Tablet*, 8 March 1923, p. 39 for a similar comment on Nazareth House in Christchurch.
- <sup>114</sup> Rafter, pp. 105-106, 199. The proportion of non-Catholics from 1908 to 1917 was 50 per cent; at St Joseph's Home in Buckle Street, nearly 32 per cent of the patients accepted between 1900 and 1932 were non-Catholics (*ibid.*, pp. 85, 190). Originally, Redwood had unsuccessfully opposed Aubert's policy of offering charity to non-Catholics (*ibid.*, pp. 84-85).
- <sup>115</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 1 October 1930, p. 46 (Dunedin); 5 July 1933, p. 8 (Christchurch - whose Mayor, D.G. Sullivan, was a Catholic); *Month*, 1 August 1932, p. 33 (Auckland); 10 May 1939, p. 38 (Wairoa); 28 June 1939, p. 42 (Wellington); 26 July 1939, p. 6 (Dunedin); *Zealandia*, 5 July 1934, p. 5 (Dunedin); 19 July 1934, p. 6 (New Plymouth); 4 July 1935, p. 3 (Auckland); 29 June 1939, p. 3 (Wellington).

Governor-General Sir Charles and Lady Fergusson made an official visit to St Joseph's Home for the Aged and Destitute Poor, run by the Little Sisters of the Poor in Auckland; Lord and Lady Bledisloe visited the O'Connor Home, Westport, run by Sisters of Mercy in 1931.<sup>116</sup> Lady Bledisloe paid an unofficial visit in July 1933 to the rooms of the Catholic Women's League in Auckland to inspect clothing recently sewn for the half-yearly garment appeal.<sup>117</sup> At a public meeting to organize fund-raising to rebuild St Joseph's Orphanage in Takapuna after it burnt down in 1923, the Rev. W.G. Monckton, an Anglican, argued that "the orphanage had a right of appeal on the whole community, as it opened its doors to all irrespective of faith."<sup>118</sup> The following year, the new building, blessed by Archbishop Cattaneo, was opened by the Governor-General, Viscount Jellicoe, in the presence of Mayor Gould, who spoke briefly, and a number of parliamentarians; Liston acknowledged the generous support of members of other denominations.<sup>119</sup> Mayor George Hutchison declared at the opening of St Joseph's Home in Auckland that since it would receive girls of all denominations, the Home was "a community service deserving the warmest civic commendation".<sup>120</sup> The Sisters of Compassion, whose establishments received endorsement from governors-general, politicians and representatives of the medical and nursing professions, depended not only on left-over food from local hotels and shops but also on contributions from the public at large through street appeals and stalls.<sup>121</sup> In 1929,

<sup>116</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 15 April 1925, p. 49; 18 February 1931, p. 33. For background on the O'Connor Home, see *ibid.*, 17 October 1918, p. 19; *Month*, 15 September 1925, p. 20.

<sup>117</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 19 July 1933, p. 2; *Month*, 1 August 1933, p. 17.

<sup>118</sup> *Month*, 15 March 1923, p. 11; cf. 1 December 1930, p. 16 (the orphans were "not necessarily of the Catholic faith").

<sup>119</sup> *Month*, 18 March 1924, p. 53.

<sup>120</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 23 September 1931, p. 43; *Month*, 1 October 1931, pp. 8-9.

<sup>121</sup> For endorsement of the Sisters' work by public figures and others, see *NZ Tablet*, 15 September 1921, pp. 21-22 (public meeting to organize a street collection and other activities); *NZ Tablet*, 25 September 1929, p. 46 (laying the foundation stone for a new convent in Island Bay); *Month*, 17 March 1925, p. 31 (visit to the Home of Compassion by Sir Charles and Lady Fergusson); *NZ Tablet*, 17 September 1930, p. 46 and *Month*, 1 October 1930, p. 40 (opening the convent); *NZ Tablet*, 1 March 1933, p. 6 and *Month*, 1 March 1933, p. 6 (laying the foundation of the new Home in Silverstream); *NZ Tablet*, 22 November 1933, pp. 7, 27 (opening of the Home); *NZ Tablet*, 23 August 1933, p. 2 and *Month*, 1 September 1933, p. 14 (opening of St Vincent's Home of Compassion in Auckland). For other references to street appeals and stalls, see *NZ Tablet*, 12 February 1930, p. 47; 7 February 1934, p. 38; 10 May 1939, p. 7; *Month*, 21 February 1928, p. 37; 18 February 1930, p. 29. On the collection of food, see Rafter, pp. 75-76.

when Fergusson opened the new Lewisham Sisters' Hospital in Wellington, Prime Minister Ward, Health Minister A.J. Stallworthy and other leading politicians, including J.G. Coates and H.E. Holland, as well as Mayor G.A. Troupe were present.<sup>122</sup> When a new convent was opened in 1926 for the Good Shepherd Sisters who managed the Mount Magdala Asylum, the Mayors of Christchurch (the Rev. J.K. Archer and Mrs Archer), Riccarton (H.S.S. Kyle MP) and Lyttelton (F.E. Sutton), along with D. Buddo MP and the Christchurch Town Clerk (J.S. Neville and Mrs Neville) were on the platform. O'Shea and Whyte acknowledged the support received from the public, including non-Catholics.<sup>123</sup> During the centenary celebrations of the Little Sisters of the Poor, residents of their two Homes (who included non-Catholics) were served by the Mayors and the Catholic Bishops - A.H. Allen with Whyte in Dunedin and Sir Ernest Davis with Liston in Auckland.<sup>124</sup>

Non-Catholic interest in, and endorsement of, Catholic activities and institutions was not limited to those which offered direct material benefit to non-Catholics. The queen carnival to raise funds for the Matamata presbytery in 1923 was given generous support by local Protestants, and the popular girl competitions held in 1927 and 1929, for the parish debt and building fund, were both won by a non-Catholic.<sup>125</sup> A queen carnival organized by the Catholics of Marton and surrounding towns in 1935 drew active support from the Mayor F. Purnell (who opened the carnival) and other non-Catholics.<sup>126</sup> Performances by Catholic dramatic societies were not staged simply for

<sup>122</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 28 August 1929, pp. 46-47; *Month*, 17 September 1929, p. 33. Troupe's predecessor C.J.B. Norwood had laid the foundation stone (*Month*, 19 April 1927, p. 41) and the Mayoress Mrs Norwood had opened a bazaar in aid of the projected hospital (*Month*, 20 October 1925, p. 21).

<sup>123</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 28 April 1926, pp. 29-31. For references to the admission of non-Catholics to the institution, see the discussion of crime in chapter one.

<sup>124</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 13 September 1939, pp. 7-8; 5 October 1939, p. 2. The old custom of having prominent persons serve the residents on special occasions had been revived recently (*Zealandia*, 8 April 1937, p. 5 - referring to Whyte and the clergy at the Dunedin Home).

<sup>125</sup> D.V. Silk, *Growth of the Catholic Church in Matamata District, 1840-1959* (Matamata: printed by Tainui Press, 1959), no pagination.

<sup>126</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 13 November 1935, pp. 7; 1 January 1936, pp. 6, 9. For references to elected dignitaries opening bazaars in other towns, see *NZ Tablet*, 10 June 1920, p. 22 (Hokitika, Mayor Perry); 7 October 1920, p. 23 (Milton, Mayor A. Rennie); 20 November 1935, p. 33 (Taumaranui, F. Langstone MP); *Month*, 16 June 1925, p. 22 (Tuakau, W.J. Taylor, Chairman of the Town Board); 15 September 1925, p. 21 (Dunedin, Deputy-Mayor W.B. Taverner); 15 November 1925, p. 22 (Blenheim, Mayor M. McKenzie); 5 July 1930, p. 35 (Timaru, Mayor Wangland and Clyde Carr MP); *Zealandia*, 22 October 1936, p. 5 (Dunedin, Mayor E.T. Cox).

Catholic audiences: for example, *Mary Rose* was well publicized in the *Herald*.<sup>127</sup> Mervale's comments on wholesome entertainment were endorsed by Bledisloe, who was in the audience.<sup>128</sup> Delegates to the triennial (later annual) movable conferences of the HACBS were sometimes accorded civic receptions, as were representatives of the South Island Catholic clubs who met annually for public speaking and sports competitions.<sup>129</sup> The Rev. Clyde Carr MP judged the Federated Catholic Clubs and Societies' impromptu speech competition in Timaru in 1931.<sup>130</sup> Seven years later, the Federated Catholic Clubs' debate in Invercargill, on the relative merits of dictatorship and democracy, was broadcast on Station 4XY.<sup>131</sup> A debate between St Mary's College and St Mary's Old Boys' Club in 1933 (on the question: "Are books greater means of obtaining knowledge than travel?") was adjudicated by N.R. McMurtry, President of the Blenheim Literary and Debating Society.<sup>132</sup>

Catholic charitable organizations and institutions typically had good relations with their non-Catholic equivalents.<sup>133</sup> In 1936, the Auckland and Christchurch branches of the Catholic Women's League entertained delegates from other women's associations at gatherings to promote friendship and to discuss their respective objectives. Some denominational groups were included and about thirty-five organizations were represented in Christchurch alone.<sup>134</sup> The authorities of St George's Hospital and

<sup>127</sup> *NZ Herald*, 20 July 1933, p. 16 (entertainment page); 21 July 1933, p. 3 (women's page), p. 12 (review), p. 18 (advertisement); 22 July 1933, p. 9 (entertainment page). Since the *Herald's* review was reprinted without acknowledgement as part of a longer article in the *Month* (1 August 1933, p. 15), it may have been written by the same contributor.

<sup>128</sup> *Month*, 1 August 1933, p. 15; *NZ Tablet*, 26 July 1933, p. 7.

<sup>129</sup> HACBS: *NZ Tablet*, 14 April 1921, p. 32 and 21 April 1921, p. 39 (Christchurch); *Month*, 17 June 1924, p. 27 and *NZ Tablet*, 29 May 1924, p. 41 (Westport); *NZ Tablet*, 4 May 1932, p. 12 (Wanganui); 12 June 1935, p. 11 (Timaru). Federated Catholic Clubs and Societies: *NZ Tablet*, 15 April 1931, p. 44 (Timaru); 6 April 1932, p. 42 (Christchurch, whose Mayor, D.G. Sullivan, was a Catholic); 11 April 1934, p. 20 (Waimate); 1 May 1935, p. 7 (Greymouth); 15 April 1936, p. 8 (Dunedin); 4 May 1938, p. 23 (Invercargill); *Zealandia*, 23 April 1936, p. 5 (Dunedin).

<sup>130</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 22 April 1931, p. 44.

<sup>131</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 4 May 1938, p. 23.

<sup>132</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 24 August 1932, p. 13.

<sup>133</sup> The refusal of the administrators of the United Protestant Orphan Homes Appeal to give Auckland Catholic orphanages a share of the money they raised in 1921 can be contrasted with Brodie's 1935 offer to forgo any Catholic claim on the United Orphanages Appeal on the grounds that the people of Christchurch had already given generously to Catholic institutions (*NZ Tablet*, 8 December 1921, pp. 15, 37; *Month*, 15 December 1921, p. 8; *Press*, 6 August 1935, p. 6).

<sup>134</sup> *Zealandia*, 13 August 1936, p. 7; 31 December 1936, p. 7; Josephine van Montfort, *Let Your Light Shine: Catholic Women's League, Diocese of Christchurch, 1936-1986* (Christchurch: Catholic Women's League, 1986), p. 21. It seems to have been as a result of this gathering that the Christchurch CWL was affiliated to the National Council of Women (*ibid.*, and see below). In

Commissioner Cunningham of the Salvation Army joined with the Mater Hospital in Auckland to lobby for the Nurses and Midwives Registration Amendment Act (1930) which allowed nurses to train in private hospitals.<sup>135</sup> Among those present at the opening of St Joseph's Orphanage, Halswell, in February 1936 were representatives of similar Anglican, Presbyterian and Methodist institutions.<sup>136</sup> The opening of the Good Shepherd Sisters' new Home in Auckland in 1931 was attended not only by civic leaders and politicians but also by representatives of the medical profession, the Society for the Protection of Women and Children and the Salvation Army.<sup>137</sup> At the 1939 opening of the new St Vincent's Home for unmarried mothers and their infants in Herne Bay (by Health Minister Fraser, in the absence of Prime Minister Savage, who was too ill to attend), there were present representatives not only of the civic and educational authorities, but also of the British Medical Association, the Hospital Board, and the Plunket Society. Monsignor Holbrook paid tribute to the efforts of other agencies undertaking similar work, notably the Salvation Army's Bethany Home and St Mary's Home in Otahuhu.<sup>138</sup>

Some Catholic organizations were linked with non-Catholic parallel associations through umbrella agencies, which encouraged interaction. Both branches of the Catholic Women's League (whose activities were primarily but not exclusively charitable), as well as the Catholic Needlework Guild in Dunedin (which had twelve branches and whose activities were more extensive than its name implies) were represented in the National Council of Women during the 1930s.<sup>139</sup> Like similar non-Catholic societies, the Hibernians were registered under the Friendly Societies' Act

(Footnote continued from previous page.)

Auckland, the League had held a similar gathering soon after its inauguration in 1931 (*Month*, 1 November 1931, p. 35).

<sup>135</sup> *Month*, 1 November 1930, p. 19.

<sup>136</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 4 March 1936, p. 9; *Zealandia*, 27 February 1936, p. 5.

<sup>137</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 23 September 1931, pp. 42-44; *Month*, 1 October 1931, pp. 8-10.

<sup>138</sup> *Zealandia*, 17 August 1939, p. 7.

<sup>139</sup> Catholic Women's League (Auckland branch unless otherwise stated): *Zealandia*, 7 June 1934, p. 3; 12 March 1936, p. 7; 12 August 1937, p. 10 (Christchurch branch); 28 October 1937, p. 10; 5 March 1938, p. 22 (both branches); *NZ Herald*, 28 September 1937, p. 3; *NZ Tablet*, 27 October 1937, p. 27. Needlework Guild: *NZ Tablet*, 1 December 1937, p. 8; 14 December 1938, p. 7; 13 December 1939, p. 6; *Zealandia*, 9 December 1937, p. 9. For the background of the Guild, see *NZ Tablet*, 4 July 1934. The Women's Particular Council of the St Vincent de Paul Society in Auckland also appointed delegates to the NCW and other organizations (*Zealandia*, 16 March 1939, p. 2).

and subject to the regulations promulgated by the Registrar of Friendly Societies.<sup>140</sup> Representatives of these other societies regularly attended social functions held by the Hibernians, such as jubilee celebrations, where they responded to the toast to "kindred societies".<sup>141</sup> The HACBS was affiliated to the United Friendly Societies, to which delegates were appointed, and which managed a chain of dispensaries.<sup>142</sup> J.J. Marlow, the St Joseph's Branch delegate, was re-elected for a second term as President of the Dunedin United Friendly Societies' Council in 1931.<sup>143</sup> Catholic Scouting adopted the aims of the Scouting movement in general, notably promoting the qualities of "good citizenship among boys".<sup>144</sup> While restricted to Catholic boys and girls, the establishment of Catholic Scouting and Guiding was undertaken in close conjunction with the appropriate authorities in the wider movement.<sup>145</sup> In 1935, some 270 Wellington Catholic Cubs and Scouts attended the reception given to Chief Scout Lord Baden-Powell at the Basin Reserve.<sup>146</sup> Daniel Boyle, the Catholic Commissioner for Scouting, was appointed Dominion Headquarters Commissioner for Kindred Societies

<sup>140</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 23 May 1918, p. 4; 5 February 1920, p. 4; 6 April 1927, p. 57; 31 August 1927, p. 57.

<sup>141</sup> *Month*, 15 August 1923, p. 17 (Auckland); 17 March 1925, p. 21 (Hokitika); *Zealandia*, 21 May 1936, p. 5 (New Plymouth); 22 July 1937, p. 2 (Manaiia); 1 September 1938, p. 8 (Masterton); *NZ Tablet*, 29 July 1920, p. 35 (Westport); 23 September 1920, p. 39 (Wanganui); 20 September 1923, pp. 23, 25 (Christchurch); 3 March 1926, p. 41 (Blenheim); 4 July 1928, p. 39 (Hawera); 8 April 1931, p. 39 (Dunedin); 4 May 1932, p. 15 (Wanganui); 24 May 1933, p. 6 (Timaru); 12 June 1935, p. 11; 6 December 1939, pp. 6-7 (Greymouth); cf. *NZ Tablet*, 6 April 1927, p. 57 for a reference to a Hibernian representative sent to a Druid function.

<sup>142</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 1 August 1918, p. 9 (Wellington); 30 January 1919, p. 17 (Christchurch); 3 July 1919, p. 21 (St Patrick's, Christchurch); 13 May 1920, p. 27 (St Joseph's, Dunedin); (22 June 1922, p. 11 (Hawera); 17 December 1924, p. 35 (Waimate and St Joseph's, Dunedin); 2 April 1930, p. 52 (Dunedin); 11 May 1932, p. 13 (Wellington); 7 February 1934, p. 38 (St Joseph's, Hastings); *Month*, 15 February 1927, p. 26 (Auckland).

<sup>143</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 8 April 1931, p. 39; cf. 3 April 1919, p. 43 (A. McWilliams elected Chairman of the Board of the UFS dispensary in Wanganui); *Month*, 17 September 1929, p. 33 (J. Batchelor was President of the UFS Council in Timaru).

<sup>144</sup> *Month*, 1 November 1932, p. 38; cf. *NZ Tablet*, 8 June 1938, pp. 24-26.

<sup>145</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 23 November 1932, p. 7 (Dunedin); 16 August 1933, p. 19 (Christchurch); 23 August 1933, p. 7 (Wellington); 8 November 1933, p. 7 (Guides in Dunedin); *Month*, 1 September 1933, pp. 25-26 (Wellington); *Zealandia*, 2 August 1934, p. 8 (Auckland); 27 September 1934, p. 5 (Nelson); 23 May 1935, p. 2 (Wanganui). All but one of these references concern Scouting; for the restriction, see *Month*, 1 September 1933, p. 25 (Auckland Scouts). According to Bernard Ryan (in M. King, editor, *One of the Boys? Changing Views of Masculinity in New Zealand*, Auckland: Heinemann Publishers, 1988, p. 41), Scouting took him and other Catholics out of the "Catholic ghetto" and enabled him to make Protestant friends. Evidently the isolation implied by the term "ghetto" was an exaggeration.

<sup>146</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 13 March 1935, p. 7.

in 1938.<sup>147</sup>

The Catholic Big Brother Movement, founded by the Rev. John J. Bradley in Auckland in 1923, offers another illustration of the way in which Catholics could maintain their distinct religious identity while working in parallel with comparable non-Catholic agencies.<sup>148</sup> Organized as a supplement to YMCA's Big Brothers, the Catholic Big Brothers were influenced by the similarly named organization in Chicago.<sup>149</sup> At their first annual meeting, in February 1924, there were thirty Brothers present as well as several clergy, Mr Brasted, secretary to the YMCA Big Brothers and Mr Cupit, a Probation Officer.<sup>150</sup> Four months later, the two branches of the movement held a joint conference.<sup>151</sup> The Big Brothers helped Child Welfare Officers in supervising juvenile delinquents (or potential delinquents) who were permitted - pending satisfactory behaviour - to remain at home or with relatives.<sup>152</sup> "Little Brothers" were committed to the care of Big Brothers, instead of Probation Officers, by the Children's Court.<sup>153</sup> Catholic farmers and others were asked to give accommodation or employment to boys for whom a change of environment might keep them out of trouble.<sup>154</sup> By March 1928, some 225 delinquents had been "set on the path of rectitude" - although five others had lapsed.<sup>155</sup> While the main Protestant

<sup>147</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 9 February 1938, p. 8; cf. 9 October 1935, p. 11 and *Zealandia*, 22 November 1934, p. 5. The appointment evidently followed the transfer of the Scouting headquarters to Wellington in 1937 (cf. S.G. Culliford, pp. 90, 96).

<sup>148</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 27 September 1923, p. 28; *Month*, 19 February 1924, p. 34. For an allusion to the Big Sister movement, which received no coverage in the Catholic press, see *Month*, 1 September 1931, p. 10 and *NZ Tablet*, 9 September 1931, p. 54 (report on the inauguration of the Catholic Women's League).

<sup>149</sup> *Month*, 20 March 1928, p. 19 ("What is done elsewhere can be done here"); cf. 17 May 1927, p. 7 and 21 February 1928, pp. 17, 19. In Chicago, the Big Brothers were closely associated with the Holy Name Society and, once the Society was established in Auckland, most of the Big Brothers were drawn from it (*Month*, 1 January 1931, p. 20).

<sup>150</sup> *Month*, 19 February 1924, p. 34. The movement was inaugurated at St Patrick's Cathedral, by the Rev. John Bradley in August or September 1923 (*Month*, 15 September 1923, p. 19).

<sup>151</sup> *Month*, 15 July 1924, p. 17.

<sup>152</sup> Department of Child Welfare, annual report, *AJHR*, 1927, E.-4, p. 4. Many of the boys helped by the Catholic Big Brothers were orphans (*Month*, 19 February 1924, p. 34).

<sup>153</sup> *Month*, 20 September 1927, p. 7.

<sup>154</sup> *Month*, 15 April 1924, p. 14; 20 May 1924, p. 17; 20 September 1927, p. 7; 20 March 1928, p. 19.

<sup>155</sup> *Month*, 20 March 1928, p. 19. The number of Big Brothers was evidently not large: in May 1927, 48 Little Brothers were being supervised while many Big Brothers cared for three or four boys (*Month*, 17 May 1927, p. 7).

churches were represented through the YMCA, Catholics felt it necessary to become directly involved rather than leave to a Protestant agency the task of guiding young Catholics. As mentors to their young charges, the Catholic Big Brothers encouraged them to join Catholic rather than non-Catholic clubs and to participate in wholesome pursuits (a reading room and gymnasium were established). They also offered religious instruction and encouraged attendance at Mass and Communion.<sup>156</sup> Liston regarded "the spiritual needs" of the boys as the first concern of the Big Brothers.<sup>157</sup> Whole families were said to have been encouraged to resume the practice of the faith through the rehabilitation of the young delinquent.<sup>158</sup> In its 1927 report, the Department of Child Welfare expressed gratitude to Bradley and Archdeacon Holbrook for the support they had given to the scheme.<sup>159</sup> Similar sentiments were expressed by the Catholic representative at a 1931 meeting.<sup>160</sup> The 1927 report, like the Big Brothers themselves, expressed the hope that the Catholic Big Brother Movement would spread beyond Auckland.<sup>161</sup> Although this does not appear to have occurred, the Child Welfare Branch of the Education Department in Auckland continued to be assisted by both the Catholic and YMCA branches of the Big Brothers.<sup>162</sup>

Cultural and sporting clubs, whether based on schools, churches or other local communities, were usually linked through umbrella associations which arranged inter-club competitions. Such contests were the most common form of interaction between Catholic and parallel non-Catholic organizations. In many towns, the Hibernians and other friendly societies held regular card tournaments.<sup>163</sup> The Timaru Catholic Dramatic club was a regular competitor in the South Canterbury Drama League's

<sup>156</sup> *Month*, 19 February 1924, p. 34; 20 September 1927, p. 7; 15 November 1927, p. 23; 1 August 1931, p. 21.

<sup>157</sup> *Month*, 1 January 1931, p. 20.

<sup>158</sup> *Month*, 20 March 1928, p. 19.

<sup>159</sup> *AJHR*, 1927, E.-4, p. 5. The compliment was quoted by the *Month*'s Auckland correspondent (*Month*, 18 October 1927, p. 30).

<sup>160</sup> *Month*, 1 January 1931, p. 20.

<sup>161</sup> *AJHR*, 1927, E.-4, p. 4; *Month*, 19 May 1925, p. 13; 18 October 1927, p. 30.

<sup>162</sup> Department of Education, annual report for 1936, *AJHR*, 1937-1938, vol. II, E.-1, p. 7.

<sup>163</sup> P.P. Cahill SM, *St Joseph's Parish, Temuka, South Canterbury, 1876-1951* (Dunedin: NZ Tablet Co., 1951), pp. 48-49; *NZ Tablet*, 14 August 1919, p. 33 (Napier); 28 August 1919, p. 22 (Gore); 1 June 1922, p. 27 (Timaru); *Month*, 21 October 1924, p. 21 (Timaru); 21 July 1925, pp. 22 (Masterton); 17 September 1929, p. 33 (Timaru).

annual festivals.<sup>164</sup> St Mary's Literary and Debating Society hosted the Christchurch Federated Debating and Public Speaking Classes' 1935 annual competition. As well as three Catholic organizations, the WEA, the RSA, the YMCA and Technical Old Boys were represented.<sup>165</sup> In 1933 and subsequent years, the band of St Joseph's Orphanage, Waverley, competed with some success in the Otago-Southland District Band Contest.<sup>166</sup> Under the auspices of the Wellington Union of Public Speaking Societies in 1936, the Marist Brothers' Old Boys' Debating Club and the Woburn Debating Club considered whether the abolition of private capital would solve contemporary economic evils.<sup>167</sup> The many Catholic schools naturally organized their own sports competitions and in Auckland a Catholic Schools Basketball Association was formed in 1932 by Father Francis Terry and the head teachers of twenty-two city and suburban schools.<sup>168</sup> However, the leading team, seeking more challenging opponents, also entered the public competitions during the mid-1930s.<sup>169</sup> Moreover, there was also a Catholic Basketball Association, for players who had left school, as well as a Referees' Association: both were affiliated to the Auckland Basketball Association and the New Zealand Basketball Association.<sup>170</sup> Most inter-school games involving Catholic teams, like games representing Catholic parishes and former pupils' associations, seem to have been played against non-Catholic teams.<sup>171</sup> As soon as its roll was large enough to fill teams, St Bede's College, which opened in 1911, entered the local secondary schools' sports competitions: soccer, athletics and cricket in 1913, rugby in 1919.<sup>172</sup> The Children of Mary Sodality at St Joseph's Parish formed a

<sup>164</sup> Harper, pp. 96-97; *Month*, 17 September 1929, p. 33; *Zealandia*, 21 June 1934, p. 6; 30 August 1934, p. 5; *NZ Tablet*, 15 October 1930, p. 33; 12 October 1938, p. 41; cf. 4 October 1933, p. 21 (St Patrick's Dramatic Club, Waimate, in the same competition).

<sup>165</sup> *Zealandia*, 12 September 1935, p. 3; *NZ Tablet*, 18 September 1935, p. 7; cf. *Zealandia*, 24 August 1939, p. 2 for competitors in another year.

<sup>166</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 1 March 1933, p. 7; 15 November 1933, p. 7; 16 May 1934, p. 11; 9 June 1937, p. 7.

<sup>167</sup> *Zealandia*, 27 August 1936, p. 3; for another debate between these two clubs, see 14 October 1937, p. 4.

<sup>168</sup> *Month*, 1 December 1932, p. 14.

<sup>169</sup> Nora Felton, interview, 24 October 1991.

<sup>170</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 8 April 1936, p. 29.

<sup>171</sup> For a random selection of rugby games played by teams from St Kevin's College, Oamaru, see *NZ Tablet*, 14 June 1933, p. 7 (Palmerston District High School); 2 May 1934, p. 6 (Waitaki Old Boys); 24 June 1935, p. 36 (McGlashan College); 15 July 1936, p. 36 (Athletic); 7 July 1937, p. 43 (King's High School).

<sup>172</sup> John P.J. Twomey, editor, *St Bede's College, 1911-1986, 75th Jubilee* (75th Jubilee Committee, 1986), pp. 20, 27-28, 30, 32-34, 284.

basketball team in 1933 which entered the Wellington basketball competition.<sup>173</sup> At the inaugural meeting of St Patrick's Table Tennis Club, South Dunedin, in 1933, the President of the Table Tennis Association, Mr Mollison, congratulated the new Club on entering two teams in the competition.<sup>174</sup>

Many Catholic tennis clubs, especially in the South Island, were affiliated to provincial associations and sent delegates to them.<sup>175</sup> In Christchurch, at the Cathedral Tennis Club's 1932 annual dance, the Secretary of the Canterbury Lawn Tennis Association, R. Browning, presented the senior team with the shield it had won in the inter-club competition for the fourth year in succession.<sup>176</sup> When the New Zealand Catholic Lawn Tennis Association was formed by the Auckland and Wellington Catholic Tennis Associations in 1930, it sought to affiliate with the New Zealand Lawn Tennis Association so that Catholic clubs affiliated to the NZLTA would be allowed to compete against Catholic clubs belonging to the NZCLTA. The request was initially declined and in subsequent negotiations the two bodies failed to negotiate mutually acceptable terms. Catholic clubs were therefore forced to choose between their local associations and the NZCLTA, which was thereby prevented from becoming a national body uniting all Catholic clubs.<sup>177</sup>

While Catholic lay organizations strove to be accepted by similar non-Catholic organizations, most individual Catholics showed little commitment to denominational associations. It was a common lament that many Catholics did not support their clubs and even joined alternative non-Catholic associations. Despite his enthusiasm about the participation in Catholic organizations, of "some hundreds of young people", mostly under the age of thirty, Barnao acknowledged that there were "many who are not attached to any organisation" and "also many young Catholics taking part in non-Catholic youth movements".<sup>178</sup> Presenting the Bishop Whyte Shield to the Nga Maara

<sup>173</sup> *Catholic News*, July 1933, p. 2; August 1933, p. 5.

<sup>174</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 31 May 1933, p. 33; cf. *Zealandia*, 5 July 1934, p. 5 and 1 July 1937, p. 7 for Catholic table tennis teams which competed with other clubs in Hamilton.

<sup>175</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 24 September 1930, p. 43 (St Mary's, Kaikorai: Otago Lawn Tennis Association); 5 October 1932, p. 42 (St Mary's, Invercargill: Southland LTA); 30 October 1935, p. 29 (Waimate: Waihao Sub-Association); 4 November 1936, p. 11 (Napier: Hawke's Bay LTA); cf. 19 April 1933, p. 45 (St Patrick's Basketball Club, Gore, appointed a delegate to the local sub-union).

<sup>176</sup> *Month*, 1 July 1932, p. 21; cf. *Zealandia*, 5 July 1934, p. 7 for a similar event in Blenheim.

<sup>177</sup> *Holy Name Annual*, December 1931, p. 49; December 1932, p. 56; *NZ Tablet*, 30 July 1930, p. 45; 9 November 1932, p. 31.

<sup>178</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 11 March 1936, pp. 9, 11.

team at the end of the tennis season in 1933, Father D.P. Buckley expressed regret that "there were so many Catholic players in Dunedin who thought it beneath their dignity to play for a Catholic club."<sup>179</sup> In 1936, it was noted that the membership of the Timaru Catholic Club had been declining for several years.<sup>180</sup> Meanwhile, active support for St Columba's Catholic Club in Greymouth was limited to "members of the executive and a few stalwarts"; an extraordinary general meeting was called to overhaul the club.<sup>181</sup> Two years later, a motion to wind up the Club was withdrawn amidst renewed resolutions to revive it.<sup>182</sup> Initial efforts to extend the Federated Catholic Clubs and Societies to the North Island were characterized as "most disappointing".<sup>183</sup> The fifth North Island conference in 1939 attracted only ten clubs - from Wellington, Masterton, Hastings and Napier (where the conference was held).<sup>184</sup> Most Catholic clubs were maintained by the efforts of a small minority who lamented the lack of interest among their co-religionists: "A few moving spirits are all too frequently left to do the bulk of the work and carry the banner for those who take all and give nothing."<sup>185</sup>

The limitations of the Church's efforts to enrol its members in denominational organizations can be illustrated by the HACBS. Hibernians were expected to be "practical Catholics" who were "obedient to the commandments of God and the precepts of the Church, and compliant with the instructions and advice of its prelates and pastors".<sup>186</sup> It was often emphasized that the Society offered not only material benefits at least as good as those of any comparable organization but also spiritual

<sup>179</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 24 May 1933, p. 6; cf. 18 January 1933, p. 43 for an earlier reference to the Shield.

<sup>180</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 6 May 1936, p. 23.

<sup>181</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 2 September 1936, p. 34; *Zealandia*, 10 September 1936, p. 3; cf. *NZ Tablet*, 20 March 1931, p. 46 (attendance at meetings of the St Columba Literary and Debating Club in Greymouth "had not been large").

<sup>182</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 20 July 1938, p. 46.

<sup>183</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 18 April 1934, p. 9; *Zealandia*, 16 August 1934, p. 5. The Masterton Catholic Club was usually the only North Island Club to participate in the Easter competitions, which were normally held in the South Island (see, for example, *NZ Tablet*, 11 April 1934, p. 20).

<sup>184</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 26 April 1939, p. 7; *Zealandia*, 13 May 1939, p. 3. There were evidently seventeen affiliated clubs in the North Island but they did not all send representatives (*Zealandia*, 20 April 1939, p. 4).

<sup>185</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 7 February 1934, p. 3.

<sup>186</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 2 November 1932, p. 39; 26 July 1933, p. 29; 23 August 1933, p. 3 (includes the quotation).

advantages which could not found in secular societies.<sup>187</sup> Hibernians could gain a plenary indulgence four times a year by participating in the quarterly General Communion.<sup>188</sup> Father Sweeney of Westport believed that "many souls were saved through membership in the society, that would otherwise be lost".<sup>189</sup> It was therefore a source of concern in some quarters that so few Catholics belonged to the Society. Whyte lamented in 1922 that many young Catholic men deprived themselves of the spiritual assistance and moral guidance available through the Hibernians by joining other benefit societies.<sup>190</sup> A correspondent to the *Tablet* complained that, in his district, "large numbers of our men, young and old, belong to the Oddfellows."<sup>191</sup> Encouraged by O'Shea, the Hibernians adopted in 1934 a five-year plan to increase their membership from about 4,000 to 10,000.<sup>192</sup> By the end of this period, however, the total membership of the New Zealand District of the Society was only around 5,000, while the Northern District, formed in 1934, had about 400 members.<sup>193</sup> The break-away of ten Auckland branches that year - for reasons not made clear in public - had been opposed by the Society as a whole and by the bishops, who declared that members of the new organization would not be entitled the spiritual benefits offered to members of an ecclesiastically approved society. The New Zealand District continued to function in Auckland but the Supreme Court recognized the new District and apportioned it a share of the Society's accumulated funds.<sup>194</sup> Evidently the seceding members considered participation in an officially recognized Catholic society as of little account. The overwhelming majority of Catholic men, whether they belonged to some other benefit society or not, apparently agreed.

However extensive they were, Catholic organizations and Church-sponsored activities could not isolate the laity from interaction with non-Catholics; nor was this

<sup>187</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 23 December 1920, p. 27; 4 July 1928, p. 39; 8 April 1931, p. 39; 4 May 1932, p. 3; 28 December 1932, p. 2; 24 June 1936, p. 13; *Zealandia*, 21 June 1934, p. 4; 2 August 1934, p. 9.

<sup>188</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 2 November 1932, p. 39.

<sup>189</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 29 May 1924, p. 33.

<sup>190</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 23 March 1922, p. 19.

<sup>191</sup> "Pater Familias" to the editor, *NZ Tablet*, 6 March 1929, pp. 43-44.

<sup>192</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 13 June 1934, p. 34; 12 June 1935, p. 11; 24 June 1936, p. 13.

<sup>193</sup> Membership figures were published in the annual reports on Friendly Societies and Trade Unions (*AJHR*, 1939, vol. III, H.-1, pp. 27-28; 1940, vol. II, H.-1, p. 10).

<sup>194</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 26 October 1932, pp. 14, 31; 24 June 1936, p. 13; *Zealandia*, 21 June 1934, p. 4; 11 October 1934, p. 4; 28 February 1935, p. 5; 28 February 1935, p. 5.

necessarily considered a desirable end in itself. Since Catholics did not live in exclusively Catholic areas or work in exclusively Catholic places of employment, they inevitably came into daily contact with non-Catholics. A contributor to the *Tablet*, expressing "concern and disappointment" that many Catholic basketball players in Auckland preferred to play for non-Catholic teams, rather than those of the Catholic Basketball Association, had to acknowledge that a number of young women worked for business houses which sponsored their own teams.<sup>195</sup> Even groups organized by the Church were not exclusively Catholic. The Gore Celtic Dramatic Society included a "number of members of different denominations".<sup>196</sup> A report on the Auckland Catholic Repertory Society suggested that it would be consistent with the principles of Catholic Action to encourage non-Catholics to join the Society.<sup>197</sup> In 1936, a Catholic Pastimes Club was established in Wellington "to provide social relaxation in a Catholic atmosphere for Catholic young men and particularly for those who are boarding in the city." At its inaugural meeting, H. Mulholland, the President, offered a special welcome to the members' non-Catholic friends.<sup>198</sup> During the 1939 "Communion Rally" of the MBOBA in Gisborne, there were "several non-Catholic members of the various teams present at the Mass".<sup>199</sup> A contributor to the *Tablet* in 1938 noted that young Catholics often patronized dances "where the atmosphere is anything but Catholic", in part because even on church premises "others may come to dance (and do other things, such as cocktail drinking etc.)". Moreover, young Catholics often played "billiards, cards and other games...in a wholly non-Catholic environment" which encouraged vices and "leakage from the Church".<sup>200</sup> The point of the article - which discussed extensive parish organizations in Scotland - was to argue the case for yet more facilities for young Catholics. It was admitted, in other words, that the existing clubs and organizations had only limited success in shielding them from secular influences.

Catholic identity was sustained to a considerable degree by a profusion of organizations and institutions with charitable, welfare, cultural and sporting interests.

<sup>195</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 8 April 1936, p. 29.

<sup>196</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 28 October 1920, p. 23.

<sup>197</sup> *Month*, 1 March 1933, p. 33. For a discussion of Catholic Action, see chapter two above.

<sup>198</sup> *Zealandia*, 22 October 1936, p. 4; *NZ Tablet*, 4 November 1936, p. 27.

<sup>199</sup> *Zealandia*, 20 July 1939, p. 3.

<sup>200</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 6 July 1938, p. 9.

To the extent that they competed with non-Catholic groups by duplicating their facilities and activities, these Catholic parallel organizations resembled the elements of Catholic pillars or ghettos built up in other parts of the world. However, the Catholic population of New Zealand was too small to be self-sufficient; nor did it experience the sustained antagonism on the part of Protestants or anti-clericalists which promoted Catholics to become more insular in some countries.<sup>201</sup> There were no Catholic trade unions or political parties. As members of a minority group with a distinctive worldview, individual Catholics were liable to be overwhelmed by a more widely accepted Protestant or secular outlook. Catholic organizations and institutions were therefore established as havens in which Catholic values and practices were taken for granted and reinforced. If they could be persuaded to spend at least some time in such environments, Catholics would be more likely to remain committed to their religion. At the same time, the Catholic community sought acceptance within rather than isolation from the wider society. A 1935 Catholic Women's League report noted that, "The League is being more widely understood and appreciated by the community - both Catholic and non-Catholic."<sup>202</sup> Catholic charities, cultural groups and sports clubs were indeed respected by the rest of the population, not least because they excelled at the very activities endorsed by other religious and secular interests. In a society which demanded a high degree of conformity, however, there sometimes arose conflicts over Catholic efforts to combine a distinct religious identity with full participation in secular activities, notably sport.

<sup>201</sup> On the Catholic population, see chapter one; on politics, including sectarianism, see chapter five.

<sup>202</sup> *Zealandia*, 23 May 1935, p. 5.

### Excluding Catholic Sports Teams

Through a network of school teams, local clubs and regional associations, rugby more than any other sport fostered an egalitarian spirit and a sense of both local and national identity among New Zealand boys and men - including Catholics. Ideally - and usually - local rivalries among players and supporters were submerged when representative teams played for their town, province or country.<sup>205</sup> By organizing their own school teams and clubs (Marist and Celtic) on the basis of religious affiliation and ethnicity, Catholic rugby aficionados maintained a distinct identity while still being integrated into the wider network.<sup>206</sup> Catholics took pride in the vicarious achievement of co-religionists selected for the All Blacks for they provided evidence of their community's integration into the wider society while retaining its distinct religious identity.<sup>207</sup> Speaking at a farewell function hosted by the Marist Brothers' Old Boys' Association in Wellington before an overseas tour in 1935, All Blacks A. Mahoney and R.M. McKenzie promised they would "always keep up their religion".<sup>208</sup> A later

<sup>205</sup> G. Fougere, "Sport, Culture and Identity: the Case of Rugby Football", in David Novitz and Bill Willmott (editors), *Culture and Identity in New Zealand* (Wellington: GP Books, 1989), pp. 113-117.

<sup>206</sup> Despite their name, derived from the French *Marie*, Marist teams wore Irish green (with a harp as their emblem), not Marian blue.

<sup>207</sup> *Month*, 15 July 1924, p. 21; 16 June 1925, p. 15; *NZ Tablet*, 7 August 1935, p. 34 and *Zealandia*, 15 August 1935, p. 5; Ryan in King (editor), p. 62.

<sup>208</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 7 August 1935, p. 34.

report noted that the Catholic All Blacks "went to Mass at St. Mary's, Bradford, on a recent Sunday."<sup>209</sup>

The use of rugby (and other sports) to combine Catholic identity with social integration was challenged by some state school teachers and rugby administrators during the early 1920s. However, it will be argued that the exclusion of Catholic teams was not based primarily on sectarian motives and it will be seen that excluded Catholic teams, anxious to maintain their links with the wider community, immediately took up other sports. Particular attention will be paid to primary school rugby in Dunedin and Christchurch and to the Payne Trophy dispute in Christchurch.

In 1921, after being debarred from participation in inter-school rugby competitions for a number of years, the Christian Brothers' School in Dunedin was readmitted on the recommendation of the Otago Rugby Union.<sup>210</sup> At the beginning of the 1922 season, however, the State Primary Schools' Sports Association reimposed the ban and the precedent was followed at the end of the season in Christchurch by the Public Schools' Amateur Athletic Association (PSAAA).<sup>211</sup> In justifying the exclusion of the Christian Brothers' School, J. Moir (a state teachers' representative) cited the Catholic policy, recently expressed by Whyte, of keeping Catholic children out of the state schools: the state teachers were merely helping the Catholic teachers to maintain their own principle of exclusiveness. T. Coutts, another teacher, argued that the denominational schools formed "a homogeneous whole" which was distinct from the state system.<sup>212</sup> Catholics were aggrieved to find an important means of integration into the community at large was now blocked. Brother F.P. Bowler of the Christian Brothers' School asked,

Rugby is the national game and should it not be run in a national spirit? In all other centres of the Dominion our schools compete on a level with other schools; why not Dunedin?<sup>213</sup>

T.J. Hussey pointed out that only recently "the elder brothers of these boys were fighting and dying side by side with their old State school competitors on the fields of

<sup>209</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 6 November 1935, p. 5.

<sup>210</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 5 May 1921, pp. 14, 27 (exclusion since 1904); 13 April 1922, p. 26; 31 August 1922, p. 14 (exclusion for fourteen years). J.C. O'Neill, "The History of the Work of the Christian Brothers in New Zealand" (University of Auckland Dip. Ed. thesis, 1968, p. 40) offers a very incomplete account which fails to distinguish between developments concerning primary and secondary school teams.

<sup>211</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 13 April 1922, pp. 25-27 (Dunedin); 2 November 1922, p. 39 (Christchurch).

<sup>212</sup> *Otago Daily Times*, 11 April 1922, p. 5.

<sup>213</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 13 April 1922, p. 26.

Gallipoli and France."<sup>214</sup> The *Tablet's* Christchurch correspondent complained that instead of fostering "good feeling and friendship" among schoolboys, sectarianism would "receive a helping hand".<sup>215</sup> In Dunedin, the ban was extended to include rugby, soccer, athletics and swimming, while in Christchurch it also applied to other sports.<sup>216</sup>

The efforts of state primary school teachers to exclude denominational schools from participating in inter-school sports were in keeping with the New Zealand Educational Institute's attempts to marginalize private schools by having all forms of government aid to them cancelled.<sup>217</sup> Although some Catholics and rugby administrators (including James McLeod, President of New Zealand Rugby Union) assumed that sectarianism lay at the basis of the teachers' actions, they themselves denied this.<sup>218</sup> Moreover, Protestant schools, such as John McGlashan College, were also excluded.<sup>219</sup> However, G.W.C. Macdonald, a Dunedin teachers' representative, voiced precisely the concerns of contemporary anti-Catholic propagandists. The Christian Brothers, he charged, were disloyal: they had shirked conscription during the war and now scoffed at the oath of allegiance required from teachers.<sup>220</sup> While some teachers evidently were influenced by sectarian stereotypes, their more immediate concern was evidently the embarrassing success of the Catholic school teams, as Kelly realized. Just as the original boycott against the Christian Brothers' teams was

<sup>214</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 13 April 1922, p. 27; cf. J.B. Callan's similar remarks before the Otago Football Association (*Otago Daily Times*, 11 April 1922, p. 5).

<sup>215</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 10 May 1923, p. 33.

<sup>216</sup> Dunedin: *NZ Tablet*, 22 June 1922, p. 31 and cf. 13 April 1922, p. 27 and 20 April 1922, p. 23 for soccer). Christchurch: *Press*, 17 October 1922, p. 9 and *NZ Tablet*, 2 November 1922, p. 39.

<sup>217</sup> For this issue, see chapter six.

<sup>218</sup> *Otago Daily Times*, 11 April 1922, p. 5; *NZ Tablet*, 20 April 1922, p. 23 (J.B. Callan originally accepted the Dunedin teachers' denial of sectarian motives but, on reading the views of G.W.C. Macdonald - noted below - he changed his mind and was applauded at a Catholic gathering for expressing this view); 11 May 1922, pp. 18-19 (T.H. Cahill, a Catholic, argued that sectarianism caused the tension in Dunedin); pp. 18, 31 (McLeod); 9 August 1923, p. 33 (comment on sectarianism in Christchurch); *Press*, 17 October 1922, p. 9 (A. Dey of the Canterbury Rugby Union thought sectarianism was the basis of the exclusion of denominational schools in Christchurch).

<sup>219</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 13 April 1922, p. 26; 19 April 1923, p. 29. St Saviour's Orphanage in Christchurch (an Anglican institution) seems also to have been affected (*Press*, 17 October 1922, p. 9).

<sup>220</sup> *Otago Daily Times*, 11 April 1922, p. 5. Evidently taking no account of the relative enrolment of private and public schools, Macdonald asserted that the majority of soldiers who served overseas had trained in state primary schools. For Bowler's response to Macdonald's claims, see *ibid.*, 13 April 1922, p. 8 and for contemporary sectarian allegations, see chapter five.

attributed by the *Tablet* to the high scores of the Catholic teams,<sup>221</sup> so its renewal was ascribed not merely to "bigotry and a party spirit" but to the state schools' shame at being defeated by teams from a private school "notwithstanding all their advantages".<sup>222</sup> After winning the Challenge Shield at the PSAAA's annual sports day in 1921, the Marist Brothers' School was evidently excluded in subsequent years.<sup>223</sup>

Given the importance attached to sport, the teachers seem to have feared that parents would be induced to send their sons to the more successful private schools and thus endanger the employment of state school teachers - just as the transfer of government scholarships to private schools threatened to do. In Auckland, a motion to exclude the Marist Brothers' School in Vermont Street from the inter-school rugby competition was moved by S. Ferguson of the Napier Street School at the annual meeting of the Primary Schools' Rugby Union in May 1921. Ferguson charged the Brothers with employing "underhand tactics" to win games and thereby entice boys away from the public schools.<sup>224</sup> The proposal was rejected on the Chairman's casting vote at a subsequent meeting but the Vermont Street School was later excluded from the rugby competition.<sup>225</sup> In Dunedin, it was alleged that the Christian Brothers entered players who were over the legal weight and age for their grade.<sup>226</sup> Coutts argued that the increasing rolls of church schools would create difficulties for the administration of inter-school sports.<sup>227</sup>

Fear for the security of their own employment, rather than mere sectarianism, explains why the primary school teachers were almost alone in demanding the

<sup>221</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 13 January 1921, p. 26; 5 May 1921, p. 27; 31 August 1922, p. 14.

<sup>222</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 13 April 1922, p. 25; cf. 31 August 1922, p. 14; 19 April 1923, pp. 29-30. The *Tablet's* Christchurch correspondent linked the success of Catholic school teams with their exclusion from inter-school competition (*ibid.*, 2 November 1922, p. 39 and 10 May 1923, p. 33).

<sup>223</sup> *Press*, 4 December 1922, p. 14; 31 March 1924, p. 6 (the 1923 sports day was postponed).

<sup>224</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 12 May 1921, p. 21. Similar concerns may have been expressed in Christchurch: in a conciliatory speech at the Marist Old Boys' annual smoke concert, Brodie acknowledged that in drawing pupils from a wider area than the state schools, Catholic schools might have had an unfair advantage (*Press*, 27 October 1922, p. 11).

<sup>225</sup> Teams from the Brothers' schools in Tasman and Hawkestone Streets turned to soccer because of difficulties with the rugby administrators - Pat Gallagher, *The Marist Brothers in New Zealand, Fiji and Samoa, 1876-1976* (Tuakau: New Zealand Marist Brothers' Trust Board, 1976), p. 114.

<sup>226</sup> *Otago Daily Times*, 8 April 1922, p. 6 (letter by "Anti-Cant"); 11 April 1922, p. 5 (G.W.C. Macdonald); 12 April 1922, p. 2 (column by "Wayfarer").

<sup>227</sup> *Otago Daily Times*, 11 April 1922, p. 5.

exclusion of private schools from inter-school competitions.<sup>228</sup> The Canterbury Rugby Union organized in October 1922 a meeting of amateur sports bodies at which A.L. Chappell of the Canterbury Centre of the Amateur Athletic Association criticized the PSAAA for reaching its decision in committee and failing to give any reason for the ban. Despite objections from the Rugby Union and other bodies, the PSAAA refused to readmit teams from denominational schools in inter-school competitions.<sup>229</sup> In April 1923, a meeting of delegates to the Otago Rugby Union condemned the primary teachers' policy: only the representatives of the State Primary Schools' Sports Association voted against the resolution.<sup>230</sup> As in other years, the Union itself, in October 1923, gave the Dunedin St Vincent de Paul Society a substantial donation - over £30 - from its annual charity match.<sup>231</sup>

Given the usual role of rugby in integrating local and regional players from diverse backgrounds, it is significant that the most notorious case of tension between a Catholic club and secular sports administrators occurred over the Payne Trophy - donated in 1921 by George Payne, a Marist Brothers' Old Boys Association (MBOBA) delegate to the Canterbury Rugby Union.<sup>232</sup> Since the winning club teams of the senior competition in Christchurch and Dunedin, rather than composite representative teams, were to play for the Trophy, the competition thus inaugurated was a somewhat awkward supplement to the established inter-provincial games. Like some of their counterparts in Christchurch, the Otago Union evinced no enthusiasm for the Trophy and for two years no game was played and no rules were drafted.<sup>233</sup>

<sup>228</sup> In Dunedin, the controversy was precipitated by the formation, two years earlier, of the Otago State Primary Schools' Sports Association, which sought to control all state primary inter-school sport (*Otago Daily Times*, 11 April 1922, p. 5).

<sup>229</sup> *Press*, 17 October 1922, p. 9; 17 May 1923, p. 10; *NZ Tablet*, 2 November 1922, p. 39; 10 May 1923, p. 33. The offer to allow private school cricket teams to enter for one more year was declined.

<sup>230</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 19 April 1923, p. 29; *Press*, 16 April 1923, p. 13; cf. the Union's opposition to the teachers' policy in *Otago Daily Times*, 11 April 1922, p. 5.

<sup>231</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 27 March 1924, p. 26 (annual report of the Society); cf. 17 June 1925, p. 27 and 14 April 1926, p. 31 for subsequent annual reports, which give a little more information on the annual contribution.

<sup>232</sup> On Payne and his Trophy, see J. Coffey, *Canterbury XIII: a Rugby League History* (Christchurch: the author, 1987), pp. 46-47; W.F. Brown, "The Payne Trophy Dispute - was Sectarianism a Factor?" (University of Canterbury M.A. research essay in History, 1988), pp. 3-4.

<sup>233</sup> Brown, pp. 4-6; *Press*, 13 September 1923, p. 13 ("The truth is that the Payne trophy competition never met with much favour in Dunedin..."); "Payne Trophy Case. Suppression of the Marist Football Club" typescript in CCDA, p. 1 ("It soon became manifest that the Trophy was going to be a source of difficulty, and members of the Canterbury Rugby Union openly stated they were not much interested in it"). The latter document was written in support of the club's appeal for reinstatement after its suspension.

Eventually the championship games were discontinued and the Trophy awarded to the winning team in the inter-provincial game.<sup>234</sup> When the Marist club won the senior competition for the fifth year in succession by beating Merivale in 1923, it became eligible to play the Otago University team which had won the Dunedin competition. Short of players because of injuries, the Marist Old Boys nominated a team which included Bill Devine, a policeman who had recently transferred from Wellington, and Harry Mullins, who, though normally resident in Christchurch and a long-time Marist player, had spent the season in Wellington to pursue his training as a plumber.<sup>235</sup> There were widespread accusations of "ringing-in", but, on its reading of the rules, the Marist club considered the inclusion of Devine and Mullins entirely legitimate.<sup>236</sup> Only three days before the game, following a demand by the Otago Union, the Canterbury Union insisted that the Marist team be limited to players who had represented the club in at least three games during the past season.<sup>237</sup> Rather than alter its team, the club declined to play and was suspended by the Union a week later.<sup>238</sup> Since neither party would back down, the suspension was reaffirmed at the beginning of the 1924 season, after a series of unsuccessful negotiations and appeals.<sup>239</sup>

Although sectarian sentiments may have influenced the Payne Trophy dispute, the Canterbury Rugby Union was not motivated simply by animosity towards the Catholic community.<sup>240</sup> Reflecting on the dispute over school teams, the *Tablet* could assume it

<sup>234</sup> L. Saunders, *The Canterbury Rugby History, 1879-1979* (Christchurch: Canterbury Rugby Football Union, 1979), p. 22.

<sup>235</sup> Saunders, pp. 22-23; Brown, pp. 7-8.

<sup>236</sup> For the Marist club's explanation of its position, including references to these charges, see *Press*, 13 September 1923, p. 13 and 1 April 1924, p. 11. The latter statement seems to have been written by Brodie himself: a manuscript copy in his hand is in CCDA.

<sup>237</sup> *Press*, 12 September 1923, p. 12.

<sup>238</sup> *Press*, 13 September 1923, p. 13 (Marist statement); *Lyttelton Times*, 19 September 1923, p. 8, clipping in CCDA (report on the Union meeting). Although quite detailed, the accounts in other Christchurch newspapers (for example the *Press*, 19 September 1923, p. 8) report less of the discussion at the Union's meeting on 18 September 1923.

<sup>239</sup> *Press*, 7 April 1924, p. 9. The New Zealand Rugby Union had referred the matter back to the Canterbury Union (*Press*, 15 November 1923, p. 8).

<sup>240</sup> M. O'Meehan SM (*Held Firm by Faith: a History of the Christchurch Diocese*, Christchurch: Catholic Diocese of Christchurch, 1988, pp. 140-141) treats the controversy as essentially sectarian. Brown, although setting the issue in the context of the sectarian tensions of the early 1920s (pp. 1-3), tends to lose sight of this dimension except for the imputation of some animosity towards the Marist club on the part of Canterbury Rugby Union President S.F. Wilson (pp. 17-18).

was commonly known that "ill-feeling has been manifested in Christchurch towards the green-jackets year after year".<sup>241</sup> According to James Joyce SM, the Marist-Merivale game which preceded the dispute was regarded by many as "a battle of faiths."<sup>242</sup> At the Marist Old Boys' annual smoke concert in Christchurch less than two months after the club's suspension, however, H.T. Armstrong MP (a Catholic) proposed the toast to kindred societies, to which representatives of the Christchurch, Albion and Merivale clubs responded. They, at least, gave some evidence for Armstrong's contention that there was no ill-feeling among the players themselves.<sup>243</sup> As a guest at the MBOBA annual smoke concert in 1922, the President of the Canterbury Union, S.F. Wilson, expressed regret at the exclusion of the school teams and promised that the Union would make alternative arrangements for all who wanted to play football.<sup>244</sup> Ironically, at the beginning of the 1923 season, the Marist Association in Christchurch rejected a proposal to withdraw from playing rugby in protest at the exclusion of teams from the Brothers' School from inter-school competitions. It was acknowledged that the Rugby Union had done all it could on behalf of the schoolboys.<sup>245</sup> In the Payne Trophy dispute, Wilson's quarrel was with the Marist management and he acknowledged that there were "some fine fellows in the club".<sup>246</sup> Like the other members of the Executive, he was loath to accept Payne's resignation and persuaded him to stay on.<sup>247</sup> (Unable to reconcile loyalty to the Union and to his club, Payne resigned from the latter instead.<sup>248</sup>) Wilson endeavoured to assure Brodie (the Patron of the MBOBA) that "so far as our officials are concerned" the Union's dispute with the Marist club was not based on sectarianism.<sup>249</sup> In March 1924, he even proposed at a meeting of the Canterbury Rugby Union a conciliatory

<sup>241</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 9 August 1923, p. 33; cf. p. 19. For evidence of sectarianism in rugby league circles in Dunedin, see *ibid.*, 20 August 1924, pp. 18, 29.

<sup>242</sup> James Joyce SM, "Memoirs of a Marist" (unpublished typescript, 1971, MAW) p. 49.

<sup>243</sup> *Press*, 31 October 1923, p. 11; *NZ Tablet*, 15 November 1923, p. 51.

<sup>244</sup> *Press*, 27 October 1922, p. 11.

<sup>245</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 26 April 1923, p. 33.

<sup>246</sup> *Press*, 19 September 1923, p. 8; 14 March 1924, p. 9.

<sup>247</sup> *Lyttelton Times*, 19 September 1923, p. 8, clipping in CCDA; *Press*, 19 September 1923, p. 8. For Payne's later career, see also Brown, p. 19.

<sup>248</sup> *Press*, 7 April 1924, p. 6. At the 1924 annual meeting of the Canterbury Union, he was elected as a delegate of the Hurunui club (*Press*, 14 March 1924, p. 9).

<sup>249</sup> Wilson to Brodie, 22/23 March [1924], CCDA.

motion drafted by Brodie himself which would have ended the suspension but was narrowly defeated in favour of a motion demanding the withdrawal of the Marist Association's letter declining to play the Trophy game without Mullins and Devine.<sup>250</sup>

While the Canterbury Rugby Union was concerned to assert its authority over the Executive of the Marist Association, the latter, by refusing to play without Mullins and Devine, placed the honour and solidarity of the club above the demands of the Union. To exclude Mullins and Devine from its team, would, in the opinion of the Marist club, have constituted an admission of guilt to the shameful charge of "ringing-in".<sup>251</sup> Despite his sympathy for the schoolboys, Wilson seems to have provoked a trial of strength with the Executive of the Marist club - whether deliberately or inadvertently. Rather than seeking to allay its fears that the club was "ringing-in" outside players, Wilson himself had suggested to the Otago Union that it should write to the Canterbury Union demanding that players who had not been in three games be omitted from the Marist team.<sup>252</sup> When the Otago Union followed this advice, on 4 September, the Canterbury Union waited until 11 September before officially discussing the issue and acceding to the demand. With the game due to be played on 15 September, Marist was given only until mid-day on the 12th to comply with the ruling, although Wilson later declared that the Marist club had been advised on 6 September that the Canterbury Union would endorse the ruling.<sup>253</sup> While there would have been no

<sup>250</sup> Wilson to Brodie, 14 March [1924], CCDA. The wording of the original motion is not given in the letter and although Wilson promised to return Brodie's letter, it does not appear to have survived. Brown (p. 13) quotes from the Union's minutes the motion which was actually passed on 13 March 1924: "Having read the statement of the Marist Club in connection with the Payne Trophy match and having accepted that the Club's action was not intended as a defiance of the legitimate authority of the Canterbury Rugby Union and in view of the fact that the Marist Club has been under suspension for six months, the Union has decided to remove the suspension on condition that Marist withdraw their letter of 12 September 1923." The condition at the end, as Brown (pp. 13-14) points out but is unable to explain, is barely consistent with the rest of the resolution. In the CCDA there is an almost identical typed statement without the final condition and with no other words on the page. Presumably this was the resolution formulated by Brodie and proposed by Wilson: evidently it was amended before being passed.

<sup>251</sup> "Payne Trophy Case. Suppression of the Marist Football Club" typescript in CCDA, p. 6; *cf. Press*, 1 April 1924, p. 11.

<sup>252</sup> Brown, p. 16, citing the minutes of the Otago Union Management Committee for 3 September 1923. Wilson seems to have alluded to his role in April 1924, when he claimed "a good deal of responsibility" for the Otago Union's demand and referred to having conferred with that Union (*Press*, 7 April 1924, p. 9). It seems clear from evidence presented in connection with the exclusion of the Christian Brothers' primary school teams from the rugby competition in Dunedin that the Otago Rugby Union itself was quite free from sectarian animosity.

<sup>253</sup> Brown, pp. 9-10 ignores Wilson's claim to have warned the Marist club immediately after receiving the letter from Otago (*Press*, 7 April 1924, p. 9).

question of the Union's right to determine the selection of a composite representative team, the position of the Marist club in this instance was ambiguous. Wilson thought

It was a pity the Marists [*sic*] Club had not gripped the position more clearly. The game would have been more in the nature of a representative than a club match.<sup>254</sup>

The Marist Old Boys, however, argued that, "The Payne Trophy Match is a challenge match, not a Union competition match."<sup>255</sup> Refusing to alter the team it had selected, the club wrote to the Union accusing it of "arbitrary interference".<sup>256</sup> Demanding the withdrawal of this letter as a condition for the removal of the suspension, Wilson claimed he was not being vindictive; he viewed the issue solely in terms of the Marist club's challenge to its authority over rugby in Canterbury. It was "a matter of discipline".

The question is not whether our ruling was right or wrong. It may have been wrong. The clubs placed us here and they must carry out our instructions.<sup>257</sup>

The Union's decision was confirmed in April 1924 by a meeting of club representatives, while the Marist Executive's actions were endorsed by the Association's members.<sup>258</sup> In sympathy with the Christchurch club, the MBOBA in Greymouth also withdrew from rugby.<sup>259</sup> In this instance, the attempt to reconcile Catholic identity with social integration through the "national game" had failed.

Nevertheless, Catholic schools and sporting organizations continued to compete with other bodies, despite their exclusion from a few local competitions. While accusing the Otago Rugby Union of inconsistency in not banning state schools from the inter-provincial competitions after the teachers defied the Union (by excluding teams from his school from the inter-school competitions), Brother J.H. Murphy accepted the Union's invitation to enter Christian Brothers' pupils in the primary

<sup>254</sup> *Press*, 13 September 1923, p. 13.

<sup>255</sup> *Press*, 1 April 1924, p. 11.

<sup>256</sup> Slightly different versions of the letter to the Union (dated 12 September 1923) are printed in statements by the Canterbury Union (*Press*, 13 September 1923, p. 13 and 19 September 1923, p. 8) and the Marist club (*Press*, 1 April 1924, p. 11). The club later sought, unconvincingly, to explain away the offending words by saying that to exclude Mullins and Devine from competitions in Christchurch would have been "arbitrary interference" ("Payne Trophy Case. Suppression of the Marist Football Club" typescript in CCDA, pp. 8-9).

<sup>257</sup> *Lyttelton Times*, 19 September 1923, p. 8, clipping in CCDA. Wilson expressed similar sentiments the following year (*Press*, 14 March 1924, p. 9; 7 April 1924, p. 9).

<sup>258</sup> *Press*, 7 April 1924, p. 9.

<sup>259</sup> *Press*, 8 April 1924, p. 10.

school inter-provincial competitions and appointed one of the selectors.<sup>260</sup> The ban on teams from private primary schools in Dunedin did not affect secondary schools.<sup>261</sup> Excluded from the PSAAA's annual sports day, Christchurch Catholics continued to participate in the meetings of the Canterbury Amateur Athletic Club.<sup>262</sup> Non-Catholics (including teams representing state primary schools, Christchurch Boys' High School, the Merivale Football Club and the YMCA) participated in the St Patrick's Sports Association's annual events - among whose patrons was Mayor H.T.J. Thacker MP.<sup>263</sup> Unable to persuade the teachers to readmit private school teams, the Rugby Unions in Dunedin and Christchurch offered to organize separate competitions for them;<sup>264</sup> the Marist Brothers' School also entered the rugby league competition.<sup>265</sup> In other centres, teams representing Catholic schools as well as the Marist and Celtic clubs continued to play rugby with secular schools and clubs.<sup>266</sup> In April 1924, the Marist Brothers' Old Boys' Association in Christchurch decided to "revert to its original status as a purely social organisation".<sup>267</sup> Far from withdrawing from interaction with other sports clubs, however, the Association immediately proceeded to enter teams in the soccer and rugby league competitions; the Greymouth Marist club also entered the league competition.<sup>268</sup> After playing league for seven seasons, members of the Christchurch MBOBA formed the Athletic Club and re-entered the rugby union competition in 1931. This development did not satisfy all the Marist supporters and some of the

<sup>260</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 30 August 1923, p. 33.

<sup>261</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 13 April 1922, p. 26; 20 April 1922, p. 22. According to Cahill, Bowler withdrew the secondary boys from the rugby competition (*NZ Tablet*, 11 May 1922, p. 18), but later reports indicate that Christian Brothers' teams continued to play (*NZ Tablet*, 22 June 1922, p. 31; 16 August 1923, p. 33).

<sup>262</sup> *Press*, 31 October 1921, p. 5; 11 December 1922, p. 12; 3 December 1923, p. 6.

<sup>263</sup> *Press*, 20 October 1920, p. 4; 26 October 1921, p. 11; 24 November 1922, p. 8; 17 March 1924, p. 7; 18 March 1924, p. 13.

<sup>264</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 20 April 1922, p. 23 and 22 June 1922, p. 31 (Dunedin); *Press*, 18 April 1923, p. 11 and *NZ Tablet*, 10 May 1923, p. 33 (Christchurch). Wilson regarded the exclusion of the Marist schoolboys from inter-school rugby (organized by the PSAAA) as entirely distinct from the Rugby Union's dispute with the Marist Old Boys (*Press*, 7 April 1924, p. 9).

<sup>265</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 2 November 1922, p. 39.

<sup>266</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 2 November 1922, p. 39 (Marist Brothers' schools in Wellington); 26 April 1923, p. 33 (Celtic in Ashburton); 10 May 1923, p. 33 (Celtic in South Canterbury); 9 August 1923, p. 33 (school and Celtic teams in Temuka and South Canterbury).

<sup>267</sup> *Press*, 5 April 1924, p. 14; 7 April 1924, p. 9; *NZ Tablet*, 10 April 1924, p. 28.

<sup>268</sup> *Press*, 8 April 1924, p. 10; *NZ Tablet*, 10 April 1924, p. 28.

disaffected formed a Celtic Club in 1944. The following year, however, Athletic resumed the name "Marist" and absorbed Celtic.<sup>269</sup>

Although some of the participants in these events bore a degree of animosity towards the Catholic community, then, the occasional exclusion of Catholic sports teams from open competitions was not essentially a sectarian issue. State primary teachers feared that any endorsement of private education threatened the state system and their own employment, while the Canterbury Rugby Union was concerned to assert its authority over the management of the Marist Old Boys' Association. The response of the Catholic schools and the Marist club demonstrates their concern to continue participating in public competitions: they did not want this means of combining Catholic identity with public status and respectability taken away from them.

### Educating Catholic Citizens

Rejecting the secular schools established by the state, the Catholic Church set up the most extensive network of religious education in the country. In Cleary's view, the Catholic school system, particularly in its primary schools, was "easily the most spectacular fact in the religious history of this Dominion".<sup>270</sup> Donald Akenson has recently argued that the state influenced only the details of the Catholic education system and that "one should not underestimate the degree of separation from the general society that the schools facilitated."<sup>271</sup> It will be argued here, on the contrary, that since Catholic schools taught what the state required and added religious elements, it would be inappropriate to overstate the consequent separation, which was incidental rather than an end in itself. Catholic schools sought to encourage their pupils to be both good citizens and good Catholics - ideals which were regarded as entirely compatible.

<sup>269</sup> Coffey, pp. 48, 60; Saunders, pp. 31, 45-46; J.K. Moloney, *Rugby Football in Canterbury, 1929-1954* (Christchurch: Canterbury Rugby Football Union, 1954), pp. 16-17, 88; O'Meeghan, p. 141.

<sup>270</sup> *Month*, 17 November 1925, p. 19; cf. *ibid.*, 20 April 1926, p. 17; 18 May 1926, p. 17; 18 January 1927, p. 21; 16 August 1927, p. iii; *NZ Tablet*, 31 March 1926, p. 43; *Zealandia*, 11 February 1937, p. 3.

<sup>271</sup> D.H. Akenson, *Half the World from Home: Perspectives on the Irish in New Zealand, 1860-1950* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1990), pp. 160, 172, 190. Akenson also argues (p. 172) that "a circle of ethnic loyalty was joined by these segregated schools" but, by the middle of the twentieth century, this had developed into a sense of being "New Zealanders of Irish ethnicity". In the light of the discussion on ethnicity in chapter one above, where it was seen that Irish identity among New Zealand Catholics declined markedly during the interwar years, this seems very doubtful claim.

This discussion will be concerned more with the aims than with the achievements of Catholic education. Catholic educational policy was formulated by the bishops, who reflected Vatican directives and developments in the Church overseas.<sup>272</sup> The rationale of Catholic education was expounded in the Catholic press and in speeches at school openings and on other occasions, usually by the bishops themselves or by the clergy. Although the vast majority of teachers in Catholic schools were nuns, they seldom spoke in public but presumably endorsed the general principles of Catholic education as expressed by the hierarchy. The section will begin by considering the Catholic view that religious and secular education were inseparable and then explain why the Church rejected the state education system. Catholic education was conducted in a religious atmosphere but most of its content was governed by the requirements of the state syllabus. Whereas the Church was very successful in building large numbers of primary schools and enrolling most Catholic children in them, its achievements in secondary education were more modest in the period under review. That Catholic schools were not regarded as alien by respectable opinion in New Zealand is demonstrated by the willingness of public figures to attend school openings and other occasions. While Catholic schools nurtured a distinctive religious outlook, it will be argued that they did not seek to detach Catholic children from the wider society.

The clergy regarded the Church's schools as indispensable for inculcating Catholic beliefs and practices because of their religious ambiance. Redwood described the schools as "the means of assuring the Church in New Zealand a hopeful and brilliant future"; if Catholic education were neglected, "we must despair of the Church in New Zealand".<sup>273</sup> Brodie declared that "without our school system, our holy faith would soon be exterminated".<sup>274</sup> Kelly was even more blunt: "Catholic schools are absolutely necessary in order to enable the Church to retain its influence over the people."<sup>275</sup> Without religious education in schools, warned Cleary, other religious bodies would soon find "grass growing on the paths to their church doors."<sup>276</sup> Kelly believed this was already happening to the Protestant churches.<sup>277</sup> It was even argued that schools

<sup>272</sup> The establishment of Catholic schools was not an exclusively Irish policy as Akenson (pp. 159-160, 169) implies.

<sup>273</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 15 May 1919, pp. 22-23; 27 April 1922, p. 22.

<sup>274</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 27 February 1919, p. 21.

<sup>275</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 6 October 1921, p. 25; 4 November 1931, p. 3.

<sup>276</sup> *Month*, 15 September 1921, p. 11.

<sup>277</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 3 March 1921, p. 26; cf. 7 August 1919, p. 26; 29 November 1923, p. 26; 26 June 1924, p. 23; 11 September 1929, p. 3; 8 January 1930, p. 3.

were more important than churches in maintaining the faith of future generations.<sup>278</sup> Confidence in religious education as a means of socializing young Catholics into the ways of the Church found its logical conclusion in the view of the boarding school as the ideal, for there "example and environment co-operate in the formation of character on truly Catholic lines."<sup>279</sup> Brodie noted that "separation from home...for a few years" was "conducive to the pupil's progress" and to the development of character. His ideal was not simply middle class but monastic and even ascetic: "it is good to go apart into a desert place and rest awhile."<sup>280</sup> If the religious life was the ideal expression of the Catholic faith, Catholic schools, and especially Catholic boarding schools, were a close imitation. Parents were expected to supplement the efforts of the school but, it was alleged, a holiday at home commonly undermined the effects of a year at boarding school.<sup>281</sup>

Religious education was needed to prepare children for eternity as well as for participation in society. Liston reminded an audience in Te Awamutu that since this life was but a preparation for the next, children needed religious education to prepare "for the life hereafter."<sup>282</sup> Similarly, when O'Shea opened the Marist Brothers' School in Napier, he declared that Catholics maintained their own schools because they were "convinced there is another world that will last for ever, and this short life is merely a preparation for the next."<sup>283</sup> Dr Cecil Morkane argued that the purpose of Catholic education was to prepare children for citizenship both in their Motherland and in the Kingdom of Heaven.<sup>284</sup> At the opening of a new school building in Invercargill, Whyte expressed his hope that

the boys who leave this school may take a worthy place among the citizens of this young and prosperous Dominion while at the same time striving by their pious deeds to secure a place in the Eternal Home above. The education imparted in our Catholic schools has the twofold purpose of preparing the pupils for the next world and for this.<sup>285</sup>

<sup>278</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 18 July 1918, p. 27; 25 January 1923, p. 29; 21 April 1926, p. 19; 11 September 1929, p. 3.

<sup>279</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 29 September 1926, p. 33; cf. Brodie's expression of similar views (*ibid.*, 16 July 1930, p. 39).

<sup>280</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 16 July 1930, p. 39.

<sup>281</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 2 September 1931, p. 37.

<sup>282</sup> *Month*, 15 July 1921, p. 8.

<sup>283</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 31 August 1932, p. 6.

<sup>284</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 14 April 1926, pp. 17, 19; 1 May 1935, pp. 20-21.

<sup>285</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 8 October 1924, p. 23; cf. 18 March 1925, p. 13.

Educating children as Catholics, or at least Christians, and as New Zealand citizens were seen as entirely compatible objectives. Indeed, they were regarded as inseparable, for religion underpinned moral training which, in turn, was indispensable for individuals and for society at large. According to Whyte, "moral training must rest upon religion as its foundation".<sup>286</sup> Religion alone, Redwood contended, could "safeguard respect for authority" and "make the fire of patriotism glow so ardently as to burn up the chaff of selfishness and greed."<sup>287</sup> Christian civilization, he believed, would not persevere without Christian education; Catholic schools were "the nurseries of good citizens who are the pride and bulwark of the State".<sup>288</sup> Monsignor James MacManus argued that "the main purpose of a Catholic school was to inculcate Christian principles, which alone could save society".<sup>289</sup>

Given its importance both temporally and eternally, religious education could not be separated from secular education - it had to be made "a part and parcel of the daily routine of school life."<sup>290</sup> Secular, moral and religious education could not be separated and the latter was deemed the most important because it pertained to the final end of mankind; religion therefore had to permeate all other branches of education.<sup>291</sup> It could not be taught adequately at home or in Sunday School, but had to be taught in school every day.<sup>292</sup> Parents lacked the time or capacity to teach their children religion.<sup>293</sup> Whyte warned mothers who sent their children to state schools and taught them the catechism at home that such religious training was "exceedingly

<sup>286</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 8 October 1924, p. 25; cf. 1 July 1936, p. 7.

<sup>287</sup> *Month*, 21 February 1928, p. 27.

<sup>288</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 26 July 1923, p. 27; 11 November 1925, p. 29; 3 November 1926, p. 30.

<sup>289</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 8 February 1939, p. 43; cf. O'Shea's assertion that "Religion alone will be able to save the world from ruin and civilisation from destruction." (*NZ Tablet*, 21 August 1919, p. 34; *Month*, 15 September 1919, p. 15).

<sup>290</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 31 August 1932, p. 6. The expression was often used by O'Shea (*NZ Tablet*, 15 March 1923, p. 17; 4 March 1931, p. 46; 2 December 1930, p. 42; 27 July 1932, p. 7; 30 January 1935, p. 13; *Month*, 1 September 1932, p. 27).

<sup>291</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 14 April 1926, p. 19; 10 October 1928, p. 22.

<sup>292</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 15 March 1923, p. 17 (O'Shea); 9 February 1927, p. 35 (Redwood); 19 February 1930, p. 47; 15 April 1931, p. 31 (Rev. P.J. Cooney); *Month*, 16 October 1922, p. 7 (Liston); 18 February 1930, p. 17 (Liston).

<sup>293</sup> *Marist Messenger*, 1 February 1936, p. 9; *Zealandia*, 10 February 1938, p. 9. Redwood regarded the school as practically "the sole efficient means by which childhood and youth are formed for their future duties and future battles". It was "absolute futility to speak of parental care in homes, or of hurried hours in the so-called Sunday-school." (*NZ Tablet*, 27 April 1922, p. 22; 15 May 1919, p. 22).

insufficient and inadequate."<sup>294</sup> Liston asserted that "nine out of every ten fathers were utterly incapable of teaching their children religious truths, therefore to exclude religious instruction from schools was to make children indifferent to God."<sup>295</sup>

Catholics rejected the public education system primarily on the grounds that it failed to incorporate religious and moral instruction and - with the important exception of Kelly - usually acknowledged its achievements in other respects.<sup>296</sup> Mother Mary Benignus described the state school teachers as "a splendid corps of men and women...who devote themselves with admirable zeal to their work."<sup>297</sup> O'Shea declared that Catholics were "not hostile to the public educational system" which "had a great deal to commend it" but without religious teaching, its graduates were "moral illiterates".<sup>298</sup> According to Liston, Catholics were "dissatisfied with, not opposed to, public education,...because it is secular education."<sup>299</sup> Taking a more extreme view, Kelly asserted that the failure of public education was apparent in the ignorance and immorality of its illiterate and ill-mannered pupils.<sup>300</sup> Secular schools were "calculated to promote the irreligious and atheistical views of a minority" and state education was "education only in the sense that a corpse from which the soul has fled is a living being."<sup>301</sup> In Kelly's pessimistic estimate of New Zealand society, the country was already suffering from the ill-effects of secular education:

We have but to look around us in this Dominion to recognise the fruits of godless schools. We have in abundance unprincipled legislators, vicious men and women, corruption in public and private life.<sup>302</sup>

When Liston said, "Let our most bitter critic set down, if he can, even one solid fact that points to Catholic opposition to the public school", he could easily have been answered by any reader of the *Tablet*.<sup>303</sup>

<sup>294</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 6 April 1922, p. 19; cf. 11 December 1929, p. 35.

<sup>295</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 14 July 1921, p. 21.

<sup>296</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 15 March 1923, p. 17 (O'Shea); 8 February 1939, p. 43 (Monsignor Connolly); but cf. Whyte's more guarded praise (8 October 1924, p. 23).

<sup>297</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 17 June 1931, p. 22; cf. 22 February 1923, p. 17 (Brodie); 8 February 1939, p. 43 (Monsignor Connolly).

<sup>298</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 8 October 1924, p. 33; cf. 1 December 1926, p. 41.

<sup>299</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 19 February 1930, p. 47; *Month*, 18 February 1930, p. 17.

<sup>300</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 26 June 1921, p. 21; 29 November 1923, p. 25; 25 June 1930, p. 3; 5 November 1930, p. 3; 24 June 1931, p. 3; 28 October 1931, p. 3.

<sup>301</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 22 May 1919, p. 26; 5 November 1930, p. 3.

<sup>302</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 28 December 1922, p. 29; cf. 20 October 1921, p. 25; 1 November 1923, p. 19.

<sup>303</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 19 February 1930, p. 47; *Month*, 18 February 1930, p. 17.

While lamenting that public education failed to inculcate a religiously grounded morality, Catholics also charged that it was, in practice, sectarian and even anti-Catholic. According to Cleary and other Catholics, there could be no religiously neutral education, for by denying in practice the fundamental importance of religion in education, state primary schools were both secularist and sectarian.<sup>304</sup> Meanwhile the secondary schools, with their assembly prayers and readings from the Authorized Version of the Bible, regularly conducted a form of worship "peculiar to Reformed denominations."<sup>305</sup> Cleary often complained about the problems of Catholic teachers and pupils in secondary schools where religious observances took place.<sup>306</sup> The 1877 Education Act's "secular clause" prohibited religious instruction in state primary schools but did not apply to secondary schools. Almost all high schools and technical schools began the day with the Lord's prayer, a hymn and a Scripture reading, a practice which had apparently arisen because many secondary schools were originally founded as boarding schools.<sup>307</sup> Catholic pupils at secondary schools usually waited outside while prayers and religious instruction were held for ten to fifteen minutes at morning assembly.<sup>308</sup> In a few schools, Catholic teachers and pupils seem to have attended religious observances<sup>309</sup> - but this was precisely what Cleary feared. Catholics were not allowed to participate in non-Catholic religious observances and, in the words of Pius XI's encyclical on Christian education, the only acceptable form of religious instruction was that which took place "under the direction and maternal supervision of the Church."<sup>310</sup>

<sup>304</sup> *Month*, 15 July 1921, pp. 6-7; *cf.* 15 November 1920, p. 18; 15 January 1923, p. 3; *NZ Tablet*, 12 February 1920, p. 18; 13 January 1921, p. 26; 10 January 1924, p. 29; 31 August 1927, p. 33. Bishop Averill also accused the state primary school system of being sectarian because it reflected the views of secularists (*Church Gazette*, 1 September 1924, p. 137).

<sup>305</sup> *Month*, 15 January 1919, p. 4; 20 January 1925, p. 17; *cf.* 15 November 1920, pp. 18, 19; 15 January 1923, p. 3.

<sup>306</sup> *Month*, 21 October 1924, p. 18; 18 November 1924, pp. 17-21; 20 January 1925, p. 17; 17 August 1926, p. 18; 18 January 1927, p. 22; 16 August 1927, pp. iii-iv; 18 October 1927, pp. iii-iv; *cf. ibid.*, 15 July 1921, p. 7. Cleary's 1924 statement aroused a public debate (*NZ Herald*, 21 October 1924, p. 11; 22 October 1924, p. 13).

<sup>307</sup> *NZPD*, 1924, vol. 204, p. 236; 1925, vol. 207, pp. 512-513 (Education Minister James Parr).

<sup>308</sup> *JLC*, 1926, "Religious Exercises", p. 22 (evidence of John Caughley, Director of Education).

<sup>309</sup> *NZPD*, 1926, vol. 210, p. 138 (George Thomson MLC, referring to Catholic staff members at Otago Boys' High School); *Evening Post*, 20 October 1927, p. 7 (evidence of T.R. Cresswell, Headmaster of Wellington College).

<sup>310</sup> "Rappresentanti in Terra", paragraph 80. This 1929 encyclical was printed in the *NZ Tablet*, 9 April 1930 and subsequent issues and can be found in *The Papal Encyclicals, 1903-1939*, edited by Claudia Carlen IHM (Wilmington, North Carolina: McGrath Publishing Company, 1981). For further discussion of Catholic attitudes to Protestant worship, see chapter two above.

Catholics often complained that their religion was portrayed unfavourably in state schools.<sup>311</sup> *Tablet* columnist "Pippa" (Eileen Duggan) remarked that Catholics who attended non-Catholic secondary schools invariably left with "wrong impressions to correct in later years".<sup>312</sup> Young Francis Durning, who attended Timaru Boys' High School in 1927, found it prudent to "hold his peace" during discussions of books which portrayed the Catholic Church in an unfavourable light.<sup>313</sup> Cleary charged that history texts commonly misrepresented Catholic beliefs and practices, misconstrued events involving Catholics, gratuitously attributed unworthy motives to them and used offensive labels like "Romanist" and "Papist".<sup>314</sup> In 1931, the *Month* castigated the *School Journal* for its article to mark Empire Day. Readers of the *Journal* were told of how British ships in the sixteenth century had crushed the power of Spain and "opened the doors of the human mind by allowing liberty of thought" so that Spain would no longer be able to "stop men thinking by means of the thumbscrew and the rack". The article went on to describe how Galileo and many other early scientists were tortured or executed for advancing opinions opposed to the Church - yet "ignorant men" failed to "stop the onward march of Truth."<sup>315</sup>

Given its criticisms of state education, it might be expected that the Church's own schools would be very different. Catholic education was indeed carried out in a thoroughly Catholic environment:

The real value of our schools, as contrasted with secular institutions, is that not only do they make religious teaching a part of every day's routine, but they also make religion a very part of the atmosphere of the school. It is always there. In some way or other it is associated with geography and grammar and history.<sup>316</sup>

<sup>311</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 27 June 1918, p. 14; 6 April 1922, p. 19; 3 May 1923, p. 25; 24 February 1926, p. 29; 5 September 1928, p. 6; 5 February 1930, p. 6; 11 November 1931, p. 22; *Zealandia*, 10 February 1938, p. 9. In 1923, the Presbyterian Church complained that the *Story of the British Nation* series being used in New Zealand schools distorted the history of the Reformation by omitting anything likely to cause offence to Catholics (PGA, 1923, pp. 43, 68; cf. *Month*, 15 December 1923, p. 14).

<sup>312</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 22 February 1928, p. 21.

<sup>313</sup> John P.J. Twomey (editor), *St Bede's College, 1911-1986, 75th Jubilee* (Christchurch: 75th Jubilee Committee, 1986), p. 69.

<sup>314</sup> *Month*, 15 November 1920, p. 19. The correct interpretation of the Reformation, according to a paper compiled by the Sisters of Mercy for the New Zealand Catholic Teachers' Conference in 1936, was that the Protestants "shamefully misused" the "convenient pretext" of reform in order to reject the authority given to the Church by Christ (*NZ Tablet*, 5 August 1936, p. 11).

<sup>315</sup> *Month*, 1 October 1931, p. 21, citing *New Zealand School Journal*, June 1931, Part III, pp. 132-133; cf. *Marist Messenger*, 5 October 1931, pp. 13, 15.

<sup>316</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 27 November 1929, p. 6; cf. 12 May 1921, p. 17 (Whyte); 3 June 1925, p. 27 (Redwood); *Month*, 1 January 1931, p. 10; *Zealandia*, 9 May 1935, p. 3 (Morkane).

Children were taught almost exclusively by religious whose lifestyles and distinctive clothing bespoke Catholic values and doctrines. They were taken to Confession, Mass and Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament. In their classrooms were religious images: crucifixes, statues of the Blessed Virgin and pictures of saints. On an altar-shelf there would be a statue, surrounded by candles and flowers, towards which the children would turn during prayer. The day was punctuated with hymns and prayers, including the Rosary and the Angelus. The year was marked by the great liturgical seasons and the special devotions associated particularly with the months of May and October. Children were encouraged to perform acts of piety like visiting the Blessed Sacrament and giving up sweets during Lent. On entering and leaving the room they would make the sign of the cross after dipping their fingers into a holy water font near the door.<sup>317</sup> In primary schools, the daily half-hour of religious instruction was based on the Catechism, whose questions and answers were committed to memory:

Who made you? God made me.

Why did God make you? God made me to know Him, love Him and serve Him in this world, and to be happy with Him for ever in the next.<sup>318</sup>

Children in older classes used Canon Cafferata's edition with explanatory notes and secondary school pupils were taught an extensive programme of religious history and theology. The religious education syllabus at St Bede's was dominated by doctrine and apologetics.<sup>319</sup> Similarly, the Sacré Coeur Sisters supplemented the Catechism with "a comprehensive and well-planned course in apologetics, ending with a glimpse of that marvellous product of the human brain - Scholastic Philosophy."<sup>320</sup>

Even "secular" subjects were treated somewhat differently in Catholic schools. Teachers were encouraged to use Catholic reading material and literature wherever suitable texts were available.<sup>321</sup> A meeting of leading Catholic teachers in 1937

<sup>317</sup> This account draws on Mary Scully, untitled autobiographical essay (University of Canterbury B.A. essay in Education, 1984) and Heather Aim, "Life History of Mary Scully" (University of Canterbury B.A. research essay in Sociology, 1986), pp. 6-7, describing school life at St Anne's Newtown, during the 1930s. See also *NZ Tablet*, 27 April 1932, p. 22; *NZ Catholic Schools Journal*, for example May 1932, part I, p. 57 and October 1932, part I for the devotions of May and October; *Reflect, Rejoice: Sisters of Mercy Celebrate One Hundred Years in Greymouth, 1882-1982* (Greymouth: Mercy Centennial Planning Committee, 1982), pp. 37, 38, 93, 119.

<sup>318</sup> H.T. Cafferata, *The Catechism Simply Explained* (London: Burns Oates & Washbourne, 10th revised edition, 1932), p. 1.

<sup>319</sup> John P.J. Twomey (editor), *St Bede's College, 1911-1986, 75th Jubilee* (Christchurch: 75th Jubilee Committee, 1986), pp. 29, 89; cf. *NZ Tablet*, 10 June 1931, p. 23.

<sup>320</sup> Mary Goulter in the *Month*, 19 November 1929, p. 21.

<sup>321</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 14 October 1931, p. 22; 25 November 1936, p. 23.

considered the "Catholicising of the curriculum" by the incorporation of appropriate history, literature, music and art.<sup>322</sup> Catholic primary schools did not have to teach history but this was merely an application of the long-established provision for parents to withdraw their children from history classes even at state schools; Catholic teachers sometimes devised their own history programme.<sup>323</sup> The *Catholic Schools Journal*, according to its editor Paul Kavanagh, offered pupils "the full and true version of history" and brought "a Catholic atmosphere even to geography", making children proud of their Catholic heritage by describing the role of the Church in the discovery and development of "every known land". Catholic children used the *Journal* for their Proficiency examinations.<sup>324</sup>

Efforts to incorporate Catholic material into the state curriculum, however, left the basic structure unchanged. At St Anne's school, Newtown, the day finished at 3:30 rather than three o'clock because half an hour was spent on religious instruction at noon.<sup>325</sup> According to Cleary, Catholic schools were not really "private" since

in them the State curriculum of secular instruction is fully taught, under State inspection, by teachers holding State certificates. They are thus doing State work under State conditions. As such they are, in a very real sense, State schools.<sup>326</sup>

This argument, of course, was advanced in the context of Catholic claims for a fair share of state funds - in this case the provision of dental care on the same basis as in public schools - but that does not impair its essential validity. According to the *Month*, Catholic schools "should not be penalised for adding practical Christianity to the State curriculum of secular subjects."<sup>327</sup> Speaking at a school opening in 1927, Liston asserted that Catholic schools formed "a sound and healthy part of our national system of education" and that their

<sup>322</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 26 May 1937, p. 6; *Zealandia*, 3 June 1937, p. 5.

<sup>323</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 14 October 1931, p. 22; 25 May 1932, p. 22; cf. Education Act (1877), section 84 (1) and Education Act (1914), section 56 (3). History was an optional subject in the Proficiency examination - J.L. Ewing, *Development of the New Zealand Primary School Curriculum, 1877-1970* (Wellington: NZCER, 1970), pp. 137-138, 168.

<sup>324</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 30 May 1934, p. 9.

<sup>325</sup> *Aim*, p. 7. However, some additional time was spent on preparation for the children's first Communion, especially in the preceding week, and in preparation for the annual Easter ceremonies (Mary Scully, interview, 24 January 1989).

<sup>326</sup> *Month*, 15 July 1921, p. 13; cf. 15 September 1920, p. 17; 20 April 1926, p. 17. For the use of this argument by other Catholics, see *NZ Tablet*, 15 March 1923, p. 17; 19 February 1930, p. 47; *Month*, 15 March 1927, p. 22; 18 February 1930, p. 17; 1 February 1934, p. 15.

<sup>327</sup> *Month*, 17 February 1925, p. 37.

course of studies is New Zealand, for every Catholic school in the Dominion, while following its own spirit and traditions, follows the appointed syllabus of the Education Department. Its ideals are New Zealand, for the Catholic school teaches children to love their native country and has contributed its full share to the building up of our fair land.<sup>328</sup>

For most of the school day, Catholic schools concentrated on the state syllabus, even, some feared, at the expense of religious instruction. Kelly was concerned that the pupils were not being taught religion as well as their secular subjects and even whether the teachers themselves were adequately informed.<sup>329</sup> John Vibaud SM feared that the pressures of the state syllabus and the "examination fetish" led to greater concern with preparing children for employment than for life as Catholics.<sup>330</sup> His judgment may have been unduly harsh (except in the assumption that schools run by the Society of Mary were exempt from the criticism) but there seems to have been some basis for his concerns. In 1918, Brodie reminded his clergy that "religious instruction should never be omitted from the daily school curriculum".<sup>331</sup> The bishops found it necessary in 1937 to direct teachers to spend the full two and a half hours allocated to religious instruction each week.<sup>332</sup>

Like state schools, Catholic schools sought to inculcate a sense of patriotism in their pupils. To be registered under the 1921 Education Amendment Act, a private school had to satisfy government inspectors that it made "suitable provision...for the inculcation in the minds of the pupils of sentiments of patriotism and loyalty".<sup>333</sup> The *Catholic Schools Journal* bore the motto "For God and Country" and featured articles on George V and Edward VII.<sup>334</sup> According to Mary Warren, a pupil at St Patrick's Convent, Auckland,

<sup>328</sup> *Month*, 17 May 1927, p. 13.

<sup>329</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 10 November 1921, p. 14; 24 November 1921, p. 15.

<sup>330</sup> John Vibaud, "Marist Fathers and New Zealand" (unpublished typescript, no date but evidently written during the late 1920s or early 1930s, MAW), p. 23.

<sup>331</sup> Christchurch Diocesan Synods, Minutes Book, Synod of 12 January 1918, CCDA.

<sup>332</sup> Minutes of the bishops' meeting, April 1937, CCDA.

<sup>333</sup> Education Amendment Act (1921), Clause 7, *Statutes of New Zealand* (Wellington: New Zealand Government, 1921), pp. 261-262. Since, according to Education Minister C.J. Parr, all denominational schools were registered before the passage of the Act, (*NZPD*, 1921, vol. 191, p. 932), this provision probably does not reflect government doubts about the loyalty of Catholic teachers. For the background to this legislation, see Roger Openshaw, "'A Spirit of Bolshevism': The Weitzel Case of 1921 and Its Impact on the New Zealand Educational System", *Political Science*, 33/2 (December 1981) 127-139.

<sup>334</sup> *NZ Catholic Schools Journal*, May 1935, part I, pp. 50-53, part II, pp. 51-52, part III, pp. 98-103; February 1936, parts I and II, supplement, part III supplement; February 1937, part I, pp. 10-12; part II, pp. 2-4, part III, pp. 2-5.

Loyalty to country is no less an obligation than is loyalty to God, and every Catholic school instructs its children on this subject from their earliest childhood.<sup>335</sup>

The Catholic hierarchy of Australasia declared in 1936 that, "Our children are taught that they cannot be good Catholics unless they be good citizens."<sup>336</sup> According to Father D.H. Hurley, Catholic schools were established for the formation of "upright citizens who know and love God" and "who love their country as their home and fatherland."<sup>337</sup> The war record of St Patrick's College and other schools was seen as evidence of their success in training loyal citizens.<sup>338</sup> As a means of cultivating the ideals of loyal citizenship, the cadet system had as important a role in Catholic schools as it did in state schools and was regularly reported on in the Church press.<sup>339</sup> While the Presbyterian Church debated the propriety of having military cadets in Christian schools, during the mid-1930s, the Catholic Church seems to have had no such scruples.<sup>340</sup> St Patrick's College cadets provided the guard of honour at the official opening of Parliament in 1932.<sup>341</sup>

Having reviewed the rationale and content of Catholic education, it is appropriate to consider how effectively the ideal of educating all Catholic children in Church schools was implemented. Table 3.1 shows that the number of Catholic primary schools rose considerably during the 1920s, although the increase in enrolment was less dramatic and, during the 1930s, the rate of increase was much slower.<sup>342</sup> Financial

<sup>335</sup> *Month*, 1 November 1932, p. 8.

<sup>336</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 9 December 1936, p. 29.

<sup>337</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 5 June 1935, p. 7.

<sup>338</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 12 June 1919, p. 19; *Month*, 15 October 1929, p. 20; 20 May 1930, p. iii; H. Laracy, "Priests, People and Patriotism: New Zealand Catholics and War, 1914-1918, *Australasian Catholic Record*, 70/1 (January 1993), pp. 19-20; cf. *NZ Tablet*, 1 December 1926, p. 19 (Marist Brothers' School, Invercargill); 26 June 1940, p. 34 (St Kevin's College, Oamaru).

<sup>339</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 31 July 1919, p. 19; 12 August 1920, p. 27; 23 September 1920, p. 22; 31 March 1926, p. 27; 16 March 1927, p. 29; 29 November 1933, p. 7; 28 February 1934, p. 34; 20 February 1935, p. 7; 18 November 1936, p. 7; *Zealandia*, 25 October 1934, p. 3; 23 May 1935, pp. 3, 5; 2 January 1936, p. 3; *Marist Messenger*, 1 April 1935, p. 7.

<sup>340</sup> M.N. Garing, "Against the Tide: Social, Moral and Political Questions in the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, 1840-1970" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis in Religious Studies, Victoria University of Wellington, 1989), pp. 514-515.

<sup>341</sup> *Evening Post*, 24 February 1932, p. 11; *Marist Messenger*, 2 May 1932, p. 29.

<sup>342</sup> Until 1932, the *New Zealand Official Year-Book* included a quinquennial table of statistics on Catholic primary education; in subsequent years, only one year's figures were recorded. For the period from 1886 to 1950, these statistics have been collated in Akenson, pp. 170-171. Unfortunately, the author omitted the enrolment figures from 1919 to 1930, though they were available, for example, in the *Year-Books* for 1925 (p. 222), 1930 (p. 232) and 1932 (p. 187).

constraints during the Depression no doubt restricted the further expansion of Catholic education, though the bishops encouraged the continuation of the Church's building programme as a means of providing employment.<sup>343</sup> More important reasons for the lower rate of expansion in the 1930s were probably the fulfilment of the most urgent needs (in the more populated areas) and the diversion of resources into secondary education.<sup>344</sup> In 1936, the *Marist Messenger* boasted with some justification that, "Our parochial school system is one of the grandest achievements of the Catholic Church in New Zealand, to which we can point with pride."<sup>345</sup>

*Table 3.1*  
**Registered Catholic Schools, 1919-1939**

	1919	Primary 1929	1939	Secondary 1929	1939
Number of Schools	152	208	229	25	35
Increase in Schools		56	21		10
Percentage Increase		37	10		40
December Roll	17,169	22,126	24,102	1,634	2,845
Roll Increase		4,957	1,976		1,211
Percentage Increase		29	9		74
Average Roll	113	106	105	65	81

Sources: Numbers of schools and enrolments in *New Zealand Official Year-Book, 1920-21*, p. 146; Education reports, *AJHR*, 1930, vol. II, E.-2, p. 8; E.-6, p. 23; 1940, vol. II, E.-2, p. 16; E.-6, pp. 29-30.

Catholic secondary education was much slower to develop.<sup>346</sup> However, there was a marked increase in enrolments during the 1930s and the figures given in the table

<sup>343</sup> *Month*, 1 July 1931, p. 9; *NZ Tablet*, 8 July 1931, p. 43.

<sup>344</sup> It was Church policy to build a school wherever there were at least forty pupils (*NZ Tablet*, 12 February 1930, p. 47).

<sup>345</sup> *Marist Messenger*, 1 February 1936, p. 9.

<sup>346</sup> The earliest detailed government statistics for registered private secondary schools are those for 1928 (*AJHR*, 1929, vol. II, E.-6, p. 31), although an official "Register of Private Schools" was published annually in the *NZ Gazette*. The list for 1919 (*ibid.*, 18 August 1919, pp. 2,641-2,647) includes eleven Catholic secondary schools, all of which served as primary schools as well. The annual editions of the *ACD* included statistics on Catholic education for the preceding year but they were not published in a uniform format and contain inconsistencies (compare, for example, the figures given on page 259 of the 1930 directory with references to the same schools on pages 255-257).

exclude a substantial number of secondary level pupils receiving a Catholic education at schools which were not registered as secondary schools.<sup>347</sup> The Catholic educational ideal, it was said, required not merely primary but also secondary education in Church schools.<sup>348</sup> Recalling his experience of canvassing for St Bede's and St Patrick's Colleges, Cecil Knight SM noted that Catholics were slower than other members of the community to recognize the value of secondary education.<sup>349</sup> This can be explained in part by the inclusion in the Catholic community of a high proportion of working class families, who may have been less ambitious for their children. The establishment, maintenance and staffing of private secondary schools, moreover, was an expensive enterprise for a community of limited resources. According to two principals of Catholic boys' schools, Father Gilbert and Brother Borgia, the provision of Catholic boys' secondary schools was much less adequate than that for girls.<sup>350</sup> However, while there were more schools for girls than for boys, the existence of several large boys' schools brought the total enrolment of boys close to the total for girls. Of the thirty-five registered schools in 1939, for example, twenty-three taught 1,493 girls and twelve taught 1,352 boys.<sup>351</sup> There were scarcely any Catholic technical schools and non-academic pupils were naturally attracted to state institutions.<sup>352</sup> According to Duggan, children who attended Catholic primary schools

<sup>347</sup> Of ten schools with secondary pupils in the Christchurch diocese in 1929, for example, four were not included in the list of registered secondary schools (*ACD*, 1930, p. 259; *AJHR*, 1930, vol. II, E.-6, p. 23).

<sup>348</sup> *Month*, 2 February 1931, p. 14; *NZ Tablet*, 29 September 1926, p. 33. Thomas Gilbert SM called for an effort to establish Catholic secondary schools comparable to that which had resulted in the formation of the primary school system (*NZ Tablet*, 3 May 1923, pp. 23-26).

<sup>349</sup> "Reminiscences of Father Knight SM" (unpublished typescript by M.C. Larkin SM, August 1967), pp. 91, 93.

<sup>350</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 3 May 1923, p. 26; *Month*, 15 December 1923, p. 7.

<sup>351</sup> At the opening of the Marist Brothers' Training College, Tuakau, Archdeacon Holbrook argued that the number of Catholic schools could be doubled if there were enough brothers available (*NZ Tablet*, 31 March 1926, p. 43). However, the larger number of secondary schools for girls cannot be explained solely by the lack of teaching brothers and priests in comparison with the much larger number of nuns in New Zealand. Ninety-three women staffed the girls' secondary schools in 1939 while sixty-nine men staffed the boys' schools; the staff to pupil ratios were 1:16 and 1:19 respectively (figures calculated from *AJHR*, 1940, vol. II, E.-6, pp. 29-30). Almost all Catholic primary school teachers were nuns and it would appear that small secondary girls' schools developed where there were already primary schools run by convents.

<sup>352</sup> In 1939, there were only two registered Catholic technical schools - both in Auckland and both for girls. They are included in the secondary school statistics cited above.

were "frequently sent to non-Catholic schools for their secondary training".<sup>353</sup> After paying for a Catholic primary education, many parents no doubt felt justified in taking advantage of the free education offered by the state.<sup>354</sup> Sister M. Bertrille of St Benedict's Convent feared that in such cases the good achieved by a religious primary education would be undone.<sup>355</sup>

Naturally, Catholic authorities were not content merely to build and maintain schools: they also sought to persuade parents of the need to place "Every Catholic child in a Catholic school".<sup>356</sup> From the pulpit and through the Catholic press, parents were reminded of the Church's views on education.<sup>357</sup> Most of the material cited in this discussion originally served as propaganda for Catholic education. Eternal values, rather than the hope of social advancement through attendance at prestigious non-Catholic schools, were the best guide for parents' choices of their children's education.<sup>358</sup> According to Kelly, there was "laughter in hell at the airs of...parents" who preferred respectability to a Catholic education.<sup>359</sup> Public examination results and reports by state appointed inspectors were emphasized to demonstrate that "our Catholic colleges are equal to any in New Zealand from the point of view of scholastic

<sup>353</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 22 February 1928, p. 21. Gilbert noted that an increasing number of Catholic children were attending state secondary schools (*NZ Tablet*, 3 May 1923, pp. 23, 25).

<sup>354</sup> According to Gilbert, the award of Proficiency Certificates to children at Catholic primary schools was a mixed blessing for pupils were then tempted to take up the right to a free place in a state secondary school (T.A. Gilbert SM, "Evidence submitted to the Minister of Education and the Parliamentary Commission on Education at Christchurch, December 9th, 1929...", p. 9, CCDA).

<sup>355</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 21 January 1931, p. 48; 3 June 1931, pp. 22-23. Gilbert agreed (*ibid.*, 3 May 1923, p. 25). A writer to the *Tablet* claimed that many parents denied their children a technical education rather than risk exposing them to non-Catholic influence (*NZ Tablet*, 24 May 1939, p. 7).

<sup>356</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 21 August 1919, p. 33; 18 November 1925, p. 33; 29 September 1926, p. 33; 2 May 1928, p. 6; 23 January 1929, p. 3; 20 February 1929, p. 42; 25 September 1929, p. 5; 11 December 1929, p. 46; 5 November 1930, p. 3; *Marist Messenger*, January 1931, p. 7; February 1931, p. 5.

<sup>357</sup> *Marist Messenger*, January 1931, p. 7; *Zealandia*, 31 January 1935, p. 4; 13 January 1938, p. 6; 27 January 1938, p. 6; O'Shea, circular letter to clergy, 28 January 1931, CCDA; *Course of Catechetical Instructions for the Year 1932* (Auckland: printed by Dawson Printing Co., 1931), p. 5 (24 January); *Course of Catechetical Instructions for the Year 1939* (Auckland: printed by New Zealand Newspapers, 1938), p. 3 (22 January). These booklets outlined the sermon topics for the year in the diocese of Auckland; see also the references cited in the discussion on canon law below.

<sup>358</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 1 January 1920, p. 15; 8 November 1923, p. 29; 27 January 1937, p. 3; *Zealandia*, 31 January 1935, p. 4; 24 November 1935, p. 4; 31 December 1936, p. 4; 13 January 1938, p. 6; 19 January 1939, p. 4.

<sup>359</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 10 May 1923, p. 18.

attainment."<sup>360</sup> When the government closed schools during the 1925 polio epidemic, Sister Marcella O'Neill, fearing for her pass record, secretly held her Proficiency class in different outside locations each day.<sup>361</sup> Fees were a problem for many Catholic parents but school fees could be waived in order to encourage parents to send their children to Catholic schools.<sup>362</sup> As Gilbert acknowledged, "though it is not generally known, hundreds of children are educated free even in the Catholic secondary schools."<sup>363</sup> In some locations, trusts were established to reduce or abolish the costs of Catholic education. The most successful was the Wellington Catholic Education Board, which, having built up a capital fund of over £28,000 since 1912, was able in 1929 to abolish fees in the eleven city schools it administered.<sup>364</sup> Before their abolition, unpaid fees were the largest "expenditure" item in the Board's annual accounts.<sup>365</sup>

Canon law laid down that parents had a duty not only to provide for the moral and religious education of their children but also that Catholic children were not allowed to attend non-Catholic schools or those which were religiously neutral or mixed. Only the local bishop, in accordance with instructions formulated by the Apostolic See, could authorize attendance at non-Catholic schools and determine what safeguards would be required to prevent the perversion of a child's religion when a dispensation was granted.<sup>366</sup> This rule was reaffirmed by Pius XI in 1931 and by the Plenary

<sup>360</sup> *Marist Messenger*, 1 March 1939, p. 19; cf. *NZ Tablet*, 13 January 1921, supplement, pp. 3, 7; 9 December 1925, p. 11; 17 November 1926, p. 30; 1 December 1926, p. 41; 18 January 1928, p. 49; 25 January 1928, supplement, p. 1; 23 January 1929, p. 3; 11 February 1931, pp. 3, 46; 15 February 1933, p. 41; 22 January 1936, p. 3; 19 February 1936, p. 11; 28 October 1936, p. 27; 16 December 1936, p. 6; 9 February 1938, p. 6; *Month*, 15 December 1923, p. 18; 16 February 1926, p. 9; 16 March 1926, p. 25; 17 January 1928, p. 25; 18 December 1928, pp. 21-23; 1 January 1931, p. 10; 2 March 1931, p. 33; *Zealandia*, 31 January 1935, p. 4; 24 November 1935, p. 4; 23 September 1937, p. 4.

<sup>361</sup> W.J. Butler, in Carol Peters-Slinn (editor), *Sisters of Our Lady of the Missions, Nelson, New Zealand...1871-1971* (Nelson: Nelson Printers), p. 63.

<sup>362</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 28 December 1932, p. 4 (Brother M.M. O'Connor, Principal of the Christian Brothers' School, Dunedin); 13 January 1932, p. 42 (Father A. Burger, Rector of St Bede's); Sister Mary Daniel, interview, 9 April 1990.

<sup>363</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 29 January 1930, supplement, p. 3; cf. 3 May 1923, p. 23 and Gilbert, "Evidence", p. 5.

<sup>364</sup> *Evening Post*, 3 December 1928, p. 10; *NZ Tablet*, 4 December 1929, p. 43.

<sup>365</sup> See, for example, "Wellington Catholic Education Trust Board, Report and Statement of Accounts, 1927-1928", WCAA. This report covered the last full year before the abolition of fees.

<sup>366</sup> *CIC*, canons 1113 and 1374.

Council of Australia and New Zealand which was held in Sydney in 1937.<sup>367</sup> Parents were often reminded of the requirements of canon law.<sup>368</sup> In 1925, the bishops of New Zealand agreed to refuse sacramental absolution to parents who sent their children to state primary schools, but to take no action in the case of secondary schools - for the present.<sup>369</sup> The threat was carried out: during a 1927 parish mission in Puhoi, for example, two Catholics were denied Communion because they sent their children to a state school.<sup>370</sup> Being debarred from the sacraments did not involve excommunication *per se*, but rather the withholding of absolution from the unrepentant; such a Catholic would not be fit to receive Holy Communion. As the *Marist Messenger* pointed out, it was a "grievous sin" to send one's children to a public school when a suitable Catholic school was available.<sup>371</sup>

Catholics in the Wellington archdiocese were warned in 1930 that the policy would apply in future to both primary and secondary schools.<sup>372</sup> Priests were advised that the rule would be "strictly enforced" and parents had to apply to their parish priest to obtain permission from the archbishop if they thought there were sound reasons for sending their children to a non-Catholic school.<sup>373</sup> Permission would be granted for attendance at day schools only if no suitable Catholic school was within reach and as long as "safeguards against the loss of faith were insisted on". Pupils would have to attend the sacraments and carry out their religious duties regularly as well as joining

<sup>367</sup> Pius XI, "Rappresentanti in Terra", paragraphs 34 and 79; *Concilium Plenarum IV Australiae et Novae Zelandiae, Habitum Apud Sydney, Anno Domini 1937, Editio Officialis* (Manly: printed by the Manly Daily Pty, n.d., c. 1939), decree 625.

<sup>368</sup> St Joseph's parish notices, 21 January 1934, 2 February 1936, 14 February 1937, 30 January 1938, WCAA; *NZ Tablet*, 13 June 1918, p. 25; 3 May 1923, p. 25 (Gilbert); 24 April 1924, p. 26 (Whyte); 11 November 1925, p. 29 (Redwood); 24 February 1926, p. 29 (Brodie); 3 November 1926, p. 30 (Redwood); 16 November 1927, p. 30 (Whyte); 2 May 1928, p. 6 (reprinted extract); 5 September 1928, p. 6; 20 February 1929, p. 42 (Whyte); 23 January 1929, p. 3; 6 November 1929, p. 5; 22 January 1936, p. 3; 9 December 1936, p. 11; 27 January 1937, p. 3; 8 February 1939, p. 5; *cf.* *Zealandia*, 24 May 1935, p. 10.

<sup>369</sup> Minutes of bishops' meeting, 6 May 1925, CCDA, ACDA CLE 1-5.

<sup>370</sup> "Record of Marist Missions" (1908-1928), May 1927, MAW.

<sup>371</sup> *Marist Messenger*, 1 February 1936, p. 9; *cf.* Redwood's reference to "grave sin" (*NZ Tablet*, 3 November 1926, p. 30) and *Concilium Plenarum*, decree 628, which states that offending parents "sin mortally" (*mortaliter peccant*).

<sup>372</sup> *Month*, 18 February 1930, p. 29; *NZ Tablet*, 5 March 1930, p. 48; St Joseph's parish notices, 26 January 1930, WCAA.

<sup>373</sup> O'Shea, circular letter to clergy, 28 January 1930, WCAA. A year later, parish priests were authorized to give permission themselves in clearly justified cases, but they had to inform the Chancery Office of the dispensation (O'Shea, circular letter to clergy, 28 January 1931, CCDA).

appropriate pious sodalities. They were not to attend religious observances at non-Catholic schools. In practice, parents of boys were sent to the rector of St Patrick's and, if their circumstances required it, were offered free tuition. Impecunious parents of girls, however, were allowed to send their daughters to Wellington Girls' College and children could enrol at the Technical College for courses not available in Catholic schools.<sup>374</sup>

The proportions of Catholic children attending Church schools and state schools can only be approximated. Between 1927 and 1931, Liston variously estimated the number of Catholic children in state schools between 14,000 and 17,000.<sup>375</sup> These figures were presumably intended to include secondary school pupils but a somewhat more accurate estimate can be made by isolating primary pupils since they had to attend school whereas it is impossible to distinguish on the basis of the available statistics between Catholics who attended a non-Catholic secondary school and those of similar age who had left school. According to a 1925 report on the Wellington archdiocese, 7,000 out of 10,000 Catholic primary school children attended the Church's schools, most of the remaining 3,000 living in rural areas without access to Catholic schools.<sup>376</sup> The census reports for 1926 and 1936 record the number of Catholic children between aged from five to nine years and from ten to thirteen years (inclusive).<sup>377</sup> Together, these two age groups can be taken as approximating the primary school age group, giving a total of 33,148 Catholic primary school pupils in

<sup>374</sup> McRae to Brodie, 15 January 1936, CCDA; cf. St Joseph's parish notices, 16 February 1930, 1 February 1931, WCAA. In these instances, the parish priest himself could give permission - which suggests that such cases were quite numerous.

<sup>375</sup> *Month*, 17 May 1927, p. 13; 18 February 1930, p. 17; 2 February 1931, p. 15; *NZ Tablet*, 19 February 1930, pp. 47, 50; 19 March 1930, p. 46. Liston's figures belie Akenson's assumption that "the last thing the authorities of the Catholic church wished to do was publicise the fact that not all Catholic children were in Catholic schools" (Akenson, p. 171). On the basis of some very rough calculations, Kelly thought that "about half the children of Catholic parents are still going to non-Catholic schools" - that is over 23,000 pupils (*NZ Tablet*, 5 November 1930, p. 3). He calculated the total enrolment at Catholic schools as 23,294 (22,126 primary and 1,568 secondary, which actually comes to 23,694) or "one eighth of our total numbers", whereas, in the community as a whole, one fifth of the population was at school. Since Catholic families were larger, Kelly argued, one quarter of the Catholic population or double the present level, should be at school.

<sup>376</sup> Quinquennial report, archdiocese of Wellington, 1921-1925, item 91, WCAA (Latin and English versions). It was also said that of 5,000 children of secondary school age, 2,500 attended Catholic secondary schools, while some of the remainder attended state secondary or technical schools but most had left school.

<sup>377</sup> *NZ Census*, 1926, vol. VIII, p. 32; 1936, vol. VI, pp. 20, 22.

1926 and 34,008 in 1936.<sup>378</sup> In December 1926, there were 21,137 pupils enrolled at Catholic primary schools and in December 1936, there were 23,728.<sup>379</sup> On the basis of these figures, it would seem that about 64 per cent of Catholic primary school pupils attended their Church's schools in 1926 and about 70 per cent in 1936.<sup>380</sup> If about two thirds of Catholic children attended Catholic primary schools - and the proportion was increasing - the policy of requiring children to attend Catholic schools was quite successful. Nevertheless, more than one third of Catholics had some experience of state education, whether at the primary or secondary level. Liston estimated that forty per cent of Catholic school children attended public schools; he was probably about right, though some of these children would have been secondary pupils who had already attended Catholic primary schools.<sup>381</sup>

There was a degree of antagonism towards Catholic schools in some sections of the community, but respectable opinion generally acknowledged that Catholic schools made a valuable contribution to society. In an unusually extreme display of hostility towards Catholic schools, workmen employed by the Hastings Borough Council threw hot tar at convent school children in September 1918.<sup>382</sup> Catholic and state school children commonly exchanged insults:

Catholic dogs  
Jump like frogs,  
Don't eat meat on Friday.

Protestant dogs  
Jump like frogs,  
Do eat meat on Friday.<sup>383</sup>

<sup>378</sup> In 1936, there were 2,174 thirteen year olds enrolled at private primary schools (not all of which were Catholic), but there were more fourteen year olds at private secondary schools than at private primary schools (*AJHR*, 1937, E.-2, pp. 24, 51).

<sup>379</sup> *AJHR*, 1927, vol. II, E.-2, p. 7; 1937, vol. II, E.-2, p. 23.

<sup>380</sup> Akenson (p. 171) estimates that 58 per cent of Catholic children attended Catholic primary schools in 1926 but, despite references to official statistics, fails to indicate how this figure was calculated.

<sup>381</sup> *Month*, 2 February 1931, p. 15.

<sup>382</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 7 November 1918, pp. 30-31.

<sup>383</sup> Dan Davin, "The Apostate" in *Selected Stories* (Wellington: Victoria University Press with Price Milburn, 1981), p. 23. Jamelie Joseph (interview, 30 May 1991) recalls hearing the rhyme directed against Catholics (in Dunedin), but not the Catholic response. There were variants on this theme: growing up in Palmerston North, Beryl Bartlett was subjected to cries of "Catholic dogs eat frogs every Friday morning" - "Recollections, Impressions, Opinions and a few Facts, in the parish of St Patrick's Church, Palmerston North (and environs)", vol. 5, p. 187, manuscript in Miss Bartlett's possession.

Sometimes name-calling led on to stone-throwing or fighting.<sup>384</sup> Adult opponents of Catholic schools tended to reject other forms of private education as well. William Earnshaw MLC declared in Parliament that,

If I had my way there would be no private school in New Zealand. I would have only the State school.<sup>385</sup>

Against the background of sectarian tension during and immediately after the First World War, the Protestant Political Association (in which Earnshaw had played an important role) and the New Zealand Educational Institute sought to have all government concessions to private schools withdrawn.<sup>386</sup> The efforts of state primary school teachers to boycott Catholic school sports teams have already been discussed. During most of the interwar period, however, public and private schools enjoyed amicable exchanges. At the opening of Redcastle College, Oamaru, Frank Milner, Rector of Waitaki Boy's High School, "promised cordial co-operation in scholastic work and in the sporting field"; the pledge was fulfilled.<sup>387</sup> Catholics naturally welcomed indications that other denominations were also interested in establishing schools, seeing in this a vindication of their own policy.<sup>388</sup> The common interests of Catholic and other denominational schools were recognized by the establishment in 1927 of an Association of Registered Secondary Schools.<sup>389</sup> Gilbert was elected Vice-President and Brother Benignus of Sacred Heart College was one of the Association's two representatives on the University Entrance Board.<sup>390</sup>

Civic dignitaries, national politicians, governors-general and even representatives of the state education system often attended Catholic school openings and other

<sup>384</sup> Interviews with Fred Scully (21 January 1989) and Patrick Sheehan (11 April 1990), both referring to Sydenham.

<sup>385</sup> *NZPD*, 1929, vol. 223, p. 717; cf. A.R. Atkinson's assertion that "public opinion has been for all these years set against denominationalism" (*JLC*, 1926, "Religious Exercises in Schools Petitions Committee", pp. 14-15).

<sup>386</sup> See chapter six below.

<sup>387</sup> *Month*, 15 February 1927, p. 22; *NZ Tablet*, 9 February 1927, pp. 30, 35; 21 December 1927, p. 25; 19 December 1928, p. 48; 12 February 1930, p. 52; 21 July 1937, p. 7; *Zealandia*, 6 December 1934, p. 9.

<sup>388</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 16 May 1918, p. 15; 18 July 1918, pp. 14-15; 1 August 1918, p. 18; 12 September 1918, p. 14; 20 March 1919, p. 43; 11 September 1919, p. 25; 25 September 1919, pp. 25-26; 23 September 1920, p. 21; 13 January 1921, p. 28; 3 May 1923, p. 26; 11 September 1929, p. 3; 19 February 1930, p. 47; 3 February 1937, p. 34; *Month*, 15 August 1919, p. 18; 15 March 1920, p. 4; 15 October 1920, p. 17; 18 February 1930, p. 17; 5 July 1930, p. 21.

<sup>389</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 25 January 1928, supplement, p. 1; cf. *ibid.*, 5 January 1927, p. 15 (Brother Borgia advocating such an organization).

<sup>390</sup> *Marist Messenger*, June 1931, p. 12; *Month*, 2 August 1930, p. 27.

functions. When Mayor C. Blenkhorn and his wife attended the opening of an infant school in Levin, Dr Arthur McRae expressed his pleasure at this evidence of "the cordial relations existing between the Catholic community and civic authorities".<sup>391</sup> At the opening of a new wing at St Bede's in Christchurch, the city's Baptist Mayor, the Rev. J.K. Archer, endorsed a speech by Redwood on the aims of Catholic education.<sup>392</sup> The Christian Brothers' college in Auckland was opened in the presence of the Mayor, Sir Ernest Davis and Attorney General H.G.R. Mason.<sup>393</sup> When a new school was opened at Westport, the platform included, among others, the Mayor (J.H. Harkness), H.E. Holland MP, W.H. McIntyre MLC, the Principal of the Public School (Mr Wilmott), the Director of the Technical School (J. Metson), and the Chairman of the Public School Committee (G.H. Gothard).<sup>394</sup> The opening of St Joseph's School in New Plymouth was attended by the Mayor, F.E. Wilson, representatives of the Taranaki Education Board (P.J.H. White and N.R. McKenzie) and Education Minister R.A. Wright.<sup>395</sup> In 1930, Education Minister Harry Atmore visited a number of Catholic schools in Christchurch and congratulated the authorities on the high standard of the buildings and equipment.<sup>396</sup>

While elected officials courted the Catholic vote, Catholics themselves craved the respectability conferred on their education system by visiting dignitaries and used the opportunity to emphasize their loyalty as citizens. St Patrick's College, Silverstream, was opened by Lord Bledisloe, in the presence of Prime Minister Forbes and other leading politicians and educationalists. The Rector, Father J.W. Dowling, was applauded when he declared the school's aim to be making its students "not only good Christians, but also worthy citizens, whose loyalty to King and country is no mere sentiment, but is proved by deeds whenever the occasion demands." In a similar vein, Bledisloe advised the pupils of the college to "Take a proper pride in your Empire, in your fair country, in your old School, and above all in yourselves."<sup>397</sup> In the course of a vice-regal visit to St Mary's Convent School in Auckland, the New Zealand National

<sup>391</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 12 June 1929, p. 47.

<sup>392</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 20 May 1925, pp. 27-29; *cf. Month*, 16 June 1925, p. 7.

<sup>393</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 8 February 1939, p. 46.

<sup>394</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 4 March 1931, p. 46.

<sup>395</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 17 November 1926, pp. 25, 27; *Month*, 16 November 1926, p. 34.

<sup>396</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 19 February 1930, p. 50.

<sup>397</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 25 March 1931, pp. 46-48; *Month*, 1 April 1931, pp. 13-15; *Marist Messenger*, May 1931, pp. 12-14.

Anthem was sung twice and the address of welcome by head girl Myra Kemble stressed the theme of loyalty to the King.<sup>398</sup> School cadets formed a guard of honour when governors-general visited boys' schools.<sup>399</sup> Towards the end of his term, Bledisloe wrote a letter of farewell which was printed in the *Catholic Schools Journal*. The *Journal* also reported his address to a gathering of 10,000 children in Newton Park, Wellington, the day before his departure.<sup>400</sup>

Elected officials and governors-general were not the only non-Catholics who showed their approval of Catholic educational efforts. Non-Catholic citizens often expressed their support by attending the laying of foundation stones or school opening ceremonies.<sup>401</sup> At the opening of a new school at Waipukurau, O'Shea interpreted "the presence of non-Catholic friends" as "an indication of the good spirit prevalent between Catholics and non-Catholics."<sup>402</sup> Mayor George Wildish, at the opening of a Marist Brothers' school in Gisborne, expressed the good wishes of local Protestants for the new school.<sup>403</sup> Non-Catholics often assisted in fund-raising activities for Catholic schools, especially, but not exclusively, in rural areas.<sup>404</sup> When the foundation stone of the new Catholic school in Te Aroha was laid in 1929, Cleary acknowledged "the very real assistance given by the non-Catholics of Te Aroha, who, he was glad to say, were above sectarian considerations when it came to giving the children the start in life to

<sup>398</sup> *NZ Tablet* 10 August 1932, p. 23; *Month*, 1 August 1932, pp. 9-10.

<sup>399</sup> Sir Charles Fergusson at the Christian Brothers' School, Dunedin (*NZ Tablet*, 25 November 1925, p. 31; *Month*, 15 December 1925, pp. 17, 22); Lord Bledisloe at Sacred Heart College, Auckland (*Month*, 1 August 1932, p. 8; *NZ Tablet*, 20 July 1932, p. 42); Viscount Galway at St Patrick's College, Silverstream (*NZ Tablet*, 10 November 1937, p. 7).

<sup>400</sup> *NZ Catholic Schools Journal*, Part III, October 1934, pp. 226-228; April 1935, pp. 76-78; cf. *Zealandia*, 27 September 1934, p. 4; *NZ Tablet*, 26 September 1934, p. 6. The Catholic Teachers' conference in Dunedin passed a resolution thanking Bledisloe for his interest in the Catholic schools (*NZ Tablet*, 30 January 1935, p. 7; *Marist Messenger*, 1 April 1935, p. 33). The *Zealandia* (27 September 1934, p. 4; 14 March 1935, p. 4) was grateful for Bledisloe's endorsement of Catholic education.

<sup>401</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 19 November 1924, p. 26 (Leeston); 31 March 1926, p. 41 (Tuakau); 1 December 1926, p. 17 (Gisborne); *Month*, 15 December 1923, p. 17 (Onehunga); 1 February 1932, p. 22 (Helensville).

<sup>402</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 1 December 1926, p. 41.

<sup>403</sup> *Month*, 15 March 1927, p. 22.

<sup>404</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 29 May 1919, p. 33 (Pahiatua); 26 July 1923, p. 27 (Eltham); 24 April 1924, p. 26 (Invercargill); 17 November 1926, p. 27 (New Plymouth); 12 February 1930, p. 47 (Papanui); 19 March 1930, p. 46 (Matamata); 14 May 1930, p. 47 (Manaia); 28 May 1930, p. 47 (Matamata, Te Aroha and Morrinsville); 2 November 1931, p. 42 (Nelson); *Month*, 15 December 1923, p. 23 (Thames).

which they were entitled."<sup>405</sup> All the furniture in the new Grey Lynn convent - which accommodated fifty boarders in addition to the nuns - was paid for by George H. Foster, an Anglican.<sup>406</sup>

Some non-Catholics even sent their children to Catholic schools in preference to the free state schools.<sup>407</sup> Gilbert noted in 1921 that there were two non-Catholic boys at St Patrick's, one of whom had won the Christian Doctrine prize.<sup>408</sup> The enrolment of non-Catholics had to be limited, though, in order to maintain a Catholic environment. Whyte wrote in a report on his diocese that there were Protestants at many of the Church's schools, but no more than three or four in each school of 60 to 80 pupils.<sup>409</sup>

In providing its own schools, the Church did not seek to alienate Catholic children from their non-Catholic peers. On the contrary, Catholic education aimed to prepare children for respectable participation in the wider society. At the ceremony to lay the foundation stone of St Bede's, Dean Peter Regnault declared that, "The children at this college should be trained on the lines of the highest and noblest ideals, so that they would grow up to be Christian gentlemen able to take part honorably in the private and public life of New Zealand."<sup>410</sup> Liston held that Catholic schools were "not set up in order to keep Catholic boys and girls away from other New Zealanders or to raise up a sectarian people to be strangers in their own land."<sup>411</sup> O'Shea, too, denied that Catholics ran their own schools "out of uncharitableness or exclusiveness": it was simply a matter of conviction that religion had to be central to education.<sup>412</sup> At the 1932 reunion of the Sacred Heart College Old Boy's Association (as in other years),

<sup>405</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 19 June 1929, p. 48; *cf. Month*, 18 February 1930, p. 15 for Father W.J. Forde's sentiments at the opening of the school.

<sup>406</sup> *Month*, 15 November 1922, pp. 13, 15; *cf.* 15 November 1923, p. 11 and Anne Marie Power RSJ, *Sisters of St Joseph of the Sacred Heart, New Zealand Story, 1883-1983* (Auckland: Sisters of St Joseph of the Sacred Heart, 1983), p. 147. The old convent had burnt down in suspicious circumstances - see chapter five below.

<sup>407</sup> *Aim*, p. 2 (referring to St Anne's, Newtown).

<sup>408</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 13 January 1921, supplement, p. 1.

<sup>409</sup> Quinquennial report, Diocese of Dunedin, May 1927, item 55, DCDA.

<sup>410</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 27 February 1919, p. 21.

<sup>411</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 19 February 1930, p. 47; *cf. Month*, 17 May 1927, p. 13; 18 February 1930, p. 17. Pius XI taught that Catholic schools did not seek to separate their pupils from the nation to which they belonged but that, on the contrary, Catholic principles made them better citizens who were submissive to civil authority ("Rappresentanti in Terra", paragraph 85).

<sup>412</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 31 August 1932, p. 6; for a similar statement by Gilbert, see 12 February 1930, p. 47.

there were present representatives of non-Catholic boys' secondary schools in Auckland, notably Auckland Grammar School, King's College and Prince Albert College. Proposing a toast to these "Kindred Associations", Dr Leonard Buxton noted that they were all doing similar work, albeit with their own methods and ideals.<sup>413</sup> Sacred Heart College representatives attended a King's College reunion the following year and other Catholic former pupils' associations had similar relationships with the former pupils of non-Catholic schools.<sup>414</sup> The editor of the *Press* asserted in 1921 that there was "no shadow of foundation" for the view that private schools fostered religious antagonisms.<sup>415</sup>

Catholic schools existed in a state of tension between criticizing public education and having to imitate it. Attendance at a Catholic school was a sign and a guarantee - a sacrament - of Catholic identity. According to Kelly, "A parent who does not send his children to a Catholic school is not a true Catholic".<sup>416</sup> Indeed, to follow one's private judgment in defiance of ecclesiastical authority by sending one's children to a non-Catholic school was Protestant.<sup>417</sup> When the bishops and clergy wanted to persuade parents of the moral and religious necessity of Catholic education, they contrasted its aims with those of state schools. The Church, it was argued, needed its own schools to educate children as Catholics, not only because the family could not achieve this task unaided but also because state schools encouraged immoral and anti-Catholic attitudes. Since morality could not survive without a religious basis, the stability of civilization itself depended on religious education. At the same time, advocates of Catholic schooling sought to convince both parents and state officials that Catholic education achieved the same academic aims as state education and instilled at least as strong a sense of patriotic citizenship. That parents were largely convinced is demonstrated by the high proportion of young Catholics enrolled in the Church's schools. The

<sup>413</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 15 June 1932, p. 42; *Month*, 1 July 1932, p. 25; cf. *Month*, 20 November 1928, p. 15; 10 June 1930, p. 9; *Zealandia*, 17 June 1937, p. 7.

<sup>414</sup> *NZ Herald*, 24 July 1933, p. 11; cf. *NZ Tablet*, 12 June 1935, p. 13 (St Kevin's, ball in Dunedin); 7 August 1935, p. 36 (Old Boys of several Catholic schools and of Otago Boys' High School, function in Dunedin); 12 August 1936, p. 7 (St Catherine's, Invercargill); 30 December 1936, p. 7 (St Kevin's Old Boys in Christchurch); 14 July 1937, p. 6 (Marist Brothers' High School, Invercargill); 15 June 1938, p. 7 (St Philomena's, Dunedin); *Zealandia*, 27 August 1936, p. 3 (St Catherine's, Invercargill).

<sup>415</sup> *Press*, 10 January 1921, p. 6.

<sup>416</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 22 May 1919, p. 26.

<sup>417</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 23 January 1929, p. 3.

attendance of prominent non-Catholics at Catholic school functions bears testimony to a widespread endorsement of these goals. Although Catholic education was conducted in a religious atmosphere, its aims and content were largely taken over from the state: Catholic schools resolved the tension by adding the educational demands of religion to those of the state. The religious beliefs and practices instilled in Catholic pupils were quite distinct from those taught at state or even Protestant schools but they supplemented rather than detracted from the state school curriculum. At the Golden Jubilee celebrations for Christian Brothers in Dunedin, J.B. Callan declared that Catholic schools sought to make their pupils "good Catholics and good citizens."<sup>418</sup>

### Mixed Marriage

Marriages between Catholics and Protestants provide a crucial index of Catholic integration into the wider society. Wherever Protestants and Catholics lived alongside each other, mixed marriages were one of the greatest sources of anxiety for Catholic clergy seeking to maintain the religious integrity of their communities.<sup>419</sup> In 1938, the *Tablet* reprinted a long extract on "The Evils of Mixed Marriages" from a pastoral letter issued by the bishops of Australia and New Zealand in 1885: evidently little had changed.<sup>420</sup> Despite clerical efforts to discourage mixed marriage, it will be seen, a high proportion of lay Catholics refused to allow their religion to determine their choice of spouse, thereby ensuring that, even within the family, Catholics were not necessarily isolated from their non-Catholic contemporaries.

Seeing the family as a means of perpetuating the Catholic community and its faith, the ecclesiastical authorities feared that mixed marriages encouraged religious indifference. An article in the *Marist Messenger* argued that mixed marriages constituted the chief cause of "leakage" from the Church.<sup>421</sup> According to Monsignor Power's catechetical column, "The Church is opposed to alliances with heretics because they are contrary to the dignity of the Sacrament, dangerous to salvation, and seldom happy."<sup>422</sup> Returning to the subject on a later occasion, the writer declared that, "The rule, which cannot be gainsaid, is that the Catholic party, so far as external

<sup>418</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 21 April 1926, p. 13.

<sup>419</sup> McLeod, p. 441.

<sup>420</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 19 January 1938, pp. 3-4, 8.

<sup>421</sup> *Marist Messenger*, 1 August 1939, p. 10.

<sup>422</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 25 January 1923, p. 41.

signs go, begins very soon to grow weak in the faith."<sup>423</sup> The *Tablet* argued that Catholic spouses needed to support each other in practising their religious obligations, whereas, for example, a Catholic wife having to cook meat for her husband on a Friday would be subjected to temptation.<sup>424</sup> Moreover, the children of a mixed marriage, in Power's view, were "likely to be brought up entirely without religion."<sup>425</sup> "Where the mother is a non-Catholic," argued Francis Byrne in an essay expressing the accepted view, "the religious training of the children is even more difficult."<sup>426</sup>

As well as undermining religious commitment, mixed marriages were said to lead Catholics into violation of the Church's marital ethics.<sup>427</sup> According to Power, the Protestant party sometimes demanded co-operation in "a nameless sin" which threatened to bring about the extinction of the country, thereby treating the Catholic not as "a being to be loved, but a mere instrument of lust."<sup>428</sup> The same concern was expressed in a 1924 statement by the Australasian bishops and by other Catholics.<sup>429</sup> A *Zealandia* columnist, to illustrate the difficulties inherent in mixed marriages, cited the case of a Catholic woman about to marry a non-Catholic who wished to use contraception until they could afford a family.<sup>430</sup> Similarly, a *Tablet* columnist cited the example of a Catholic woman whose non-Catholic mother-in-law urged her to have an abortion rather than bear a third child.<sup>431</sup> Mary Goulter assumed that mixed marriages were a danger to Catholics in part because non-Catholics did not believe in the permanence of marriage and would seek a divorce on the least pretext.<sup>432</sup> According to the *Tablet*, "The mixed marriage is a twin evil to divorce."<sup>433</sup>

From the pulpit and in the religious press, Catholics were repeatedly reminded of the Church's policy on mixed marriages. Liston advised priests that "no bounds

<sup>423</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 14 July 1926, p. 51.

<sup>424</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 18 January 1933, p. 3.

<sup>425</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 14 July 1926, p. 51.

<sup>426</sup> *Month*, 20 May 1924, p. 29; cf. 21 October 1924, p. 11; *NZ Tablet*, 6 January 1921, p. 35; 29 February 1928, p. 6; *Concilium Plenarium IV*, decree 453.

<sup>427</sup> For a discussion of Catholic attitudes to divorce and contraception, see chapter four below.

<sup>428</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 14 July 1926, p. 51.

<sup>429</sup> *Month*, 18 November 1924, p. 32; *NZ Tablet*, 24 December 1924, p. 13; cf. *Month*, 15 July 1924, p. 29; 1 March 1933, p. 25.

<sup>430</sup> *Zealandia*, 4 May 1939, p. 12.

<sup>431</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 22 November 1939, p. 21.

<sup>432</sup> *Month*, 15 September 1921, p. 16; cf. 20 January 1925, p. 13 (essay on mixed marriages).

<sup>433</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 21 July 1926, p. 61.

should be set to the zeal of a pastor in stopping them."<sup>434</sup> The clergy were required to preach on the subject on the second Sunday after Epiphany each year, when the story of Jesus' changing water into wine at the wedding feast of Cana was read.<sup>435</sup>

"Rosaleen", who wrote a column on "The Catholic Woman" for the *Tablet*, argued that there could be no happiness in a union which was not founded on "a harmony of religious belief".<sup>436</sup> In 1924, the *Month* ran two essay competitions on the problem and published the best examples.<sup>437</sup> Many entrants emphasized the value of Catholic organizations and Church-sponsored social activities in encouraging marriage within the Catholic community, although one contributor, James Maguire, argued that it was impracticable for Catholics to attempt to isolate themselves from the rest of the community since associations formed at home and in business were more significant than those established at social events.<sup>438</sup>

Admonitions on the issue of mixed marriage were remarkably pessimistic and exponents of the official view evidently took little account of the sensibilities of those whose parents or spouses were not Catholics. Schoolchildren were taught (and presumably required to memorize) the catechism's declaration that, "The Church has always forbidden mixed marriages and considered them unlawful and pernicious."<sup>439</sup> According to a brief entry in the *Month*, under the title "Alone",

There is no loneliness like to the depressing loneliness of the Catholic party in a mixed marriage: alone at Mass on Sundays and holidays; alone at the altar rail; alone in the proper celebration of Christmas and Easter and the great feasts of the Church; alone at Benediction; alone at the Mission; alone in Catholic gatherings and social activities - always alone.<sup>440</sup>

A *Tablet* editorial asserted that "the mixed marriage is in the great majority of instances unsuccessful".<sup>441</sup> Another article warned that a mistaken choice of marriage

<sup>434</sup> Liston to clergy, 26 January 1922, ACDA CLE 76-13/5. In this, Liston was simply following canon law (*CIC*, canon 1064).

<sup>435</sup> Minutes of bishops' meeting, 6 May 1925, CCDA, ACDA CLE 1-5; *Concilium Plenarium IV*, decree 451; *NZ Tablet*, 18 January 1933, p. 3; *Zealandia*, 13 January 1938, p. 6; 12 January 1939, p. 9; St Joseph's parish notices, 1927 (2nd Sunday after Epiphany, no date), 17 January 1937, WCAA.

<sup>436</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 27 October 1926, p. 58.

<sup>437</sup> *Month*, 15 January 1924, p. 29 (women's competition); 17 June 1924, p. 7 (men's competition).

<sup>438</sup> *Month*, 18 November 1924, p. 11; cf. 15 April 1924, pp. 29-30; 20 May 1924, p. 29; 17 June 1924, p. 29; 16 September 1924, p. 11; 21 October 1924, p. 11.

<sup>439</sup> *A Catechism of Christian Doctrine* No. 2 (Dunedin: NZ Tablet Co., n.d.), p. 58 (question 310); Cafferata, p. 159.

<sup>440</sup> *Month*, 17 July 1928, p. 1.

<sup>441</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 18 January 1933, p. 3.

partner could only be regretted but never remedied and could entail not only "lifelong misery" for both partners but even "eternal damnation" for parents and children:

How can you expect a non-Catholic to have the same lofty views of marriage that you, as a Catholic, must hold?....What great hope can you have of a happy married life in this world, and a happy eternity in the next, when sad experience shows that the vast majority of mixed marriages bring shipwreck to the Faith of the Catholic party and the children?<sup>442</sup>

According to a *Zealandia*, columnist, "Comparatively few mixed marriages result in happiness".<sup>443</sup> Readers were told that, "After marriage, when the glamour dulls, religious differences fester into sore spots - suppurating and open."<sup>444</sup>

Through the restrictions imposed on the solemnization of mixed marriages, the hierarchy demonstrated forcefully its strong disapproval of them. Since Easter 1908, when the 1907 *Ne Temere* decree came into effect, any Catholic who married in a civil ceremony or in a Protestant church would not be recognized by the Catholic Church as being validly married.<sup>445</sup> Catholics who proceeded to a second marriage ceremony after being married before a priest were automatically excommunicated.<sup>446</sup>

Meanwhile, the Catholic ceremony was deliberately made unattractive in the case of mixed marriages. Catholic partners were encouraged to have a full Nuptial Mass (in which "practically all of the variable parts of the Mass are adapted to the spirit of the ceremony"), and the official Nuptial Blessing which could only be given at Mass.<sup>447</sup> Neither was available in the case of a mixed marriage.<sup>448</sup> Such marriages were not to be solemnized before the altar: while their friends and relatives waited in the body of the church, the couple, accompanied by the priest and the witnesses, withdrew to the

<sup>442</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 24 November 1937, pp. 4, 8.

<sup>443</sup> *Zealandia*, 9 March 1939, p. 12.

<sup>444</sup> *Zealandia*, 23 February 1939, p. 11.

<sup>445</sup> It followed that a Catholic who married before a non-Catholic minister, or in a registry office, could later obtain a civil divorce and be free to marry in a Catholic church even if the original spouse was still living (*Zealandia*, 2 August 1934, p. 7; *Marist Messenger*, 1 January 1938, p. 12). The decree was not directly concerned with mixed marriage but required Catholics to marry before their parish priest or his deputy. For the text and its interpretation, see H.W. Cleary, *Catholic Marriages* (Dunedin: NZ Tablet Co., 1908). The main provisions of the *Ne Temere* decree were incorporated into the 1917 Code of Canon Law (*CIC*, canons 1094-1099).

<sup>446</sup> *CIC*, canons 1063 and 2319; *Concilium Plenarium IV*, decree 460; *Zealandia*, 12 March 1936, p. 10; 30 December 1937, p. 10; cf. 31 March 1938, p. 11.

<sup>447</sup> Liston to clergy, 26 January 1922, ACDA CLE 76-13/5; *Month*, 18 January 1927, p. 3; cf. 20 May 1930, p. 1; 1 June 1931, p. 30; *NZ Tablet*, 24 November 1937, pp. 4, 8.

<sup>448</sup> *Month*, 15 April 1924, p. 20; *Marist Messenger*, 1 March 1933, p. 28; *Zealandia*, 16 March 1939, p. 7; *CIC*, canons 1011-1102.

sacristy for the exchange of vows. Only in small country churches, where the sacristy was too small for a "becoming celebration", and where the Blessed Sacrament was not kept, could the priest ask for permission to celebrate a mixed wedding before the altar. No general permission was to be given for this exception: the priest had to apply again in each case. There could be no music or candles at the wedding. After discussing these conditions in 1920, the bishops agreed to maintain a uniform practice and "to be unyielding in the matter".<sup>449</sup>

When the *Tablet* began printing a selection of Dr Rumble's answers to religious queries broadcast on Sydney's station 2SM, the first topic was "Marriage in the Sacristy". Rumble held that, "The strict law is meant to make difficulties for both parties in a mixed marriage" - it encouraged Catholics to "think twice" before forming a relationship with a non-Catholic.<sup>450</sup> A Child of Mary who wrote to the *Marist Messenger* complaining about having to marry in the sacristy was told that, "Catholics who will do what they have been taught from childhood is abhorred by the Church and considered unlawful and pernicious, must take the responsibility for the 'insult'." The enquirer's duty was "to apologise for having caused your young man's discomfort".<sup>451</sup> Another Catholic, who wrote to the *Zealandia* about feeling insulted by a wedding which took place in the sacristy while he and other guests waited in the body of the church, was told that, "The law was made to impress upon Catholics that their Church disapproves of their marrying non-Catholics; and that, if they do, they cannot expect their Church to show the same enthusiasm as in the case where both parties are her children."<sup>452</sup>

Before granting a dispensation from the canon law prohibiting mixed marriages, the Church required the prospective spouses to make several promises. Both had to agree, normally in writing, that all children of the marriage would be baptized and brought up as Catholics, while the non-Catholic had to sign a pledge guaranteeing his or her spouse the freedom to practise the Catholic religion.<sup>453</sup> Bringing up the children as Catholics included sending them to Catholic schools and allowing the Catholic partner the full practice of his or her religion included respecting the Catholic's

<sup>449</sup> Minutes of bishops' meeting, 14 December 1920, CCDA, ACDA CLE 1-5.

<sup>450</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 4 October 1933, p. 33.

<sup>451</sup> *Marist Messenger*, 1 November 1937, p. 21.

<sup>452</sup> *Zealandia*, 26 January 1939, p. 10.

<sup>453</sup> Minutes of bishops' meetings, 6 May 1925 and 24 April 1929, CCDA, ACDA CLE 1-5; *NZ Tablet*, 18 January 1933, p. 3; *Zealandia*, 28 October 1937, p. 12; *Concilium Plenarium IV*, pp. 171-172.

rejection of contraception.<sup>454</sup> The Catholic partner was also required to "use every endeavour, by prayer and otherwise lawful means, to secure the conversion of the Protestant."<sup>455</sup>

In an attempt to minimize further the dangers of mixed marriages, the non-Catholic partner could be encouraged, or required, to undertake a course of instruction in the faith. In 1922, Liston commended this practice to the clergy of the Auckland diocese and pointed out that the Catholic might also benefit from being present.<sup>456</sup> At their 1925 meeting, the bishops felt that it would not be "prudent" to make instructions obligatory, although they gave them a firm endorsement.<sup>457</sup> Over the ensuing years, they took a bolder line. In 1929 Brodie could report that the practice was now "in vogue" in his diocese, while the other bishops, though not yet ready to legislate on the issue, hoped that the custom would spread.<sup>458</sup> O'Shea, however, decreed that, from Easter Sunday 1930, no dispensation for a mixed marriage would be granted unless the non-Catholic had received instruction on Catholic doctrine (especially as it pertained to marriage) from a priest, twice a week for six weeks prior to the wedding. In the course of the instructions, "the *absolute* prohibition of contraception" had to be "made quite clear to the non-Catholic party."<sup>459</sup> The clergy were advised that the twelve lessons could be reduced to a lesser number for those having to travel too far. Exemptions could be offered in cases of necessity (*Casus absolutae necessitatis excipitur*) but then "every effort should be made to induce the non-Catholic party to receive the instructions following the marriage."<sup>460</sup> Similar regulations were introduced in the other three dioceses about the same time.<sup>461</sup> In Wellington, from 1936, regular classes of instruction were offered at St Mary of the Angels for both Catholics and non-

<sup>454</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 6 April 1922, p. 19 (Whyte); *Zealandia*, 18 November 1937, p. 12.

<sup>455</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 18 January 1933, p. 3; cf. *Zealandia*, 6 December 1934, p. 6; *CIC*, canon 1062.

<sup>456</sup> Liston to clergy, 26 January 1922, ACDA CLE 76-13/5; cf. *Month*, 20 May 1924, p. 9 for advice to an enquirer encouraging instructions.

<sup>457</sup> Minutes of bishops' meeting, 6 May 1925, CCDA, ACDA CLE 1-5.

<sup>458</sup> Minutes of bishops' meeting, 24 April 1929, CCDA, ACDA CLE 1-5.

<sup>459</sup> O'Shea to clergy, 28 January 1930, WCAA (original emphasis); cf. *Month*, 18 February 1930, p. 29 and *NZ Tablet*, 26 February 1930, p. 47; St Joseph's parish notices, 9 February 1930, WCAA.

<sup>460</sup> O'Shea to clergy, 28 January 1931, CCDA.

<sup>461</sup> Proceedings of the Christchurch diocesan synod, 24 January 1930, CCDA; Minutes of bishops' meeting, 28 April 1930, CCDA, ACDA CLE 1-5; Minutes of bishops' meeting, 29 April 1931, CCDA; cf. *NZ Tablet*, 18 January 1933, p. 3 (editorial assuming that the requirement for twelve instructions was uniform throughout the country).

Catholics. Of 79 who attended in 1937, sixteen were preparing for a mixed marriage.<sup>462</sup>

Disapproval of mixed marriage was by no means restricted to Catholics. Public debate on the issue was revived in 1920 by the efforts of the Protestant Political Association to promote legislation directed against the *Ne Temere* decree, although the PPA was itself scarcely less coercive than the Catholic Church. New members had to sign a declaration stating, "I am not married to a Romanist nor will I marry one."<sup>463</sup> In 1919, the Association passed a resolution warning Protestants of the undesirability of marrying a Catholic.<sup>464</sup> Sir John Findlay, presenting the Catholic case against the proposed legislation - but not himself a Catholic - could appeal to a commonly accepted view: "The church recognizes, as we all recognize, that mixed marriages provide a poor guarantee for domestic happiness."<sup>465</sup> Bishop Sadlier of Nelson agreed with the Catholic Church that marriages between Catholics and non-Catholics "are harmful to religion, and most dangerous to the felicity of life, and are not infrequently destructive of home." He urged Anglicans, both lay and clerical, "to make every reasonable and legitimate effort to dissuade our Church people from entering into such alliances".<sup>466</sup>

While agreeing that marriage to Catholics was inadvisable, Protestants were offended by the determination of the Catholic Church to impose its own conditions on the non-Catholic partner, and some claimed to discern sinister motives in the Church's policy. J.J. North warned that, "There can be no marriage between a Protestant and a Roman Catholic which is not hedged round with humiliations", for "the priest will not marry till the faith of the unborn children is pledged in front" and there were frequently "solicitations to change one's religion which are overpowering".<sup>467</sup> Archbishop Julius declared in 1931 that the Catholic and Anglican Churches were "one in principle" on the subject of mixed marriages, since they led to "serious difficulties", but he did not

<sup>462</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 19 January 1938, p. 6.

<sup>463</sup> Report of the Auckland Post Office Inquiry, *AJHR*, 1917, vol. II, F.-8, p. 41; *NZPD*, 1920, vol. 189, p. 230 (Holland); H.S. Moores, "The Rise of the Protestant Political Association: Sectarianism in New Zealand during World War I" (University of Auckland M.A. thesis in History, 1966), p. 326. The Marriage Amendment Act will be discussed in chapter five below.

<sup>464</sup> *Evening Post*, 26 May 1919, p. 8.

<sup>465</sup> *JLC*, 1920, Appendix, p. 36.

<sup>466</sup> *Evening Post*, 29 September 1920, p. 4.

<sup>467</sup> J.J. North, *Roman Catholicism: Roots and Fruits* (Napier: Printed by G.W. Venables and Co. Ltd, 1922), p. 138.

think the Anglican Church could insist that its members marry within the Church. Convinced Anglicans, however, would not agree to having their children brought up as Catholics.<sup>468</sup> The Protestant Principles Committee of the Presbyterian Church, fearing that mixed marriages were increasing, warned in 1927 that they led to religious indifference and disharmony within the family.<sup>469</sup> Four years later, the Committee claimed that through such marriages the Catholic Church was strengthened at the expense of "the Protestant Church".<sup>470</sup> In 1937, the Hawke's Bay Presbytery expressed its concern over the Catholic Church's "intensive propaganda" and the "alarming" increase in mixed marriages - the *Tablet* also found the news "rather disquieting" and hoped it was not so.<sup>471</sup> To counter the threat, the General Assembly ordered the publication of a series of pamphlets.<sup>472</sup> The *Outlook* published an article entitled "The Vital Issue of Mixed Marriages: A Plea for the Spiritual Unity of the Home". In some respects the article agreed with the official Catholic position, asserting that mixed marriages led to discord, divorce and religious indifference. However, it took issue with the Catholic claim to legislate for Protestants, notably by demanding a written promise "handing over the children of the marriage to the Church of Rome", and argued that the Protestant spouse had as much right to urge the conversion of the Catholic as the Catholic had to encourage the conversion of the Protestant. In submitting to the conditions imposed by the Catholic Church, the Protestant partner was tacitly admitting that "the Churches of the Reformation are heretical and schismatic." It was "better to remain single than to be unequally yoked for a lifetime."<sup>473</sup> A letter to the editor, endorsing the article's disapproval of mixed marriage, suggested that, "The Church of Rome ostensibly condemns it, but her members are all the time encouraging friendships between their children and Protestants", evidently hoping "to pluck brands for the burning".<sup>474</sup>

While this was an unduly cynical interpretation of Catholic attitudes, it does demonstrate an awareness that official Catholic policy was rather different from actual

<sup>468</sup> *Christchurch Times*, 10 January 1931, p. 7.

<sup>469</sup> PGA, 1927, p. 210.

<sup>470</sup> PGA, 1931, p. 82.

<sup>471</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 10 November 1937, p. 10; PGA, 1937, p. 258.

<sup>472</sup> PGA, 1937, pp. 64-65.

<sup>473</sup> *Outlook*, 12 July 1937, pp. 5-6 (by "Watchman"). One of the pamphlets referred to by the Protestant Principles Committee was to be on the subject of "the spiritual unity of the home" and was presumably based on this article.

<sup>474</sup> *Outlook*, 26 July 1937, p. 27.

practice. The Catholic clergy, and canon law, sought to give the impression that dispensations for mixed marriage were only rarely granted.<sup>475</sup> According to Power,

A Catholic cannot lawfully marry a baptised non-Catholic. Mixed marriages are abhorred by the Church; she may dispense occasionally from this impediment, but she continues to abhor them.<sup>476</sup>

Rumble declared that, "The Church cannot accept mixed marriages as the normal thing, and she would not be wise to treat them as if they were normal."<sup>477</sup> Responding on a later occasion to a New Zealand enquirer, he asserted that the Church "forbids Catholics to marry non-Catholics, granting dispensations only with the greatest reluctance."<sup>478</sup> Readers of the *Zealandia* were told that "only for grave reasons and under stipulated conditions" did the Church tolerate mixed marriages when it could not prevent them, "usually in order to prevent a greater evil."<sup>479</sup> In fact, the wide range of acceptable grounds for dispensations to marry a non-Catholic indicate that the procedure was quite normal. Typical justifications included the age of the woman (and her diminishing prospects of another proposal of marriage), living in a small town where there were few likely partners, and the poverty of a widow. Dispensations were also granted if the priest had a strong suspicion that the couple was sexually intimate, or to avoid a scandal. A reasonable expectation that the non-Catholic would later convert to Catholicism, or the fear that the couple would resort to a civil or Protestant wedding, were also acceptable grounds. It cannot have been difficult to find a reason why the bishop should permit any given marriage, and commonly several of these reasons were given.<sup>480</sup>

Mary Goulter acknowledged that, "Mixed marriages are all around us" and the available statistics bear out her observation.<sup>481</sup> In the year ending 1 March 1926, there were 61 weddings in St Joseph's Cathedral, Dunedin, of which 22 (36 per cent) were mixed.<sup>482</sup> Brodie reported on several occasions that about one third of the marriages

<sup>475</sup> *CIC*, canons 1060-1062.

<sup>476</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 7 June 1926, p. 51.

<sup>477</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 4 October 1933, p. 33.

<sup>478</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 31 July 1935, p. 13.

<sup>479</sup> *Zealandia*, 28 October 1937, p. 12; cf. 12 January 1939, p. 9; *Concilium Plenarium IV*, decrees 453-454.

<sup>480</sup> Registers of marriage dispensations, 1929-1944, CCDA. These records were written by Brodie himself until his death in 1943.

<sup>481</sup> *Month*, 15 September 1921, p. 16.

<sup>482</sup> Quinquennial report, diocese of Dunedin, May 1927, item 70, pp. 30, 45.

solemnized the churches of the Christchurch diocese were mixed.<sup>483</sup> Of 43 weddings in St Joseph's Church, Wellington, during the year ending 30 June 1935, 23 (53 per cent) were mixed and in 1939 a Wellington correspondent to the *Tablet* cited a diocesan authority "than whom there is none higher" to the effect that almost 50 per cent of marriages were mixed.<sup>484</sup> Table 3.2 confirms that between one third and one half of the weddings celebrated in the Catholic churches of the Christchurch and Wellington dioceses were mixed.

Table 3.2

## Mixed Marriages in the Wellington and Christchurch Dioceses

Marriages:	Catholic	Mixed	Total	Percentage Mixed
<b>Archdiocese of Wellington</b>				
<u>Quinquennium</u>				
1921-1925	1,589	652	2,241	29.09
1926-1930	1,152	1,000	2,152	46.47
<u>Year ending 30 June</u>				
1933	234	195	429	45.45
1938	400	396	796	49.75
<b>Diocese of Christchurch</b>				
<u>Year ending 30 June</u>				
year uncertain (incomplete form)	126	65	191	34.03
year uncertain (undated notes)	156	80	236	33.89
1936	252	79	331	23.86
1937	174	130	304	42.76
year uncertain (notes, early 1940s?)	130	247	377	34.48

Sources: Quinquennial reports, archdiocese of Wellington, 1921-1925 and 1926-1930, item 88, WCAA; *Prospectus Status Missionis* forms for the years indicated or undated notes evidently compiled for such forms (WCAA and CCDA as appropriate). Figures in italics have been calculated from those in ordinary type.

Clerical attempts to maintain the integrity of the Catholic community by endogamy were markedly unsuccessful. There were probably not many young Catholic women who were prepared to lower their expectations and marry an unpromising Catholic just because, like Christine Johnston's Camellia Chambers, they felt destined for

<sup>483</sup> Quinquennial report, diocese of Christchurch, 1927, item 88; quinquennial report, diocese of Christchurch, 1930, item 88, CCDA.

<sup>484</sup> *Catholic News*, August 1935, p. 2; "Caritas" to the editor, *NZ Tablet*, 12 July 1939, p. 7.

motherhood but found the professional young men of their acquaintance (young doctors in Camellia's case) "to be agnostic or snobbish or enthusiastic supporters of birth control".<sup>485</sup> The high proportion of mixed marriages demonstrates not only that Catholics were mixing socially with non-Catholics but also that numerous Catholics had non-Catholic relations by marriage and (in the ensuing generation) by blood. As an index of Catholic integration (or assimilation) into the wider society, moreover, mixed marriage statistics are an under-estimate: they take no account of pre-marital conversions (to the faith of either spouse) or of Catholics who married "outside the Church", some of whom were later reconciled and had their marriages canonically validated.

By no means all priests agreed with the bishops' strict policy on the solemnization of mixed marriages: they were often embarrassed at having to take the couple into the sacristy.<sup>486</sup> Even Brodie suggested at the bishops' 1925 meeting that perhaps mixed weddings should be allowed to take place before the altar in order to "add solemnity" to the ceremony and "leave a favourable impression on non-Catholics". His colleagues disagreed, arguing that it would "lower our ideals and make the faithful forget the horror in which the Church holds Mixed Marriages".<sup>487</sup> In 1937, Father Michael Doolaghty of Taihape asked O'Shea's permission for a mixed marriage to be celebrated before the altar - after removal of the Blessed Sacrament. He hoped that the groom, a non-Catholic, would eventually be converted and suggested that others might seek the same concession. Permission was denied for precisely this reason and O'Shea suggested that perhaps the young man might see his way to embracing the faith before the ceremony.<sup>488</sup> Not until 1951 was it decided that weddings could take place before the altar, although the other restrictions remained in force and the new policy was to be implemented quietly without any general announcement.<sup>489</sup> Evidently it was recognized that having to marry in the sacristy did not, in fact, discourage Catholics from contracting mixed marriages and that it was therefore better to take the opportunity to stress the Church's positive teaching on marriage by allowing a more dignified ceremony.

<sup>485</sup> Christine Johnston, *Blessed Art Thou Among Women* (Auckland: Reed Books, 1991), p. 100.

<sup>486</sup> Rev. John Walls (curate in Oamaru during the 1930s), interview, 6 February 1991.

<sup>487</sup> Minutes of bishops' meeting, 6 May 1925, CCDA, ACDA CLE 1-5.

<sup>488</sup> M.B. Doolaghty to O'Shea, 5 March 1937; O'Shea to Doolaghty, 18 March 1937, WCAA.

<sup>489</sup> Circular letter to priests, 19 November 1951, signed by the bishops of New Zealand, CCDA.

## Conclusion

The Catholic community during the interwar years created a vast range of social, charitable, cultural, sporting and educational organizations and institutions. These associations supplemented the numerous pious sodalities discussed in the previous chapter in sustaining the distinctive character of the Catholic community.

Nevertheless, they did not constitute a pillar or ghetto on the European or American pattern even though they carried out non-religious functions, duplicating the facilities and activities of parallel secular or Protestant organizations. Catholics were too small a minority and too dispersed through the country to be self-sufficient; they did not attempt to establish such organizations as denominational political parties or trade unions. Even their post-primary education system was quite limited, offering almost no opportunities for technical training and providing tertiary education only for the priesthood and religious life.

Catholic organizations did not seek to isolate the laity from contact with non-Catholics as an end in itself, but aimed, rather, to counter the corrosive effects of living in a non-Catholic society. The Church offered its own forms of association for non-religious activities precisely because it was recognized that Catholics spent most of their lives in contact with non-Catholics. For this reason, the Church was most concerned to influence the young during their formative years, whether as schoolchildren or as adolescents and young adults with leisure time to spend. Catholic schools were maintained to teach religion at an impressionable age and were supplemented by activities like Scouting and Guiding. It was not necessary that all participants in the Church's associations and activities be themselves Catholics: it was enough that Catholics dominated and that the ethos of such undertakings was Catholic. The Church had to compete with increasing facilities for recreation and popular entertainment, some of which, especially dance halls and the cinema, threatened to undermine Catholic moral values.<sup>490</sup> By conducting dances and sport under the Church's auspices, it was easier to influence how Catholics spent their leisure time, although it was quite impossible to distract young Catholics, in particular, from all alternative activities.

While protecting Catholics from Protestant or anti-religious influences, Church organizations actually linked them - as Catholics - with respectable elements in the wider community. Benevolent associations like the Catholic Big Brothers and the

<sup>490</sup> For discussion of Catholic attitudes to the cinema, dancing and other forms of leisure, see chapter four.

Catholic Women's League worked in co-operation with parallel non-Catholic organizations. Catholic institutions such as hospitals and schools received the public endorsement of governors-general and politicians. Cultural societies supplemented the efforts of Catholic schools by inculcating skills and knowledge which would facilitate participation in middle class occupations - thereby raising the status of the individuals concerned and, incidentally, that of the religious community to which they belonged. Catholic schools and former pupils' associations formed teams to compete in the sports which were popular in the wider society because in so doing they could combine their Catholic identity with the usual benefits and pleasures of sport. They could also enhance their standing in the community, and their own self-estimation, through success in competitions - as long as they were not debarred from them. State primary teachers sometimes excluded denominational teams from inter-school competitions precisely because they feared that Catholic sporting success would weaken the state education system. However, Catholic schools, and the Marist Brothers' Old Boys' Association in Christchurch, continued to play either rugby or other sports despite attempts to exclude them.

The Church promoted denominational associations, schools and the Catholic family in order to prevent leakage from the Catholic community but many of the laity did not consider this concern necessary. Only a minority of Catholics participated in the full range of organizations open to them. Many were either not interested in the facilities offered, ranging from tennis courts to sickness benefits, or preferred membership of secular associations. Presumably they were content with the more narrowly religious functions of the Church and regarded religion as an individual concern. It was only the threat of losing access to the sacraments that induced some Catholic parents to send their children to Church schools.<sup>491</sup> The clergy were rather less successful in trying to influence Catholics' choices of marital partners. Despite their sometimes extreme rhetoric, the bishops had to reconcile themselves to mixed marriages - even a canonically illicit marriage could be validated - but they would not allow parents to send their children to a non-Catholic school where a suitable Catholic one was available. In part, the difference lay in the irrevocability of marriage: it was relatively easy to change schools. It was also inherently more difficult to persuade young lovers of the priority of religious considerations than to persuade parents of their religious responsibilities towards their children. Catholic education was intended

<sup>491</sup> Joan O'Connell, interview, 9 April 1990.

precisely to compensate for the deficiencies of religious training within the family. The ecclesiastical authorities did not consider parents to be competent teachers of religion, even when both spouses were Catholics. Catholic schools were the single most widespread and influential Catholic institution, with the possible exception of parishes themselves. The price of this success, however, was that they had to spend most of their time teaching the same syllabus and the same values as state schools.

Concentrating on the relationship between Catholic organizations and the wider community, this chapter has inevitably given less direct attention to individual Catholics. However, as the discussion of mixed marriage suggests, there was a high level of interaction between individual Catholics and non-Catholics. Personal experiences varied but most Catholics no doubt had many non-Catholic acquaintances, friends and relations, whether as neighbours or through schooling, employment or marriage. As K. Turner observed in 1923, "in a country like New Zealand we are such a mixed community that one's Catholic friends are generally not numerous".<sup>492</sup> Even at a Catholic school, pupils could form close friendships with non-Catholics.<sup>493</sup>

As representatives of their Church, Catholic clergy and religious were usually respected by non-Catholics. The standing of individual Catholic priests beyond their own congregations was often affirmed by non-Catholics, lay and clerical, at farewells and anniversaries.<sup>494</sup> When Father Michael Shore left Morrinsville in 1932, Mayor W.T. Osborne presided over a farewell at which the speakers included the Rev. J.H. Starnes, who spoke on behalf of the local Presbyterians, and Canon Gillespie, who represented the Anglicans.<sup>495</sup> Among the speakers at Father James Hanrahan's 1936 silver jubilee celebration in Papanui were two Anglican clergymen, Canon H.O. Hanby and the Rev. E.R. Osmer.<sup>496</sup> Some individual Catholics achieved considerable standing in the wider community, precisely because of their activities as Catholics. Perhaps the most noteworthy was Mother Aubert: according to a contemporary account, she was given the "greatest funeral New Zealand has ever accorded any woman."

<sup>492</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 27 December 1923, p. 25.

<sup>493</sup> Joan O'Connell, interview, 9 April 1990.

<sup>494</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 20 March 1919, p. 28 (Te Awamutu); 22 May 1919, p. 28 (Riversdale); 19 February 1920, p. 21 (Timaru); 30 July 1924, p. 26 (Gore); 22 June 1932, p. 45 (Taihape); *Zealandia*, 28 March 1935, p. 3 (Masterton and other places).

<sup>495</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 13 July 1932, p. 7.

<sup>496</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 15 January 1936, p. 38.

Traffic had to be stopped awhile as the mile-long cortege moved away. Wellington closed its doors and drew its blinds. Willis Street and the Quay were as silent as unpeopled lands, though thousands lined the route.<sup>497</sup>

Despite its distinctive character, then, the Catholic community was fully integrated into the wider society. Indeed, for the many Catholics who showed little interest in their Church's organizations, the question of integration did not arise. For those who did participate in them, Catholic associations were intended to sustain religious integrity, not to isolate their members from non-Catholics. Despite the range of Catholic organizations which paralleled their Protestant or secular equivalents, there was no Catholic ghetto or pillar. Evidence of Catholic triumphalism was discussed in the previous chapter on spirituality and it will be encountered again in the discussion of moral issues in the next chapter, but the Church was not so inward-looking as to ignore the wider society. Rather it sought, and usually received, acceptance and even commendation for the achievements of its organizations, institutions and individual members.

<sup>497</sup> *NZ Times*, 6 October 1926, quoted in *NZ Tablet*, 13 October 1926, pp. 27-28; cf. *Month*, 16 November 1926, p. 27 (obituary by Mary Goulter).

## Chapter Four

# Righteousness or Conformity? Gender and Ethical Issues

The interwar period was a time of moral ferment as technological developments and the disruption of war accelerated social changes. Reticence about sex was undermined by birth control propaganda and the developing film industry. Abortion, more reliable contraception and increasing divorce appeared to many to be undermining the family. The automobile brought an unprecedented degree of freedom and young people, in particular, often scandalized their elders by new music, fashions and dances. A 1938 editorial in the *Zealandia*, while recognizing that it was a commonplace to regard the next generation as worse than previous ones, lamented the contemporary "mass violation of the moral ideal as in the wholesale practice of divorce, birth control and abortion and the flippant casualness in matters of sex."<sup>1</sup> During the 1920s and 1930s, all the churches and society as a whole were forced either to reaffirm or to reassess traditional ethical values.

Changing attitudes to gender roles and personal morality during the interwar period have not yet received the attention they deserve from students of religion and history. Writers on gender and the family have not shown much interest in the churches.<sup>2</sup> There is no study of Catholic morality except for Joanna Bourke's thesis on fertility and contraception in New Zealand and Australia.<sup>3</sup> Maureen Garing's thesis on Presbyterianism is unique as a sustained review of moral values in a New Zealand Church, although Kevin Clements' study of the churches during the Depression gives

<sup>1</sup> *Zealandia*, 20 January 1938, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> See especially E. Olssen and A. Lévesque, "Towards a History of the European Family in New Zealand", in Peggy E. Koopman-Boyden (editor), *Families in New Zealand Society* (Wellington: Methuen, 1978); J. Phillips, *A Man's Country? The Image of the Pakeha Male - a History* (Auckland: Penguin Books, 1987); B. James and K. Saville-Smith, *Gender, Culture and Power: Challenging New Zealand's Gendered Culture* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1989). S. Griffiths, "Feminism and the Ideology of Motherhood in New Zealand, 1896-1930" (University of Otago M.A. thesis in History, 1984) does discuss several religiously-inspired women's groups, notably in chapter eight.

<sup>3</sup> J. Bourke, "Catholic Fertility in Australia and New Zealand 1880-1940" (University of Auckland M.A. thesis in History, 1986). Bourke's thesis does not explore directly the relationship between Catholic teaching and that of other groups, which is the central focus of the present discussion.

some attention to Methodist thinking on moral issues.<sup>4</sup> Roderick Phillips' book on divorce discusses briefly the teaching of the churches and the practice of their members.<sup>5</sup> Recent writing on women's and health history charts the debate over contraception and abortion but with only incidental reference to the churches.<sup>6</sup> Research on other relevant issues, such as censorship and eugenics, also includes some allusions to religious opinion.<sup>7</sup> Most of the material for this chapter is drawn from the two main Catholic periodicals of the period as well as secular newspapers and government publications. Pronouncements by meetings of the Anglican, Presbyterian and Methodist Churches will be compared with the position of the Catholic Church.<sup>8</sup> In 1936-1937, public concern was aroused by a royal commission of inquiry into abortion and related issues, notably contraception and the birth rate, chaired by Dr D.G. McMillan MP.<sup>8</sup> A number of statements by church leaders cited in the course of this chapter were a part of the ensuing public debate. Although the opinions presented in these sources are not necessarily representative of society as a whole, they do reflect the views of those who laid claim to moral leadership.

- 4 M.N. Garing, "Against the Tide: Social, Moral and Political Questions in the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, 1840-1970" (Ph.D. thesis in Religious Studies, Victoria University of Wellington, 1989); K.P. Clements, "The Churches and Social Policy: a Study of the Relationship of Ideology to Action" (Victoria University of Wellington Ph.D. thesis in Sociology, 1970).
- 5 R. Phillips, *Divorce in New Zealand: a Social History* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1981).
- 6 B. Brookes, "The Committee of Inquiry into Abortion in New Zealand, 1936-1937" (University of Otago B.A. Honours long essay in History, 1976) and "Housewives' Depression: the Debate over Abortion and Birth Control in the 1930s", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 15/2 (1981) 115-134; P. Fenwick, "The New Zealand Family Planning Association: its Growth and Development" (University of Canterbury M.A. thesis in Sociology, 1977) and "Fertility, Sexuality and Social Control in New Zealand", in P. Bunkle and B. Hughes (editors), *Women in New Zealand Society* (Auckland: George Allen & Unwin, 1980), pp. 77-98; P. Mein Smith, "The State and Maternity in New Zealand, 1920-1935" (University of Canterbury M.A. thesis in History, 1982) and *Maternity in Dispute: New Zealand, 1920-1939* (Wellington: Historical Publications Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, 1986); F. Hercock, "Professional Politics and Family Planning Clinics", in L. Bryder (editor), *A Healthy Country: Essays on the Social History of Medicine in New Zealand* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1991), pp. 181-197.
- 7 A. Burns, "Some Aspects of Censorship: a Survey of Censorship Law and Practice in New Zealand from 1841 to 1963, mainly concerning the Control of Indecent Publications" (Victoria University of Wellington M.A. thesis in History, 1968); P. Christoffel, *Censored: a Short History of Censorship in New Zealand* (Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1989); P.J. Fleming, "Eugenics in New Zealand, 1900-1940" (Massey University M.A. thesis in History, 1981). Griffiths (pp. 246-264) also considers eugenics at some length, concentrating on the views of women's groups in the 1920s.
- 8 "Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the various aspects of the problem of Abortion in New Zealand", *AJHR*, 1937-1938, vol. III, H.-31A. The evidence presented to the Committee is held in the National Archives (NA) Health Department files (H1 9402 131/139/15 Diseases - Septic Abortion - Committee of Inquiry).

While the Catholic Church refused to compromise with the new trends, the Protestant churches made some concessions but it will be argued that official Catholic attitudes to personal morality were not as different from those of the Protestant churches or other groups in society as clerical pronouncements claimed. Nor, insofar as it can be ascertained, does the practice of the Catholic laity appear to have been significantly different from that of society at large. While traditional ethical standards were increasingly questioned, church leaders not only expressed common concerns, but even collaborated in reaffirming shared Christian teaching. This discussion will focus particularly on the ethics of sexuality and the family, which were especially pressing for the churches in the interwar years. For Archbishop Francis Redwood, morality meant "the suppression and control of the lower, the animal appetites in man and their subjection to a higher life; morality...demands that interest and pleasure be sacrificed without regret or hesitation upon the altar of duty".<sup>9</sup> Protestant moralists would probably not have dissented from this definition but there were differences of emphasis in Protestant and Catholic teaching. The Catholic Church evinced a greater concern over increasingly liberal sexual or marital ethics, while the Protestant churches were more preoccupied with frivolous or harmful recreation. Nevertheless, while lending a distinctive character to Protestant and Catholic ethics, these differences could easily be exaggerated.

The main body of this chapter is divided into five parts. It begins with a discussion of sexuality and gender roles, arguing that while official Catholic teaching portrayed religious virginity as superior to marriage, the roles assigned to married Catholics conformed closely with those of the contemporary "cult of domesticity". However, Catholic writers often claimed that their Church alone upheld traditional Christian values, notably on the issues of birth control and divorce, and this moral triumphalism will be discussed in the second part of the chapter. That this claim was exaggerated will be seen in the third section, which reviews a number of ethical issues, asking whether differences in Catholic and Protestant teaching were matters of degree or of principle. Fourthly, statistical evidence for the extent of divorce and contraception among lay Catholics will be compared with statistics for Protestants, showing that, in practice, the Catholic community's behaviour did not bear out the claim to moral superiority. In reviewing attitudes towards leisure in the final part of the chapter, it will be argued that, while Protestant and Catholic moral teachers differed over

<sup>9</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 23 January 1929, p. 44.

recreational pursuits like gambling, they shared a common concern over anything relating to sexual ethics, particularly the censorship of films and magazines. Moreover, the puritan leisure ethic was in decline, so there was some convergence with Catholic attitudes to recreation. In the course of this discussion, the term "moralist" will be used in a non-technical sense to refer to anyone, clerical or lay, who advanced a particular ethical view.

### Sexuality and Gender Roles

Catholics and Protestants in interwar New Zealand were heirs to very different teaching on the ideal vocations of men and women. The Protestant reformers of the sixteenth century had repudiated clerical celibacy and monasticism, while exalting the roles of the wife and care-giver or husband and provider. For Catholics, life "in the world" continued to be regarded as an inferior option by comparison with the celibate priesthood or the religious life. The equivocal status of real family life was underscored by the emphasis on chaste saints as role models even for married people. Despite the elevated status of virginity and the ambivalent imagery used to describe ideal family life, however, Catholic teaching on the roles of married men and women was well within the range of respectable opinion found in New Zealand society as a whole.

Catholics were taught that religiously motivated virginity or celibacy were "more excellent" than marriage, even though individual married persons might be "more perfect in the sight of God than individuals who are in a state of virginity or celibacy".<sup>10</sup> The vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, according to Dr James Kelly, "raise a man or woman to a level above that on which ordinary Christians walk, and compel him or her to maintain it till death." Religious were "fitter for the practice of all the virtues, stronger in faith and more ardent in hope".<sup>11</sup> At the profession of three nuns in 1937, Archbishop John Kelly "said that the choice for the religious life, as compared with the world, lay not between good and evil but between what was good and what was better."<sup>12</sup> Mary Goulter, a regular contributor to the *Month* and herself a wife and mother, accepted that there was "an ideal of womanly virtue higher than that

<sup>10</sup> *Marist Messenger*, 1 June 1934, pp. 43-44; cf. *NZ Tablet*, 28 August 1919, p. 11 (Redwood); 6 April 1922, p. 18 and 4 May 1922, p. 18 (Whyte); 25 January 1923, p. 41; *Month*, 16 February 1926, p. 19; *Zealandia*, 27 September 1934, p. 9.

<sup>11</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 18 May 1927, p. 33.

<sup>12</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 22 September 1937, p. 8.

of wifehood".<sup>13</sup> Indeed, the Church actually countenanced the separation of two spouses - even if they had young children - in order that they might be free to enter the priesthood or religious life.<sup>14</sup>

Although the Catholic Church had a patron saint for almost every honourable human activity, no saints popular in interwar New Zealand had achieved their status through parenthood or as spouses. Newly canonized saints continued the celibates' monopoly on sainthood. An article in the *Month*, citing the example of St Thérèse of Lisieux, declared that for the Catholic girl who sought perfection there was "a recognized vocation open to her, giving full scope to the most ardent idealism and the most complete self-sacrifice".<sup>15</sup> Preaching at a Mass for St Philomena's Ex-Pupils' Association in 1936, Bishop James Whyte spoke of the need for "good women both single and married" but almost all of his sermon was devoted to virginity and its exemplars. There could be present, he suggested, "girls who have a soul above the vanities and empty pleasures of the world" who might wish to become nuns.<sup>16</sup> Goulter took comfort in the inclusion of St Monica, mother of St Augustine, in the calendar of saints. She lamented that it was "a trifle difficult to extract an adequate measure of spiritual encouragement from the lives of the saints". Most of them had lived "much different lives from ours" as "members of some religious community which aimed at religious perfection". It was difficult to emulate those who seemed to live "on a different plane from an ordinary mortal, fettered in daily life to other mortals just as ordinary."<sup>17</sup>

For Catholic women the most important saintly exemplar was Mary the mother of Jesus, whose most emphasized quality was sexual purity. Mary was presented as the model for all women, whether they were maidens, virgins, wives, mothers, homemakers or widows:<sup>18</sup>

<sup>13</sup> *Month*, 15 May 1923, p. 15. She noted that Protestants were unable to recognize this truth.

<sup>14</sup> *Marist Messenger*, 1 August 1940, pp. 20-21. This article recounts the story of Mother Cornelia Connelly, foundress of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus, and her erstwhile husband, Pierce Connelly - who later apostatized and unsuccessfully sued for the return of his wife. For reference to another example (in which, the children having reached adulthood, the whole family had entered religious life) see *Month*, 21 June 1927, p. 37 and 21 February 1928, p. 13.

<sup>15</sup> *Month*, 15 December 1923, p. 27. See the discussion of St Thérèse in chapter two above.

<sup>16</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 12 August 1936, p. 7.

<sup>17</sup> *Month*, 14 February 1920, p. 19.

<sup>18</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 30 February 1922, p. 22; 27 December 1923, p. 25; 26 September 1928, p. 31 and 23 January 1929, pp. 43, 44 (Whyte at the 1928 Sydney Eucharistic Congress, also in W. Leonard, *Addresses Delivered at the Twenty-Ninth International Eucharistic Congress, Sydney, Australia, September 1928*, Sydney: Printed by Green Press Ltd, 1929, pp. 30, 31); 3 March 1937, p. 34; 9 March 1938, p. 43; 16 March 1938, pp. 33, 35; *Zealandia*, 8 July 1937, p. 10; 12 March 1938, p. 20;

She is the patron of virtue, alike to maiden, wife and mother. She exhibits the virginal modesty becoming the maid, the conjugal fidelity and loyalty of the spouse and the untiring devotion of the mother.<sup>19</sup>

When Goulter considered whether Catholic women could accept the current tendency for the sexes to mix more freely than in the past, she resolved the issue by reflecting on "the model set before every Catholic girl - Mary, the crown and glory of womanhood". Even though the known details of Mary's life were "far from being ample", Goulter assumed that "she conformed, in due measure, to the external safeguards which rose as a protecting wall around womanhood in her day and country".<sup>20</sup> Catholic moralists often protested against immodest contemporary fashions especially in evening dress and sports wear.<sup>21</sup> Noting papal concern over modern fashions, Bishop Cleary observed that it was appropriate for a protest to emanate from the Church whose members sought to imitate the "purity of the Mother of Christ".<sup>22</sup> In 1925, the Convent of the Sacred Heart in Timaru, inspired by an Italian example and encouraged by Redwood, established Our Lady's League, which enrolled young Catholic women. Members of the League promised in writing never to wear clothing which would displease the Holy Virgin. They were told that sleeves on dresses should extend at least to the elbow.<sup>23</sup>

The largest organization for Catholic girls and young women was the Children of Mary, who sought to "imitate Our Lady by the practice of her favourite virtues - Purity, [*sic*] humility, obedience and charity".<sup>24</sup> Members of the Sodality wore blue

(Footnote continued from previous page.)

N.H. Gascoigne, *The Book of the Congress, 1940* (Wellington: Chancellery of the Archdiocese, 1941), p. 58. Women in paid employment are a notable exception to this list.

<sup>19</sup> *Zealandia*, 18 July 1935, p. 10.

<sup>20</sup> *Month*, 15 November 1923, pp. 27-28.

<sup>21</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 5 February 1920, p. 26; 20 May 1920, pp. 25-26; 13 October 1921, p. 25; 17 March 1926, p. 33; 14 April 1926, p. 33; 13 October 1926, p. 58; 12 June 1929, p. 3; 25 September 1929, pp. 7, 9; 30 December 1931, p. 3; 27 October 1937, p. 5; *Month*, 15 September 1919, p. 21; 15 January 1920, p. 3; 15 May 1920, p. 3; 15 November 1921, p. 3; 19 February 1924, p. 35; 16 September 1924, p. 17; 21 October 1924, p. 32; 18 November 1924, p. 31; 21 September 1926, p. 41; 15 March 1927, p. 15; 19 July 1927, p. 34; 18 October 1927, p. 19; *Zealandia*, 24 September 1936, p. 7; *Marist Messenger*, 1 December 1937, p. 23.

<sup>22</sup> *Month*, 15 April 1922, p. 3.

<sup>23</sup> *Month*, 21 April 1925, p. 31; 20 October 1925, supplement, p. iii; *NZ Tablet*, 11 March 1925, p. 15; 15 April 1925, p. 31.

<sup>24</sup> *Prayer Book or Manual of the Children of Mary* (Australian edition, Sydney: Pellegrini and Company, 1932), p. 18. For the origins of this Sodality, see above, chapter two.

cloaks and white veils like Mary when she appeared to St Catherine Labouré in 1830.<sup>25</sup> As though recognizing that only virgins could really emulate the virtues of the "Immaculate Virgin", members left the Sodality when they were about to marry. At the wedding, the other members would form a guard of honour. Before she made her vows, the bride's blue cloak was removed and placed at the feet of a statue of the Blessed Virgin.<sup>26</sup> Some older but unmarried women remained in the Sodality: to be a Child of Mary it was more important to be a virgin than to be a child.<sup>27</sup>

Elevating the Virgin Mother and "her most chaste spouse"<sup>28</sup> as role models devalued erotic love even for married people. "Mary's chastity and her fidelity to her husband", it was said, "furnish a most beautiful example for the Catholic wife in her relations with her husband."<sup>29</sup> Like Mary, Joseph "remained a virgin his whole life."<sup>30</sup> Indeed, it was only by the denial of their sexuality and the separation of sex from parenthood that Mary and Joseph could be regarded as role models for spouses and parents. According to Edward Garesché SJ, Christ's "Blessed Mother, ever Virgin, yet lawfully wedded to St. Joseph, led with that holy patriarch a life of wedded virginity and thus gave an example both to married folk and to virgins."<sup>31</sup> Even for married couples, then, the ultimate Catholic ideal entailed perpetual virginity: perfection was unattainable within a normal marriage. In a sermon broadcast from St Gerard's

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1; *NZ Tablet*, 29 November 1933, p. 3 (unacknowledged extract from *ibid.*).

<sup>26</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 13 May 1925, p. 45; 4 August 1926, p. 35; 5 February 1930, p. 49; *Month*, 15 December 1925, p. 29; *Zealandia*, 5 December 1935, p. 7; 7 May 1936, p. 7; 11 February 1937, p. 7. Obviously aware of the impression made by this ritual, John Nerney SJ (the National Director of the Children of Mary for Australia and New Zealand), in an article on the procedure for a Children of Mary wedding, denied that removing the cloak meant that marriage was the end of Sodality life (*Zealandia*, 24 June 1937, p. 7). For another account of the procedure, see *Marist Messenger*, 1 April 1932, p. 15.

<sup>27</sup> See, for example, the photographs of Miss Mary Delahunty, President of the Children of Mary in Palmerston North (*NZ Tablet*, 7 December 1932, p. 13) and Miss Lucy Agnes Durney, "the oldest member of the Children of Mary Sodality in Wellington" (18 April 1934, p. 23). Beryl Bartlett (interview, 8 September 1989) recalls that there were a number of women in the Palmerston North Sodality aged in their 60s.

<sup>28</sup> The phrase occurs in the "Divine Praises" recited at Benediction (*Prayer Book or Manual of the Children of Mary*, p. 46; *A Simple Holy Name Manual*, Wellington: T.J. Tiller, new edition, 1932, p. 86).

<sup>29</sup> *Zealandia*, 8 July 1937, p. 10; cf. *ibid.*, 11 May 1939, p. 12, "So, too, mothers can find in the virginal mother Mary a perfect model of true piety, womanly modesty and wifely fidelity."

<sup>30</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 22 April 1925, p. 49.

<sup>31</sup> *Month*, 20 October 1925, p. 5. Although the author was not in New Zealand, his article was especially written especially for the *Month*.

Monastery in 1929, a Redemptorist preacher contended that God's command to "increase and multiply" applied to every married couple "save in the wholly exceptional case, when, by mutual consent, they agree to seek in voluntary continence the realisation of a higher ideal".<sup>32</sup> Similarly, the Rev. Dr John J. Nevin, who answered queries on moral issues for the clergy of Australasia, argued that the divine instruction applied to the human race collectively and did not bind individual couples - as long as they refrained from sexual intercourse: "If they wish, they may lawfully observe continence for the highest motives during the entire period of their lives, and there are Saints on the Calendar who have done so."<sup>33</sup> The *Month* cited the authority of Augustine to the effect that "those are the happier marriages, the parties of which either live in virginity, by mutual consent, or, after having procreated children, agree to live together in virtuous continency."<sup>34</sup> In practice, it was presumably not expected that couples would forgo sexual relations permanently but the theology of marital sexuality was profoundly influenced by the ascetic perspective of those who expounded it. An article by the Rev. Dr Grimley, reprinted from an English Catholic newspaper, argued that "the divine ordinance compels the majority to observe continency". Only in certain circumstances did marriage constitute an exception to the rule, for even the "relative freedom" of spouses was constrained not only by, for example, sickness and separation, but also by "moderation, mutual regard and the virtue of prudence".<sup>35</sup>

Despite the elevated status of religious virginity and the relegation of matrimony to a secondary status, it could still be claimed that "a most notable feature of Catholicism is the sacredness and dignity with which it invests the family."<sup>36</sup> The ceremonies prescribed for celebrating the sacrament of matrimony were said to indicate the importance attached to it by the Church.<sup>37</sup> Motherhood was "a sublime vocation [and] a privileged state of life", for every mother shared in the divine work of creation and redemption by bearing children destined to populate heaven.<sup>38</sup> Catholic moralists

<sup>32</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 30 January 1929, p. 43.

<sup>33</sup> *Australasian Catholic Record*, 14 (1937), pp. 348-349, 356. Though no examples were cited, the writer no doubt had in mind Edward the Confessor and his wife Edith.

<sup>34</sup> *Month*, 18 March 1930, p. 1.

<sup>35</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 2 March 1938, p. 27.

<sup>36</sup> *Zealandia*, 5 January 1939, p. 6. For further reference to Catholic teaching on the sanctity and integrity of marriage and the family, see the discussion of divorce later in this chapter.

<sup>37</sup> *Zealandia*, 5 January 1939, p. 11.

<sup>38</sup> *Month*, 2 November 1931, p. 16; cf. *NZ Tablet*, 9 March 1938, p. 8; 6 April 1938, p. 25; *Zealandia*, 9 March 1939, p. 11.

emphasized that the family was the basic and most important unit of society. In the words of Father Francis McMahon,

The family is the unit of all social order, stability and progress. If you sanctify the family, you sanctify the community; but if family life becomes corrupt we may despair of the life of the nation.<sup>39</sup>

According to Redwood, the nuclear family was divinely sanctioned: "Such is God's idea of a home - father and mother and children living together in the fear and love of God".<sup>40</sup>

Catholic writing on the family and on gender roles reflected and endorsed conventional views. In Jock Phillips' judgment, "The most popular fictional exploration of the family produced in New Zealand came in the novels of Nellie Scanlon - she was the first novelist who sold at home in large numbers."<sup>41</sup> The *Tablet* was proud to acknowledge Scanlon as a Catholic.<sup>42</sup> In its presentation of conventional family values, the Church often used distinctive imagery by citing the seemingly improbable example of the "Holy Family". It was believed that Jesus was an only child, that the marriage of Mary and Joseph was never consummated and that Joseph was not Jesus' biological father but his "foster father".<sup>43</sup> Despite these inimitable characteristics, the family of Nazareth was said to provide "the perfect model of home life, complete in every detail and suited to the needs of all",<sup>44</sup> while Mary's life was described as "the text-book wherein the Catholic wife may learn the ideals of Christian motherhood."<sup>45</sup> The Third Order of Mary placed particular emphasis on imitating the

<sup>39</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 20 July 1938, p. 3; cf. 23 March 1938, p. 4; *Zealandia*, 20 December 1934, p. 7 (Kathleen Kennedy); 13 January 1938, p. 6; 12 March 1938, pp. 10, 20.

<sup>40</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 5 December 1928, p. 43; cf. an article by Dorothy Bernard (*Zealandia*, 27 April 1939, p. 11).

<sup>41</sup> J. Phillips, p. 231. See, for example, Nelle M. Scanlan, *Tides of Youth* (London: Jarrolds, 1933), reviewed in *NZ Tablet*, 5 July 1933, p. 41.

<sup>42</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 30 November 1932, p. 4; cf. 22 February 1933, p. 41.

<sup>43</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 28 March 1938, p. 4; cf. *Month*, 1 May 1933, p. 15 (Jesus' "brothers" were actually cousins).

<sup>44</sup> *Zealandia*, 11 May 1939, p. 12; cf. 6 December 1934, p. 7; 12 March 1938, pp. 10, 20; *Month*, 16 November 1926, p. 9; *NZ Tablet*, 7 August 1919, p. 33; 12 February 1920, p. 26; 29 April 1920, p. 26; 27 December 1923, p. 25; 5 November 1924, p. 29; 13 October 1926, p. 33; 1 August 1928, p. 3; 26 December 1928, p. 3; 18 August 1937, p. 6; 23 March 1938, p. 4; 14 September 1938, p. 35.

<sup>45</sup> *Month*, 2 November 1931, p. 16. Further references to Mary as a role model are cited above.

virtues of the Holy Family of Nazareth.<sup>46</sup> Far from undermining the usefulness of "the family of Nazareth" as a role model, the dearth of Scriptural or historical evidence made it easy to project contemporary values and assumptions onto the Holy Family.<sup>47</sup> Whatever virtues might be applied to Catholic children and parents (except fecundity) were necessarily predicated of Jesus, Mary and Joseph and consequently became a source of imitation.

And as the perfect example the Church places before us the Christian model and ideal of the Holy Family of Nazareth: Mary the inspiration of all that is noblest in wife and mother; Joseph, the industrious provider and protector, self-sacrificing and ever considerate, ever courteous; Jesus the pattern of obedience, Who though He was the Son of God, "went down to Nazareth and was subject to them."<sup>48</sup>

Joseph, the patron saint of the family, provided a model for fathers as head of the home; in him "all that a husband should be" was "set forth for the human race".<sup>49</sup> Mary gave Joseph practical and moral support, for instance by praising his handiwork.<sup>50</sup> *Month* contributor Josephine MacDonald found that domestic life was sweetened by recalling that Mary had cooked for Joseph and Jesus, swept the floor, made the beds, washed the clothes and gone to market.<sup>51</sup> Her example was even cited in support of breastfeeding.<sup>52</sup> An essay by Betsy Davis of St Mary's Convent, Hamilton, noted that, "If Catholic children wish to be like the obedient Jesus, they must strive to be truthful, unselfish, and obedient, watching for opportunities of doing things for others, as Jesus did for Mary and Joseph."<sup>53</sup>

Catholic teaching on the family, and the role of women in particular, bore a close affinity with the views expressed by other respectable opinion formers. In the later

<sup>46</sup> P. Regnault SM, *The Third Order of Mary: its Origins, Rules, Membership* (Melbourne: Australian Catholic Truth Society, 1925), p. 7; MYB, 1927, p. 165; 1929, p. 145; *NZ Tablet*, 16 December 1931, p. 12; *Manual of The Third Order of Mary* (Lyons: Librairie Catholique Emmanuel Vitte, eighth edition, 1926), p. 45. On the Third Order, see chapter two above.

<sup>47</sup> Moreover, New Testament evidence which contradicted the Catholic myth of the Holy Family was usually ignored, for example, according to Mark's gospel (3: 21, 31-35), when Mary and Jesus' brothers sought to disrupt his preaching, Jesus declared that his real family was made up of those who carried out the will of God.

<sup>48</sup> *Zealandia*, 5 January 1939, p. 6.

<sup>49</sup> *Zealandia*, 20 December 1934, p. 7; cf. 6 November 1934, p. 7; 11 May 1939, p. 12; *NZ Tablet*, 18 March 1920, p. 26; 16 December 1931, p. 12.

<sup>50</sup> *Month*, 17 May 1927, p. 33; *Zealandia*, 6 November 1934, p. 7.

<sup>51</sup> *Month*, 17 May 1927, p. 33; cf. *Zealandia*, 4 May 1939, p. 11 (Dorothy Bernard).

<sup>52</sup> *Month*, 15 April 1924, p. 31; 2 November 1931, p. 17.

<sup>53</sup> *Month*, 1 November 1932, p. 8.

nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, there had developed, in New Zealand and elsewhere, a "cult of domesticity" which portrayed women as the moral guardians of society, exercising their influence largely (but not exclusively) through the home and the family.<sup>54</sup> This ideology attributed a high status to women - or at least to those who fulfilled its prescriptions for true womanhood. The image of the wife as queen of the home was popular among Catholic writers and preachers.<sup>55</sup> According to *Zealandia* columnist Kathleen Kennedy, every woman, unless she had a religious vocation, dreamt of "a home where she will one day reign as wife and mother."<sup>56</sup> In an address to women in St Patrick's Cathedral, Auckland, Father Owen Francis Dudley, visiting New Zealand for the 1938 Catholic centennial, asserted that, just as the wife was queen, the husband was king and the children were their subjects.<sup>57</sup> The moral supremacy of women, however, was not allowed to undermine their husbands' position as head of the household.<sup>58</sup> It was a "Catholic Social Principle" that, "The father is the natural head of the family" while, "The mother shares in this natural authority, and is required to exercise it undiminished in his default".<sup>59</sup> What has been called "the de-sexed idealisation of wife-mother"<sup>60</sup> naturally bore significant resemblances to the ideal of the Blessed Virgin. Indeed, a common apologetic theme in Catholic writing asserted that Christianity - or, more particularly, the Catholic Church - had raised women from a state of servility in pagan antiquity to a position of great honour and dignity.<sup>61</sup> Moreover, it was specifically the influence and example of the Blessed Virgin which had brought about this great advance.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Olssen and Lévesque, pp. 6-12; J. Phillips, pp. 221-228; James and Saville-Smith, pp. 31-35. See also Griffiths, pp. 269-271 and *passim*.

<sup>55</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 29 April 1920, p. 14; 14 September 1927, p. 33; 6 April 1932, p. 3; 20 July 1938, p. 3; *Month*, 17 May 1927, p. 33. Further examples are cited elsewhere in this section.

<sup>56</sup> *Zealandia*, 20 December 1934, p. 7.

<sup>57</sup> *Zealandia*, 17 March 1938, p. 11.

<sup>58</sup> *Month*, 29 September 1928, p. 25 (Bishop O'Doherty of Manilla at the Sydney Eucharistic Congress, also in Leonard, p. 21); *NZ Tablet*, 24 November 1937, p. 4; *Zealandia*, 10 February 1938, p. 12; 12 March 1938, p. 20. Note also the references to Joseph already cited.

<sup>59</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 12 March 1930, p. 9; *cf.* 25 January 1939, p. 4.

<sup>60</sup> Olssen and Lévesque, pp. 7-8.

<sup>61</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 28 August 1919, p. 13; 30 September 1920, pp. 25-26; 30 September 1925, pp. 25, 27; 23 January 1929, p. 42 (address by Whyte at the Sydney Eucharistic Congress, also in Leonard, p. 28); 3 March 1937, p. 34; *Month*, 16 October 1922, p. 5.

<sup>62</sup> *Marist Messenger*, 1 May 1934, pp. 42-44; *Month*, 15 October 1919, p. 22; 15 July 1921, p. 18; 15 May 1922, p. 6; 15 December 1923, p. 28; 17 May 1927, p. 33; 15 February 1927, p. 18; *NZ Tablet*, 12 July 1923, p. 29; 23 March 1938, p. 4; 25 October 1939, p. 33.

The cult of domesticity emphasized separate spheres of activity for men and women. Catholic writers assumed that husbands were responsible for the material support of their families<sup>63</sup> and most discussion centred on the role of women. In a society organized on Christian principles, wives would not have to work outside the home - or would even be prohibited from doing so - because their husbands would be paid enough to support the family.<sup>64</sup> It was a principle of natural law that "the vocation of the married woman is in the home".<sup>65</sup> Following St John Chrysostom, Kelly argued that "a clear line must be drawn between the duties and activities of man and woman." A husband's responsibilities took him out into society, but while a wife "may have to go out now and then,...her place is within the home". There she had to create "a tranquil atmosphere" to which her husband returned at the end of the day.<sup>66</sup> Father P.J. Cooney told Catholic women that they could restore the home to "the asylum of happiness and peace" that "God intended it to be".<sup>67</sup> It was feared, however, that the entry of married women into the paid workforce was undermining family life.<sup>68</sup> In their pastoral letter responding to the Depression, the bishops urged women to "pay more attention to their proper sphere of life, which many nowadays are in danger of deserting, with unfortunate consequences for the home and family, and ultimately for the race."<sup>69</sup> At the beginning of the Second World War, the *Tablet* published a series of articles by members of the Catholic Social Guild lamenting the increasing employment of women in commerce and industry - a trend, which, it was recognized, would be accelerated by the war.<sup>70</sup>

Nevertheless, like their contemporaries, women who wrote for the Catholic press argued that young women should train for a career and work for a time even though

<sup>63</sup> *Month*, 1 November 1932, p. 8 (Betsy Davis); *Zealandia*, 31 January 1935, p. 7 (Kathleen Kennedy); 27 January 1938, p. 3 and 10 February 1938, p. 12 (J.A. Higgins SM). See also the role attributed to St Joseph above.

<sup>64</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 25 October 1939, p. 33; 1 November 1939, p. 8.

<sup>65</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 1 November 1939, p. 21; cf. 8 November 1939, p. 8: "However much the modern woman may protest against against this essentially fundamental Christian doctrine, the fact remains that woman's first duty is the service of and in the home."

<sup>66</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 17 November 1921, p. 15.

<sup>67</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 26 November 1924, p. 27; *Month*, 16 December 1924, p. 43.

<sup>68</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 20 May 1931, p. 3; 18 October 1939, p. 8.

<sup>69</sup> *Month*, 1 July 1931, p. 9; *NZ Tablet*, 8 July 1931, p. 42.

<sup>70</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 18 October 1939, p. 8; 25 October 1939, p. 33; 1 November 1939, pp. 8, 21; 8 November 1939, p. 8.

most of them would only have to support themselves until they married.<sup>71</sup> Far from discouraging them from accepting the responsibilities of wife and mother, a brief career would offer valuable lessons for "those blissful days when the business house is exchanged for the little bungalow in the suburbs with its coat of glistening paint and its bridal-new curtains hung up for all the world to see."<sup>72</sup> Moreover, it was recommended that women enter suitable occupations such as dress-making, teaching or nursing, rather than work in chain stores or factories.<sup>73</sup> Kennedy considered "domestic duties" to be "a woman's natural work" and therefore an acceptable profession.<sup>74</sup> Goulter recommended that the new Bureau of Child Welfare be staffed by women since "the average male official is bound to blunder, and blunder badly" in such work.<sup>75</sup>

Catholic writers agreed with contemporary "experts" that, in order for girls to fulfil successfully their destiny as wives and mothers, they needed appropriate education.<sup>76</sup> The Catholic Federation in Auckland offered five day scholarships and two correspondence scholarships for boys but only two day scholarships for girls, while the Christchurch Diocesan Council of the Federation rejected a proposal to open its scholarships competition to girls.<sup>77</sup> Cleary did not think that domestic training should be neglected in favour of unsuitable academic learning:

Marriage is (or ought to be) the common lot of the convent-trained girl. For that reason we plead...for the turning-out of sweet domesticated maidens rather than incipient blue-stockings or brilliant executants or smart sayers of airy nothings.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>71</sup> *Month*, 19 April 1927, p. 33 (Mary Goulter); 17 July 1928, p. 27 (Mona Tracy); *Zealandia*, 27 August 1936, p. 7 and 16 December 1937, p. 10 (Kathleen Kennedy); 31 December 1936, p. 7 (Susan Russell); cf. Margaret Tennant, "Natural Directions: The New Zealand Movement for Sexual Differentiation in Education During the Early Twentieth Century", *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, 12/2 (November 1977), p. 149.

<sup>72</sup> *Month*, 17 July 1928, p. 27 (Mona Tracy).

<sup>73</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 18 October 1939, p. 8; 1 November 1939, p. 21; 8 November 1939, p. 8.

<sup>74</sup> *Zealandia*, 16 December 1937, p. 10.

<sup>75</sup> *Month*, 16 August 1920, p. 21.

<sup>76</sup> *Zealandia*, 27 August 1936, p. 7 (Kennedy). For the debate over girls' education, see Tennant, "Natural Directions", pp. 142-153 and Griffiths, pp. 281-291.

<sup>77</sup> *Month*, 15 September 1921, p. 15; *NZ Tablet*, 6 February 1919, p. 34; cf. "Regulations and Conditions of the Christchurch Diocesan Scholarships of the New Zealand Catholic Federation", (Printed before December 1919), CCDA.

<sup>78</sup> *Month*, 15 September 1919, p. 18; cf. the views of education for girls expressed by "Antonio" (20 January 1925, p. 13).

Goulter attributed the shortage of domestic help partly to the tendency of education to encourage inappropriate career ambitions among those suited to domestic work.<sup>79</sup>

Conventional male and female gender roles were reflected even in the lives of Catholic religious. At its 1929 annual general meeting, the Wellington Catholic Education Board decided to raise the annual payment to the nuns teaching in its schools from £25 to £35; the Marist Brothers received £100 each as well as £50 to employ domestic help.<sup>80</sup> During the later 1930s, the Christian Brothers in Dunedin were paid £40 *per annum*, while nuns received £25.<sup>81</sup> Michael O'Meeghan SM, commenting on a similar situation in the Christchurch diocese, has argued that the smaller stipend offered to nuns was not a matter of unequal pay for men and women but reflected the brothers' need to employ housekeepers and cooks and to buy their own clothes. Nuns could keep house, cook and sew; they could also supplement their income by teaching music.<sup>82</sup> (Indeed, music teaching, essential for the economic viability of convents, was a respectable domestic form of employment.<sup>83</sup>) No doubt the stipend did reflect such practical considerations, but it thereby revealed assumptions about the different roles assigned to men and women. So strong were male and female stereotypes that even religious men vowed to poverty, chastity and obedience could hire a woman to look after them, rather than learn and practise the domestic arts themselves. Parish clergy (vowed to celibacy but not to poverty) also employed women as housekeepers and cooks.

<sup>79</sup> *Month*, 18 September 1920, p. 22-23; cf. 15 March 1921, p. 17.

<sup>80</sup> St Joseph's parish notices, 2 December 1928, 17 November 1929, WCAA; typed notes on stipends for nuns and brothers, enclosed with the Board's 1927-1928 report, WCAA; *NZ Tablet*, 22 October 1930, p. 33.

<sup>81</sup> The Dunedin City Catholic Education Trust's annual report for 1936-1937 recorded both the number of teachers and the total payments made for each school. Four teachers at the Christian Brothers School received £200 altogether for fifteen months, whereas the same number of teachers at convent schools received £125 (*NZ Tablet*, 18 August 1937, p. 35).

<sup>82</sup> Michael O'Meeghan, *Held Firm by Faith: a History of the Christchurch Diocese* (Christchurch: Catholic Diocese of Christchurch, 1988), p. 158.

<sup>83</sup> In a leader article on "The Catholic Teacher", the *Tablet* (8 January 1930, p. 3) noted that "in many cases our Sisterhoods could not exist in the districts where they find themselves were it not that some of them slaved from morning to night teaching singing and music, often to non-Catholics, in order to provide means for the support of the teachers in the schools." See also the comments of Sister Josephine (*NZ Tablet*, 21 January 1931, p. 48) and M.A. McCarthy's reference to the nuns' dependence on "the precious shilling" paid by pupils at the end of each lesson in *Star in the South: the Centennial History of the New Zealand Dominican Sisters* (Dunedin: St Dominic's Priory, 1970), p. 234.

In the ecclesiastical roles that it assigned to men and women, the Church reinforced the expectation that men should have public roles while women served privately and remained hidden from public view. This convention applied even more strongly to nuns than to other women. In January 1932, a large crowd gathered outside the new Dominican convent and school in Helensville for the opening ceremony but the nuns do not appear in the published photograph because they were listening to the addresses from the front parlour.<sup>84</sup> Noting that there had been discussion at a recent Anglican synod about preaching by women, Goulter pointed out that the Catholic Church followed the Pauline injunction that women should be silent in church. They already exercised "a high and holy function" in their "quiet domestic sphere as wife and mother", while those who sought "more intimate relations with the life of the Church" could enter a convent.<sup>85</sup> Nor could girls serve at the altar like their brothers. Since the priest was "another Christ, set apart from the world, for the perpetuation of Calvary", it was "inevitable that the service of the sanctuary, even in its minor details, should be the prerogative of men".<sup>86</sup> While motherhood was "a wonderful vocation", "the mother of a priest is called to a great destiny, surpassing the ordinary aspirations of women."<sup>87</sup> The *Zealandia* asserted that, while women could not be priests, they could enjoy the privileges of the religious life and that there was invariably a woman in the life of male saints.<sup>88</sup> During the liturgy, the sanctuary was a male preserve, which women could enter "only on sufferance".<sup>89</sup> When no altar boy was available to serve Mass, a girl or woman could give the liturgical responses and ring the bell but only from outside the sanctuary.<sup>90</sup> Women did have an important *domestic* role in church,

84 McCarthy, p. 228; *Month*, 1 February 1932, p. 22.

85 *Month*, 15 May 1922, pp. 6-7; cf. 1 Corinthians 14:34.

86 *Marist Messenger*, 1 November 1933, p. 31 (article by Goulter).

87 *Month*, 21 April 1925, p. 31 (Goulter); cf. *NZ Tablet*, 27 July 1927, p. 58 ("Rosaleen"): "The most sacred ambition of the Catholic mother is to see one or other of her children serving God as a member of a religious community."

88 *Zealandia*, 25 January 1940, p. 7. The latter generalization was dubious and the religious life was also open to men.

89 *Month*, 21 April 1925, p. 29 (Goulter).

90 *Zealandia*, 8 November 1934, p. 6; 28 February 1935, p. 6. Instances of girls or women "serving" from outside the sanctuary are recorded by Beryl Bartlett in Palmerston North during the 1920s and by Peg Baty (O'Neill), who attended St Joseph's Convent School, Runanga, from 1935 to 1943 - Bartlett, "Recollections, Impressions, Opinions and a few Facts, in the parish of St Patrick's Church, Palmerston North (and environs)", manuscript in Miss Bartlett's possession, vol. I, p. 7; *Reflect, Rejoice: Sisters of Mercy Celebrate One Hundred Years in Greymouth, 1882-1982* (Greymouth: Mercy Centennial Planning Committee, 1982), p. 118.

however, especially as members of altar societies, which were sometimes assisted by the Children of Mary. These organizations, like the Cathedral Altar Society in Christchurch, sewed vestments and otherwise maintained church furnishings as well as raising funds for liturgical requirements.<sup>91</sup>

According to both Catholic and Protestant exponents of the cult of domesticity, it was primarily in the home environment that women were expected to exert their wholesome influence. When Lord Bledisloe, the Governor-General, told the girls of St Mary's College, Ponsonby, that as women they had to be "the refining centres of influence in life", he was no doubt endorsing what the sisters who staffed the college also taught.<sup>92</sup> Reflecting on the McMillan Committee report, Protestant clerics reaffirmed the importance of the home and the role of women as moral guides.<sup>93</sup> Readers of the *Month* were told that, "Mary was queen of her home" and it was there, "and not in the public gaze, [that] her influence was made apparent".<sup>94</sup> Goulter assumed that, "in the majority of cases, it is the woman who arbitrates between the conflicting ideals which continually besiege the sanctuary of the individual home."<sup>95</sup> Kelly was a strong advocate of women's duty to inculcate moral values in their menfolk but he feared that family life was in decline.<sup>96</sup> A woman's power to convert or reform her husband was great - but so also was her power for evil.<sup>97</sup> Lamenting the corruption of contemporary youth, Kelly feared that while, "The men may be reformed by good women who will make good wives" there was less hope for families in which the wife and mother had led the undisciplined and dissolute life of a flapper.<sup>98</sup>

91 Cathedral Altar Society, minutes of meetings, 1926-1941, CCDA. For annual reports of this Society, see *NZ Tablet*, 14 December 1922, p. 25; 15 November 1923, p. 26; 5 November 1924, p. 41; cf. 17 March 1926, pp. 30-31 (Invercargill); 27 May 1936, p. 8 (Dunedin); *Zealandia*, 21 June 1934, p. 6 (South Canterbury); 3 August 1939, p. 3 (New Plymouth). See also the reference to the Guild of the Blessed Sacrament (in Remuera), in chapter two above.

92 *Month*, 1 August 1932, p. 10.

93 *NZ Herald*, 22 April 1937, p. 8 (Archdeacon MacMurray); *NZ Herald*, 18 November 1937, p. 15; and *Press*, 18 November 1937, p. 7 (Rev. E.D. Patchett).

94 *Month*, 2 November 1931, p. 17.

95 *Month*, 15 November 1919, p. 19; cf. *ibid.* 21 December 1926, p. 38 ("Women have the shaping of home life. They set its tone...". The context is a discussion of the role of women in the celebration of Christmas.).

96 *NZ Tablet*, 29 April 1920, p. 25; 27 January 1921, p. 25; 20 May 1931, p. 3.

97 *NZ Tablet*, 17 November 1921, p. 15.

98 *NZ Tablet*, 24 April 1919, p. 26; cf. 14 April 1926, p. 33.

As long as the women remain pure and good and true a nation cannot be lost; but if once womanhood loses its virtue the end is decay and ruin... To put the matter another way: the morals of men are what women make them.<sup>99</sup>

The mission of women as moral reformers could not be confined to the home but necessarily extended to the struggle against social evils which were seen to threaten the family. However, there was a tension in the ideology of womanhood, as expounded by Catholic moralists, between family responsibilities and the urge to reform the rest of society. The election of women to Parliament was applauded by Catholic commentators<sup>100</sup> but they were rather hesitant about the exposure of women to "the seamy side of life" through jury service.<sup>101</sup> When Kelly wrote of women's influence beyond the home, he emphasized the men whose character they moulded, for good or ill. At the same time, however, he called on women to imitate St Joan of Arc, asserting that the "devastation" of New Zealand "by its moral foes" was worse than that wrought in France by the English in her time.<sup>102</sup> According to Goulter, when women became mothers, they were content to be "onlookers at the windows of life".<sup>103</sup> Endorsing the views of a Mrs Peryman of Carterton, speaking at a meeting of the National Council of Women, Goulter argued that women's concern for their children extended beyond the home into the wider society which they entered on maturity and that consequently it was appropriate for mothers to become involved in social concerns when their children grew up.<sup>104</sup> On other occasions, it appeared that women could not wait that long. Goulter supported the Anglican Bishop Averill's appeal to the Mothers' Union to oppose the publication in newspapers of "those things which are degrading and offensive to all decent-minded people". She was particularly concerned over the unnecessary publication of the "sordid details" of crimes.<sup>105</sup> Goulter also urged women to take an interest in reforming the moral standards of the cinema, for, "Unless we take the lead in this matter, it is extremely unlikely that men will do so."<sup>106</sup> While

<sup>99</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 17 June 1920, p. 15; cf. 20 May 1920, p. 26; 29 August 1928, p. 3.

<sup>100</sup> *Month*, 14 February 1920, p. 18; 15 January 1923, p. 13 (Goulter on the election of Lady Astor in Britain); *NZ Tablet*, 20 September 1933, p. 4 (editorial comment on the election of Mrs E.R. McCombs).

<sup>101</sup> *Month*, 15 November 1923, p. 22; cf. 15 June 1921, pp. 13-14 (Goulter); *Zealandia* columnist, "The Sifter", was opposed to women serving on juries (*Zealandia*, 7 June 1934, p. 4).

<sup>102</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 14 September 1927, p. 33; 6 April 1932, p. 3.

<sup>103</sup> *Month*, 15 November 1918, p. 15.

<sup>104</sup> *Month*, 15 November 1923, pp. 22-23.

<sup>105</sup> *Month*, 15 September 1923, p. 23.

<sup>106</sup> *Month*, 15 May 1920, p. 12.

acknowledging that they naturally had different views on Prohibition, women, in particular, should also promote temperance:

We women should be in this good work, not only because our ideals should be purer and loftier than those of men, but because our sheltered and protected lives and gentler natures should fill us with a more divine pity and compassion for the victims, guilty and innocent, of the scourge of drink.<sup>107</sup>

Recognizing that women were increasingly entering public life, Redwood argued in 1919 that while some individuals had suffered, new responsibilities would strengthen women's characters and enable them to exercise more influence than in the past. He urged Catholic women, for example, "especially Catholic women of education and culture", to use their influence to combat the "evil of divorce".<sup>108</sup>

Twenty years later, there was no more hesitation over the duty of women to exercise their particular influence in society at large. Speaking to a conference of the Catholic Women's League, Bishop Liston referred to its role "in influencing and guiding public opinion". He observed that

whereas the chief apostolate of women was formerly the home, now women go out also among their fellows to work for God.... Women's part is to bring back Christian thought and practice...they do that in the homes, now they must do it in a wider sphere.<sup>109</sup>

Similarly, the *Tablet* described the "responsibility of woman" as extending "far beyond the home into all the professions for which she is naturally fitted", for, without such influence, civilization would fall. Catholic women were still expected to champion the home "and all that it stands for", but at the same time, "professions in the world which are suited to women must be available to them so that they can make their refining influence felt in the social environment." Nevertheless, the ambivalent view of women remained:

A good woman is a tremendous power for good, and, sad to say, a bad woman is a tremendous power for evil. Her influence in either case is almost incalculable.<sup>110</sup>

<sup>107</sup> *Month*, 15 July 1919, p. 22. Whatever Goulter's personal views, she was writing in a newspaper founded and edited by the leading Catholic Prohibitionist, Bishop Cleary, but the Catholic Church fully endorsed the virtue of temperance. For the Catholic role in the Prohibition controversy, see chapter five.

<sup>108</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 28 August 1919, pp. 9, 11; cf. *Month*, 15 September 1921, p. 16 (Goulter); *Zealandia*, 8 February 1940, p. 9 and Gascoigne, pp. 60-61 (Archbishop Duhig of Brisbane at the Wellington Eucharistic Congress).

<sup>109</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 12 July 1939, p. 27.

<sup>110</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 31 May 1939, p. 5. The editor's views were supported by quotations from an address by Pope Pius XII to the Congress of the International Union of Catholic Women's Leagues in Rome and allusions to an article by Dom Virgil on pp. 24-25, 27 of the same issue.

Within the Catholic Church, then, religiously-motivated celibacy was accorded a higher status than marriage, an attitude which was reinforced by the cult of virgin saints. Nevertheless, marriage and family life were accepted as the vocation of most Catholics. By exalting the Blessed Virgin and portraying the Holy Family as the ideal family, the Church simultaneously upheld the supremacy of virginity while promoting a sanitized version of family life. The official preference for celibacy gave Catholic thought on gender and the family a distinctive character but the expectations placed upon married women and men largely reflected those of contemporary respectable society. Indeed, the mythology of the Virgin served to reinforce current notions of womanly domesticity, virtue and influence.

### Moral Triumphalism

Catholic teachers, it will be seen, often contrasted the authoritative moral teaching of their Church with the changing doctrines of non-Catholics. "Christian moral teaching", according to Kelly, was "the doctrine of Christ which is preserved pure and intact by the Church which He founded on earth and to which He guaranteed immunity from error where faith or morals are concerned."<sup>111</sup> According to *Zealandia* editor Peter McKeefry, only the Catholic Church spoke "with explicit, unhesitant certitude" because it was not divided by individual judgment and consequent "theological dissensions".<sup>112</sup> As the Protestant churches modified their teaching on contraception and divorce in particular, they were open to criticism from Catholic polemicists, whose Church refused to compromise on these issues. For their part, Protestant apologists pointed to the Catholic practice of declaring certain marriages null, claiming this to be a breach of Catholic principles.

From the perspective of Catholic moral teaching, changing Protestant attitudes towards divorce and contraception demonstrated Catholic moral superiority. Catholic apologists took pride in their Church's refusal to countenance any grounds for divorce; even allowing the repudiation of an unfaithful spouse, on the basis of a saying of Jesus in Matthew's gospel, was seen as a weakness on the part of other churches.<sup>113</sup> Kelly asserted that, "Christianity stands for the family and the blessing of God; atheism and Protestantism stand for race-suicide and the curse that is manifest in the tottering

<sup>111</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 22 July 1925, p. 33.

<sup>112</sup> *Zealandia*, 16 August 1934, p. 4.

<sup>113</sup> *Month*, 15 November 1921, p. 11; cf. Matthew 19:9. This text was not included among the biblical quotations cited in a Redemptorist sermon condemning divorce (*NZ Tablet*, 30 January 1929, p. 42).

foundations of the societies that practice it." Birth control propaganda was motivated in part by opposition to the Catholic Church which was "the last bulwark and defence of family life and the Christian home."<sup>114</sup> Protestants had debased marriage to the level of a civil contract by "denying its supernatural character" and surrendering it to politicians who permitted polygamy and promiscuity through enacting divorce legislation.<sup>115</sup> According to Cleary, "The Catholic Church is the world's great moral and spiritual power-house" and "the one great moral force that combats divorce and race-suicide".<sup>116</sup> The *Zealandia* lamented that the Catholic Church was "the only body whose moral teaching has not been brought to shame and scorn by corruptions such as divorce and birth control".<sup>117</sup> Only Catholic teaching on marriage, rejected by most other Christians, could ensure happiness even in the present life.<sup>118</sup>

As well as upholding true moral values, Catholics claimed their Church was the only one to provide the means of inculcating and sustaining virtue, namely religious education and the sacraments.<sup>119</sup> When Canon Percival James, an Anglican, spoke to the Auckland Mothers' Union on impurity as "One of the greatest and most insidious enemies of home life", Kelly denounced the failure of Protestants to establish religious schools and blamed contemporary "moral disorders" on the Protestant doctrine of individual judgment.<sup>120</sup> The solution was to return to the Catholic ideals of marriage, purity and the home: "We need religion and we need the fear of hell... The place to begin is in the schools".<sup>121</sup> According to the *Month*, "the problem of widespread immorality" would only be dealt with effectively when religious and moral instruction were accorded their "proper place in the daily school life of the child".<sup>122</sup> The only solution to the problem of divorce was "the full reinstatement of the teaching of the Catholic Church on the unity - and the sacramental and unbreakable character - of the

<sup>114</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 16 November 1927, p. 33.

<sup>115</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 20 January 1926, p. 33.

<sup>116</sup> *Month*, 15 June 1920, p. 5; cf. 15 August 1922, p. 5.

<sup>117</sup> *Zealandia*, 10 October 1935, p. 4; cf. 16 September 1937, p. 7.

<sup>118</sup> *Zealandia*, 12 January 1939, p. 4.

<sup>119</sup> For Catholic views on the necessity of religious and moral education, see chapter three.

<sup>120</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 22 July 1925, p. 33; for a similar response to non-Catholic moral concern, see 17 June 1925, p. 33.

<sup>121</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 6 January 1926, p. 33.

<sup>122</sup> *Month*, 15 June 1921, p. 7.

bond of Christian marriage."<sup>123</sup> Moreover, the Church taught that the graces made available in the sacraments would sustain marriage through its inevitable difficulties.<sup>124</sup> Monsignor Power regarded Holy Communion as "essential to the peace and purity of married and family life". He asserted that, "Where love for the Holy Communion reigns, the door is shut against divorce".<sup>125</sup>

While the Catholic Church strove to uphold authentic moral values, the Protestant churches were charged with continuing the work of the Reformation in undermining moral and doctrinal orthodoxy. The denial of ecclesiastical authority in the sixteenth century had led to a gradual decline in moral standards.<sup>126</sup> E.J. Haughey's prize-winning essay in the Federated Catholic Clubs and Societies 1934 competition was published in the *Tablet* under the headline: "The World Pays for the Reformation, Luther's Spiritual Children Have Brought Moral Bankruptcy". Most contemporary economic and moral problems, the essay claimed, could be traced back directly or indirectly to the sixteenth century "break-up of Christendom" and "The present revolt in morals is mainly a reaction against the mutilated and distorted parody of true Christianity known as Protestant Puritanism." Only the Catholic Church was left to preserve virtues like chastity in a "paganised society".<sup>127</sup> Kelly declared that,

Whatever of Christian ethics is honored [sic] in the world comes directly from the Church. The religions which sprang from the Reformation have almost ceased to be a half-way house between Christianity and unbelief.<sup>128</sup>

In England, significantly, "the new order was established upon a king's divorce" and the masses learned to imitate Henry VIII's behaviour.<sup>129</sup> According to "Jerome", a member of the Catholic Social Guild of Wellington, the state had a duty to protect the family but, since the Reformation, moral principles had been separated from social and political affairs. As a result, divorce was legalized and the government took no action to stop birth control, abortion and the exploitation of workers who could not support

<sup>123</sup> *Month*, 15 August 1923, p. 6.

<sup>124</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 27 April 1938, p. 7. On this point, see also the discussion of Catholic teaching on divorce in the next section of this chapter.

<sup>125</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 29 April 1925, p. 35.

<sup>126</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 14 February 1940, p. 5.

<sup>127</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 23 April 1934, pp. 20-21, 31; for a further contribution by Haughey, see *ibid.*, 28 August 1935, pp. 20-21; 4 September 1935, pp. 9, 11.

<sup>128</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 3 December 1924, p. 33.

<sup>129</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 3 December 1924, p. 33; cf. 30 September 1920, p. 25; 6 January 1926, p. 33.

their families.<sup>130</sup> P.J. O'Regan contrasted the "universally uncompromising attitude" of the mediaeval Church with "the utter failure of the Reformation" as demonstrated by contemporary divorce legislation.<sup>131</sup> According to Goulter, "the insignificance of women, their lack of solid education, and their relegation to the domestic sphere only, is in reality a legacy of the Reformation."<sup>132</sup>

When the 1930 Lambeth Conference cautiously sanctioned the use of artificial contraception, the *Tablet* responded with a leader article entitled "The Anglican Collapse". By separating the pursuit of pleasure from the responsibility of procreation, the Lambeth Conference, according to the editor, had "by a large majority endorsed the gospel of the prostitute". In order to retain "within the vague limits of the fold many sorts of heretics and unbelievers, even among the bishops", the Anglican Church was prepared to modify orthodox Christian moral teaching.<sup>133</sup> According to Cooney, the Anglican bishops, by permitting the use of contraceptives, "abdicated any claim they may have been thought to possess as authorised teachers of Christian morality."<sup>134</sup> After the Lambeth conference, the *Month* published conflicting Anglican views on contraception and challenged Archbishop Averill to demonstrate how an immoral practice could sometimes be justified.<sup>135</sup> Anglicans had reduced the ethical code of their Church to "mere expediency, a truckling to the spirit of the age, and an exhibition of a pagan conception of life that is a betrayal of the essentials of Christian morality."<sup>136</sup>

In 1937, the *Tablet* took the Presbyterian Church to task for the General Assembly's recognition of the right of parents to "space and limit their families by conception control."<sup>137</sup> This resolution, the *Tablet* charged, was "characteristic of the muddleheadedness of the non-Catholic religious bodies" and the "logical conclusion"

<sup>130</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 15 June 1938, pp. 9, 35.

<sup>131</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 3 June 1925, pp. 15, 17. For a similar argument, see the *Month*, 10 June 1930, p. 19.

<sup>132</sup> *Month*, 19 October 1926, p. 35; cf. 15 May 1923, p. 15 (Goulter); *NZ Tablet*, 25 October 1939, p. 33 ("Joan").

<sup>133</sup> "There is no such sign as the 'Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus' set on the acts of this Conference" (*NZ Tablet*, 20 August 1930, p. 3).

<sup>134</sup> P.J. Cooney to the editor, *Christchurch Times*, 13 January 1931, p. 7; *NZ Tablet*, 21 January 1931, p. 9. For a further disparaging allusion to the Lambeth Conference's resolution on birth control, see *Marist Messenger*, 1 January 1938, p. 13.

<sup>135</sup> *Month*, 1 January 1931, pp. 11, 32.

<sup>136</sup> *Month*, 1 August 1931, p. 15; cf. 1 July 1933, p. 18.

<sup>137</sup> PGA, 1937, p. 63.

of Presbyterian "rejection of Catholicism and the clear teaching of the New Testament". It amounted to a "final rejection of the last vestiges of Christian morality to which Presbyterians had held for so long". Henceforth "the Presbyterian body has little claim to be regarded as a Christian sect; its claim in the past may have been a slender one, but this last great betrayal will open the eyes of all to the true state of affairs." The conclusion was obvious: "outside the [Catholic] Church there is no hope for morality and no hope for faith". In denying the "fundamental principle" that "Limitation of the family by any means other than abstinence and continence is absolutely contrary to the natural law and to God's law", the Presbyterian Church was guilty of the "same shilly-shallying attitude" as the Anglicans had shown at the Lambeth conference.<sup>138</sup> A letter by a Catholic accusing the Presbyterian Church of "condoning principles which are...diametrically opposed to the most fundamental Christian ideas on morality" was rejected by the editor of the *Dominion* but published in the *Tablet*.<sup>139</sup>

The *Tablet* also criticized the "ignorance of Christian teaching" demonstrated by the General Assembly's assertion that a marriage was effectively dissolved by adultery or desertion.<sup>140</sup> Naturally the Presbyterian *Outlook* repudiated the "ill-informed criticisms" of the *Tablet* and counter-attacked with charges that the Catholic practice of annulment "was a very ingenious method of avoiding the plain issue" of divorce, while in Italy a man could have two wives, one recognized by the state and the other by the Church.<sup>141</sup> The *Tablet* returned with the accusation that it was actually the Presbyterians who, by allowing the remarriage of divorcés, encouraged bigamy.<sup>142</sup>

Annulment was a sensitive issue for Catholic apologists who often had to defend their Church against the charge of allowing divorce by another name.<sup>143</sup> It was

<sup>138</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 24 November 1937, pp. 5, 10.

<sup>139</sup> "Veritas" to the editor, *NZ Tablet*, 15 December 1937, p. 7.

<sup>140</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 24 November 1937, p. 10. Although the Assembly proposed the statement as a basis for discussion within the Church, it did not constitute an authoritative declaration (PGA, 1937, p. 17).

<sup>141</sup> *Outlook*, 6 December 1937, p. 4. The *Tablet*'s original comments had appeared on the same page as an editorial exposition of Catholic policy on the annulment of marriage (*NZ Tablet*, 24 November 1937, p. 5). By assuming that the Catholic Church allowed divorce on the grounds of infidelity, the *Outlook* betrayed a lack of understanding of the Catholic position (*Outlook*, 27 December 1937, p. 4).

<sup>142</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 15 December 1937, p. 7.

<sup>143</sup> *Month*, 15 February 1923, p. 7; 15 March 1923, p. 13; *NZ Tablet*, 30 December 1936, p. 3; 15 December 1937, p. 5; 13 April 1938, p. 7; *Zealandia*, 16 September 1937.

admitted that even Catholics often misunderstood their Church's procedures.<sup>144</sup> According to Archbishop Julius, the Anglican Church had a stricter policy on divorce than the Catholic Church because the latter claimed the right to annul marriages.<sup>145</sup> Cooney alleged in turn that "Anglicans flock to the Divorce Courts" and that their Church condoned the state's right of divorce by marrying divorced persons.<sup>146</sup> When the Rev. J.D. Smith of the Dunedin Presbytery intimated that while rejecting divorce, the Catholic Church "had other ways of getting round the position by annulling marriages", the *Tablet* devoted a leader article to rebutting the charge.<sup>147</sup> In 1937, the *Outlook* charged that "'nullity' and divorce are exactly synonymous terms" and that if they were not, then "the Church of Rome condones bigamy".<sup>148</sup> The *Tablet* replied that religious prejudice had caused the author to write at the level of "a fifth standard school child".<sup>149</sup>

According to Catholic apologists, divorce and annulment were entirely distinct, since divorce purported to dissolve the marriage bond, while an annulment was a declaration that it had never existed because the alleged marriage had not been validly contracted.<sup>150</sup> Protestant churches, which had their own requirements for the validity of marriages (concerning consanguinity, for example), did not regard marriage as a sacrament and effectively left it to the state to decide whether or not any given marriage was valid. It is significant that the Anglican Church, which did attribute a sacramental significance to marriage and was reluctant to admit divorce, seriously considered establishing marriage annulment courts.<sup>151</sup> Without challenging the state's right to regulate marriage, the Catholic Church, invoking a divine mandate to supervise

<sup>144</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 24 November 1937, p. 5.

<sup>145</sup> *Christchurch Times*, 10 January 1931, p. 7.

<sup>146</sup> Cooney to the editor, *Christchurch Times*, 13 January 1931, p. 7; *NZ Tablet*, 21 January 1931, p. 9.

<sup>147</sup> *Otago Daily Times*, 3 October 1934, p. 3; *NZ Tablet*, 10 October 1934, p. 3.

<sup>148</sup> *Outlook*, 6 December 1937, p. 4.

<sup>149</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 15 December 1937, p. 5.

<sup>150</sup> *Month*, 15 February 1923, p. 7; 15 March 1923, p. 13; 18 January 1927, p. 25; 21 June 1927, p. iii; *NZ Tablet*, 19 January 1927, p. 33; 10 October 1934, p. 3; 24 November 1937, p. 5; *Zealandia*, 16 September 1937, p. 4.

<sup>151</sup> AGS, 1940, p. 27, 169-171. According to the General Synod's Committee on Marriage and Divorce, the Anglican Church was "under obligation to lift marriage from the selfish or physical planes to the sacramental plane" (*ibid.*, p. 169). Averill had noted at the previous General Synod that "the Sacramental nature of marriage is largely overlooked" amidst contemporary social customs (AGS, 1937, p. 32).

spiritual matters such as marriage, assumed this right for itself. The Catholic annulment procedure was, in principle, the necessary corollary of the Church's claim to specify the requirements for a valid marriage. Since the conditions laid down by canon law were not identical to those enforced by civil law, the Church required its own legal procedure to enforce its law. According to Catholic teaching, a marriage could be declared invalid by a Church court if it had not fulfilled the requirements of canon law *ab initio*. Cases were judged by a diocesan court but if the marriage was declared null, the *defensor vinculi* ("defender of the bond" of marriage) was then required to appeal to the court of the metropolitan or, more usually, to the Sacred Rota in Rome. The number of annulments declared in New Zealand was not published but there must have been few, if any, cases in most years. In 1933, the Sacred Roman Rota heard 72 cases, declaring invalid only 29 of the marriages involved.<sup>152</sup> One of the most common grounds for annulment was the determination that undue influence had been brought to bear on the couple involved.<sup>153</sup>

Although Protestant critics did misconstrue the Catholic practice of declaring marriages null, there were grounds for suspecting that the procedure was not as different from divorce as its Catholic defenders claimed. The primary purpose of annulment proceedings was not to uncover invalid marriages - there was no question of investigating apparently successful unions - but to determine whether unsuccessful marriages might have been invalidly contracted and therefore not binding. Presumably there were many apparently successful marriages which could have been declared invalid on the same grounds as those which were declared null. Annulment proceedings were only initiated by couples whose marriage had broken down, that is, by spouses who, had they belonged to another church, would have sought a divorce. Moreover, if Protestant acceptance of the principle that marriages could be dissolved was eventually to lead to an increase in divorce, Catholic acceptance of the principle that some marriages were not really marriages at all could also lead to an increase in annulments, as appears to have happened in more recent times.

<sup>152</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 10 October 1934, p. 3. In five of these 29 cases, "previous opinions of validity were reversed or weakened". For other years, see *Month*, 15 March 1923, p. 13; *NZ Tablet*, 18 November 1936, p. 4; 24 November 1937, p. 5; 15 November 1939, p. 7.

<sup>153</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 24 November 1937, p. 5. In the Vanderbilt-Marlborough case, a *cause célèbre* in the 1920s, it was established that Consuelo Vanderbilt had been coerced into marriage against her wishes by her mother (*NZ Tablet*, 19 January 1927, p. 33; 26 January 1927, pp. 22-23; *Month*, 18 January 1927, p. 25; 21 June 1927, p. iii). The intention not to have offspring, by means of artificial contraception, was another ground for annulment - J.T. Noonan, *Contraception: A History of its Treatment by the Catholic Theologians and Canonists* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1965, revised edition, 1986), p. 435.

Catholic apologists asserted that their Church alone maintained traditional Christian moral values while other churches were compromising with the declining moral tone of an increasingly de-Christianized society. Meanwhile, Protestant polemicists, irritated by Catholic criticisms, replied that in its annulment procedure, the Catholic Church, too, was compromising its alleged principles. The rest of this chapter will compare the doctrines of Catholic and non-Catholic moralists, as well as the practice of Catholics and Protestants, to assess the Catholic claim to moral superiority. It will be argued that the main purpose of Catholic triumphalist rhetoric was to persuade the Catholic laity to live according to the Church's moral precepts but that the stridency with which these were proclaimed reflects their widespread rejection in practice.

### **Differences in Principle or Differences of Degree?**

Despite the sometimes tendentious boasting of Catholic apologists, official Catholic views on contentious issues like euthanasia, divorce, eugenics and sterilization, abortion and contraception were not radically different from those of the other churches and the rest of respectable society. Rather, Catholic views were simply more extreme - or more consistent - than those of other moralists. Whereas non-Catholics were prepared to adapt general principles (such as the indissolubility of marriage or the prohibition against killing the innocent) the Catholic Church regarded such principles as inviolable moral laws. As social attitudes changed, all the churches, as well as other conservative interest groups, found themselves defending traditional values to a greater or lesser extent but the Catholic Church was less willing to compromise than others. A review of the debate over these issues will show that Catholic teaching was located at one end of the spectrum of opinion: it was distinctive but it usually endorsed the same moral values as did Protestant teaching.

The differences between Catholic and Protestant ethical teaching can be illustrated by the issue of euthanasia. In 1937, the Presbyterian Church agreed that "prematurely ending life is too dangerous a principle to be permitted."<sup>154</sup> There was some regret on the part of the Public Questions Committee that it could not recommend the relief of suffering in this manner.<sup>155</sup> Evidently the Church was more concerned that legalized euthanasia could lead to abuses than with the general prohibition of killing the

<sup>154</sup> PGA, 1937, pp. 64, 180.

<sup>155</sup> *NZ Herald*, 18 November 1937, p. 14.

innocent. For Catholic moralists, by contrast, an inflexible principle was involved, namely that no-one was allowed to take the life of an innocent person under any circumstances whatsoever. From time to time, the Catholic press criticized the advocacy or practice of euthanasia overseas and outlined the Catholic view on the issue.<sup>156</sup> During the 1930s, as public debate on euthanasia increased, the Catholic newspapers often reminded their readers of the Church's teaching.<sup>157</sup> For the Catholic Church, there was no question of reconsidering the issue, but only of reaffirming traditional doctrine. Less committed to universal principles, Protestants were more willing to re-examine traditional mores but, in this instance at least, the practical outcome was the same.

According to Catholic moralists, divorce was never permissible. Marriage was established by God and Jesus Christ had elevated it to the status of a sacrament.<sup>158</sup> As a sacrament, marriage was a permanent union; it could not be broken by any human agent because God, as one of the contracting parties, only allowed it to be broken by death.<sup>159</sup> Moreover, the sacramental marriage of baptized Christians brought with it "such graces as are necessary for the well-being of the married state". Couples who knew that their union could only be broken by death would "naturally try to avoid quarrels" or, at least, "be more inclined to make them up, and less disposed to follow them up to the point of a final rupture".<sup>160</sup> It was assumed that many divorces began with "matters of incompatibility that with reasonable effort could be adjusted or at least tolerated in order to preserve the marriage contract inviolate."<sup>161</sup> If a marriage

<sup>156</sup> *Month*, 15 July 1919, pp. 5-6; 15 April 1922, p. 7; 19 November 1929, pp. 17, 19; *NZ Tablet*, 29 April 1925, p. 22; 6 February 1935, p. 3; 13 November 1935, p. 3.

<sup>157</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 10 February 1937, p. 20; 13 July 1938, p. 8; *Zealandia*, 3 January 1935, p. 6; 27 February 1936, p. 4; 12 March 1936, p. 4; 9 September 1937, p. 12; 23 September 1937, p. 12; 17 November 1938, p. 3; 25 May 1939, p. 9.

<sup>158</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 12 February 1920, p. 26; 18 November 1920, p. 13; 20 January 1926, p. 33; 23 June 1926, p. 51; 30 January 1929, p. 42; 12 March 1930, p. 9; 24 November 1937, pp. 3-4; *Month*, 20 October 1925, p. 5; *Zealandia*, 31 January 1935, p. 7; 7 October 1937, p. 3; *Casti Connubii*, paragraphs 5, 38, 49. The encyclical is printed in *The Papal Encyclicals, 1903-1939*, edited by Claudia Carlen IHM (Wilmington, North Carolina: McGrath Publishing Company, 1981), pp. 391-414.

<sup>159</sup> *Month*, 18 September 1920, p. 6; 15 January 1923, p. 4; 15 January 1924, p. 13; *NZ Tablet*, 12 February 1920, p. 26; 3 December 1924, p. 33; 5 December 1928, p. 43 (Pastoral Letter by Redwood); cf. *Zealandia*, 5 January 1939, p. 6 and the statement issued by the Standing Committee of the Bishops of Australasia (*Month*, 18 November 1924, p. 32; *NZ Tablet*, 24 December 1924, p. 13).

<sup>160</sup> *Month*, 15 December 1923, p. 4; cf. *Casti Connubii*, paragraph 90.

<sup>161</sup> *Month*, 15 March 1923, p. 5.

had become intolerable, however, for example through infidelity or drunkenness, the Church could permit a separation but this did not sever the bond of matrimony.<sup>162</sup> Divorce was contrary to the teaching of Christ and St Paul;<sup>163</sup> it was setting aside the law of God for the sake of personal convenience.<sup>164</sup> According to Redwood, divorce was "in reality only legalised sexual crime";<sup>165</sup> other Catholic moralists placed it on a par with adultery and polygamy.<sup>166</sup> Divorce reduced marriage to "a mere convenience for private pleasure".<sup>167</sup>

Under the Divorce and Matrimonial Causes Amendment Act (1920), divorce could be granted for failure to comply with an order for the restitution of conjugal rights or after three years' legal separation.<sup>168</sup> Catholics and other critics of the law were concerned that these provisions enabled couples to obtain a divorce by mutual consent, even though collusion between the parties was not supposed to be allowed.<sup>169</sup> A further amendment merely made it more difficult for the "guilty party" to petition successfully for a divorce<sup>170</sup> and existing legislation was consolidated in the Divorce and Matrimonial Causes Act (1928), which made no significant alteration in the grounds for divorce.<sup>171</sup> Even before the passage of the 1920 legislation, the dislocation brought about by the war had led to a sharp increase in the number of divorce petitions.<sup>172</sup> During the interwar period, there were usually between seven and eight hundred petitions annually, but the number rose in the later 1930s to 1,243 in 1939.<sup>173</sup>

<sup>162</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 27 November 1919, p. 15; *Christchurch Times*, 20 January 1931, p. 10 (Cooney); *Casti Connubii*, paragraph 89.

<sup>163</sup> *Month*, 15 October 1923, p. 23; 15 December 1923, p. 4; *NZ Tablet*, 7 July 1926, p. 51 (Mgr Power).

<sup>164</sup> *Zealandia*, 28 April 1938, p. 6.

<sup>165</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 28 August 1919, p. 11.

<sup>166</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 27 November 1919, p. 15; 10 December 1924, p. 51; 30 January 1929, p. 43.

<sup>167</sup> *Zealandia*, 14 July 1938, p. 3.

<sup>168</sup> Divorce and Matrimonial Causes Amendment Act, Clauses 3 and 4, *Statutes of New Zealand* (1920), pp. 478-479.

<sup>169</sup> *Month*, 15 December 1923, p. 12; 10 June 1930, p. 19; *NZ Tablet*, 3 June 1925, pp. 19, 45 (O'Regan); 26 August 1925, p. 11 (Cooney); 25 October 1933, p. 3; cf. R. Phillips, pp. 43-44.

<sup>170</sup> Divorce and Matrimonial Causes Amendment Act (1921-1922), *Statutes of New Zealand* (1921-1922), p. 614; for the context of this amendment, see R. Phillips, pp. 42-43.

<sup>171</sup> Divorce and Matrimonial Causes Act (1928), *Statutes of New Zealand* (1928), pp. 204-217; R. Phillips, pp. 44, 147.

<sup>172</sup> R. Phillips, pp. 57, 71.

<sup>173</sup> R. Phillips, pp. 56-57.

Power urged Catholics to "denounce the wickedness of politicians who defile the marriage bed by opening the door to cheap divorce":<sup>174</sup>

The Civil Government of New Zealand is engaged in the satanic work of weakening the marriage bond. Instead of cheap bread and shelter it is thrusting cheap divorce upon the people, and multiplying its pretexts.<sup>175</sup>

Catholic and non-Catholic moralists regarded the availability of legal divorce as an attack on the family and the practice of divorce as a threat to society as a whole.<sup>176</sup> They agreed with Cooney who declared that Christian civilization rested "upon the foundation of the family" so any threat to the stability of the family was a menace "to the stability of the State".<sup>177</sup> It was held that society at large should not be put at risk in order to make divorce available to those suffering genuine hardships.<sup>178</sup> J.A. Higgins SM argued that the state was "made out of families, not of mere men and women". Individualism led to divorce, which was "so radically evil that no civilization ultimately can survive it".<sup>179</sup> Moreover, once divorce was made available, it would be impossible to restrain.<sup>180</sup> In criticizing the 1920 Act, the *Evening Post* reflected similar assumptions: the "permanent welfare of the community" was at stake for "the family and the home", which were "the real foundations of society", were threatened by legislation which made divorce too easy.<sup>181</sup>

While the Protestant churches conceded that divorce sometimes had to be permitted, they abhorred it none the less and the views of the Anglican Church, in particular, were very similar to those of the Catholic Church. Averill regarded the "prevalence of easy divorce" as "disastrous to the well being of any country" since it undermined "the unity and purity of family life".<sup>182</sup> When the Rev. J.R. Hervey called for a repeal of the laws permitting divorce, his remarks were quoted with approval by

<sup>174</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 10 December 1924, p. 51.

<sup>175</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 29 April 1925, p. 35.

<sup>176</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 2 December 1920, p. 13; 23 June 1926, p. 51; 28 June 1933, p. 3; 25 October 1933, p. 3; 14 September 1938, p. 35; *Month*, 15 December 1922, p. 5; 15 March 1923, pp. 4-5; 15 December 1923, pp. 4-5; *Zealandia*, 12 August 1937, p. 6; 12 January 1939, p. 4.

<sup>177</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 26 August 1925, p. 11.

<sup>178</sup> *Month*, 15 October 1923, p. 23; *NZ Tablet*, 27 November 1919, p. 15.

<sup>179</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 17 August 1938, p. 9; cf. *Zealandia*, 21 June 1934, p. 5; 17 February 1938, p. 12 (Higgins); *NZ Tablet*, 25 January 1939, p. 4 (Catholic social science article).

<sup>180</sup> *Casti Connubii*, paragraph 91; *Zealandia*, 24 February 1938, p. 16 (Higgins, citing Pope Leo XIII).

<sup>181</sup> *Evening Post*, 28 October 1921, p. 6; 4 November 1921, p. 7.

<sup>182</sup> AGS, 1940, pp. 27-28.

the *Month*.<sup>183</sup> The 1922 General Synod, following the 1920 Lambeth Conference, affirmed that marriage was indissoluble<sup>184</sup> and, in 1928, the Mothers' Union reported its concern over the country's liberal divorce laws.<sup>185</sup> In 1937, the Synod endorsed an unofficial 1899 episcopal declaration that remarriage was not permissible.<sup>186</sup> The *Tablet* congratulated Averill for his reiteration of the Anglican Church's prohibition of the remarriage of divorced persons during his opening address at the Synod but also criticized less strict Anglicans.<sup>187</sup> A special committee reporting to the 1940 Synod reaffirmed the Church's view that marriage was indissoluble except that it was effectively dissolved by adultery - a circumstance which could be recognized by legal divorce.<sup>188</sup> With episcopal permission, the innocent party could remarry.<sup>189</sup> However, the committee felt unable to recognize any further grounds for divorce other than unfaithfulness.<sup>190</sup> For Anglicans, like Catholics, the sacramental character of marriage was a barrier to its dissolution.<sup>191</sup> Moreover, like the Catholic Church, the Anglican Church recognized that where the conditions for a valid marriage had not been fulfilled, the union could be declared null, leaving the parties free to marry someone else.<sup>192</sup>

Despite their increasingly liberal attitudes towards divorce, the Presbyterian and Methodist churches also sought to restrict it. In its response to the *Tablet*'s attack on Presbyterian divorce legislation, the *Outlook* recalled that, "The Presbyterian Church has voiced in clear terms her detestation of the unrestricted divorce which is so easy today".<sup>193</sup> Although the Presbyterian Church's 1921 declaration on divorce

<sup>183</sup> *Month*, 15 August 1923, p. 6. For favourable comment by Mary Goulter on Anglican objections to the 1920 legislation, see *Month*, 15 November 1921, p. 16.

<sup>184</sup> AGS, 1922, pp. 20, 22.

<sup>185</sup> AGS, 1928, p. 236. Women who had taken part in divorce proceedings were debarred from membership of the Mothers' Union (*Press*, 14 July 1938, p. 2).

<sup>186</sup> AGS, 1937, pp. 29, 57.

<sup>187</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 14 April 1937, p. 4; cf. 21 July 1921, pp. 25-26 and 7 April 1937, pp. 4-5. See also AGS, 1937, p. 28-30.

<sup>188</sup> AGS, 1940, pp. 165-166.

<sup>189</sup> AGS, 1940, pp. 166-167.

<sup>190</sup> AGS, 1940, pp. 168-169.

<sup>191</sup> AGS, 1937, p. 32; 1940, p. 169.

<sup>192</sup> AGS, 1937, p. 31; 1940, pp. 27, 169-171.

<sup>193</sup> *Outlook*, 6 December 1937, p. 4.

acknowledged that a marriage could be dissolved by adultery or desertion, it maintained that marriage was "meant to last as long as life lasts" and protested against the greater availability of divorce created by the Divorce and Matrimonial Causes Amendment Act of 1920.<sup>194</sup> By 1934, however, it was recognized that there was "considerable diversity of practice within the Church" on the remarriage of the divorced.<sup>195</sup> It took another four years before a compromise statement of guidance for ministers could be negotiated because "discussions in Presbyteries revealed the sharpest and most extreme difference of opinion on all aspects of the Church's attitude to marriage and divorce."<sup>196</sup> A 1938 statement addressed to couples about to marry declared that "marriage is a relationship entered into for life" but, following the lead of the Divorce and Matrimonial Causes Act (1928), the "Instructions to Ministers" endorsed by the General Assembly acknowledged that a marriage could be dissolved by "sexual vice, habitual cruelty, habitual drunkenness, and desertion".<sup>197</sup> Divorce on the grounds of refusing to comply with an order for the restitution of conjugal rights or on the grounds of three years' separation, though allowed by law, was not to be recognized by the Church. However, ministers could solemnize the remarriage of such divorcés if they were convinced they had repented.<sup>198</sup> According to the Methodist Church, Christian marriage was, in principle, indissoluble, and could not be severed without sin.<sup>199</sup> After the passage of the 1920 Act, the Church's Temperance and Public Morals Committee had expressed a hope that the legislation would soon be revised to make divorce more difficult.<sup>200</sup> By the late 1930s, only a minority of the Church's Special Committee on marriage, divorce and birth control believed that unchastity was the only biblically sanctioned ground for divorce while the majority held that "other things such as insanity, cruelty, desertion etc. are the equivalent of

<sup>194</sup> PGA, 1921, pp. 56, 190-194.

<sup>195</sup> PGA, 1934, p. 177.

<sup>196</sup> Professor John Allan, Convener of the Committee on Marriage and Divorce, in PGA, 1937, p. 220. In citing the 1936 report, R. Phillips (pp. 51-52) fails to acknowledge that the Church had not yet agreed upon a final statement.

<sup>197</sup> PGA, 1938, pp. 43, 203, 207. Insanity was added to this list the following year (*ibid.*, 1939, p. 20). Cf. Divorce and Matrimonial Causes Act (1928), Clause 10, *Statutes of New Zealand* (1928), pp. 207-208.

<sup>198</sup> PGA, 1938, pp. 43, 207. This compromise did not express the mind of the Committee on Marriage and Divorce.

<sup>199</sup> MAC, 1936, p. 67.

<sup>200</sup> MAC, 1922, p. 91.

unchastity in morally breaking up the marriage bond".<sup>201</sup> A Methodist minister could remarry divorced persons who, he was convinced, sincerely and honestly accepted the Church's understanding of marriage and were not "guilty of any gross sexual offence whether in connection with the divorce or otherwise."<sup>202</sup>

Anglicans, Presbyterians and Methodists, then, shared the Catholic ideal of marital indissolubility, but, in varying degrees, they allowed departures from that ideal. Moralists of all denominations were scandalized by newspaper reports of divorce cases which dwelt upon "prurient" details. In 1923, Archbishop O'Shea joined Bishop Sprott of Wellington and other Protestant clerics in a deputation to Attorney General Sir Francis Bell urging that such information be suppressed.<sup>203</sup>

Several moral issues of concern to Catholics and others were raised by eugenic theories. Particularly during the first third of this century, eugenicists in New Zealand and elsewhere sought to improve the genetic quality of the population by preventing or discouraging the "unfit" from reproducing.<sup>204</sup> Eugenicists claimed that a broad range of ailments and behaviours were hereditary, such as epilepsy, "feeble-mindedness" and tendencies to alcoholism, prostitution and child molestation. Moreover, individuals so afflicted were thought to be extremely prolific. The eugenic movement in New Zealand reached a climax in 1924 when the government established a committee to inquire into the treatment of "mental defectives" and sexual offenders.<sup>205</sup> It was recommended that a register of mental defectives be compiled and that persons listed be prevented from marrying. Furthermore, with the approval of their guardians, mental defectives were to be sterilized by vasectomy or salpingectomy.<sup>206</sup> After a delay which reflected government hesitation over these controversial proposals, the Mental Defectives Amendment Bill was introduced in 1928.<sup>207</sup>

Before the Bill was passed into law, opposition from the Catholic Church and other groups led to the deletion of clauses 21 and 25 which would have prohibited the

<sup>201</sup> MAC, 1938, pp. 72-73; cf. 1937, p. 72.

<sup>202</sup> MAC, 1936, p. 68; cf. 1937, p. 73; 1938, p. 73. In the latter two references, the second provision is not mentioned; according to R. Phillips (p. 51), it was repealed.

<sup>203</sup> *Evening Post*, 12 June 1923, p. 8; 13 June 1923, pp. 4, 9; *Month*, 15 June 1923, p. 4.

<sup>204</sup> Fleming, pp. 1, 60, 71.

<sup>205</sup> Fleming, pp. 42-47; "Mental Defectives and Sexual Offenders", *AJHR*, 1925, vol. III, H.-31A.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 21, 24. The committee also recommended that consideration be given to the sterilization or even desexualization of "sexual perverts" (*ibid.*, pp. 26-28).

<sup>207</sup> Fleming, pp. 47-50. The delay also gave the government time to consider a further report by Dr T. Gray who visited mental institutions in Britain.

marriage of mental defectives and authorized their sterilization.<sup>208</sup> Even Health Minister James Young, in introducing the Bill, foresaw that public opinion might not be prepared to accept so drastic a step as sterilization and, indeed, there was considerable opposition to the Bill on the part of informed commentators.<sup>209</sup> Catholic moralists and Labour politicians shared scepticism over the attribution of numerous diseases and anti-social tendencies to heredity.<sup>210</sup> Kevin McGrath SM, presenting evidence to the inquiry on behalf of the Catholic Church, had questioned the hereditary determinism which characterized eugenic theory.<sup>211</sup> The Labour opposition in Parliament was critical of attempts to blame individuals for evils which it saw as resulting from unjust social structures.<sup>212</sup> Kelly commended the views of Peter Fraser and William Parry, arguing that the failure of government to improve social conditions, not heredity, created defectives.<sup>213</sup> He declared that, "The main causes of degeneracy are the exploitation of the workers by the capitalists and the maintenance of godless schools".<sup>214</sup> Sexual crimes were encouraged by "suggestive literature and pictures". The solution lay in the restoration of the home and its values, the establishment of religious education and in the Catholic Church with its sacraments.<sup>215</sup> Redwood and Kelly also stressed Catholic natural law arguments: governments had no authority to mutilate the body by sterilization or to deny the God-given right to found a family. Redwood feared that voluntary sterilization could soon become compulsory for the unfit and might also be used by healthy couples as a form of contraception.<sup>216</sup>

<sup>208</sup> *NZPD*, 1928, vol. 219, p. 492. However, the Mental Defectives Amendment Act (clauses 14 and 22) did provide for the compilation of a register of defectives, whose guardians were charged with preventing them from having carnal knowledge of any other person - *Statutes of New Zealand* (1928), pp. 403-404, 406.

<sup>209</sup> *NZPD*, 1928, vol. 217, p. 618; Fleming, pp. 54-58.

<sup>210</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 17 June 1925, p. 33; 25 July 1928, p. 3; *NZPD*, 1928, vol. 617, pp. 631-633 (Fraser); 678-684 (Holland); vol. 219, p. 508 (Fraser).

<sup>211</sup> *Month*, 15 June 1924, p. 27; Fleming, p. 45.

<sup>212</sup> *NZPD*, 1928, vol. 617, pp. 633-634; Fleming, p. 52.

<sup>213</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 25 July 1928, p. 3. Presumably Parry's views were expressed outside Parliament: he had little to say about the Bill in the House (*NZPD*, 1928, vol. 219, pp. 492-493).

<sup>214</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 17 June 1925, p. 33.

<sup>215</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 13 May 1925, p. 33.

<sup>216</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 13 May 1925, p. 33; 25 July 1928, p. 3; 1 August 1928, p. 42 (Redwood); 26 September 1928, p. 5; *Evening Post*, 25 July 1928, p. 10 (Redwood). Sterilization was permissible if it proved necessary for the health of the individual concerned. For further discussion of sterilization in terms of natural law, see M.F. Lane, *Australasian Catholic Record* (1934), pp. 47-53, especially pp. 49-50. Catholic moralists countenanced the use of sterilization as a lawful punishment for crime: "the State cannot mutilate people who are not criminals" (*NZ Tablet*, 25 July 1928, p. 3); "it is permitted...as a punishment for crime, under a just law" (19 September 1934, p. 2); *Casti Connubii*,

Sir Joseph Ward, speaking in the House of Representatives, condemned sterilization as "an interference to the natural laws laid down by the Almighty".<sup>217</sup>

By the 1930s, there was less support for eugenic theories, but Catholic moralists still felt it necessary to campaign against them.<sup>218</sup> In 1934, the *Tablet* criticized the New Zealand Justices of the Peace for endorsing sterilization as a means of reducing crime and improving the human race and the *Zealandia* challenged Major Dagger, Chairman of the Nelson Hospital Board for advocating sterilization of the "unfit".<sup>219</sup> That same year, Dr P.P. Lynch addressed the Catholic Readers' Club of Wellington on sterilization and eugenics and a Miss Williams of Dunedin was said to have routed the advocates of sterilization in an address to the Hibernian Social and Debating Club on her work among children suffering from speech impairment at the School for Defective Children.<sup>220</sup> The most important exponent of eugenic thought in the 1930s was Mrs N.A.R. Barrer of the Women's Division of the Farmers' Union who lobbied for the reinstatement of clauses 21 and 25 of the 1928 Act.<sup>221</sup> Noting the organization's efforts to persuade the Minister of Health of the need for sterilization of the unfit, a writer to the *Tablet* expressed the hope that Catholic members "who must be a numerous body of women" would "remove this stain" from the Division's record.<sup>222</sup> At the Women's Division's 1937 conference, Dr Doris Gordon, founder the New Zealand Obstetrical Society, spoke in support of voluntary sterilization and Dr A.B. O'Brien, a Catholic, spoke on the moral objections to it. Subsequently a remit urging the prohibition of marriage by persons having an "hereditary taint", the

(Footnote continued from previous page.)

paragraphs 68, 70. Lane (*op. cit.*, pp. 52-53) rejected the legitimacy of punitive sterilization. The McMillan Committee endorsed surgical sterilization as a means of preventing conception in women whose health would be endangered by pregnancy, but did not recommend any change in the law lest it open the way to abuse - that is, the committee shared Redwood's disapproval of sterilization as a form of contraception for women not wanting further children (*AJHR*, 1937-1938, vol. III, H.-31A, pp. 23, 27-28).

<sup>217</sup> *NZPD*, 1928, vol. 219, p. 501. Ward had just returned to the Chamber after having a sleep and did not realize that the sterilization clause had already been removed from the Bill.

<sup>218</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 2 April 1930, p. 3; 2 September 1931, p. 3.

<sup>219</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 18 April 1934, p. 3; *Zealandia*, 6 December 1934, p. 4; cf. 27 September 1934, p. 10; 28 February 1935, p. 4; 4 January 1940, p. 8.

<sup>220</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 19 September 1934, pp. 1-2, 8; 24 October 1934, pp. 13, 27.

<sup>221</sup> Fleming, pp. 63-68.

<sup>222</sup> "Catholic Woman" to the editor, *NZ Tablet*, 10 July 1935, p. 36.

introduction of voluntary sterilization and the establishment of birth control clinics was not put to the meeting.<sup>223</sup> In 1938, however, the annual conference passed, by a "big majority", a remit favouring clinics and sterilization. The motion had been opposed by Fairlie delegate Mrs Goulter.<sup>224</sup> After further lobbying it was rescinded at the 1939 conference.<sup>225</sup> Although there were fears that maintaining an official position opposed by a significant number of members would damage the organization,<sup>226</sup> it seems unlikely that Catholic women were alone in opposing sterilization and birth control clinics.<sup>227</sup>

Although the Catholic Church had a distinctive approach to eugenic issues, its views overlapped with those expressed by other members of society. Catholics emphasized natural law principles which allowed of no exceptions, while other moralists tended to oppose sterilization on more pragmatic grounds. Evidently fearful lest the wrong people should suffer, the Presbyterian Church, in 1937, declared itself opposed to compulsory sterilization but saw no moral obstacle to voluntary sterilization on the grounds of "physical or mental unfitness".<sup>228</sup> Catholics played an important role in the criticism of eugenics but they were by no means alone in the effort to defeat proposals to introduce sterilization or to restrict marriage by the unfit. Moreover, like many of their contemporaries, Catholics were not opposed to "any reasonable efforts to improve the race", for example it was accepted that certain individuals might have to be segregated or dissuaded from marrying.<sup>229</sup> Eugenics was never a popular cause and support declined further after the passage of the 1928 Act. During the 1930s, manipulation of heredity by the state for eugenic purposes was rendered even more suspect by association with developments in Nazi Germany - a point naturally stressed by Catholic moralists.<sup>230</sup>

<sup>223</sup> Fleming, p. 66.

<sup>224</sup> *Dominion*, 15 July 1938, p. 13.

<sup>225</sup> *Dominion*, 14 July 1939, p. 11; *Zealandia*, 27 July 1939, p. 4.

<sup>226</sup> Fleming, pp. 66-68.

<sup>227</sup> Perhaps if the proposals for sterilization and birth control clinics had been separated, there would have been more support for the latter but even the establishment of clinics was not universally supported by non-Catholics, as will be seen below.

<sup>228</sup> PGA, 1937, pp. 63-64, 180; *NZ Herald*, 18 November 1937, p. 14.

<sup>229</sup> *Evening Post*, 25 July 1928, p. 10 (Redwood); *NZ Tablet*, 18 April 1934, p. 3; cf. 2 April 1930, p. 3; 2 September 1931, p. 3; *Australasian Catholic Record*, 1939, pp. 335-340 (Nevin); *Casti Connubii*, paragraphs 66-70.

<sup>230</sup> *Month*, 2 October 1933, p. 18; *NZ Tablet*, 18 April 1934, p. 3; 19 September 1934, p. 2; *Zealandia*, 5 May 1938, p. 6.

The Catholic Church was uncompromising in its condemnation of abortion. Even when the health of the mother was endangered by continued pregnancy or child birth, there could be no question of performing an abortion, for the life of the unborn child was as sacred as that of the mother.<sup>231</sup> The situation was not analogous to self-defence because the foetus was an innocent party, not an "unjust aggressor".<sup>232</sup> Mothers were told that it was

Better far to die a little in advance of the ordinary expectation of life than to secure a few years at the cost of mortal sin. The mother who gives her life for the sake of duty takes the surest road to heaven; she is, in truth, a martyr.<sup>233</sup>

The submission presented to the McMillan Committee on behalf of O'Shea and the other Catholic bishops declared that "direct abortion" was murder and therefore never justified, even on therapeutic grounds, although it was permissible to carry out necessary surgery on the mother even if this would result in the death of the foetus.<sup>234</sup>

Non-Catholic moralists, just as aggrieved at the incidence of abortion as Catholics, were nevertheless prepared to allow it under certain circumstances. The 1937 inquiry estimated that there were some 4,000 criminal and 2,000 therapeutic abortions in New Zealand each year. Most of the women involved were married.<sup>235</sup> Further debate over abortion was fuelled by Dr Doris Gordon and Dr Francis Bennett, whose book, *Gentlemen of the Jury*, condemned the failure of juries to convict illegal abortionists.<sup>236</sup> Despite the writers' acceptance of therapeutic abortion and contraception (within strict limits), the book was given a quite favourable review by Liston who was pleased to accept the authors' tribute to the Church which, they believed, had most contributed to the solution of the abortion problem.<sup>237</sup> Gordon was

<sup>231</sup> *Month*, 18 November 1924, p. 32; *NZ Tablet*, 24 December 1924, p. 13 (Australasian Bishops Statement).

<sup>232</sup> *Marist Messenger*, 1 April 1938, p. 8; *NZ Tablet*, 13 April 1938, p. 11; *Evening Post*, 29 March 1938, p. 4 (Higgins).

<sup>233</sup> *Marist Messenger*, 1 April 1938, p. 8; cf. *Casti Connubii*, paragraph 64.

<sup>234</sup> O'Shea evidence, NA H1 9402 131/139/15.

<sup>235</sup> *AJHR*, 1937-1938, vol. III, H.-31A, pp. 10, 26. For critical discussions of these figures, see Smith, "State and Maternity", pp. 347-348; *Maternity in Dispute*, p. 102; Brookes, "Committee of Inquiry", pp. 24-27.

<sup>236</sup> D.C. Gordon and F. Bennett, *Gentlemen of the Jury* (New Plymouth: Thomas Avery & Sons, 1937); cf. Brookes, "Committee of Inquiry", pp. 65-68. Concern over the reluctance of juries to convict abortionists had already been expressed by others (*ibid.*, pp. 16-17), including Power (*NZ Tablet*, 10 December 1924, p. 51).

<sup>237</sup> *Zealandia*, 3 June 1937, p. 4; cf. Gordon and Bennett, pp. 81-94, 116-118. Liston was disappointed by the authors' endorsement of sterilization for women whose health would be endangered by pregnancy - they actually hoped the Church would change its teaching (pp. 118-119) - and Liston claimed that the Church had been misrepresented on page 117, though he did not specify how.

a tireless campaigner against abortion, believing that women who thus evaded their maternal duties were endangering the Empire.<sup>238</sup> McMillan and his colleagues declared themselves "utterly opposed", primarily on moral grounds, "to any consideration of the legalization of abortion for social and economic reasons" and were horrified at the notion that women should be allowed to decide for themselves whether or not to have an abortion.<sup>239</sup> It was accepted that an abortion was sometimes necessary for the sake of the mother's health, but the committee declined to recommend any alteration of the law, fearing that this would lead to abuses.<sup>240</sup> Protestant opinion largely endorsed these views. The General Synod of the Anglican Church, appalled by the commission's findings, declared abortion to be "a sin against God, a sin against Society, and a sin against the human body."<sup>241</sup> Similarly, the Presbyterian Church's Public Questions Committee considered the incidence of abortion revealed by the report to be "the most alarming" of its revelations and one which required "united action on the part of all right-thinking citizens".<sup>242</sup> Protestant clerics and other community leaders called for stricter enforcement of the law against criminal abortion but wanted the law clarified to allow specifically for therapeutic abortion.<sup>243</sup>

After the publication of the McMillan report, Catholic moralists reaffirmed their belief that abortion was "absolutely illicit".<sup>244</sup> Monsignor Morkane told a meeting of Dunedin citizens that abortion was "a violation of the law of Nature and the law of God" and that his Church would oppose any initiatives to extend facilities for abortion for it did not recognize any difference between criminal and "so-called therapeutic"

<sup>238</sup> Brookes, "Committee of Inquiry", pp. 67-68; Smith, "State and Maternity", pp. 341-343, 447; *Maternity in Dispute*, pp. 106, 108, 150.

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

<sup>240</sup> *AJHR*, 1937-1938, vol. III, H.-31A, pp. 20-21, 27.

<sup>241</sup> AGS, 1937, p. 71; *NZ Herald*, 17 April 1937, p. 15; cf. Averill's earlier condemnation of abortion (AGS, 1931, p. 23).

<sup>242</sup> PGA, 1937, p. 175.

<sup>243</sup> PGA, 1937, pp. 63, 178-179, 181; MAC, 1938, pp. 74, 76; *Evening Post*, 28 March 1938, p. 6 (report of a committee chaired by the Anglican Bishop of Wellington, Herbert St Barbe Holland). According to the Methodist report, "The attitude of the Anglican Church in this Dominion to abortion is just as uncompromising as the Roman Catholic Church" (MAC, 1938, p. 73).

<sup>244</sup> *Zealandia*, 27 January 1938, p. 3; cf. 22 April 1937, p. 4; 1 September 1938, p. 6; *NZ Tablet*, 4 May 1938, p. 9; 31 August 1938, p. 6.

abortion.<sup>245</sup> An important test-case occurred in 1938, when Dr A. Bourne of London performed an abortion on a fourteen year old rape victim and then notified the Attorney General of his action. The jury which heard the case accepted that, while the patient's life had not been threatened, Bourne had acted properly to safeguard her mental and physical health. Although the case became a precedent in New Zealand law, the *Zealandia* was in no doubt that even this abortion had been a violation of natural law and regarded the court's decision as demonstrating the decline of the British judiciary.<sup>246</sup>

Despite Catholic disapproval even of therapeutic abortion, however, Liston could join with the Auckland leaders of seven other denominations, including the Jewish community, in appealing to the Government to take "immediate and drastic action" against illegal abortion, which was said to threaten "the very existence of the nation".<sup>247</sup>

Catholic moralists held a distinctive view of artificial contraception, which they regarded as a violation of natural law under any circumstances. According to the Code of Canon Law, "The primary end of marriage is the procreation and education of children; its secondary end is mutual help and the allaying of concupiscence."<sup>248</sup> Deliberate frustration of the primary end of sexual relations could not be justified even as a means of fulfilling the secondary purpose.<sup>249</sup> O'Shea explained to the McMillan Committee that artificial birth control and abortion both arose from "an unnatural and perverted attitude to sexual intercourse" which sought pleasure while deliberately avoiding procreation.<sup>250</sup> Seeking "pleasure without maternity", in the view of Catholic moralists, was evidence of selfishness.<sup>251</sup> They emphasized that the prohibition of

<sup>245</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 18 August 1937, p. 6; *Otago Daily Times*, 10 August 1937, p. 5; cf. Brookes, "Committee of Inquiry", pp. 70-71. See also Higgins' response to the Holland Committee's report (*Evening Post*, 29 March 1938, p. 4 and *NZ Tablet*, 13 April 1938, p. 11).

<sup>246</sup> Brookes, "Committee of Inquiry", pp. 83-84; *Zealandia*, 28 July 1938, p. 6; 4 August 1938, p. 6; 1 September 1938, p. 1; 15 September 1938, p. 1; 22 September 1938, p. 6.

<sup>247</sup> *NZ Herald*, 20 November 1937, p. 18. For other statements by Liston, see *NZ Tablet*, 28 April 1937, p. 6; *NZ Herald*, 19 April 1937, p. 12 and *Zealandia*, 22 April 1937, p. 4; 25 November 1937, p. 6.

<sup>248</sup> *CIC*, 1013; cf. *Casti Connubii*, paragraphs 17, 59; *NZ Tablet*, 12 February 1920, p. 26; 3 December 1924, p. 33; 23 June 1937, p. 41 (Higgins); 13 April 1938, p. 7 (Dudley); 20 July 1938, p. 3 (McMahon); *Zealandia*, 22 October 1936, p. 7 (Susan Russell).

<sup>249</sup> *Casti Connubii*, paragraphs 54, 56, 59; *NZ Tablet*, 19 March 1930, p. 24.

<sup>250</sup> O'Shea evidence, NA H1 9402 131/139/15.

<sup>251</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 8 September 1937, p. 5; cf. 27 May 1920, p. 26; *Marist Messenger*, 1 June 1937, p. 15.

artificial contraception (and of abortion) was not an ecclesiastical rule but a natural and therefore divine law; consequently it allowed of no exceptions.<sup>252</sup> If a couple had sound reasons for not wanting further children - such as dire poverty, hereditary illness or fear of endangering the woman's health - their only legitimate recourse was to exercise self control and refrain from sexual relations.<sup>253</sup> Australasian moral theologians approved of limited use of the newly discovered Ogino-Knaus method of determining the time of ovulation and confining sexual intercourse to the infertile phase of the menstrual cycle, but they did not endorse the general use of this technique and it was not discussed in the Catholic press.<sup>254</sup>

Official Anglican teaching on contraception was quite similar to that of the Catholic Church. The rite of marriage in the *Book of Common Prayer* listed the ends of matrimony in an order of priority comparable to Catholic teaching<sup>255</sup> and the 1920 Lambeth Conference assumed that "the primary purpose for which marriage exists" was "the continuation of the race through the gift and heritage of children".<sup>256</sup> This perspective led to unease over the use of artificial contraception. Despite the Catholic attempt to portray the Anglican bishops as sexual libertines, the Lambeth Conference of 1930 had recommended "complete abstinence from intercourse" as "the primary and obvious method" of birth control for couples who felt a "moral obligation to limit or avoid parenthood". Only those who had "a morally sound reason for avoiding

<sup>252</sup> *Month*, 19 April 1927, p. 19; 18 March 1930, p. 1; 1 September 1930, p. 23; 1 October 1930, p. 14; *Zealandia*, 17 January 1935, p. 10; 22 April 1937, p. 4; 25 November 1937, p. 6; 1 September 1938, p. 6; *NZ Tablet*, 31 August 1938, p. 6; *Marist Messenger*, 1 June 1937, p. 15; O'Shea evidence, NA HI 9402 131/139/15.

<sup>253</sup> *Month*, 15 August 1922, p. 5; 18 March 1930, p. 1; 1 September 1930, p. 23; 1 October 1930, p. 15; *Zealandia*, 22 April 1937, p. 4; 16 September 1937, p. 7; 25 November 1937, p. 6; 27 January 1938, p. 3; 1 September 1938, p. 6; *NZ Tablet*, 30 January 1929, p. 43; 11 May 1938, p. 9; 31 August 1938, p. 6; O'Shea evidence, NA HI 9402 131/139/15.

<sup>254</sup> *Australasian Catholic Record*, 11 (1934), pp. 95-104 (E.J. O'Donnell); 14 (1937), pp. 347-361 (Nevin). These writers cited *Casti Connubii* in support of their views but in doing so they were applying traditional teaching to the new situation created by recent discoveries. Pius XI would not have been aware of the Ogino-Knaus method when the encyclical was written in 1930 and did not discuss the systematic use of an infertile phase (Noonan, p. 442).

<sup>255</sup> *The Book of Common Prayer with the Additions and Deviations Proposed in 1928* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, n.d.), p. 299. A "remedy against sin" was given as the second end and "mutual society, help, and comfort" as the third. In the 1928 alternative rite (p. 303), the second end was expressed more positively as a means whereby "the natural instincts and affections...should be hallowed and directed aright". Significantly, the Holland Committee statement quoted the 1928 rite - but not the 1662 version, which was most commonly used in New Zealand - in support of artificial contraception (*Evening Post*, 28 March 1938, p. 6).

<sup>256</sup> Alan M.G. Stephenson, *Anglicanism and the Lambeth Conferences* (London: SPCK, 1978), p. 149.

complete abstinence" could justifiably resort to "other methods", while "motives of selfishness, luxury or mere convenience" were firmly condemned.<sup>257</sup> Reporting back to the New Zealand General Synod in 1931, Averill also emphasized "thoughtful self control" and spoke of artificial contraception as being justified only in exceptional circumstances.<sup>258</sup>

Even churches which attributed equal importance to affirming the relationship of the spouses and to procreation as functions of intercourse, rejected the "selfish" use of contraception. Consequently, their position was more like that of the Catholic Church than at first appears. The Presbyterian Church recognized the right of parents to limit the number of their offspring for medical and economic motives but added that, "We cannot too strongly condemn the use of methods of contraception control from motives of selfishness or mere convenience." Since sexual intercourse had "a purpose of its own as a seal and sacrament of love as well as its purpose of procreation", however, the Church did not advocate abstinence but it did stress "the value of self-discipline in the marriage relationship". It did not recognize any moral distinction between the "safe period" and artificial contraception.<sup>259</sup> The Methodist Public Questions Committee held that, for Christian spouses, "sex expression has a value in developing fellowship at least equal to a racial [*i.e.* reproductive] purpose" and that informed use of contraceptives would bring "a richer happiness to the partners in marriage".<sup>260</sup> However, the Church condemned "as morally wrong any limitation of families that is prompted by selfishness or by callous refusal to accept the responsibilities of parenthood or by a perverted indulgence of the sex instinct."<sup>261</sup>

During the interwar period there was widespread concern - shared by all the major churches and other interest groups - that the excessive use of artificial contraception was leading to a dangerous decline in the birth rate. Fear of the ultimate consequences of contraception was encapsulated in references to birth control as "race suicide" by Catholics and non-Catholics alike.<sup>262</sup> In recommending that contraceptive advice be

<sup>257</sup> Stephenson, pp. 170-171.

<sup>258</sup> AGS, 1931, p. 23.

<sup>259</sup> PGA, 1937, pp. 63, 179, 181. The following year, the Church again acknowledged that spouses might wish to space the birth of their children but warned against motives based on "love of luxury, ease, or sensuous living" (PGA, 1938, pp. 43, 203).

<sup>260</sup> MAC, 1936, pp. 68-69.

<sup>261</sup> MAC, 1938, pp. 74, 76; *cf.* 1936, p. 67; 1937, p. 73; *NZ Herald*, 19 November 1937, p. 18.

<sup>262</sup> *Month*, 15 October 1920, p. 3; 15 February 1921, p. 13; 19 June 1928, p. 19; 29 September 1928, p. 31; *NZ Tablet*, 1 August 1918, p. 10; 25 November 1920, p. 13; 14 July 1921, p. 39; 10 December 1924, p. 51; 23 January 1929, p. 42 (also in Leonard, p. 29); 30 January 1929, p. 43; 27 December 1939, p. 18 (reprinted article); 7 February 1940, p. 10 and 14 February 1940, p. 6 (Dr Halliday

given only through "responsible channels", the McMillan Committee hoped that women would also be encouraged to appreciate the "privileges and responsibilities of motherhood" with the net result that they would have more rather than fewer children.<sup>263</sup> The New Zealand medical establishment - the Health Department, the Plunket Society, the medical and nursing professions - generally opposed the use of artificial contraception.<sup>264</sup> Immediately after World War One, Catholics and others feared that unless New Zealanders populated their country, they would not be able to hold it against pressure from more prolific Asian peoples.<sup>265</sup> During the 1930s, there was growing concern over the military consequences of under-population. Higgins warned that,

Our nation is dying because of artificial birth-control, and it is only a matter of time when the fertile races of the earth will control, will subjugate and rule the sterile nations who will not keep the fundamental laws of life.<sup>266</sup>

Similarly, the Baptist J.J. North, in a contribution to the Presbyterian *Outlook*, declared that,

Lust, using the implements of France and of other lands, is destroying the fountain of life, and is openly threatening this country with early destruction at the hands of the yellow races by the action of slow attrition.<sup>267</sup>

(Footnote continued from previous page.)

Sutherland, a visiting English Catholic physician who gave lectures on "How Nations Die"); *Press*, 7 February 1940, p. 8 (Sutherland); *Marist Messenger*, 1 October 1937, p. 15; Gascoigne, p. 61; cf. 1 June 1937, p. 16 ("birth-control means the suicide of the race"); *AJHR*, 1937-1938, vol. III, H.-31A, pp. 17, 27 (McMillan Report); *NZ Herald*, 22 April 1937, p. 8 (article on "Race Suicide" by Archdeacon MacMurray); *MAC*, 1937, p. 73; *Dominion*, 5 February 1940, p. 6 (editorial commending Sutherland's views).

<sup>263</sup> *AJHR*, 1937-1938, vol. III, H.-31A, pp. 17-18, 27.

<sup>264</sup> Smith, "State and Maternity", pp. 330-341. During the 1930s, Smith argues, eugenic arguments for limiting the birth rate of the less desirable were largely superseded by reliance on improved maternal and infant care (*ibid.*, pp. 336-338; *Maternity in Dispute*, pp. 111-112).

<sup>265</sup> *Month*, 13 December 1919, p. 11; 15 June 1920, p. 5; 15 February 1921, p. 14; 15 April 1922, pp. 6-7. For attitudes to Asian immigration after the war, see P.S. O'Connor, "Keeping New Zealand White, 1908-1920", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 2/1 (April 1968), pp. 52-65. In response to widespread concern over Asian immigration, the Reform Government passed the Immigration Restriction Amendment Act (1920). During the 1920s, the act was quietly used to limit immigration by Yugoslavs, "Syrians" (Lebanese) and Italians (*ibid.*, p. 64; cf. chapter one above). If the Catholic authorities were aware of this, they may not have been pleased about a policy which kept their co-religionists at bay.

<sup>266</sup> *Marist Messenger*, 1 June 1937, p. 16; cf. *NZ Tablet*, 20 July 1938, p. 8; 24 August 1938, p. 5; 7 February 1940, p. 10; 14 February 1940, pp. 3-6; *Zealandia*, 16 September 1937, p. 7; 29 September 1938, p. 3; O'Shea evidence, NA HI 9402 131/139/15.

<sup>267</sup> *Outlook*, 3 May 1937, p. 5; cf. Gordon and Bennett, pp. 17-18, 111-113; *NZPD*, 1937, vol. 248, p. 367 (William Parry).

Despite their approval of artificial contraception in principle, the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches deplored the anti-social tendency towards small families.<sup>268</sup>

Liston and other Catholics supported the call of the Five Million Club, under the presidency of William Barnard, Speaker of the House of Representatives (and a staunch Anglican), for an increase in New Zealand's population.<sup>269</sup>

As well as advocating a higher birth rate, there was a measure of agreement between Catholics and non-Catholics over the advertising and distribution of contraceptives. Since the churches and respectable opinion in general disapproved of sexual relations outside marriage, they all disparaged the supply of contraceptives to the unmarried.<sup>270</sup> Catholics fully endorsed the McMillan Committee's assumption that the use of contraception outside marriage could only be deprecated.<sup>271</sup> Unlike the committee and the Protestant churches, however, the Catholic Church was not content with seeing the advertisement and sale of contraceptives restricted but demanded their complete suppression.<sup>272</sup> During the early 1930s, in deference to the wishes of Brodie, C.J. Carrington had apparently allowed his Bill prohibiting the supply of contraceptives to persons under eighteen to lapse rather than include clauses specifically allowing chemists to sell them to adults.<sup>273</sup> Catholics opposed the

<sup>268</sup> PGA, 1938, pp. 28-29, 212-214; MAC, 1938, pp. 74, 76; 1941, p. 67; *NZ Herald*, 19 November 1937, p. 18.

<sup>269</sup> On the Five Million Club, see *NZ Herald*, 4 March 1937, p. 12; *Press*, 23 March 1937, p. 6; *Dominion*, 22 August 1938, p. 8. For biographical notes on Barnard, see Barry Gustafson, *From the Cradle to the Grave: a biography of Michael Joseph Savage* (Auckland: Penguin Books, 1988), p. 275. Catholic support is noted in *Zealandia*, 11 March 1937, p. 4 and 30 June 1938, p. 3.

<sup>270</sup> *Evening Post*, 17 February 1937, p. 10 (editorial endorsing the Chief Justice's condemnation of sexual promiscuity among the young); 28 March 1938, p. 6 (Holland committee report); AGS, 1931, p. 23 (Averill); PGA, 1937, pp. 63, 179-181; MAC, 1937, p. 74.

<sup>271</sup> *AJHR*, 1937-1938, vol. III, H.-31A, pp. 15, 27; *NZ Tablet*, 4 May 1938, p. 9; cf. *Marist Messenger*, 1 June 1937, p. 16 (Higgins); *NZ Tablet*, 27 April 1938, p. 7.

<sup>272</sup> *AJHR*, 1937-1938, vol. III, H.-31A, pp. 12, 15, 17, 19, 27; AGS, 1937, p. 72; PGA, 1937, pp. 43, 178, 181; 1938, pp. 63, 177-178, 181; MAC, 1938, pp. 74, 76; *Evening Post*, 28 March 1938, p. 6 (Holland committee). For general Catholic concern, see *NZ Tablet*, 2 March 1938, p. 37; 23 March 1938, pp. 5, 38; 11 May 1938, p. 9; 18 May 1938, p. 7; *Zealandia*, 23 September 1937, p. 6; 13 May 1939, p. 4; *NZ Herald*, 10 July 1937, p. 26 and *Press*, 23 September 1937, p. 12 (O'Brien). For Catholic demands for the suppression of all contraceptives and advertising, see *Zealandia*, 11 March 1937, p. 4; 23 September 1937, p. 6; 25 November 1937, p. 6; 27 January 1938, p. 3; 27 April 1939, p. 6; 13 May 1939, p. 4; 25 May 1939, p. 4; 12 October 1939, p. 4; *NZ Tablet*, 27 April 1938, p. 7; 20 July 1938, p. 8; 7 February 1940, p. 10; 14 February 1940, p. 6; *Press*, 7 February 1940, p. 8.

<sup>273</sup> Carrington to Brodie, 4 August 1934 (copy in WCAA, Bible in Schools File); Contraceptives Bill, "Bills Thrown Out", 1932-1933 (two versions) and 1934-1935; *NZPD*, 1932, vol. 234, pp. 417, 503; 1933, vol. 235, p. 1158; 1934, vol. 238, pp. 549, 815, 859; *Press*, 18 November 1932, p. 15; 19 November 1932, p. 15; 24 November 1932, p. 11; 9 March 1933, p. 13; *Evening Post*, 9 March 1933, p. 12; 19 July 1934, p. 13; 1 August 1934, p. 11.

establishment of birth control clinics, which had been cautiously endorsed by the McMillan Committee, and lobbied successfully within organizations like the Women's Division of the Farmers' Union and the Women's Institutes to have resolutions favouring clinics rescinded.<sup>274</sup> However, the reluctance of successive governments to establish clinics (leaving the Family Planning Association to take the initiative in the early 1950s) can scarcely be attributed solely to Catholic opposition, as some writers have implied.<sup>275</sup> The Labour Government itself was strongly pro-natalist<sup>276</sup> and, despite the widespread use of artificial contraception, it was still not quite respectable to advocate publicly, in defiance of the medical profession, that contraceptive information should be readily available, even if only to married persons.<sup>277</sup> Attitudes were changing, but while the Catholic Church was the most outspoken opponent of birth control, its views still resonated in other parts of the community.

<sup>274</sup> *AJHR*, 1937-1938, vol. III, H.-31A, pp. 15, 27. For general opposition to clinics, see Minutes of Bishops' meeting, 7 April 1937, CCDA; O'Shea evidence, NA H1 9402 131/139/15; *NZ Tablet*, 28 April 1937, p. 6 and *NZ Herald*, 19 April 1937, p. 12 (Liston); *NZ Tablet*, 18 August 1937, p. 6 and *Otago Daily Times*, 10 August 1937, p. 5 (Monsignor Morkane); *NZ Tablet*, 27 April 1938, p. 7; 4 May 1938, p. 9; *Zealandia*, 23 September 1937, p. 6. For the Women's Division, see above; for the Women's Institutes, see *NZ Tablet*, 20 October 1937, p. 33; Morkane to the editor, *NZ Tablet*, 22 September 1937, p. 8; *Zealandia*, 16 September 1937, p. 7; 11 November 1937, p. 10; *NZ Tablet*, 31 August 1938, p. 6 and *Zealandia*, 1 September 1938, p. 6 (statement by the hierarchy).

<sup>275</sup> On the role attributed to Catholic opposition, see Fenwick, "Family Planning", pp. 151, 171-174, 181-182, 247-248; "Fertility", pp. 82-85; Brookes "Committee of Inquiry", pp. ii, 42, 51, 73-74, 78; "Housewives' Depression", p. 133; Smith, *Maternity in Dispute*, pp. 114-115. For the establishment of clinics, see Fenwick, "Family Planning", pp. 68-69, 72, 179-183; "Fertility", p. 86; Hercocck, p. 184.

<sup>276</sup> Olssen and Lévesque, p. 15; B. Kirkwood, "Population and Social Policy", in R.J.W. Neville and C.J. O'Neill, *The Population of New Zealand: Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (Auckland: Longman Paul, 1979), p. 288; G. Dunstall, "The Social Pattern" in G.W. Rice (editor), *The Oxford History of New Zealand* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 2nd edition, 1992), p. 453; Brookes, "Committee of Inquiry", pp. 19-20. Brookes ("Housewives' Depression", p. 116) is incorrect in saying that, "The Labour government was legislating for a family with three children which was no longer in existence." Since, as she herself notes (*ibid.*, p. 117), the average family in 1936 had 2.5 children, there were obviously still numerous families with three or even more children. Moreover, as Smith ("State and Maternity", pp. 357-358) points out, Labour's policies were intended to promote an increase in the birth rate, not simply to reflect the current rate. To some extent the increase in the birth rate during the later 1930s presumably indicates the success of these policies.

<sup>277</sup> While frequently implying that Catholic opposition was behind the government's reluctance to establish clinics, even Fenwick ("Family Planning", p. 174) acknowledges that "the Establishment in general" disapproved of the Family Planning Association - the main lobby group demanding that clinics be opened.

There was, then, considerable agreement among Catholic and non-Catholic moralists on the issues of euthanasia, divorce, eugenics, abortion and contraception. The extent of agreement varied according to the issue concerned and the teachings of some Protestant churches were closer to those of the Catholic Church than were those of other Protestant churches. At a time of changing moral values, Catholics, officially at least, continued to disapprove of actions which Protestants were increasingly prepared to allow - at least in some circumstances. By refusing to countenance exceptions to the natural law, as understood by the Church, Catholics held a distinctive moral position. They were unusual in believing that divorce, therapeutic abortion and contraception were never justified. However, Catholics could join with non-Catholic moralists in disparaging euthanasia, liberal divorce laws, non-therapeutic abortion and the selfish use of contraception, while their rejection of sterilization on eugenic grounds was officially shared by the community as a whole.

The Catholic Church regarded particular kinds of acts (such as using artificial contraception, performing an abortion, or remarrying as a divorcé) as intrinsically evil. By contrast, the Anglican, Presbyterian and Methodist Churches, while regarding most such acts with disfavour, tended to judge their moral status according to the situation in which they were performed. Catholic interpretation of the natural law was inflexible because it applied a universal judgment to every particular situation: if a category of action, *X*, was deemed to be sinful, then any specific instance of *X* was also necessarily sinful. In their 1938 statement on birth control and abortion, the bishops stated a wide-ranging principle: "We may not do evil that good may come".<sup>278</sup> Since certain actions were inherently immoral, they could not be permitted under any circumstances, even to achieve a good end. The Protestant moralists whose views have been considered here sought to avert greater evils by allowing lesser evils (for example, by terminating one life in order to save another in the case of therapeutic abortion, or by using artificial contraception in order to safeguard a marital relationship and a family facing poverty). In one sense, then, Catholics rejected Protestant teaching on a matter of principle, arguing that the moral law never allowed of exceptions. It was this line of argument which was exploited in Catholic triumphalist rhetoric, for Catholics recognized that once the possibility of exceptions was allowed, the range of exceptions would tend to increase. According to Higgins, "All the arguments used in favour of birth control are arguments of expedience and of convenience; they are not arguments of principle."<sup>279</sup>

<sup>278</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 31 August 1938, p. 6; *Zealandia*, 1 September 1938, p. 6; cf. Romans 3:8.

<sup>279</sup> *Marist Messenger*, 1 June 1937, p. 15.

Yet, while Protestant moralists did not speak in terms of universal natural laws, they took for granted the existence of moral norms which were similar to the natural laws of Catholic moral theology. The good actions they endorsed were largely the same as those of Catholic moralists, while the actions they disapproved of were also largely the same as those denounced by Catholics. Divorce and abortion, for example, were recognized by all churches as evils to be restrained and the question was how much they were to be restricted: completely or only very severely? From this perspective, Protestants rejected Catholic teaching as too extreme and their differences were a matter of degree.

An incident in 1937 illustrates the differing perspectives of Catholic and Protestant moralists. At the meeting of the Presbyterian General Assembly, the Rev. J.R. Blanchard declared that the Presbyterian view on contraception - that it could be used only "for grave and inescapable medical reasons" - was in harmony with that of the Anglican and Catholic Churches. Liston quickly dissociated his Church from views which it regarded with "horror": far from agreeing that there were occasions when married couples could justly use contraception, the Catholic Church did not permit artificial birth control under any circumstances.<sup>280</sup> Instead of acknowledging that the churches all deprecated the selfish use of contraception, Liston chose to stress the differences in their teachings. For Liston, the differences were a matter of principle, but for Blanchard, they appeared to be a matter of degree.

### **Divorce and Contraception in Practice**

The assumption of Catholic moral superiority was not limited to correct teaching but extended to Catholic practice. According to the official report on the Wellington archdiocese for the 1921 to 1925 quinquennium, the non-Catholic population was only "nominally Christian" and exhibited "the usual vices [and] pleasure seeking that are found in modern non-Catholic communities." Morality among Catholics, however, was "very good".<sup>281</sup> It is impossible to measure the extent of acceptance among the laity of official Catholic moral teaching but on the issues of divorce, contraception and even abortion there is some useful anecdotal and statistical evidence.

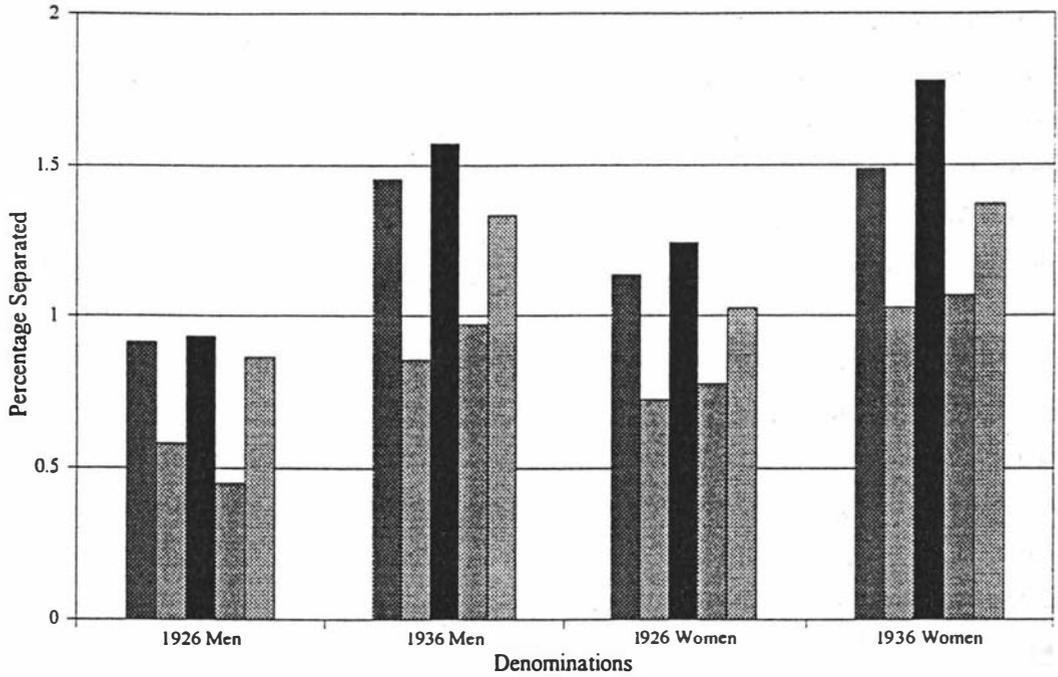
Catholics were somewhat complacent about the rate of divorce among their co-religionists, readily assuming that it was much higher among Protestants. In an

<sup>280</sup> *NZ Herald*, 18 November 1937, p. 14; *Zealandia*, 25 November 1937, p. 6.

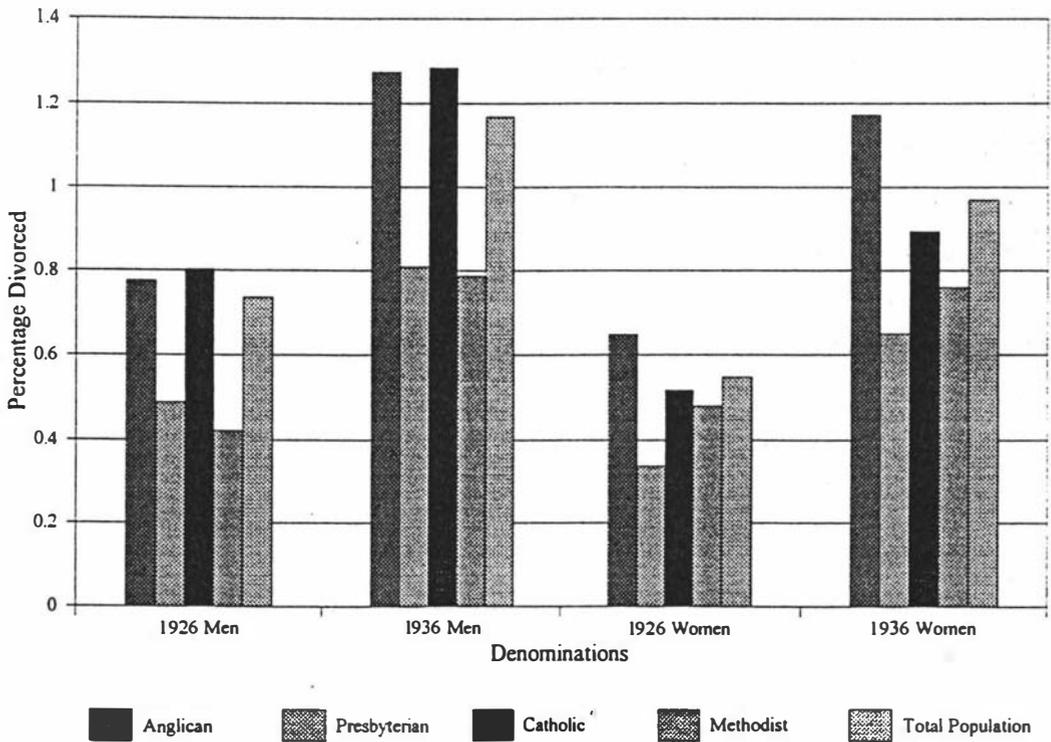
<sup>281</sup> Quinquennial report, archdiocese of Wellington, 1921-1925, item 84, WCAA, (Latin and English versions).

**Graph 4.1**  
**Separation and Divorce, 1926 and 1936**

People Legally Separated  
on Census Day in 1926 and 1936



Divorced People  
Not Re-Married in 1926 and 1936



Legend: Anglican (solid black), Presbyterian (diagonal lines), Catholic (solid black), Methodist (diagonal lines), Total Population (stippled)

address of welcome to the Apostolic Delegate in 1921, Sir George Clifford criticized recent divorce legislation but did not expect Catholics to avail themselves of it.<sup>282</sup> The 1925 Wellington quinquennial report claimed that there was "only a small percentage of divorces amongst Catholics" and, in nearly all cases, one of the spouses was a Protestant.<sup>283</sup> Similarly, a report on the Christchurch diocese written in 1927 claimed that there were very many divorces (*plurima divortia*) among non-Catholics, while among Catholics, divorce was most uncommon (*rarissima*).<sup>284</sup> P.J. O'Regan charged in 1925 that Anglicans and Presbyterians preached a higher standard than they observed: he neglected to acknowledge that the same was probably true of the Catholic Church.<sup>285</sup>

There are no statistics recording the rates of separation and divorce among the various denominations, but census figures suggest that the Catholic population had a comparatively high rate of marital break-down, as Graph 4.1 shows. In 1926, 1.24 per cent of Catholic women who had ever married were legally separated from their husbands; by 1936, this proportion had risen to 1.78 per cent. Meanwhile only 1.03 per cent and 1.37 per cent of all New Zealand women who had married were separated. Married Catholic men were also more likely (0.93 per cent in 1926 and 1.57 per cent in 1936) than married New Zealand men in general (0.86 per cent and 1.34 per cent) to be legally separated. The proportion of divorced people in the Catholic community was also quite high. In 1926, 0.52 per cent of Catholic women who had ever married were divorced and in 1936, 0.89 per cent were divorced. These were lower proportions of divorcees than found among all women who had married (0.55 per cent and 0.97 per cent) because the figures for the total population were elevated by the relatively high proportion of divorced Anglican women (0.65 per cent and 1.17 per cent). There were rather lower proportions of divorced Presbyterian and Methodist women. Catholic men in 1926 and 1936 included a higher proportion of divorcees (0.80 per cent and 1.28 per cent) than any other denomination, the second highest being Anglicans who followed very closely behind (0.78 per cent and 1.27 per cent). Both denominations were above average in this respect because the mean percentages (0.74 and 1.17) were

<sup>282</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 24 November 1921, p. 22; cf. 16 March 1922, p. 19 (Whyte).

<sup>283</sup> Quinquennial report, archdiocese of Wellington, 1921-1925, item 87, WCAA.

<sup>284</sup> Quinquennial report, diocese of Christchurch, item 87, CCDA. Perhaps it was significant that another report, only three years later, described divorce among Catholics simply as uncommon, *rara* (quinquennial report, diocese of Christchurch, 1930, item 87, CCDA).

<sup>285</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 3 June 1925, p. 15.

*Table 4.1*  
**Separation and Divorce, 1926 and 1936**

	Separated		Divorced		Total	
<b>1926 Men</b>						
Anglican	1,082	0.91	921	0.78	2,003	1.69
Presbyterian	401	0.58	338	0.49	739	1.07
Catholic	273	0.93	235	0.80	508	1.74
Methodist	113	0.45	106	0.42	219	0.87
Total Population	2,426	0.86	2,073	0.74	4,499	1.60
<b>1936 Men</b>						
Anglican	2,013	1.45	1,764	1.27	3,777	2.73
Presbyterian	702	0.86	665	0.81	1,367	1.67
Catholic	556	1.57	454	1.28	1,010	2.85
Methodist	260	0.97	211	0.79	471	1.76
Total Population	4,472	1.34	3,913	1.17	8,385	2.50
<b>1926 Women</b>						
Anglican	1,460	1.14	835	0.65	2,295	1.79
Presbyterian	530	0.72	247	0.34	777	1.06
Catholic	444	1.24	185	0.52	629	1.76
Methodist	225	0.78	139	0.48	364	1.26
Total Population	3,063	1.03	1,635	0.55	4,698	1.57
<b>1936 Women</b>						
Anglican	2,258	1.49	1,779	1.17	4,037	2.66
Presbyterian	902	1.03	572	0.65	1,474	1.68
Catholic	757	1.78	380	0.89	1,137	2.67
Methodist	330	1.07	235	0.76	565	1.83
Total Population	4,939	1.37	3,490	0.97	8,429	2.34

The second, fourth and sixth columns are percentages based on the preceding figures and the total numbers of persons aged sixteen years or over who were or had been married. Sources: New Zealand Census, 1926, vol. VIII, p. 27; 1936, vol. VI, p. 19. See also Table 8.6.

brought down by the comparatively low incidence of divorced men in the Presbyterian and Methodist communities.

These statistics give only a crude indication of the actual rate of marital breakdown. It is not possible to count the numbers of legal separations or divorces which took place in any denomination because the census data on marital status report only records the number of separated or divorced people in the population on the day of the census. No indication is given of how many people had divorced and remarried, for second or later marriages were not distinguished from first marriages. More than half of all divorced people in interwar New Zealand remarried<sup>286</sup> and it cannot be assumed

<sup>286</sup> R. Phillips (pp. 97 and 142) estimates the proportions remarrying at over 56 per cent for men and over 61 per cent for women.

that this proportion was the same in each denomination.

It is possible that the high proportions of separated and divorced Catholics reflect in part a religiously-motivated reluctance to remarry. Conscientious Catholics, loath to seek divorce, may have contented themselves with legal separation, whereas Presbyterians or Methodists in similar circumstances would have felt free to sue for divorce. Occasionally the Catholic authorities could even allow a civil divorce for "settling civil matters" as long as there was no threat of scandal and it was understood that there could be no second marriage.<sup>287</sup> It is also possible that some Catholics divorced their spouses despite the Church's disapproval, but were reluctant to commit the grievous sin of remarriage. Similar considerations may have influenced Anglicans who also had high levels of separation and divorce and whose Church's policy on divorce was more strict than that of the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches. It is conceivable that the low numbers of divorced Presbyterians and Methodists recorded by the census enumerators reflect their churches' increasingly liberal attitudes to divorce and remarriage, especially in the 1930s. Relatively large numbers of divorced or separated people in any denomination, then, do not, in themselves, prove that there were higher rates of separation and divorce in comparison to other denominations.

However, it is unlikely that the larger numbers of separated and divorced Catholics can be accounted for solely on the hypothesis that they were reluctant to remarry and there are other considerations suggesting that Catholics and Anglicans may have been more prone to divorce than Presbyterians and Methodists. A study of 102 divorce files from late nineteenth century Auckland revealed that 36 couples had married in a registry office, 36 in an Anglican church and 13 in a Catholic church. While the two latter figures approached the representation of Anglicans and Catholics in the population, Presbyterian (four) and Methodist (one) marriages were considerably under-represented.<sup>288</sup> Divorce seems to have occurred - both in the interwar period and in other times - most commonly in the "middle and lower socio-economic strata of New Zealand society".<sup>289</sup> Persons of high social standing would have been restrained

<sup>287</sup> T. Lincoln Bouscaren SJ, and Adam C. Ellis SJ, *Canon Law: A Text and Commentary* (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1946), p. 573.

<sup>288</sup> R. Phillips, p. 103. Nominal Anglicans were presumably strongly represented among those who married in a registry office; in 12 cases the denomination was not specified.

<sup>289</sup> R. Phillips, p. 95; cf. A.J. Nixon, *Divorce in New Zealand: a preliminary survey* (Auckland: Auckland University College Bulletin No. 46, Sociology Series No. 1, 1954), pp. 7-10.

by concern for their reputation and career, while economic problems (legal fees and the difficulty for women of providing for themselves and their children) would have discouraged divorce among working class spouses. Both the Catholic and Anglican churches had large numbers of lower middle class members, so, religious considerations aside, they might be expected to have comparatively high levels of marital breakdown.<sup>290</sup> Divorce appears to have been more common in the cities than in rural areas and this may account in part for higher rates among Catholics and Anglicans than among Presbyterians.<sup>291</sup>

In all denominations, divorce was probably more common among the nominal members and, as Phillips points out, some denominations (certainly Anglicans and quite probably Catholics) may have embraced higher proportions of nominal adherents than others.<sup>292</sup> Marriages contracted in a Registry Office were more likely to end in divorce than marriages blessed in a church,<sup>293</sup> presumably because the spouses were less influenced by social and religious mores than were those who had a church wedding.<sup>294</sup> Commitment to any religious profession was more important in determining attitudes to divorce than belonging to a particular denomination. Catholic commentators assumed that divorce was practically unknown among practising Catholics.<sup>295</sup> Census statistics show that a substantial number of divorced Catholics continued to regard themselves as Catholics.

Despite the teaching of the Catholic Church, there is certainly no evidence in the statistics reviewed above that Catholics were less likely to countenance divorce than were members of the other three principal churches. Roderick Phillips has even concluded, on the basis of the census statistics, that in general "there is no connection

<sup>290</sup> Cf. Nixon, page 19: "Speaking generally, Catholics are members of the lower social classes and derive their unexpectedly high divorce-proneness from that circumstance." See also chapter one, above.

<sup>291</sup> R. Phillips, pp. 91, 81-83; cf. the geographical distribution of the main denominations in chapter one above.

<sup>292</sup> R. Phillips, p. 91; cf. Nixon's distinction (p. 20) between "devout and non-devout" church members and the discussion of church attendance in chapter two above.

<sup>293</sup> R. Phillips, p. 90.

<sup>294</sup> Nixon (pp. 17-18) points out that the choice of a civil wedding may reflect low income or bridal pregnancy, both of which correlate with higher levels of divorce.

<sup>295</sup> According to the *Month* (15 August 1923, p. 6), "among practising Catholics, there is no tampering with the command that 'what God hath joined together, let no man put asunder'". Power believed that "fervent Catholic communicants" shunned the divorce courts (*NZ Tablet*, 29 April 1925, p. 35).

between religious profession and divorce".<sup>296</sup> The same view was also reached in an earlier study by A.J. Nixon.<sup>297</sup> More cautiously, it can be said that, being Catholic did not make married people demonstrably less prone to divorce, despite the views of Catholic moralists.

Catholic moralists were forced to admit that Catholics were using artificial contraception. Concerned that "the time has already come when large families cause amusement and ridicule", Kelly, writing in 1920, assumed that Catholics "alone retain the true and sacred ideals of matrimony".<sup>298</sup> In 1925, the Wellington report already cited admitted that the "evil" of birth control had indeed appeared among the faithful of the archdiocese in recent years, but this was inevitable since the "vice" had "gained a strong hold amongst the Non-Catholic population".<sup>299</sup> Meanwhile in the Christchurch diocese, "Onanism" and artificial birth control were said to be flourishing among non-Catholics and the greatest vigilance was needed to discourage such vices among Catholics.<sup>300</sup> In both dioceses, these practices were combatted by instruction and exhortation, for example through the Catholic press and at parish missions, and by encouraging frequent reception of the sacraments. Priests were required to instruct penitents in the confessional about the prohibition of artificial contraception and were reminded that by procuring an abortion a Catholic incurred excommunication which could only be lifted by the bishop.<sup>301</sup> In 1936, "Bridgid", who contributed a regular feature "For Matrons and Maids" in the *Marist Messenger*, reported a comment by a Catholic acquaintance:

We are quick to condemn birth-control in the sects but where are the large Catholic families that should prove our support of our own principles? .... The small family is common now and Catholics are in fashion like the rest.<sup>302</sup>

<sup>296</sup> R. Phillips, p. 91.

<sup>297</sup> Nixon, pp. 14-20.

<sup>298</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 12 February 1920, p. 26.

<sup>299</sup> Quinquennial report, archdiocese of Wellington, 1921-1925, item 87, WCAA.

<sup>300</sup> Quinquennial reports, diocese of Christchurch, 1927 and 1930, item 87, CCDA.

<sup>301</sup> "Proceedings of the Diocesan Synod Held in the Cathedral, Christchurch, January 24th 1930", CCDA; Minutes of Bishops' meeting, 12 February 1935, CCDA; cf. *CIC*, canon 2350.

<sup>302</sup> *Marist Messenger*, 2 November 1936, p. 10. In the questioner's native province, Catholic families consisted of two or three children, whereas a generation before they were said to have included eight or ten children. The fertility of the older generation may have been slightly exaggerated by Bridgid's informant, but the general observation was sound, as will be seen below. For a similar comment, see *NZ Tablet*, 8 September 1937, p. 5.

According to the *Zealandia*, no genuinely devout and practising Catholic would dissent from the Church's teaching on contraception, but, as a later article acknowledged, many nominal Catholics decided the issue for themselves.<sup>303</sup>

As the McMillan Committee noted in 1937, the decline in the birth rate showed that contraception was being used successfully throughout the community.<sup>304</sup> Whereas married women in New Zealand had an average of 6.5 children in the early 1880s, they had only 2.5 by the 1930s.<sup>305</sup> Statistics on the fertility of Catholic women indicate that the birth rate of the Catholic population was also declining, although at a slower rate, evidently through the use of contraception.<sup>306</sup>

Child-woman and child-mother ratios derived from the interwar censuses (and recorded in Table 4.1) suggest that Catholic women had only slightly larger families than did other New Zealand mothers. The child-woman ratio is calculated by dividing the number of children under five years of age by the number of women of child-bearing age (fifteen to forty-four) and multiplying the result (for convenience) by 1,000. In each denomination, the number of infants per thousand women declined by over 20 percent between 1921 and 1936 - a much more significant statistic than the fractionally higher proportion of Catholic children as compared to other denominations. However, the child-woman ratios take no account of the possible differences in fertility between Catholic women who married a Catholic and those who did not, and they assume that children are recorded as having the same religious affiliation as their mothers. Denominational variations in age structure and in the proportions of married and unmarried women further weaken the reliability of the figures as a measure of fertility. Nevertheless, the overall pattern is confirmed by comparing the number of married women of child-bearing age with the number of infants in 1936 - the only census year for which figures correlating age, marital status and religious affiliation were published. The number of Catholic children under five years of age for every 1,000 married Catholic women aged between fifteen and forty-four was somewhat greater (807) than the equivalent ratio for all non-Catholic married women (654) or for women belonging to any of the other large denominations.

<sup>303</sup> *Zealandia*, 3 June 1937, p. 10; 26 October 1939, p. 4.

<sup>304</sup> *AJHR*, 1937-1938, vol. III, H.-31A, p. 11. Bourke (p. 77) is probably correct in suggesting that this statement was intended to include Catholics.

<sup>305</sup> Olssen and Lévesque, p. 16.

<sup>306</sup> The statistics discussed below are based on the three interwar censuses; for a longer-term perspective, see Bourke, pp. 37-39.

Differences between the denominations should not be exaggerated, however, since there were only 153 more infants per thousand Catholic wives than for each thousand non-Catholic wives. In other words, 23 per cent of Catholic married women had one more infant than did Protestant mothers.<sup>307</sup> Although these figures do not indicate completed family size, it seems that three quarters of Catholic families had no more children than did the average Protestant family.

*Table 4.2*  
**Child-Woman and Child-Married Woman Ratios**

Year	Anglican	Presbyterian	Catholic	Methodist	Total Non-Catholic	Total Population
<b>Child-Woman Ratios (x 1,000)</b>						
1921	446	446	462	424	446	448
1926	431	435	444	398	427	429
1936	323	340	365	326	335	339
<b>Decline from 1921 to 1936 (percentages)</b>						
	28	24	21	23	25	24
<b>Child-Married Woman Ratios (x 1,000)</b>						
1936	616	674	807	656	654	673

Sources: Figures calculated from New Zealand Census, 1921, part VII, p. 34; 1926, vol. VIII, pp. 30, 32; 1936, vol. VI, pp. 20, 22, 25.

The slightly slower decline of Catholic fertility may have been influenced by religious opposition to artificial birth control but other features of the Catholic population could have been just as influential. From a multiple regression analysis of Catholic child-woman ratios based on the 1926 and 1936 censuses, Bourke concluded that the higher child-woman ratio of Catholics correlated more closely with occupation and rural residence than to religious affiliation. Bourke found a positive correlation between rural residence and family size and negative correlations between family size and numbers of women employed in "secondary industrial occupations" and "men in commercial occupations". There was no significant correlation between fertility and being Catholic.<sup>308</sup> However, census statistics including the whole Catholic population

<sup>307</sup> It would not make sense to conclude that Catholic mothers had 23 per cent more children than did non-Catholic mothers: children exist only as whole units.

<sup>308</sup> J. Bourke, "Piety or Poverty: Catholic Fertility in Australia and New Zealand, 1911, 1926, 1936", *New Zealand Population Review* 12/1 (February 1986), pp. 23-24, 28. The article is a revision of chapter twelve of Bourke's thesis.

would have masked variations within the Catholic community and, since Catholic families had, on average, fewer than one "extra" infant, variables influencing the fertility of only a part of the Catholic population may have been significant. Miriam Vosburgh's family survey suggested that differences in religious commitment may have been important. Interviews with 942 women in Wellington in 1967 included questions about the religion and size of their families of origin.<sup>309</sup> The 351 Protestant couples who married between 1927 and 1952 had an average of 2.5 children, while the 47 Catholic couples had 3.8 children and the 38 mixed couples had 2.4 children. However, the 17 Catholic wives who attended church only occasionally or never had hardly any more children (2.7) than Protestant mothers who attended church regularly (2.6) or not at all (2.5), whereas the 54 Catholic women who attended church regularly had rather more children (3.7). Vosburgh concluded, admittedly on the basis of a tiny sample, that it was only the more committed Catholics who were responsible for the higher fertility of their denomination.<sup>310</sup> Catholic women who did not attend church probably did not go to confession either and were therefore not likely to be persuaded by the clergy not to limit their families by artificial contraception - especially if they were married to non-Catholic husbands. Another relevant variable affecting fertility is socio-economic status. The knowledge and use of reliable contraceptives were disseminated more gradually among lower socio-economic groups than in the population at large<sup>311</sup> and Catholics were over-represented in these strata. Whatever the causes of the slower acceptance of artificial contraception among the less affluent may have been, they no doubt applied to a significant portion of the Catholic population.

There are no reliable statistics available on the extent of abortion among Catholic women, but in about 1928, Dr Jessie A. Scott recorded the religious affiliation of 111 Christchurch women treated in the public hospital for complications arising from abortion. Presbyterians (seventeen) and Methodists (three) were under-represented but there was a suspiciously high number of Anglicans (70 women or sixty-three per cent of the total); perhaps some women preferred to conceal their real religion. Thirteen of the women were Catholics, almost the same proportion as in the population at large.<sup>312</sup>

<sup>309</sup> Miriam Gilson Vosburgh, *The New Zealand Family and Social Change: a Trend Analysis* (Wellington: Victoria University, 1978), pp. 24, 26.

<sup>310</sup> Vosburgh, pp. 80a-82a.

<sup>311</sup> Olssen and Lévesque, p. 16.

<sup>312</sup> Scott evidence, NA H1 9402 131/139/15. Most of the women were married; some had suffered natural miscarriages. Brookes, "Committee of Inquiry", p. 41 and "Housewives' Depression", p. 127 tends to overstate the significance of these figures and fails to note that it was not just Catholic

Despite the denunciation of divorce by Catholic moralists, their co-religionists were almost as liable to countenance this evil as was the rest of the population. Like the Anglican community, the Catholic population had a relatively high rate of divorce. Catholics may not even have been any more reluctant to resort to abortion than members of other denominations, although the evidence is sparse. In general, it seems that lay Catholics were more likely to conform to the standards of their contemporaries than to fulfil the moralists' criteria for righteousness.

### **The Limits of Leisure**

Changing patterns of leisure in interwar New Zealand led to a decline in Catholic-Protestant differences at two distinct levels. Traditionally, the Catholic Church had a rather more liberal attitude towards the use of leisure time than did the Protestant Churches and this difference sometimes led to controversy. The divergence was also reflected in employment patterns, with Catholics being over-represented in the entertainment and hospitality industries. While Protestant church leaders continued to denounce such evils as gambling and alcohol, however, the community as a whole increasingly rejected the puritan leisure ethic.<sup>313</sup> In practice, therefore, there was some convergence in the leisure pursuits of Catholics and Protestants. Meanwhile, Catholic leaders, like their Protestant counterparts, were concerned over contemporary "excesses", especially where popular entertainment was not merely frivolous but increasingly depicted sex and violence. Consequently, Catholic and Protestant moralists found themselves working together, particularly in their efforts to have censorship imposed on films, books and magazines.

While Catholic moralists denounced violations of their strict code of sexual ethics, they endorsed a much more liberal ethic of leisure than did their Protestant counterparts, notably on such issues as gambling, drinking and Sunday observance. According to the *Outlook*, the Presbyterian Church placed "horror" of new forms of gambling and "her sense of the danger which the State faces in the liquor traffic" on a

(Footnote continued from previous page.)

strictures against abortion which were being ignored, even though, taken at face value, the numbers suggest that Anglican women were disobeying their moral guides more than were Catholic women. For evidence of abortion among Catholic women during the 1950s, see Bourke, pp. 50-51.

<sup>313</sup> For the Prohibition issue, see chapter five below. The leaders of the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches were consistent supporters of the Prohibition movement throughout the interwar period, even though the prospect of establishing Prohibition was diminishing.

par with "unrestricted divorce" and "sexual irregularity".<sup>314</sup> By contrast, Catholic newspapers often carried advertisements for lotteries and alcoholic drink.<sup>315</sup> Gambling "in all its forms" (but especially the totalisator, large scale art unions and the prospect of state lotteries) was often condemned by the Presbyterian General Assembly, especially during the 1930s.<sup>316</sup> The Church feared that gambling encouraged greed at the expense of generosity, and indolence at the expense of industry.<sup>317</sup> It was "contrary to the mind of Christ" and "the enemy of religion".<sup>318</sup> Similarly, the Methodist Conference declared that art unions held even for "worthy objects" were "highly detrimental to the moral and economic interests of the Dominion" and regularly expressed its concern over the issue of gambling.<sup>319</sup> The Catholic Church, however, saw no problem with honest gambling by those who could afford to lose without harm to themselves or their dependants, for it was recognized that gambling could lead to social problems.<sup>320</sup> Catholics held that, "There is nothing morally wrong in a mild 'flutter' on a race-course with your own money, if you can well afford it."<sup>321</sup> Horse-racing was sometimes discussed on the sports page of the *Tablet*.<sup>322</sup> When the Gaming Act (1922) prohibited bookmaking, Kelly gave his blessing to the bookmakers' campaign to be reinstated and the *Tablet* carried advertisements calling

<sup>314</sup> *Outlook*, 6 December 1937, p. 4.

<sup>315</sup> Lotteries: *Month*, 17 November 1925, p. 40; 1 July 1931, p. 40; 1 January 1932, p. 24; *NZ Tablet*, 21 January 1931, p. 15; 25 March 1936, p. 8; *Zealandia*, 6 January 1938, p. 3. Alcoholic drink: *Month*, 1 September 1931, p. 25; 1 September 1933, p. 26; 1 December 1933, p. 24; *NZ Tablet*, 30 November 1922 (regular front page advertisement); 19 May 1926, p. 42; 17 May 1933, p. 36; *Zealandia*, 25 October 1934, p. 5; 24 April 1935, p. 3; 21 November 1935, p. 9; 6 October 1938, p. 4; *Marist Messenger*, 1 March 1938, p. 10; 1 February 1940, p. iii (regular advertisement).

<sup>316</sup> PGA, 1924, p. 23; 1930, p. 68; 1931, pp. 11, 75-77, 80; 1932, pp. 17, 100; 1933, p. 21; 1934, pp. 20, 177, 180; 1935, pp. 16, 160, 165; 1936, pp. 22, 256; 1939, pp. 24-25, 138-140.

<sup>317</sup> PGA, 1920, p. 33; 1924, p. 23.

<sup>318</sup> PGA, 1939, pp. 24, 139.

<sup>319</sup> MAC, 1932, p. 64; cf. 1934, pp. 67, 71; 1935, pp. 68-69; 1936, pp. 67, 71; 1937, p. 70; 1938, pp. 77-78; 1939, p. 68.

<sup>320</sup> *Month*, 14 June 1919, p. 4; 21 October 1924, p. 37; *Zealandia*, 28 March 1935, p. 6; 31 January 1935, p. 6; 13 January 1938, p. 3; 14 September 1939, p. 10; *NZ Tablet*, 22 November 1923, p. 33; 20 November 1935, p. 9. A salutary warning was provided by the conviction of two Catholics who solicited "donations" for a small unlicensed charitable lottery (*NZ Tablet*, 21 November 1934, p. 3).

<sup>321</sup> *Month*, 20 May 1924, p. 19.

<sup>322</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 30 September 1923, p. 33; 6 September 1923, p. 33; 13 September 1923, p. 33; 4 October 1923, p. 33; 29 November 1923, p. 33; 10 January 1924, p. 33; 10 April 1924, p. 35; 9 July 1924, p. 35; 31 January 1940, p. 33. Presumably the contents of the page reflected the interests of the contributor at the time.

for the Act to be reviewed.<sup>323</sup> In 1927, the Presbyterian General Assembly advised Church committees not to seek grants from the T.G. McCarthy Trust because it was funded from brewery profits.<sup>324</sup> The Catholic Church welcomed such funds and O'Shea had represented Redwood on the board since its inception in 1912.<sup>325</sup> Protestants regularly lamented the secularization of the "Sabbath"; in June 1929, for example, thirty representatives of the Protestant churches interviewed the Minister of Railways to protest against Sunday excursion trains.<sup>326</sup> Catholics took a comparatively liberal attitude to recreation and even light work on the Lord's day. According to the *Zealandia's* "Question Box", it was permissible for a small businessman to do his own book-keeping on a Sunday if he could not afford to employ a clerk.<sup>327</sup> Young Bernard Ryan earned a penny a hole as a golf caddy after attending Sunday Mass during the late 1930s.<sup>328</sup>

For Protestants, the moral problems associated with leisure activities were most acute when the church itself was involved. Anglican synods expressed their disapproval of "the practice of raising money for Church purposes by means of raffles or lotteries of any kind".<sup>329</sup> Presbyterian congregations were forbidden to conduct art unions or raffles.<sup>330</sup> The Presbyterian General Assembly expressed in 1925 its disapproval of dancing at church functions and described "the letting of Church halls for dances and the holding of dances for the purpose of raising funds for Christian

<sup>323</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 16 March 1922, p. 16; 6 April 1922, p. 29; 13 April 1922, p. 9; 20 April 1922, p. 37; 27 April 1922, p. 13; 11 May 1922, p. 37; 18 May 1922, p. 13; 25 May 1922, p. 11.

<sup>324</sup> PGA, 1927, pp. 28, 39, 226-227. The Presbyterian Church had received money from the Trust in the past (*Evening Post*, 16 July 1928, p. 10) and, after some debate, the Assembly stopped short of actually prohibiting further applications.

<sup>325</sup> *Evening Post*, 6 August 1934, p. 11; 7 August 1934, p. 5; *Zealandia*, 2 September 1937, p. 4; *NZ Tablet*, 24 August 1932, p. 13; 7 September 1938, p. 6.

<sup>326</sup> *Evening Post*, 12 June 1929, p. 10. The three main speakers represented the Anglican, Presbyterian and Methodist Churches but official Anglican opinion was probably not as uniformly opposed to Sunday recreation as was Presbyterian and Methodist opinion. For Presbyterian attitudes during the interwar period, see Garing, pages 109-123 and for Methodist attitudes, see Clements, pages 109-115.

<sup>327</sup> *Zealandia*, 26 September 1935, p. 6.

<sup>328</sup> B. Ryan in Michael King (editor), *One of the Boys? Changing Views of Masculinity in New Zealand*, (Auckland: Heinemann Publishers, 1988), p. 45.

<sup>329</sup> AGS, 1925, p. 247; 1928, p. 353; cf. *Evening Post*, 3 July 1919, p. 9 (Anglican Synod of Wellington).

<sup>330</sup> PGA, 1939, p. 140.

work as most unbecoming, if not reprehensible."<sup>331</sup> Similarly, the Methodist Church reaffirmed in 1938 its prohibition of dances on ecclesiastical property.<sup>332</sup> Anglican parishes, however, did conduct dances.<sup>333</sup>

Catholics apparently saw nothing incongruous about raising Church funds by producing wine, holding entertainments and conducting lotteries; they also recognized the value of such shared activities for the Catholic community. In Hawke's Bay, the Society of Mary continued the age-old monastic tradition of wine-making as a source of revenue for works of religion. In 1919, Catholics in Wellington and Palmerston North raffled two race horses.<sup>334</sup> Readers of the *Month* were told that the 1925 Lewisham Hospital art union was their last opportunity to win a worthwhile prize because the Government had decided not to grant any further permits for large prizes.<sup>335</sup> A social with dancing was held in Okoia, near Wanganui, in 1925 to pay for liturgical vestments.<sup>336</sup> Bazaars, dances, raffles and card-playing formed an integral part of Catholic parish life. Social events like euchre tournaments and dances were often run through the winter months and parish groups, both social and religious, took turns to organize them.<sup>337</sup> The Hibernians and other groups in St Mary's parish, Christchurch, held card parties to raise funds for a new church in 1937.<sup>338</sup>

Speaking at a Catholic Charity Ball, Brodie declared that, "The Church readily gave its approval to any legitimate form of recreation, and dancing had a very highly educational influence, tending to form chivalrous manners and spirit."<sup>339</sup> Even the

<sup>331</sup> PGA, 1925, p. 34; cf. 1924, p. 42. These views were reaffirmed in 1939 (1939, pp. 55-56), after some hesitation at the 1938 General Assembly (1938, pp. 49-50, 62).

<sup>332</sup> MAC, 1938, pp. 56-57. Cf. *NZ Herald*, 18 November 1937, p. 14 for a report on the Annual District Synod of the Methodist Church in Auckland, which reaffirmed its prohibition of dancing on church property and *Press*, 18 November 1937, p. 7 for a similar resolution by the North Canterbury Synod.

<sup>333</sup> *NZ Herald*, 10 July 1937, p. 26 (Northcote); *Press*, 23 July 1937, p. 8 (Rangiora).

<sup>334</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 25 September 1919, p. 18; 9 October 1919, p. 21; 4 December 1919, p. 19; 18 December 1919, p. 39.

<sup>335</sup> *Month*, 20 October 1925, p. 31; 20 November 1925, p. 31. Alluvial gold to the value of £2,000 was offered in prizes (*Month*, 16 June 1925, p. 32).

<sup>336</sup> *Month*, 20 October 1925, p. 21.

<sup>337</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 17 June 1920, p. 22 (St Mary's, Christchurch); 5 August 1920, p. 22 (St Patrick's, Auckland); *Month*, 15 September 1925, p. 21 (Stratford); 1 October 1930, p. 24 (Oamaru); *Zealandia*, 16 August 1934, p. 5 (Masterton); 8 April 1937, p. 5 (Balmoral).

<sup>338</sup> *Zealandia*, 5 August 1937, p. 4.

<sup>339</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 21 September 1932, p. 14; for similar comments by Brodie, see *ibid.*, 1 October 1930, p. 46; 29 June 1932, p. 35; 5 July 1933, p. 8; cf. *Month*, 1 August 1932, p. 31.

Children of Mary organized dances - often to raise funds for various causes - as Goulter pointed out.<sup>340</sup> Dancing was only considered sinful when it gave rise to "occasions of sin", for example by being immodest or suggestive - Children of Mary were told not to dance "to excess".<sup>341</sup> No doubt this maxim was followed by members of the Girls' Guild, which was drawn exclusively from the Children of Mary to assist at the Catholic Seamen's Institute in Wellington. The young women were not permitted to escort seamen to or from the Institute but could not refuse any sailors' request to dance.<sup>342</sup> At their April 1929 meeting, the Catholic bishops agreed that "well conducted Catholic dances, such as we are familiar with in this country, served a useful purpose and might well continue".<sup>343</sup> Dances not only raised money but when held under church auspices they were presumably "safer". Susan Russell, who gave advice to "The Catholic Girl" in the *Zealandia*, counselled her readers to attend dances in their parishes in order to avoid the undesirable features of many public dances.<sup>344</sup> Moreover, it was obviously preferable for young Catholics to meet prospective spouses at a predominantly Catholic gathering rather than among non-Catholics.<sup>345</sup>

When the Protestant churches decided to lobby the government jointly to restrict gambling, as they did in 1931, they were unable to secure the co-operation of the Catholic Church.<sup>346</sup> A meeting of Protestant church representatives in March 1936 invited O'Shea to join in a deputation to the Minister of Internal Affairs to express concern at the prospect of increased facilities for gambling.<sup>347</sup> O'Shea received the letter too late to take action but noted that "there would probably be a difference of opinion between us".<sup>348</sup> A few months later, he was asked by the Rev. J.A. Thomson

<sup>340</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 22 March 1933, p. 23 (Goulter); *Zealandia*, 5 July 1934, p. 7 (Blenheim); 9 April 1936, p. 5 (Cathedral parish, Auckland); *NZ Herald*, 22 July 1933, p. 19 (Northcote); *Press*, 15 July 1938, p. 2 (Beckenham).

<sup>341</sup> *Zealandia*, 31 January 1935, p. 6; *Prayer Book or Manual of the Children of Mary*, p. 19.

<sup>342</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 27 April 1938, p. 26; 7 December 1938, pp. 26-27; 6 September 1939, p. 38. It was no doubt anticipated that these women would exercise a wholesome influence on the sailors; Guild members were not permitted to smoke on the premises but cigarettes were sold to the sailors.

<sup>343</sup> Minutes of bishops' meeting, 24 April 1929, CCDA.

<sup>344</sup> *Zealandia*, 21 June 1934, p. 7.

<sup>345</sup> For the promotion of social, sporting and cultural activities among young Catholics and the Church's aversion to mixed marriages, see chapter three.

<sup>346</sup> PGA, 1931, p. 76.

<sup>347</sup> Rev. D.M. Martin to O'Shea, 17 March 1936, WCAA.

<sup>348</sup> O'Shea to Martin, 31 March 1936, WCAA.

of the Auckland Council of Christian Congregations to sign a manifesto proposing a ban on art unions and restricting betting to racecourses.<sup>349</sup> The manifesto was signed by the heads of seven Protestant denominations.<sup>350</sup> After consulting the other bishops, O'Shea declined to add his signature, arguing that civil law could not enforce a prohibition of all that was forbidden by the moral law: "The evil would be driven underground and become worse."<sup>351</sup> O'Shea was trying to minimize Catholic-Protestant differences. Obviously the real reason why the bishops withheld their support was Catholic tolerance of gambling: the Church strongly advocated laws against pornography and the sale of contraceptives, which would be just as difficult to enforce.

Differences over the ethics of leisure - and especially over gambling - sometimes led to controversy among the churches. In 1932, the *Tablet* ridiculed the Southland Presbytery's fear that Sunday mystery rail excursions were intended "to upset Protestantism".<sup>352</sup> Kelly taunted North and the Council of Churches for their inconsistency in denouncing church lotteries while failing to complain about the Prince of Wales who, during his 1920 visit to New Zealand, drank alcohol and bet on horses.<sup>353</sup> Twice in 1925, Kelly attacked the Presbyterian Church for its protests against art unions, arguing that the "dour folk of the Kirk" should abandon individual interpretation of the Bible and burn down the churches and manses which had been built with lottery profits in the past.<sup>354</sup> In 1933, a deputation from the Council of Christian Churches protested to the Minister of Internal Affairs, J.A. Young, against the operation of lotteries. To the Council's embarrassment - and the delight of the *Tablet* - the Minister disclosed that some of the churches the Council represented had applied for lottery grants.<sup>355</sup> When the North Canterbury Methodist Synod denounced gambling and Sunday golf, among other things, Frank Seward, parish priest of Lincoln, wrote to the editor of the *Press* criticizing the Synod for "condemning

<sup>349</sup> Thomson to O'Shea, 26 May 1936, WCAA.

<sup>350</sup> Thomson to O'Shea, 16 June 1936, WCAA.

<sup>351</sup> O'Shea to Thomson, 20 June 1926, WCAA.

<sup>352</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 23 November 1932, p. 4; cf. *Outlook*, 14 November 1932, p. 8.

<sup>353</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 8 July 1920, pp. 14-15; 15 July 1920, p. 14; 19 August 1920, p. 14; 16 March 1922, p. 16; cf. *Press*, 27 April 1920, p. 6 for a report on the Prince's enthusiastic betting at the Royal Race Meeting at Ellerslie.

<sup>354</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 11 March 1925, p. 23; 2 September 1925, p. 33.

<sup>355</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 10 May 1933, p. 4.

Table 4.3

## Denominational Representation in Leisure-Related Industries, 1921-1936

	Anglican	Presbyterian	Catholic	Methodist	Total Population
<b>1921 malting, brewing and bottling (males)</b>					
Number	570	212	207	45	1,152
Percentage	49.48	18.40	17.97	3.91	100.00
Index	118	75	139	46	100
<b>1921 production of alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverages (males)</b>					
Number	850	344	315	109	1,818
Percentage	46.75	18.92	17.33	6.00	100.00
Index	111	77	134	71	100
<b>1936 production of alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverages (males)</b>					
Number	751	343	248	112	1,674
Percentage	44.86	20.49	14.81	6.69	100.00
Index	112	84	120	87	100
<b>1921 licensed hotels and accommodation houses (males)</b>					
Number	1,759	539	1,090	74	3,944
Percentage	44.60	13.67	27.64	1.88	100.00
Index	106	56	214	22	100
<b>1936 licensed hotels and accommodation houses (males)</b>					
Number	1,708	628	1,119	107	4,070
Percentage	41.97	15.43	27.49	2.63	100.00
Index	105	63	222	34	100
<b>1921 licensed hotels and accommodation houses (females)</b>					
Number	1,634	633	1,527	118	4,107
Percentage	39.79	15.41	37.18	2.87	100.00
Index	97	64	234	31	100
<b>1936 licensed hotels and accommodation houses (females)</b>					
Number	1,218	524	1,155	147	3,308
Percentage	36.82	15.84	34.92	4.44	100.00
Index	94	66	227	52	100
<b>1921 horse-racing and training (males)</b>					
Number	762	221	318	22	1,397
Percentage	54.55	15.82	22.76	1.57	100.00
Index	130	64	177	19	100
<b>1936 horse-racing and training (males)</b>					
Number	665	291	327	39	1,490
Percentage	44.63	19.53	21.95	2.62	100.00
Index	111	80	178	34	100

Table 4.3 (continued)

	Anglican	Presbyterian	Catholic	Methodist	Total Population
<b>1921 cinema (males)</b>					
Number	279	69	64	43	509
Percentage	54.81	13.56	12.57	8.45	100.00
Index	130	55	98	100	100
<b>1936 cinema (males)</b>					
Number	471	163	170	78	1,032
Percentage	45.64	15.79	16.47	7.56	100.00
Index	114	65	133	98	100
<b>1936 cinema (females)</b>					
Number	246	89	156	26	580
Percentage	42.41	15.34	26.90	4.48	100.00
Index	109	64	175	53	100

Sources: New Zealand Census 1921, part VII, pp. 36-42; 1936, vol. VI, pp. 26-29.

everything within reach".<sup>356</sup> While Catholics scoffed at Protestant scruples, Protestants sometimes denounced Catholics for collusion with the forces of evil. The *New Zealand Baptist* criticized the Catholic Church's "easy going theories concerning drink and gambling", claiming that, "She is on terms with the promoters of these two habits as no other Church is."<sup>357</sup>

Contrasting attitudes to certain forms of leisure were reflected in the occupations of Catholics and Protestants as recorded in the interwar censuses. By setting each denomination's representation in the overall male or female workforce at 100, it is possible to calculate an index of representation to illustrate its over or under-representation in occupations concerned with drinking, gambling and other forms of entertainment, especially the cinema, as Table 4.3 illustrates.<sup>358</sup> In 1921, Catholic men (139) were significantly over-represented in malting, brewing and bottling, while Presbyterians (75) and Methodists (46) were quite under-represented; Anglicans (118) were somewhat over-represented. Comparing the 1921 and 1936 census figures, it is

<sup>356</sup> Seward to the editor, *Press*, 20 November 1937, p. 13. Seward was pleased, however, that the Synod had opposed contraception and abortion.

<sup>357</sup> *NZ Baptist*, October 1931, p. 294; cf. J.J. North, *Roman Catholicism: Roots and Fruits* (Napier: Printed by G.W. Venables and Co. Ltd, 1922), pp. 4, 146-147.

<sup>358</sup> To calculate the index of representation, the actual percentage of, say, Catholic men working in hotels, is divided by the percentage of Catholic men in the paid workforce.

apparent that the over-representation of Catholic men in the production of both alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverages declined (from 134 to 120), while the proportion of Anglicans was stable (111 and 112) and the representation of Presbyterians (77 and 84) and Methodists (71 and 87) increased. The Managing Director of New Zealand Breweries Ltd, until his death in 1930, was Thomas Madden, an Irishman described as a "fervent Catholic".<sup>359</sup> Catholic men (214 in 1921 and 222 in 1936) as well as Catholic women (234 and 227) were strikingly over-represented amongst workers in licensed hotels and licensed accommodation-houses. Anglican men (106 and 105) and women (97 and 94) worked on licensed premises in proportions close to their representation in the total workforce. Presbyterian men (56 and 63) and women (64 and 66), as well as Methodist men (22 and 34) and women (31 and 52) were markedly under-represented among hotel-workers but the proportions of Methodists, in particular, were increasing. Catholic men (177 in 1921 and 178 in 1936) were also considerably over-represented in horse-racing and training and leading Catholics played a prominent role in that industry. Sir George Clifford, reckoned "the most notable figure in the racing world in the Dominion", was elected President of the Racing Conference in 1895 and held the position for over thirty years.<sup>360</sup> After more than thirty years' membership of the Gore Racing Club, D.L. Popplewell was elected President in 1925.<sup>361</sup> Anglican men (130 and 111) were somewhat over-represented in horse-racing and training. Presbyterians (64 and 80) and Methodists (19 and 34) were notably under-represented but their numbers were increasing. Despite Catholic concern over moral standards in films, Catholics were increasingly over-represented in cinematic theatres (the index of representation for men rose from 98 to 133, and for women in 1936 it was 175). Anglicans were somewhat over-represented (130 and 114 for men, and 109 for women in 1936). Presbyterians were markedly under-represented (55 and 65 for men and 64 for women in 1936), while Methodist men (100 and 98) worked in the cinema according to their proportion in the workforce but women were under-represented (53 in 1936).

Several important conclusions can be drawn from these figures. Catholics were over-represented in industries which produced or sold alcoholic drink, in horse-racing and in film theatres. Presbyterians and Methodists were under-represented in these

<sup>359</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 20 August 1930, pp. 49-50 (obituary).

<sup>360</sup> *Evening Post*, 17 April 1930, p. 12 (obituary).

<sup>361</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 26 August 1925, p. 34; cf. *Zealandia*, 5 October 1939, p. 3 (obituary).

leisure-related activities, while the Anglican community tended to be over-represented. Evangelical Anglicans evidently shared the puritan leisure ethic which was endorsed by the Presbyterian and Methodist churches but many more liberal Anglicans held views closer to those of Catholics. The overall Anglican pattern of employment bears significant resemblances to that of the Catholic community - and the Anglican population was larger than the combined number of Presbyterians and Methodists. Moreover, Protestants made up a majority of employees in all the industries discussed here; the same was no doubt also true of the patrons they served. It was the exponents of the puritan ethic who were unusual; in their relatively liberal attitude towards entertainment, alcohol and gambling, Catholics conformed to the attitudes of the population as a whole. Finally, even among Presbyterians and Methodists, reluctance to work in leisure-related industries was declining.

It was precisely because New Zealanders as a whole rejected their admonitions that Protestant moralists felt constrained to reiterate them so often. In 1936, the Methodist Conference expressed its "deep concern" over "the increasing tendency to make Sunday a day of sport, picnicing and general distraction"; two years later it again deplored "the present tendency to use the Lord's Day for amusement purposes".<sup>362</sup> When the North Canterbury Methodist Synod passed two resolutions against the sale of art unions, H. Chapman warned that the Church could be charged with hypocrisy because "quite a lot of our own members go in for art unions, and talk about what they will do with the money if they win it."<sup>363</sup> Criticism of Sunday golf and other forms of recreation brought adverse comment not only from Seward but also from a lay Methodist and other newspaper correspondents.<sup>364</sup>

At the same time, Catholic moralists shared many of their Protestant contemporaries' concerns, for example the Church promoted temperance by encouraging candidates for confirmation to take a pledge not to drink alcohol until they reached the age of twenty-one.<sup>365</sup> Sometimes Catholic moralists shared Protestant

<sup>362</sup> MAC, 1936, p. 70; 1938, p. 78.

<sup>363</sup> *Press*, 19 November 1937, p. 6; *NZ Herald*, 20 November 1937, p. 14.

<sup>364</sup> *Press*, 18 November 1937, p. 7; "Gunner, 1914" to the editor, 19 November 1937, p. 7; 20 November 1937, p. 13; 22 November 1937, p. 8.

<sup>365</sup> *Month*, 1 November 1930, p. 20 (confirmation in Nelson); see also the recollection of Sister Mary Carmel (Aynsley), a pupil at St Mary's High School from 1934 to 1938, in *Reflect, Rejoice*, p. 65. According to the *Marist Messenger* (1 January 1938, p. 14), the pledge was already taken regularly in the Wellington archdiocese when the hierarchy of Australasia agreed to make the practice uniform throughout the region.

views more fully than they admitted. According to the *Zealandia*, "The Catholic attitude towards Sunday observance has naturally opposed the secularisation of the Sabbath, but has never associated itself with the doleful rigours of Puritanism."<sup>366</sup> The 1925 quinquennial report on the Wellington archdiocese implicitly acknowledged Protestant influence by noting that, "Abstention from servile works on Sundays is strictly observed by all, as is usual in English speaking countries."<sup>367</sup> Cleary taught that a "modicum of innocent recreation" was acceptable on Sundays as long as it was not excessive, but the "sacred duties of religion" had priority.<sup>368</sup> Professor Moor-Karoly, Choirmaster at St Patrick's Cathedral, Auckland, complained that Sunday evening concerts under the auspices of the municipal authorities took people away from their churches.<sup>369</sup> Portraying life in a Catholic boarding school, Amelia Batistich described Sunday as a day "spent in a state of suspended animation".<sup>370</sup> In 1940, the *Australasian Catholic Record* considered at length the lawfulness of knitting on Sundays - at the request of a New Zealand priest who wrote that the issue had been subject to "much discussion" and that the clergy were divided on the matter. Even though it could be considered servile work, Nevin concluded, a woman could engage in up to three hours of light knitting before being in danger of committing a mortal sin.<sup>371</sup> According to Cooney, the "modern age" had "lost all sense of proportion and the fitness of things", regarding "pleasure as an end" rather than a means to "the higher aims of life". He warned that "more souls are ruined by improper and tainted amusements than by any other agency."<sup>372</sup> This judgment on contemporary society was endorsed by Protestants.

Catholic and Protestant moralists shared a concern over the evils of attending dances, especially if alcohol was being drunk. Kelly denounced not only the "indecent posturings and suggestive huggings of half naked women" but also the "'sitting out' opportunities ingeniously contrived for, perhaps, worse conduct".<sup>373</sup> Endorsing

<sup>366</sup> *Zealandia*, 1 August 1935, p. 4.

<sup>367</sup> Quinquennial report, archdiocese of Wellington, 1921-1925, item 86, WCAA.

<sup>368</sup> *Month*, 15 September 1922, p. 6.

<sup>369</sup> *Month*, 20 September 1927, p. 5.

<sup>370</sup> Amelia Batistich, "Holy Terrors", in *Holy Terrors and Other Stories* (Auckland: Vintage, 1991), p. 17.

<sup>371</sup> *Australasian Catholic Record*, 17 (1940), pp. 241-250.

<sup>372</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 26 November 1924, p. 25. See also the passage by Cleary quoted above.

<sup>373</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 27 September 1923, p. 18; cf. 20 May 1920, p. 26.

comments by an Anglican synod, he railed against "the laxity of fathers and mothers" who allowed their daughters to go out at night unchaperoned and warned of the "fast dances borrowed from the jungle, the joy-riding with doubtful companions, the latch-key, the eternal cigarettes, and the handy hip flask provided by the partner at the dance".<sup>374</sup> Admittedly not all Catholic authorities were as vigilant as Kelly would have liked them to be. A correspondent, who endorsed Kelly's views, asked why the local newspaper advertised a social including "the latest dances - jazz, turkey-trot, twilight destiny waltz, and so forth" under the auspices of the Catholic Club.<sup>375</sup> The Presbyterian and Methodist Churches, while acknowledging the right of individuals to decide the issue for themselves, warned of the "grave moral perils associated with mixed dancing".<sup>376</sup> Catholic and Protestant moralists expressed similar views on the danger of alcoholic drink at dances.<sup>377</sup> The joint statement of Liston and other Auckland church leaders in 1937 condemned "the use of liquor at and in the vicinity of public dances".<sup>378</sup>

Both Catholic and Protestant moralists were concerned about the threat to public morality posed by the portrayal of crime, violence and sensuality in the cinema. The Catholic press frequently reported on the efforts of American Catholics to lobby for improved standards in the film industry, especially through the predominantly Catholic Legion of Decency<sup>379</sup> and the *Tablet* called for a similar campaign in New Zealand.<sup>380</sup>

<sup>374</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 22 October 1924, p. 29; cf. 14 April 1926, p. 33.

<sup>375</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 18 October 1923, p. 18.

<sup>376</sup> MAC, 1937, p. 50; 1938, p. 55; cf. PGA, 1925, pp. 33-34 and 1939, pp. 55-56.

<sup>377</sup> *Month*, 18 November 1924, p. 31 and 20 January 1925, p. 19 (Goulter); *NZ Tablet*, 27 October 1937, p. 5; *Zealandia*, 14 July 1938, p. 9 (Kennedy); 4 August 1938, p. 6 (editorial); *Outlook*, 24 May 1937, p. 5 (Roseveare); PGA, 1925, pp. 33-34 and 1939, pp. 55-56; MAC, 1938, pp. 55-56; *NZ Herald*, 19 November 1937, p. 16 and *Press*, 19 November 1937, p. 6 (Wanganui-Taranaki Methodist Conference).

<sup>378</sup> *NZ Herald*, 20 November 1937, p. 18. The Holland Committee expressed the same view (*Evening Post*, 28 March 1938, p. 6).

<sup>379</sup> *Month*, 15 September 1919, p. 5; 15 May 1928, p. 25; *NZ Tablet*, 30 May 1934, pp. 20-21; 15 August 1934, pp. 1-2 (comments by Klimeck and non-Catholic speakers at a Dunedin meeting); 7 November 1934, p. 3; 28 November 1934, p. 3; 20 February 1935, p. 3; 11 March 1936, p. 11; *Zealandia*, 7 June 1934, pp. 4, 10; 5 July 1934, p. 1; 2 August 1934, p. 3; 30 August 1934, p. 4; 13 September 1934, p. 4; 11 October 1934, p. 4; 8 November 1934, p. 1; 31 January 1935, p. 4; 11 April 1935, p. 2.

<sup>380</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 6 July 1932, p. 3; 7 September 1932, p. 3; 7 November 1934, p. 3 (cf. the letter by "A Fighting Catholic" on page 7). Pius XI's 1936 encyclical *Vigilanti Cura* (in Carlen, *op. cit.*, pp. 517-523) also urged the world's bishops to imitate the Legion of Decency (cf. *Zealandia*, 13 August 1936, pp. 1, 4).

Catholics were encouraged to patronize acceptable films.<sup>381</sup> Naturally those which offered a favourable view of the Catholic Church were especially recommended. *Cloistered*, which depicted the Sisters of the Good Shepherd and was filmed in their mother house near Angers, was strongly endorsed by O'Shea and other clergy.<sup>382</sup> Father P.J. Smyth, who himself ran a cinema in St Francis' Hall, Wellington, incurred the wrath of the Film Exchange Association in 1927 for preaching against certain films and distributing circulars condemning them.<sup>383</sup> A writer in the *Tablet*, reflecting on an unnamed film currently being screened, lamented that while the "silent screen produced harmful pictures", "the advent of the 'talkies' has brought us a veritable Niagara of immoral pictures." He denounced the "crooks and gangsters" as well as the "miasmatic nightmare of unnatural libidinous ferocity" depicted in certain films.<sup>384</sup> When the Government Censor, W.A. Tanner, told a *Tablet* correspondent that the film had been severely cut, the editor commented that it ought to have been rejected altogether.<sup>385</sup> Catholic moralists endorsed criticisms by Protestants, including Lord Bledisloe, of violence and sensuality in films.<sup>386</sup> Like their contemporaries, Catholics were particularly anxious about the impact of films on the moral values and behaviour of children.<sup>387</sup> When a parliamentary committee investigating the film industry in

<sup>381</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 15 March 1933, p. 6; 31 May 1933, p. 4; 28 March 1934, p. 34; 28 November 1934, p. 3; 13 February 1935, p. 3; 11 March 1936, p. 11; 4 May 1938, p. 6; *Zealandia*, 10 November 1938, p. 3; *Marist Messenger*, 1 September 1938, p. 26. For an editorial urging theatre patrons to complain at the box office about unacceptable films, see *Zealandia*, 2 September 1937.

<sup>382</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 1 June 1938, p. 45; *Zealandia*, 2 June 1938, p. 8. Surprised by the endorsement of *Cloistered* from the pulpit, one Catholic wondered whether the Church had a pecuniary interest in the film (Letter by "Fanfare", *Marist Messenger*, 1 July 1938, p. 21). For further favourable references to the film, see *Zealandia*, 28 April 1938, p. 9; 26 May 1938, p. 5; 2 June 1938, p. 11 (advertisement); 16 June 1938, p. 11; 1 December 1938, p. 3 (advertisement); *Marist Messenger*, 1 June 1938, p. 29; *NZ Tablet*, 29 June 1938, p. 7. At least one Catholic, however, thought that advertisements for the film pandered to anti-Catholic prejudices against convent life ("Layman" to the editor, *NZ Tablet*, 31 August 1938, p. 23).

<sup>383</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 28 December 1927, p. 31. Smyth's name is spelt "Smythe" on this page but in other references it is usually spelt without the "e".

<sup>384</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 1 June 1932, p. 45.

<sup>385</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 15 June 1932, p. 42.

<sup>386</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 6 July 1932, p. 3; *Month*, 1 August 1932, p. 20. For other favourable citations from non-Catholic sources, see *Month*, 15 March 1920, p. 3; 16 August 1920, p. 4; 15 October 1920, p. 4; 13 December 1920, p. 3; *NZ Tablet*, 31 January 1934, p. 3.

<sup>387</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 6 July 1932, p. 3; 31 January 1934, p. 3; 6 March 1935, pp. 20-21; *Month*, 15 July 1919, p. 5; 15 September 1919, pp. 4-5; 15 October 1920, pp. 3-4; 15 April 1920, pp. 5-6; *Zealandia*, 8 November 1934, pp. 7, 10; 6 December 1934, p. 1; cf. Roy Shuker and Roger Openshaw with Janet Soler, *Youth, Media and Moral Panic in New Zealand (From Hooligans to Video Nasties)*, (Palmerston North: Department of Education, Massey University, Delta Research Monograph number 11, 1990), pp. 57-68.

1934 failed to recommend stricter censorship, the Catholic press joined other critics in lamenting the lost opportunity.<sup>388</sup> Both Catholics and Protestants, such as North, complained about suggestive posters advertising films.<sup>389</sup> New regulations subjecting posters to official censorship came into effect in October 1930<sup>390</sup> but Protestant and Catholic critics were still not satisfied. The Presbyterian and Methodist Churches continued to complain and in 1932, Carrington asked the Government for stricter censorship of film advertising.<sup>391</sup>

Shared concern over the undermining of moral standards in films, and the posters used to advertise them, led to co-operation between Catholics and non-Catholics. The Catholic Federation played a leading role in the campaign for film censorship which resulted in the Cinematograph Film Censorship Act of 1916.<sup>392</sup> When a public meeting held under the auspices of the Federation called upon the Government to censor films shown to the public, the *Evening Post* commented that there was "a large and important body of opinion in support of a reasonable censorship".<sup>393</sup> In April 1930, a deputation representing the Catholic, Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist Churches, along with the Church of Christ, the Salvation Army and the YMCA, called upon P.A. de la Perelle, the Minister of Internal Affairs, to seek stricter

<sup>388</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 23 May 1934, p. 3; *Zealandia*, 5 June 1934, p. 4.

<sup>389</sup> *NZ Herald*, 3 May 1926, p. 10 (North); *NZ Tablet*, 28 December 1927, p. 31; *Month*, 5 July 1930, p. 21.

<sup>390</sup> *NZ Gazette*, 1930, vol. III, pp. 2876-2877.

<sup>391</sup> *PGA*, 1931, pp. 12, 78, 80; 1932, pp. 17, 100; 1933, pp. 21, 87, 89; *MAC*, 1933, pp. 79, 80; 1934, p. 72; 1935, pp. 69; *NZPD*, 1932, vol. 233, p. 459.

<sup>392</sup> *NZPD*, 1916, vol. 177, p. 572 (George Russell, Minister of Internal Affairs); *Month*, 15 January 1923, p. 7; Bernard Cadogan, "Lace Curtain Catholics: the Catholic Bourgeoisie of the Diocese of Dunedin, 1900-1920" (University of Otago B.A. Honours dissertation in History, 1984), pp. 47-48. The role of the Federation is unduly minimized by P.S. O'Connor, "'Protestants', Catholics and the New Zealand Government, 1916-18", in G.A. Wood and P.S. O'Connor (editors), *W.P. Morrell: a Tribute*, (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 1973), p. 186. Christoffel's anachronistic claim (*op. cit.*, p. 11) that the Catholic Federation lobbied against a film in 1909 (about three years before the Federation was founded) is based on a misreading of Shuker and Openshaw, p. 58. (Christoffel used an earlier version of the article by Shuker and Openshaw.) The assertion that the Federation's interest was motivated by concern over the uncomplimentary portrayal of the Catholic Church in some films, in contrast to the moral concerns of other advocates of censorship (Shuker and Openshaw, p. 58) is not supported by the reference to Russell's address. While the Federation did seek censorship of films denigrating the Church, the appeal of its case for censorship depended precisely on moral values shared with other members of the community.

<sup>393</sup> *Evening Post*, 2 December 1915, pp. 3, 6.

ensorship of films and film posters. O'Regan represented the Catholic Church on behalf of O'Shea.<sup>394</sup> In 1934, the Rev. E.T. Cox, Mayor of Dunedin, convened a meeting of thirty representatives of religious and community organizations to lobby the Government over film censorship and advertising; a six member sub-committee was appointed to monitor objectionable films. Among those who addressed the meeting and joined the sub-committee was Dr M.J. Klimeck, Administrator of St Joseph's Cathedral. The *Tablet* rejoiced that Protestant clergymen had sought the co-operation of Catholics in a matter of concern to the whole community.<sup>395</sup> A similar organization was formed in Wellington, largely by school teachers including A.J. Cullen SM, Rector of St Patrick's College.<sup>396</sup>

Catholic and Protestant moralists were also concerned about the corrupting effect of immoral publications on children in particular.<sup>397</sup> Cleary devoted his 1920 Lenten Pastoral Letter to the subject of "unwholesome magazines and works of fiction", which "advocate racial suicide, throw a halo of romance around violations of conjugal infidelity, and gloss over crime and vice as something for which the individual is not personally responsible".<sup>398</sup> According to Kelly, "nearly all" contemporary books were bad from a literary point of view, and "fully half of the fiction" was "dangerous and decadent".<sup>399</sup> Priests in the Wellington archdiocese were required to warn their congregations "against the evils of bad literature at least once or twice a year."<sup>400</sup> With increasing book production, argued Cleary, denominations which had criticized the Index of Prohibited Books were themselves coming to recognize the need for censorship.<sup>401</sup> In 1923, the *Month* praised a resolution by the Presbyterian General Assembly protesting against "debasement of literature".<sup>402</sup> A number of letters to the *New Zealand Herald* in March 1926 called for censorship of books and the annual

<sup>394</sup> *Dominion*, 8 April 1930, p. 11; *NZ Tablet*, 23 April 1930, p. 47.

<sup>395</sup> *Otago Daily Times*, 7 August 1934, p. 10; 8 August 1934, p. 8; *NZ Tablet*, 15 August 1934, pp. 1-3.

<sup>396</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 18 July 1934, p. 3.

<sup>397</sup> For Catholic concern, see *Month*, 16 September 1924, p. 27; 21 October 1924, p. 27; 16 August 1927, p. 21; 15 May 1928, p. 9; *Zealandia*, 10 June 1937, p. 4; *NZ Tablet*, 14 September 1932, p. 3; 25 May 1938, p. 7.

<sup>398</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 26 February 1920, pp. 22-23; *Month*, 15 March 1920, pp. 7, 9.

<sup>399</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 6 July 1927, p. 33.

<sup>400</sup> Quinquennial report, archdiocese of Wellington, 1921-1925, item 95, WCAA.

<sup>401</sup> *Month*, 15 May 1923, p. 6.

<sup>402</sup> *Month*, 15 December 1923, p. 10; PGA, 1923, pp. 18-19.

conference of the Congregational Union appealed to the Government to take action against cheap imported "immoral and suggestive books".<sup>403</sup>

During the 1930s, concern was expressed over "dumping" on the New Zealand market of cheap American "pulp" magazines and comics: successful agitation against these publications, by Catholics and others, illustrates widely shared moral concerns.<sup>404</sup> Comics provided a cheap form of publication during the Depression and American publishers included increasingly explicit references to sex, violence and especially crime in order to boost sales. By the later 1930s, moreover, comics were no longer simply reprints of strips already published in newspapers but used original material and were therefore no longer restrained by the demands of a family audience.<sup>405</sup> American publishers attracted increased advertising revenue by selling large numbers of back-dated comics and magazines in New Zealand and elsewhere. The advertisements often featured books on sex and promoted contraceptives (in part as protection against venereal disease).<sup>406</sup> Some three million such magazines, on average about two months old, were being sold in New Zealand annually by the late 1930s.<sup>407</sup> Local publishers, concerned about competition from cheap American magazines, sought a protective tariff.<sup>408</sup>

Catholic journalist and publishers' representative Patrick Lawlor took a leading role in the opposition to back-dated magazines, urging that customs duty be imposed to protect both the publishers and the youth of New Zealand. He raised the issue at the annual conference of the Associated Booksellers of New Zealand in 1930.<sup>409</sup> Later that year, he sought unsuccessfully to promote his concerns through the press and

<sup>403</sup> *NZ Herald*, 16 March 1926, p. 7; 17 March 1926, p. 9; 18 March 1926, p. 7 (letters), p. 8 (sub-leader responding to the Congregational Union), 11 (conference); 19 March 1926, p. 9; 22 March 1926, p. 7; 23 March 1926, p. 7; 26 March 1926, p. 9.

<sup>404</sup> Economic considerations were also quite important for New Zealand booksellers concerned over competition and for the Government concerned over foreign debt.

<sup>405</sup> Burns, p. 71; Christoffel, p. 20; Shuker and Openshaw, pp. 83-84.

<sup>406</sup> Burns, pp. 71-72; Shuker and Openshaw, p. 84.

<sup>407</sup> *Press*, 30 October 1937, p. 18 (article by R.G.C. McNabb); *NZ Tablet*, 23 March 1938, p. 5 (citing information from a Library Association conference). Containing either fiction or fictionalized "true stories", the magazines did not date quickly.

<sup>408</sup> Managing Editor, *Mirror Publishing* (signature illegible) to Lawlor, 17 September 1930, MAW. The writer of the letter had approached the Controller of Customs and Labour leader M.J. Savage.

<sup>409</sup> Lawlor to the Chairman of the New Zealand Booksellers' Conference, 13 January 1931, MAW.

Parliament.<sup>410</sup> In 1930 and again in 1931, he solicited without success the support of George Forbes, Prime Minister and Minister of Customs.<sup>411</sup>

From 1932, customs officials did impose increasing restrictions on the importation of pulp magazines, initially by requiring offending advertisements to be cut out. When the officials demanded that the advertisements be excised before the magazines were imported to New Zealand and the publishers were unable to comply, twenty American magazines, with titles such as *Film Fun* and *True Love Stories*, were banned outright.<sup>412</sup> The *Tablet* rejoiced in the extension of censorship, while some newspaper correspondents evidently complained that the ban reflected undue Catholic influence on the Government. In response, the *Tablet* asserted that "the job has been only half done", arguing that the Church would exercise a much more thorough purge of imported books and magazines if it had the influence with which it was credited.<sup>413</sup>

That the Catholic Church was not alone in its opposition to imported pulp magazines was clear from continued and relatively successful agitation by both Catholics and non-Catholics.<sup>414</sup> When Lawlor renewed his campaign in 1934, he elicited the support of Clyde Carr, MP for Timaru and a Congregationalist Minister, whom he provided with three questions which Carr duly asked in the House.<sup>415</sup> In April 1937, Archdeacon MacMurray demanded a ban on "vicious literature" and "obscene pictorial magazines" and in November, Liston joined with other Auckland church leaders in appealing to the Government to stop the sale of "salacious literature".<sup>416</sup> The *Press* argued the need for censorship of magazines<sup>417</sup> and the

<sup>410</sup> *Ibid.*; W.E. Parry to Lawlor, 18 September 1930, MAW.

<sup>411</sup> Lawlor to the Chairman of the New Zealand Booksellers' Conference, 13 January 1931, MAW; Forbes to Lawlor, 11 May 1931, MAW. In the first letter, Lawlor referred to having interviewed the Prime Minister, whom he did not name; presumably this was Forbes, who took office in May 1930.

<sup>412</sup> Burns, pp. 72-73. The New Zealand Libraries Association protested that this procedure made some articles impossible to read and encouraged library patrons to further mutilate magazines (*Evening Post*, 21 March 1933, p. 8; 16 February 1937, p. 13; 17 February 1937, p. 13; *Dominion*, 15 February 1937, p. 3).

<sup>413</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 29 March 1933, p. 3. No specific references are given for the correspondents' letters to which the editorial refers.

<sup>414</sup> In addition to the examples cited below, see Burns, p. 74.

<sup>415</sup> Lawlor to Carr, 10 September 1934, MAW; *NZPD*, 1934, vol. 240, p. 320. Carr raised the matter again a month later, citing a "most reliable authority", perhaps Lawlor, to the effect that imports were increasing alarmingly (*NZPD*, vol. 240, p. 1,161). Customs Minister Coates was reluctant to take any action beyond what was already being done by customs officials.

<sup>416</sup> *NZ Herald*, 22 April 1937, p. 8; 20 November 1937, p. 18.

<sup>417</sup> *Press*, 18 February 1938, p. 10; cf. Shuker and Openshaw, p. 84 (citing *Truth* 8 December 1937).

Library Association appealed to the Ministers of Customs and Education to take action against them.<sup>418</sup> According to a Wellington Catholic Social Guild article in July, pulp magazines, with their "pseudo-scientific" articles on sex and advertisements for contraceptives, were the work of "International Freemasonry", "Communism" and "World Finance".<sup>419</sup> The same month, Walter Nash, as Minister of Customs, convened a meeting of representatives of booksellers, librarians and importers to negotiate an agreement that magazines giving undue prominence to sex, obscenity, horror, crime or cruelty would no longer be imported.<sup>420</sup> Importers were later asked to sign an undertaking to this effect<sup>421</sup> perhaps because Catholic and Protestant moralists were proving difficult to satisfy. A September 1938 editorial in the *Zealandia* called upon the Government to suppress pornography and upon individuals to boycott offending shops.<sup>422</sup> A week later, an article by Lawlor demanded that the Government impose a heavy tariff on the three and a half million pulp magazines imported each year, if not for moral reasons, then at least to protect New Zealand writers.<sup>423</sup> The Presbyterian Church's Public Questions Committee, which had been lobbying Nash over pulp magazines for more than a year, had a resolution passed by the General Assembly in November calling upon the Government to stop the importing of "pornographic literature".<sup>424</sup> By the end of the year, the Government's new import licensing regulations were being used to ensure that no licence to import such material would be granted.<sup>425</sup> The *Tablet* acknowledged at the end of 1939 that the Government had banned about ninety pulp magazines - although the editor was still not satisfied that

<sup>418</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 23 March 1938, p. 5; *Press*, 11 March 1938, p. 12 (cf. McNabb's article, *op. cit.*).

<sup>419</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 13 July 1938, p. 9; cf. 3 August 1938, p. 41.

<sup>420</sup> *Dominion*, 19 August 1938, p. 12; 22 August 1938, p. 8; *NZ Libraries*, September 1938, p. 1; Burns, p. 75; Christoffel, pp. 20-21. Shuker and Openshaw (p. 84), following a typographical error in Burns (*ibid.*, note 3), give the year as 1936. A delegation of librarians had already met Nash and Education Minister Fraser in June (*NZ Libraries*, July 1938, p. 92).

<sup>421</sup> *NZ Libraries*, November 1938, p. 26.

<sup>422</sup> *Zealandia*, 15 September 1938, p. 6. Kathleen Kennedy, however, adopted a different approach, urging the need for moral and religious training to educate public opinion, for censorship too easily degenerated into tyranny (*Zealandia*, 6 October 1938, p. 10).

<sup>423</sup> *Zealandia*, 22 September 1938, p. 3.

<sup>424</sup> *PGA*, 1938, pp. 27, 211, 214.

<sup>425</sup> Burns, pp. 74-75.

enough had been done.<sup>426</sup>

Despite their different perspectives, then, Protestant and Catholic moralists shared some important concerns over the ethics of leisure; moreover, the differences between Catholics and Protestants in practice were declining. Catholic moralists rejected Protestant scruples over gambling and drinking but they too sought to restrain leisure-time activities, for example they disparaged servile work on Sundays and lascivious modern dances. While their differences sometimes led to recriminations, they co-operated on the censorship of printed matter and films because of shared concerns over sexual ethics and the portrayal of violence. Meanwhile, as support for the puritan ethic of leisure declined, Protestants increasingly enjoyed the activities clerical moralists had traditionally denounced: differences in the leisure activities of Catholics and Protestants were therefore diminishing. These two respects in which the Protestant and Catholic communities converged - the concerns of moralists and popular practice - were inextricably related. The widespread rejection in practice of traditional Christian restraints alarmed both Catholic and Protestant moralists. In going beyond the established limits of leisure, secular society, made up almost entirely of at least nominal adherents of the Catholic and Protestant churches, forced moralists of different denominations into defensive co-operation.

### Conclusion

There was considerable agreement among Catholic and Protestant moralists on questions of gender and ethics. Although Catholic attitudes to religious celibacy were not shared by the other churches, moralists in all the major denominations endorsed a common view of the roles and duties of married women and men. All the churches regarded with disapproval the increasing resort to divorce, contraception and abortion, although there were important differences in their teachings. The more extreme claims of Catholic triumphalists, however, were not justified by the differences in Catholic and Protestant values or by the practice of church members. There were also significant differences in Catholic and Protestant attitudes to leisure pursuits, especially gambling, but on the question of censorship, in particular, there was firm agreement. While the consensus on family ethics was declining, it remained strong during the interwar period, and a common fear of moral decline revealed important agreements among Catholics and Protestants over the ethics of leisure.

<sup>426</sup> New import regulations were about to reduce the importation of books by fifty percent, so the *Tablet* hoped the opportunity would be taken to "cut out the rubbish" (*NZ Tablet*, 13 December 1939, p. 5; cf. 18 October 1939, p. 5; 22 November 1939, p. 21).

Differences in Catholic and Protestant attitudes require some explanation. The increasing divergence of official teaching on the ethics of marriage resulted from different ecclesiastical structures and theological methods. In particular, the Catholic Church in New Zealand was not free to deviate from papal pronouncements while its moral theology was based on natural law and influenced by an ascetic view of sexuality. Different attitudes to leisure reflect class and ethnic values as well as theological differences.

All moralists in New Zealand were influenced by their contemporaries overseas, but Catholic thought was more dependent than that of the other churches or secular opinion. Since Catholic moral doctrine was laid down by the ecclesiastical hierarchy centred in the Vatican, it was less subject to change than were the teachings of other churches. When the Presbyterian Church considered the issue of divorce, for example, it sought the views of Reformed churches in other parts of the world but far from being bound by these views, New Zealand Presbyterians debated the issue for four years before reaching a compromise statement of their own.<sup>427</sup> Catholics, by contrast, had only to appropriate the teaching of such authoritative sources as *Casti Connubii*, Pius XI's 1930 encyclical on marriage.<sup>428</sup> Bishops and priests claimed to be passing on divine revelation and the teaching of Christ himself.<sup>429</sup> There were no synods of the clergy or laity to discern the mind of the Church and even at the meetings of the hierarchy, there was no debate over orthodox ethical teaching, but only discussion over how best to pass it on to the faithful. The whole *raison d'être* of the hierarchical Church was the maintenance of orthodox faith and morals, while doctrinal soundness was a *sine qua non* of admission to the episcopate. Dissent was uncommon in New Zealand where the Church was thoroughly ultramontanist in its theological orientation and where there was no tradition of creative theological inquiry.

Catholic moralists based their teaching on an uncompromising natural law ethic, authoritatively interpreted by the hierarchy, while Protestants were more willing to reassess moral values. From the perspective of Catholic polemicists, the Protestant churches were lowering the moral barricades by allowing exceptions to long-held

<sup>427</sup> For the reports from sister churches, see PGA, 1936, pp. 169-171.

<sup>428</sup> *Casti Connubii*, *op. cit.* The encyclical was summarized in the *Month* (1 April 1931, pp. 17-19) and printed in full in the *NZ Tablet* (11 March 1931, supplement).

<sup>429</sup> Cf. Liston's statement (in a declaration on birth control) that, "The Bishops of the Catholic Church are messengers of Christ" (*Month*, 1 October 1930, p. 14) and the apologia for clerical teaching in the *Marist Messenger* (1 November 1937, p. 20).

ethical principles. According to the *Month*, the Anglican Church "opened the door to divorce" and, inevitably, "the opening has been steadily widening". While "the Catholicising section" of the Church held "more or less" to authentic Christian teaching, other Anglicans were more liberal and it was usually possible for divorcés to find a clergyman willing to bless a new union.<sup>430</sup> Goulter argued that, "It seems impossible for those outside the Catholic Church to realise that, once admit the possibility of dissolving a properly constituted marriage, and you cannot possibly draw a hard-and-fast line."<sup>431</sup> Another apologist defended the Church's rigid stand on divorce by asserting that, "The Catholic Church in her wisdom knew that legislating for exceptions makes the exception the rule."<sup>432</sup> The same danger applied to contraception and abortion. Criticizing the advocacy of birth control clinics by the Women's Division of the Farmers' Union, Higgins argued that "once it is admitted that there is a right and proper use of contraceptives there is simply no possibility of controlling their use" even among the unmarried. The use of artificial contraception was either absolutely right or absolutely wrong and its advocates were acting on the basis of expediency rather than principle.<sup>433</sup> "If one contraceptive act is justifiable," asked the *Month*, "why not two, two hundred, two thousand?"<sup>434</sup>

The ascetic perspective of clerical moralists also contributed to their moral conservatism, while belief in the superiority of religious celibacy over the married life reinforced the spiritual hegemony of priests and religious over the laity. Furthermore, the example of numerous saints whose status was also inextricably bound up with virginity further endorsed an ascetic ethical code. Defending sacerdotal strictures against contraception, a columnist in the *Marist Messenger* wrote, "When the priest urges the hard duty of continence rather than the lecherous and unnatural profanation of the holy state of matrimony, he is only asking what he himself practises."<sup>435</sup> Catholic teaching on divorce, according to Cooney, was upheld by "the official ethical

<sup>430</sup> *Month*, 15 January 1923, p. 4.

<sup>431</sup> *Month*, 15 September 1921, p. 16. For a similar argument in a reprinted article, see *Month*, 15 November 1921, pp. 9-11.

<sup>432</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 11 October 1939, p. 21.

<sup>433</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 7 September 1938, p. 10. For a similar response by Higgins to the endorsement of contraception by the Holland committee, see *NZ Tablet*, 13 April 1938, p. 11 and *Evening Post*, 29 March 1938, p. 4.

<sup>434</sup> *Month*, 1 August 1931, p. 15.

<sup>435</sup> *Marist Messenger*, 1 November 1937, p. 20 ("Flo. Jetsam").

expert, the Church's priesthood". No profession could understand the sacrament of marriage better than the priesthood, for the celibate was "not likely to belittle his own sacrifice".<sup>436</sup> In fact, committed as they were to celibacy, Catholic priests and bishops had every reason to emphasize the responsibilities and sacrifices of married life while carefully circumscribing its pleasures. McKeefry argued that the advocates of divorce placed too much emphasis on personal happiness at the expense of divine law.<sup>437</sup> Kelly condemned the "shallow, selfish doctrine" of worldly people who "declare that the primary purpose of marriage is to promote the happiness of those who contract it" so that if the spouses were no longer happy, they could divorce.<sup>438</sup> According to Higgins, "Married life is primarily one of duties to be fulfilled not of pleasures to be enjoyed."<sup>439</sup> Married Protestant clergy would be naturally more responsive to increasingly liberal attitudes towards such issues as birth control and divorce. Kelly chided the Protestant churches for "undermining the sanction of the Ten Commandments" by adapting their preaching to "the views of their patrons".<sup>440</sup> There was some truth in this judgment but presumably it was not only their congregations who encouraged married Protestant clergymen to reconsider traditional family ethics.

Attitudes to leisure were influenced by ethnicity and social class as well as theology. Being of Irish descent, most Catholics in New Zealand inherited a cultural tradition which, within limits, endorsed drinking and gambling - especially betting on horses. No doubt Catholics of English descent, like Clifford, shared their liking for such recreation with numerous Anglicans.<sup>441</sup> By contrast, many Protestants - not least the descendants of Scottish Presbyterians - brought to New Zealand a deep suspicion of idleness and the vices to which it led. Moreover, campaigns against alcohol and gambling often reflected middle class attempts to raise the tone of working class culture - and Catholics were over-represented in the lower socio-economic strata. There were also practical reasons for Catholic endorsement of gambling and other

<sup>436</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 26 August 1925, p. 11. Cooney acknowledged that priests' understanding of marriage was limited, "most especially in those matters that lie outside the domain of ethics".

<sup>437</sup> *Zealandia*, 28 April 1938, p. 6.

<sup>438</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 3 December 1924, p. 33.

<sup>439</sup> *Zealandia*, 17 February 1938, p. 12.

<sup>440</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 6 January 1926, p. 33.

<sup>441</sup> Indeed, Brodie, in his panegyric, alluded to the "very wide circle of non-Catholic fellow-citizens" with whom Clifford came into contact as a result of his racing and commercial interests (*NZ Tablet*, 30 April 1930, p. 48).

forms of entertainment: sustaining Catholic identity required a heavy financial investment, especially in the maintenance of denominational schools - an expense which the other churches avoided. According to North, "The very streets are infested by children selling Catholic lottery tickets when a bazaar is in progress."<sup>442</sup> At the theological level, Catholics regarded the creation as inherently good. Alcohol and gambling, for example, were not regarded as intrinsically evil, but, like food, had to be used appropriately. Human beings were deemed to be sinful but not totally depraved, so they could enjoy the Creator's gifts as long as they did not abuse them by using them for purposes for which they were not intended.<sup>443</sup> The Catholic Church taught the Golden Mean, according to Cooney: it "condemns the excess in pleasure as it denounces excess in everything else, and it reproves those forms of recreation that either are sinful in themselves or calculated to lead to sin."<sup>444</sup> Protestants, who took a more pessimistic view of human nature, were more inclined to restrict its outlets. For Catholics, voluntary renunciation of licit activities was lauded but not required; the asceticism of the secular clergy, at least, did not necessarily extend to alcohol and gambling and this may have made them more indulgent towards such pleasures among the laity.

In criticizing Protestants, Catholic moralists greatly exaggerated the differences from their own moral doctrine - a fault they shared with Protestant apologists. The *Outlook* claimed the Presbyterian Church had "an even deeper repugnance of sexual irregularity" than had "the Roman Church", an assertion regarded by the *Tablet* as "palpably ridiculous".<sup>445</sup> During the interwar years, all the Christian churches in New Zealand lamented the decline of morality which they attributed to the erosion of traditional religion. Catholic moralists were not content to blame irreligion *per se*: they traced the cause of moral decline to the Reformation and the failure of the Protestant churches to maintain Christian standards of doctrine and ethics. Writing on the subject of film censorship, the *Tablet* declared that, "only upon the principles

<sup>442</sup> North, p. 147.

<sup>443</sup> Individuals had a duty not to place themselves in a position where they would be tempted to transgress the moral law, for example by drunkenness or fornication. Viewed from this perspective, comparatively liberal Catholic attitudes to alcohol and gambling were not inconsistent with more restrictive attitudes to dancing and censorship, for the primary purpose of sexual pleasure was to encourage reproduction by married couples.

<sup>444</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 26 November 1924, p. 25.

<sup>445</sup> *Outlook*, 6 December 1937, p. 4; *NZ Tablet*, 15 December 1937, p. 5. See also the disagreement between Blanchard and Liston, noted above.

taught by the Church will society ultimately be saved" and Goulter argued that, "because Catholic ideals and principles enshrine the highest that is known to us mortals, we Catholics can lead the rest of humanity."<sup>446</sup>

Reflecting on recently published juvenile crime figures in 1923, one Christian moralist gave a comprehensive list of contemporary evils:

Lack of reverence in our youth; the serious neglect of family prayer, church-going, and Sunday school; the distressful ignorance of God and God's Word which is said to be increasing among youth; the phenomenally rapid increase of race-suicide, divorce, and "leasehold" marriages, or tandem polygamy; the frequency of suicide; the appalling prevalence of pre-natal murder; the frantic pursuit of pleasure, amusement, and excitement, together with the lack of restraint that tends to render even legitimate amusements and associations ill-balanced and unwholesome.<sup>447</sup>

The writer of these lines was Bishop Cleary, but they could just as easily have come from the pen of one of his Protestant contemporaries. When O'Shea declined to support Protestant initiatives against gambling, he noted that there were plenty of other matters on which the churches could agree to co-operate.<sup>448</sup>

Catholic and Protestant moralists faced the same problem: their teachings were being challenged by the emergence of alternative values. The Methodist Church's 1938 "Manifesto on Dancing" observed that,

subsequent to the Great War, the map of accepted morality has shown the erasure of many age-old fixed boundaries. The ethical code of our fathers has been called in question and as yet no newer foundation has gained universal acceptance.<sup>449</sup>

While moralists continued to proclaim traditional values, these were widely rejected in practice. On the whole, neither Catholics nor Protestants followed clerical strictures over contraception, as the decline in the birth rate demonstrates. Increasing numbers of spouses in all of the major denominations were coming to regard divorce as an acceptable solution to marital difficulties. Both Catholics and Protestants indulged in hitherto forbidden entertainments, whether by taking a Sunday train ride or watching a risqué film. In a sermon broadcast from St Joseph's Cathedral, Dunedin, in 1938, Father Anthony Loughnan described the "new Paganism", namely a philosophy of life which encouraged a desire for worldly fulfilment without reference to God or eternity. It was the desire for comfort and leisure which justified such contemporary evils as

<sup>446</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 23 May 1934, p. 3; *Month*, 15 May 1928, p. 27.

<sup>447</sup> *Month*, 15 September 1923, p. 26.

<sup>448</sup> O'Shea to Martin, 31 March 1936; O'Shea to Thomson, 20 June 1936, WCAA.

<sup>449</sup> *MAC*, 1938, p. 54.

contraception and euthanasia, for without religion, the real purpose of life on earth, including suffering, was not recognized. Evils like divorce and abortion were merely symptoms of the new Paganism.<sup>450</sup> Similarly, O'Brien charged that while artificial contraception epitomized the decline of contemporary society, it was also shown by other symptoms, including abortion, sterilization and euthanasia.<sup>451</sup> Catholic moralists argued that contraception and divorce were inseparable; each encouraged the other.<sup>452</sup> Similar views were expressed by a Supreme Court Judge, Sir John Reed, and endorsed by the editor of the *Dominion*.<sup>453</sup> Like all Christian moralists, Catholic clergy warned their congregations not to conform to the standards of "the world". Occasional outbursts against Protestant ethical compromise were directed to Catholic audiences: the primary purpose of moral triumphalism was to reinforce Catholic values. The more Catholic moralists (and their Protestant counterparts) protested against contemporary evils, however, the more they illustrated the increasing gap between clerical theory and lay practice. Catholic moralists pleaded for righteousness according to traditional standards knowing that, in practice, the tendency was toward conformity with newer values.

<sup>450</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 5 October 1938, pp. 3-4, 41-42; cf. p. 5 (editorial).

<sup>451</sup> *NZ Herald*, 10 July 1937, p. 26; 24 September 1937, p. 16; *Press*, 17 March 1937, p. 12; 23 September 1937, p. 12.

<sup>452</sup> *Month*, 15 February 1921, p. 12; *NZ Tablet*, 3 June 1925, p. 17 (O'Regan); 26 August 1925, pp. 11, 13 (Cooney); *Zealandia*, 29 September 1938, p. 3; *Marist Messenger*, 1 June 1937, p. 16.

<sup>453</sup> *Dominion*, 3 October 1939, p. 6. The editor declined to publish a response by a Catholic correspondent who argued that legislators and (Protestant) churches ought to heed the warnings of Pope Leo XIII and his successors to the effect that allowing divorce inevitably led to further moral compromise (*NZ Tablet*, 1 November 1939, p. 29).

## *Chapter Five*

# "A Disturbing Political Incubus"? Polemics, Prohibition and Party Politics

Both during and immediately after the First World War, Catholics in New Zealand were the object of widespread opprobrium, manifested most spectacularly in the prominence of the Protestant Political Association, the passage of legislation directed against the Church's policy on mixed marriage and the prosecution of Bishop James Liston for sedition. Controversies over such issues as religious education, conscription, Irish independence and Prohibition demonstrated, according to some critics of the Church, that the interests of the Catholic community could not be reconciled with those of the wider society. Indeed, the Church's main opponent, the Rev. Howard Elliott, founder of the Protestant Political Association (PPA), portrayed the Catholic Church as a malign influence within New Zealand society, seeking to undermine Protestant freedom in the interests of papal despotism. "Rome", he declared, was "the enemy of Democracy and the friend of Autocracy".<sup>1</sup> The PPA opposed "Papal rule over New Zealanders", accused the Catholic Church of promoting the growth of "an alien State within the State" and charged it with seeking "to secure an over-balance of political power and influence".<sup>2</sup> William Keay, in a letter to the *New Zealand Herald*, argued that, wherever it was established, the Catholic Church was "a disturbing political incubus." The Catholic hierarchy, he asserted, maliciously sought to destroy "the glorious British Empire", in which "conscientious freedom" and "legitimate[,] progressive, democratic ideals" were "so conspicuously omnipresent".<sup>3</sup>

There had always been some Protestants who feared "the political menace of Romanism", with its allegedly "absolutist claims in every field of human life and activity", but it will be argued that their concerns were not shared by most New

<sup>1</sup> Elliott to the editor, *Evening Post*, 17 January 1918, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *NZ Herald*, 28 August 1918, p. 9 (W.D. More); 27 August 1919, p. 9 (H. Johnson and More). Both speakers were addressing PPA meetings in Auckland.

<sup>3</sup> W.R. Keay to the editor, *NZ Herald*, 28 December 1922, p. 3. This letter formed a part of the debate which arose after Bishop Liston identified the interests of the Church with those of the Labour Party - an incident which is discussed later in this chapter.

Zealanders.<sup>4</sup> Only in exceptional times could international and local sources of tension combine to render such notions credible to a substantial and vocal minority. As the wave of sectarianism dissipated during the early 1920s, it was increasingly obvious that militant anti-Catholicism was itself a marginal perspective. Rather than the malevolent force of PPA demonology, the Catholic community was seen to be one minority interest group among others. There was strong support for the Labour Party within the Catholic community but there is no evidence of a Catholic "block vote" or of sinister political manipulation by the Church authorities. During the course of the interwar period, and especially the Depression, Catholic concerns increasingly coincided with those of the Labour Party and the other churches, while Catholics were able to deal with political differences without confrontation. By the time of the Second World War, warm relations had been developed with the Government and the other major churches so that renewed attempts to stigmatize the Catholic Church quickly foundered.

In contrast to the interest historians have shown in the rise of the PPA and its conflict with the Catholic Church, little has been written about the Church and politics later in the interwar period. From various perspectives, sectarian controversy between about 1912 and 1922 has been investigated in some detail, particularly by H.S. Moores,<sup>5</sup> P.S. O'Connor,<sup>6</sup> R.P. Davis,<sup>7</sup> B. Gustafson,<sup>8</sup> M. Satchell,<sup>9</sup> B.F. Cadogan<sup>10</sup>

<sup>4</sup> The words quoted are those of S.F. Hunter, Convener of the Presbyterian Church's Protestant Principles Committee (PGA, November 1919, p. 167; cf. PGA, 1920, p. 131; 1921, p. 183).

<sup>5</sup> H.S. Moores, "The Rise of the Protestant Political Association: Sectarianism in New Zealand during World War I" (University of Auckland M.A. thesis in History, 1966).

<sup>6</sup> P.S. O'Connor, "Mr Massey and the P.P.A. - a Suspicion Confirmed", *New Zealand Journal of Public Administration*, 28/2 (March 1966) 69-74; "Storm over the Clergy - New Zealand 1917", *Journal of Religious History*, 4/2 (1966-67) 129-48; "Sectarian Conflict in New Zealand, 1911-1920", *Political Science*, 19/1 (July 1967) 3-16; 'Protestants', Catholics and the New Zealand Government, 1916-18", *W.P. Morrell: a Tribute*, edited by G.A. Wood and P.S. O'Connor (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 1973) 185-202, 294-7; "The Era of Bigotry", *New Zealand's Heritage* 5/67 (1972) 1860-1, 1864-7.

<sup>7</sup> R.P. Davis, *Irish Issues in New Zealand Politics, 1868-1922* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 1974), *passim*.

<sup>8</sup> B. Gustafson, *Labour's Path to Political Independence: the Origins and Establishment of the New Zealand Labour Party 1900-19* (Auckland: Auckland University Press and Oxford University Press, 1980), especially chapter eleven; "Intervention in the Public Square: Baptists and Politics in New Zealand, 1916-19", *Bulletin of the New Zealand Baptist Historical Society*, 8 (July 1980) 2-7.

<sup>9</sup> M. Satchell, "Pulpit Politics: The Protestant Political Association in Dunedin from 1917 to 1922" (University of Otago B.A. Honours thesis in History, 1983).

<sup>10</sup> B.F. Cadogan, "Lace Curtain Catholics: the Catholic Bourgeoisie of the Diocese of Dunedin, 1900-1920" (University of Otago B.A. Honours dissertation in History, 1984), chapters two and three.

and R.M. Sweetman.<sup>11</sup> Most of these authors' accounts, however, are largely narrative in structure and give little attention to the 1920s. No sustained investigation has been made of the Church's role in the Prohibition debate, despite the issue's prominence in this period. The responses of the leading denominations to the Depression have been investigated in several theses, notably those of A.J.S. Reid<sup>12</sup> and K.P. Clements,<sup>13</sup> but neither considers the Catholic Church in any detail.<sup>14</sup> S.M. Skudder's thesis on New Zealand responses to the Spanish Civil War includes an exhaustive investigation of the Catholic press.<sup>15</sup> Although it has been possible to investigate the Prohibition debate in some detail using archival sources, most of this chapter is based on contemporary newspapers. The primary focus is necessarily upon the Church's public stance - usually as expressed by its official representatives or Catholic journalists - rather than the attitudes or activities of private individuals.

The "sectarian epidemic" will be discussed in the first two sections of this chapter, concentrating in turn on the Catholic contribution and then the roles of the PPA and the Reform Government in order to evaluate the respective importance of each of the main sources of sectarian tension. In the third part of the chapter, it will be seen that Prohibition divided both New Zealand society in general and the Catholic Church itself, but ceased to be such a divisive issue after the early 1920s. The next three sections will discuss political parties and ideologies. In the fourth part, it will be argued that, far from voting solidly for Labour, Catholics were not instructed on whom to vote for, that there were Catholics in each of the main political parties, and that

- 11 R.M. Sweetman, "New Zealand Catholicism and the Irish Issue" in W.J. Sheils and Diana Wood (editors), *The Churches, Ireland and the Irish*, ("Studies in Church History" vol. 25; Oxford: Basil Blackwell for the Ecclesiastical History Society, 1989) pp. 375-384; "New Zealand Catholicism, War, Politics and the Irish Issue, 1912-1922" (University of Cambridge Ph.D. thesis in History, 1990). All subsequent Sweetman references are to the thesis rather than the article. There is also some relevant discussion in N.A. Simmons, "The Episcopate of Archbishop Redwood" (Massey University M.A. thesis in History, 1982), especially chapters five and six.
- 12 A.J.S. Reid, "Church and State in New Zealand, 1930-1935: a Study of the Social Thought and Influence of the Christian Church in a Period of Economic Crisis" (Victoria University M.A. thesis in History, 1961).
- 13 K. P. Clements, "The Churches and Social Policy: a Study of the Relationship of Ideology to Action" (Victoria University of Wellington Ph.D. thesis in Sociology, 1970).
- 14 M.N. Garing, "Against the Tide: Social, Moral and Political Questions in the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, 1840-1970" (Victoria University of Wellington Ph.D. thesis in Religious Studies, 1989), pp. 413-436 offers a brief treatment of Presbyterian attitudes towards industrial issues.
- 15 S.M. Skudder, "'Bringing It Home': New Zealand Responses to the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939" (University of Waikato D.Phil. thesis in History, 1986), chapter three and *passim*.

Catholics were not given clear instruction as to whether or not the Church's condemnation of Socialism applied to the Labour Party. The fifth section will show that there was nevertheless a convergence between the outlook of the Party and the Catholic community, strengthened particularly by class interests and Catholic social teaching. Finally, it will be seen that, despite the Catholic tendency to blame the Protestant Reformation for contemporary social problems, the Depression encouraged a more critical attitude towards social issues and a rapprochement between Catholics and Protestants. In a reversal of developments during the First World War, the Second World War encouraged a strengthening of the improving relations between the Catholic Church on the one side and the Protestant churches and the Government on the other.

### **The Sectarian Epidemic I: the Catholic Contribution**

According to Dr James Kelly, the "No-Popery outbreak which is with us at present comes and goes intermittently, like other dirty epidemics" and would eventually "run its course."<sup>16</sup> Bishop Henry Cleary used a different medical metaphor, describing the religious and political discords of the time as a "cycle of sectarian epilepsy".<sup>17</sup> Both analogies suggest an underlying condition which, in certain circumstances but largely unpredictably, manifests itself in an uncontrollable manner. Perennial tensions between New Zealand Catholics and other groups in the community, particularly the antagonism between Irish Catholics and Protestants, had led to controversy and even violence in the past.<sup>18</sup> While anti-Catholic sentiment was latent among New Zealand Protestants, however, it seldom aroused widespread or sustained interest. Lecture tours by Joseph Slattery and Dill Macky at the beginning of the century, for example,

<sup>16</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 22 August 1918, p. 26. A Catholic politician, William Jennings, told Parliament that, "This sectarian movement is simply like an epidemic of mumps or measles: it comes and it goes" (*NZPD*, 1920, vol. 189, p. 623).

<sup>17</sup> *Month*, 15 August 1918, p. 12; cf. 15 July 1918, p. 9 ("These eruptions of Vesuvian controversy come in cycles of a generation or thereabouts.")

<sup>18</sup> Davis, *Irish Issues*, pp. 11-24, 57-60 and *passim*; Moores, pp. 16-38; Satchell, pp. 1-12; N. Vaney, "The Dual Tradition, Irish Catholics and French Priests in New Zealand: The West Coast Experience, 1865-1910" (University of Canterbury M.A. thesis in History, 1977), especially pp. 32-42; D. McGill, *The Lion and the Wolfhound: the Irish Rebellion on the New Zealand Goldfields* (Wellington: Grantham House, 1990); S.G. Brosnahan, "The Battle of the Borough and the Saige O' Timaru: Sectarian Riot in Colonial Canterbury" (paper presented to the New Zealand Historical Association Conference, May 1991); A. Davidson, *Christianity in Aotearoa: a History of Church and Society in New Zealand* (Wellington: The New Zealand Education for Ministry Board, 1991), pp. 85-88.

drew only limited support.<sup>19</sup> Several short-lived anti-Catholic organizations, exercised over such issues as the over-representation of Catholics in the public service and the defence of secular education, attracted only small memberships early in the twentieth century.<sup>20</sup> There was an outcry among aggrieved Protestants over the 1907 *Ne Temere* decree which required mixed marriages to be solemnized by a priest.<sup>21</sup> Responding in 1913 to Cleary's opposition to the Bible in Schools League, Dean A.R. Fitchett recalled Protestantism's emancipation from "the spiritual tyranny" of "Rome" and denounced the hierarchy's attempt "to restrict the rights and liberties of people not of its fold".<sup>22</sup> Only in more troubled times, however, would the New Zealand Parliament deign to offer the long-sought legislative response.

The sectarian strife which broke out during World War I was more intense, more widespread and more prolonged than earlier outbreaks because of the unique conjunction of stresses which gave rise to it. In this discussion, divided into two sections, each of the main sources and consequences of the sectarian epidemic will be evaluated. Before the war, the Bible in Schools campaign and the rise of the Catholic Federation aroused sectarian antipathy. Then, during the war, another controversy arose over conscripting seminarians and Marist Brothers. (Prohibition, although it was not strictly a sectarian issue, also tended to divide the community along sectarian lines, as will be seen later in this chapter.) Antagonism between Catholics and other sections of the community was heightened by Kelly, although Cleary's more eirenic journalism and his contribution to the war-effort earned considerable respect. Nevertheless, the

<sup>19</sup> Moores, pp. 28, 31-32; O'Connor, "Sectarian Conflict", p. 3; Sweetman, pp. 27, 30, 33.

<sup>20</sup> Moores, pp. 31-33, 120-121; Satchell, pp. 11-12; Davidson, p. 87; W.J. Gardner, "W.F. Massey in Power, 1912-1925", *Political Science*, 13/1 (March 1961), p. 25.

<sup>21</sup> See, for example, PGA, 1911, pp. 51-52, 279-281; MAC, 1914, p. 120; 1915, pp. 112-113. A month-long controversy in the correspondence columns of the Christchurch *Press* is recorded in H.W. Cleary, *Catholic Marriages* (Dunedin: New Zealand Tablet, 1908), pp. 20-60. O'Connor, "Sectarian Conflict", pp. 3-4 suggests that the explosion of the *Ne Temere* "timebomb" was delayed by the war and "the Bible" (presumably a reference to the Bible in Schools controversy). See also L.H. Barber, "A Canon Law Challenge to Civil Law? A New Zealand Response to the *Ne Temere* Decree", *New Zealand Law Journal* (20 September 1977) 365-368. M.N. Garing, "Against the Tide: Social, Moral and Political Questions in the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, 1840-1970" (Victoria University of Wellington Ph.D. thesis in Religious Studies, 1989), pp. 189-192 reviews Presbyterian reactions but is quite misleading in suggesting that these led directly to the 1920 Marriage Amendment Act, whose origins will be discussed below.

<sup>22</sup> Fitchett was referring in particular to the requirement that Protestants who married Catholics had to agree that their children be given a Catholic education. A.R. Fitchett, *Bible in State Schools League. Bishop Cleary and other Objectors answered*. (Dunedin: Otago Daily Times, 1913; reprinted from the *Outlook*, 24 June 1913), p. 1.

identification of New Zealand Catholics with rebellion in Ireland - an identification fostered by Kelly - was to reach a climax in the prosecution of Liston for sedition. Meanwhile, Protestant fears over Catholic disloyalty and assertiveness were exploited by Elliott, although the PPA represented only a vocal minority of Protestants. Massey and the Reform Government made some important concessions to the PPA, most notably the Marriage Amendment Act, but soon recognized that being closely identified with the sectarian lobby was electorally disadvantageous. Sectarian strife in New Zealand, it will be argued, reflected international developments: when overseas circumstances changed, and related local causes of tension abated, the sectarian epidemic itself came to an end.

Anti-Catholic sentiment was aroused in the course of the Bible in Schools campaign of 1911 to 1914 and by the establishment of the Catholic Federation. When the League, supported by the larger Protestant churches, demanded a referendum to endorse a programme of religious instruction in primary schools, it was strenuously opposed by the Catholic Church, especially Bishop Cleary, and the controversy naturally developed a sectarian dimension.<sup>23</sup> Towards the end of 1912, steps were taken to establish the Catholic Federation to defend the Church's interests.<sup>24</sup> Although the League went into recess after the outbreak of war, the Federation survived and was seen by fearful Protestants as evidence of a new assertiveness on the part of the Catholic Church. Indeed, having cut its teeth on the Bible in Schools campaign, the Federation began to contemplate further ambitions, such as recommending Catholic fiction to public libraries and "tactfully procuring the disappearance of books offensive to Catholics".<sup>25</sup> Preaching at a Mass before the half-yearly meeting of the Federation in March 1919, Liston, Rector of the Catholic Seminary, concluded that "sweet reasonableness" had achieved little for Catholic schools, so it was time to "combine

<sup>23</sup> Snook, pp. 62-64; O'Connor, "Sectarian Conflict", pp. 3-5; I. Breward, *Godless Schools? a Study of Protestant Reactions to the Education Act of 1877* (Christchurch: Presbyterian Bookroom, 1967), pp. 54-71.

<sup>24</sup> The Hibernian Australasian Catholic Benefit Society evidently took the initiative in the establishment of the Catholic Federation in New Zealand. After the Society's half-yearly meeting in Auckland in August 1912, a deputation called upon Cleary and his guest Redwood, who gave their approval. See Redwood and Cleary to District Officers of the HACBS, 27 September 1912, WCAA, and W. Kane (HACBS District Secretary) to Bishop Grimes (with a copy of the HACBS minutes), 4 October 1912, CCDA.

<sup>25</sup> Mary Goulter, referring to Federation activities in Auckland and Dunedin (*Month*, 15 May 1928, p. 25); cf. O'Connor, "Protestants", p. 186.

and fight".<sup>26</sup> Catholics thought that the sacrifices of their young men in war earned them the right to educational concessions,<sup>27</sup> but their Protestant critics saw them as exploiting wartime conditions to pursue their unreasonable demands. A meeting between Federation representatives and the Minister of Education, J.A. Hanan, in August 1917, served only to emphasize their apparently irreconcilable differences.<sup>28</sup>

Had it benefitted from the guidance of Cleary, who was the most able political lobbyist in the Catholic hierarchy, the Federation might have achieved its ends by exercising greater discretion. However, Cleary's relations with the Federation were uneasy.<sup>29</sup> In March 1919, the half-yearly meeting of the Auckland Catholic Federation received a letter from Cleary commending the organization's work but quoting J.H. Newman to the effect that the laity ought to be "not arrogant, nor rash in speech, nor disputatious."<sup>30</sup> In 1920, while acknowledging the need for the Federation, Cleary told the Auckland branch that it was "sick and in need of a tonic". He criticized the Federation for "indiscreet publicity", engaging in more talk than action and occasionally speaking in the name of the Church without the permission of the bishops. He warned that the Federation should not have occasion to distribute any matter which would prove embarrassing if published and that it should not indulge in vituperative language. If the organization engaged in party politics, he would "call upon the clergy and the laity" to suppress it in the Auckland diocese.<sup>31</sup> Cleary's journal, the *Month*, gave little direct endorsement to the Federation, although it did

<sup>26</sup> *Report of the Proceedings of the Thirteenth half-yearly meeting of the Dominion Council of the Catholic Federation...Dunedin, 5th March, 1919* (Dunedin: NZ Tablet Co.), p. 7; *NZ Tablet*, 20 March 1919, p. 13.

<sup>27</sup> *Month*, 15 July 1918, p. 12; *NZ Tablet*, 12 February 1920, p. 21.

<sup>28</sup> *Evening Post*, 1 September 1916, p. 3; Moores, pp. 54-57; O'Connor, "'Protestants'", p. 187; Sweetman, pp. 97-100.

<sup>29</sup> Brodie, in an undated statement written (in 1929) for Archbishop Cattaneo, the Apostolic Delegate, attributed Cleary's hostility to the Federation to his believing an inaccurate account of references to his role in the Bible in Schools controversy made at a Federation meeting (copy in CCD). Cattaneo came to New Zealand in 1929 to investigate deteriorating relations between Liston and Cleary (O'Regan diary, 3 September 1929 and 5 December 1929, ATL 76-165-2/2). According to Sweetman (p. 173), Cleary boycotted the Federation between 1915 and 1918 because it had refused to cover his expenses in the controversy.

<sup>30</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 21 March 1918, p. 29.

<sup>31</sup> *Month*, 15 November 1920, p. 4; *NZ Tablet*, 21 October 1920, p. 26; Cleary to the editor, *NZ Tablet*, 4 November 1920, p. 32. It may be indicative of Kelly's position that although Cleary's letter was the only one printed, the usual editorial rubric was placed at the head of the column: "We do not hold ourselves responsible for opinions expressed by our correspondents."

publish mid-year enrolment advertisements and, before the 1919 election, rebutted the charge that the establishment of the PPA was necessitated by the political actions of the Catholic Federation.<sup>32</sup>

If the Catholic Federation was a paper tiger, it seemed fearsome indeed to wary Protestants who noted its appetite more closely than its strength.<sup>33</sup> PPA secretary W.D. More claimed that the Federation's "frankly avowed objective was interference in politics, by an organised religious vote, in the interests of Roman Catholic educational ideals." The Federation had "decided to form its own political party, 'running' its own candidates" and the establishment of the PPA was "the logical result of the bigoted intolerance revealed in this latest political move of the Roman Catholic Church."<sup>34</sup> In the middle of 1923, the Federation quite suddenly ceased to exist. There does not seem to have been any public discussion or even an official announcement. P.D. Hoskins, the Dominion Treasurer, wrote to the directors of the Tablet Company that the Executive no longer required its free subscription because the Federation had gone out of existence.<sup>35</sup>

The coincidence of renewed Catholic assertiveness with the tensions of wartime was heightened by the controversy over the conscription of Marist Brothers and theological students in 1917.<sup>36</sup> New Zealand's Catholic community overwhelmingly supported the "just war" against Germany and a prayer for victory was regularly

<sup>32</sup> *Month*, 14 June 1919, pp. 3, 14; 13 December 1919, p. 5; 15 June 1920, p. 13; 15 June 1922, pp. 4, 16. At the latter date, when a whole page was devoted to the advertisement, Cleary himself was overseas.

<sup>33</sup> According to Sweetman, earlier writers adopted the PPA interpretation by blaming the Catholic Church and especially the Catholic Federation for the rise of sectarianism (Sweetman, pp. 26-27, 95 - citing Davis, *Irish Issues*, p. 89; Moores, pp. 34, 52-53; O'Connor, "Sectarian Conflict", p. 3; "'Protestants'", p. 185). However, these authors do not attribute sole responsibility to the Federation, as Sweetman implies, and whatever the actual scope of Federation activities and ambitions, it cannot be doubted that it scared some Protestants. This is not to say that their apprehensions were fully justified.

<sup>34</sup> Open letter to A.J. Entrican, *NZ Herald*, 29 November 1919, p. 12.

<sup>35</sup> NZ Tablet Company, Board of Directors, minutes, 11 June 1923 (the minute books are held by the company).

<sup>36</sup> For the conscription issue see especially Moores, pp. 67-85; O'Connor, "Storm" and "Sectarian Conflict", pp. 6-7, 9; Cadogan, pp. 50-53; Sweetman, chapter six and page 176; P. Baker, *King and Country Call: New Zealanders, Conscription and the Great War* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1988), pp. 124-132. As Sweetman (p. 109) points out, Davis (*Irish Issues*, p. 212) is incorrect in asserting that "the Catholic authorities...opposed conscription in the first war". Davis was misled by J.A. Lee, *Simple on a Soapbox* (Auckland: Collins, 1963), p. 254.

included in Masses.<sup>37</sup> However, Catholic loyalty was easily overlooked in the light of episcopal opposition to conscription in Australia and the acrimonious squabble over clerical conscription in New Zealand.<sup>38</sup> James Allen, acting Prime Minister and Minister of Defence, promised the Catholic authorities that priests, seminarians and religious brothers called up for service would be exempted on presentation to their local Military Service Board of a certificate from A.M. Myers, the Minister of Munitions and Supplies. When some boards refused to recognize the certificates, Archbishop Thomas O'Shea denounced Allen and there was a public outcry over alleged special treatment of Marist Brothers and Catholic seminarians. Principal Charles Garland of the Methodist Theological College, who chaired the inaugural meeting of the PPA, announced that its motto would be "Equal Rights for All; Special Privileges for None" and went on to ask why Marist Brothers should be exempt from military service when Protestant theological students had gone to war.<sup>39</sup> By 1918, however, the issue was resolved: the Church was finally granted the concessions it sought and the increasing exemption of state school teachers from conscription undermined claims of special treatment for the Brothers.<sup>40</sup>

Much of the blame for the revival of anti-Catholic sentiment after 1917 must be attributed to Kelly, the newly appointed editor of the *Tablet*.<sup>41</sup> Kelly supplied evidence for charges of disloyalty made against the Church, not least by his notorious reference to Queen Victoria as "A certain fat old German woman".<sup>42</sup> Writing in 1922, the Baptist J.J. North declared that the *Tablet* "reeks with sedition", disseminating "the

37 Gustafson, *Labour's Path*, p. 110 (referring to priests on the West Coast); Sweetman, p. 85; Cadogan, pp. 39-40; H. Laracy, "Priests, People and Patriotism: New Zealand Catholics and War, 1914-1918, *Australasian Catholic Record*, 70/1 (January 1993), pp. 14-26. For the victory prayer, see the *Evening Post*, 7 January 1918, p. 3.

38 In Australia, two referenda had failed to endorse conscription and since the most prominent opponent of conscription was Archbishop Mannix, an undue proportion of the "blame" was placed on the Catholic Church.

39 *NZ Herald*, 12 July 1917, p. 6.

40 Baker, p. 132.

41 For Kelly's background and outlook, see Moores, pp. 64-67; O'Connor, "Sectarian Conflict", p. 6; "Protestants", pp. 186-190; Davis, *Irish Issues*, pp. 194-195; Cadogan, pp. 59-61 and especially Sweetman, pp. 142-154.

42 *NZ Tablet*, 1 November 1917, p. 13. Kelly was unrepentant: he later argued that it was inconsistent to persecute people with German associations when the King himself was of German descent (*ibid.*, 5 December 1918, p. 15), joked about his "truthful reference to a royal person" (*ibid.*, 28 March 1928, p. 4) and alluded on yet another occasion to "the Kaiser's aunt" (*ibid.*, 23 January 1929, p. 5).

vilest calumnies against the Empire".<sup>43</sup> Kelly was also gratuitously offensive towards Protestantism: "Why worry about sin and morality when Luther taught good Protestants that such things did not matter?".<sup>44</sup> He traced all contemporary evils back to the Protestant Reformation: "All the seeds of modern anarchy, all the principles of modern unrest are contained in the Protestant doctrine of private judgment."<sup>45</sup> Far from seeking to encourage cordial relations with the rest of the society, Kelly saw conflict as a means of galvanizing the Catholic community and offered thanks to the Church's opponents for goading Catholics into action.<sup>46</sup> He was unashamedly militant: "The policy of turning the other cheek is a council [*sic*] of perfection for the individual, but as a community we will be respected in proportion as we assert and defend our rights."<sup>47</sup> When Hanan withdrew funding for the swimming lessons of private school children, Kelly warned that "the government has done its part in urging the Catholics of New Zealand to become rebels, and no mistake."<sup>48</sup> Kelly's preoccupation with the rights of Catholic schools and the struggle for Irish independence led him to despise Massey ("Lord Limavady")<sup>49</sup> and his Reform Government (the "Massey Muddlement").<sup>50</sup> Massey, an "ill-mannered, uncouth ignoramus" was "led by the nose by a mob of bigots" and "imposed on New Zealand as punishment for her sins".<sup>51</sup> Kelly charged that New Zealand was "run by atheists"

<sup>43</sup> J.J. North, *Roman Catholicism: Roots and Fruits* (Napier: printed by G.W. Venables and Co. Ltd, 1922), p. 3.

<sup>44</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 15 July 1920, pp. 25-26; cf. the article on Calvinism (*ibid.*, 13 February 1919, p. 17) and Kelly's assertion that, "Apart from Catholics, other denominations have lost their grip of religion. They do not seriously, at least in great numbers, try to square their lives by eternal principles" (*NZ Tablet*, 2 December 1920, p. 14).

<sup>45</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 4 March 1920, p. 15.

<sup>46</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 13 March 1919, p. 14; 13 May 1920, p. 14; 16 December 1920, p. 14; 31 March 1921, p. 15 (quoted below); cf. Sweetman, p. 151.

<sup>47</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 1 November 1923, p. 29; cf. 31 March 1921, p. 15 (Catholics must be "united as one man and prepared to fight to the last ditch for our rights").

<sup>48</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 1 January 1920, p. 15.

<sup>49</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 11 November 1920, p. 26; 16 December 1920, p. 14; 6 January 1921, p. 25; 4 August 1921, p. 25. Limavady was Massey's birthplace.

<sup>50</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 6 January 1921, p. 25; 20 January 1921, p. 14; 12 January 1922, p. 14; 22 February 1923, p. 18.

<sup>51</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 20 November 1919, p. 26; 20 January 1921, p. 14; cf. Kelly's description of the Government as "the tool of rabid bigots who hate us" (*ibid.*, 31 March 1921, p. 15). After Massey died, the *Tablet* claimed that "our attacks were directed, not against the man, but against the legislator and his colleagues in office" - a distinction which was scarcely evident at the time (*NZ Tablet*, 13 May 1925, p. 34).

who "seem to hate the name of Christ".<sup>52</sup> In 1921, fearful of Socialist influence at a time of economic recession and industrial unrest, the Government sought to promote patriotism and social solidarity by reintroducing compulsory flag-saluting in schools - a war-time measure which had subsequently lapsed.<sup>53</sup> Kelly supposed that "flag-flapping" was intended to compensate for the children's "ignorance of God and of the principles of Christianity".<sup>54</sup>

During the war, Kelly's open support for Sinn Fein almost led to his prosecution for sedition.<sup>55</sup> In August 1918, he received a warning from Sir Francis Bell, the Attorney-General, after publishing a paper delivered by Father M. Edge to the Newman Society in Auckland.<sup>56</sup> Responding to PPA claims linking Protestantism with progress, Edge argued that the Catholic Church had always championed the cause of the working class, which had suffered because of the Reformation.<sup>57</sup> Taking action against the *Tablet* would scarcely have achieved the aim of restoring domestic harmony in wartime and the Government contented itself with suppressing the short-lived *Green Ray*, an aggressively republican newspaper which did not receive official ecclesiastical support because of its strictures against the hierarchy.<sup>58</sup> On educational and Irish issues in particular, the editor of the *Tablet* was left to continue sparring with the secular "day-lies"<sup>59</sup> especially the *Otago Daily Times* (the *Otago D.T's*)<sup>60</sup> and its columnist "Civis".<sup>61</sup>

52 *NZ Tablet*, 20 October 1921, p. 25; cf. 28 December 1922, p. 29 (Parr and Massey accused of irreligion).

53 Liz Gordon and Roger Openshaw, "The Social Significance of Flag-Raising in Schools", *Delta*, 34 (July 1984) 55-62.

54 *NZ Tablet*, 9 June 1921, p. 15.

55 O'Connor, "'Protestants'", p. 190; *idem*, "Sectarian Conflict", p. 6; Cadogan, pp. 65-66; Sweetman, p. 163; cf. *NZPD*, 1917, vol. 180, p. 106 (Attorney-General Herdman).

56 Kelly to P.J. O'Regan, ATL 76-165 6/26; cf. Kelly's allusion to having received "now and then a warning from the Attorney-General" (*NZ Tablet*, 26 December 1918, p. 15).

57 *NZ Tablet*, 8 August 1918, pp. 10-11, 13.

58 Moores, pp. 61-64; Davis, *Irish Issues*, pp. 193-198; Cadogan, p. 55-56, 63-65; N.A. Simmons, p. 122. The *Green Ray* also provoked anti-Irish sentiment in New Zealand (O'Connor, "Sectarian Conflict", p. 11).

59 *NZ Tablet*, 20 February 1919, p. 14; 20 January 1921, p. 14; 3 February 1921, p. 14; 10 March 1921, p. 14; 14 July 1921, p. 26.

60 Moores, pp. 66-67; O'Connor, "'Protestants'", p. 189; *NZ Tablet*, 20 January 1921, p. 14; 17 March 1921, p. 15; 5 May 1921, p. 18; cf. 22 October 1924, p. 19 (letter by J. Robinson; but cf. *ibid.* 17 November 1921, p. 27 for an item congratulating the *Times* on its 60th birthday).

61 *NZ Tablet*, 17 April 1919, p. 25; 10 July 1919, p. 15; 4 September 1919, p. 14; 18 September 1919, p. 26; 29 July 1920, p. 14; 4 August 1921, p. 14; 2 March 1922, p. 14; 28 June 1923, p. 18; 24 September 1924, p. 18. For a schematic review of the *Tablet's* Irish policy, see Davis, *Irish Issues*,

Kelly's threats and invective were a source of embarrassment to some middle class Catholics who sought a peaceful *modus vivendi* with the rest of New Zealand society.<sup>62</sup> Even P.J. O'Regan, who shared much of Kelly's outlook and corresponded with him over many years, could write in his diary that Kelly was "just an average political obscurantist", whose "stock-in-trade in politics consists mainly of hatred of England."<sup>63</sup> But Kelly had strong clerical and lay endorsement. Both Bishop Michael Verdon and Father (later Monsignor) James Coffey - who administered the Dunedin diocese from before Verdon's death in 1918 until the arrival of Bishop James Whyte in 1920 - were inclined to support Kelly.<sup>64</sup> On the day of his consecration - to Kelly's delight - the new Bishop explicitly commended the *Tablet's* Irish policy.<sup>65</sup> In a statement more typical of Kelly's sarcastic and "disloyal" wit, Whyte even entertained a 1922 St Patrick's day audience by suggesting that it was appropriate for teachers to have to take the new oath of allegiance on the first of April.<sup>66</sup> Kelly received support from some of the clergy and the Catholic Federation, while Archbishop Francis Redwood, who must have been aware of Kelly's character when releasing him from the archdiocese to work for the *Tablet*, endorsed similar views on Ireland.<sup>67</sup> In January 1918, the clergy of Dunedin, assembled in synod and presided over by Verdon, endorsed "the strong, self-reliant, and self-determined attitude taken up by the present editor of the *N.Z. Tablet*", seeing criticism of Kelly as evidence of his effectiveness.<sup>68</sup>

(Footnote continued from previous page.)

pp. 200-203. Kelly's views on state aid will be noted below in chapter six.

<sup>62</sup> O'Connor, "Protestants", pp. 189-190 (citing correspondence by J.A. Scott - Kelly's predecessor as *Tablet* editor - and J.M. Twomey); M.D. Clark, "The Roman Response to the Protestant Mission: Bishop Cleary and the Bible-in-Schools in the 1920s" (University of Auckland M.A. research paper in History, 1984), p. 12 (also quoting from Scott's letter); Sweetman, pp. 361-362 (citing Twomey).

<sup>63</sup> O'Regan diary, 28 November 1932, ATL 76-165-2/5.

<sup>64</sup> O'Connor, "Protestants", p. 199; Sweetman, pp. 158, 225, 290; but cf. Cadogan, pp. 66-68.

<sup>65</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 16 December 1920, pp. 14, 22-23; cf. Cadogan, p. 75, quoting from a 1921 speech by Whyte reported in *The Dominican Star, 1900-1932* (Dunedin: NZ Tablet Co., 1932), p. 105.

<sup>66</sup> *NZ Herald*, 20 March 1922, p. 8.

<sup>67</sup> For resolutions commending Kelly's editorial policy, see *NZ Tablet*, 24 January 1918, p. 26 (various tributes, including one from the Christchurch Diocesan Council of the Catholic Federation); 3 October 1918, p. 35 (Hibernians in Greymouth); 11 March 1920, p. 33 (Wellington Diocesan Council of Catholic Federation); Sweetman, p. 173 (citing Brodie to Cleary, 28 January 1918, reporting on the Christchurch Diocesan Council). On Redwood, see N.A. Simmons, pp. 122-123; Davis, *Irish Issues*, p. 194; Sweetman, pp. 220-221, 292-293.

<sup>68</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 24 January 1918, p. 25 (cf. O'Connor, "Protestants", p. 189, citing the *Otago Daily Times*, 22 January 1918 - with slightly different wording).

Two years later, Kelly was given a testimonial from the clergy of the diocese and a cheque (presented by Coffey) for £600, to which supporters from throughout the country had subscribed.<sup>69</sup>

Cleary was the most consistent and determined Catholic opponent of Kelly, but his efforts received only intermittent support from the rest of the episcopate.<sup>70</sup> The hierarchy repeatedly sought - and received - assurances of reform from the editor. At their May 1917 meeting in Wellington, the bishops agreed "that Dr. Kelly be asked to exercise more tact" and Bishop Brodie reported that in response to a letter from him, Kelly had already promised "to adopt a more conciliatory policy."<sup>71</sup> At Cleary's insistence - and contrary to the wishes of the other bishops, who accepted Kelly's pledge of good behaviour - the *Tablet's* Board of Directors reluctantly agreed in December to delete the words "Sole organ of the Catholic body in New Zealand" from the journal's mast-head.<sup>72</sup> Fearing renewed attacks on religious schools before the 1919 election, Cleary wrote to Brodie that the *Tablet's* "tone and temper" would prove a hindrance to the Catholic cause.<sup>73</sup> In 1922, Whyte received a letter from Rome warning of the harm caused by Kelly's attacks on the Government and his ecclesiastical superiors. Replying to the Apostolic Delegate in Sydney, Kelly suggested that the views of Redwood and several Australian bishops be considered rather than those of "anonymous calumniators". Writing to O'Regan, he noted that the complaint had been written while Cleary and Brodie were in Rome.<sup>74</sup>

Blaming Kelly for the ill-feeling directed against the Catholic community, Cleary sought to offer a more judicious defence of the Church. While it is difficult to measure their respective influence during the height of the sectarian epidemic, it must be supposed that Cleary's efforts mitigated to some extent the antagonism aroused by Kelly. Awarded an OBE for his services as a chaplain in France during the war,

<sup>69</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 29 January 1920, pp. 18-19; cf. the loose page ("Testimonial to Editor, *N.Z. Tablet*", signed by Coffey and other priests and dated 18 November 1919) circulated to readers during Kelly's absence in Australia for the Irish Convention to solicit donations (enclosed with *NZ Tablet*, 27 November 1919).

<sup>70</sup> Sweetman, pp. 157-158, 174-175, 181, 185-190, 246, 275-277, 328-332, 366-367, 371.

<sup>71</sup> Minutes of the bishops' meeting, May 1917, CCDA. The matter had been raised by Monsignor Mahony, Administrator of the Auckland diocese (in Cleary's absence); the others at the meeting were O'Shea, Brodie and Verdon.

<sup>72</sup> Coffey to Cleary, 12 December 1917, copy in CCDA.

<sup>73</sup> Cleary to Brodie, 4 August 1919, CCDA.

<sup>74</sup> Kelly to O'Regan, 22 November 1922 and 10 December 1922, ATL 76-165-6/26.

Cleary was widely respected outside his own Church.<sup>75</sup> In the August 1919 edition of the *Month*, he reprinted a passage from the inaugural address of W. Gray Dixon, Moderator of the Presbyterian General Assembly, describing it as "an earnest and powerful appeal for a union of the scattered forces of a divided Christendom, in the face of the world-crisis of our day" and remarking upon its "real eloquence and deep Christian feeling."<sup>76</sup> Dixon replied with a letter thanking Cleary for his "gracious and generous references" to the address. He was especially heartened because of Cleary's own "well-known literary gifts" and his "exalted spiritual position."<sup>77</sup> Cleary often travelled to Wellington to represent Catholic interests and sought to cultivate good relations with the country's politicians, not least Massey himself.<sup>78</sup> Against the advice of the other bishops, he established the *Month* in 1918 largely because of his dissatisfaction with Kelly's editorship of the *Tablet*, which Cleary himself had edited until his appointment to the see of Auckland in 1910.<sup>79</sup>

In contrast to Kelly's abusive polemics, the *Month* provided a forum for Cleary's long and carefully reasoned apologies for the Catholic Church. Numerous articles were reprinted as pamphlets for distribution among non-Catholics and Cleary also made use of the secular press. Taking anti-Catholic propaganda seriously, he composed detailed rebuttals, for example when North, returning from a trip to Europe in 1923, contrasted the allegedly high levels of illiteracy in Catholic countries with the better educated Protestant nations.<sup>80</sup> Beginning in June 1918, the Auckland newspapers published a series of open letters, devised by Cleary, offering substantial sums to the Red Cross if the PPA could prove specified charges which had been laid

<sup>75</sup> On Cleary's war-service, see Laracy, pp. 21-24. Kelly's frequent disparaging and sarcastic references to the award and its holders reflected not only his antagonism towards England but also his disapproval of any Irishman who accepted British honours (*NZ Tablet*, 9 June 1921, p. 15; 14 July 1921, p. 26; 31 August 1922, p. 14; 7 December 1922, p. 19; 21 December 1922, p. 19; 22 March 1923, p. 18; 9 August 1923, p. 19; 12 June 1924, p. 18). After the announcement of Cleary's award, Kelly published a photograph of the Bishop in military uniform (*ibid.*, 5 June 1919, p. 28).

<sup>76</sup> *Month*, 15 August 1919, p. 16.

<sup>77</sup> *Month*, 15 September 1919, p. 3.

<sup>78</sup> For Cleary's role in opposing the 1920 Marriage Amendment Act, see below; for the Bible in Schools controversy, see chapter seven. Other evidence of Cleary's relations with politicians is given in Sweetman, pp. 65-66, 257, 346-349.

<sup>79</sup> Cleary, autobiographical notes, August 1921, pp. 13-14, ACDA CLE 3-2; Brodie, statement (1929), CCDA; Sweetman, p. 182-185.

<sup>80</sup> *Month*, 15 November 1923, pp. 19-22.

against the Church and its members in a number of pamphlets.<sup>81</sup> With apparent impunity, the PPA largely ignored the challenges, but was forced to retract the assertion that Father John Brennan, over whose name they appeared, had not been justified in signing himself "Late Chaplain to the New Zealand Expeditionary Forces".<sup>82</sup> Cleary renewed the challenges in 1921.<sup>83</sup> Reviewing recent Protestant-Catholic controversies, he offered in 1923 an apologia for the challenges: "In 1918, we in Auckland showed...that there is a very conclusive method of dealing with those assailants who are too coarse, or too irrational, or too insignificant to be reasoned with under the normal forms of discussion."<sup>84</sup> He also took the opportunity to criticize Kelly's style of controversy, even suggesting that a Catholic writer should apologize if he had resorted to using abusive personal epithets:

Violent or vituperative language, or bitter personalities in exposition or defence, are unbecoming in themselves. Socially, too, they are "bad form." And they are a blot upon the exalted dignity of the sacred truth or of the holy faith which it is both the duty and the privilege of the Catholic writer to defend.<sup>85</sup>

In contrast to Kelly's duelling with the *Otago Daily Times* and other journals, Cleary recalled "the fair, courteous and friendly treatment extended to us, by our confrères of the daily press all over the Dominion" in publishing his responses to misrepresentations of the Church.<sup>86</sup>

Arguably the most fertile source of discord in New Zealand was the Irish problem, which became especially divisive after the Easter Rising of 1916. However, the inescapable tension between loyalty to the cause of Irish independence and loyalty to the British Empire also divided the Catholic community itself. Kelly and Cleary in particular, both Wexford-born advocates of Irish self-determination, promoted the cause in quite divergent ways. Both Cleary's *Month* and the *Tablet* under Kelly's

81 *NZ Herald*, 26 June 1918, p. 9; 28 August 1918, p. 9; O'Connor, "Sectarian Conflict", p. 11; "Protestants", pp. 199-200; Moores, pp. 258-259, 331-334; Sweetman, pp. 195-200, 382. For an account of the challenges, see the *Month*, 15 November 1918, pp. 10-12.

82 *NZ Herald*, 9 July 1918, p. 7 (reply to the first three challenges). For the apology, see *ibid.*, 16 November 1918, p. 4; *NZ Tablet*, 5 December 1918, p. 21; *Month*, 14 December 1918, pp. 5, 9-10.

83 *Month*, 22 January 1921, pp. 3-4; 15 February 1921, pp. 3, 7; 15 March 1921, pp. 3-4.

84 *Month*, 15 August 1923, p. 7. The immediate occasion for this article was the response of B.J. Gondringer SM to allegations by V.H. Potter MP about oaths attributed to Catholics (see below).

85 *Month*, 15 August 1923, p. 9. For further discussion of Cleary's approach to sectarian controversy, see *Month*, 15 July 1918, p. 11 and 15 January 1924, pp. 21-22.

86 *Month*, 15 October 1923, p. 3; cf. 15 October 1929, p. 19 (eulogy for Sir George Fenwick, editor of the *Otago Daily Times*).

editorship demanded that England support in the case of Ireland the rights of "small nations" for which it had ostensibly fought the war against Germany.<sup>87</sup> The *Tablet* was more extreme and fuelled fears of Catholic disloyalty by espousing the cause of Sinn Fein, which was republican in principle and prepared to use violence.<sup>88</sup> Nevertheless, Kelly's militant rhetoric tended to obscure a relatively moderate position: he argued that Sinn Fein was not committed to republicanism or violence and would accept for Ireland a similar measure of self-government to that accorded other British colonies.<sup>89</sup> Early in 1919, the *Tablet* Company Directors deputed Thomas Hussey to speak to Kelly about the journal's Irish policy, namely that it advocated Home Rule and dominion status for an undivided Ireland; Hussey reported having a "satisfactory interview" with the editor.<sup>90</sup> Cleary's *Month* advanced a similar demand but refrained from endorsing Sinn Fein.<sup>91</sup> The Bishop of Auckland prohibited the display of Irish flags and nationalist symbols at Catholic gatherings in his diocese.<sup>92</sup> Elsewhere, flags were used. During the St Patrick's Day sports at Lancaster Park in 1920, the Irish flag was flown from the main staff and the Union Jack from the new members' stand - until their positions were reversed at the behest of H.B. Gould, Secretary of the park's Board of Control. The St Patrick's Sports Association complained but the Board endorsed the Secretary's action.<sup>93</sup> In 1919, inspired by Kelly, St Patrick's Day gatherings throughout the country passed resolutions in favour of Irish self-government.<sup>94</sup> Kelly also promoted (and attended) the Irish-Australasian Convention organized by Archbishop Daniel Mannix of Melbourne in November 1919.<sup>95</sup>

87 *NZ Tablet*, 20 February 1919, pp. 25-26; 1 May 1919, p. 14; 8 January 1920, p. 26; *Month*, 15 April 1920, p. 4.

88 *NZ Tablet*, 26 December 1918, p. 15.

89 *NZ Tablet*, 2 May 1918, p. 9 (editorial reply to "Home Ruler"); 27 February 1919, p. 26; 8 May 1919, p. 26; 18 September 1919, p. 15 (Sinn Fein was "opposed in principle to armed force under the present circumstances").

90 *NZ Tablet* Company, Board of Directors, minutes, 20 January 1919 and 10 February 1919.

91 *Month*, 15 July 1918, p. 16; 15 March 1920, p. 7.

92 Sweetman, pp. 212-213, 294-295, 383.

93 *Press*, 21 May 1920, p. 6.

94 *NZ Tablet*, 13 February 1919, pp. 14; 26; 20 March 1919, p. 28; 27 March 1919, pp. 14, 21-23; 3 April 1919, pp. 18-19, 27. Further resolutions were passed at concerts in 1921 (*ibid.*, 24 March 1921, pp. 18-23, 28).

95 *NZ Tablet*, 20 November 1919, pp. 9-21, 25-26; contrast the brief report on the Convention in the *Month*, 15 November 1919, p. 21.

Redwood, describing himself as an Englishman who was indignant over England's misrule in Ireland, was one of the key speakers at the Convention and the most outspoken exponent of Irish nationalism in the New Zealand hierarchy.<sup>96</sup> This role earned him the admiration of Kelly, who criticized other unnamed Catholics, including bishops, for their "opposition to Ireland" - by which he meant opposition to his own brand of Irish politics.<sup>97</sup> Along with Kelly and most of the bishops, Redwood promoted the Irish Self-Determination Fund initiated by the Convention, but Cleary thwarted collection for the fund in his diocese.<sup>98</sup> The *Tablet* provided a platform for the short-lived Self-Determination for Ireland League, which was established in May 1921 under the presidency of P.J. O'Regan, and dissolved in September the following year. As well as seeking to correct "the systematic misrepresentation of Irish affairs by the cable agency and the daily press", the League sent three representatives to the Irish Race Conference held in Paris in January 1922.<sup>99</sup>

Not only was Catholic opinion divided over how best to advocate the cause of Irish independence, but Protestants were also somewhat divided. An extreme view was advanced by the PPA:

The solemn truth is that the British Government has hesitated too long and too often in applying the real remedy for Ireland's ills - a ruthless extermination of priests and their plotting dupes. Romanism made necessary Cromwell's campaign. Romanism is making it plain again to-day.<sup>100</sup>

In a series of letters to the *Outlook*, Christchurch poet Jessie Mackay urged the Presbyterian Church to endorse Irish demands for self-determination and to condemn

<sup>96</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 20 November 1919, pp. 13-15. For articles by Redwood, see *ibid.*, 14 August 1919, pp. 11, 13; 1 September 1921, p. 14. For Redwood's Irish views, see N.A. Simmons, pp. 110-127.

<sup>97</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 15 December 1921, pp. 25-26; cf. 18 December 1919, pp. 14-15 for a diatribe against "persons who under the cloak of a hypocritical friendship of Ireland rarely lose an opportunity to attack her" (the passage, which alluded to persons "who were quite active militarists not a long time ago" and who were "neither true men nor true Catholics, whatever may be their rank or profession in life" was obviously directed at Cleary).

<sup>98</sup> Redwood letter to clergy, 12 December 1919, MAW; *NZ Tablet*, 8 January 1920, pp. 15, 17 (Kelly and Redwood); 13 May 1920, p. 28 (Brodie); 12 May 1921, p. 14 (Whyte and O'Shea); Sweetman, pp. 295-301. For indications of the amount raised in different dioceses (Wellington was the most generous), see *NZ Tablet*, 2 September 1920, pp. 14, 27; 23 September 1920, p. 17; 7 October 1920, p. 27; 2 December 1920, p. 22; O'Shea to Mannix, 23 April 1920 and J. Bowe to O'Shea, 17 August 1920, WCAA.

<sup>99</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 28 September 1922, p. 37. For examples of League publicity, see *ibid.* 17 March 1921, p. 14; 12 May 1921, pp. 14, 21; 2 June 1921, pp. 14, 21, 28; 21 July 1921, pp. 17-18; 6 October 1921, p. 13.

<sup>100</sup> *NZ Sentinel*, 1 June 1921, p. 2, quoted in *Month*, 15 June 1921, p. 3.

the British policy of reprisals against both soldiers and civilians during the 1919-1921 Anglo-Irish war. Her views were given some endorsement by the editor, but the Oamaru and Timaru Presbyteries condemned him not only for the views he expressed but even for giving space in the *Outlook* for the discussion.<sup>101</sup> Two of the representatives sent to Paris by the Self-Determination League were Protestants: A. Hall Skelton, an Anglican who was President of the Auckland branch, and the Presbyterian Mackay, whose expenses were paid by the League.<sup>102</sup>

With the signing of the Anglo-Irish Treaty in December 1921, there was little justification for further controversy in New Zealand, or for quarrelling between Kelly and Cleary. Only extremists like the PPA would now argue that Britain had conceded too much to Sinn Fein at the expense of Ulster Protestants.<sup>103</sup> According to Kelly, the Treaty constituted a "magnificent victory on nearly all the essential points" and the establishment of the "Free State" was "in accord with the aims of Sinn Fein" even though it fell short of the full measure of self-determination still sought.<sup>104</sup> He therefore deplored the division of the Irish nationalists into warring pro-Treaty and anti-Treaty factions.<sup>105</sup> Similarly, Cleary's *Month* commended the new Irish Government and joined with the Irish hierarchy in condemning the rebels.<sup>106</sup> On the dissolution of the Self-Determination League, O'Regan wrote in his diary,

Though yielding to no man in my desire to see justice done to Ireland, I am pleased to know that henceforth we will be able to give our undivided attention to our own country. Heaven knows she needs all we can do for her.<sup>107</sup>

<sup>101</sup> *Outlook* (28 February, 7 March, 14 March, 4 April, 11 April and 16 May 1921) as cited or reprinted in the *Month*, 15 April 1921, pp. 21-22; 11 May 1921, pp. 9-10; 15 June 1921, pp. 11, 13; *NZ Tablet*, 17 March 1921, p. 17; 7 April 1921, p. 23; cf. 9 June 1921, p. 37 and 29 September 1921, p. 17 for letters by Mackay to other newspapers.

<sup>102</sup> The other representative, J.J. McGrath, did not attend the Conference (which had been overtaken by the signing of the Treaty in December) and Hall Skelton did not report back before the League's dissolution (*NZ Tablet*, 13 October 1921, p. 23; 28 September 1922, p. 37). For Hall Skelton, see further *NZ Tablet*, 4 August 1921, p. 22; 25 May 1922, p. 18; *Month*, 15 June 1922, p. 15; for Mackay, see further *NZ Tablet*, 15 December 1921, p. 31 and 7 September 1922, pp. 21-22.

<sup>103</sup> Sweetman, p. 324 (citing *NZ Sentinel*, 2 January 1922).

<sup>104</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 15 December 1921, p. 14; cf. 23 February 1922, p. 14; 2 March 1922, p. 25.

<sup>105</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 16 February 1922, p. 25; 2 March 1922, p. 14. Initially, Kelly doubted reports that Eamonn de Valera rejected the agreement signed by his colleagues (*NZ Tablet*, 15 December 1921, p. 15).

<sup>106</sup> *Month*, 15 September 1922, p. 3; 16 October 1922, p. 3; 15 November 1922, pp. 5-7. Cleary himself was in Ireland at this time; see further Sweetman, pp. 324-326.

<sup>107</sup> O'Regan diary, 11 September 1922; cf. 29 August 1922, ATL 76-165-1/1.

However, Irish Catholics in New Zealand were not immediately exonerated from the suspicion of disloyalty.

Despite the Treaty, controversy over Ireland reached a climax in 1922 when Liston, now Coadjutor Bishop of Auckland, was unsuccessfully prosecuted for sedition.<sup>108</sup> At the St Patrick's Day concert in the Town Hall, Liston recalled that his Irish parents had been driven from their country so that their land could be used "as a cattle ranch for the snobs of the Empire" and he described the Treaty as merely the "first instalment" of Ireland's freedom. According to the *New Zealand Herald*, he "referred to the men and women who in the glorious Easter of 1916 were proud to die for their country - murdered by foreign troops." The report noted that the National Anthem was not sung at the concert.<sup>109</sup> New Zealanders who still thought of themselves as British were deeply offended. In Christchurch, for example, the Council of Christian Congregations declared itself "unable to believe that any man is a good New Zealander who defames the Empire."<sup>110</sup> Auckland's Mayor Gunson immediately and publicly denounced Liston for making a seditious speech which was "avowedly and openly disloyal to King and country, and...an affront to our citizenship"; he referred the matter to the Attorney-General and the Prime Minister.<sup>111</sup> Liston was condemned and Gunson supported by a number of organizations, especially the Auckland local bodies, and by newspaper editors throughout the country.<sup>112</sup> Amidst the public outcry, Cabinet decided, after consulting the Crown Law Office, to prosecute Liston for making seditious utterances.<sup>113</sup> Defended by O'Regan in the Supreme Court, Liston argued that the newspaper account had so condensed and

<sup>108</sup> For a largely narrative account of the Liston affair, see M.B. Laws, "The Sedition Trial of Bishop Liston" (University of Otago Postgraduate Diploma in Arts dissertation, 1980). Sweetman (pp. 315-327) offers a more useful account.

<sup>109</sup> *NZ Herald*, 18 March 1922, p. 10.

<sup>110</sup> *Press*, 21 March 1922, p. 6; *NZ Herald*, 21 March 1922, p. 6.

<sup>111</sup> *NZ Herald*, 20 March 1922, p. 6.

<sup>112</sup> For editorial comment, see *NZ Herald*, 18 March 1922, p. 22; 20 March 1922, p. 6; 23 March 1922, p. 4; 24 March 1923, p. 6; 25 March 1922, p. 8; *Auckland Star*, 18 March 1922, quoted in *Evening Post*, 20 March 1922, p. 7; *Evening Post*, 20 March 1922, p. 6; *Press*, 21 March 1922, p. 6; *Sun* (Christchurch), 20 March 1922, quoted in *NZ Herald*, 22 March 1922, p. 8; *Evening Star* (Dunedin), 20 March 1922, quoted in *Press*, 21 March 1922, p. 6; Sweetman, p. 321. For letters to the editor and resolutions of Auckland local bodies and other groups: *NZ Herald*, 21 March 1922, p. 6; 22 March 1922, p. 8; 23 March 1922, p. 6; 24 March 1922, p. 8; 25 March 1922, p. 10. The *Otago Daily Times* (7 April 1922, p. 5) was a notable exception amidst the clamour for prosecution.

<sup>113</sup> *Evening Post*, 25 March 1922, p. 6; *NZ Herald*, 27 March 1922, p. 6; *Month*, 15 June 1922, pp. 6-7 (includes a transcript of the summons to Liston).

distorted his speech as to give it a wholly unintended meaning. Only the victims of the Black and Tans had been described as "murdered by foreign troops" and the Bishop had had no intention of arousing dissension.<sup>114</sup> Justice Stringer was quite sympathetic towards the defendant, noting, for example, that to prove the charge it was necessary to demonstrate seditious intent on the basis of an accurate record of what had been said and that it was accepted even by the British Government that the Black and Tans had indeed committed murders. After only three quarters of an hour's deliberation, the jury found Liston "not guilty" but declared that he was partly responsible for the notoriety caused by the "grave indiscretion" of using words likely to offend a large number of people.<sup>115</sup>

By providing an outlet for the tensions accumulated since at least 1916, the trial not only laid bare the divisions over Irish nationalism within and outside the Catholic Church, but also offered a cathartic end to the Irish drama in New Zealand. A number of Catholics - especially those of English descent - were embarrassed that their religious affiliation linked them with Irish disloyalty towards the Empire. Of the letters criticizing Liston published in newspapers, a high proportion were written by Catholics who proclaimed their loyalty.<sup>116</sup> "Semper Fidelis" even suggested that Catholics might need to take more effective control of the schools and seminaries they funded if Liston exemplified what was taught in them. Otherwise Catholic education could prove to be "a hotbed for sedition and the training ground for mischief-making clergy".<sup>117</sup> After some hesitation, however, the Catholic laity rallied to Liston's cause,

<sup>114</sup> This version of what Liston actually said is corroborated by the evidence of Francis Carson, an *Auckland Star* journalist who was not asked to testify in the trial (Laws, p. 48). Unable to defeat the newly-formed Irish Republican Army, the Royal Irish Constabulary was reinforced in 1920 by demobilized British servicemen who became known, from the colour of their uniforms, as the Black and Tans.

<sup>115</sup> For the proceedings, see *NZ Herald*, 17 May 1922, p. 11; 18 May 1922, p. 9; *NZ Tablet*, 4 May 1922, pp. 21-22; 18 May 1922, pp. 22-24; 25 May 1922, pp. 18-23; *Month*, 15 June 1922, pp. 7-25; O'Regan diary, 15 May 1922-17 May 1922 and *passim*, ATL 76-165-1/1.

<sup>116</sup> A few of the Catholic letter-writers gave their names but most used pseudonyms: *NZ Herald*, 21 March 1922, p. 6 (Maurice Foley); 22 March 1922, p. 8; 23 March 1922, p. 6 (Patrick Darby); 25 March 1922, p. 10; *Evening Post*, 21 March 1922, p. 2; 22 March 1922, p. 2 (cf. the reply by B. Hutson, a Presbyterian minister, *ibid.*, 24 March 1922, p. 4). Such letters were grist to the mill of editors who condemned Liston but there was no suggestion that other letters were suppressed although the newspaper controversy was interrupted when the decision to prosecute rendered the matter *sub judice*. For a letter by a Catholic defending Liston, see Jeanne Hall to the editor, *NZ Herald*, 25 March 1922, p. 10 and for Hibernian Society resolutions in his support, see *ibid.*, 21 March 1922, p. 6; 24 March 1922, p. 8.

<sup>117</sup> *Evening Post*, 25 March 1922, p. 9. Liston was formerly the rector of Holy Cross Seminary in Mosgiel.

seeing in the trial "not a mere personal episode" but "a plot to discredit the Church".<sup>118</sup> The verdict and its rider enabled both Liston's defenders and his critics to claim a moral victory. Newspapers which had been quick to denounce the words attributed to Liston endorsed the jury's verdict as well as its admonition.<sup>119</sup> Kelly interpreted the outcome as "a splendid triumph for all of us, priests and people."<sup>120</sup> Elliott declared that

The people of New Zealand ought to be proud of having a Government with the backbone to prosecute a bishop for sedition. If there had been no P.P.A. the Government would never have had the courage to do it.<sup>121</sup>

Within a week of Liston's speech, the Auckland City Council had not only condemned it but resolved not to permit "the organisation under whose auspices and on whose behalf the bishop claimed that he spoke" to use the Town Hall or the Domain until he disavowed the sentiments he had expressed and gave an assurance that they would not be repeated.<sup>122</sup> An acrimonious correspondence, evidently based on mutual misunderstanding and including a threat of legal action by Liston, delayed a reconciliation between the Mayor and the Bishop until December when the resolutions were finally declared by the Council to be inoperative and both parties affirmed that the incident was closed.<sup>123</sup>

<sup>118</sup> Liston to Cleary, 24 April 1922, CCDA; for other disparaging references to Liston's Catholic critics, see *NZ Tablet*, 25 May 1922, p. 14; *Month*, 15 June 1922, p. 3. The quotation is from an advertisement soliciting funds for a testimonial to Liston to defray his legal costs (*NZ Tablet*, 6 July 1922, p. 17 and subsequent issues).

<sup>119</sup> *NZ Herald*, 18 May 1922, p. 6; *Evening Post*, 18 May 1922, p. 6; *Press*, 19 May 1922, p. 6.

<sup>120</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 25 May 1922, p. 25.

<sup>121</sup> *Month*, 15 September 1922, p. 4, citing *Daily Telegraph* (Napier), 19 July 1922. As Sweetman (p. 319) observes, "the goading that Massey and his colleagues had endured over the Irish issue" from Kelly and the Labour Party must also be taken into account.

<sup>122</sup> *NZ Herald*, 24 March 1922, p. 8; *Month*, 15 June 1922, p. 6.

<sup>123</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 17 August 1922, p. 23; *NZ Herald*, 15 December 1922, p. 8; *Month*, 15 January 1923, p. 9 (reprinted from the *Auckland Star*, 15 December 1922).

### The Sectarian Epidemic II: the PPA and the Government

Mounting sectarian tensions were exploited and intensified by Elliott and the PPA.<sup>124</sup> The rise and decline of the PPA provide a measure of popular attitudes to the Catholic community and must therefore to be examined in some detail. Having already earned a reputation as a religious controversialist in his native Australia, Elliott attained prominence in New Zealand when he denounced the 1916 visit to Auckland by the Papal Legate Archbishop Bonaventure Ceretti and accused Mayor James Gunson of kowtowing to Catholic interests on that occasion.<sup>125</sup> Working through the Orange Lodge, Elliott helped to establish a Committee of Vigilance to monitor Catholic activity. The Committee formed the basis of the PPA which was officially launched at a large meeting in the Auckland Town Hall in July 1917.<sup>126</sup> Giving up his position as Pastor of the Mount Eden Baptist Church (where he had been since 1909), Elliott was appointed as the PPA's full-time National Lecturer. Although dependent on the peculiar conditions of wartime New Zealand, it was in large measure the organizational and oratorical skills of Elliott himself which account for the PPA's rapid rise and influence. In the person of Howard Elliott, the Loyal Orange Institution had found someone to communicate its message to society at large and to enrol people who would not normally associate with the Institution. By joining the PPA, a Protestant with strong anti-Catholic sentiments could become a "political associate" of the Lodge rather than a full member.<sup>127</sup> Before the 1919 election, Elliott claimed that the PPA had 200,000 members in 225 branches but the membership figure in particular seems highly improbable.<sup>128</sup> In 1922 - by which time the organization was already in decline - its newspaper, the *New Zealand Sentinel*, listed only 1,072 subscribers.<sup>129</sup>

Elliott and his organization revived old sectarian quarrels and played on contemporary fears. The papacy was blamed for the outbreak of war in 1914, while demands that priests and brothers be exempt from military service - and an alleged under-representation of Catholics in the New Zealand Expeditionary Forces -

<sup>124</sup> For Elliott's background and early activities, see especially O'Connor, "Sectarian Conflict", pp. 5-6; "Protestants", pp. 190-195; Moores, pp. 86-173; Gustafson, *Labour's Path*, pp. 127-129.

<sup>125</sup> In addition to the references cited, see Sweetman, pp. 92-94.

<sup>126</sup> *NZ Herald*, 12 July 1917, pp. 4, 6.

<sup>127</sup> Moores, pp. 162, 168.

<sup>128</sup> Sweetman, p. 249 and Moores, p. 314 (citing the *Nelson Colonist and Truth* of 11 October 1919); O'Connor, "Sectarian Conflict", p. 9.

<sup>129</sup> Satchell, p. 74.

demonstrated the disloyalty of New Zealand Catholics. Further proof was provided by their support for Irish republicanism, especially in the form of Kelly's provocative editorials. Catholic schools were being accorded special treatment at the expense of the national education system, the Catholic Federation threatened the liberties of Protestant citizens and Catholic domination of the public service already gave the Church a sinister and covert influence over the nation's affairs.<sup>130</sup>

Many Protestants were alienated by Elliott's more extreme suggestions. A series of letters he addressed to himself in order to trap Post Office officials, who were monitoring mail associated with the PPA, suggested, *inter alia*, that a priest was collecting a levy from workmen after securing employment for them at the Newmarket workshops, that in Taumarunui a recently drowned nun had been pregnant and that an Auckland convent had a lime-pit for disposing of bodies.<sup>131</sup> H.W. Bishop, appointed as Commissioner to investigate Elliott's assertion that his mail was being censored in the interests of the Catholic Church, regarded Elliott's "abominable and disgusting accusations against members of a Christian Church" as evidence that their author "was so saturated with sectarian bitterness that he [had] lost all sense of propriety."<sup>132</sup> When Attorney-General Alexander Herdman read some of the letters in Parliament, other members asked him to desist and Leonard Isitt, a former Methodist minister and Orangeman, exclaimed, "It makes one ashamed to be a Protestant".<sup>133</sup> Even Elliott's own Baptist Union Executive, including North, disassociated itself from his activities after the revelation of the "trap" letters.<sup>134</sup> After Charles Clements, brother of the defamed nun, waylaid and horsewhipped Elliott in October 1917, the magistrate, F.V. Frazer, apologized for having to convict Clements for assault,

<sup>130</sup> References to these charges are scattered throughout the secondary literature already cited; most are mentioned in the evidence recorded in the report of the Auckland Post Office Inquiry, *AJHR*, 1917, vol. II, F.-8, for example pages 35 (question 27), 38 (question 106), 40 (question 203) and 48 (questions 291 and 292).

<sup>131</sup> *AJHR*, 1917, vol. II, F.-8, pp. 6, 38-39. Elliott denied that the suggestions in these letters were "mere figments": inquiries had shown that, in each case, there was "a substratum of truth" which could be proved (*ibid.*, p. 39).

<sup>132</sup> *AJHR*, 1917, vol. II, F.-8, p. 5. In May 1916, Bishop had expressed his admiration for the achievements of the Sisters of the Good Shepherd in rehabilitating women committed to Mount Magdela by the courts (*Month*, 1 July 1931, pp. 27-28).

<sup>133</sup> *NZPD*, 1917, vol. 180, p. 109; *cf.* Moores, pp. 224-225.

<sup>134</sup> Moores, pp. 227-230; Gustafson, "Intervention", pp. 5-6; *idem*, *Labour's Path*, p. 129; G.T. Beilby, *A Handful of Grain: the Centenary History of the Baptist Union of New Zealand*, vol. 3, 1914-1945 (Wellington: New Zealand Baptist Historical Society, 1984), p. 97.

imposed no penalty and denounced Elliott for acting "like a low cad" who "deserved all he got and a good deal more."<sup>135</sup>

Among the Protestant churches, it was the more evangelical or fundamentalist bodies which gave most support to the PPA.<sup>136</sup> In Dunedin, Methodists, Baptists and, above all, members of the Church of Christ were disproportionately represented in the Association.<sup>137</sup> The leading citizens of the city tended to associate membership of the PPA with lower social status.<sup>138</sup> Anglicans did not respond with any great enthusiasm to Elliott who occasionally included "High Church" Anglicanism in his fulminations.<sup>139</sup> The *Tablet* gloated that, despite its name, the Protestant Political Association was not supported by the largest Protestant denomination in New Zealand.<sup>140</sup> Many Anglicans and Presbyterians would have been alienated by the PPA's opposition to denominational schools.<sup>141</sup> The Presbyterian Church in Dunedin, enjoying there the preeminent position which the Anglican Church held elsewhere in the country, gave proportionately little support to the PPA.<sup>142</sup> A notable exception was Professor John Dickie of Knox College, whose anti-Catholic views led him to support the PPA, without, however, taking an important role in the organization.<sup>143</sup> Elsewhere, there seems to have been significant support for the PPA among Presbyterians. Officially, the Church rejoiced in the "wonderful popularity" of the PPA, believing that, "Its rapid growth shows that the masses are loyal to Protestantism" - even if "such loyalty may be only traditional, and may be ill-informed".<sup>144</sup> In 1919, Presbyterians

<sup>135</sup> *NZ Herald*, 3 November 1917, p. 8.

<sup>136</sup> Moores, pp. 219-221; O'Connor, "Sectarian Conflict", p. 10.

<sup>137</sup> Satchell, pp. 66-69, 91.

<sup>138</sup> Satchell, pp. 69-70, 87.

<sup>139</sup> Moores, pp. 221-223; Satchell, p. 66.

<sup>140</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 29 August 1918, p. 14.

<sup>141</sup> Satchell (pp. 86-87) makes this point with regard to Dunedin Presbyterians.

<sup>142</sup> Satchell, pp. 27, 66. The actual number of Presbyterian members does not seem to have been far short of the numbers belonging to other Evangelical churches but this must be measured against the high proportion of Presbyterians in Dunedin and the absence of prominent Presbyterians in the leadership of the PPA.

<sup>143</sup> Satchell, pp. 23-24, 70; cf. *NZ Tablet*, 11 July 1918, p. 15; 18 July 1918, pp. 14-15, 17; 12 June 1919, p. 26; 21 April 1921, p. 21; 22 December 1921, p. 14; 9 February 1922, p. 14; 10 August 1922, p. 14 (the latter refers to Dickie's introduction to J.J. North's *Roman Catholicism: Roots and Fruits* (Napier: printed by G.W. Venables and Co. Ltd, 1922) but does not name the book or the author.

<sup>144</sup> PGA, February 1919, pp. 45, 169.

were encouraged to avail themselves "of Protestant organisations carried on in the Christian spirit."<sup>145</sup> Writing in 1921 at the request of the Protestant Principles Committee, however, the Rev. John Collie acknowledged that while it was necessary for Protestants to prevent the Catholic Church from exercising "any undue political leverage", the PPA had little claim to represent Protestantism.<sup>146</sup> No doubt with some exaggeration, the *Lyttelton Times* claimed in 1920 that, "We cannot call to mind a single Protestant citizen of any note in the Dominion who has ever allowed his name to be associated with this organisation."<sup>147</sup>

In order to achieve its ends, the PPA initially contemplated standing for office as a political party but soon recognized that it was not strong enough to act independently and therefore decided to seek influence through the Reform Party.<sup>148</sup> According to the PPA, the Liberal Party, under the leadership of the Catholic Sir Joseph Ward, had favoured Catholic interests in the past, while the Labour Party, having reached an accommodation with the Church, was intent upon doing so in the future.<sup>149</sup> Elliott was not only uncompromisingly opposed to Socialism, but he believed that the Catholic Church dominated the Labour Party, which owed its seats in Parliament to "the vote and influence of Rome".<sup>150</sup> He even asserted that "the Roman Catholic Church had secured a moral ascendancy over the minds of the majority of politicians in New Zealand", some of whom "did what they were told by the Roman Catholic Church" while "others were dominated by the votes of Roman Catholics".<sup>151</sup> By supporting M.J. Mack, an Independent Labour candidate in the October 1918 Wellington Central

<sup>145</sup> PGA, November 1919, p. 167.

<sup>146</sup> *Outlook*, 15 August 1921, quoted in the *Month*, 15 October 1921, pp. 4-5; cf. PGA, 1921, p. 183.

<sup>147</sup> *Lyttelton Times*, 20 December 1919, quoted in the *Month*, 15 January 1920, p. 17.

<sup>148</sup> Moores, pp. 216-217, 265-266.

<sup>149</sup> See *Month*, 15 March 1920, Supplement, p. 1 (reprinted from the *Auckland Star*, 25 February 1920) for Ward's farewell speech to his electorate, in which he summarized the PPA's charges against him. Two anti-Ward advertisements from the *Southland Times* are quoted in the *Month*, 15 January 1920, p. 17.

<sup>150</sup> Elliott's assertions at a meeting reported in the *Evening Post* (12 December 1917, p. 3) were challenged by T. Gilmore, Assistant Secretary of the Wellington Labour Representation Committee and himself a Baptist (Moores, p. 274). The two engaged in a prolonged debate; see *Evening Post*, 15 December 1917, p. 4; 1 January 1918, p. 2; 5 January 1918, p. 3; 17 January 1918, p. 2 (in which the quoted phrase occurs); 24 January 1918, p. 11; 5 February 1918, p. 4); *NZ Herald*, 27 August 1919, p. 9; Gustafson, *Labour's Path*, pp. 127, 129. For a detailed discussion of the relations between the PPA and Labour, see Moores, pp. 265-286.

<sup>151</sup> *NZ Herald*, 27 August 1919, p. 9.

by-election, the PPA had helped to split the anti-Labour vote and facilitated the election of Peter Fraser. Henceforth, wary of repeating such a tactical error, the PPA became closely identified with the Reform Party.<sup>152</sup> Led by an Ulster-born Presbyterian and former Orangeman, Reform had long been associated with Protestantism.<sup>153</sup> In the 1919 general election, the PPA denounced the "Triple Alliance" of "Wardism - Romanism - Bolshevism" and publicly endorsed almost every Reform candidate.<sup>154</sup>

Labour leader Harry Holland was particularly aggrieved that, having disparaged the election of Catholics to Parliament, Elliott endorsed a Catholic candidate - D.G. O'Brien - against Holland in Buller during the 1919 election.<sup>155</sup> Barry Gustafson, seeking to explain apparent inconsistencies in the PPA's endorsement of candidates, has suggested that Elliott was working for Reform rather than against Labour or the Catholic Church, but the evidence reviewed in this chapter suggests rather that the arrangement with Reform was merely a temporary alliance of convenience.<sup>156</sup> Given its presuppositions, it was quite logical for the PPA to endorse a Catholic in opposition to Holland, whose former Protestant affiliation had given way to Socialism. Since Reform seldom put up Catholic candidates,<sup>157</sup> it must be supposed that, on this

<sup>152</sup> Moores, pp. 287-310, 335-336; O'Connor, "Sectarian Conflict", pp. 12-13; Gustafson, *Labour's Path*, pp. 129, 134-136; Sweetman, pp. 228-230.

<sup>153</sup> *NZPD*, 1920, vol. 189, p. 233, 651 (Massey); Moores, pp. 42-47.

<sup>154</sup> Moores, pp. 314-316; Gustafson, *Labour's Path*, pp. 130-131; *idem*, "Intervention", p. 6; Satchell, pp. 35-38. See also the report of a PPA meeting in the *Colonist*, 11 October 1919, quoted in *NZPD*, 1919, vol. 185, p. 392 (McCallum). A few Liberals were endorsed in electorates without a Reform candidate, while the only Reform candidate not supported was Allen, who had sought exemption from conscription for seminarians and religious.

<sup>155</sup> *NZPD*, 1920, vol. 186, p. 99 and vol. 189, p. 658 (Holland).

<sup>156</sup> Gustafson, *Labour's Path*, pp. 130-131; "Intervention", p. 6. Gustafson (*Labour's Path*, p. 130) says that "Religious considerations appear to have been irrelevant to the PPA in its evaluation of candidates." Similarly, Moores (p. 136) thought that maintaining "an anti-radical stance" was more important to the PPA than religious considerations. These interpretations do not take seriously Elliott's conviction that Labour was dominated by the Catholic Church. Moreover, individual Protestant candidates had, in the view of the PPA, betrayed the Protestant cause. The Presbyterian A.J. Entrican, for example, was charged with attacking the PPA, condemning Ulster Protestant leaders and advertising in the *Month* - actions which revealed "the religion of his political advisers" (Open letter by W.D. More, PPA secretary, *NZ Herald*, 29 November 1919, p. 12). In claiming that the PPA was inconsistent or insincere in failing to back the Liberal Isitt against the Catholic Armstrong in Christchurch North, Gustafson fails to observe that, despite his impressive Orange and Protestant credentials, Isitt had defended the Marist Brothers against conscription and had denounced Elliott's "trap" letters. He had also appeared on the platform with Brodie at a meeting to raise money for the dependants of Irishmen killed in the 1916 rising (Davis, *Irish Issues*, p. 195).

<sup>157</sup> Gardner, p. 26.

occasion, the party was attempting to draw Catholic support away from Labour in a pro-Labour electorate with an exceptionally high proportion of Catholic voters. There was little chance that O'Brien would be elected, but if the Catholic Church dominated the Labour Party, as the PPA supposed, it would be far more effective in Parliament through the party leader than through a Catholic Reform backbencher who would be kept in check by his Protestant colleagues. From this perspective, promoting O'Brien can be seen as an attempt to weaken the political influence of both Labour and the Church, while appearing to disprove allegations of sectarian bias. Elliott himself claimed that the endorsement of O'Brien proved that the PPA's opposition to Labour was not based on religion.<sup>158</sup>

A few Reform politicians openly supported the PPA but Massey and the rest of his Government, while making some gestures to the Association, were not prepared to commit themselves publicly to the sectarian agenda.<sup>159</sup> J.S. Dickson of Parnell was a leading Orangeman and one of the founders of the PPA, which he saw as a necessary response to the establishment of the Catholic Federation.<sup>160</sup> In 1923, V.H. Potter lauded the work of Elliott and the PPA and also blamed the Catholic Federation for the rise of sectarian tension. Potter quoted from four oaths allegedly taken by priests and other Catholics, claiming, for example, that foreign priests, before coming to New Zealand, swore to renounce any allegiance to a Protestant king or state.<sup>161</sup> Such alleged oaths had formed a part of the sectarian repertoire for centuries and had been circulated recently by the PPA.<sup>162</sup> Through the correspondence columns of the *Evening Post*, Potter was challenged by Bernard Gondringer SM - who had come to New Zealand from his native Luxembourg twenty years previously - to name any priest who had taken the oath and thus allow the charge to be tested in court. Potter evaded the challenge.<sup>163</sup> In September 1919, William Nosworthy, another supporter of

<sup>158</sup> Elliott to the editor, *Auckland Star*, 7 January 1920, cited in Gustafson, *Labour's Path*, p. 131 and Sweetman, pp. 250-251.

<sup>159</sup> In addition to the following, see Gustafson, *Labour's Path*, p. 130.

<sup>160</sup> *NZPD*, 1920, vol. 189, pp. 660, 662.

<sup>161</sup> *NZPD*, 1923, vol. 200, pp. 263-266.

<sup>162</sup> *Month*, 15 October 1918, p. 12; 15 August 1918, pp. 12, 15; 15 November 1918, p. 3; 15 January 1920, p. 5; 15 April 1921, p. 13; 14 January 1922, p. 7. For Cleary's response to Potter, including information of the history of the oaths, see *Month*, 14 July 1923, pp. 3, 6-10; 15 August 1923, pp. 3-4; 15 September 1923, p. 5-6; 15 October 1923, pp. 5-6; 15 December 1923, p. 4.

<sup>163</sup> For Gondringer's letters, see *Evening Post*, 30 June 1923, p. 8; 4 July 1923, p. 2; 10 July 1923, p. 4; 16 July 1923, p. 7; for Potter's letters (and one by Elliott), see 3 July 1923, p. 2; 7 July 1923, p. 13; 14 July 1923, p. 13. Gondringer's letters were reprinted in the *Month*, 14 July 1923, pp. 11-12 and the *NZ Tablet*, 12 July 1923, p. 18; 19 July 1923, pp. 19, 21; 26 July 1923, p. 19.

the PPA, was appointed Minister of Agriculture.<sup>164</sup> The previous April, in a widely-reported address at an Orange Grand Lodge banquet in Ashburton, he had declared that he would not support any future government "in which there was a Roman Catholic, or in which anyone who had a drop of German blood in his veins was a member."<sup>165</sup> Nosworthy reaffirmed his attitude towards Catholics in government at least twice after his promotion.<sup>166</sup> His appointment seemed to indicate Massey's support for the PPA but in November the Prime Minister declared in Parliament "that he had no connection with Mr. Howard Elliott or anyone connected with him."<sup>167</sup> Nevertheless, in October 1920, Massey was induced to admit that, the previous June, he had received a delegation from the PPA, which included Elliott himself.<sup>168</sup> PPA secretary H. Sydney Bilby acknowledged years later that Elliott frequently visited Massey at Parliament but, to avoid embarrassing Massey, Bilby himself (who was less well-known) often went to the Prime Minister's office or residence instead.<sup>169</sup>

The most important reward conferred on the PPA for its electoral support was clause seven of the Marriage Amendment Act (1920), which made it an offence to allege that "any persons lawfully married are not truly and sufficiently married" or that "the issue of any lawful marriage is illegitimate or born out of true wedlock".<sup>170</sup> In its original form, as passed by the House of Representatives, the Bill embodied

<sup>164</sup> For adverse reactions, see the *Auckland Star* editorial reprinted in *NZ Tablet*, 11 September 1919, p. 22 and P.J. O'Regan in *NZ Tablet*, 28 December 1922, p. 25, reprinted from *Maoriland Worker*, 13 December 1922.

<sup>165</sup> *Press*, 23 April 1919, p. 5; *NZ Herald*, 24 April 1919, p. 6. The German allusion was originally directed against Customs Minister Myers who had suppressed the importation of anti-Catholic propaganda (*Month*, 15 May 1919, p. 6).

<sup>166</sup> *NZPD*, 1920, vol. 189, p. 667; 1925, vol. 207, pp. 523-524, 553. According to the latter reference, the statement was originally made in 1914; if so, then it was repeated in 1919.

<sup>167</sup> *NZPD*, 1919, vol. 185, p. 392; cf. Kelly's sceptical response to Massey's disclaimer (*NZ Tablet*, 23 October 1919, p. 14).

<sup>168</sup> *NZPD*, 1920, vol. 189, p. 234, 655 cf. p. 229 (Holland and Massey). Massey noted that the delegation had raised economic issues, but said he could not remember what else was discussed. E.J. Howard also referred to Elliott's presence at Parliament (*ibid.*, p. 663).

<sup>169</sup> Moores, p. 319; cf. Gardner, p. 26 (which reports a less informative interview with Bilby) and O'Connor, "Mr Massey and the PPA" (especially the first telegram quoted on page 72, concerning a meeting between Massey and Elliott). See also Moores (pp. 129-130) for Massey's secret address to a Grand Lodge meeting in Wellington in 1916 - after Elliott threatened an Orange march on Parliament and Gustafson, *Labour's Path* (pp. 129-130) for further discussion of the overlapping membership of the PPA and the Reform Party.

<sup>170</sup> *New Zealand Statutes* (1920), p. 460.

uncontentious administrative alterations to the Marriage Act (1908), but Elliott persuaded the Attorney-General, Sir Francis Bell MLC, and the Statutes Revision Committee of the Legislative Council, that there was a need to consider legislating against the *Ne Temere* decree.<sup>171</sup> Elliott and the PPA charged that the Catholic Church challenged New Zealand civil law by refusing to recognize the validity of marriages not solemnized by its priests. Church members whose marriages were valid in law were allegedly required to separate or re-marry and their status was entered in the Marriage Register as "bachelor" or "spinster", thus indicating that they had not been married previously and, by implication, that any children already born of the union were illegitimate.<sup>172</sup> As Elliott pointed out, an official catechism used in New Zealand Catholic schools declared that two Catholics or a Catholic and a non-Catholic marrying before a registrar or a Protestant minister "do not contract a valid marriage; that is to say, they are not married at all."<sup>173</sup> Detailed evidence was heard by the Statutes Revision Committee and by a special committee of the House of Representatives. The main witness in favour of legislation was Elliott himself, while the Catholic bishops engaged Sir John Findlay KC to present their case before the Council's committee and Cleary and O'Shea submitted written evidence to the House's committee.<sup>174</sup> O'Shea and the other bishops publicly threatened to defy the new law if it proscribed the teaching of Catholic doctrine and, if necessary, to suffer imprisonment in consequence.<sup>175</sup>

<sup>171</sup> *JLC*, 1920, Appendix ("Marriage Amendment Bill", report and evidence), pp. ii, 1-3, 45; *NZPD*, vol. 186, 1920, pp. 872-873 (Bell); cf. vol. 189, pp. 223-226 (Downie Stewart and Wilford). In fact, the 1907 *Ne Temere* decree had been largely incorporated into and entirely superceded by the 1917 Code of Canon Law (for further details, see the discussion of mixed marriage in chapter three above). Elliott, who claimed, in effect, to be a more reliable interpreter of canon law than either Cleary or O'Shea, was unaware of this (*JLC*, 1920, Appendix, pp. 26-27).

<sup>172</sup> *JLC*, 1920, Appendix, pp. 1, 16, 18, 20, 23-25 and the report and evidence on the Marriage Amendment Bill, *AJHR*, 1920, vol. II, I.-7, pp. 5, 16-17 (Elliott's evidence); *Dominion*, 15 September 1920, p. 7 (statement by Elliott); *Rome and the New Zealand Marriage Law: an Insult to Citizens* [Auckland: PPA, 1918]. For Cleary's response to this pamphlet and information on its distribution, see *Month*, 16 August 1920, pp. 10-15.

<sup>173</sup> *A Catechism of Christian Doctrine* No. 2 (Dunedin: The Tablet Printing and Publishing Co., n.d.), p. 59 (questions 312 and 313); cf. *Rome and the New Zealand Marriage Law*; *JLC*, 1920, Appendix, pp. 3, 15; and *AJHR*, 1920, vol. II, I.-7, p. 8.

<sup>174</sup> *JLC*, 1920, Appendix; *AJHR*, 1920, vol. II, I.-7). Findlay described himself as "a very much lapsed" Presbyterian (*JLC*, 1920, Appendix, p. 37).

<sup>175</sup> O'Shea to Massey, 11 September 1920, WCAA; *Evening Post*, 13 September 1920, p. 7; *Dominion*, 14 September 1920, p. 4; *NZ Herald*, 14 September 1920, p. 6; 27 September 1920, p. 6; *NZ Tablet*, 16 September 1920, pp. 26-28; 23 September 1920, pp. 18-19; 30 September 1920, pp. 27-28; *Month*, 18 September 1920, p. 17; 15 September 1920, p. 7; 15 November 1920, p. 3 (Cleary - published after the passage of the Act).

Although some of the Catholic authorities selectively quoted by Elliott did appear to disregard the validity of marriages sanctioned by civil law, he cannot be said to have substantiated his claims.<sup>176</sup> The Catholic Church did not deny the legal validity of any marriages which were valid in civil law, whether the spouses were Catholics or not. To be recognized as sacramental, however, marriages involving Catholics had to be celebrated according to canon law, which required the presence of an authorized priest.<sup>177</sup> Far from challenging civil law, canon law explicitly recognized its competence to determine the civil aspects of marriage.<sup>178</sup> Indeed, the *Ne Temere* decree specifically stated that non-Catholics marrying among themselves were not expected to observe the Catholic form of marriage.<sup>179</sup> Rather than force apart couples married in civil law, the Church sought to regularize canonically invalid marriages; the procedure was exclusively ecclesiastical and did not involve entries in the official register kept for the state: there was no recording of the spouses as bachelor or spinster.<sup>180</sup> The catechism dealt only with the viewpoint of the Church's sacramental teaching and was not concerned with its civil effects<sup>181</sup> - though this was perhaps too subtle a point for the schoolchildren who memorized the catechism. It was also

<sup>176</sup> See *JLC*, 1920, Appendix, pages 19 and 23 for some of Elliott's more telling quotations. For an example of his misleading selectivity, however, compare his quotation from Mannix (*ibid.*, p. 24) with the rest of the speech as quoted by M.J. Savage (*NZPD*, 1920, vol. 189, p. 627).

<sup>177</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 16 September 1920, p. 15; 30 September 1920, p. 27; *Month*, 16 August 1920, pp. 5-6, 10; 18 September 1920, pp. 7-8; 15 October 1920, p. 7; *NZ Herald*, 14 September 1920, p. 6; 26 September 1920, p. 6; *JLC*, 1920, Appendix, p. 40 (Findlay's evidence); *AJHR*, 1920, vol. II, I.-7, pp. 13-14 (Cleary's evidence).

<sup>178</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 16 September 1920, p. 26; *Month*, 15 November 1920, p. 8; *JLC*, 1920, Appendix, p. 42; *CIC*, canons 1016, 1080 and 1691.

<sup>179</sup> See *Ne Temere*, clause XI (3), printed in Cleary, *Catholic Marriages*, *op. cit.*, pp. 4, 9; *NZ Tablet*, 16 September 1920, p. 15. It was later determined however, that marriages between baptized and unbaptized Protestants were still rendered invalid under the *Ne Temere* decree by the impediment of disparity of cult - an anomaly which was overcome by canon 1070 of the new code which applied this impediment only to persons baptized in the Catholic Church. There was an underlying assumption that all baptized persons were subject to the discipline of the Church (*NZ Tablet*, 16 August 1923, pp. 19, 21).

<sup>180</sup> *JLC*, 1920, Appendix, pp. 6, 10, 48-49; *Month*, 16 August 1920, pp. 6, 8-9; 15 October 1920, p. 7; 15 November 1920, p. 11; *NZ Herald*, 27 September 1920, p. 6; *NZ Tablet*, 30 September 1920, p. 27; *cf.* 16 December 1920, p. 33. Elliott presented the House committee with evidence of a case in Hamilton in 1908 in which Dean Darby had regularized a civil marriage and recorded the spouses as bachelor and spinster, but, as Cleary and O'Shea argued, this example did not conform to official Catholic practice (*AJHR*, 1920, vol. II, I.-7, pp. 3, 13-16, 21-22).

<sup>181</sup> *Month*, 16 August 1920, p. 6, 10; 15 November 1920, p. 10; *JLC*, 1920, Appendix, pp. 5.

pointed out that the Protestant churches forbade certain marriages which were valid according to the civil law, notably marriages within the prohibited degrees of affinity and marriages of divorcés whose divorce was obtained on grounds not recognized by the church concerned.<sup>182</sup> This argument was endorsed by several prominent Presbyterian ministers, one of whom described the proposed legislation as "a monstrous piece of folly".<sup>183</sup>

While the new law was quite unnecessary (and therefore justified only as a response to sectarian pressure), it also demonstrated the PPA's lack of support in the country at large and its limited influence over the Reform Government. There was widespread disapproval of clause seven on the part of newspaper editors and church leaders.<sup>184</sup> The Christchurch *Sun* denounced the blind fanaticism of the PPA and the Bill's "unwarranted interference with religious liberty".<sup>185</sup> Bishop Richards of Dunedin noted that couples who married before a registrar were not "truly and sufficiently" married according to the Anglican Church and he was willing, if necessary, to join the Catholic bishops in gaol for saying so; his view was endorsed even by Fitchett, whose criticism of the *Ne Temere* decree has already been noted.<sup>186</sup> To allay Anglican fears for the rite of marriage in the *Book of Common Prayer*, a subclause was included in the Bill guaranteeing that existing marriage services could continue to be used.<sup>187</sup> Even some Presbyteries passed ambivalent resolutions

<sup>182</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 16 September 1920, pp. 15, 26; p. 28 (Brodie); 11 November 1920, p. 23 (Coffey); *Month*, 18 September 1920, pp. 5-6, 9-15; *JLC*, 1920, Appendix, pp. 33-34, 36-37, 42. Even if certain marriages violated the laws of the spouses' churches, however, it does not necessarily follow that they were not accepted in practice by the churches concerned once the wedding had taken place.

<sup>183</sup> *NZ Herald*, 14 September 1920, p. 6 and *Month*, 18 September 1920, p. 7 (Isaac Jolly); *NZ Tablet*, 7 October 1920, pp. 21-22 (W. Gray Dixon quoted from the current edition of the *Outlook*).

<sup>184</sup> Sweetman, p. 265; *NZ Tablet*, 23 September 1920, p. 14 ("We are pleased to see that practically every daily of importance in the Dominion has condemned the proposed legislation on Marriage laws."); 11 November 1920, p. 23 ("every paper of standing in the Dominion condemned it" - Coffey).

<sup>185</sup> *Sun*, 14 September 1920, p. 6.

<sup>186</sup> Extracts from the Dunedin *Evening Star*, 20 September 1920 (printed by O'Kane and McKenzie), WCAA; *NZ Tablet*, 23 September 1920, p. 23; *NZPD*, 1920, vol. 189, pp. 231-232 (Holland). For a review of Anglican opposition, see *NZPD*, 1920, vol. 189, pp. 226-227 (Wilford); cf. *Evening Post*, 29 September 1920, p. 4 (Bishop Sadlier of Nelson expressing strong reservations about the Bill); 30 September 1920, p. 10 (resolution criticizing the Bill by the Standing Committee of the Diocese of Waiapu); 6 October 1920, p. 6 (similar resolution by the Standing Committee of the Diocese of Wellington).

<sup>187</sup> *New Zealand Statutes* (1920), p. 460, clause 7 (3); on the significance of this subclause, see Isitt's comments in *NZ Tablet*, 18 November 1920, p. 21 (quoted from the *New Zealand Times*) and *NZPD*, 1920, vol. 189, p. 611 (Isitt), 649 (McCombs).

endorsing both religious liberty and the protection of married couples from calumny.<sup>188</sup> However, the General Assembly commended the Act once it was passed, seeing it as a fulfilment of the demands made in 1911.<sup>189</sup>

Aware that it was unpopular in many quarters, Massey and his Government tried to avoid being too closely associated with clause seven and its sectarian implications.<sup>190</sup> Justice Minister E.P. Lee even claimed that the new law was "directed against no particular denomination".<sup>191</sup> Disavowing any religious intolerance, Massey was only drawn into the debate by Labour politicians who suggested that he was acceding to a PPA request in return for support at the 1919 election - a reasonable charge to which he responded with an "emphatic denial".<sup>192</sup> As Dickson acknowledged, however, promoting legislation on the issue had been a part of the PPA policy to which candidates had been asked to pledge themselves.<sup>193</sup> Massey declared that Reform politicians had a free vote on the issue, but, in the event, the House divided largely along party lines.<sup>194</sup> A Bill introduced by John MacGregor MLC specifically debarring Catholic clergy from solemnizing marriages while their Church's laws on mixed marriage remained in force, was withdrawn in favour of the much more mild addition to the Marriage Amendment Bill.<sup>195</sup> Moreover, the phrasing of clause seven

<sup>188</sup> *Evening Post*, 21 September 1920, p. 8 (Wellington Presbytery); cf. *NZPD*, 1920, vol. 189, pp. 626 (Savage, quoting the Auckland Presbytery); p. 642 (Edie, quoting the Clutha Presbytery). The Oamaru Presbytery, in its capacity as the Protestant Principles Committee, endorsed the move to legislate (*Evening Post*, 29 September 1920, p. 4); cf. *Press*, 14 October 1920, p. 9 for a report on the different views of several Presbyteries. Robert Wood, who had promoted the General Assembly's 1911 appeal to Prime Minister Ward to legislate against the *Ne Temere* decree (see the references cited at the beginning of this chapter), pursued the matter with vigour, although he could only do so in a private capacity (*JLC*, 1920, Appendix, pp. 28-32; see especially pp. 31-32 for Wood's status; *AJHR*, 1920, vol. II, I.-7, pp. 10-13, 17-18, 20-24).

<sup>189</sup> *PGA*, 1920, pp. 21-22, 130-131.

<sup>190</sup> Sweetman (pp. 269-271, 347-348), following Cleary, seeks to exculpate Massey and the Reform caucus as a whole.

<sup>191</sup> *NZPD*, 1920, vol. 189, p. 228.

<sup>192</sup> *NZPD*, 1920, vol. 189, pp. 233; 651-653; cf. pp. 226 (Wilford), 229-230 (Holland), 236 (McCallum), 650 (McCombs); 663 (Howard); 667 (Parry).

<sup>193</sup> *NZPD*, 1920, vol. 189, pp. 660, 672; for the pledge, see Satchell, Appendix 3B; for a PPA resolution seeking legislation against the *Ne Temere* decree, see *Evening Post*, 26 May 1919, p. 8.

<sup>194</sup> *NZPD*, 1920, vol. 189, p. 235, 652 (Massey); pp. 668, 674 (division lists).

<sup>195</sup> Marriage Amendment Bill (No. 2), "Bills Thrown Out", 1920; *NZPD*, 1920, vol. 187, pp. 1158-1159; vol. 188, pp. 746-748; *NZ Tablet*, 30 September 1920, p. 14.

left the Church free to uphold its teaching on marriage: there was no likelihood of O'Shea's threat being fulfilled. Shortly after the passage of the Act, Brodie and the other bishops rejected Cleary's suggestion that the wording of the catechism should be altered - even though the Council committee concerned with the Bill had been promised that changes would be made.<sup>196</sup> Cleary duly arranged the printing of a special edition for his own diocese. Interpreting this action as a capitulation to the enemies of the faith, Brodie thought that "his state of nerve exhaustion overwhelmed him with terror at the *imagined* consequences of *imagined* hostile attacks."<sup>197</sup> While clause seven of the Marriage Amendment Act was the offspring of Reform's affair with the PPA and gave satisfaction to both parties at the time, it proved, in the event, to be still-born.<sup>198</sup>

If the Marriage Amendment Act was the PPA's greatest triumph, the limited appeal of sectarian politics was underscored by governmental caution over other PPA policies. Lobbying by both the PPA and the NZEI secured only the reversal of recent concessions to denominational schools (most notably the right to hold government scholarships) but left them no weaker than they had been before the advent of the Reform administration in 1912.<sup>199</sup> Thoughtful non-Catholics were sceptical of Elliott's claims and doubted their electoral appeal. A former wartime chaplain, W.B. Scott of the Cambridge Terrace Methodist Church in Christchurch, denounced the PPA's campaign against Ward in 1919 and recalled the fraternal sentiments experienced by all denominations on the battlefield.<sup>200</sup> In a letter to the *Auckland Star*, he noted that "Canterbury is largely Liberal, consequently you may imagine that P.P.A.-ism is not very popular down our way."<sup>201</sup> When Ward blamed his defeat on PPA propaganda in his Awarua electorate, the *Christchurch Press*, which traditionally supported Reform,

<sup>196</sup> Minutes of bishops' meeting, 14 December 1920, CCDA, ACDA CLE 1-5; cf. *Month*, 15 November 1920, p. 5; *JLC*, 1920, Appendix, p. 6; *JLC*, 1920, Appendix, pp. 45, 47-48; *AJHR*, 1920, vol. II, I.-7, p. 20.

<sup>197</sup> Brodie, statement (1929), CCDA.

<sup>198</sup> The latter image was used by Cleary (*Month*, 15 August 1923, p. 3). O'Regan noted in 1924 that there had been no prosecutions under the Act (*NZ Tablet*, 3 April 1924, p. 35), but in 1931, the Presbyterian General Assembly was advised that "a member of the 'Pentecostal Church'" had recently been convicted of contravening the Act "by discussing the basis of a certain marriage". This was regarded as a "departure from the original ground of the legislation" (PGA, 1931, p. 78).

<sup>199</sup> See chapter six below.

<sup>200</sup> *Auckland Star*, 30 November 1919, quoted in the *Month*, 15 January 1920, p. 17.

<sup>201</sup> *Month*, 14 February 1920, p. 7.

argued that, "Sectarianism and the P.P.A. had as little to do with the result of the election as with last year's rainfall." Far from endorsing Elliott's "gross charges" against Ward, the *Press* intimated that allegations of "stuffing the public services with his co-religionists" were only circulated or accepted by the "densely ignorant or hopelessly prejudiced". Moreover, few would believe the "really weird story" that Ward had included the papal coat of arms on the New Zealand one pound note as the price of a loan from the Vatican.<sup>202</sup>

One of the PPA's most blatantly sectarian demands - that convents be subjected to official government inspection - was apparently never seriously considered, even though candidates in the 1919 election had been asked by the PPA to pledge support for regular inspections so that women held in convents against their will would be enabled to escape.<sup>203</sup> As readers of the Catholic press were aware, convent inspection had been demanded and even introduced in other parts of the world.<sup>204</sup> It might have been expected, moreover, that the scandal surrounding the alleged "escape" of Sister Mary Liguori from a Wagga Wagga convent into the "protection" of a Protestant family in 1920 would have strengthened the demand for inspection.<sup>205</sup> Like Elliott's insinuations about the depravity of convent life, however, the notoriety which accrued to the Orange Lodge in Australia as a result of the incident may have undermined support for convent inspection legislation. The suspicious fire which destroyed St Joseph's Convent, Grey Lynn, on Good Friday in 1921, the night after a PPA meeting in the Auckland Town Hall, may have had a similar effect - not least because Cleary took the opportunity to discredit the sectarian cause by reviving the debate over Elliott's insinuations about convent life.<sup>206</sup>

<sup>202</sup> *Press*, 25 February 1920, p. 6.

<sup>203</sup> Satchell, Appendix 3B, reproduces the questions to candidates, and the accompanying explanation, as sent to J.T. Paul MP.

<sup>204</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 14 November 1918, pp. 9-10 (Georgia, Florida and Maine); 12 April 1923, p. 17 (Cleveland); 10 January 1924, p. 47 (Leeds).

<sup>205</sup> Cf. *NZ Tablet*, 21 July 1921, pp. 14, 19; 4 August 1921, pp. 17-21; *Month*, 15 August 1921, pp. 3, 7-18; 18 September 1920, pp. 3, 13-15, 18-19; cf. P. O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community: an Australian History* (Kensington, New South Wales: University of New South Wales Press, 1985), pp. 348-349.

<sup>206</sup> Cf. *Month*, 15 April 1921, pp. 6-9. Much of the issue is taken up with a review of the sectarian campaign (especially its alleged relationship to the fire) and reprinted letters by Cleary and J.F.W. Dickson, President of the PPA in Auckland, addressed to the Auckland newspapers. See also *Month*, 11 May 1921, p. 13 (Cleary's letter to the editor of the *Auckland Star*), pp. 19-21 (controversy over Elliott's allegations concerning Mount Magdala); *NZ Tablet*, 14 April 1921, pp. 15, 18; 2 June 1921, p. 18).

Between 1920 and 1923, Elliott's limited and declining importance to the Government was demonstrated by his efforts to influence successive appointments to the positions of Public Service Commissioner and Assistant Commissioner.<sup>207</sup> The latter vacancy was initially filled by Frazer, the magistrate who had rebuked Elliott during the Clements assault trial. When Frazer was promoted to the Arbitration Court in 1921, he was succeeded by P.D.N. Verschaffelt, a Catholic towards whom Elliott bore a strong antipathy. In October 1922, Elliott lobbied against Verschaffelt's anticipated promotion to the office of Commissioner, claiming that he had only acquiesced in his appointment as Assistant Commissioner after the previous Commissioner, W.R. Morris, had given him an assurance that he would not recommend Verschaffelt as his successor. The Prime Minister dissuaded Elliott from publicizing the issue on the eve of the election but the results demonstrated the PPA's loss of influence. Massey now evidently judged it inexpedient to block the promotion of a capable and popular public servant on the grounds of his religion. Verschaffelt was appointed Deputy Commissioner in January 1923 and Public Service Commissioner in June.<sup>208</sup> The PPA's journal signalled its disillusionment with Massey by describing him as a "place-holder" whose chief remaining ambition was to hold the premiership longer than Richard Seddon had.<sup>209</sup> Taunted by Liberal politician Robert Masters in July the following year, Massey denied that he was a "bosom friend" of Elliott.<sup>210</sup>

Sectarian controversy in New Zealand reflected similar events overseas, especially in Australia. Fitchett noted that the "Bible-in-State-Schools League" derived its name "from the corresponding Queensland organisation, together with its aims, its principles, and its hopes".<sup>211</sup> It also employed Archdeacon D.J. Garland, the

<sup>207</sup> For the following, see O'Connor, "Mr Massey and the PPA"; Sweetman, pp. 344-346; Alan Henderson, *The Quest for Efficiency: the Origins of the State Services Commission* (Wellington: State Services Commission and Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, 1990), pp. 105-106, 116.

<sup>208</sup> The *Tablet* monitored closely Verschaffelt's rise to prominence (*NZ Tablet*, 6 March 1919, p. 16; 26 June 1919, p. 30; 17 July 1919, p. 33; 9 October 1919, p. 19; 30 September 1920, p. 21; 3 March 1921, p. 28; 7 June 1923, p. 27; 13 September 1923, p. 25). Potter claimed that the appointment of Verschaffelt (and of George Craig as Comptroller of Customs) showed that Massey's Government was not biased against Catholics (*NZPD*, 1923, vol. 200, p. 264).

<sup>209</sup> *Sentinel*, 1 August 1923, quoted in Gardner, p. 26 and Sweetman p. 346.

<sup>210</sup> Masters also quoted from the *Sentinel* (*NZPD*, 1924, vol. 203, p. 235; cf. *NZ Tablet*, 16 July 1924, p. 19).

<sup>211</sup> Fitchett, pp. 3-4.

organizing secretary of the Queensland League, while its programme was based on the system of Bible reading developed in New South Wales.<sup>212</sup> The Catholic Federation established in Victoria in 1911, and subsequently in other parts of Australia, was modelled on similar organizations in the United States, England and Germany, and became in turn the basis for the New Zealand Catholic Federation.<sup>213</sup> Wartime tensions in New Zealand paralleled those in Australia where the arrival of Dr Mannix in 1913 had coincided with a growing assertiveness on the part of the Catholic Church.<sup>214</sup> Controversy over the conscription of Marist Brothers echoed the much larger conscription controversy across the Tasman, where Mannix and his Church were blamed for the rejection of conscription in two referenda.<sup>215</sup> Mannix also inspired the efforts of the Catholic Federation to secure educational concessions in Australia during the war.<sup>216</sup>

Misreading the New Zealand situation in the light of developments in Australia, Elliott exaggerated the political significance of the Catholic Federation and Catholic influence within the Labour Party.<sup>217</sup> Catholics were proportionately much less numerous in New Zealand, where the Federation, unlike its Australian equivalent, did not become embroiled in party politics.<sup>218</sup> As Elliott told the Post Office Inquiry, there were organizations like the PPA in the United States, the Cape Colony, Canada and throughout Australia.<sup>219</sup> He himself brought to New Zealand something of the sectarian outlook which was more common in Australia than in New Zealand and his understanding of the Catholic Church, for example the nature of convent life, owed more to American anti-Catholic propaganda than to anything which actually took place

<sup>212</sup> Breward, pp. 53-55.

<sup>213</sup> Redwood and Cleary to District Officers of the HACBS, 27 September 1912, WCAA; W. Kane to Bishop Grimes (with a copy of the HACBS minutes), 4 October 1912, CCDA; O'Farrell, *Catholic Church*, p. 300; M. Hogan, *The Sectarian Strand: Religion in Australian History* (Ringwood, Victoria, Penguin Books Australia, 1987), p. 183.

<sup>214</sup> O'Farrell, *Catholic Church*, pp. 298-304.

<sup>215</sup> O'Farrell, *Catholic Church*, pp. 324-334; Hogan, pp. 177-179.

<sup>216</sup> O'Farrell, *Catholic Church*, pp. 305-306, 312-315.

<sup>217</sup> See, for example, Elliott to the editor, *Evening Post*, 1 January 1918, p. 2; 17 January 1918, p. 2; Moores, pp. 267-268; P.J. O'Farrell, *Harry Holland, Militant Socialist* (Canberra: Australian National University, 1964), pp. 91-92. For Australia, see Hogan, chapter seven and O'Farrell, *Catholic Church*, chapter five.

<sup>218</sup> O'Farrell, *Catholic Church*, pp. 312-313, 346-347; Hogan, pp. 183-187.

<sup>219</sup> *AJHR*, 1917, vol. II, F.-8, p. 48.

in New Zealand.<sup>220</sup> Moreover, Elliott, whose father was born in County Armagh, evidently imbibed Protestant Irish antipathy towards the Catholic Church from an early age and in New Zealand he allied himself to the Orange Lodge, with its heritage of Irish sectarian politics.<sup>221</sup> Cleary criticized the Lodge for introducing into the Dominions "the mouldy hate and strife of old-time, old-world quarrels."<sup>222</sup> Meanwhile Kelly, a reluctant immigrant, brought to New Zealand a uniquely Irish blend of Catholic religion and nationalist politics and read the New Zealand situation in the light of Ireland.<sup>223</sup> Identifying Ulster Protestants, who were persecuting Catholics, with "the followers of the horsewhipped cad" in New Zealand, he declared

we have evidence that those who are kith and kin with the assassins of Belfast hold the Government in the hollow of their hands....Let them do their worst. All that they can do will only strengthen our cause and make the Catholic Church in New Zealand as vital and as glorious as it is in persecuted Ireland...<sup>224</sup>

During the early 1920s, international and local sources of sectarian strife abated. Clerical conscription was no longer an issue and the Prohibition movement was defeated in 1919 and 1922. Postwar regulations requiring schoolchildren to salute the flag and teachers to take an oath of allegiance were directed against Socialists rather than Catholics and Catholic acceptance of the Anglo-Irish Treaty and the favourable verdict returned in the Liston trial took the sting out of allegations of Catholic disloyalty.<sup>225</sup> The Catholic Federation disappeared in 1923 and thenceforth the Church became more circumspect about demanding concessions for its schools.<sup>226</sup> Meanwhile, the Bible in Schools League was slow to recommence its campaign. When it did, during the mid-1920s, some politicians remarked on the recent decline of

<sup>220</sup> Moores, pp. 90-101, 104-106.

<sup>221</sup> Schedule of births in the district of Maldon, Victoria; date of birth 10 March 1877 (photocopy supplied by *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* staff). Asked at the Post Office Inquiry when he began spreading anti-Catholic propaganda, Elliott replied "When I was at school" and affirmed that he had "kept it up ever since" (*AJHR*, 1917, vol. II, F.-8, p. 39).

<sup>222</sup> *Month*, 15 July 1918, p. 9.

<sup>223</sup> *Cf. NZ Tablet*, 31 July 1929, p. 3: "The writer has memories of early youth which are pictures of little groups of men he knew very well engaged in fighting all day long against small armies of soldiers and policemen and bailiffs in defence of the homes in which they were born...".

<sup>224</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 31 March 1921, p. 15.

<sup>225</sup> During the Liston affair, however, it was occasionally suggested that clergy should also have to take the oath ("Teacher" to the editor, *NZ Herald*, 20 March 1922, p. 4; Geo. M. Johnston to the editor, *NZ Herald*, 22 March 1922, p. 8).

<sup>226</sup> For this issue, see chapter six.

sectarianism in New Zealand.<sup>227</sup> In fact, the revival of this issue would lead to further sectarian squabbling but, without the admixture of other issues, controversy over religious education was not of sufficient moment to arouse widespread or sustained antagonism in the community at large.<sup>228</sup> Some Catholics believed that their Church's efforts to alleviate suffering during the 1918 influenza epidemic helped to overcome prejudice, although Cleary evidently doubted whether such efforts would lead to a mitigation of sectarian allegations against convents.<sup>229</sup> In Kelly's estimation, the priests and nuns who risked their own lives to aid influenza victims gave the lie to sectarian calumnies about them. He and Cleary contrasted their self-sacrifice with the alleged inactivity of the PPA and its supporters, but after the epidemic was over, Kelly was angered by the lack of recognition accorded the nuns for their work.<sup>230</sup> Although Kelly remained editor of the *Tablet* until December 1931, his tone was more restrained after the resolution of the Irish issue and the death of Massey in May 1925. He still argued about education with the old passion ("our schools are godless because our godless politicians want them to be godless") but his editorials on this issue were largely for Catholic consumption.<sup>231</sup> As Kelly's rhetoric became more moderate, less attention was paid to that of Elliott.

From the early 1920s, the PPA rapidly lost influence. Once the *Ne Temere* phantom had been exorcised by a ritual legislative incantation, the PPA had little to offer a broad Protestant constituency. Presbyterian divines continued to warn that, "Romanism is ever seeking to uphold its own supremacy, and is constantly meddling with secular and political affairs" but the Protestant Principles Committee had so little to do that its concerns were taken over by the Life and Work Committee and ceased to be reported upon after 1931.<sup>232</sup> Allegations of a Catholic conspiracy in New Zealand could only seem credible in times of social distress; without crises to feed upon, the PPA starved. After the re-election of Reform in December 1922 - as a minority

<sup>227</sup> *NZPD*, 1924, vol. 203, p. 595 (Massey), p. 621 (Monteith); 1926, vol. 210, p. 410 (Newman); 1927, vol. 215, p. 532 (Sullivan).

<sup>228</sup> For this controversy, see chapter seven.

<sup>229</sup> *Catholic Federation...5th March, 1919*, p. 10; *NZ Tablet*, 2 January 1919, p. 3 (Brodie); *Month*, 14 December 1918, p. 6 (Cleary).

<sup>230</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 5 December 1918, p. 14; 19 December 1918, p. 14; 6 February 1919, p. 14; *Month*, 15 March 1919, p. 3; 31 March 1921, p. 15; 15 April 1921, p. 19.

<sup>231</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 31 August 1927, p. 33.

<sup>232</sup> *PGA*, 1923, p. 68; 1924, p. 230; 1926, pp. 153-156; 1927, p. 209-210; 1928, pp. 219-221; 1931, p. 82. The quotation is from a circular issued by the Church in 1926 (*PGA*, 1926, p. 155).

government despite PPA support<sup>233</sup> - Kelly predicted that "the Orangeman is not likely now to bring in any more persecuting legislation at the behest of the P.P. Ass. parsons."<sup>234</sup> Massey's death, and the accession of J.G. Coates to the Reform Party leadership, confirmed the break between the Party and the PPA. It is said that Coates refused Elliott admission to his office.<sup>235</sup> Kelly observed that the 1925 election, unlike previous elections, was not characterized by "efforts to rouse sectarian animosity". He attributed the change to a rejection of sectarian support on the part of Prime Minister Coates, who was "a straight-forward gentleman".<sup>236</sup> In July 1928, the PPA annual conference resolved that the Association had "no party political allegiance" and, in the forthcoming elections, members were urged to support only candidates who could be expected to place the "interests of the Dominion and Empire above party considerations".<sup>237</sup> During the campaign, the President of the PPA in Auckland appeared on Ward's platform.<sup>238</sup> The Association lingered on until about 1932<sup>239</sup> by which time Elliott had embarked on a business career. In 1930, he became the founding editor of the *New Zealand Financial Times*.<sup>240</sup> Evidently unaware of Elliott's new role, the *Tablet*, still under Kelly's editorship, described the *Financial Times* as "a straight-forward, patriotic journal". The *Tablet* found itself in happy agreement with the *Financial Times*'s economic proposals, including severe retrenchment on the part of government and local bodies in response to the Depression.<sup>241</sup>

Although sectarian tensions eased, Elliott and other propagandists continued to make dubious and sometimes risible claims about the influence and activities of

<sup>233</sup> O'Farrell, *Harry Holland*, p. 126; Satchell, pp. 55-63; Sweetman, pp. 336-337.

<sup>234</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 22 February 1923, p. 18.

<sup>235</sup> O'Connor, "Sectarian Conflict", p. 16; James Joyce SM, "Memoirs of a Marist" (unpublished typescript, 1971, MAW), p. 87.

<sup>236</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 11 November 1925, p. 22; cf. 2 May 1928, p. 5; 27 November 1929, p. 5; cf. O'Connor's unsourced references to contemporary observations ("Era", p. 1866; "Sectarian Conflict", p. 16). In Potter's Mount Roskill electorate, a pamphlet was circulated in the name of the PPA asserting that Catholics were disloyal and urging the election of Protestant candidates, but Potter himself disavowed the publication (*Month*, 17 November 1925, pp. 27-28). O'Farrell (*Harry Holland*, p. 134) says that in 1925, the PPA's anti-Labour campaign was "more vehement than ever before".

<sup>237</sup> *Evening Post*, 12 July 1928, p. 4.

<sup>238</sup> O'Connor, "Sectarian Conflict", p. 16.

<sup>239</sup> Moores, pp. ii, 312.

<sup>240</sup> See G.H. Scholefield (editor), *Who's Who in New Zealand and the Western Pacific*, (Wellington: L.T. Watkins Ltd, 4th edition, 1941), p. 136. The third edition (Rangatira Press, 1932; see page 156 for Elliott) does not mention Elliott's editorship of the *Financial Times*.

<sup>241</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 7 October 1931, p. 6; cf. 26 August 1931, pp. 5-6; 23 September 1931.

Catholics, or to issue polemics against the Church and its doctrines. When Margaret Martin, a seventeen year old Protestant attending Epsom Grammar School, ran away from home in September 1924, evidently to escape her mother's attempts to curb the influence of a Catholic teacher, Miss Terry, there were claims that the Catholic authorities were directly involved.<sup>242</sup> In 1925, Elliott claimed to have learnt from "the last remaining Protestant" to leave Puhoi, that the "wholly alien and Romanist" population of the town had "bought out and driven out" all the local Protestants. The charge was answered by the Father D.V. Silk, who published the testimony of two current Protestant residents.<sup>243</sup> A 1930 pamphlet opposing the Nurses' and Midwives Registration Bill, which would allow nurses to be trained in private hospitals, warned against "Rome's further aggressions". It also claimed that a recent change to government fireworks regulations was a concession to Catholic concerns over Guy Fawkes' Day publicity.<sup>244</sup> According to the *Nation*, the parents of a student killed at the Marist house of studies during the Napier earthquake were forced to take out a second mortgage on their house in order to pay at least £100 for prayers and masses for the repose of his soul. Despite a challenge from K.I. McGrath SM, editor of the *Marist Messenger*, no names or other evidence were provided.<sup>245</sup> In 1933, it was rumoured that debutantes at Dunedin's annual Catholic Charity Ball each had to pay the Bishop £15 - the previous year, the fee had allegedly been £70.<sup>246</sup> During a mission in Newtown in 1935, propagandists waited outside the Church to give out pamphlets based on *The Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk*, long cited to justify convent inspection.<sup>247</sup> A visiting Australian speaker, F. Kilner, gave a series of lectures on "Protestantism and the Church of Rome" in Wellington in 1934. Among the topics advertised was the significance of the recent jubilee celebrations in honour of

<sup>242</sup> *NZ Herald*, 29 September 1924, p. 8; 21 October 1924, pp. 8, 11; *Month*, 21 October 1924, pp. 17-18; 18 November 1924, p. 21.

<sup>243</sup> *Month*, 17 March 1925, p. 17 (reprinted in *NZ Tablet*, 25 March 1925, pp. 30-31), quoting extracts from *NZ Sentinel*, 2 February 1925.

<sup>244</sup> Paul Kavanaugh to Brodie, 17 May 1930, CCDA; *Month*, 10 June 1930, p. 19.

<sup>245</sup> *Marist Messenger*, July 1931, p. 12 and *Nation*, 8 July 1931, p. 7 (both references cite the original article from the *Nation* of 8 March); *Marist Messenger*, September 1931, pp. 5-6. According to Moores (p. 128), Elliott himself edited the *Nation* from 1931 to 1936.

<sup>246</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 2 August 1933, p. 4; 23 August 1933, p. 4.

<sup>247</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 24 April 1935, p. 36; cf. *Month*, 16 September 1924, p. 37 for earlier evidence of the book's circulation.

Redwood.<sup>248</sup> North marked the Catholic centenary of 1938 by publishing a booklet detailing Protestant objections to the errors of the Catholic Church.<sup>249</sup> During the 1938 local body elections in Wellington, there were complaints that sectarian issues had been introduced.<sup>250</sup>

The germs of sectarian strife had been endemic in New Zealand society long before the circumstances of the period and the contribution of influential individuals led to the sectarian epidemic which began during World War I and lasted until the early 1920s. According to Kelly and Elliott, the two most infectious "carriers" in the epidemic, their own legitimate activities brought to light the already-existing animosity of their opponents. Elliott, claiming to be "out on a great public duty", denied that he was increasing the level of sectarian antagonism in the community, but acknowledged that his actions did "bring to the surface the ill feeling that exists already on the other side."<sup>251</sup> Meanwhile Kelly asserted that "the bigotry is there all the time" but it was "only when we Catholics fight for our rights that it is shown."<sup>252</sup> Elliott intensified dormant Protestant fears and prejudices which had already been aroused by several Catholic-Protestant controversies, the rebellion in Ireland and the apparent disloyalty and assertiveness of the Catholic community embodied in the Catholic Federation and Kelly's *Tablet*. However, the PPA never represented more than a minority of Protestants and enthusiasm for the principles it embodied waned as the sources of tension were overcome. Even at the height of the Association's popularity, individual Catholic and Protestant clergymen maintained cordial relations. A visitor to the Grey Lynn presbytery in November 1918 was surprised to find the Anglican Bishop Averill and the Rev. Cable in amicable conversation with Bishop Cleary and Father Holbrook.<sup>253</sup> The limited extent of anti-Catholic sentiment can be gauged by the

<sup>248</sup> *Evening Post*, 17 March 1934, p. 3. A handbill advertising the lectures, commencing on 19 March 1934, (copy in WCAA) refers to the Redwood jubilee celebrations.

<sup>249</sup> J.J. North, *The Plain Points of Protestantism* (Auckland: H.H. Driver, 1938). On the front cover were printed the words "1838 - 1938, Roman Catholic Centenary in N.Z. 1538 - 1938, 4th Centenary of the English Reformation" and the publication implies (p. 5) that sectarian bitterness first occurred in New Zealand because of the arrival of Bishop Pompallier. The *Outlook* (31 January 1938, p. 28) published a laudatory review.

<sup>250</sup> *Evening Post*, 9 May 1938, p. 10; 10 May 1938, p. 8.

<sup>251</sup> *AJHR*, 1917, vol. II, F-8, p. 38.

<sup>252</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 22 May 1919, p. 33.

<sup>253</sup> *Month*, 14 December 1918, p. 9; cf. the earlier references to farewells for priests cited in the conclusion to chapter three above.

Government's cautious response to PPA pressure and its eventual repudiation of the Association. Elliott set out to show that the Catholic Church represented a foreign power hostile to the interests of New Zealand and the British Empire, but it was increasingly clear to the great majority of New Zealanders that militant anti-Catholicism was itself a socially disruptive force. New Zealand society continued to incubate the germs of sectarianism but since the early 1920s they have never again reached epidemic proportions. To Elliott himself must be attributed much of the responsibility for bringing discredit on efforts to marginalize the Catholic Church, while Catholics themselves, it will be argued, learnt to limit sectarian controversy by emulating the example of Cleary rather than that of Kelly.

### The Prohibition Debate

State Prohibition of the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages was a very divisive issue in New Zealand (and other Anglo-Saxon countries) during the years of the sectarian epidemic. For Presbyterians, Methodists and the smaller evangelical denominations, Prohibition was almost an article of faith, but the Anglican Church, while deploring the evils of the liquor trade, was divided over the solution.<sup>254</sup> The even division of the community was demonstrated by the referendum held on 10 April 1919. Out of 518,016 votes, Prohibition was favoured by an excess of 13,896 votes within New Zealand but the 31,981 anti-Prohibition votes of the Expeditionary Forces gave the National Continuance option a slim margin of 10,362 - a 51 per cent majority.<sup>255</sup> Even within the Catholic Church there were sharply conflicting opinions, with Cleary's *Month* lending its support to the Prohibitionist cause which was vigorously opposed by the *Tablet* and Redwood.<sup>256</sup> This disunity within the Church is worth considering in some detail since it prevented the presentation of a single "Catholic" viewpoint in the debate: to a large extent the Church reflected the divisions of the wider society rather than standing apart from them. Although the Prohibition debate remained in some respects a sectarian quarrel, in which evangelical Protestants were identified with one side and Catholics with the other, Prohibitionists could not

<sup>254</sup> See J. Cocker and J. Malton Murray, editors, *Temperance and Prohibition in New Zealand* (London: Epworth Press, 1930), pp. 155-173.

<sup>255</sup> Report on the 1919 Special Licensing Poll, *AJHR*, 1919, vol. II, H.-39, p. 25; Cocker and Murray, pp. 126, 271 (the 13,896 figure is misprinted as 13,396; 7,723 overseas soldiers favoured Prohibition).

<sup>256</sup> For a discussion of Redwood's views, see N.A. Simmons, pp. 128-137.

afford to lose the support of Cleary and other Catholics by indulging in sectarian propaganda. After 1919, moreover, the prospect of Prohibition became increasingly remote. Even though it remained on the evangelical agenda, it lacked support in the community as a whole.

Since the Catholic Church's involvement in the Prohibition debate during this period has not been investigated systematically by any previous writer, this discussion will begin with an outline of the public statements of Redwood and Cleary and the role of other Catholic Prohibitionists. Then the arguments used by Catholic participants in the debate will be reviewed before a consideration of the sectarian dimension of the issue. Finally, the Prohibition debate in the years immediately following the First World War will be placed in its long-term perspective and its significance for the place of the Catholic community in the wider society will be assessed.

The strongest opponent of Prohibition in the New Zealand episcopate was Redwood. At end of 1918, he and the other Australasian archbishops met in Melbourne and issued a statement endorsing some form of restriction on the sale of alcohol, such as direct state control, but rejecting Prohibition as inappropriate and unworkable.<sup>257</sup> The New Zealand hierarchy, however, was unable to agree on a joint statement on Prohibition.<sup>258</sup> Shortly before the April 1919 referendum, therefore, Redwood wrote a pastoral letter which the *Tablet* published as its leading article.<sup>259</sup> One hundred copies of the letter were sent to each diocese with a request that it be read from the pulpit in every church on the Sunday before the referendum.<sup>260</sup> Redwood warned that any Catholic who voted for Prohibition was "true neither to his common sense nor his love of freedom, nor his loyalty to his Holy Religion."<sup>261</sup> While acknowledging that Catholic voters had some latitude in the matter (it was not binding "under pain of sin"), the *Tablet* urged them to follow the teaching of the bishops and anticipated that every "loyal Catholic" would.<sup>262</sup> Redwood certainly expected his advice to be followed by Catholics throughout the country. The opening sentence of the pastoral letter read: "The clergy and people of this archdiocese and of the other

<sup>257</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 5 December 1918, p. 15.

<sup>258</sup> Cleary to Redwood, 11 April 1919, CCDA.

<sup>259</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 10 April 1919, pp. 25-27.

<sup>260</sup> Redwood to Brodie, 25 March 1919, CCDA.

<sup>261</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 10 April 1919, p. 27.

<sup>262</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 31 October 1918, p. 14; 3 April 1919, p. 14.

dioceses in New Zealand naturally look to their Metropolitan for right guidance on the matter of Prohibition - National Prohibition - with which this Dominion is threatened."<sup>263</sup> In his correspondence to Brodie, Redwood described the pastoral letter addressed to the clergy and people as "telling them how to vote".<sup>264</sup>

Cleary, by contrast, repeatedly reminded his readers that, given the choice of Prohibition or some degree of state control, they were free to choose for themselves which of the options they should support, as long as there were adequate safeguards for sacramental wine.<sup>265</sup> Fearful that his stand would divide the Church, Cleary was initially reluctant to state unequivocally his personal views, preferring to leave the matter to individual Catholics to decide for themselves.<sup>266</sup> Moreover the clergy of the Auckland diocese were forbidden to advance their own views in sermons or other activities on church premises.<sup>267</sup> Without specifically mentioning the stand of his episcopal colleagues or the *Tablet*, Cleary emphasized the variety of Catholic opinion, even in the hierarchy and among Catholic journalists.<sup>268</sup> Yet since Cleary concentrated on the evils of alcoholism and mentioned only one danger of Prohibition (the possibility of a ban on sacramental wine) in order to allay fears concerning it, his own opinion was obvious enough from the beginning.<sup>269</sup> The "drink traffic", he declared, gave rise to vice and crime, disease, "domestic strife and misery" and a high economic cost to the state and to industry.<sup>270</sup>

Redwood's pastoral letter forced Cleary to state his position less equivocally and underscored the differences in the two prelates' views. Cleary was taken by aback by the issue of a letter to be read in each diocese even though he himself had not been consulted.<sup>271</sup> The Archbishop of Wellington had no jurisdiction over the Bishop of

<sup>263</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 10 April 1919, p. 25.

<sup>264</sup> Redwood to Brodie, 25 March 1919, CCDA.

<sup>265</sup> *Month*, 15 July 1918, p. 18; 15 March 1919, pp. 5, 6, 7; 15 April 1919, p. 6; 15 May 1919, p. 9; 15 November 1919, pp. 13, 15, 17.

<sup>266</sup> *Month*, 15 March 1919, p. 7 ("we have deliberately refrained from expressing our own personal view").

<sup>267</sup> Cleary to clergy, 12 March 1919, CCDA; Cleary to Dean Cabill, 31 March 1919, in *Month*, 15 April 1919, p. 6; Cleary to Redwood, 2 April 1919, CCDA.

<sup>268</sup> *Month*, 15 March 1919, p. 7; cf. 15 April 1919, p. 6; 15 November 1919, p. 15.

<sup>269</sup> *Month*, 15 July 1918, pp. 17-18; 15 March 1919, pp. 5-7 and Supplement.

<sup>270</sup> *Month*, 15 March 1919, p. 6. These words were repeated before the election and liquor poll of 1919 (*Month*, 15 November 1919, p. 13).

<sup>271</sup> "I...did not anticipate the issue of Your Grace's document" (Cleary to Redwood, 11 April 1919, CCDA.)

Auckland, who declined to have the letter read in his churches. Cleary objected to the attempt to bind Catholic consciences on the issue, pointing out that a number of priests and lay people in the diocese were conscientious Prohibitionists. Furthermore, Cleary was unwilling to publish and seemingly endorse a statement which would thus be construed as a retraction of his own publicly declared views.<sup>272</sup> Not only was the pastoral letter circulated in the Auckland diocese by means of the *Tablet*, however, but it was also published in full page advertisements in the Auckland newspapers on the eve of the April referendum.<sup>273</sup> This late publication may have been intended to forestall any effective response from the Bishop of Auckland but, on the morning of the poll, Cleary arranged for the publication of his own views in the *New Zealand Herald*. In order to avoid direct confrontation with Redwood, he simply published a letter addressed to Dean Cahill, dated 31 March 1919, replying to a request for direct advice on how Catholics should vote in the referendum. Cleary refused the advice but countered arguments about the suppression of communion wine and emphasized the legitimacy of Catholic support for Prohibition. He also expressed the opinion that in view of the evident inability of the law or the licensed trade to overcome the evils of alcoholism, "the public conscience is fully justified morally in trying the experiment of National Prohibition". The nearest he came to a direct reference to Redwood was an acknowledgement that, "The ablest and most zealous and saintly prelates of every rank...honourably and conscientiously take different sides - even opposite sides - on the debated issue of the liquor traffic."<sup>274</sup> Few readers of the Auckland press can have missed the public disagreement of the two most respected Catholic churchmen in the country. Wellington's *Evening Post* published Redwood's pastoral letter ("by arrangement with the Catholic presbytery") alongside an extract from the *Month* (also

<sup>272</sup> Cleary to Redwood, 2 April 1919, CCDA.

<sup>273</sup> *NZ Herald*, 9 April 1919, p. 15; Cleary to Redwood, 11 April 1919, CCDA. The respective roles of Redwood and the liquor trade are not apparent but presumably the trade required the Archbishop's permission to reprint his pastoral letter in its entirety. On the eve of the general election and liquor poll in December, Redwood's pastoral was published in the *Herald* again (16 December 1919, p. 19; cf. p. 10 for an advertisement quoting the *Month*).

<sup>274</sup> *NZ Herald*, 10 April 1919, p. 13; cf. *Month*, 15 April 1919, p. 6; 15 May 1919, p. 9; 15 July 1919, p. 4. Cleary described his response as a "moderate and reasoned published statement [which] studiously avoids even the remotest hint or reference" to Redwood's pastoral letter and whose "date and substance" deliberately belied the connection (Cleary to Redwood, 11 April 1919, CCDA). Presumably Cleary was not responsible for another advertisement published in the same issue (page 11), citing Catholic authorities (including Cleary) in favour of Prohibition and explicitly replying to Redwood. Other attempts to solicit Catholic votes in favour of Prohibition were also published the previous day (*NZ Herald*, 9 April 1919, pp. 3, 13).

"published by arrangement", presumably with Cleary) a few days before the poll.<sup>275</sup> Brodie was perturbed by the "glaring public scandal of a Catholic Bishop publicly opposing his Archbishop".<sup>276</sup>

Having committed himself to this firmer and potentially even more divisive stand, however, Cleary was careful to avoid an open breach with his episcopal peers by addressing his comments to Catholics within his own jurisdiction.<sup>277</sup> The familiar catalogue of evils associated with alcohol was now portrayed as arising from "the traffic in alcoholic drinks...as generally conducted within our diocese".<sup>278</sup> By implication, the same limitation applied to the teachings of the other bishops, for they, too, could only offer "advice or recommendation", based "on the facts known to them within their respective sees".<sup>279</sup> However, Cleary's advocacy of Prohibition became more forceful: "the sins and scandals of a large and undesirable part of the drink traffic have long been maintained at a level of iniquity which the public conscience need not - and ought not - to tolerate".<sup>280</sup> Before the November 1919 election and liquor poll, he wrote that, "with our dying breath we would declare it our conscientious belief that there is a real, solid hope in National Prohibition for the deep physical and moral and economic mischiefs of the licensed and unlicensed traffic in alcoholic liquors."<sup>281</sup>

Cleary sought to dissociate the Catholic Church from the liquor trade but there were stronger links than he admitted - or was aware of. While there were, he acknowledged, responsible elements in the trade, they were too few to overcome the evils wrought by their colleagues.<sup>282</sup> Cleary was particularly agitated about the "tied house" which he blamed for encouraging licensees to push the sale of alcohol "to the

<sup>275</sup> *Evening Post*, 7 April 1919, p. 3; cf. *Month*, 15 March 1919, pp. 5-7. It is possible that Redwood saw in this publication of Cleary's views within the archdiocese a justification for the publication of his own pastoral letter in the Auckland newspapers two days later.

<sup>276</sup> Brodie, statement (1929), CCDA.

<sup>277</sup> *Month*, 15 April 1919, p. 6; November 1919, p. 17. In a letter to Redwood, Cleary pointed out that the *Month* was "a Diocesan organ only" and that subscriptions were not solicited outside the diocese. (Cleary to Redwood, 2 April 1919, CCDA).

<sup>278</sup> *Month*, 15 July 19, p. 4.

<sup>279</sup> *Month*, 15 November 1919, p. 15.

<sup>280</sup> *Month*, 15 May 1919, p. 9; repeated before the 1919 election and liquor poll (*Month*, 15 November 1919, p. 17).

<sup>281</sup> *Month*, 15 November 1919, p. 13.

<sup>282</sup> *Month*, 15 July 1918, p. 16; 15 March 1919, p. 5; 15 May 1919, p. 9; 15 July 1919, p. 4; 15 November 1919, p. 17.

detriment of the social and moral welfare of the nation."<sup>283</sup> Even Kelly protested that he had no brief for the trade and would welcome reform.<sup>284</sup> State control of the liquor industry, for example, would preserve individual liberty while still restricting the abuse of alcohol.<sup>285</sup> Catholics were strongly represented in the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages but, according to Cleary, "A high percentage of the so-called Catholics in the business are...careless or lapsed".<sup>286</sup> He strongly resented the suggestion that the Church itself was in any way linked with the interests of the trade.<sup>287</sup> "The Church of the Living God," he declared, "is founded on a Rock, not upon a Vat".<sup>288</sup> In fact, the Catholic Church was not as innocent of involvement as Cleary would have liked to believe. In September 1922, Redwood wrote to Dean Bowers of Christchurch (who was running the diocese in the absence of Brodie) "on behalf of the Association of the Licensed Victualers of N.Z." advising him to have the priests of the diocese impress upon the laity the need to ensure that their names were on the electoral role before the coming election and liquor poll.<sup>289</sup> Three months later, shortly after the poll, the National Council of the Licensed Trade in New Zealand wrote to Redwood to express its gratitude "for the services you have rendered, both personally and in your advocacy of the maintenance of the rights and privileges of the people."<sup>290</sup>

The Bishop of Auckland was far from being the only Catholic Prohibitionist. Catholics whose families had been harmed by alcoholism commonly supported the cause.<sup>291</sup> Dr A.B. O'Brien of Christchurch publicly advocated Prohibition and in 1922, Redwood was moved to denounce a small Wellington group calling itself the

<sup>283</sup> *Month*, 15 July 1918, pp. 17-18; 15 March 1919, p. 5.

<sup>284</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 8 May 1919, p. 14.

<sup>285</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 29 August 1918, p. 15; 12 September 1918, p. 15.

<sup>286</sup> Cleary to Redwood, 11 April 1919, CCDA. For Catholic employment in the liquor industry, see chapter four.

<sup>287</sup> *Month*, 15 April 1919, p. 6; 15 May 1919, p. 6; 15 November 1919, p. 17.

<sup>288</sup> *Month*, 15 May 1919, p. 6; cf. 14 June 1919, p. 3; 15 November 1919, p. 13. The aphorism was adopted by Prohibition campaigners (*Dominion*, 2 November 1925, p. 6; *Press*, 2 November 1925, p. 18; *Otago Daily Times*, 3 November 1925, p. 19).

<sup>289</sup> Redwood to Bowers, 9 September 1922, CCDA.

<sup>290</sup> J.R. Raw (? signature unclear) to Redwood, 12 December 1922, WCAA, Prohibition file.

<sup>291</sup> Kathleen Doyle, interview, 24 January 1989; Mary and Lou Dudson, interviews, 27 January 1989.

"Irish Catholic Prohibition League".<sup>292</sup> D.G. Sullivan, Labour parliamentarian (1919-1947) and Mayor of Christchurch (1931-1936), was also a Prohibitionist.<sup>293</sup> In 1919, the bishops were embarrassed by Charles Todd and Father Maurice Cronin who toured the country giving lectures on Prohibition.<sup>294</sup> Todd was President of the Otago Temperance Council before being elected as Dominion President of the New Zealand Alliance for the Abolition of the Liquor Traffic (1926-1928).<sup>295</sup> He was characterized by Coffey as

one of these Catholics who go to Mass but never to the Sacraments. He is a successful business man and good and kind to his wife and children[,] all of whom are practical Catholics. He is a rabid prohibitionist who will make use of any means to gain his end. Two of his brothers have gone under through drink[,] hence his advocacy of prohibition.<sup>296</sup>

Reflecting Coffey's estimate of the man, Kelly challenged Todd to demonstrate that he was a "living member" of the Catholic Church, who, among other things, received the sacraments and was in union with the Pope.<sup>297</sup> Cronin had served as a priest in the Christchurch diocese for four years until 1918, before going back to his own diocese of Salford, England. The following year, he returned to New Zealand, although he had not been invited by the ecclesiastical authorities and presumably did not have leave from his own bishop. He was refused work in the Christchurch diocese and Brodie warned his priests not to offer Cronin hospitality or to allow him the use of their churches or chapels. Cleary similarly showed his disapproval by forbidding Cronin facilities for saying Mass unless he could produce appropriate papers from his bishop.<sup>298</sup> Cronin had the support of some priests in the Dunedin diocese<sup>299</sup> but he and

<sup>292</sup> *Press*, 12 September 1922, p. 12; *Evening Post*, 9 October 1922, p. 5; Cocker and Murray, p. 161. Kelly claimed that the League had fewer than twelve members (*NZ Tablet*, 14 December 1922, p. 27) and O'Regan believed that it existed only on paper (O'Regan diary, 3 December 1922, ATL 76-165-1/1).

<sup>293</sup> Gustafson, *Labour's Path*, p. 122.

<sup>294</sup> See, for example, *Otago Daily Times*, 10 March 1919, p. 4.

<sup>295</sup> Cocker and Murray, pp. 161, 258, 264; J.S. Gully, in A.H. McLintock (editor), *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand* (Wellington: Government Printer, 1966), vol. III, pp. 403-404.

<sup>296</sup> Coffey to Brodie, 11 March 1919, CCDA; cf. Coffey to O'Shea, Cleary and Brodie, 14 March 1919, CCDA.

<sup>297</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 20 March 1919, p. 14. Kelly lived with Coffey at the episcopal residence in Dunedin (*ACD*, 1919, p. 186).

<sup>298</sup> Cleary to clergy, signed by "John Bradley, secretary", 12 March 1919, CCDA; Brodie to clergy, 25 February 1919, CCDA. Copies of the letters were evidently sent to clergy of the Auckland and Christchurch dioceses.

<sup>299</sup> Coffey to Brodie, 11 March 1919, CCDA.

Todd apparently exaggerated the extent of their support in the Church. In Timaru and Blenheim, Todd evidently claimed to have Coffey's approval, despite the latter's protests that he had done no more than acknowledge Todd's freedom to offer hospitality to Cronin.<sup>300</sup> Todd also claimed the endorsement of Father O'Donnell of Gore, who had said only that Cronin was not banned by the Catholic Church.<sup>301</sup> Although intended only for the clergy, Brodie's letter was leaked to the press, allowing Cronin to claim that he was being persecuted and enabling him and Todd to depict O'Donnell and Coffey as being at odds with Brodie.<sup>302</sup>

In 1922, George Zurcher, a priest in the American diocese of Buffalo and President of the Catholic Clergy Prohibition League, visited New Zealand at the request of Todd, who accompanied him on a speaking tour.<sup>303</sup> He began in Christchurch - to the chagrin of Bowers who unsuccessfully forbade Zurcher to lecture in the diocese and wrote to Redwood for advice.<sup>304</sup> Fearful of making a martyr of Zurcher (a mistake which had been made in the case of Cronin) Bowers, Redwood, Whyte and Liston agreed to delay making a public statement until close to the election and to avoid reference to the visiting cleric.<sup>305</sup> Zurcher was refused faculties to say Mass in the Christchurch diocese (except privately on one occasion)<sup>306</sup> and Redwood wrote to Whyte and Liston that he would do likewise in the archdiocese of Wellington.<sup>307</sup> In the event, the bishops apparently allowed him to celebrate Mass privately.<sup>308</sup> Zurcher

<sup>300</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 20 March 1919, p. 14; 3 April 1919, p. 14; Coffey to O'Shea, Cleary and Brodie, 14 March 1919, CCDA.

<sup>301</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 20 March 1919, p. 14.

<sup>302</sup> *Press*, 28 February 1919, p. 6; 1 March 1919, p. 8; *Evening Post*, 1 March 1919, p. 9; Cleary to Brodie, 2 March 1919, CCDA; Coffey to Cleary, 19 March 1919, CCDA.

<sup>303</sup> *Press*, 12 September 1922, p. 12; *Evening Post*, 7 October 1922, p. 3; 9 October 1922, p. 5; Cocker and Murray, p. 258.

<sup>304</sup> Bowers to Redwood, 12 September 1922; cf. Bowers to Whyte, 29 September 1922, CCDA.

<sup>305</sup> Redwood to Bowers 18 September 1922; Bowers to Redwood, 19 September 1922; Whyte to Bowers, 21 September 1922; Redwood to Bowers, 22 September 1922, CCDA. However, when Liston received a circular letter from Redwood in late November, he decided not to circulate it in the Auckland diocese out of deference to the absent Cleary (Liston to Brodie, 28 November 1922, CCDA).

<sup>306</sup> Bowers to Redwood, 12 September 1922; Bowers to Whyte, 20 September 1922, CCDA.

<sup>307</sup> Redwood to Bowers, 14 September 1922, CCDA.

<sup>308</sup> Whyte to Bowers, 21 September 1922, CCDA; Zurcher to Redwood, 26 September 1922, WCAA; cf. Redwood to Zurcher, 29 September 1922, WCAA (sentence on faculties for saying Mass illegible). Zurcher told a Wellington audience that he had been allowed to say Mass privately (*Evening Post*, 9 October 1922, p. 5).

eventually sent his credentials to Redwood from Invercargill, explaining that he had not had time to present them when passing through Wellington.<sup>309</sup> Redwood told Zurcher that his actions were offensive to the Catholic clergy, expressed his resentment at Zurcher's coming to New Zealand and advised him to leave as soon as possible.<sup>310</sup>

Although they sometimes invoked the same principles, Catholic Prohibitionists and anti-Prohibitionists reached different conclusions. Cleary and other Catholic writers agreed in rejecting as heretical the Manichaeian notion that alcohol was an evil in itself, since it was a part of God's creation.<sup>311</sup> To Kelly's mind, this meant that Catholic Prohibitionists were actually aiding heretics<sup>312</sup> but Cleary did not believe there was any Manichaeism among Prohibitionists.<sup>313</sup> In Redwood's view, the mere misuse of alcohol was not a sufficient reason for banning it, any more than printing, the theatre or dancing should be forbidden. It was just as logical to blame drapers for the shop lifting which occurred on their premises as to blame brewers for the evils of excessive drinking.<sup>314</sup> Kelly likewise proposed alternative objects for the Prohibitionists' zeal, such as automobiles which created opportunities to undermine the virtue of young women.<sup>315</sup> Redwood and Kelly took the argument a stage further by arguing that the drinking of alcohol was sanctioned in Scripture and by the example of Christ himself - an obvious argument which Cleary strangely failed to address.<sup>316</sup>

Cleary advocated total abstinence as a virtue endorsed by the Church but Kelly emphasized that it was only virtuous because it was not compulsory and that the virtue could not be cultivated where Prohibition was in force.<sup>317</sup> Nor would people be made moral by legislation as the Prohibitionists seemed to hope:<sup>318</sup> the Prohibitionist states

<sup>309</sup> Zurcher to Redwood, 26 September 1922, WCAA.

<sup>310</sup> Redwood to Zurcher, 29 September 1922, WCAA. It is possible that a different letter was actually sent.

<sup>311</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 15 August 1918, p. 15; 19 September 1918, p. 14; 26 September 1918, p. 30 (Todd); 5 December 1918, p. 15; *Month*, 15 July 1918, p. 18; 15 March 1919, p. 6; 15 November 1919, p. 13; 19 October 1922, p. 33; 30 November 1922, p. 19 (the latter two references quote sermons by J. Eccleton, SM).

<sup>312</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 15 August 1918, p. 15.

<sup>313</sup> Cleary to Redwood, 2 April 1919, CCDA.

<sup>314</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 10 April 1919, p. 26.

<sup>315</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 3 April 1919, pp. 25-26.

<sup>316</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 15 August 1918, p. 15-6; 27 March 1919, p. 15; 10 April 1919, pp. 25-26.

<sup>317</sup> *Month*, 15 July 1918, p. 18; 15 March 1919, p. 6, 7; 15 November 1919, p. 13; *NZ Tablet*, 22 August 1918, p. 15; 31 October 1918, p. 14.

<sup>318</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 15 August 1918, p. 17; 22 August 1918, p. 15; 11 December 1919, p. 26 (Redwood).

in America were characterized by divorce and low church attendance.<sup>319</sup> While upholding the virtue of temperance, Redwood feared that Prohibition would actually encourage law-breaking, sly-grogging and smuggling.<sup>320</sup> By contrast, Cleary did not see Prohibition as an attempt to render people moral by legislation, but simply as the removal of an obstacle to cultivating virtue.<sup>321</sup> Moreover, legislation alone would not be adequate without addressing the social and economic causes of alcoholism and without religious and moral reform.<sup>322</sup> According to the archbishops of Australasia, though, such reforms should be encouraged *instead* of Prohibition, for they would foster temperance and remove any justification for Prohibition.<sup>323</sup> James Eccleton SM declared Prohibitionists to be admitting the failure of religion, since they sought to achieve by coercion what ought to be brought about by moral suasion.<sup>324</sup>

Episcopal exponents and opponents of Prohibition agreed in principle that it was justified in some societies. Cleary, moved by the evidence of drunkenness in New Zealand and by the inability of government or the trade itself to devise adequate safeguards, was convinced that Prohibition was appropriate for individuals or communities whose use of alcohol was immoderate.<sup>325</sup> The archbishops argued that Australasia was not "drink-sodden" as advocates of Prohibition claimed, though if it ever became so, Prohibition might then be justified.<sup>326</sup> Speaking for New Zealand in particular, Redwood branded the notion that its people were "drink-sodden" and in need of "drastic legislation" as "a vile and monstrous calumny".<sup>327</sup> To Bowers he acknowledged that in some circumstances it would be ethically permissible to impose Prohibition - though not in a "conspicuously sober" country like New Zealand.<sup>328</sup>

<sup>319</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 22 August 1918, pp. 15-6.

<sup>320</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 10 April 1919, p. 26.

<sup>321</sup> *Month*, 15 March 1919, p. 6.

<sup>322</sup> *Month*, 15 July 1918, p. 18

<sup>323</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 5 December 1918, p. 15.

<sup>324</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 19 October 1922, pp. 33-34; 30 November 1922, p. 19.

<sup>325</sup> *Month*, 15 July 1918, p. 18; 15 March 1919, p. 6.

<sup>326</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 5 December 1918, p. 15. For another rejection of the notion that drunkenness in New Zealand was sufficiently prevalent to justify Prohibition, see *ibid.*, 19 October 1922, p. 33 (sermon by Eccleton).

<sup>327</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 10 April 1919, p. 26.

<sup>328</sup> Redwood to Bowers, 14 September 1922, CCDA.

National Prohibition, according to Redwood, would be "an odious and inquisitorial tyranny"<sup>329</sup> and in the words of the assembled archbishops of Australasia, Prohibition constituted "an unwarrantable infringement on the reasonable liberty of the mass of the people".<sup>330</sup> Kelly's pre-referendum editorial lamented that "we are on the highway to an intolerable tyranny under mob rule".<sup>331</sup> The establishment of state tyranny was the strongest ethical objection to Prohibition.<sup>332</sup> Cleary, on the contrary, saw the state as the agent of the public conscience and believed it therefore had a right to regulate or even forbid the sale of alcohol if this were deemed necessary in the public interest.<sup>333</sup>

Cronin and Zurcher could be dismissed as visitors to the country who, like the laymen Todd and O'Brien, were not authorized to speak on behalf of the Church, but the isolation of Cleary constituted a serious rupture in the Catholic leadership. Claiming that the *Tablet* refused to give a fair presentation of the case for Prohibition, Todd published a brief pamphlet responding to Kelly but largely taken up with quotations from other writers, including Cleary.<sup>334</sup> In 1925, he published in the *Otago Daily Times* an advertisement which attacked Kelly and contrasted "Archbishop Redwood's wild and wet effusions" with "Bishop Cleary's cultured and reasonable articles".<sup>335</sup> Contrasting the views of Todd and Cronin with those expressed by the Australasian archbishops, Kelly concluded that, "Against the opinion of the Hierarchy united in Council certainly only a fool would oppose the opinion of an irresponsible Catholic layman, or even of an individual priest."<sup>336</sup> Presumably the opinion of a lone episcopal Prohibitionist was not worth much more. On an earlier occasion, Kelly had lamented the harm done by "misguided Catholics": "No matter who they are, no matter what position they hold, they must remember that they are not speaking for the Church when they advocate total Prohibition".<sup>337</sup> Kelly was unmoved by the testimonies "of

<sup>329</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 10 April 1919, p. 26.

<sup>330</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 5 December 1918, p. 15.

<sup>331</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 3 April 1919, pp. 25-26; cf. 29 August 1918, p. 15; 13 November 1919, p. 15.

<sup>332</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 27 March 1919, p. 15.

<sup>333</sup> *Month*, 15 July 1918, p. 18; 15 March 1919, pp. 6-7; 15 April 1919, p. 6; 15 November 1919, pp. 13-15; 13 December 1919, pp. 3-4.

<sup>334</sup> Charles Todd, *Prohibition and Catholics* (Dunedin: printed by Wilkie and Co., 1919).

<sup>335</sup> *Otago Daily Times*, 3 November 1925, p. 13. Like his pamphlet, most of Todd's advertisement (taking up a whole double column of the "Public Notices") consisted of quotations.

<sup>336</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 20 March 1919, p. 14. This was an exaggeration, for only the archbishops had expressed a collective opinion.

<sup>337</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 15 August 1918, p. 15.

priests and even of bishops" in favour of Prohibition.<sup>338</sup> Redwood dismissed Cleary's attitude as but one of the latter's "fads" and hoped that the Bishop of Auckland, who was overseas in 1922, would not return home before the election and liquor poll at the end of the year. He regretted the "trouble and embarrassment" Cleary had caused Catholics "throughout the Dominion".<sup>339</sup> Bowers described a letter by Cleary on the eve of the 1919 election as "a source of great embarrassment to all of us clergy and laity alike since it was published" and wished Cleary would follow the line endorsed by the other bishops.<sup>340</sup>

While Prohibition divided the Catholic Church, or at least its leadership, the issue also had strong sectarian overtones. According to Kelly, the prominent role of Methodists and Baptists in the campaign was enough in itself to make Catholics wary.<sup>341</sup> He asserted that, "The advocates of Prohibition are in the main the greatest enemies to the Catholic Church and the most implacable tyrants, who would show no mercy to Catholics if they had their way."<sup>342</sup> Redwood saw the Prohibitionist cause as largely the work of fanatics, although there were some sincere Catholics involved whose families had been hurt by alcohol abuse.<sup>343</sup> He warned that his pastoral letter on Prohibition should not be read in churches or published until the Sunday immediately before the referendum, lest on an intervening Sunday, "our enemies" would have an opportunity to invoke the "*no-popery* argument" in their pulpits "with words they would not dare to use in the newspaper".<sup>344</sup> There were grounds for this concern: when Coffey met Todd, he was embarrassed to find him in "a crowd of men notorious for their hatred of the Church" as evidenced by their past support for anti-Catholic lecturers.<sup>345</sup> Even Cleary admitted that there were "enemies of the Church in the

<sup>338</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 27 March 1919, p. 15.

<sup>339</sup> Redwood to Bowers, 14 September 1922, CCDA; Redwood to Zurcher, 29 September 1922, WCAA.

<sup>340</sup> Bowers to Redwood, 12 September 1922, CCDA. The words "since it was published" were added to the original draft; perhaps Bowers was referring to the letter addressed to Cahill before the April 1919 poll.

<sup>341</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 29 August 1918, p. 15.

<sup>342</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 29 August 1918, pp. 15-16.

<sup>343</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 10 April 1919, p. 26.

<sup>344</sup> Redwood to Brodie, 25 March 1919, CCDA (original emphasis).

<sup>345</sup> Coffey to Brodie, 11 March 1919, CCDA; cf. Coffey to Cleary, 19 March 1919, CCDA. Kelly was forced to retract the claim that the chairman of the meeting addressed by Cronin and Todd in Dunedin on 3 March 1919 had been associated with the anti-Catholic ex-nun Margaret Shepherd (*NZ Tablet*, 26 June 1919, p. 15; cf. 27 March 1919, p. 15; 3 April 1919, p. 14).

Prohibition movement" but they did not run it and anyway there were also good Catholics on both sides of the issue.<sup>346</sup> Cleary had a novel explanation of the link between sectarianism and Prohibition. He believed that the PPA was funded in part by the liquor industry and that Dickson was a lobbyist for the brewers. He asserted that many Auckland priests and lay Catholics were determined to support Prohibition if the brewers sponsored Dickson in the 1919 election. Even Catholics in the liquor trade were afraid that antagonizing the PPA and the Orange Lodge would be harmful for business.<sup>347</sup> The PPA, however, claimed to be standing against "some part of the liquor trade".<sup>348</sup>

The sectarian dimension of the controversy was most apparent in Catholic fears that Prohibition would be extended to the use of sacramental wine. Kelly was certain that if Prohibition were introduced, the "No-popery party" would lobby for a ban on wine for religious use.<sup>349</sup> Redwood saw such a ban as the inevitable corollary of the view that alcoholic drink was in itself evil.<sup>350</sup> He warned that "the No-License movement numbers among its most prominent advocates men who publicly denounce the Mass as "an unchristian superstition" and make no secret of their determination, if they had the power, to prevent its celebration in New Zealand."<sup>351</sup> Both Kelly and Redwood drew cautionary lessons from the experience of Prohibition in the United States.<sup>352</sup> Even though contemporary Prohibition campaigners in New Zealand (including Todd) denied any ambition to ban sacramental wine, Kelly repeatedly alleged that the Rev. B.S. Hammond had expressed in 1911 a hope that this would happen.<sup>353</sup>

<sup>346</sup> Cleary to Redwood, 2 April 1919, CCDA.

<sup>347</sup> Cleary to Brodie, 16 March 1919, CCDA; Cleary to Redwood, 2 April 1919 and 11 April 1919, CCDA.

<sup>348</sup> *Colonist* (Nelson), 11 October 1919, quoted in *NZPD*, 1919, vol. 185, p. 392 (McCallum).

<sup>349</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 15 August 1918, p. 15; 3 April 1919, p. 14; 30 November 1922, p. 18.

<sup>350</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 10 April 1919, p. 25; 11 December 1919, p. 26.

<sup>351</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 10 April 1919, p. 27. Earlier in the same pastoral letter (p. 26), Redwood had been more circumspect: "We know that there are in the ranks of the Prohibitionists, *though not, perhaps, among the present leaders in this country*, bitter enemies of the Catholic Church and of the Mass" (emphasis added).

<sup>352</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 15 August 1918, p. 15; 29 August 1918, p. 15; 10 April 1919, p. 26; 29 April 1920, p. 14; 22 July 1920, p. 14; 30 November 1922, p. 23.

<sup>353</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 8 August 1918, p. 14; 15 August 1918, p. 15; 29 August 1918, p. 15; 5 September 1918, p. 14; 12 September 1918, p. 15; 7 November 1928, p. 6; cf. Moores, pp. 38-39; A.R. Grigg, "Prohibition, the Church and Labour: a Programme for Social Reform, 1890-1914", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 15/2 (October 1981), p. 146. Kelly denied that he was misrepresenting Hammond (*NZ Tablet*, 19 August 1918, p. 15). For Todd's defence, see Todd to the editor, *NZ*

Neither Redwood nor Kelly were reassured by the promises of the Prohibitionists and the Government that sacramental wine would be protected by regulation, since such regulations could be altered in the future.<sup>354</sup> Coffey, however, confided in the bishops that he was not impressed by the argument that communion wine would be endangered, although as an Irish Catholic he professed little faith in Acts of Parliament as guarantees.<sup>355</sup> Cleary did acknowledge that some Prohibitionists might seek in the future to imitate the more restrictive legislation of certain American states,<sup>356</sup> but he was satisfied by an assurance he had received from Attorney-General Bell that Prohibition regulations would make adequate provision for the continued use of altar wine.<sup>357</sup> He did not think that any "present or prospective political party is at all likely to be strong enough or foolish enough...to antagonise Catholics and Anglicans - or even a compact body of Catholics alone, roused and fused red hot by an attack upon their central act of worship."<sup>358</sup>

Although they continued to restate their previously expressed views, there was some mellowing on the part of Kelly and especially Cleary over the coming years. Before each of the triennial liquor polls of the 1920s, Redwood's pastoral letter and the Australasian archbishops' statement were reprinted in the *Tablet*.<sup>359</sup> In 1928, both statements were reproduced twice.<sup>360</sup> Kelly reiterated his old arguments<sup>361</sup> but also

(Footnote continued from previous page.)

*Tablet*, 26 September 1918, pp. 30-31, to which Kelly responded the following week (3 October 1918, pp. 15, 17).

<sup>354</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 10 April 1919, pp. 26-27; 3 April 1919, p. 14. In August 1918, however, Kelly had expressed the more moderate view that a Prohibition law could only be satisfactory to Catholics if it included a specific exemption for liturgical wine (*NZ Tablet*, 15 August 1918, p. 15; 29 August 1918, p. 15).

<sup>355</sup> Coffey to Cleary, 19 March 1919, CCDA. In evidence, Coffey alluded to the need to defend the right to use government scholarships in Catholic secondary schools as provided for in legislation as recently as 1914.

<sup>356</sup> *Month*, 15 July 1918, p. 18.

<sup>357</sup> *Month*, 15 March 1919, p. 5 and Supplement; 15 April 1919, p. 6, (The latter reference is to a letter by Cleary dated 31 March 1919.); 15 November 1919, p. 15. In a letter to Redwood, Cleary referred to the Attorney-General as "our tried and trusted friend" (Cleary to Redwood, 2 April 1919, CCDA). Cleary had already received a similar assurance from Massey (Sweetman, pp. 201-202, citing Cleary to Massey 13 November 1918 and Massey to Cleary, 15 November 1918, ACDA).

<sup>358</sup> Cleary to Redwood, 2 April 1919, CCDA.

<sup>359</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 30 November 1922, pp. 18, 29-30; 28 October 1925, pp. 30-31, 33.

<sup>360</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 24 October 1928, pp. 22-23; 7 November 1928, pp. 43-44. The archbishops' statement was also reproduced in part on page 5 of the latter issue.

<sup>361</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 11 November 1925, p. 22; 22 December 1926, p. 22; 7 December 1927, p. 22; 2 May 1928, p. 5; 23 May 1928, p. 5; 6 June 1928, p. 5; 29 August 1928, p. 3; 17 October 1928, p. 5; 7 November 1928, pp. 5-6; 7 November 1928, p. 3; 21 November 1928, p. 6.

increasingly expressed his approval of state control of the liquor industry<sup>362</sup> and questioned the need for triennial polls.<sup>363</sup> Cleary was overseas in 1922 but in 1925 and 1928 he repeated "the substance of our former instructions" to the Catholics of his diocese.<sup>364</sup> He added the assurance that there was no possibility of suppressing sacramental wine because acceptable wine could be made by soaking raisins in water!<sup>365</sup> Reflecting on the provisional results of the 1928 poll, in which the National Continuance option received for the first time more support than Prohibition and State Purchase and Control combined, Cleary sought to minimize their significance. Of the three options, only National Continuance had been promoted by an expensive advertising campaign. The liquor trade was still characterized by abuses such as the "far too numerous class of licensees who cater for drinking by women and girls". Yet there were, he believed, intimations of reform and the reduced trading hours (actually a wartime measure which had been made permanent back in 1918) constituted "the most notable reform in the liquor traffic for a great many years past." Further reform would stave off Prohibition and Cleary himself would then be content with "the abolition of ardent spirits and the reasonably regulated use - licensed or otherwise - of wines and ales of moderate alcoholic content"<sup>366</sup> Cleary was modifying his stand. Before the 1925 poll he had admitted that the liquor trade would not be threatened with Prohibition if it reformed itself.<sup>367</sup> In 1928, he was acknowledging that such reform was actually taking place and that full Prohibition might not be needed.

The Catholic role in the Prohibition debate revealed more about Catholic assumptions concerning the place of the Church in the wider society than about Protestant attitudes towards the Catholic Church. In the period discussed, there was no widespread public antagonism towards the Catholic Church on account of Prohibition, although Catholic opposition to the cause certainly annoyed its Protestant supporters. Most Prohibitionists knew they had more to gain by persuading at least some Catholics

<sup>362</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 17 October 1928, p. 5; 5 September 1928, p. 5; 7 November 1928, p. 3; 21 November 1928, p. 6.

<sup>363</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 11 November 1925, p. 22; 21 November 1928, p. 6.

<sup>364</sup> *Month*, 20 October 1925, pp. 17-18; 16 October 1928, pp. 21, 23 (page 21 has the words quoted).

<sup>365</sup> *Month*, 16 October 1928, pp. 23, 25; 20 November 1928, p. 13.

<sup>366</sup> *Month*, 20 November 1928, pp. 17-18. For final figures see Cocker and Murray, p. 271.

<sup>367</sup> *Month*, 16 October 1925, pp. 17-18.

to vote for Prohibition than by arousing Protestants to support it as a way of striking a blow at the Catholic Church.<sup>368</sup> Catholic disagreement over Prohibition was founded not only on varying estimates of the problems of alcohol but also on differing attitudes to the non-Catholic proponents of Prohibition. In contrast to Cleary's optimistic estimate of Prohibitionist intentions, Kelly and Redwood emphasized the sectarian dimensions to the conflict by stressing the communion wine issue. They took up a defensive position in part because they feared that the Church's enemies sought to abolish the Mass by cutting off the supply of sacramental wine. Kelly's views were endorsed by the hierarchy as a whole and his incessant commendation of its authoritative teaching owed as much to this happy coincidence as to any loyalty he bore the episcopate. Cleary, by contrast, while recognizing the sectarian designs of a few Prohibitionists, trusted that the good-will of most Protestants would ensure the continued availability of altar wine. He was no doubt correct in this estimate of Protestant attitudes, while decreasing support for Prohibition reduced further any threat to sacramental wine.

From a long-term perspective, it is clear that anti-Prohibitionist Catholics were on the side of the victorious majority in the Prohibition debate. In 1927, when the Government proposed to reduce the three-way liquor poll to a two-issue choice (for or against Prohibition), the *Press* denounced the idea as a capitulation to the interests of the New Zealand Alliance in the face of growing opposition to Prohibition in the country at large.<sup>369</sup> The *Tablet* quoted the *Press* editorial with approval.<sup>370</sup> By the 1930s, the issue had lost its significance for most Catholics and non-Catholics alike. Before the 1935 liquor poll, the *Zealandia*, successor to Cleary's *Month*, published advertisements for both National Continuance and Prohibition.<sup>371</sup> As a 1938 National Continuance advertisement in the *Tablet* asked rhetorically, "What, Again? I thought we had settled this question".<sup>372</sup> Catholics and the majority of the population agreed, but the leadership of the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches continued to advocate

<sup>368</sup> An important exception was William Richardson, editor of the *Free Press* and a prominent figure in the establishment of the PPA (Moore, pp. 36-37; cf. Cocker and Murray, p. 249). On the *Free Press* (published in Auckland), see O'Connor, "'Protestants', pp. 195-197.

<sup>369</sup> *Press*, 1 December 1927, p. 8; cf. Cocker and Murray, pp. 133-134.

<sup>370</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 7 December 1927, p. 22.

<sup>371</sup> *Zealandia*, 24 October 1935, p. 6; 21 November 1935, p. 2.

<sup>372</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 28 September 1938, p. 44.

Prohibition until well after World War II.<sup>373</sup> On this issue, it was the Evangelical community, not the Catholic Church, which held a marginal position.

### A "Solid Vote" for Labour?

Protestant opponents of the Labour Party, supposing the Catholic Church to be a homogeneous and strictly disciplined organization, rather than a community embracing diverse political views, were ready to believe without substantial evidence that Catholics were directed by the hierarchy on how to use their vote. A similar assumption appears to lie behind Erik Olssen's reference to an "alliance between the party and the Roman Catholic Church" in 1919.<sup>374</sup> However, although Catholics were encouraged to participate in politics, there was no "Catholic" vote. The Church disclaimed any right to instruct the faithful on how to vote and Catholics supported all political parties. Indeed, official Catholic antagonism towards Socialism and Communism ensured a somewhat ambivalent attitude towards the Labour Party, even though this Party increasingly attracted Catholic support.

During the interwar period (and earlier) it was widely believed that Catholic political loyalties were subject to ecclesiastical discipline.<sup>375</sup> The Catholic "block vote", commonly supposed to favour the Labour Party, was thought to be used to advance sectarian interests incompatible with those of the community at large. Potter assumed that whenever a Catholic stood for Parliament, Catholics would not vote for anyone else.<sup>376</sup> According to North, "The ominous fact is - and everyone admits it - the Roman Catholic Church is in politics."<sup>377</sup> Politicians' concerns over the Catholic block vote, he alleged, were reflected in every parliamentary debate which touched upon Catholic privileges.<sup>378</sup> Dickie asserted that, "It requires no proof to show what a menace to any country a large section of the electorate, voting simply as they are told by their 'spiritual' guides, must be."<sup>379</sup> The Anglican *Church Gazette*, lamenting

<sup>373</sup> Davidson, p. 156.

<sup>374</sup> E. Olssen, *John A. Lee* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 1977), p. 19; cf. *idem*, *A History of Otago* (Dunedin: John McIndoe, 1984), p. 187.

<sup>375</sup> For a discussion of the "block vote" issue in the nineteenth century, see Davis, *Irish Issues*, chapter eight.

<sup>376</sup> *NZPD*, 1923, vol. 200, p. 266.

<sup>377</sup> North, *Roman Catholicism: Roots and Fruits*, p. 10.

<sup>378</sup> North, *Roman Catholicism: Roots and Fruits*, p. 5.

<sup>379</sup> J. Dickie, "Foreword" in North, *Roman Catholicism: Roots and Fruits*. Evidently Dickie thought proof that Catholics did actually vote as the clergy told them to was equally unnecessary.

parliamentary rejection of the Religious Exercises in Schools Bill in 1927, argued that, "Politicians recognise that the Roman vote is a solid vote, and they act accordingly." Anglicans, by contrast, lacked political influence because they would not "allow themselves to be dragooned by ecclesiastical authority in political matters."<sup>380</sup> The claim that the Catholic block vote supported the Labour Party, with which the Church was supposed to have a special arrangement, continued to be made long after the demise of the PPA. Before the 1938 election, there was circulated a chain letter claiming that the Labour Government was being used by the Catholic hierarchy "to fill the Civil Service with Roman Catholics" and that Labour would tax Protestants to pay for "idolatrous Convents and Schools which are erected in every town in opposition to State Schools".<sup>381</sup>

Some prominent Catholics did hope that their co-religionists could become an effective voting force, especially if proportional representation were introduced. In response to sectarian pressure, Kelly urged Catholics to unite: "we must form one solid phalanx that will stand like one man against any Government that will infringe our rights at the dictation of persons who make a living out of hating us."<sup>382</sup> Recognizing that Catholic voters were only a small minority in most electorates, O'Regan, O'Shea and the Catholic Federation considered proportional representation as a means of increasing Catholic representation in Parliament.<sup>383</sup> Kelly argued that proportional representation was the only fair kind of democratic government and was opposed by the PPA because it would undermine the Association's control over the Reform administration.<sup>384</sup> He commended the Labour Party's support for such a change to the electoral system.<sup>385</sup> Lamenting the inability of the Catholic community to secure morally acceptable divorce legislation, O'Regan noted that "the system of single-

<sup>380</sup> *Church Gazette*, 1 December 1927, p. 4. For further discussion of claims about the alleged Catholic block vote against Bible in Schools bills, see chapter seven below.

<sup>381</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 7 September 1938, p. 6. *The Zealandia* (29 September 1938, p. 6) attributed such propaganda to "a familiar organisation arising from its well-deserved obscurity" - presumably the Orange Lodge.

<sup>382</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 19 August 1920, p. 15; cf., 23 September 1920, p. 14 ("We must depend on ourselves; we must organise and be ready to fight for our rights as Catholics and as citizens....Sinn Fein is our best motto.")

<sup>383</sup> Davis, *Irish Issues*, p. 184; O'Connor, "Sectarian Conflict", p. 10.

<sup>384</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 31 March 1921, p. 15; cf. 28 November 1928, p. 3 (for a brief allusion to proportional representation).

<sup>385</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 2 October 1919, p. 15; 28 June 1923, p. 18.

member constituencies makes Catholic representation impossible" and concluded that proportional representation was of "paramount importance to the Catholic body, nay, to society itself".<sup>386</sup> Proportional representation could have given Catholics a stronger voice in Parliament - though probably not a decisive role on contentious issues - but only through the establishment of a Catholic party, which was apparently never seriously considered. It was pointed out that allegedly Catholic parties overseas, such as the German Centre Party and the Italian Popular Party, had no official standing<sup>387</sup> - although this was not always noted when the electoral successes and other news about these parties or the role of priests in politics were reported.<sup>388</sup>

As individuals, Catholics were urged to become involved in politics, partly to promote their sectional interests, but also because Catholic teaching was believed to supply the answers to society's needs. Speaking to the Catholic Federation in 1919, Liston identified the material interests and social welfare of Catholics with those of the community as a whole and warned that the Catholic minority "must not stand apart as an alien" for, "We cannot afford, either for the sake of our country, or our religion, to live away from the social and political life around us." The time had come, he suggested, "for us to enter more boldly into the national life and make ourselves a force in the nation". In order to win the country "to Christ and His Church", Liston urged Catholic laymen to "find their way onto all sorts of public bodies and cheerfully shoulder the burdens of public duty".<sup>389</sup> O'Shea told the Federation that Catholics had a duty to help their country in postwar reconstruction, since only the Catholic Church endorsed the coherent system of social principles necessary to steer a safe course between "reactionary Capitalism" and "radical revolutionary Socialism".<sup>390</sup> In 1933, Leonard J. Cronin, the new editor of the *Tablet*, argued that, "Many Catholics are suffering from an inferiority complex, which had its effect in their abstention from a prominent part in public life." There needed to be "more Catholics in Parliament, on

<sup>386</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 3 June 1925, p. 15.

<sup>387</sup> *Month*, 15 January 1919, p. 4; 15 December 1922, p. 3; 15 August 1923, p. 11; 17 July 1928, p. 25; *NZ Tablet*, 29 May 1919, p. 15; 14 February 1934, p. 39 (McRae); cf. North's allegation (*Roman Catholicism: Roots and Fruits*, p. 11) that "Everywhere there is a Catholic party, a Catholic vote" but Protestants were nowhere organized in such a manner.

<sup>388</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 10 January 1924, p. 47 (Austria); 23 January 1929, p. 3 (Germany); 1 February 1933, p. 4 (Belgium); *Month*, 15 February 1923, p. 6 (Holland); 17 June 1924, p. 39, 18 November 1924, p. 13 and 15 February 1927, p. 18 (Monsignor Seipel, Austrian Chancellor).

<sup>389</sup> *Catholic Federation...5th March, 1919*, p. 6; *NZ Tablet*, 20 March 1919, p. 13.

<sup>390</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 7 August 1919, p. 34.

local bodies and also in all those societies which represent community thought in business, politics and social advancement." Cronin believed that, "In the legislative sphere the most effective way of winning favor [*sic*] with the non-Catholic community is for the Catholic politician to demonstrate his dis-interested spirit of service for the highest welfare of all sections of the community, irrespective of class or creed." Catholic politicians could promote the public good by acting in accordance with their Church's social teaching, even though the religious basis of their policies would not necessarily be apparent.<sup>391</sup>

Despite the assumption of some Protestants that their political and religious antagonists must necessarily be acting in collusion, the Catholic community was seldom, if ever, so united on a single issue that it could exercise a block vote. No doubt Catholics, as a community, favoured state aid for their schools, but there is no evidence to suppose that they were ever so uniformly preoccupied with this issue that they could overcome their differences on all others. Even if they had been so united, moreover, the scattering of Catholics' votes over the country's electorates would have deprived them of any combined electoral significance unless substantial numbers of non-Catholics voted the same way. At most, Catholics might conceivably hope to hold the balance of power in a hung Parliament and demand state aid or some other concession as the price of a coalition, but a government dependent of such sectional support would be very unpopular in the community at large. Responding to allegations that the Catholic block vote was behind Labour Party opposition to Bible reading in schools, Cleary told the congregation of St Patrick's cathedral: "So far as your knowledge and mine goes, Catholics, like their fellow-citizens of other faiths, vote in accordance with the class to which they belong, or along the lines of their commercial interests, or of their free and unfettered personal preferences."<sup>392</sup> Patrick Darby, a Catholic supporter of the Reform Government, could declare that, "No bishop or priest has ever influenced the votes of myself or the large number of Catholic voters known to me."<sup>393</sup>

<sup>391</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 1 February 1933, p. 3; cf. 24 May 1935, p. 3 for encouragement of Catholics to become involved in municipal politics. Cronin commenced his editorship in June 1932 (Directors' minutes, 17 May 1932).

<sup>392</sup> *Month*, 16 August 1927, p. i; cf. T. Gilmore, Assistant Secretary of the Wellington Labour Representation Committee, to the editor, *Evening Post* (5 January 1918, p. 3): Catholics and Protestants "vote according to their class interests and the measure of their economic knowledge" and Patrick Darby to the editor, *NZ Herald* (26 June 1928, p. 12): "Roman Catholics, as well as their fellow-voters of other Churches, vote according to their own private opinions and political predilections."

<sup>393</sup> *NZ Herald*, 26 June 1928, p. 12.

In principle, the Catholic press and the hierarchy disavowed any claim to determine the political allegiances of Catholics. Fearful of the opprobrium aroused by even the appearance of official involvement in party politics, Cleary was the most earnest exponent of ecclesiastical neutrality. He frequently asserted, usually in response to accusations by non-Catholics to the contrary, that the Catholic Church was above party politics and had no alliance with any party. Individual Catholics were free to choose for themselves which party or politician they supported. However, the Church did claim for itself a duty to enunciate the moral principles which should influence the citizen's political views and also reserved the right to speak out whenever ecclesiastical interests or moral principles were threatened.<sup>394</sup> During the 1919 election campaign, Cleary warned the clergy of Auckland that "*on no account, and in no circumstances, is any political address to be given in any church.*"<sup>395</sup> He declared that, "Neither the Catholic Federation, nor the Catholic Church, nor its heads, nor the Catholic body, in this Dominion, are running any political party, or any candidate."<sup>396</sup> At the bishops' meeting in 1920, Brodie asked whether a recent instruction of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith prohibiting clerical involvement in politics applied to New Zealand. Redwood saw no objection to careful participation in politics as long as priests did not do so in church but Cleary argued that the instruction did apply, at least in part, to New Zealand.<sup>397</sup> Seeing in it a means of curbing Kelly's excesses, Cleary secured a ruling that the instruction did apply in this country and occasionally alluded to it in the *Month*.<sup>398</sup> Even Kelly argued that the Church did not interfere in party politics, but had to pronounce upon moral and religious issues.<sup>399</sup> Catholic editors explicitly disowned any party allegiance for their journals,<sup>400</sup> sometimes in response to accusations that electioneering advertisements

<sup>394</sup> *Month*, 15 November 1919, p. 3; 13 December 1919, p. 7; 14 February 1920, p. 3; 15 June 1920, p. 6; 15 August 1923, p. 12; 15 January 1924, pp. 21-22; 19 May 1925, p. 21; 17 May 1927, p. 17; 17 July 1928, pp. 23, 25.

<sup>395</sup> Cleary to clergy, 28 October 1919, quoted in *Month*, 13 December 1919, p. 7 (original emphasis).

<sup>396</sup> *Month*, 13 December 1919, p. 7. Cleary's warning to the Federation not to involve itself in party politics has already been noted.

<sup>397</sup> Minutes of bishops' meeting, 14 December 1920, CCDA, ACDA CLE 1-5.

<sup>398</sup> *Month*, 15 November 1920, p. 4; 15 August 1923, p. 12; 19 May 1925, p. 21; 17 July 1928, p. 25; Sweetman, pp. 276-277, 330-331, 349.

<sup>399</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 14 November 1928, p. 3; 26 December 1928, p. 5.

<sup>400</sup> *Month*, 15 January 1920, p. 4; 15 January 1924, p. 22; *NZ Tablet*, 10 May 1933, p. 4; 27 July 1938, p. 46.

reflected editorial preferences.<sup>401</sup> Readers of the *Month* were advised that its advertising columns "have been all along open on equal terms to candidates of all Parties, and...candidates of all parties have been canvassed for advertisements".<sup>402</sup> Indeed, Catholic newspapers published advertisements for the Liberal, United, Reform, Labour and National Parties.<sup>403</sup> Catholics were urged to enrol and vote but were never explicitly told whom to vote for, since the Church had no interest in party politics.<sup>404</sup>

In local body politics, however, prominent Catholic non-Labour candidates occasionally received influential but indirect endorsement. Such backing never amounted to official sponsorship but it did suggest that the Church had an interest in the election of Catholics to political office. Before the 1931 municipal elections, parishoners at St Joseph's in Wellington were reminded of the duty to vote: if they did not know whom to choose, there were always a few candidates "concerning whom it is possible to obtain the necessary assurances." P.D. Hoskins, a Citizens candidate for the City Council and the most prominent Catholic layman in Wellington, had already been named twice in the parish notices in connection with the Catholic Education Board and the St Vincent de Paul Society.<sup>405</sup> The *Tablet's* Wellington correspondent

<sup>401</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 11 December 1919, p. 27; *Zealandia*, 20 October 1938, p. 6.

<sup>402</sup> *Month*, 13 December 1919, p. 16.

<sup>403</sup> Liberal: *NZ Tablet*, 20 November 1919, p. 23; 27 November 1919, pp. 19, 28; 4 December 1919, pp. 37-39; 11 December 1919, pp. 28-29, 37; *Month*, 15 November 1919, p. 16; 13 December 1919, pp. 12, 20.

United: *NZ Tablet*, 7 November 1928, pp. 2, 34.

Reform: *NZ Tablet*, 17 October 1928, p. 2; 31 October 1928, p. 39; 7 November 1928, p. 39.

Reform did not advertise in the Catholic press during Massey's tenure as Premier and the 1928 advertisements were only authorized after a special meeting of *Tablet* Company Board of Directors (Minutes, 3 October 1928).

Coalition: *NZ Tablet*, 18 November 1931, p. 7; 25 November 1931, p. 16; 20 November 1935, p. 36.

Labour: *NZ Tablet*, 20 November 1919, p. 7; 27 November 1919, p. 9; 11 December 1919, pp. 4, 23, 39; 18 November 1931, p. 2; 25 November 1931, pp. 2, 7, 15, 41; 20 November 1935, p. 7; 28 September 1938, p. 6; 5 October 1938, p. 6; 12 October 1938, p. 6; *Month*, 15 November 1919, pp. 12, 14; 13 December 1919, pp. 8, 14, 18, 20; 16 October 1922, p. 12; 15 November 1922, pp. 6, 8, 10; *Catholic News*, November 1935, p. 7; *Zealandia*, 21 November 1935, p. 7; 6 October 1938, p. 5; 13 October 1938, p. 5; 13 October 1938, p. 7.

National: *NZ Tablet*, 21 September 1938, p. 8; 28 September 1938, p. 8; 5 October 1938, p. 8; 12 October 1938, p. 8; *Catholic News*, November 1935, p. 5; *Zealandia*, 21 November 1935, pp. 5, 8; 22 September 1938, pp. 2, 9; 29 September 1938, pp. 8, 10; 6 October 1938, p. 13; 13 October 1938, pp. 5, 9.

<sup>404</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 31 August 1922, p. 14; 6 June 1928, p. 5; 3 October 1928, p. 5; 24 October 1928, p. 3; 7 November 1928, p. 3; 1 May 1935, p. 3; 30 October 1935, p. 3; 20 November 1935, p. 3; *Zealandia*, 7 November 1935, p. 4; 18 July 1935, p. 4; 29 September 1938, p. 6; 20 October 1938, p. 7.

<sup>405</sup> St Joseph's parish notices, 3 May 1931, WCAA.

openly urged readers to vote for Hoskins, but the *Month's* reference to his candidacy was much more impartial.<sup>406</sup> Before the 1933 election, the Secretary of the Candidature Committee wrote to the Administrator of St Joseph's parish asking that Hoskins' candidacy be promoted from the pulpit. Hoskins himself, however, having reconsidered the matter, wrote to cancel the request.<sup>407</sup> During the 1935 local body election campaign in Dunedin, the *Tablet* complained that "extraordinary stories" were being circulated about Catholic candidates, especially Deputy Mayor J.J. Marlow, who, it was said, would govern the city according to instructions from the Pope if elected as Mayor. Cronin recalled that there never had been nor ever would be a Catholic block vote and that the Church claimed no jurisdiction over party politics unless religious issues were at stake. Nevertheless, despite his attendances at Catholic functions, sitting Labour Mayor E.T. Cox was dismissed as one "whose promise bubbles have been bursting with disconcerting frequency since his election two years ago". Marlow, the Citizens' candidate, was said to have carried much of the Mayor's responsibility over this time.<sup>408</sup> The article was obviously intended to arouse sympathy for Marlow as the innocent object of "the bigots' attacks"; his membership of the *Tablet* Company's Board of Directors was not mentioned. A week earlier, Cronin had argued that since there were a number of worthy Catholic candidates, it was "the plain duty of the Catholic community to give them wholehearted support at the ballot box."<sup>409</sup> However, shortly before the national election later that year, he declared that, "The Catholic voter should not be influenced either for or against a candidate because of his religion."<sup>410</sup>

The existence of prominent Catholic non-Labour candidates for local and national political office effectively counters the charge that the Church was committed to the Labour Party.<sup>411</sup> There were two prominent Catholic candidates in the 1935 Wellington City Council elections: Hoskins for Citizens and M.J. Reardon for

<sup>406</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 29 April 1931, p. 45; *Month*, 1 May 1931, p. 19; cf. *Zealandia*, 9 May 1935, p. 7.

<sup>407</sup> W.N. Bacon to A. McRae, 5 April 1933; Hoskins to McRae, 7 April 1933, enclosed with St Joseph's parish notices, WCAA.

<sup>408</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 1 May 1935, p. 4.

<sup>409</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 24 May 1935, p. 3.

<sup>410</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 30 October 1935, p. 3; cf. 27 November 1935, p. 3.

<sup>411</sup> In addition to the examples below, other non-Labour Catholic candidates included the 1935 National candidate for Eden, C.E. Clarke (*Zealandia*, 7 November 1935, p. 5; cf. 28 July 1938, p. 8). Presumably the named United Party candidates commended by Kelly (*NZ Tablet*, 2 May 1928, p. 5) included Catholics.

Labour.<sup>412</sup> Carey Carrington, a Dargaville builder involved in local body politics, was Chairman of the Reform electoral committee from 1911 until 1925 and was appointed to the Legislative Council the following year.<sup>413</sup> The Prohibitionist Charles Todd, admittedly not viewed with favour by the hierarchy, was Mayor of St Kilda (1923-1926) before seeking election as the Reform candidate for Dunedin South in 1928.<sup>414</sup> After serving as Mayor of Oamaru for two terms, M.F.E. Cooney was an unsuccessful National Party candidate for the electorate in 1938.<sup>415</sup> Mosgiel Mayor and Tablet Company Manager John P. Walls, who was given permission by the Board of Directors to stand as United candidate for Chalmers in 1928, was also unsuccessful.<sup>416</sup> However, George Black, a former pupil of St Patrick's College and Honorary Secretary of the Marist Brothers' Old Boys' Association, held Motueka for the same Party from 1928 until his death in 1932.<sup>417</sup> The most prominent Catholic politician, Ward, was held in considerable respect by his co-religionists, despite their reservations about his achievements. After he was defeated in the 1919 election, Kelly hoped that Ward would later return to Parliament a wiser man and was enthusiastic about his election as head of the United Government in 1928: "In the short time since his coming into power, Sir Joseph Ward has succeeded in giving a new vitality to the country."<sup>418</sup> Ward's passing was marked by extensive tributes in the Catholic press, whereas the deaths of Massey and Holland had attracted only brief attention.<sup>419</sup> According to "Pippa" (Eileen Duggan), "The devotion of the South to the dead Premier is almost

<sup>412</sup> *Zealandia*, 9 May 1935, p. 7.

<sup>413</sup> Scholefield, *Who's Who*, (4th edition, 1941), p. 102. In 1930, Carrington moved to Auckland (*Month*, 18 March 1930, p. 44; 10 June 1930, p. 39).

<sup>414</sup> In 1931, he stood as an Independent Reform candidate for Central Otago (Gully in *Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, vol. III, pp. 403-404).

<sup>415</sup> *Month*, 1 June 1933, p. 11; *NZ Tablet*, 15 May 1935, p. 31; 1 June 1938, p. 44; *Zealandia*, 16 June 1938, p. 5. The seat was retained by Labour's Arnold Nordmeyer, a Presbyterian minister.

<sup>416</sup> Tablet Company, Board of Directors, minutes, 1 August 1928; *Month*, 17 May 1927, p. 15; 18 December 1928, p. 25; cf. *NZ Tablet*, 7 November 1928, p. 2 for an advertisement.

<sup>417</sup> *Month*, 18 December 1928, p. 25; 20 May 1930, p. 20.

<sup>418</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 8 January 1920, p. 14; 13 February 1929, p. 5. For other favourable references to Ward and his Government, see *ibid.*, 3 October 1928, p. 5; 21 November 1928, p. 6; 28 November 1928, p. 3; 14 August 1929, p. 6; 30 April 1930, p. 6. One editorial comment began with the heading "Ward Wanted" but then concluded, "It is not a Ward but a Mussolini New Zealand requires at present..." (*NZ Tablet*, 1 February 1928, p. 22; cf. 20 June 1928, p. 6: "Wanted a Mussolini").

<sup>419</sup> Ward: *NZ Tablet*, 16 July 1930, pp. 3, 6-9, 46-51; 23 July 1930, pp. 15, 47; *Month*, 2 August 1930, pp. 12-15; Massey: *NZ Tablet*, 13 May 1925, p. 34; 20 May 1925, p. 29; *Month*, 19 May 1925, p. 21. Holland: *NZ Tablet*, 11 October 1933, p. 5.

feudal."<sup>420</sup> Kelly was quickly disillusioned with Ward's successor, George Forbes, not least because he believed the excessive costs of government during the Depression were funded disproportionately from taxes on such goods as beer and tobacco rather than on less essential items like soft drink and the cinema.<sup>421</sup> Although Forbes was "an honest gentleman", he was "not another Sir Joseph Ward."<sup>422</sup>

However, Catholic approval was not limited to Catholic or Labour politicians. It has already been noted that Kelly's antipathy towards Massey was not extended to Coates; the *Tablet* continued to defend and praise him before and after the 1928 election.<sup>423</sup> This may well have reflected a widespread view among Catholics. Amelia Batistich portrays Coates as having a strong rapport with the Dalmatian community in his electorate (apart from a few Socialists), although their affection for a personable politician did not necessarily involve the Reform Party or Government.<sup>424</sup> The differences between Liberal and Reform were an anachronism by the later 1920s and Kelly was among those who commended proposals to fuse them.<sup>425</sup> No doubt many Catholics who supported the Liberal and United Parties endorsed the Coalition Government from 1931, the National Political Federation from 1935 and the National Party after its formation in 1936. For others, however, the death of Ward and the widespread view that the Coalition had failed to confront the Depression would have undermined old party loyalties and encouraged a turning to Labour.

An important constraint on Catholic support for the Labour Party was the Church's hostility towards Socialism and Communism. A series of pastoral letters penned by Redwood in the years before World War I had emphasized the irreconcilability of Socialism and Catholicism.<sup>426</sup> His articles in the *Tablet* after the war, while stressing the positive aspects of Catholic social doctrine, continued to warn against the evils of Socialism, such as its fostering of class antagonism.<sup>427</sup> In 1933 he issued a pastoral

<sup>420</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 30 July 1930, p. 23.

<sup>421</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 8 July 1931, p. 5; 19 August 1931, p. 5; 9 September 1931, p. 6; 16 September 1931, p. 3.

<sup>422</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 30 September 1931, p. 5.

<sup>423</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 2 May 1928, p. 5; 3 October 1928, p. 5; 21 November 1928, p. 6; 28 November 1928, p. 3; 14 August 1929, p. 5; 30 April 1930, p. 3; 21 May 1930, p. 6; but cf. 20 July 1927, p. 22 for a more critical view.

<sup>424</sup> A. Batistich, *Sing Vila in the Mountain* (Auckland: Hodder and Stoughton, 1987), pp. 48-53.

<sup>425</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 21 May 1930, p. 6; 6 May 1931, p. 3.

<sup>426</sup> N.A. Simmons, pp. 45-48.

<sup>427</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 8 May 1919, pp. 17-18; 26 August 1925, p. 27.

letter condemning Communism for its "hatred of God", denial of property rights and exaltation of the state.<sup>428</sup> Such condemnation of Socialism, blended with concern for the condition of the working classes, reflected papal teaching expressed particularly in Leo XIII's encyclical *Rerum Novarum* (1891) and Pius XI's *Quadragesimo Anno* (1931).<sup>429</sup> Pius distinguished between Communism and Socialism, acknowledging that the latter's demands "at times come very near those that Christian reformers of society justly insist upon." Nevertheless, Socialism, "if it remains truly Socialism", could not be reconciled with Catholicism.<sup>430</sup> When Pius reiterated his condemnation of Communism in *Divini Redemptoris* (1937), O'Shea, following instructions from the Apostolic Delegate, wrote a brief pastoral letter drawing the attention of the faithful to the new encyclical.<sup>431</sup> Under Cleary's direction, the *Month* showed no interest in Socialism but in June 1932, the journal published an editorial stressing the incompatibility of Communism and Catholicism.<sup>432</sup> During the 1930s, the Catholic press often carried articles warning against Communist activities and propaganda directed from Moscow and found throughout the world, including New Zealand.<sup>433</sup> The persecution of Catholics and other Christians in Russia, Mexico and Spain was cited as an indication of what would happen in New Zealand if Communism were not thwarted.<sup>434</sup> In 1939, the *Tablet* warned the "Catholics of this country" that the defeat of Communism in Spain was "a solemn reminder of their duty not only of combatting a system of chaos to Spain, but of working in season and out of season to remove the causes upon which the success of Communism depends."<sup>435</sup> It was recognized that

<sup>428</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 22 February 1933, p. 7; *Month*, 1 March 1933, p. 27; cf. Redwood's articles on Bolshevism (*NZ Tablet*, 7 September 1927, pp. 25, 27; 25 July 1928, pp. 42-43).

<sup>429</sup> For *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno*, see *The Papal Encyclicals, 1878-1903*, edited by Claudia Carlen IHM (Wilmington, North Carolina: McGrath Publishing Company, 1981), pp. 241-261 and *1903-1939*, pp. 415-443. A summary appeared in the *Month* (1 July 1931, pp. 21-22) and the full text in the *NZ Tablet* (15 July 1931, pp. 29, 31 and subsequent issues to 12 August 1931, p. 29).

<sup>430</sup> *Quadragesimo Anno*, paragraphs 111-120.

<sup>431</sup> Carlen, *The Papal Encyclicals, 1903-1939*, pp. 537-554; *NZ Tablet*, 19 May 1937, pp. 23-27, 33, 37; *Zealandia*, 22 April 1937, p. 1; 10 June 1937, pp. 3, 4.

<sup>432</sup> *Month*, 1 June 1932, p. 20.

<sup>433</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 24 August 1932, p. 3; 20 May 1936, p. 3; 4 November 1936, p. 11; 11 November 1936, p. 23; 17 March 1937, p. 4; 6 April 1938, pp. 5-6; *Month*, 1 August 1933, pp. 11-12; *Zealandia*, 12 August 1937, p. 1.

<sup>434</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 7 July 1937, pp. 3-4, 8, 41 (Leonard Brice SM); 13 October 1937, pp. 6-8 and *Zealandia*, 4 November 1937, p. 7 (broadcast sermon by Kevin Crowe CSSR).

<sup>435</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 1 February 1939, p. 5.

unjust social conditions provided fertile soil in which Communism would flourish.<sup>436</sup> Only the Catholic Church, it was claimed, offered a viable alternative to Communism.<sup>437</sup>

Catholics were therefore urged to take an active role in combatting the spread of Communism and their meagre efforts were sometimes contrasted with the zeal of the Communist foe.<sup>438</sup> D. McLaughlin, Treasurer of the National Union of Unemployed, complained in 1934 that although there were some 70,000 unemployed, presumably including about 10,000 Catholics, fewer than a dozen Catholics were prominent in the Union, which had some 25-30,000 members. Catholics needed to become involved in order not only to improve the lot of the unemployed but also to counter the influence of the small but vigorous Communist rival organization, the National Unemployed Workers' Movement.<sup>439</sup> Similarly, Catholic editors warned against Communist activity in trades unions and urged Catholics to take an active role in order to counter such influence.<sup>440</sup> According to McKeefry, "One of the greatest potential powers for good or evil in the world to-day is labour": hence the Church's preoccupation with Communism.<sup>441</sup>

Catholics were divided on the question of whether or not the Labour Party fell under the Church's condemnation of Socialism and, far from telling the laity to support Labour, neither the hierarchy nor the Catholic press offered any clear direction in the matter.<sup>442</sup> In part, this failure may be thought attributable to uncertainty about

<sup>436</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 27 February 1919, p. 22 (Brodie); 29 May 1919, pp. 14-15; 26 June 1919, pp. 21-22 (Redwood); *Zealandia*, 8 October 1936, p. 4; 21 October 1937, p. 6; 7 July 1938, p. 4.

<sup>437</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 27 September 1933, p. 21 (Higgins); 7 July 1937, p. 8 (Brice); *Zealandia*, 4 July 1935, p. 4; 10 June 1937, p. 4; 7 October 1937, p. 12; 21 October 1937, p. 6; 7 July 1938, p. 6.

<sup>438</sup> *Zealandia*, 14 April 1938, p. 6; 5 May 1938, p. 6; 7 July 1938, p. 6.

<sup>439</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 28 February 1934, p. 21; cf. 13 September 1933, p. 33 and 25 October 1933, p. 21 for further comment by McLaughlin.

<sup>440</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 17 February 1937, p. 3; 3 March 1937, p. 3; 17 March 1937, p. 4; 22 September 1937, p. 5; *Zealandia*, 28 January 1937, p. 4; 1 December 1938, p. 6; 8 December 1938, p. 6; cf. Alan B. Carter to the editor, *NZ Tablet*, 3 March 1937, p. 6 (Carter himself was appointed editor a few months later).

<sup>441</sup> *Zealandia*, 14 July 1938, p. 3.

<sup>442</sup> Reid (pp. 96-97), copied by Clements (p. 326) who was evidently copied in turn by Simmons (p. 53, citing only an irrelevant reference used by Clements), is quite incorrect in claiming that the Church gave "official assurances" that the condemnation of Socialism did not apply to the Labour Party. The references cited are either unofficial (*NZ Tablet*, 20 November 1935, pp. 6-7 - an anonymous article by a priest, which is discussed below) or both unofficial and irrelevant to the question (*Month*, 1 September 1931, p. 14 and 1 February 1933, pp. 20-21 - editorials which do not mention Labour). Moreover, other relevant statements need to be taken into account. Olssen has also claimed that Verdon and Whyte insisted that the Labour Party did not represent the form of Socialism condemned by the papacy and Redwood (Olssen, *Otago*, p. 187).

Labour's programme, which, without formally repudiating Socialist objectives, was increasingly moderate in detail. However, it will be seen below that leading Catholics such as Liston and O'Shea did support Labour: their reluctance to advise Catholics on whether or not the Party's programme was incompatible with Catholic teaching apparently did not reflect uncertainty on their part. Cleary, however, thought the anti-Christian elements in the Labour Party did constitute a serious impediment to Catholic support.<sup>443</sup> Nevertheless, his concern to keep the Church free from party politics left readers of the *Month* without guidance on whether they could, in conscience, vote Labour. Kelly was not so reticent but later editors of the *Tablet* were less clear.

While upholding the Church's condemnation of Socialist errors and wary of unacceptable elements within the New Zealand Labour Party, Kelly regarded the Party as such to be worthy of Catholic support.<sup>444</sup> A *via media* between the evils of Capitalism and Socialism was needed, but Kelly's sympathies were with the working class rather than the capitalists.<sup>445</sup> Reflecting on Labour's performance in the 1925 elections, he regretted the "fringe of anti-religious and anarchical tendencies which the leaders seem unable to control".<sup>446</sup> Kelly distinguished between different forms of Socialism and between extreme and "sane" Labour, arguing that the latter was not condemned by the Church. The Labour Party's policy of nationalizing certain industries (such as mines, insurance, banks and shipping interests) was simply a more thorough application of principles already practised in New Zealand and also advanced to a lesser extent by the Liberal Party. Moderate Socialism and Labour Party objectives were increasingly similar to Christian principles - as enunciated in *Quadragesimo Anno* - and were actively promoted by many Catholics and other good

<sup>443</sup> Cleary to Van Rossum, 25 March 1923, cited in Sweetman, p. 369.

<sup>444</sup> In addition to the following, further explicit references to the Labour Party and specific politicians will be given below.

<sup>445</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 27 November 1919, pp. 25-26; 4 December 1919, p. 25; 14 October 1920, pp. 15, 17; 11 January 1923, p. 29. Cadogan (pp. 72-73), noting that Kelly was in Australia late in 1919, argues that the editorial published on 4 December was composed within "the clerical circle of Monsignor Coffey" and was a "condemnation of Socialism". However its contents were consistent with Kelly's writings and Cadogan's other evidence for a "coup in the boardroom", especially the assertion that the Liberal Party monopolized the *Tablet's* advertising space at the expense of the Labour Party that month, is quite incorrect (as the references to party advertisements cited above indicate).

<sup>446</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 11 November 1925, p. 22; cf. 27 November 1919, p. 14.

Christians who upheld the right of private property and the importance of the family. Catholics were therefore free (but not obliged) to support Labour, while rash or wholesale condemnations of Socialism, likely to alienate workers, were unjustified.<sup>447</sup>

Under Kelly's successors, the *Tablet* was more equivocal. In 1933, Cronin published a rather confused editorial, which, while acknowledging the right of Catholics to form their own opinions about governments and recognizing that there was a distinction between Communists and more moderate Socialists, nevertheless argued that even the latter were condemned by papal teaching for their materialistic worldview. A quotation from the noted American theologian John A. Ryan - to the effect that Catholics should not support a Socialist party even if its actual platform were as compatible with Catholic teaching as was that of other parties - was misinterpreted to mean that Catholics were not forbidden to vote for a party "simply because it has annexed the name Socialist". In a conclusion which scarcely answered the practical question attributed to the Catholic voter, Cronin argued that Catholics needed to work for the emergence of new political groups founded on the principles of social justice.<sup>448</sup> In the same year, A.J. Mills, a Brisbane priest, was given space in the *Tablet* to argue that all Socialism, which he regarded as essentially the same as Communism, was condemned by papal teaching, while Capitalism, despite its abuses, was more acceptable. This view was challenged by M. McWilliams of the Technical College, Wellington, who distinguished between Socialism and Communism and regarded the former as more compatible with Christianity than was Capitalism.<sup>449</sup> Other contributors also condemned Socialism without indicating whether or not the Labour Party was to be rejected with it.<sup>450</sup> A week before the 1935 election, however, "a New Zealand Priest" urged readers to vote because the principles of social justice were at stake. While the Church condemned Socialism, and individual political candidates may have been guilty of holding Socialist views, none of the three main parties, as far as the author knew, had placed Socialism in its electoral programme.

<sup>447</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 2 October 1919, pp. 15, 17; 9 October 1919, pp. 25-26; 13 November 1929, p. 3; 3 June 1931, p. 3; 8 July 1931, pp. 3, 5; 23 September 1931, p. 3.

<sup>448</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 8 February 1933, p. 3.

<sup>449</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 22 February 1933, p. 13; 8 March 1933, p. 23; 12 April 1933, p. 37; 17 May 1933, pp. 36-37, 43; 5 July 1933, p. 20; cf. 10 May 1933, p. 33 for a letter by "Reader" consisting of a series of questions designed to imply that state intervention was necessary for social and economic well-being.

<sup>450</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 7 June 1933, p. 7 (Father C.J. Collins); 12 July 1933, pp. 20-21 (J.J. Kennedy - see the reply by M. McWilliams, 23 August 1933, p. 27); 10 July 1935, p. 36 (A.J. Barnao).

The second column of the article shared a page with advertisements for the Labour Party.<sup>451</sup> When a "Dunedin West Catholic" wrote to the *Evening Star* asking how Catholics could reconcile support for Labour with the Church's condemnation of Socialism, Cronin ignored the question and attacked the correspondent for supporting a particular candidate (Downie Stewart) in the name of the Church.<sup>452</sup> After the poll, the *Tablet* congratulated the new Government on its election and was cautiously optimistic about its prospects of success. Cronin was sure the newly appointed ministers had "the good-will of every section of the community in their efforts to restore prosperity to the Dominion" - a view endorsed on behalf of Catholics by O'Shea - and even expressed regret that Holland had not lived to see his Party elected. Moreover, the editor belatedly acknowledged, "The fact that the Labour Party is a 'socialist' party frightens nobody to-day, and the spectre of complete nationalisation has been dispelled by the new Government's declared intention to encourage private enterprise to aid industrial expansion."<sup>453</sup> In 1937, presumably disillusioned with the Labour administration, Cronin resigned to take up the position of Managing Editor of the anti-Labour *New Zealand Financial Times*.<sup>454</sup>

In 1938, a "Sacerdos Parvus" wrote to the *Tablet* suggesting that if the Labour Party were committed to Socialism properly so-called, that is, "national ownership of all means of production, distribution and exchange" - as it appeared to be despite the disavowal of such an aim by some Labour politicians - then it would be a mortal sin for Catholics to support Labour. Although ostensibly seeking to promote debate on a difficult but urgent moral issue, the writer and the new editor (Alan B. Carter) were condemned in a number of letters as National Party propagandists. Most replies (there were too many to publish) took the pragmatic view that extreme Socialism was at most a far-distant possibility and that, meanwhile, Labour's policies were more in conformity with the Church's social teaching than were those of National. Carter, while stressing the non-partisan stance of the Church and the Catholic press, had initially endorsed "Sacerdos Parvus" as an earnest inquirer, but ended the

<sup>451</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 20 November 1935, pp. 6-7.

<sup>452</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 27 November 1935, p. 3; "Dunedin West Catholic" to the editor, *NZ Tablet*, 4 December 1935, p. 6 (including an extract from the original letter to the *Evening Star*, 25 November 1935).

<sup>453</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 4 December 1935, p. 4; 11 December 1935, p. 4; 15 January 1936, pp. 4-5; cf. 8 January 1936, p. 2.

<sup>454</sup> *Zealandia*, 9 December 1937, p. 7; *NZ Tablet*, 12 May 1937, p. 5. On the foundation of this journal, see above.

correspondence by quoting Cardinal Bourne and the London *Month* to the effect that Catholics were free to support whichever party appealed to them, including a so-called Socialist party, as long as they followed their consciences whenever religious principles conflicted with party policy.<sup>455</sup> Father Owen Dudley, visiting New Zealand for the Catholic Centenary celebrations, condemned Communism for denying the right to private property but, acknowledging that the term "Socialism" was very vague, thought it quite acceptable for a government to own mines, railways, industries and businesses with the people's consent.<sup>456</sup>

Before the 1938 election, however, the National Party was allowed to play on Catholic fears of Socialism through a series of advertisements in both the *Tablet* and the *Zealandia*. Labour was accused of trying to conceal its programme of gradually nationalizing the means of production, distribution and exchange - which was the first step towards the establishment of Communism. Private enterprise would be abolished and a totalitarian state, comparable to the régimes in Italy, Germany and Russia, would be established. Labour was disloyal towards the monarchy and opposed to Christianity, while the National Party represented a variety of denominations. "The Menace of Socialism", which offered the "Economic Security of a Prison", could only be ended by voting for National.<sup>457</sup> Campaign advertisements did not indicate the politics of editors but, if the delicate question of whether the Labour Party was guilty of promoting the Socialism condemned by the Pope were thought to have been answered authoritatively in the negative, it is unlikely that the Catholic press would have carried advertisements associating Labour with extreme Socialist views.

Catholics often fretted that the Labour Government might be influenced by Communism, a concern which was particularly stressed in the *Zealandia*, which, like its predecessor the *Month*, usually evaded the question of whether or not Catholics could endorse Labour. In 1936, Father Seymour of Napier warned about Communists in the Labour movement, but he acknowledged that no member of the Labour Government actually exhibited Communist tendencies.<sup>458</sup> Nevertheless another Marist, Leonard Brice, warned in 1937 that although the election of Labour had

<sup>455</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 20 July 1938, pp. 5, 6; 27 July 1938, pp. 6-7; 3 August 1938, pp. 6-8; 10 August 1938, pp. 6, 43.

<sup>456</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 20 April 1938, p. 4.

<sup>457</sup> *Zealandia*, 22 September 1938, pp. 2, 9; 29 September 1938, pp. 8, 10; 6 October 1938, p. 13; 13 October 1938, pp. 5, 9; *NZ Tablet*, 21 September 1938, p. 8; 28 September 1938, p. 8.

<sup>458</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 15 July 1936, p. 13.

averted the threat of Communist revolution, and while there was "much in recent social legislation which agrees with Christian social principles", it was probable that the present legislators would progress towards "Marxian Socialism, which is fundamentally opposed to Christian doctrines."<sup>459</sup> Catholic papers warned of the danger of Communist infiltration of the Labour Party and were relieved when Communist applications for affiliation were declined.<sup>460</sup> The *Zealandia* declared that "Catholic workers, either in Britain or elsewhere", would withdraw their support from any Labour Party which advocated revolution or immoral fads like birth control.<sup>461</sup> When Prime Minister Savage asked for confidence in his Government, the *Zealandia* replied that it would only be given as long as the Labour Party kept to democratic principles and did not flirt with Communism as some of its members seemed to be doing.<sup>462</sup> McKeefry was concerned when Finance Minister Nash eulogized aspects of Soviet policy after a trip to Russia and when E.J. Howard attributed the Spanish Civil War to a "wanton attack on a lawful Government". Both politicians had been elected as part of a constitutional Party yet they seemed to be identifying with Communist interests.<sup>463</sup> Support by Labour politicians for the Communist-inspired Spanish Medical Aid Committee was also a serious concern for the Catholic Church.<sup>464</sup> While some trade unionists and Labour politicians advocated extreme Socialism, the *Zealandia* emphasized that this was not sought by the voters who elected the Labour Government. New Zealand did not want complete nationalization but a wider distribution of property.<sup>465</sup>

Catholic denials that there was a block vote, and assertions that the Church did not involve itself officially in party politics, must be accepted. These statements were not simply made to allay the concerns of non-Catholics: they were addressed to the faithful in the Catholic press and from the pulpit and are therefore self-authenticating. Even if

<sup>459</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 7 July 1937, p. 8.

<sup>460</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 23 September 1936, p. 3; 11 November 1936, p. 3; 18 November 1936, p. 3; 17 March 1937, p. 4; 27 September 1939, p. 5; *Zealandia*, 8 October 1936, p. 4; 25 February 1937, p. 4; 8 April 1937, p. 4.

<sup>461</sup> *Zealandia*, 28 March 1935, p. 4.

<sup>462</sup> *Zealandia*, 26 August 1937, p. 6.

<sup>463</sup> *Zealandia*, 28 October 1937, p. 6; cf. 11 November 1937, p. 2 and Skudder, pp. 163-166.

<sup>464</sup> Skudder, pp. 162-163; *NZ Tablet*, 3 February 1937, p. 3; *Zealandia*, 29 July 1937, p. 4; 12 August 1937, p. 6.

<sup>465</sup> *Zealandia*, 11 August 1938, p. 6; 19 October 1939, p. 4.

contrary pronouncements could be found - only instances of support by individual writers for particular parties and politicians have been noted - they would further demonstrate that the Church did not speak with one voice on party politics. On balance, nevertheless, the evidence discussed here suggests that there was widespread support for Labour in the Catholic community. There was very little involvement by Catholics in the Reform Party although the Liberals and their successors included some Catholics. The Labour Party, which since its inception had been a coalition of radical and moderate reformers, increasingly compromised its Socialist principles in order to make itself more acceptable to a broad constituency, including Catholics. For at least some Catholics, there remained a fear that Labour retained or would revive Socialist objectives incompatible with papal teaching. Far from telling Catholics to vote Labour, the authorities failed even to state unequivocally whether or not Catholics could vote Labour. Moreover, the Church as such had no corporate relationship to the Party whereby votes could be delivered in return for the promotion of Catholic causes. The Catholic community was much like any other church in its relation to Labour: individual Catholics supported the party which most appealed to them, while representative Catholics lobbied the Government to conform more closely to Catholic interests and ideals, for example by suppressing Communist tendencies within its ranks.

### **Convergence between the Catholic Church and the Labour Party**

While the Church itself was not committed to the Labour Party, as the previous section has demonstrated, increasing numbers of individual Catholic voters were. One of the most prominent was Liston, whose identification of Catholic and Labour interests in 1922 caused embarrassment to the Church and the Party. There were a number of secular reasons for Catholic attachment to the Labour Party, while Catholic social teaching, which was increasingly studied in the 1930s, promoted ideals most likely to be fulfilled by a Labour administration.

Overt Catholic support for Labour politicians was only slightly more evident than for members of other parties. Among the leading Labour politicians of the interwar years, there were several practising Catholics, notably D.G. Sullivan, H.T. Armstrong and M. Fagan MLC. Savage, a Rationalist for most of his political life, gradually returned to the faith of his childhood only in his final years, not receiving the sacraments until the last seven months.<sup>466</sup> However, the involvement of Catholic

<sup>466</sup> B. Gustafson, *From the Cradle to the Grave: a Biography of Michael Joseph Savage* (Auckland: Penguin Books, 1988), p. 212.

laymen in the Labour Party did not represent any official ecclesiastical connection and these Catholics were outnumbered by Protestant ministers and laymen, also acting as individuals however much their political activity was influenced by a Christian social concern.<sup>467</sup> Under Kelly's editorship, the *Tablet* was sometimes distinctly partisan, but, while rejecting Reform, it usually stopped short of choosing between the Liberals and Labour. Even when endorsing Labour before the 1919 election, Kelly hoped the two parties would make common cause against Capitalism - presumably as embodied in the Reform Party.<sup>468</sup> Before the 1922 election, he reprinted the Marriage Amendment Act division list and advised a correspondent to vote Labour.<sup>469</sup> He made no effort to conceal his delight at Reform's losses and Labour's gains in the 1922 election, declaring that Labour had won "a great victory", whereas "the Reform machine has broken down".<sup>470</sup> An article by O'Regan reprinted from the *Maoriland Worker* declared, "Never did a Government appeal to the constituencies on a record so discreditable and indefensible as the Massey Government did."<sup>471</sup> On the announcement of the Reform-United Coalition Government in September 1931, Kelly remarked that, "While a National Government, including men like Mr. Holland and Mr. Fraser, would have been infinitely better, the fact that such acute critics will be in the Opposition Party has its compensations."<sup>472</sup> After Kelly's retirement from the *Tablet* in December 1931, his successors adopted the policy of the *Month* and the *Zealandia* in refraining from overtly partisan editorial comment.

While Cleary was overseas in 1922, Liston, responsible for the *Month* in the editor's absence, made his own political views clear - before and after polling day. In

<sup>467</sup> For Christians active in the Labour Party during its early years, see Gustafson, *Labour's Path*, p. 120.

<sup>468</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 2 October 1919, p. 15. Kelly endorsed Holland's criticism of the wartime National Government (*ibid.*, 11 September 1919, p. 18). Immediately after the election, Kelly wrote, "Now, thank Heaven, all our people have had their eyes opened as to the worthlessness of the main parties which are but one party to-day" (*NZ Tablet*, 18 December 1919, p. 14). The context was a discussion on education and the editor was urging readers to support individual candidates rather than parties; there was no explicit reference to Labour.

<sup>469</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 30 November 1922, pp. 25, 27.

<sup>470</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 14 December 1922, p. 18; 21 December 1922, p. 19.

<sup>471</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 28 December 1922, p. 23, reprinted from *Maoriland Worker*, 13 December 1922; cf. an earlier reprint by the same author, criticizing *Truth* for its anti-Labour stance (*NZ Tablet*, 30 November 1922, p. 21).

<sup>472</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 23 September 1931, p. 3.

a pastoral letter, Liston emphasized the duty to vote and noted that the Church had "many political enemies".<sup>473</sup> Eschewing any claim to involve itself in party politics or to constrain the freedom of Catholic voters, the *Month* argued that Reform's attitude towards the Church, demonstrated, for example, by the Marriage Amendment Act and the Liston trial, was "not calculated to inspire enthusiasm in Catholic voters who have regard to the status of Catholics as citizens".<sup>474</sup> In the last edition of the *Month* before the election, readers were reminded again that they were free to vote for the party of their choice but it was emphasized that the Church was concerned about "immoral or unjust social conditions" in general and the "welfare of the worker" in particular. The "essential principles of industrial justice" were reviewed but it was acknowledged that the Church "does not say which political party is most likely, or best fitted, to bring about the establishment of improved social or industrial conditions."<sup>475</sup> At Sacred Heart College's annual prize-giving in December, Liston supplemented the usual remarks about government grants to denominational schools with a few reflections on the recent poll. He believed that New Zealanders had "at last awakened to the true state of affairs in the political life of this country" and explicitly identified Catholic interests with those of the Labour Party:

Thanks to God, the Labor [*sic*] people - our friends - are coming into their own - a fair share in the Government of the country. They were not long since in a minority. Now their claims are being listened to. So, too, please God, we Catholics - a minority - will come into our own, and have our claims in the matter of education listened to with respect.<sup>476</sup>

The *Month* made no reference to Labour in its account of the occasion.<sup>477</sup> The editorial section, however, reaffirmed both the Church's avoidance of party politics (*à propos* of the Italian Popular Party) and its traditional concern for labour as a class (*à propos* of remarks made by the Moderator of the Presbyterian General Assembly).<sup>478</sup> This material may have been prepared before the publication of Liston's speech, or else it may reflect a recognition that declaring his personal views was harmful to both

<sup>473</sup> Liston to clergy, September 1922, ACDA, CLE 76-13/6.

<sup>474</sup> *Month*, 15 September 1922, p. 4.

<sup>475</sup> *Month*, 15 November 1922, pp. 3-4.

<sup>476</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 21 December 1922, p. 26 (following the *Otago Daily Times*). The *NZ Herald* (13 December 1922, p. 10) published a compressed version of the statement and accentuated Liston's identification of the Church with Labour.

<sup>477</sup> *Month*, 15 December 1922, p. 11 (following a report in the *Auckland Star*).

<sup>478</sup> *Month*, 15 December 1922, pp. 3-5.

Labour and the Church. "A Maoriland Worker" asked whether there was "an alliance between the Roman Catholic Church and the Labour Party", for, if there were, he would bid "farewell" to the Party.<sup>479</sup> Other newspaper correspondents were convinced that the existence of such an alliance was now beyond doubt and were unmoved by protestations to the contrary.<sup>480</sup>

Liston's statement, as Darby argued six years later, when Canon Percival James cited it as evidence of a Labour-Catholic alliance, was "an isolated instance".<sup>481</sup> Cleary had been embarrassed and annoyed by Liston's public support for Labour, which violated his own policy of studied neutrality.<sup>482</sup> Despite - or because of - his personal connections with Labour, Liston was careful not to assist opponents of the Party and the Church by further such indiscrete comments. When the Labour Government was elected in 1935, the *Zealandia*, of which he was proprietor, made no comment.<sup>483</sup>

As individuals, some Catholic clerics promoted and influenced the Labour Party but their involvement provides no proof of the political accommodation between the Church and Labour alleged by some contemporaries. After a visit to Napier before the 1922 election, O'Regan assured Kelly that "our people" supported the Labour nominee. Reviewing three other electorates (Gisborne, Christchurch North and Riccarton), he asked Kelly to use his influence among the clergy to promote the Labour candidates.<sup>484</sup> Kelly, noting that Dunedin Catholics would vote Labour, promised to do what he could. He thought the priests "willing enough to help" but added, "you know the farmers and their mercenary spirit as well as I do."<sup>485</sup> Liston encouraged the priests in Gisborne to ensure local Catholics were enrolled so they

<sup>479</sup> "A Maoriland Worker" to the editor, *NZ Herald*, 14 December 1922, p. 7.

<sup>480</sup> *NZ Herald*, 15 December 1922, p. 7; 16 December 1922, p. 13; 19 December 1922, p. 7; 21 December 1922, p. 5; 28 December 1922, p. 3; 30 December 1922, p. 9.

<sup>481</sup> *NZ Herald*, 30 June 1928, p. 14.

<sup>482</sup> Cleary to Liston, 17 February 1923, cited in Sweetman, p. 369.

<sup>483</sup> E.R. Simmons, *In Cruce Salus: a History of the Diocese of Auckland, 1848-1980* (Auckland: Catholic Communications Centre, 1982, p. 249) described the failure of the *Zealandia* to discuss the election and particularly the accession of Savage as Prime Minister as "a bit odd" but it is quite comprehensible in the light of the earlier events described here.

<sup>484</sup> O'Regan to Kelly, 19 November 1922, ATL 76-165-6/26.

<sup>485</sup> Kelly to O'Regan, 22 November 1922, ATL 76-165-6/26. After the election, Kelly claimed that Dunedin Catholics had "voted solidly for Labor [*sic*] except in the South Dunedin district where they had no reason to turn their backs on Sidey" (Kelly to O'Regan, 10 December 1922, ATL 76-165-6/26).

could vote against W.D. Lysnar.<sup>486</sup> In Auckland, this was evidently unnecessary: after the election he wrote to O'Regan of his pride in the Catholic voters there, adding that "they didn't need no coaxin', neither!".<sup>487</sup> Liston was a personal friend of Savage but this does not appear to have given him any privileged influence over the Prime Minister, whose close associates included people of quite varied religious backgrounds.<sup>488</sup> Even John A. Lee, writing about his conflicts with the Labour leadership, acknowledged that in discouraging Savage from appointing Lee to a Cabinet position, Liston merely confirmed Savage's own intentions.<sup>489</sup> When O'Shea wrote to the other bishops in 1937 advising them to remain neutral while the Bible in Schools League promoted brief religious observances in schools, he argued that they ought to beware of

doing anything which would offer the least excuse for the raising of the sectarian cry. This is not only in our own interest but in that of the present Government. Adam Hamilton is in the offing.<sup>490</sup>

Such an attitude cannot be construed as revealing an alliance with Labour - any more than the congratulatory message from the Presbyterian General Assembly to Hamilton on his appointment as Minister of Internal Affairs in 1932 can be taken as an indication of Presbyterian collusion with the Reform Party or the Coalition.<sup>491</sup> Gustafson's investigation of the origins and early history of the Labour Party revealed "no evidence to suggest, let alone substantiate, accusations of an organized attempt on the part of the Catholic hierarchy to capture control of the NZLP". His conclusion that "there was no justification for contemporary accusations that Labour was a party dominated by the Catholic Church" is applicable to the 1920s and 1930s as well.<sup>492</sup>

Nevertheless, Catholic voters did have a number of reasons to support Labour, especially their common antagonism to the Reform Party and the PPA, Labour

<sup>486</sup> Sweetman, p. 334.

<sup>487</sup> Liston to O'Regan, 9 December 1922, ATL 76-165-6/26.

<sup>488</sup> Gustafson, *From the Cradle*, pp. 122-123, 212-214, 271-272.

<sup>489</sup> J.A. Lee, *Simple on a Soapbox* (Auckland: Collins, 1963), pp. 29, 37, 41; cf. Olssen, pp. 80-81.

<sup>490</sup> O'Shea to Whyte, 24 June 1937 (and identical letters to Brodie and Liston), WCAA.

<sup>491</sup> PGA, 1932, p. 99. As an active Presbyterian layman and Knox College graduate, Hamilton would have been personally known to a number of the ministers at the Assembly.

<sup>492</sup> Gustafson, *Labour's Path*, pp. 126, 127. Citing incidents like Father Matthew Brodie's support for the striking unionists at Waibi in 1912, Gustafson does not draw a sufficiently strict distinction between Catholic endorsement of the labour movement, based on sympathy for the cause of workers and their families, and Catholic support for the New Zealand Labour Party.

attitudes to conscription and Irish independence, and the Party's promotion of working class interests. The decline of the Liberals was no doubt in some measure both a consequence and a cause of increasing Catholic support for Labour. As more working class Catholics turned to Labour, thus weakening the Liberals, the latter became increasingly less attractive by comparison with Labour and the change of allegiance accelerated. Antipathy towards the Reform Party, long identified with Protestant interests, was no doubt reinforced by the PPA's unofficial alliance with Reform. Elliott's vilification of Labour and the Church, especially the accusation of sinister collusion, may have encouraged Catholic voters to identify Labour as their champion, especially after the passage of the Marriage Amendment Act.<sup>493</sup> Kelly published the division list and urged Catholic parents to teach their children to remember the names of "Holland, McCombs, Savage, Isitt, and Fraser, as the men who have not sold their souls to a horsewhipped cad"; among these, only Isitt was not a Labour politician.<sup>494</sup> According to Holland, there was "no man in New Zealand who handles truth more recklessly than Mr. Howard Elliott."<sup>495</sup> Catholics and Labour politicians sometimes offered similar explanations for the rise of the PPA. O'Shea attributed the wave of sectarianism to "Big money" which, he charged, had subsidized the activities of "an Irish Secret Society" in an effort to divide the population and distract it from important issues such as the evils of profiteering. The Government, moreover, was a "willing tool" because it wanted "to divert public attention from its own shortcomings and the more pressing needs of the country."<sup>496</sup> A similar analysis was advanced by Holland and other contemporaries.<sup>497</sup> Those Irish Catholics who opposed all conscription and other Catholics who resented attempts to conscript seminarians and Marist Brothers

<sup>493</sup> O'Farrell, *Harry Holland*, p. 94; Davis, *Irish Issues*, pp. 210-211.

<sup>494</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 11 November 1920, pp. 26-27. Unfortunately for Kelly's purpose (he told readers to paste up the list in a prominent part of their homes), the headings "For the Amendment" and "Against the Amendment" were reversed!

<sup>495</sup> *NZPD*, 1920, vol. 189, p. 229, *cf.* p. 233. Holland cited a number of statements by Elliott in support of the charge.

<sup>496</sup> *Month*, 15 October 1920, p. 7; *NZ Tablet*, 30 September 1920, p. 28; *cf.* 28 October 1920, pp. 14, 37.

<sup>497</sup> *NZPD*, 1920, vol. 189, pp. 230, 233; *cf.* the cartoon reproduced in Gustafson, *Labour's Path*, p. 128. This interpretation is strengthened by the economic concerns of the PPA delegation which called upon Massey in June 1920 and by Elliott's later career in business. Moreover, before the 1919 elections, Elliott solicited donations for a "fighting fund" of £20,000, having already received several "substantial donations" (*NZ Herald*, 27 August 1919, p. 9).

found an ally in the Labour Party.<sup>498</sup> Labour's promotion of the cause of Irish independence between 1916 and 1921 certainly won the Party support amongst Irish Catholics, at a time when the Liberals evaded the issue and Reform was identified with Ulster unionism. The principal Labour spokesmen on Ireland were Holland and Fraser, who addressed the issue in public speeches and in Parliament.<sup>499</sup> Kelly praised them for their efforts, encouraging Irish voters to support them.<sup>500</sup> By contrast, he condemned Massey and even Ward for failing to endorse the cause of Ireland when they called upon Irishmen to fight for small nations like Poland and Belgium.<sup>501</sup> Kelly saw the 1922 election result as a vindication of both Labour and Ireland. New Zealand, he declared, was "awaking at last": "The success of Labor [*sic*] - or, if you like - of the Red Flag and the Green Flag - proves that."<sup>502</sup>

Of far more lasting significance than the PPA, conscription or Irish issues was the large number of working class Catholics. Citing census evidence, Gustafson argues that "for socio-economic and historical rather than religious reasons, there was considerable latent sympathy among Roman Catholics for a radical working-class party".<sup>503</sup> Religious motives should not be underestimated, however, for promoting the rights of workers and criticizing Capitalism were increasingly important themes in Catholic teaching.<sup>504</sup> No doubt Catholic pastors gave expression to the interests of their flocks, but they also reflected international developments in Catholic social thought, which were stimulated by the First World War and especially by the Depression.

<sup>498</sup> Gustafson, *Labour's Path*, pp. 105-119, 126; Baker, pp. 64-73, 153-169; Sweetman, pp. 233-234; cf. *NZ Tablet*, 30 October 1919, p. 17 (Kelly's endorsement of Holland's pamphlet on conscientious objectors).

<sup>499</sup> O'Farrell, *Harry Holland*, pp. 92-94; R.P. Davis, "The New Zealand Labour Party's 'Irish Campaign', 1916-1921, *Political Science* 19 (1967) 13-23; *idem*, *Irish Issues*, chapter nine; Gustafson, *Labour's Path*, pp. 126-127; Sweetman, pp. 235-238, 302-307.

<sup>500</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 13 February 1919, p. 14; 2 October 1919, p. 15; 12 August 1920, p. 14; 24 February 1921, p. 24; 17 March 1921, p. 14; 14 September 1922, p. 23; cf. 22 July 1920, p. 21 (Labour Party Conference resolution favouring self-determination); 14 July 1921, p. 23 (address by Fraser in Napier); 21 July 1921, p. 18 (address by Fraser in Wellington).

<sup>501</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 27 March 1919, p. 14; 18 March 1920, p. 25.

<sup>502</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 21 December 1922, p. 19.

<sup>503</sup> Gustafson, *Labour's Path*, pp. 125-126; for an analysis of the census evidence, see chapter one above.

<sup>504</sup> This may be what Gustafson (*ibid.*) means by "the Catholic doctrine of social solidarity" but, from this perspective, Catholic teaching was difficult to reconcile with the Socialist doctrine of class struggle.

Immediately after the war, and in a more sustained fashion during the 1930s, the Church set about inculcating its social teachings, principally through study groups and articles in the Catholic press. The war against Germany had been justified in the name of democracy and freedom, while concern over wartime profiteering further stimulated demands for social reform. Drawing on papal pronouncements, especially Leo XIII's *Rerum Novarum* (1891), and the writings of contemporary American theologians, the *Month*, in its first few years of publication, printed numerous items on labour issues, such as wages and profit-sharing.<sup>505</sup> Redwood, hitherto better known for his opposition to Socialism, composed articles on similar themes for the *Tablet*.<sup>506</sup> O'Shea and other churchmen urged the formation of social study groups so that Catholics could learn about the principles necessary for social reconstruction.<sup>507</sup> Few independent groups were established for this purpose but other Catholic organizations, such as Catholic Federation and the Students' Guild in Auckland, also provided a venue for disseminating Catholic social teaching.<sup>508</sup>

The Depression occasioned renewed interest in Catholic social thought,<sup>509</sup> and led to calls for organized study of social issues by the laity.<sup>510</sup> The most noteworthy exponent of Catholic social doctrine was John A. Higgins SM, who was appointed by

<sup>505</sup> *Month*, 15 August 1918, p. 16; 14 September 1918, p. 12; 15 November 1918, pp. 9-10; 15 February 1919, p. 9; 15 March 1919, p. 3; 15 April 1919, p. 10; 14 June 1919, pp. 4-5; 15 July 1919, pp. 12, 15-16; 15 August 1919, p. 17; 15 October 1919, pp. 10, 12; 15 June 1920, pp. 6-7; 15 October 1920, pp. 4-5.

<sup>506</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 1 August 1918, pp. 7, 9; 8 May 1919, pp. 17-18; 15 May 1919, pp. 17-18; 19 June 1919, pp. 9, 11, 13; 26 June 1919, p. 21; 2 December 1920, p. 17; 5 May 1921, pp. 17-18; 7 July 1921, p. 19; 1 June 1921, pp. 9, 11; 29 March 1923, pp. 21, 23; 19 April 1923, pp. 21, 23; 26 August 1925, pp. 27, 29.

<sup>507</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 7 August 1919, p. 34.

<sup>508</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 25 July 1918, p. 34 (Catholic Federation); 12 September 1918, p. 19 (Social Study Club of St Joseph's Parish Catholic Federation); 19 September 1918, pp. 11-13 (Catholic Study Club, Wellington); 2 June 1921, p. 35 (Catholic Federation, Wanganui); 8 September 1921, p. 22 (St Luke's Guild, Auckland); 12 July 1923, pp. 21-25 (Student's Social Guild); 1 June 1922, p. 27 (Timaru).

<sup>509</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 24 September 1930, p. 35 and 13 May 1931, p. 3 (articles on *Rerum Novarum*); 9 December 1931, pp. 42-43 (lecture by Father James Maguire on "The Reconstruction of the Social Order" to the Otago University Students' Guild); *Month*, 2 February 1931, p. 12 (report on unemployment in the USA); 1 April 1931, pp. 24-25 (article by Joseph Husslein SJ); 1 May 1931, pp. 8-9 (article on Leo XIII, "The Social Pope"), 18 (article by Husslein), 23 and 34 (articles by John A. Ryan).

<sup>510</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 30 April 1930, p. 6; *Month*, 1 May 1931, p. 15; 1 October 1932, p. 20. The hierarchy's pastoral letter suggested that Catholic clubs and societies "form reading circles and study clubs" (*Month*, 1 July 1931, p. 9; *NZ Tablet*, 8 July 1931, p. 42).

O'Shea in August 1932 to teach social study classes in Wellington. Over the next few years, similar groups were organized in all the main centres and in many provincial towns of the archdiocese.<sup>511</sup> While Higgins contributed to the Catholic newspapers many articles on social issues - often of a rather abstract nature - lay people who had attended classes also wrote numerous items.<sup>512</sup> Maurice Mulcahy SM wrote a long series of articles based on *Quadragesimo Anno* for the *Marist Messenger*.<sup>513</sup> The Press Group of the Catholic Social Guild in Wellington published 117 items in 1938.<sup>514</sup> In August 1935, Higgins began an eight-month study tour of the United States, Canada, England and Ireland, meeting notable exponents of Catholic social thought, before resuming his work in New Zealand.<sup>515</sup> From June 1937, at Liston's request, he began preparing short statements on Catholic social principles for publication in the *Zealandia* (under the title "Bear in Mind") and reading at Mass every Sunday in the Auckland and Wellington dioceses.<sup>516</sup> The study of social doctrine was seen as an essential preliminary to Catholic Action.<sup>517</sup> Thus in a 1934 pastoral letter commending the efforts of the Wellington sociology class, O'Shea declared that, "Catholic laymen

<sup>511</sup> *Month*, 1 September 1932, p. 37 (Wellington); 1 February 1933, p. 26 (review of the first year); *NZ Tablet*, 7 September 1932, p. 43 (Wellington); 18 January 1933, p. 25 (review of the origins of the Wellington group); 6 June 1934, p. 11 (review of the progress of study groups in Wellington and other centres); 18 July 1934, pp. 2, 36 (Christchurch); 3 July 1935, pp. 3, 40 (Dunedin); 7 October 1936, p. 6; 26 May 1937, p. 38 (Wanganui); *Zealandia*, 10 May 1934, p. 6 (Christchurch); 6 June 1935, p. 5 (Auckland); 4 July 1935, p. 5 (Dunedin); 15 August 1935, p. 5 (New Plymouth); 5 December 1935, p. 7 (New Plymouth); 16 July 1936, p. 2 (Wanganui); 30 July 1936, p. 3 (Napier); 13 August 1936, p. 3 (Palmerston North); 3 June 1937, p. 2 (Hastings); 23 September 1937, p. 4 (Christchurch, various parishes); 16 December 1937, p. 6 (progress report by Higgins); 15 December 1938, p. 6 (establishment of the Catholic Study Association in Auckland); 13 July 1939, p. 3 (Blenheim).

<sup>512</sup> See, for example, the features "Catholic Social Science: its Principles and Functions" (beginning in the *Zealandia*, 10 May 1934, p. 5); "For the Catholic Worker" (beginning in the *Zealandia*, 3 June 1937, p. 3); "Catholic Social Science" (beginning in the *NZ Tablet*, 3 August 1938, p. 9). For examples of lay contributions, see *NZ Tablet*, 25 January 1939, pp. 3-4 and *Zealandia*, 25 March 1937, p. 7 (essays by members of the Palmerston North study circle). Higgins also produced a monthly newspaper (Reid, pp. 74-75).

<sup>513</sup> *Marist Messenger*, 1 September 1937, pp. 12-13 and subsequent issues to 1 May 1939, pp. 26-28.

<sup>514</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 28 December 1938, p. 8; *Zealandia*, 29 December 1938, p. 4. The *Tablet* regularly published Catholic Social Guild articles.

<sup>515</sup> *Zealandia*, 20 June 1935, p. 2; 31 July 1935, p. 36; 15 August 1935, p. 2; 2 January 1936, p. 9; 9 April 1936, p. 8; *NZ Tablet*, 12 June 1935, p. 6; 31 July 1935, p. 36; 1 January 1936, p. 9; 25 March 1936, p. 7; 22 April 1936, p. 6.

<sup>516</sup> *Zealandia*, 3 June 1937, p. 6; 28 December 1938, p. 8.

<sup>517</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 7 September 1932, p. 43 and 18 January 1933, p. 25 (Higgins); *Marist Messenger*, 1 July 1937, p. 28 ("Richard Crusader"). On this concept, see chapter two above.

properly instructed by the Church, [*sic*] will alone be able to win the hearts of the masses outside and effect the work of social re-construction."<sup>518</sup>

While disavowing any direct role in party politics, the Catholic Church claimed a unique authority to expound the principles necessary for social reform. According to McKeefry, the Church was "the guardian of the Moral Law, which covers wages and interest, employment and unemployment, buying and selling, and every other economic practice and institution."<sup>519</sup> It was emphasized that only the Catholic Church taught the essential principles without which all efforts to reform society would founder.<sup>520</sup> Brice explained that Catholic "sociology or social science" was a branch of ethics or moral theology concerned with "the fundamental principles or laws" which ought to govern human society. In teaching sociology to study clubs, therefore, priests were not "dabbling in politics" but expounding the principles "necessary for the welfare of human society."<sup>521</sup>

Despite this disclaimer, the Church identified itself with the same social groups as did the Labour Party. Redwood declared that the Catholic Church was "the Church of the poor, lowly, and humble".<sup>522</sup> Liston appealed to the Catholic Federation to support legislation which would secure the rights and dignity of the "toiling masses".<sup>523</sup> Brodie spoke of the "irrefutably just and sacredly noble cause of labor [*sic*]"<sup>524</sup> Such advocacy of social reform brought charges from the PPA that the Church was supporting the Labour Party. In response, O'Shea argued that while the Church owed no party allegiance, its championship of the weak as a matter of principle did lead it to sympathize with the efforts of the Labour movement to secure better remuneration and living conditions for workers.<sup>525</sup> According to Higgins, "the Church teaches that...the reason why labour is nobler than capital is that men are worth more than chattels - that man is spiritual and capital is material."<sup>526</sup> However, the prominence of labour in

<sup>518</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 20 June 1934, p. 8; cf. *Quadragesimo Anno*, paragraphs 140, 143 (to which O'Shea alluded).

<sup>519</sup> *Month*, 1 May 1931, p. 14.

<sup>520</sup> *Month*, 15 July 1919, p. 15; 1 October 1932, p. 20; 1 February 1933, pp. 20-21.

<sup>521</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 26 May 1937, p. 38.

<sup>522</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 19 April 1923, p. 21.

<sup>523</sup> *Catholic Federation...5th March, 1919*, p. 6; *NZ Tablet*, 20 March 1919, p. 13; cf. 21 June 1923, p. 45 (address by J.P. Kavanagh).

<sup>524</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 27 February 1919, p. 22.

<sup>525</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 18 July 1918, p. 34.

<sup>526</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 5 August 1936, p. 6.

Catholic social thought did not mean that the Church approved of contemporary Labour parties or their policies.<sup>527</sup>

Nevertheless, Catholic social thought was not limited to a vague sympathy with the poor but embraced ideas which overlapped with Labour Party philosophy.<sup>528</sup> O'Regan argued that, "Society is reeking with injustice, and as far as I can see the Labour Party is the only organisation which seriously faces the position." He regretted that "our Cawthlic [*sic*] laymen" were too respectable to concern themselves with the social teaching of Leo XIII.<sup>529</sup> While avoiding entanglement in party politics, explained the *Month*, the Catholic Church had "definite social principles", such as the doctrine that there was "no absolute ownership of wealth" since "the possession of riches is only a stewardship".<sup>530</sup> Defining Capitalism as "the abuse of capital", Redwood declared that, "Capitalism must go!"<sup>531</sup> Higgins stressed that, "Capitalism in its present day form is not simply a good system being abused: it is an abuse raised to the condition of a system until evil has become systematic."<sup>532</sup> The Church, according to Kelly, always listened to the voices of the poor and oppressed and taught that Capitalism was unjust and un-Christian.<sup>533</sup> In their 1931 pastoral letter on the "Present Economic Distress", the bishops condemned "the industrial economic system" for having "failed and failed miserably in our times to promote a fair and equitable distribution of wealth" or to ensure regular employment. Its "worst feature" was that it left itself "open to manipulation by selfish and crafty men against the interests of the people".<sup>534</sup> A much

<sup>527</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 14 September 1938, p. 9 (Higgins).

<sup>528</sup> For an overview of Catholic social teaching and its theoretical basis, see Reid (pp. 93-101). The account in Clements (pp. 323-331) is very closely based on that of Reid.

<sup>529</sup> O'Regan to Kelly, 16 January 1923, ATL 76-165-6A/1. The writer was defending the Party against criticisms expressed by Kelly (Kelly to O'Regan, 16 January 1923 and 29 January 1923, ATL 76-165-6A/1).

<sup>530</sup> *Month*, 15 August 1922, p. 3. On the limitation of property rights, see also *Month*, 15 October 1920, p. 5; *Zealandia*, 16 August 1934, p. 2 (Higgins); *NZ Tablet*, 20 April 1938, p. 4 (Dudley); 7 September 1938, pp. 9, 37 (Higgins).

<sup>531</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 29 March 1923, p. 21. Redwood was not opposed to capital itself but only its contemporary abuses (*ibid.*, 15 January 1920, pp. 11, 13; 5 May 1921, p. 17.)

<sup>532</sup> *Zealandia*, 27 September 1934, p. 2; cf. *NZ Tablet*, 21 September 1938, p. 9.

<sup>533</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 2 May 1918, p. 26.

<sup>534</sup> *Month*, 1 July 1931, p. 9; *NZ Tablet*, 8 July 1931, p. 42. For further criticism of contemporary Capitalism (some of it more moderate than the examples quoted), see *NZ Tablet*, 6 May 1920, p. 25; 13 May 1936, p. 6 (Higgins); 22 September 1937, p. 5; 20 April 1938, pp. 3-4 (Dudley); 24 August 1938, p. 27; 14 September 1938, pp. 9, 37 (Higgins); *Zealandia*, 13 September 1934, p. 2 (Higgins); 8 November 1934, p. 2 (Higgins); 21 December 1935, p. 2; 13 September 1934, p. 2; 17 June 1937, p. 3; *Marist Messenger*, 1 August 1936, p. 21 (Higgins).

emphasized theme in Catholic teaching was advocacy of the "just" or "living" wage sufficient to support a family in modest comfort.<sup>535</sup> However, in promoting the widest possible distribution of property, Redwood and others favoured profit-sharing and worker participation in management rather than the wage system.<sup>536</sup> Catholics also deprecated the control of credit by private interests for their own ends and therefore advocated reform of the monetary system to place credit and prices under public - ultimately governmental - control.<sup>537</sup> Higgins had an interest in the Douglas Credit movement and was in contact with its representatives both in New Zealand and overseas - although the *Tablet* joked about the "Chimerical intricacies of the Douglas-Credit System".<sup>538</sup> Shortly after his appointment as a government representative on the Board of Directors of the Bank of New Zealand, H.J. Kelliher wrote for the *Tablet* an article rejoicing that, "at long last, we have a Government that has undertaken the responsibility of introducing an honest money system."<sup>539</sup> Referring to monetary reform in particular, Clements concluded that "there was a largely unintentional convergence between Labour policy and the Roman Catholic Church's understanding of the economic and social realities of the time".<sup>540</sup>

Converging interests did not necessarily mean that Catholic social study was a covert form of Labour Party canvassing. After quoting a series of Catholic authorities

<sup>535</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 1 August 1918, pp. 7, 9 (Redwood); 23 May 1928, p. 3; 31 December 1930, p. 3; 7 January 1931, pp. 5-6; 5 August 1936, p. 6; (Higgins); 11 November 1936, p. 34 (Higgins); 6 May 1937, p. 7 (Higgins); 29 June 1938, p. 9; 25 January 1939, p. 4 (essay Mary Waters); *Zealandia*, 11 October 1934, p. 2 (Higgins); 25 October 1934, p. 2 (Higgins); 7 May 1936, p. 4.

<sup>536</sup> Redwood: *NZ Tablet*, 15 May 1919, pp. 17-18; 19 June 1919, p. 13; 15 January 1920, p. 11; 2 December 1920, p. 17; 7 July 1921, p. 19; 29 March 1923, p. 21; 19 April 1923, p. 23; 26 August 1925, p. 29. Other writers: *NZ Tablet*, 25 April 1928, pp. 3, 6; 2 May 1928, p. 3; 9 May 1928, p. 3; 30 August 1939, pp. 9, 15; *Zealandia*, 30 July 1936, p. 6 (Higgins); 24 June 1937, p. 3 (Higgins); 23 June 1938, p. 6; 11 August 1938, p. 6; 10 November 1938, p. 1; 24 November 1938, p. 5; 26 January 1939, p. 9; *Marist Messenger*, 1 April 1938, p. 38 (Mulcahy); 1 June 1938, p. 12 (Mulcahy).

<sup>537</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 9 December 1931, pp. 42-43; 14 June 1933, p. 20; 5 February 1936, p. 13; 22 April 1936, p. 6; 1 July 1936, p. 36; 21 September 1938, p. 27; 19 October 1938, p. 27; 20 September 1939, p. 33; 27 September 1939, pp. 38, 41; 27 December 1939, p. 6; *Marist Messenger*, 1 November 1938, pp. 24-26.

<sup>538</sup> *Zealandia*, 6 June 1935, p. 3; 15 August 1935, p. 2; 21 November 1935, p. 4 (Canada); 9 April 1936, p. 8 (England); *NZ Tablet*, 1 January 1936, p. 9 (Higgins in Alberta, "The Land of Social Credit"); 25 March 1936, p. 7 (England); cf. *NZ Tablet*, 1 February 1933, p. 5. See also Reid, pp. 108-111.

<sup>539</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 23 September 1936, pp. 1-2, 8; cf. 14 October 1936, p. 8 for a profile on Kelliher.

<sup>540</sup> Clements, p. 330.

in the course of an address to the Catholic Study Club in Wellington, M.J. Reardon drew the conclusion that, "We Labor [*sic*] agitators, therefore, are in good company".<sup>541</sup> However, Catholic social doctrine could also be used to scrutinize Labour politics, as has been noted in the discussion of Socialism. A *Zealandia* reader was surprised to find in 1938 that a study group was criticizing the Labour Government. In reply, it was explained that study groups were not limited to narrowly theological issues and could well find themselves objecting to current legislation, although the discussion should not descend to the level of propaganda.<sup>542</sup> "Jerome", a contributor to the *Tablet's* Catholic Social Guild series, deprecated legislation and governmental functions which increased people's dependence on the state, including the provision of medical benefits to those who could pay for their own health care and even the supply of free milk to schoolchildren, which allegedly deprived parents of their own responsibilities.<sup>543</sup> Higgins himself emphasized that medical care was primarily the responsibility of the family and opposed the nationalization of the health system.<sup>544</sup> He argued that the family should be as self-reliant as possible; governments had to promote social justice but should not encourage financial dependence upon the state by making unearned payments.<sup>545</sup> When a correspondent complained that the *Tablet's* "Catholic Thought" column was being used for Labour propaganda, the editor pointed out that increasing bureaucracy, a feature of contemporary government, was condemned in the social encyclicals just as strongly as the evils of Capitalism.<sup>546</sup>

Rejecting the extreme views of both Capitalism and Communism, the Catholic Church claimed to offer a middle path.<sup>547</sup> It was argued that, "If slavery results, under Capitalism, from ignoring the rights of individuals, it would also result from the glorification of the State under Socialism."<sup>548</sup> The Church condemned equally the "unjust claims" of both Capital and Labour.<sup>549</sup> O'Shea believed that Catholicism

<sup>541</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 19 September 1918, p. 11.

<sup>542</sup> *Zealandia*, 18 August 1938, p. 12.

<sup>543</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 26 April 1939, p. 23; 1 March 1939, p. 9; cf. 27 December 1939, p. 6 (by "Youth-Jerome").

<sup>544</sup> *Zealandia*, 8 April 1937, p. 6.

<sup>545</sup> *Zealandia*, 22 April 1937, p. 6.

<sup>546</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 14 February 1940, p. 5.

<sup>547</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 15 June 1920, p. 15; 28 December 1938, p. 8; *Zealandia*, 16 August 1934, p. 2.

<sup>548</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 6 May 1920, p. 26.

<sup>549</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 27 July 1938, p. 46.

"would provide the golden mean between the extremes of Capitalism on the one side, and revolutionary socialism on the other."<sup>550</sup> Moreover, "whatever is good in all modern theories of social reform is taken from Catholicism, and whatever Catholicism looks askance at may be considered detrimental to true reform."<sup>551</sup> According to Redwood, in a statement directed at Protestants as well as Socialists,

Whatever is truly best and most progressive in modern social doctrine was put into practice by Christianity more than four centuries ago....What is good in Socialism is Christian. The rest is pernicious error."<sup>552</sup>

While Catholic leaders usually refrained from overtly supporting the Labour Party, individual Catholics were often committed to it for a variety of reasons, of which the most important was the Party's championship of working class interests. In some important ways, Catholic social teaching, which received unprecedented attention during the Depression, paralleled Labour philosophy and presumably encouraged reflective Catholics to see the Party as a promising vehicle for social reform in conformity with their Church's teachings. Nevertheless, Catholics asserted the autonomy of their social doctrine and were willing to use it to criticize Labour policy as well as Communism and Capitalism.

### **A New Consensus**

Catholics believed that their Church alone taught the principles needed for social reconstruction, while the Protestant Reformation was responsible for the evils of industrial Capitalism. This triumphalist attitude, however, did not prevent Catholics from co-operating with their fellow citizens to relieve the problems of the Depression. Moreover, just as Catholics were encouraged to appropriate their Church's social doctrine during the 1930s, Protestants, too, were compelled by the Depression to re-evaluate the relationship between the Gospel and social problems. There was thus a convergence in the attitudes of many Protestants and Catholics. Moreover, church members increasingly turned to the Labour Party as the means of achieving social reform. This new consensus survived the Spanish Civil War, despite differences of opinion within the wider community, and Catholics reaffirmed their loyalty on occasions such as the accession of King George VI in 1937. During the Second World War, the good relations established between the Catholic Church, the other main

<sup>550</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 22 July 1920, p. 18.

<sup>551</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 7 August 1919, p. 34 (O'Shea).

<sup>552</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 8 May 1918, p. 18.

denominations and the Government contrasted sharply with the antagonism of the First, despite attempts to arouse sectarian antipathy.

Claiming that their Church spoke with unique authority on social questions, Catholics criticized not only Socialism and Capitalism but also Protestantism. Catholic apologists claimed that the Church was responsible for the elevation of workers from the status of slaves in the classical world.<sup>553</sup> During the Middle Ages, the Church had protected the serfs.<sup>554</sup> Guilds, whose development was fostered by the Church, were idealized as "mediaeval trades unions" which had regulated wages and working conditions.<sup>555</sup> A corollary of such thinking was sensitivity to any derogatory reference to the Middle Ages. When Education Minister C.J. Parr made a disparaging allusion to "the old monkish system of education which we have inherited", Catholic apologists were quick to defend the mediaeval Church.<sup>556</sup> In England, the guilds and monasteries, which were essential agents of charity, had been destroyed by the Reformation.<sup>557</sup> O'Regan also blamed the Reformation for "the poor laws, the loss of the common fields, the horrors of the so-called industrial revolution" and other evidence of the "triumph of sensualism over law".<sup>558</sup> Capitalism and its attendant evils, notably the emergence of an impoverished proletariat and a concentration of wealth in the hands of the few, were regarded by Catholics as a direct outgrowth of the Protestant Reformation.<sup>559</sup> According to E.J. Haughey, Calvinism, under which "avarice was consecrated as a virtue" and rationalized by laissez-faire doctrines, gave

<sup>553</sup> *Month*, 15 July 1919, p. 15; 15 December 1922, p. 4; 18 November 1924, p. 37; *NZ Tablet*, 1 June 1922, p. 9; 21 June 1923, p. 45; 10 December 1930, p. 3; *Zealandia*, 16 September 1937, p. 6; *Marist Messenger*, 2 May 1938, p. 13 and 1 June 1938, p. 11.

<sup>554</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 22 August 1918, pp. 9-10 (Redwood); 31 July 1935, p. 7 (C.J. Collins).

<sup>555</sup> *Month*, 15 July 1919, p. 15; 15 June 1920, pp. 6-7; 14 January 1922, p. 6; 15 November 1922, p. 3 (includes the phrase quoted); 15 December 1922, p. 4; 18 November 1924, pp. 15, 37; *NZ Tablet*, 1 August 1918, p. 7; 8 August 1918, pp. 5, 7; 15 May 1919, p. 28; 26 November 1924, p. 15; 18 January 1933, p. 2; 7 August 1935; 16 March 1938, p. 9 and 20 April 1938, p. 4; 6 September 1939, p. 33; *Zealandia*, 16 September 1937, p. 6.

<sup>556</sup> *Month*, 15 August 1922, pp. 6-7; 15 June 1922, p. 27 (Mary Goulter). For further examples of such sensitivity, see *Zealandia*, 22 November 1934, p. 4 and *NZ Tablet*, 13 December 1939, p. 5.

<sup>557</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 21 June 1923, p. 45 (J.P. Kavanagh); 29 February 1928, p. 3; 4 May 1932, p. 3; 2 November 1938, p. 27.

<sup>558</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 3 June 1925, p. 15.

<sup>559</sup> *Month*, 15 October 1920, p. 5; 16 October 1922, p. 6 *NZ Tablet*, 8 August 1918, pp. 10-13; 27 November 1929, p. 6; 10 December 1930, p. 3; 28 January 1931, p. 3; 18 January 1933, p. 1; 5 April 1933, p. 24; 28 February 1934, p. 21; 27 March 1935, p. 8; 24 July 1935; 7 July 1937, p. 4; 28 June 1939, p. 5; 15 November 1939, p. 8.

rise to industrial Capitalism, whose injustice led, through Marx, to Communism. Luther, "despite his specious cant about freedom", had established "many false and spurious forms of authority", leading ultimately to the rise of Nazism.<sup>560</sup>

Despite Catholic efforts to blame Protestantism for contemporary evils - usually in articles and addresses directed at Catholic audiences - the Church was able to co-operate with secular and religious agencies to relieve distress during the Depression. The hierarchy urged Catholics to be "ever ready to co-operate with the State and public bodies in their efforts to ameliorate distress, and afford relief to those in need".<sup>561</sup> Reflecting on developments in 1931, the *Month* noted that Catholics had "gladly co-operated with and been encouraged and inspired by their fellow citizens, not of the faith maybe, but of the golden circle of kindness of heart."<sup>562</sup> In Auckland and Wellington, Catholics joined committees representing business, local government and the churches concerned with securing work for unemployed boys.<sup>563</sup> The Social Workers' Association in Auckland co-ordinated the relief efforts of various churches after its establishment in 1930. For a time, Archdeacon H.F. Holbrook, representing the St Vincent de Paul Society, was the Chairman; he was also involved in the Mayor's Metropolitan Relief Committee.<sup>564</sup> O'Shea nominated the President and Treasurer of the St Vincent de Paul Society (P.D. Hoskins and Colonel J.G. Roache) to represent the Catholic Church on Wellington's Inter-Church Central Relief Committee, while Hoskins also served on the Mayor's Relief Fund Committee.<sup>565</sup> At the invitation of J.R. Blanchard, Convener of the Public Questions Committee of the Presbyterian Church, O'Shea sent Higgins, O'Regan and M.T. Ryan to represent the Catholic Church at a meeting to prepare a public statement on unemployment in 1932; further consultations between Catholic and Protestant representatives took place in the succeeding years.<sup>566</sup> In July 1933, Brodie spoke at the inaugural meeting of the

<sup>560</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 23 April 1934, pp. 20-21, 31; cf. 28 August 1935, pp. 20-21. Haughey also argued that post-Reformation capitalism had originated in the nominally Catholic Italy of the Renaissance (*NZ Tablet*, 4 September 1935, pp. 9, 11).

<sup>561</sup> *Month*, 1 July 1931, p. 9; *NZ Tablet*, 8 July 1931, p. 42; cf. similar sentiments expressed in a pastoral letter by Liston (*Month*, 1 May 1933, pp. 18-19).

<sup>562</sup> *Month*, 1 March 1932, p. 16. For specific examples of such joint charitable work, see chapter three.

<sup>563</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 2 November 1932, p. 42; 16 November 1932, p. 42; 11 January 1933, p. 15; *Month*, 1 August 1932, p. 19; *Zealandia*, 19 December 1935, p. 6.

<sup>564</sup> *Month*, 1 April 1931, p. 30; *NZ Tablet*, 5 July 1933, p. 6; Reid, pp. 34-35 cf. MAC, 1931, p. 135.

<sup>565</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 5 August 1931, p. 46; cf. *Month*, 1 August 1931, p. 17.

<sup>566</sup> Blanchard to O'Shea, 30 June 1932, 16 July 1932, WCAA; PGA, 1934, p. 176; 1935, p. 160; MAC, 1935, p. 65.

Christchurch branch of the National Reconstruction Association, an organization largely made up of businessmen. Mayor Sullivan and Dr O'Brien were also present.<sup>567</sup>

Gradually recognizing that charity was not an adequate response to the Depression, the churches increasingly questioned the causes of poverty and unemployment. All agreed that the problems of the Depression were fundamentally moral: without individual conversion to the values of the Gospel and recognition of divine authority over every human endeavour, economic and social reform could not succeed.<sup>568</sup> According to the Presbyterian General Assembly, the crisis resulted from "the violation of the laws of God" in a world which worshipped Mammon and practised selfishness. God's law required "reverence for life and love of one's neighbour, the strong helping to bear the burdens of the weak."<sup>569</sup> The Catholic bishops declared that "the root of our present economic and industrial difficulties is a moral one" and called for "a change of heart, not only amongst those who control the destinies of nations, but amongst the people themselves."<sup>570</sup> Nevertheless, the Catholic Church, having developed its social teaching in competition with European Socialism since the late nineteenth century, was better prepared than were the Protestant churches to respond to the Depression not simply with moral exhortation but from the basis of a coherent social philosophy. Protestants in New Zealand had long tended to emphasize personal moral reform rather than to criticize unjust social and economic structures. Campaigns against gambling and liquor or in favour of Bible reading in schools and Sunday observance were intended to bring about reform at the individual level and thereby promote Christian virtue.<sup>571</sup> Moreover, the Anglican and Presbyterian Churches, in particular, had tended to identify with the interests of the state and were therefore disinclined to criticize the government. Among the Protestant churches, the Methodists were the first to develop a critical perspective on the causes of the Depression and the most appropriate responses to it.<sup>572</sup> Presbyterians (who accounted

<sup>567</sup> *Press*, 11 July 1933, p. 10; *NZ Tablet*, 19 July 1933, p. 6.

<sup>568</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 3 December 1930, p. 3; 3 January 1934, p. 21 (Higgins); *NZ Herald*, 5 April 1932, p. 11 (Liston); *Marist Messenger*, 1 July 1936, p. 14 (Higgins); *Month*, 1 May 1933, p. 18 (Liston); *Zealandia*, 19 July 1934, p. 4; 27 January 1938, p. 12; *MAC*, 1933, p. 81; 1934, p. 69; 1935, p. 73; *PGA*, 1932, pp. 14, 98; 1933, pp. 21, 81, 84.

<sup>569</sup> *PGA*, 1934, p. 182.

<sup>570</sup> *Month*, 1 July 1931, p. 9; *NZ Tablet*, 8 July 1931, p. 42.

<sup>571</sup> Reid, p. 10.

<sup>572</sup> Clements, pp. 153, 196, 204, 211, 313-314, 331-335.

for half the Coalition Cabinet),<sup>573</sup> were the least inclined to accept that the Church ought to take a direct role in political and economic affairs (except at the level of moral crusades).<sup>574</sup> However, the General Assembly adopted in 1934 a report which suggested that it was a Christian duty to "Counteract the tacit assumption that the present system is an approved Christian social order, and that no fundamental changes are necessary or desirable."<sup>575</sup>

Protestant church leaders urged their members to take up the study of social questions and, as in the Catholic Church, study groups were established.<sup>576</sup> Occasionally there were opportunities for Catholics to explain their views to a wider audience. In 1936, *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno* were discussed at a joint meeting of the Auckland University Labour Club and the University Catholic Club.<sup>577</sup> At a luncheon sponsored by the Crusade for Social Justice in 1937, Liston expounded Catholic social teaching to an audience which included the Governor-General, Viscount Galway, and Archbishop Averill.<sup>578</sup>

While Catholic social teaching endorsed reforms promoted by Labour politicians, Protestant demands for change, especially those emanating from the Methodist Church, also tended to coincide with Labour policies. Methodists criticized the concentration of wealth "in the hands of a small minority" and asserted that "such steps as are necessary to secure a more just and equitable distribution of the nation's wealth should have the support of Christian people."<sup>579</sup> Advocates of "Christian Socialism" shared with the Labour Party a desire for moderate reform rather than revolution.<sup>580</sup> The Depression accelerated the tendency for the Labour Party to replace its theoretical ideals with short-term proposals calculated to relieve unemployment and hardship. Its programme, including public works schemes and monetary reform, increasingly resembled the churches' agenda, in contrast to the Coalition's reluctance

<sup>573</sup> Clements, p. 196.

<sup>574</sup> Reid, p. 75; S. Rae, *Changing Patterns of Presbyterian Social Service* (Dunedin: Presbyterian Historical Society, 1983), p. 6.

<sup>575</sup> PGA, 1934, pp. 53, 183.

<sup>576</sup> Reid, pp. 72-73; Garing, pp. 421-422; MAC, 1934, p. 69; 1935, p. 72; PGA, 1932, p. 15, 99, 103; 1934, p. 53; 1936, p. 179.

<sup>577</sup> *Zealandia*, 24 September 1936, p. 4.

<sup>578</sup> *NZ Herald*, 4 June 1937, p. 14; *Zealandia*, 10 June 1937, p. 5.

<sup>579</sup> MAC, 1935, p. 73.

<sup>580</sup> Reid, pp. 92-93.

to undertake bold measures.<sup>581</sup> Like some Catholics and Labour politicians, a number of Protestant clerics, of whom the most enthusiastic was Percy Paris, editor of the *New Zealand Methodist Times*, were attracted to monetary reform proposals and regarded the Labour Party as their champion.<sup>582</sup> The League to Abolish Poverty was organized in 1935, with O'Shea as one of the Vice-Presidents, to collect signatures for a petition to the King seeking adjustments in the financial system. At the meeting to inaugurate the Auckland branch, presided over by the Rev. W.W. Averill, Holbrook declared that "the economic and financial system had broken down hopelessly".<sup>583</sup> Presbyterians were warned, however, that "ranting about Capitalism, and uncritical enthusiasm over new credit schemes" were "positively dangerous".<sup>584</sup>

Just as numerous Catholics were drawn to the Labour Party by its advocacy of social and industrial reform, many Protestants also became involved with the Party for religiously-inspired motives as well as class interests. During its early years, the Methodist and Baptist Churches, with their urbanized and wage-earning memberships, provided significant support for Labour, although the Party's philosophy appealed rather less to the Anglican and Presbyterian communities.<sup>585</sup> In 1919, a Methodist Annual Conference resolution enthusiastically endorsed the efforts of labour "to secure its just, fair, and equitable rights, including improved conditions, increased wages, and shorter hours" and pledged "to assist Labour to that end".<sup>586</sup> Some Protestant clergymen, like their Catholic peers, came to regard the Labour Party as a vehicle for the implementation of Christian ideals. On Labour Day in 1924, the local branch of the Labour Party organized an open air demonstration at Carlaw Park. A crowd of 3,000 listened to addresses by five speakers. The Rev. J. Lamb Harvey, a Presbyterian, declared that "although he could not subscribe to certain planks in Labour's political

<sup>581</sup> Reid, pp. 119-124. For Liston's involvement with a call for public work schemes, see below.

<sup>582</sup> MAC, 1933, p. 81; 1934, p. 70; 1936, p. 69; *Press*, 18 February 1938, p. 16; Reid, pp. 74, 89-90, 104-116; Clements, pp. 215, 224-238; R.T. Robertson, "The Tyranny of Circumstances: Responses to Unemployment in New Zealand, 1929-1935, with particular reference to Dunedin" (University of Otago Ph.D. thesis in History, 1978), pp. 406-411.

<sup>583</sup> *NZ Herald*, 12 August 1935, p. 12; Reid, p. 108.

<sup>584</sup> *PGA*, 1933, p. 83.

<sup>585</sup> Gustafson, *Labour's Path*, pp. 123-124; "Intervention", pp. 4-5.

<sup>586</sup> The Conference also recommended "the principles of co-partnership and profit-sharing in all forms of industry" (MAC, 1919, p. 122; *Press*, 6 March 1919, p. 7) cf. a similar resolution the following year (MAC 1920, p. 63). Gustafson (*Labour's Path*, p. 125) treats the 1919 resolution as evidence for Methodist endorsement of the Labour Party but in the discussion, as reported, "Labour" was contrasted with "Capital" and no reference was made to the Labour Party.

programme, he had found more of the spirit of religious idealism in the Labour movement than in any other political movement." More guarded comments, emphasizing the need for personal moral reform, were made by the Rev. W.G. Monckton of the Anglican Church and Ensign Inglis of the Salvation Army. Holbrook, reiterating the customary Catholic apologia for the mediaeval guilds and tracing later social evils back to the Reformation, also called for adherence to the teachings of Christ in order to combat "a corrupt social system". Savage, the MP for Auckland West, correctly interpreted the occasion as "a reply on the one hand to those who said Labour was dominated by one church, and on the other hand, to those who said that Labour men were not concerned about the Church."<sup>587</sup>

By provoking disillusionment with the political status quo, the Depression further encouraged both Catholics and Protestants to favour the Labour Party. Having co-operated in relieving social distress during the early 1930s, representatives of the leading denominations joined in a swelling chorus of complaint against the Coalition Government's inadequate response to unemployment in particular. In June 1932, Liston and other Auckland church leaders, concerned about rising unemployment and recent rioting, published a joint statement urging "loyal co-operation with the constituted authorities and with one another...to solve the pressing problems of the hour."<sup>588</sup> Before long, however, Christians of different denominations were criticizing the Government for requiring the unemployed to undertake unproductive relief work on wages barely adequate for subsistence.<sup>589</sup> In July 1934, Mayor G.W. Hutchison presided over a large public meeting under the auspices of the Auckland Citizens' Committee, which passed resolutions demanding improved pay and conditions for unemployed relief work. Among the speakers was Liston who, speaking "not only as a citizen but also as a representative, however unworthy, of the Church", proposed public work schemes such as slum clearance and home building. Although he reiterated the Mayor's affirmation that the meeting was non-partisan, the Committee's pointed criticism of the Government only four months before the election indicated that both Catholic and Protestant leaders shared in widespread disillusionment with the

<sup>587</sup> *NZ Herald*, 27 October 1924, p. 10; for further apologetic argument by Holbrook on this occasion, see *Month*, 18 November 1924, p. 37.

<sup>588</sup> *NZ Herald*, 14 May 1932, p. 13.

<sup>589</sup> Reid, pp. 53-5; *NZ Tablet*, 15 February 1933, p. 4; *Zealandia*, 27 September 1934, p. 4; 14 February 1935, p. 4; 28 February 1935, p. 4; *MAC*, 1934, p. 69; 1935, pp. 71-72; *PGA*, 1932, p. 16; 1933, p. 21; 1934, p. 176; 1935, p. 160.

National Government's response to the Depression.<sup>590</sup> At a September 1935 public meeting organized by a group of Auckland clergy and chaired by Archbishop Averill, a resolution proposed by Holbrook criticized the Government for merely temporizing over the problem of unemployment rather than solving it. A further motion declared

That this audience, in calling for a no-confidence rejection of the present Government at the forthcoming poll, records its conviction that any continuance of civic and political ineptitude, on the part of this or any other Government, is warranted not only to destroy faith in constitutional government, but also to do despite to the essential spirit of Christianity.<sup>591</sup>

Five Protestant clergymen, or former clergymen, contested the 1935 election as members of the Labour Party.<sup>592</sup> One of them, the Presbyterian Arnold Nordmeyer, later explained that "there was a convergence between what the Churches said and what the Labour Party said."<sup>593</sup>

The election of the first Labour Government in 1935 and its re-election in 1938 by a much increased popular vote were thus aided by both Catholic and Protestant church leaders. Far from suspecting the Party to be a tool of the Catholic Church, most Protestants had evidently come to share the view of most Catholics that only a Labour Government could address social and economic problems successfully. Yet some Protestants and Catholics still feared the Socialist bogey lurking behind the Labour Party. The Presbyterian Church expressed concern in 1936 about the "avowed Socialistic aims" of the new Government and the concerns of Catholics have already been discussed.<sup>594</sup> Nevertheless, there was something of a new political consensus, involving both Catholics and Protestants.

A potential threat to this consensus was the Spanish Civil War, which the Catholic Church regarded as a contest between atheistic Communism and Christianity.<sup>595</sup>

<sup>590</sup> *NZ Herald*, 11 July 1934, p. 15; *NZ Tablet*, 18 July 1934, p. 7; *Zealandia*, 19 July 1934, p. 1.

<sup>591</sup> *NZ Herald*, 11 September 1935, p. 15. For an earlier statement by the same group of Auckland clerics, see Reid, pp. 179-181. Holbrook had "the full support of his Bishop" (Reid, pp. 65-66, citing an interview with Liston). An even more direct statement denouncing the Coalition, attributed by Clements to Archbishop Averill at a public meeting, was in fact made by Kenneth Melvin, a Free Methodist member of the clergy group (Clements, p. 201, incorrectly citing the *NZ Herald*, 23 November 1935; cf. Reid, p. 65, citing an election broadsheet, dated 23 November 1935, in Melvin's papers).

<sup>592</sup> Reid, p. 131. Davidson (p. 110) says ten, but this seems to be a mistake based on K.P. Clements, "The Religious Variable: Dependent, Independent or Interdependent?" in M. Hill (editor), *A Sociological Year Book of Religion in Britain* (London: SCM, 1971), p. 44.

<sup>593</sup> Interview with Nordmeyer, quoted in Clements, p. 241.

<sup>594</sup> *PGA*, 1936, p. 179.

<sup>595</sup> Skudder, pp. 10, 120-123; *NZ Tablet*, 2 September 1936, p. 3; 7 October 1936, p. 3.

However, apart from Catholics and Communists, most New Zealanders were not directly concerned about the war. The Labour Government's sympathies were with the Republicans but it was not interested in taking a strong stand in the international community and it evidently did not want to offend either its Catholic or its Communist supporters.<sup>596</sup> Despite its own uncompromising support for General Franco, moreover, little attempt was made by the Church to convince non-Catholics of the justice of the Nationalist cause.<sup>597</sup> Cleary's, rather than Kelly's defence of Ireland provided the model. Apart from a small number of letters and articles in the secular press, Catholics made few public protests against pro-Republican activities in New Zealand. At a public meeting in Christchurch, Brodie objected strenuously to a proposal to send an ambulance destined to serve under the Republican flag.<sup>598</sup> Occasionally Catholics directly accused the Protestant churches of associating themselves with Communism in Spain and some New Zealanders blamed the Church for the crisis there.<sup>599</sup> Catholic activities concerned with the war, such as days of prayer and discussions by debating groups or study clubs, were typically undertaken within the Catholic community.<sup>600</sup> Emphasizing "the unspeakable calamities that have befallen Catholics in Spain", diocesan appeals were organized to assist the restoration of ecclesiastical buildings damaged or destroyed in the war.<sup>601</sup> Skudder has suggested that by keeping a low profile on the issue of the Spanish Civil War for fear of arousing pro-Republican, anti-Catholic sentiments, the Catholic Church became increasingly insular.<sup>602</sup> A more probable interpretation is that Catholics, while defending their principles quietly, did not want to jeopardize improving relations with the wider community.

Meanwhile, personal and formal links between the denominations continued to be strengthened, particularly in Wellington. Shared concerns over moral issues such as

<sup>596</sup> Skudder, pp. 7, 81, 245 and chapter one.

<sup>597</sup> Skudder, pp. 10, 124, 166, 168; ; but cf. *NZ Tablet*, 30 December 1936, p. 7 and 10 February 1937, p. 7 (public address by Father M.D. Forrest at Huntly); 11 May 1938, pp. 3-4, 41 and 18 May 1938, pp. 3-4, 41 (address given in Upper Hutt by B.J. Barnao, organized by Catholic members of the Labour Party).

<sup>598</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 9 December 1936, pp. 3, 7; *Press*, 2 December 1936, p. 10; Skudder, pp. 124; 160-161, 166-168.

<sup>599</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 18 November 1936, p. 3; Skudder, pp. 161, 298, 300, 327-334.

<sup>600</sup> Skudder, pp. 158-159; *NZ Tablet*, 14 October 1936, p. 7; 9 December 1936, p. 6; 24 March 1937, p. 7; 8 September 1937, p. 9.

<sup>601</sup> O'Shea, pastoral letter dated 8 February 1937, *Zealandia*, 25 February 1937, p. 4; cf. *NZ Tablet*, 8 September 1937, p. 6 (collection in the Dunedin diocese).

<sup>602</sup> Skudder, p. 169.

censorship have already been discussed.<sup>603</sup> When the Presbyterian Dr James Gibb established a branch of the League of Nations Union in Wellington in 1922, he received the enthusiastic support of O'Shea and O'Regan.<sup>604</sup> Under Gibb's inspiration, the Churches' United Peace Committee, which included two clerical and three lay representatives of the Catholic Church, produced in 1927 a manifesto denouncing war and endorsing the League of Nations.<sup>605</sup> In 1931, Gibb chaired a large public meeting under the auspices of the League of Nations Union in Wellington, at which addresses were given by the leaders of the three main political parties. Archbishop O'Shea and Canon James (one of Cleary's principal antagonists in the Bible in Schools debate) proposed and seconded a resolution endorsing the forthcoming World Disarmament Conference in Geneva.<sup>606</sup> Even after the Catholic hierarchy repudiated the agreement O'Shea negotiated with the Bible in Schools League in 1932, the Archbishop continued to meet and correspond with League Secretary E.O. Blamires.<sup>607</sup> O'Shea sent a message of condolence to the Wellington Presbytery on the death of Gibb in 1935.<sup>608</sup> Writing to a Christchurch Presbyterian who shared O'Shea's concern for religious education, the Archbishop noted that he "counted many real friends amongst the members of your church", and that Gibb had been a staunch friend for the last ten years of his life.<sup>609</sup> When Dr David Kennedy SM died in 1936, D.M. Hercus, Moderator of the Wellington Presbytery, sent not only a formal letter but also a personal handwritten letter seeking to "establish personal contact with one who is greatly respected and trusted far outside the bounds of his own communion."<sup>610</sup> While O'Shea was overseas in 1939, the Anglican Bishop of Wellington, Herbert St Barbe

<sup>603</sup> See above, chapter four.

<sup>604</sup> L.H. Barber, *The Very Rev. James Gibb: Patriot into Pacifist*, (Dunedin: Presbyterian Historical Society of New Zealand, 1973), pp. 11-12, 16; O'Regan diary, 28 February 1922, ATL 76-165-1/1; *Evening Post*, 13 April 1922, p. 7; *NZ Tablet*, 11 September 1935, p. 6 (pastoral letter on the Union); cf. 13 June 1928, p. 44 (report on a brief radio talk on the League in 1928).

<sup>605</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 22 June 1927, pp. 25, 33. For the fate of the manifesto, see Davidson, pp. 100-101 and for an earlier joint declaration which involved Catholic representatives, see *Evening Post*, 29 March 1922, p. 7.

<sup>606</sup> *Evening Post*, 6 October 1931, p. 12; *NZ Tablet*, 21 October 1931, p. 31.

<sup>607</sup> For example, a letter from O'Shea to Blamires in 1937 helped to persuade the Wellington Education Board to allow the introduction of religious observances in primary schools under its jurisdiction (see chapter seven).

<sup>608</sup> R. Inglis, Presbytery Clerk, to O'Shea, 31 October 1935, WCAA.

<sup>609</sup> O'Shea to Leighton J.D. Weir, 9 December 1936, WCAA.

<sup>610</sup> Hercus to O'Shea, 11 March 1936, WCAA (two letters).

Holland, who was himself about to leave the country, wrote a letter of greeting in anticipation of O'Shea's return.<sup>611</sup> At the civic reception for the Apostolic Delegate before the Eucharistic Congress, Holland represented the Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational Churches.<sup>612</sup> O.E. Burton, as Convenor of the Methodist Public Questions Committee, kept O'Shea informed of negotiations for reunion with the Congregationalist Church.<sup>613</sup> When the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches celebrated their centenaries, O'Shea sent his congratulations although he was unable to attend.<sup>614</sup> Such informal contacts and joint concern for social action among Catholics and Protestants led to the establishment in 1941 of the Inter-Church Council on Public Affairs, made up of representatives of the Catholic and Protestant churches in Wellington.<sup>615</sup>

Changing attitudes on the part of the Catholic hierarchy towards proposals to allow the University of New Zealand to confer degrees in divinity illustrate the new spirit of co-operation. During the Bible in Schools Campaign in 1912, the Government rejected a request to amend the university legislation in order to provide for degrees in divinity.<sup>616</sup> Cleary's *Month* was unenthusiastic about a new proposal promoted in 1925.<sup>617</sup> In 1928, T.K. Sidey, as Chairman of a University Council Committee concerned with the issue, wrote to Redwood seeking the Church's views.<sup>618</sup> The reply, drafted by Cleary, asked for further information on the treatment of different schools of theology - evidently a reference to Catholic and Protestant teaching - and the

<sup>611</sup> St Barbe Holland to O'Shea, 22 May 1939, WCAA.

<sup>612</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 7 February 1940, p. 6; *Zealandia*, 8 February 1940, p. 6.

<sup>613</sup> Burton to O'Shea, 4 August 1939; O'Shea to Burton, 4 August 1939; Burton to O'Shea, 11 December 1939, WCAA.

<sup>614</sup> O'Shea to Percy Paris, 10 June 1939; O'Shea to the Moderator of the General Assembly, 19 February 1940, WCAA.

<sup>615</sup> J.A. Park, "The Ecumenical Movement in New Zealand" (University of Otago M.A. thesis in History, 1950), pp. 130-131; C.G. Brown, *Forty Years On: a History of the National Council of Churches in New Zealand, 1941-1981* (Christchurch: National Council of Churches, 1981), pp. 44, 290, note 31, 298, note 2. Both sources record the establishment of the Council as having taken place in 1942 but the first meeting was to be held on 28 October 1941 (J. Thomson Macky to Monsignor A.J. McRae, 14 October 1941, WCAA).

<sup>616</sup> I. Breward, *Grace and Truth: a History of Theological Hall Knox College, Dunedin, 1876-1975* (Dunedin: Theological Education Committee of the Presbyterian Church, 1975), p. 169.

<sup>617</sup> *Month*, 21 July 1925, p. 21.

<sup>618</sup> Sidey to Redwood, 23 April 1928, WCAA, CCDA.

funding of the project.<sup>619</sup> After discussion by the bishops at their 1929 meeting, Redwood wrote to Sidey that they were opposed to the teaching of theology in the university for the same reasons they rejected religious teaching in state schools. They therefore felt "under an obligation in conscience to resist your proposals by every legitimate means at our disposal".<sup>620</sup> The plan was subsequently rejected by the Government.<sup>621</sup> In 1937, John Dickie wrote to O'Shea asking for a meeting in the hope of securing the Catholic Church's "benevolent neutrality" in renewed efforts to enable the university to offer divinity degrees. Setting aside his former antipathy towards Catholicism, he wanted to tell O'Shea "how highly representative Presbyterians appreciate the cooperation of the great Mother Church of Western Christendom in those matters where your Church & mine can cooperate."<sup>622</sup> The university authorities decided in 1939 to approach the Government but further delay was caused by the war. In 1945, when O'Shea was asked by the Rev. Herbert Newell, Secretary of the Council of Churches, what the Catholic attitude towards divinity degrees would be, the bishops' only concern was whether there would be any cost to Catholic taxpayers.<sup>623</sup> Newell assured the Archbishop that the tuition would be provided by existing theological colleges, not the state-funded university.<sup>624</sup> In 1946, a Faculty of Theology was established in Dunedin, with staff paid by the churches concerned.<sup>625</sup>

In addition to cultivating good relations with other denominations, Catholics often stressed their loyalty to the state.<sup>626</sup> Formal luncheons organized by the Hibernians

- <sup>619</sup> Undated draft with note by Cleary, WCAA and CCDA; Cleary to Redwood, 12 June 1928 and accompanying carbon copy of letter to Sidey (to be signed by Redwood) dated 13 June, WCAA; Redwood to Sidey, 28 November 1928, WCAA (a further copy of the letter drafted by Cleary and evidently the version sent); *cf.* Minutes of bishops' meeting, 3 May 1928, CCDA, ACDA CLE 1-5.
- <sup>620</sup> Redwood to Sidey, 24 April 1929, WCAA; *cf.* minutes of bishops' meeting, 24 April 1929, CCDA, ACDA CLE 1-5. Redwood's letter is quoted in Breward, p. 170.
- <sup>621</sup> Breward, p. 170; *cf.* Redwood's report at the next bishops' meeting that he had spoken with Sidey since the previous meeting but had heard nothing more of the proposal since then (minutes, 28 April 1930, CCDA, ACDA CLE 1-5).
- <sup>622</sup> Dickie to O'Shea, 28 October 1937, WCAA.
- <sup>623</sup> H.W. Newell to O'Shea, 21 March 1945 (referring to a conversation with O'Shea on 16 March); O'Shea to Liston and the other bishops, 16 March 1945; Whyte (on behalf of the other two South Island Bishops) to O'Shea, 20 March 1945; Liston to O'Shea, 19 March 1945; O'Shea to Newell, 23 March 1945, WCAA.
- <sup>624</sup> Newell to O'Shea, 11 April 1945, WCAA.
- <sup>625</sup> Breward, p. 172.
- <sup>626</sup> For the inculcation of patriotism in Catholic schools, see chapter three below.

included a joint toast to "The Pope and the King".<sup>627</sup> The Church enjoyed good relations with successive governors-general, who often attended Catholic functions.<sup>628</sup> In 1935, O'Shea, Brodie, Whyte and Liston were guests of Lord Bledisloe at a private informal luncheon in Government House.<sup>629</sup> On the occasion of George V's silver jubilee the following year, the *Tablet* noted that,

Catholics no less than other sections of the community have joined in the Empire's royal salute....The fact that George V is a Protestant King in no way diminishes the loyalty of Catholic citizens or the sincerity of their good wishes.<sup>630</sup>

In an address given shortly after the King's death, O'Shea emphasized that

Both Church and State are sovereign and independent in their respective spheres and both have a strict claim binding on the consciences of their subjects, of obedience to law. The Church has no power over civil legislation in matters purely secular, nor has the State any authority over spiritual matters.<sup>631</sup>

There was distress at the prospect of Edward VIII's marriage to Mrs Simpson, but his abdication and the coronation of George VI in May 1937 allowed a resumption of the loyalty theme.<sup>632</sup> The Hibernian Society's 1937 annual conference passed a resolution affirming its members' loyalty to the new King and Queen and donated £100 to the King George Memorial Fund - in addition to the contributions made by individual branches.<sup>633</sup> Dr Francis Walsh told a Wellington congregation that although great sins had been committed in its name, the British Empire was "the strongest force for peace, security and order in a troubled and changing world."<sup>634</sup>

<sup>627</sup> *Month*, 15 August 1923, p. 16; *NZ Tablet*, 6 April 1927, p. 57; 4 July 1928, p. 39; 2 April 1930, p. 52; 8 April 1931, p. 39; 29 March 1939, p. 8; cf. *Month*, 1 July 1932, p. 25 (Sacred Heart Old Boys reunion).

<sup>628</sup> *Month*, 15 April 1930, p. 19 (welcome to Lord and Lady Bledisloe); *NZ Tablet*, 1 January 1930, p. 3 (editorial commendation of Sir Charles Fergusson and Lord Bledisloe); 20 March 1935, pp. 3 (editorial commendation of Bledisloe), 5 (farewell message by Bledisloe). For the attendance of governors-general at Catholic functions, see chapter three above.

<sup>629</sup> *Zealandia*, 28 February 1935, p. 5.

<sup>630</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 8 May 1935, p. 3; cf. 15 May 1935, p. 6; 29 January 1936, pp. 3, 6; *Zealandia*, 23 May 1935, p. 2; 6 June 1935, p. 4.

<sup>631</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 5 February 1936, p. 6; cf. *Zealandia*, 30 January 1936, pp. 4-5 for Catholic observances in Auckland.

<sup>632</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 9 December 1936, p. 3; 12 May 1937, p. 5; 19 May 1937, p. 8; 26 May 1937, pp. 23, 41; *Zealandia*, 6 May 1937, pp. 4, 5; 20 May 1937, pp. 4, 5; 3 June 1937, p. 5.

<sup>633</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 2 June 1937, p. 8; *Zealandia*, 10 June 1937, p. 6.

<sup>634</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 26 May 1937, p. 41. The 1938 Catholic centennial celebrations occasioned further expressions of Catholic loyalty, as discussed in chapter two.

During the Second World War, in contrast to the First, few doubted Catholic loyalty. At the outbreak of war in 1914, Catholics had already been identified as a disloyal faction - a view which, in the eyes of many Protestants, was confirmed by the actions of the Catholic Federation and Kelly's Irish nationalism in wartime. By the time war resumed in 1939, however, the bishops were thanking God that "relations between the Church and the State and our non-Catholic fellow citizens are of the happiest and most cordial nature."<sup>635</sup> The *Zealandia* declared a few days before the outbreak of hostilities that, "if war should unhappily come, then Catholics will join their fellow-citizens in meeting the perils of the day with fortitude."<sup>636</sup> Liston expected that Catholics would be "ready for duties and generous in self-sacrifice."<sup>637</sup> Unlike some leading Protestant figures, the Catholic Church condemned pacifism and upheld the doctrine of the just war.<sup>638</sup> Dr Noel Gascoigne wrote that, from the Catholic viewpoint, the issues involved in 1939 were "vastly different" from those of 1914. The Kaiser, for all his faults, had not persecuted the Church.

But should Hitler triumph, should Stalin conquer, then verily the reign of Anti-Christ is upon us. These are the issues. This is why we fight not a war, but a crusade.<sup>639</sup>

Catholics had long regarded Communism as a greater menace than Nazism<sup>640</sup> and the Nazi-Soviet Pact, directed at Catholic Poland, confirmed their suspicions: "Communism now stands revealed in all its native treachery".<sup>641</sup> Russian Communism and German Nazism were "but two aspects of militant Paganism".<sup>642</sup> Communist propagandists in New Zealand would "never succeed in explaining away the latest trick of their Russian masters or their dastardly invasion of gallant little Poland."<sup>643</sup>

<sup>635</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 20 September 1939, p. 39 and *Zealandia*, 28 September 1939, p. 4 (pastoral letter of the hierarchy on the forthcoming Eucharistic Congress).

<sup>636</sup> *Zealandia*, 31 August 1939, p. 4.

<sup>637</sup> *Zealandia*, 7 September 1939, p. 4.

<sup>638</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 12 December 1934, p. 7; 29 April 1936, pp. 21, 34; 6 May 1936, p. 7; 27 May 1936, p. 34; 24 February 1937, pp. 1-2, 34; *Zealandia*, 6 June 1935, p. 4; 16 June 1938, p. 12; 17 August 1939, p. 4; 7 September 1939, p. 10; 14 September 1939, p. 2; 28 September 1939, p. 4. On Protestant pacifists, see Davidson, pp. 101-102.

<sup>639</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 27 September 1939, p. 7.

<sup>640</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 18 November 1936, p. 4; 25 November 1936, pp. 1-2; 3 March 1937, p. 6; 16 March 1938, p. 6; *Zealandia*, 23 March 1939, p. 6.

<sup>641</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 27 September 1939, p. 5. cf. *Zealandia*, 9 November 1939, p. 4 ("Terrible as is the fact of war it has already done much good in the unmasking of the Soviet.").

<sup>642</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 30 August 1939, p. 5.

<sup>643</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 27 September 1939, p. 5.

The *Zealandia* endorsed a warning by Opposition leader Hamilton about Communist activities and propaganda.<sup>644</sup> In a charge reminiscent of that laid against Socialists and Irish Catholics during the First World War, it was asserted that Communists were undermining the war effort.<sup>645</sup> When Hitler invaded Russia and Stalin became an ally, the Catholic press, reluctant to accept the new alliance, had to be asked to restrain its anti-Communist rhetoric.<sup>646</sup> New Zealand Communists and Rationalists could now accuse the Church of disloyalty, recalling its former partiality towards Fascism, particularly in Spain.<sup>647</sup> In another echo of Orange Lodge and PPA charges, the *New Zealand Rationalist* complained that Catholic schoolchildren were being brought up owing allegiance to a foreign power which supported Fascism in Spain while opposing "our great friend and ally Russia".<sup>648</sup>

However, during the Second World War, unlike the First, the Government and the leading churches - Catholic as well as Protestant - worked in harmony to stifle sectarian tensions. The churches negotiated jointly with the Government for the exemption from conscription of conscientious objectors, theological students and Marist Brothers.<sup>649</sup> N.C. Burns, who gave a series of lectures in 1940 at the Paramount Theatre, Wellington, on such topics as "Greater than Hitler: Who is the Great Beast Monster of Biblical Prophecy?" was evidently stopped by Fraser at O'Shea's request.<sup>650</sup> During the First World War, the circulation of anti-Catholic books and tracts had fuelled sectarian discord and only in 1918 was the Government finally persuaded to ban further importation of such "Protestant literature".<sup>651</sup> The Labour

<sup>644</sup> *Zealandia*, 19 October 1939, p. 4.

<sup>645</sup> *Zealandia*, 2 November 1939, p. 4; 7 December 1939, p. 4.

<sup>646</sup> N.M. Taylor, *The New Zealand People at War: the Home Front* (Wellington: Historical Publications Branch, 1986), pp. 589-598.

<sup>647</sup> C.W.N. Cooke, "To what extent was the antipathy toward Catholicism by the Rationalist Association an integral component of Rationalism in the 1930s and 1940s?" (Massey University Diploma in Humanities research essay in History, 1991), pp. 7-8.

<sup>648</sup> *NZ Rationalist*, 1 June 1942, p. 7.

<sup>649</sup> Taylor, pp. 248-249.

<sup>650</sup> *Evening Post*, 22 June 1940, p. 5 (advertisement); cf. 8 June 1940, p. 5 ("Mussolini and the Vatican"); O'Shea to Fraser, 25 June 1940, WCAA; W.B. Gamble to O'Shea, 1 July 1940, WCAA (this letter concerns the Jehovah's Witnesses and has a note by O'Shea about his reply: "Mentioned Burns being stopped by the Prime Minister").

<sup>651</sup> O'Connor, "'Protestants'", pp. 197-198; *NZ Tablet*, 13 June 1918, pp. 27, 30; 10 October 1918, p. 15; 24 October 1918, pp. 25-26; 14 November 1918, p. 14; *Month*, 14 September 1918, p. 16; 15 October 1918, pp. 9, 16, 18; *NZ Herald*, 25 September 1918, p. 6. The ban was lifted in 1920 (*Month*, 15 May 1920, p. 6).

Government's wartime censorship regulations were applied to sectarian propaganda from January 1941.<sup>652</sup> Later that year, it was found necessary to warn the editor and publishers of the *Nation* not to print further articles denigrating the Catholic Church, which had been accused, amongst other things, of being "no less crafty than Nazism". J.T. Paul, the Director of Publicity (the chief Government censor) was able to ask McKeefry in return to avoid antagonizing Communists, including the Soviet ambassador: a request with which the *Zealandia* editor expressed himself most willing to comply.<sup>653</sup> In 1942, copies of Edith Moore's *No Friend of Democracy: a Study of Roman Catholic Politics - their Influence on the Course of the Present War and the Growth of Fascism*, addressed to the Rationalist Association, were seized by officials.<sup>654</sup> When Lee complained to Fraser over the ban, the Prime Minister replied that he would not allow any attacks on the Catholic Church while Catholic boys were giving their lives for their country.<sup>655</sup> Satisfied with the Government's efforts to censor anti-Catholic propaganda, Monsignor A.J. McRae wrote to Fraser that, "Here in New Zealand, I think it is safe to say that at the present time there is a greater spirit of friendliness and cooperation in the relations of the various churches than at any time in the past." He suggested that *No Friend* be referred to the Inter-Church Council, whose members McRae had "come to know and respect" and whom he judged to be "even more solicitous of a continuation of Catholic cooperation than some of our own leaders."<sup>656</sup>

Just as certain Protestants had exploited wartime stresses to press their long-standing demands for legislation restraining activities of the Catholic Church, so the Church itself exploited the opportunity provided by the Second World War to demand the suppression of propaganda by the Jehovah's Witnesses. Since 1934, the *Tablet* had regularly criticized the Witnesses and their leader Judge Rutherford, demanding that the Government ban their anti-Catholic tracts, radio programmes and recorded messages broadcast from vehicles.<sup>657</sup> Unlike the PPA, the Witnesses had no political

<sup>652</sup> Taylor, pp. 1003, 1009.

<sup>653</sup> Taylor, pp. 919-921. The *Tablet* seems to have been less compliant (*ibid.*, pp. 597-598).

<sup>654</sup> Taylor, pp. 1008-1010; Cooke, pp. 8-9.

<sup>655</sup> Fraser to Lee, 1 December 1942, copy in WCAA; Taylor, pp. 1009-1010; cf. Olssen, *Lee*, p. 184. The correspondence between Fraser and Lee was read out in Parliament by the Prime Minister (*NZPD*, 1943, vol. 263, pp. 1020-1022).

<sup>656</sup> McRae to Fraser, 5 February 1943, WCAA.

<sup>657</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 28 February 1934, p. 20; 11 April 1934, p. 4; 19 September 1935, p. 4; 2 October 1935, p. 3; 13 May 1936, p. 3; 20 May 1936, p. 3; 27 May 1936, p. 3; 4 November 1936, p. 3; 2 December 1936, p. 4; 10 March 1937, p. 4; 30 June 1937, p. 5; 21 July 1937, p. 7; 11 August 1937, p. 5; 25 May 1938, p. 5; 22 March 1939, p. 13; 19 April 1939, p. 5; cf. *Zealandia*, 28 April 1938, p.

agenda and, far from promoting a Protestant alliance against the Catholic Church, their attacks on all the major denominations earned them widespread opprobrium. This was intensified during the war, when their refusal to salute flags or perform military service was deemed disloyal. The organization was declared subversive and its activities curtailed until 1945.<sup>658</sup> Fraser told Parliament that it was the Government's responsibility "to see that, during the war, insults to people's religion are stayed and, if possible, eliminated for the time being."<sup>659</sup> Like Catholics during the First World War, the Witnesses became, during the Second, victims of the majority's demand for conformity - but this time the majority included the Catholic community.

The most noteworthy anti-Catholic propagandist was John A. Lee who personally linked the major strands of anti-Catholicism during the Second World War. Lee cautiously defended the Witnesses' right to free speech and, while they prepared extra labels, he printed material for them in a special edition of *John A. Lee's Weekly*.<sup>660</sup> Having been expelled from the Labour Party in 1940, Lee launched his own Democratic Labour Party and later the Democratic Soldier Labour Party. Reviving debate over the Spanish Civil War late in 1941, he accused the Catholic clergy of supporting Fascism, a charge calculated to draw support from Communists in particular, and attacked the alleged influence of the clergy over Catholic voters. Lee was supported by Elliott and the Orange Lodge as well as the Rationalist Association.<sup>661</sup> Unlike Elliott, whose anti-Catholicism led him into an alliance with the governing political Party, Lee's anti-Catholicism (or more accurately his anti-clericalism), was a means of striking at the governing Party.<sup>662</sup> Moreover, again unlike Elliott, Lee's attitude was a matter of political pragmatism rather than life-long conviction. His criticism of clerical involvement in European right-wing politics antedated the war and his antagonism was sharpened by Liston's personal opposition

(Footnote continued from previous page.)

6; Taylor, p. 235.

<sup>658</sup> Taylor, pp. 234-243.

<sup>659</sup> NZPD, 1940, vol. 258, p. 503.

<sup>660</sup> NZPD, 1940, vol. 258, pp. 515-516; Lee, *Simple*, pp. 245-246; Olssen, *Lee*, p. 193; Taylor, p. 240.

<sup>661</sup> Olssen, *Lee*, pp. 175-180, 187-188, 192; Cooke, pp. 9-12; cf. Lee, *Simple*, p. 231.

<sup>662</sup> Lee counted individual Catholics among his closest friends and supporters, for example his private secretary, F.G.J. Temm was described as "a well-known Auckland Catholic" (*Zealandia*, 10 September 1936, p. 4). However, Temm resigned from the Democratic Soldier Labour Party because of Lee's anti-clerical stance (Olssen, *Lee*, p. 183).

him. As Lee later wrote, "I had never been anti-clerical - indeed, I had got along splendidly with the Roman Catholic clergy".<sup>663</sup>

Lee's earlier career had exemplified the efforts of Labour politicians to cultivate Catholic support and Labour's sensitivity to Catholic voters would help to consolidate Lee's own isolation. In 1922, his candidacy for the Auckland East electorate had been advertised in the *Month*, which later printed a notice in which he thanked his supporters for their votes.<sup>664</sup> Lee had also appeared at Catholic functions and visited Catholic institutions.<sup>665</sup> During the Depression, he had enthused over the Church's contribution to the solution of social problems.<sup>666</sup> As Under-Secretary for Housing, Lee had proudly led O'Shea and other Catholic dignitaries on a tour of the government housing scheme at Orakei during the 1938 Catholic centennial celebrations.<sup>667</sup> In February 1939, he represented the Government at the Pontifical Requiem Mass celebrated by Liston for Pope Pius XI.<sup>668</sup> Moreover, in the debate over the Bible in Schools issue, Lee had even criticized others for inciting sectarian antipathy towards the Catholic Church.<sup>669</sup> Lee's own sectarian propaganda contravened the wartime censorship regulations but the Government dared not prosecute him and prevailed upon the *Zealandia* to exercise restraint in its references to Lee.<sup>670</sup> Even he, however, had misgivings about the political wisdom of the alliance with Elliott and the quarrel with the Church - in part because he feared the strategy would impede any future reconciliation with Labour, as it did.<sup>671</sup>

The Depression encouraged the development of a new political consensus involving Catholics, Protestants and the Labour Party - despite the Church's

<sup>663</sup> Lee, *Simple*, pp. 154-155.

<sup>664</sup> *Month*, 16 October 1922, p. 12; 15 December 1922, p. 18. Olssen (*Lee*, page 52) says that Lee's candidacy had the support of Liston in 1930.

<sup>665</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 23 December 1925, p. 31 (garden fete to celebrate the silver jubilee of Mater Hospital); *NZ Tablet*, 15 January 1936, p. 38 and *Zealandia*, 16 January 1936, p. 5 (Savage and Lee at the Home of the Little Sisters of the Poor in Ponsonby); *Zealandia*, 25 February 1937, p. 7 (Catholic Readers' Club, Wellington, discussing the poetry of Eileen Duggan).

<sup>666</sup> Reid, p. 133.

<sup>667</sup> *NZ Herald*, 2 March 1938, p. 15; *Zealandia*, 5 March 1938, p. 9.

<sup>668</sup> *Zealandia*, 23 February 1939, p. 7.

<sup>669</sup> *NZPD*, 1925, vol. 207, p. 520 (referring to Isitt); p. 521 (referring to Nosworthy); 1928, vol. 217, p. 993 (referring to Canon James).

<sup>670</sup> Olssen, *Lee*, p. 178; cf. Taylor, p. 920.

<sup>671</sup> Olssen, *Lee*, pp. 188, 195, 204.

triumphalist attitude towards social issues. Working together to relieve the distress of the unemployed and their dependants, leading Catholics and Protestants became increasingly critical of conservative Government policies, a trend which was no doubt also stimulated by the dissemination of new theological perspectives. By no means all Protestants were convinced that the Labour Party embodied Christian values but, at least by 1938, a majority of the electorate shared in the new consensus. Anxious not to undermine their improved standing in the community, Catholics were wary of provoking undue controversy over the Spanish Civil War, and stressed their loyalty to King and Empire. The Catholic community therefore entered the Second World War assured of continuing good relations with the Government and the other churches, who co-operated to ensure there was no likelihood of a new sectarian epidemic. Anti-Catholic propagandists could not claim to represent the interests of the community at large but were now isolated from the majority, which included Catholics.

### **Conclusion**

The sectarian epidemic which began during the First World War and lasted until the early 1920s was caused by a temporary confluence of tensions. Latent sectarian antagonism had already been aroused by the Bible in Schools and Prohibition debates and Protestant fears were intensified by the activities of the Catholic Federation. Doubts over Catholic loyalty in wartime, fuelled by controversy over conscripting theological students and Marist Brothers, were given a firmer basis in the Irish nationalism espoused by Kelly in particular. Elliott and the PPA exploited these issues - and other sectarian allegations - to demand government action against the Church. However, the PPA represented only a minority of the country's Protestants, albeit a substantial and vocal minority. Massey and the Reform Government, while sharing some of Elliott's concerns, realized that too close an association with the PPA would alienate more voters than it would attract. Once the Marriage Amendment Act was passed, there was little in the PPA's programme to interest most Protestants, especially as the international tensions which fuelled antagonism towards the Catholic community were resolved. The acceptance by Irish Catholics in New Zealand of the 1921 Treaty establishing the Irish Free State undercut accusations of disloyalty.

Opponents of the Catholic Church were not a homogeneous group and their concerns embraced both religious and political issues. Elliott himself, although he no doubt profited from the animosity towards Catholics generated by their opposition to the Bible in Schools campaign, had been one of the founders and the Secretary of the

Auckland branch of the National Schools Defence League before the First World War and therefore effectively on the same side as the Catholic Church in that controversy.<sup>672</sup> He had apparently even written to Cleary about co-ordinating efforts to defeat the League.<sup>673</sup> Like Catholics, Baptists and other small Protestant denominations - the main supporters of the PPA - knew that their distinctive religious views would not receive equitable treatment in a state-approved programme of religious instruction dominated by the three large Protestant churches. Liston was prosecuted for political disloyalty and fomenting discord in the community, not simply because he was a Catholic, although he would probably not have been charged had there not already been prolonged sectarian tension in the community at large. Gunson was more tolerant of religious differences than of political dissent and in this he seems to have reflected the prevailing attitude. However, the Liston affair did reflect the tension between being a Catholic, especially a Catholic of Irish descent, and being a New Zealander.

Catholics were not entirely innocent victims of sectarian animosity, for their own actions had contributed to the insecurity felt in some Protestant quarters. However, while Kelly had both supporters and detractors during the years of the sectarian epidemic, the Catholic community as a whole seems to have learnt to defend its interests without unnecessarily offending the wider population. The mysterious demise of the Catholic Federation seems to be early evidence of this lesson. Without compromising their views on Communism or events in Spain, Catholics increasingly sought to co-operate with the Protestant churches.

They also found in the rising Labour Party a champion for their class interests and a vehicle for promoting social reform, a concern increasingly evident among Catholics during the 1930s. Despite residual fears of Socialism, Catholics increasingly endorsed attitudes which coincided with those of the Labour Party or, more precisely, that part of the Party which was in the ascendant and increasingly appealing to other New Zealand voters.

Allegations of collusion with or even domination of the Labour Party by the Catholic Church, however, owed more to the sectarian imagination than to any activities of the Church. The Catholic Church was not a politically homogeneous body, as differences over Irish nationalism and Prohibition revealed. Individual

<sup>672</sup> Scholefield, *Who's Who*, (3rd edition, 1932), p. 156; Moores, pp. 107-108.

<sup>673</sup> Sweetman, p. 60. (No date or reference is given.)

Catholics were involved in all the major political parties, although they were increasingly associated with Labour. Frequent assertions in the Catholic press that the Church did not endorse any political party or candidate cannot be dismissed as disingenuous, for they were primarily addressed to Catholics themselves and would have undermined any attempt by a bishop or priest to claim the authority of the Church for his own political preferences. Not all Catholic clerics and journalists were as careful as Cleary to avoid endorsing particular politicians and parties but, during the 1930s, representatives of Catholic opinion were far more circumspect than they had been during the 1920s. There was no repetition of the outspoken partisan views of Kelly and Liston. In part this was because it was recognized that overt expressions of political preference were embarrassing to both the Church and the Party. Religious leaders from all denominations had warm relations with Savage and other Labour politicians and the Catholic community was only one of many sections of society which hoped to influence the policies of the Labour administration. Insofar as it acted for political change, the Catholic Church was one interest group among others - and all the churches had representatives in the Labour Party and Government.

Moreover, from the Party's first beginnings, it included a significant representation of Protestants as well as non-Christian Socialists. Like Prohibitionists, who tended to overestimate the socially redeeming effects of enforced temperance, conspiracy theorists who blamed society's problems on the machinations of "Rome", were less readily believed during the 1920s. A more politically informed, educated and secular electorate was somewhat less likely to adopt single-issue explanations of social ills, especially when they were demonstrably ineffective (like Prohibition in the United States) or unproven (like the allegations against the Church). The Depression encouraged more members of all the main denominations - Catholic and Protestant - to support a Labour Government because its proposals for social and economic reform seemed most likely to fulfil the aspirations of both Christian Socialism and Catholic social doctrine. Moral explanations of economic problems were by no means abandoned, but bankers and international financiers proved more acceptable objects of conspiratorial explanations than did Catholics.

The demise of the PPA and the experience of the Depression opened the way for a new political consensus embracing most Catholics and Protestants. Disillusionment with the Coalition Government and increasing support for Labour cut across denominational lines and further weakened the appeal of sectarian propaganda. Whereas Catholics had found themselves the objects of widespread disapproval during

the First World War, they had been fully incorporated into mainstream society by the Second.

## Chapter Six

# Sufferance or Succour? The Quest for State Aid to Catholic Schools

Public attitudes towards Catholic schools provide an important indication of the place of the Catholic community in the wider society.<sup>1</sup> Were denominational schools to be grudgingly tolerated or should they be encouraged for their distinctive contribution to education? If Catholics provided their own schools, should they also have to pay for the state schools or should they receive financial compensation for their own educational efforts? At no time in the period under discussion was a government willing to adopt the principle of fully subsidizing private education. If Catholics or anyone else considered the state education system so unacceptable that they found it necessary to establish their own schools, they would have to pay for both systems, through taxation (for state schools) and voluntary contributions (for private schools). J.J. North, voicing the concerns of many who were opposed to denominational schools, submitted that the real issue was "not whether the nation should pay for Church schools of any sort, but whether it should endure them."<sup>2</sup> According to Bishop Cleary, Catholic schools had "long formed an official part of the State system" until they were "driven out" when that system was made secular in 1877.<sup>3</sup> The Church was not resigned to the loss of government support and calls for some reimbursement of the money spent on private education were frequently made.

The state aid issue in the interwar period has received little attention from historians, although there is useful material in the writings of A.G. Butchers.<sup>4</sup> Richard

- <sup>1</sup> For Catholic views on education, see chapters three and seven; the former includes statistics on the extent of Catholic schooling.
- <sup>2</sup> J.J. North, *Roman Catholicism: Roots and Fruits* (Napier: Printed by G.W. Venables and Co. Ltd, 1922), p. 6.
- <sup>3</sup> *Month*, 20 April 1926, p. 17; *NZ Tablet*, 31 March 1926, p. 43. Cleary overlooked the move towards secular education in the provinces before the 1877 Education Act, but his statement was an important premise of Catholic educational mythology and it was true that the state in former times had subsidized denominational schools.
- <sup>4</sup> A.G. Butchers, *Education in New Zealand* (Dunedin: Coulls Somerville Wilkie, 1930), especially chapter XXIX; *The Education System* (Auckland: National Printing Co., 1932), chapter XVIII. Reviewing *The Education System*, Bishop Liston noted both Butchers' aim to give a fair presentation of the Catholic case for state aid and the weakness of the opposing argument (*Month*, 1 April 1933, p. 34).

Davis' survey of Irish issues, although having a chapter on education and ending in 1922, scarcely mentions state aid at this time.<sup>5</sup> Donald Akenson's more recent study of the Irish in New Zealand relies for its cursory treatment of this topic on two theses.<sup>6</sup> Alan Grey's thesis on state aid, however, is little more than a compilation of the more readily available primary sources.<sup>7</sup> Maureen Wilson's thesis on the background to the integration of private schools into the state system in the 1970s includes a list of forms of aid granted to private schools but this is largely based on Grey.<sup>8</sup> Following these two authors, but taking little cognizance of their inaccuracies and omissions, Akenson too, produced a list of government concessions.<sup>9</sup> Rory Sweetman's recent thesis refers only incidentally to education.<sup>10</sup> Official government publications, newspapers and occasional archival documents provide a more complete record of state grants and their significance than has hitherto been appreciated.

Although the principle that the state should subsidize private schools was never explicitly conceded, successive governments did provide some assistance to private schools, or at least to their pupils. Evolving government policies on the state aid issue reflect the regard in which the Catholic Church was held in the community at large. In the first section of this chapter, it will be seen that during the early years of the Reform Government, denominational schools had secured a number of concessions, but in the charged sectarian atmosphere of wartime and the immediate post-war years, these new concessions were withdrawn. The Protestant Political Association (PPA) and the New Zealand Educational Institute (NZEI) lobbied against private schools of all denominations, seeing them as a threat to the secular state system. By the time the sectarian controversy had abated, however, private schools were no worse off than they had been before the advent of the Reform administration. The second and third

<sup>5</sup> R.P. Davis, *Irish Issues in New Zealand Politics, 1868-1922* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 1974), see chapter four.

<sup>6</sup> D.H. Akenson, *Half the World from Home: Perspectives on the Irish in New Zealand, 1860-1950* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1990), see chapter six, especially pages 182-183.

<sup>7</sup> A. Grey, "The State Aid Issue in New Zealand Education: a history from 1877-1956" (Victoria University of Wellington, M.A. thesis in Education, 1958). For Grey's summary of concessions see pp. 196-197.

<sup>8</sup> M. Wilson, "The State Aid to Private Schools Issue in New Zealand Education, 1963-1974" (University of Auckland M.A. thesis in Education, 1975), pp. 141-143.

<sup>9</sup> Akenson, p. 183. The main error in Akenson's list concerns scholarships and is explained below.

<sup>10</sup> R.M. Sweetman, "New Zealand Catholicism, War, Politics and the Irish Issue, 1912-1922" (University of Cambridge, Ph.D. thesis in History, 1990).

parts of the chapter will show that while dreaming of the integration of their schools into the national education system and full reimbursement of the costs of teaching at least secular subjects, the advocates of Catholic schooling avoided public controversy and concentrated on seeking piecemeal concessions. This policy achieved a measure of success, although the economic conditions of the early 1930s limited the promised expansion of the school dental service. In the final section of the chapter, it will be seen that, while the Labour Government which took office in 1935 was just as committed to the maintenance of a secular state education system as its predecessors had been, it did not see Catholic schools as a threat to state schools and was cautiously sympathetic to the demands of Catholic voters. At the beginning of the interwar period, Catholic schools had been threatened with the loss of the few concessions they had obtained, but by the end of the period they were receiving unprecedented benefits - though their aspirations were far from achieving complete fulfilment.

### Gains and Losses

By the time of the First World War, private schools had secured some significant forms of government aid but, during and after the war, these were threatened. A few concessions dated back to the late nineteenth century but the Catholic Sir Joseph Ward, Prime Minister of the Liberal Government from 1906 to 1912, had evidently been too cautious a politician to promote Catholic educational interests. Subsequently, William Massey's Reform Government, having no need to fear accusations of favouring the Catholic Church, had conceded several benefits sought by denominational schools. Cleary acknowledged to O'Shea that the Massey Government had shown itself a better friend to Catholic educational interests than had any previous administration.<sup>11</sup> During the sectarian strife of the war years and immediately after, however, the PPA and the NZEI campaigned against private schools, which were increasing in number. In 1920, the third annual meeting of the PPA resolved that the Government should "safeguard" the state education system by withdrawing "all grants and privileges to the denominational schools".<sup>12</sup>

At its 1921 annual meeting, the NZEI voted to establish a committee which would report back to the executive on "the undermining of the national system by private schools". H.A. Wilkinson, who promoted the motion, complained that, in the previous

<sup>11</sup> Cleary to O'Shea, 2 September 1922 (or 1921), ACDA, cited in Sweetman, (thesis), pp. 65-66, 348.

<sup>12</sup> *Evening Post*, 14 May 1920, p. 4.

five years, private schools and their rolls had grown three times faster than the state schools.<sup>13</sup> The *Press* criticized the teachers as "enemies of the private schools" and charged them with attacking a fundamental liberty by seeking to abolish such schools altogether. It accused them of seeking a state monopoly on education for the sake of their own career prospects.<sup>14</sup> H.F. Penlington of the NZEI disclaimed any animosity towards private schools but the *Press*, citing the Institute's 1919 conference resolution against the inspection of private schools, was unconvinced.<sup>15</sup> Thomas Gilbert SM responded to the NZEI with a sermon, at St Mary's in Christchurch, defending denominational schools, while the *Tablet* claimed the Institute wanted to penalize Catholic schools because the state schools could not compete with them; it also reprinted the *Press* editorial.<sup>16</sup>

Antagonism towards Catholics and their schools was also to be found among some school committees but their views were not left unchallenged. Before the 1919 election, the Auckland Primary School Committees' Association, encouraged by the NZEI and the Headmasters' Association, formulated a set of questions to be put to candidates. The Association sought the withdrawal of "all existing concessions" to private schools, notably free rail passes, the tenure of government scholarships and examination for the Proficiency Certificate.<sup>17</sup> When the Apostolic Delegate passed through Hawera in 1923 and the local state school headmaster brought the children out to greet the visiting dignitary the School Committee complained to the Minister of Education. After some local Catholics defended the headmaster's actions, a group of twenty-three irate citizens convened a meeting to demand that parents who sent their children to private schools should not be allowed to vote in the school committee elections, but their resolution was lost.<sup>18</sup> In 1925, the Auckland Primary Schools Committee's Association adopted by twelve votes to seven a remit to exclude graduates of private schools from teaching in state schools. In moving the remit, J.

<sup>13</sup> *Press*, 8 January 1921, p. 8.

<sup>14</sup> *Press*, 10 January 1921, p. 6.

<sup>15</sup> *Press*, 14 January 1921, pp. 6, 7; 17 January 1921, pp. 6, 7. For the text of the 1919 resolution, see below.

<sup>16</sup> *Press*, 10 January 1921, p. 2; *NZ Tablet*, 13 January 1921, pp. 26, 28; 20 January 1921, p. 17. Gilbert was Rector of St Patrick's College, Wellington until his appointment as Rector of St Bede's College, Christchurch in 1929.

<sup>17</sup> *NZ Herald*, 23 September 1919, p. 8; cf. *Month*, 15 October 1919, p. 12.

<sup>18</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 18 May 1922, pp. 18-19.

Mars emphasized that it was directed against Catholic schools, the character of whose pupils he regarded as suspect, especially if they were Irish. The Auckland Education Board refused to accept the resolution and the editor of the *Auckland Star* was incredulous that such bigotry could be supported by a majority of the province's school committees.<sup>19</sup>

In response to lobbying against private schools, Education Minister Josiah Hanan began to withdraw recent concessions. Subsidies for cookery classes, run by Catholic nuns in Greymouth, Port Chalmers and Dunedin, were threatened by anti-Catholic sentiment and official recognition of the latter two classes was withdrawn in 1918.<sup>20</sup> The following year, an amendment to the regulations covering manual and technical training limited the Government's subsidies to classes taught by its own teachers on state or local body premises.<sup>21</sup> Funding for swimming lessons offered to private school pupils was also withdrawn<sup>22</sup> and newly-trained teachers, no longer permitted to fulfil their bonds by teaching in private schools, now had to work in state schools.<sup>23</sup> The three most substantial forms of aid to private schools, each of which was threatened during the period under review, were the registration and inspection of schools, free rail travel for pupils and the tenure of National Scholarships in private schools. Meanwhile, local bodies sought to have schools' exemption from rates withdrawn.

The most fundamental "aid" offered private schools was free inspection and the associated right to present candidates for examinations conducted by the inspectors. Under the 1877 Education Act, private primary schools could apply to their regional Education Board for an inspection to be "conducted in like manner as the inspection of public schools."<sup>24</sup> The right to ask for the services of government inspectors, one of whose principle tasks was to examine pupils, was evidently not a guarantee that

<sup>19</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 8 April 1925, pp. 33-34; *Month*, 21 April 1925, p. 19; both cite the *Auckland Star*, 26 March.

<sup>20</sup> *Month*, 15 July 1918, p. 12.

<sup>21</sup> *NZ Gazette*, 1919, vol. I, p. 146; *Report of the Proceedings of the Thirteenth half-yearly meeting of the Dominion Council of the Catholic Federation...Dunedin, 5th March, 1919* (Dunedin: NZ Tablet Co.), p. 11.

<sup>22</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 1 January 1920, p. 15; 3 March 1921, p. 26.

<sup>23</sup> *Report...Catholic Federation...1919*, pp. 11, 13; *Evening Post*, 15 January 1919, p. 4.

<sup>24</sup> Education Act, Clause 98, *Statutes of New Zealand* (1877), p. 128.

inspections would be made.<sup>25</sup> During the 1890s, after the introduction of the Junior Civil Service Examination in 1886, the attainment of recognized qualifications increasingly became a prerequisite for clerical and professional employment. Catholic schools had to lobby the boards to have their inspectors examine candidates for recognized certificates and not until 1905 did all the boards accept this responsibility.<sup>26</sup> (By that time, the Certificate of Proficiency had become the qualification sought at the end of primary school, entitling the bearer to two years' free state secondary education.) An amendment to the 1877 Act (as re-enacted in 1908) effectively made inspection compulsory for primary and secondary schools from the beginning of 1911.<sup>27</sup> Children of school age (seven to fourteen years) were henceforth required to attend a registered school or be taught at home and only schools willing to be inspected could be registered.<sup>28</sup> According to the 1914 Education Act, "Every...registered school...shall be inspected by an Inspector of Schools."<sup>29</sup> The Senior Inspector in each district was required to report to the Education Board and to the Minister of Education and to give "assistance and guidance to the teachers".<sup>30</sup> Inspections were to be arranged on the initiative of the managers of private primary and secondary schools and continued recognition as a registered school was dependent upon a successful report.<sup>31</sup>

At its conference in January 1919, the NZEI resolved

That private schools be registered for purposes of compulsory attendance and inspection as regards the general quality of instruction and equipment and

<sup>25</sup> Legal opinion varied as to whether or not boards were required to fulfil requests for inspection, so Archbishop Redwood sponsored a petition to have the law amended (*NZ Tablet*, 19 April 1894, p. 17).

<sup>26</sup> Colin McGeorge, "Schools and Socialisation in New Zealand, 1890-1914" (University of Canterbury, Ph.D. thesis in Education, 1985), pp. 660-662; David McKenzie, "The Growth of School Credentialling in New Zealand, 1878-1900" in Roger Openshaw and David McKenzie (editors) *Reinterpreting the Educational Past* (Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 1987), p. 88; Butchers, *Education in New Zealand*, pp. 89-90. For Catholic school inspection in Auckland, see S.C. MacPherson, "'A Ready-made Nucleus of Degradation and Disorder'? A Religious and Social History of the Catholic Church and Community in Auckland, 1870-1910" (University of Auckland M.A. thesis in History, 1987), pp. 188-190 and Yvonne Brookes, "Catholic Religious Education in the Diocese of Auckland, 1877-1914" (University of Auckland research essay in History, 1981), pp. 30-36.

<sup>27</sup> Annual Report, Department of Education, *AJHR*, 1911, vol. III, E.-1, p. 10.

<sup>28</sup> Education Act, *Consolidated Statutes* (1908), vol. II, Clauses 149-150, pp. 279-281.

<sup>29</sup> Education Act, Clause 132 (1), *Statutes of New Zealand* (1914), p. 225.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, Clause 132 (3).

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, Clauses 133 (1) and (3), p. 226.

hygienic conditions; private schools shall not be examined, and no certificates entitling to public privileges shall be issued to their pupils.<sup>32</sup>

If implemented by the Government, this restriction would have prevented children attending denominational schools from attaining the Proficiency Certificate and other qualifications necessary for their future employment or further education; Catholic parents would have had to choose between their children's spiritual and material welfare. A Mr Webb, who had promoted the motion, argued that there ought to be some disadvantage in attending a private school lest the Government encourage the growth of a rival which would endanger its own education system. The *Tablet* saw in the Institute's concern over competition from non-state schools an admission of failure and an unintended compliment to Catholic education.<sup>33</sup> J.A. O'Connell SM denounced the attempt to create a state school monopoly as "tyranny and oppression of the worst kind".<sup>34</sup> "Nomad", a contributor to the *Month*, condemned as "Prussianism" what he interpreted as a policy of trying to centralize all schooling under state control and through it to inculcate a secular morality.<sup>35</sup> When the Institute presented its resolution to Education Minister Hanan in July, Archbishop O'Shea, contrasting the state-funding of public schools with the private schools' dependence on generosity and sacrifice, argued that the real aim of the NZEI was to close denominational schools.<sup>36</sup> Hanan pointed out that inspection of private schools was necessary to ensure that they provided a satisfactory education; he thought the proposal not to award certificates would have to be given thorough consideration.<sup>37</sup>

The Government did not adopt the NZEI's policy. Indeed, annual inspection of all private schools, as a precondition of registration, was explicitly made compulsory by the Education Amendment Act of 1921.<sup>38</sup> Catholic pupils continued to be examined for the Proficiency Certificate by state inspectors,<sup>39</sup> who, Gilbert acknowledged, gave

<sup>32</sup> *Evening Post*, 15 January 1919, p. 4; *cf. Press*, 16 January 1919, p. 4.

<sup>33</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 6 February 1919, p. 14; 13 February 1919, p. 15; *Month*, 15 October 1919, p. 12. The first reference deals specifically with Webb's motion.

<sup>34</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 20 March 1919, p. 43.

<sup>35</sup> *Month*, 15 May 1919, pp. 9-10, 13; 15 October 1919, pp. 12, 15-16.

<sup>36</sup> *Evening Post*, 7 July 1919, p. 7; *NZ Tablet*, 21 August 1919, p. 33 (reprinted in *Month*, 15 September 1919, p. 12).

<sup>37</sup> *Evening Post*, 7 July 1919, p. 7.

<sup>38</sup> Education Amendment Act, Clause 7, *Statutes of New Zealand* (1921), pp. 261-262.

<sup>39</sup> Butchers, *Education in New Zealand*, p. 431.

Catholic teachers "great help and encouragement".<sup>40</sup> During the Depression, however, inspection of Catholic schools was interrupted in order to reduce government expenditure.<sup>41</sup> When Proficiency was abolished in 1936, the principals of registered private schools, like their public school counterparts, were accorded the right to confer leaving certificates which entitled children to attend state secondary schools without charge.<sup>42</sup>

Another long-standing concession to private schools - or, at least, to their pupils, was free rail travel.<sup>43</sup> In 1886, the House of Representatives endorsed the extension to private school pupils of the system of free rail passes provided for state school pupils the previous year.<sup>44</sup> Several speakers argued that by thus encouraging attendance at private schools, the Government would save itself money which would otherwise have to be spent on expanding the state education system.<sup>45</sup> From June 1889, children up to fifteen years of age travelling to public or private primary schools by rail were offered free quarterly tickets.<sup>46</sup> This concession was later extended to private secondary pupils.<sup>47</sup> Catholic education was the main beneficiary: in the year ending 31 March 1917, £1,430 was paid by the Education Department for the conveyance of Catholic primary school children and only £34 for children of other denominations, while the cost of transporting Catholic secondary pupils was £110 and £80 for other

<sup>40</sup> T.A. Gilbert SM, "Evidence submitted to the Minister of Education and the Parliamentary Commission on Education at Christchurch, December 9th, 1929...", CCDA, Bible in Schools file, p. 9. Gilbert was appointed by the hierarchy to be its representative to the Recess Education committee (*NZ Tablet*, 3 December 1930, p. 47).

<sup>41</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 31 August 1932, p. 6; 2 January 1934, p. 27; Minutes of bishops' meeting, 14 November 1932, CCDA.

<sup>42</sup> N.H. Gascoigne, "A Treatise on the Private Schools", unpublished typescript dated 1959, p. 18, MAW; H.G.R. Mason, *Education Today and Tomorrow* (Wellington: New Zealand Government, 1944), p. 69.

<sup>43</sup> As Butchers (*The Education System*, p. 194) pointed out, though, free travel for pupils enabled private schools to enlarge their "catchment area".

<sup>44</sup> *NZPD*, 1886, vol. 54, pp. 131-137; cf. *NZ Gazette*, 1885, vol. II, p. 1133.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 132 (Guinness), 134 (Atkinson), 135 (Turnbull).

<sup>46</sup> *NZ Gazette*, 1889, vol. I, p. 573. The statement in the Department of Education's Annual Reports (*AJHR*, 1909, vol. III, E.-1, p. 8 and subsequent reports) and Butchers, *Education in New Zealand* (p. 238) that free rail passes were issued to public and private school children only from 1895 is incorrect.

<sup>47</sup> Grey (p. 196) says this was granted in 1913 but Sir Joseph Ward, speaking in 1920, said it was in 1914 (*Month*, 15 March 1920, supplement, p. 1).

denominations.<sup>48</sup> During the 1919 election campaign, Howard Elliott misrepresented the amount of state money spent on the conveyance of Catholic children and called for an end to this allegedly favourable treatment.<sup>49</sup> The following year, he led a delegation to James Parr, the new Minister of Education, to plead the Association's case against this and other concessions to denominational schools.<sup>50</sup> As the *Tablet* claimed, free rail passes issued to children attending Catholic schools did not constitute a special privilege: the pupils were being treated in the same way as children attending other church schools or state schools.<sup>51</sup> In practice, though, children being conveyed to the nearest Catholic school must have travelled, on average, greater distances at public expense, passing state schools on the way. Meanwhile, to Elliott's chagrin, their state school contemporaries had to attend the nearest public school, rather than, for example, a large and well-endowed urban school further away.<sup>52</sup> The Government was evidently unmoved by calls for a withdrawal of free rail travel to denominational schools, but the principle of equal treatment was broken in 1918. In that year, the Westport Harbour Board decided that it would no longer give school children free passage on its private line from Cape Foulwind to Westport. Although willing to pay the fares of state school pupils, the Government refused to pay for those attending the convent school, despite representations from the Catholic Federation.<sup>53</sup>

Occasionally, it was found to be cheaper to give transport without charge to Catholic teachers rather than to the children.<sup>54</sup> When the Catholic school in Granity was opened in 1914, it was staffed by nuns from Westport, eighteen miles away.<sup>55</sup> The cost of transporting Catholic school teachers for the 1916 financial year was £100; no comparable expenditure was made on other denominations.<sup>56</sup> Free rail travel for nuns

48 *AJHR*, 1917, vol. I, E.-12. These figures were compiled by order of the House of Representatives and were not published in other years, although the total cost of free rail transport for children attending private primary schools is readily available in the annual reports of the Education Department (*AJHR*, E.-1).

49 *Month*, 15 March 1920, supplement, p. 1. (Speech by Sir Joseph Ward, reprinted from the *Auckland Star*, 25 February 1920.)

50 *Evening Post*, 13 May 1920, p. 7; *NZ Herald*, 15 May 1920, p. 8.

51 *NZ Tablet*, 20 June 1918, p. 31.

52 Butchers, *The Education System*, p. 194; *Evening Post*, 13 May 1920, p. 7.

53 *Report... Catholic Federation... March, 1919*, p. 11.

54 P.S. O'Connor, "Sectarian Conflict in New Zealand, 1911-1920", *Political Science* 19 (1967), p. 15. According to the *NZ Tablet*, 17 June 1920, p. 39, this policy was followed in three locations.

55 *Month*, 15 June 1920, p. 17.

56 *AJHR*, 1917, vol. I, E.-12.

on the West Coast was opposed by the PPA delegation to Parr, which found the Minister responsive to its arguments.<sup>57</sup> When he withdrew the concession, petitions against the change of policy were circulated in the affected places (and signed by some non-Catholics)<sup>58</sup> but to no avail. Noting that it would cost more to transport the pupils than the teachers, Kelly accused the opponents of free travel for the nuns of "making P.P. Asses of themselves."<sup>59</sup>

The most serious educational loss to the Catholic community was the withdrawal of the recently-recognized right to hold National Scholarships in private secondary schools. Until 1911, pupils at denominational primary schools were not even eligible to compete for the scholarships.<sup>60</sup> Regional Education Boards, (theoretically in partnership with the Minister of Education) had discretion to determine whether scholarships could be held at non-state schools within their jurisdictions, with the result that only some boards allowed tenure at denominational institutions.<sup>61</sup> After lobbying by the Catholic Church, this anomaly was rectified by the Education Act of 1914, which declared that both junior and senior scholarships could be held "at a secondary school or its equivalent approved by the Minister".<sup>62</sup> In 1918, only eighteen scholarships, out of a national total of some 800, were held at private schools - and four of these were held at non-Catholic schools.<sup>63</sup> The proportion of scholarships held in private schools was increasing, though the numbers remained tiny.<sup>64</sup>

There was growing agitation for the withdrawal of this concession. The newly-established General Council of Education recommended in 1915 that the Government

<sup>57</sup> *Evening Post*, 13 May 1920, p. 7; *NZ Herald*, 15 May 1920, p. 8; *Month*, 15 June 1920, p. 17.

<sup>58</sup> *Month*, 15 June 1920, p. 17.

<sup>59</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 18 January 1923, p. 18.

<sup>60</sup> Education Amendment Act, Clause 6 (1) and (3), *Statutes of New Zealand* (1910), pp. 353-354; cf. Education Act, Clause 72 (b), *Consolidated Statutes* (1908) vol. II, p. 261. For the rest of this paragraph, see *Month*, 15 July 1918, p. 12; 15 November 1920, p. 17; *NZ Tablet*, 25 July 1918, p. 18; 11 November 1920, p. 22.

<sup>61</sup> Education Act, Clause 72 (g), *Consolidated Statutes* (1908), vol. II, p. 262. According to the Education Amendment Act (1910), Clause 6 (2), (*New Zealand Statutes*, 1910, p. 354), scholarships could be held in any secondary school subject to inspection, but no change was made to the Education Act (1908), Clause 72 (g).

<sup>62</sup> Education Act, Clause 103, *Statutes of New Zealand* (1914), p. 214.

<sup>63</sup> *Month*, 15 July 1918, p. 12; *NZ Tablet*, 30 May 1918, p. 19; 25 July 1918, p. 14.

<sup>64</sup> The Department of Education's annual reports give the total numbers of scholarships held in registered schools but do not give separate figures for Catholic schools. In December 1918, 23 out of 796 scholarships were held at private schools; in December 1919, 23 out of 766 and in December 1920, 36 out of 738 (*AJHR*, 1920, vol. II, E.-1, p. 33; 1921-1922, vol. II, E.-1, p. 32).

should no longer allow its scholarships to be held in private schools and nor should government-paid "free places" be made tenable there.<sup>65</sup> In 1918, agitation by the NZEI led to consideration of the issue by Cabinet, but the matter was deferred while Massey and Ward were overseas.<sup>66</sup> When a motion to ask the Government to disallow the holding of National Scholarships at non-state schools was rejected by the Managers of King Edward Technical College in July, Kelly assumed prematurely that there was "no need to worry about No-Popery here yet".<sup>67</sup> A Mr Hayward, who had proposed the motion, affected to be surprised when Father Coffey protested, for he was not concerned about religion but merely advocating "equality for all and special privileges to none" - the slogan of the PPA! At school committee election meetings, resolutions were passed against all forms of government aid to denominational schools and referred to the NZEI. J.A. Scott, a Catholic teacher writing in the *Month*, no doubt correctly detected here the influence of the PPA.<sup>68</sup> Dunedin's *Evening Star*, in 1919, advocated that meetings of householders pass a resolution against any form of state aid to private schools.<sup>69</sup> That year, two pupils who had earned scholarships were not permitted by the Minister of Education to hold them at the Christian Brothers' School on the grounds that it had not measured up to the inspectors' standards.<sup>70</sup> Of the two problems found, the staff shortage had already been remedied and the school authorities intended to make good the lack of physics equipment as soon as possible; tenure of the scholarships at the school was eventually granted.<sup>71</sup> The following year, the Canterbury Education Board decided it would no longer pay for scholarships held in private schools pending the Government's reconsideration of the issue.<sup>72</sup> Howard Elliott claimed that the Catholic Church was gaining £300 annually through scholarships - money which should have been spent on state education.<sup>73</sup> When he led a delegation to Parr in May 1920, Elliott expressed the PPA's "strong objection to

<sup>65</sup> Grey, p. 77; cf. *Month*, 15 November 1918, p. 9.

<sup>66</sup> Sweetman, (thesis), pp. 192-193.

<sup>67</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 25 July 1918, pp. 14, 18.

<sup>68</sup> *Month*, 15 July 1918, p. 12.

<sup>69</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 10 April 1919, p. 27.

<sup>70</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 17 April 1919, p. 18.

<sup>71</sup> J.C. O'Neill, "The History of the Work of the Christian Brothers in New Zealand" (University of Auckland Dip. Ed. thesis, 1968), pp. 46-48.

<sup>72</sup> McGrath (initials illegible) to P.J. O'Regan, 9 June 1920, ATL 76-165-6/16

<sup>73</sup> *Evening Post*, 1 July 1919, p. 4.

State scholarships being tenable at sectarian schools."<sup>74</sup>

Only four months later, Parr introduced into Parliament the wide-ranging Education Amendment Bill which included a clause to limit the tenure of scholarships to state schools.<sup>75</sup> By paying £18 a year to schools attended by scholarship holders, he told the House of Representatives, the state was directly subsidizing denominational schools. Such payments were "the thin end of the wedge of disaster" which, if unchecked, would continue to encourage the establishment of private schools, resulting in "the disruption and shipwreck of the national system of education".<sup>76</sup> During the eight-hour debate on the Bill in the House, few other members showed any interest in the scholarship clauses and none defended the Catholic position. George Martin echoed the concerns of the Minister, warning that "the growth of denominational schools" was a "danger to our national education system".<sup>77</sup> Denouncing the withdrawal of scholarships from private schools as "merely a concession to one of the most sinister influences inside of New Zealand", Labour leader Harry Holland proposed that all scholarships be abolished and education be provided free of cost from kindergarten to university.<sup>78</sup> In the Legislative Council, Patrick Nerheny, a Catholic, emphasized his Church's financial commitment to education, arguing that since

<sup>74</sup> *Evening Post*, 13 May 1920, p. 7; *NZ Herald*, 15 May 1920, p. 8.

<sup>75</sup> *NZPD*, 1920, vol. 189, p. 129; Education Amendment Act, Clause 27, *Statutes of New Zealand* (1920), p. 454. Akenson (p. 183) indicates that the right to hold scholarships in private secondary schools was reinstated in 1926. He attributes this information (p. 244, note 64) to the theses by Alan Grey and Maureen Wilson. However, Wilson (pp. 141, 143), citing Grey, says quite wrongly that the scholarships were tenable in private schools from 1920 until 1926. Grey in fact says the exact opposite of this, for his list of types of aid to private schools (pp. 89, 196) includes "Abolition of the holding of Government secondary scholarships at non-State schools" from 1920 to 1926. The source of confusion, which Akenson and Wilson have tried in their different ways to correct, is thus Grey, who nonsensically listed a withdrawal of aid as a form of assistance. While trying to correct him, though, both Wilson and Akenson have assumed that there really was a change of policy in 1926. Grey cites Butchers (*Education in New Zealand*, p. 323) as the source of his information but what Butchers actually says - in a footnote on that page - is that, "The abolition of the holding of Government secondary scholarships at non-State schools was another important measure adopted during this [*i.e.* Parr's] Ministry." In the main body of text, on that page, he also gives the dates of Parr's tenure as Minister of Education: 1920 to 1926! Only by coincidence did Grey get the first date right; the second became the occasion of a fictitious restoration of government scholarships to private secondary schools.

<sup>76</sup> *NZPD*, 1920, vol. 189, pp. 555-556. For a Catholic response to this line of argument, see J.A. Scott's article in the *Month*, 15 November 1918, pp. 6, 9.

<sup>77</sup> *NZPD*, 1920, vol. 189, p. 577.

<sup>78</sup> *NZPD*, 1920, vol. 189, p. 584. Holland's suggestion was endorsed by Peter Fraser and George Mitchell (*ibid.*, p. 590).

scholarships were "established for the benefit of the community generally" and that the standard of education at Catholic secondary schools matched that demanded of state schools, the removal of the right to hold scholarships was "an act of tyranny" and injustice.<sup>79</sup>

The right to hold government scholarships in Catholic schools had betokened a recognition of the quality of the Church's education system and even of the regard in which the Catholic community was held. Conversely, the agitation over and eventual loss of the scholarships led to bitterness and a renewed sense of isolation. It was emphasized that the taxes of Catholic citizens were used to pay for the scholarships, which had been established to promote the education of the most able pupils for the benefit of the whole community - not just those whose consciences permitted them to attend the state secondary schools where Protestant religious observances were held at assembly.<sup>80</sup> When the Bill was before Parliament, the Catholic Federation sent a message of protest to the Prime Minister, the Minister of Education, the Leader of the Opposition and the Leader of the Labour Party.<sup>81</sup> Coffey attributed the Government's change of policy to jealousy and bigotry.<sup>82</sup> The Government had allowed itself to be dominated by "a noisy, narrow-minded, and bigoted section of the community".<sup>83</sup> For years to come, Catholic leaders continued to bemoan the loss of the National Scholarships.<sup>84</sup> In 1919, perhaps motivated in part by its declining record in securing concessions from the Government, the Catholic Federation had already begun to establish its own scholarships for pupils attending the Church's schools.<sup>85</sup> When the right to hold government scholarships was lost, the Dunedin branch of the Federation undertook to compensate in full any Catholic scholarship holder who chose to attend

<sup>79</sup> *NZPD*, 1920, vol. 189, pp. 597-598.

<sup>80</sup> *Month*, 15 July 1918, p. 15; 15 November 1920, pp. 18-19.

<sup>81</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 11 November 1920, p. 11.

<sup>82</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 11 November 1920, p. 22; 13 January 1921, supplement, p. 8.

<sup>83</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 18 August 1921, p. 19.

<sup>84</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 3 March 1921, p. 21 (Coffey); 6 April 1922, p. 19 (Whyte); 21 December 1922, p. 26 and *Month*, 15 December 1922, p. 11 (Brother Borgia); 15 December 1926, p. 31 and *Month*, 18 January 1927, p. 22 (Cleary); *NZ Tablet*, 19 March 1929, p. 46 (Liston); 29 January 1930, supplement, p. 3 (Gilbert). Gilbert also reminded the Recess Education Committee that "even this crumb was taken from us" and asked that scholarships be made tenable in registered secondary schools once again ("Evidence", pp. 9, 18).

<sup>85</sup> *Month*, 15 February 1919, p. 3; *NZ Tablet*, 6 February 1919, p. 34; 12 June 1919, p. 35; 14 August 1919, p. 34; *Report... Catholic Federation... 1919*, pp. 8, 9, 11, 18-19.

one of the Church's secondary schools.<sup>86</sup> The organization and funding of scholarships seems to have become the Federation's main preoccupation in the last few years of its existence.<sup>87</sup> Coffey told the Federation's Dunedin Diocesan Council in August 1921 that the state's refusal to pay for scholarships in Catholic schools was their "primary concern at the present time".<sup>88</sup> Some £200 would have to be found annually by the Dunedin diocese to make good the loss to Catholic scholarship holders. Bishop Whyte's address to the Council was exclusively preoccupied with the "misguided and deplorable step taken by the present Parliament."<sup>89</sup> Maintaining scholarships now became the most cogent justification for paying the annual subscription.<sup>90</sup>

As charitable institutions, private schools could claim an exemption from local body rates but this concession was threatened by councils seeking to augment their revenue. Since 1894, school properties under four acres had been exempt from rates as long as the schools were not conducted for profit.<sup>91</sup> Local authorities were prohibited by the Education Act (1914) from charging rates on the lands and buildings of public schools, but no mention was made of private schools.<sup>92</sup> After the First World War, there were proposals to impose rates on them. According to Elliott, Catholic schools, as religious institutions, were exempted from rates (valued at £16,000 to £17,000 each year), whereas the schools of other denominations were treated as businesses and required to pay.<sup>93</sup> In 1920, he claimed a victory for the PPA when the Wanganui Borough Council won a case in the Assessment Court against the Catholic schools in

<sup>86</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 11 August 1921, p. 27; 18 August 1921, pp. 14-15, 22.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. the annual report (to 30 June 1921) of the Dunedin Diocesan Council: "The chief activity of your executive has been in connection with the scholarships granted by the Diocesan Council" (*NZ Tablet*, 18 August 1921, p. 22).

<sup>88</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 18 August 1921, p. 19.

<sup>89</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 18 August 1921, p. 21.

<sup>90</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 6 April 1922, p. 19 (Bishop Whyte). See also the Federation's advertisement in the *Month*, 15 June 1922, p. 16.

<sup>91</sup> Rating Act, *Statutes of New Zealand* (1894), Clause 2, p. 79; Rating Act, *Consolidated Statutes* (1908), Clause 2, p. 61. For a discussion of other relevant legislation, see P.J. O'Regan's article in the *NZ Tablet*, 6 September 1923, p. 15.

<sup>92</sup> Education Act, Clause 158, *Statutes of New Zealand* (1914), p. 231.

<sup>93</sup> *Evening Post*, 1 July 1919, p. 4. That Elliott's distinction between Catholic and other denominational schools was wrong is apparent from the reference to the Municipal Association Conference below.

its jurisdiction.<sup>94</sup> His assumption that the way was now open for the rating of other Catholic school property proved unfounded. The Municipal Association Conference in 1921 received a deputation representing the Catholic, Anglican and Presbyterian Churches seeking continued exemption from rates for their schools.<sup>95</sup> Although the delegates were received sympathetically, the conference proceeded to pass a motion that the Rating Act should be amended to limit exemptions to general rates only and not other forms of rates. However a further remit, to the effect that each denomination should be permitted only four acres of rate-free property in any given rating area, failed for want of a seconder.<sup>96</sup> The 1923 conference narrowly rejected a proposal to impose rates on voluntary schools.<sup>97</sup> P.J. O'Regan urged that, if the Government took steps to abolish the rating exemption of voluntary schools, Catholics should respond by threatening to refuse to pay their rates.<sup>98</sup> In 1923, the Invercargill Borough Council claimed rates from the Dominican Sisters for two and a half acres of educational property but Mr Justice Sim determined that the land was exempt under the Rating Act, except for the tennis courts which were let to St Mary's Tennis Club in the summer.<sup>99</sup> Denominational schools continued to be exempted from rates<sup>100</sup> but, from time to time, they were treated unsympathetically by local bodies. In 1933, the Northcote Borough Council - in contrast to the policy of other local bodies in Auckland - refused to supply free water to the Catholic school on the grounds that it was a private institution and the state provided adequate schools (which were given free water by the Council).<sup>101</sup>

<sup>94</sup> *Evening Post*, 5 May 1920, p. 12; 14 May 1920, p. 4. Assessment Courts were established under the authority of the Rating Act (Clauses 22 to 32) to hear objections to rating valuations. *Consolidated Statutes* (1908), vol. V, pp. 65-66.

<sup>95</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 6 October 1921, p. 23; 13 October 1921, pp. 21-22; *Evening Post*, 5 October 1921, pp. 5-6.

<sup>96</sup> The proposal was obviously directed against the Catholic Church; its mover, a Mr Murch from Wanganui, complained that one denomination there had six schools (*NZ Tablet*, 13 October 1921, p. 22).

<sup>97</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 6 September 1923, p. 15. Since the conference remits were not published in advance, the churches did not send a delegation on this occasion.

<sup>98</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 4 October 1923, p. 17.

<sup>99</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 13 September 1923, p. 21; M.A. McCarthy O.P., *Star in the South: the Centennial History of the New Zealand Dominican Sisters* (Dunedin: St Dominic's Priory, 1970), pp. 214-215.

<sup>100</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 9 May 1928, p. 44 (Department of Education statement).

<sup>101</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 23 August 1933, p. 7.

The demands of the PPA and the NZEI were not fully conceded by the Government but the trend towards increasing concessions for private schools, discernible in the earlier years of the Reform administration, was reversed. By the time Sir James Parr relinquished the office of Minister of Education (in 1926), however, the sectarian storm had abated and Catholics could resume their patient struggle to secure piecemeal concessions from the government. Pupils attending private schools were admitted to technical education classes and educational authorities increasingly assisted non-state schools on an informal basis. Maori denominational schools had not been threatened and continued to receive limited government support.

From the later 1920s, pupils attending private schools were allowed to attend manual and technical training centres, usually to learn woodwork and domestic subjects.<sup>102</sup> They were also increasingly offered free transport to these classes.<sup>103</sup> In 1934, St Benedict's School (Auckland), was registered as a technical school for girls and free season tickets were available for pupils who had to travel to it by rail.<sup>104</sup> Free manual training (and transport thereto) was not a concession to private schools except in that it saved them the expense of providing it themselves. It was, in fact, no more than a recognition that children who usually attended private schools were nevertheless entitled, like other children, to attend government-funded manual classes. Since they were already entitled to receive the rest of their formal education at state schools - though their parents chose not to accept the right - no new principle was involved.

Informal assistance to private schools from educational authorities seems to have increased in the later 1920s and 1930s. Since the establishment of the national education system, state education authorities had responded to requests for advice from private schools<sup>105</sup> and, on occasion, material assistance was also proffered. Opening St Mary's School in 1921, Bishop Brodie thanked Inspector Brock and the local branch

<sup>102</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 21 January 1931, pp. 7, 49, 50; Annual Report, Department of Education, *AJHR*, 1929, vol. II, E.-1, p. 16.

<sup>103</sup> According to Grey (p. 196), followed by Wilson (p. 141), private school children were first given free lessons and transport to manual classes in 1928. In 1927, however, 3,148 pupils from 114 private schools were given manual training lessons (Annual Report, Department of Education, *AJHR*, 1928, vol. II, E.-1, p. 12). Reports for earlier years do not indicate when this training was first offered and the earliest reference to transport for private school pupils attending manual classes refers to 1930 (Annual Report, Department of Education, *AJHR*, 1931, vol. II, E.-1, p. 17).

<sup>104</sup> *Zealandia*, 27 September 1934, p. 5.

<sup>105</sup> Grey, p. 196.

of the Education Department for their advice on the new building.<sup>106</sup> Education Board architects sometimes made recommendations when new Catholic schools were being built, for example the Marist Brothers' School in Timaru and St Joseph's School in New Plymouth.<sup>107</sup> At the opening of a Catholic school in Westport in 1931, W.H. McIntyre MLC - Chairman of the Nelson Education Board - thought it appropriate to rebut the view held "in some circles" that the Nelson Education Board was unsympathetic towards Catholic schools.<sup>108</sup> Other sympathetic educationalists also assisted Catholic schools. Monsignor Mahony, laying the foundation stone of a new Catholic school in Onehunga, expressed gratitude to W.N. McIntosh, former headmaster of Onehunga High School, "for many services rendered to the Sisters in the cause of education."<sup>109</sup> When St Mary's Boys' School, in Blenheim, was burnt down in suspicious circumstances, the education authorities lent desks and other equipment so that the boys' education would not be interrupted.<sup>110</sup> During the Depression, relief workers were sometimes employed to improve the grounds of Catholic schools, such as those of St Joseph's Convent, Whangarei.<sup>111</sup> The Minister of Employment and the Panmure Road Board were thanked by Father Downey in 1934 for assisting in giving unemployed men of the district work putting the grounds in order before the construction of a new convent.<sup>112</sup>

In the case of Maori secondary education, the Government recognized that subsidizing private schools saved it money, although Gilbert complained in 1930 that Catholic primary schools for Maori children in North Auckland and at Jerusalem received no government aid.<sup>113</sup> Since 1867, the Sisters of the Mission had run St Joseph's Maori College for girls in Hawke's Bay which, like the colleges of other denominations, was assisted by government-paid scholarships held by some pupils and

<sup>106</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 24 November 1921, p. 18.

<sup>107</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 8 April 1925, p. 29; 17 November 1926, p. 25.

<sup>108</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 4 March 1931, p. 47.

<sup>109</sup> *Month*, 15 December 1923, p. 17.

<sup>110</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 1 August 1928, p. 13. For a parallel occurrence in Timaru in 1924, see Barbara Harper, *The Harvest: History of the Catholic Church in Timaru, 1869-1969* (Timaru: Centennial Committee, Catholic Presbytery, Timaru, 1969), p. 91.

<sup>111</sup> Anne Marie Power RSJ, *Sisters of St Joseph of the Sacred Heart, New Zealand Story, 1883-1983* (Auckland: Sisters of St Joseph of the Sacred Heart, 1983), pp. 168-170.

<sup>112</sup> *Month*, 1 February 1934, p. 15.

<sup>113</sup> Gilbert, "Evidence", p. 19.

by grants attached to these scholarships. Scholarships, occasionally supplemented by Maori Purposes Board funds, were also tenable at St Patrick's College, Wellington (later transferred to St Patrick's Silverstream) and at Sacred Heart College, Auckland, along with government-paid free places.<sup>114</sup> St Peter's Rural College in Northcote, Auckland, taught trades and agriculture as well as training catechists.<sup>115</sup> The school was taught by St Joseph's Missionary Society (the Mill Hill Fathers) and open to Maori boys who had passed the sixth standard. When Prime Minister Coates gave an address at the opening ceremony in 1928, he expressed the view that "State-subsidised denominational boarding schools continued to provide adequately the need for secondary education for the Maori."<sup>116</sup> One third of the cost of the new school had been supplied by the Maori Purposes Board but a request for additional assistance was unsuccessful and an application for registration as a secondary school was declined because French and Higher Mathematics were not taught.<sup>117</sup> The Labour Government of the later 1930s was more generous to the cause of Maori education but not until 1941 did the Department of Education establish Maori secondary schools of its own and these were not intended to displace denominational schools.<sup>118</sup>

During and immediately after the Great War, denominational schools had fallen victim to a drive for national conformity, which was not limited to Catholic schools. Elliott told Parr that the PPA "stood for the national system, and did not look with favour on private and denominational schools, of whatever denomination".<sup>119</sup> As the previous chapter explained, however, the Catholic community was viewed with some misgivings in certain quarters: its schools therefore made an easy target for allegations of unfair privilege. The Reform Government, goaded by the PPA and the NZEI, sought to protect its education system against the supposed threat of private schools,

<sup>114</sup> Butchers, *Education in New Zealand*, pp. 124-125, 442, 516-518; Mason, p. 54. The number of scholarships held in Catholic schools was not large: see J.M. Barrington and T.H. Beaglehole, *Maori Schools in a Changing Society* (Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 1974), pp. 178, 221, 225.

<sup>115</sup> *Month*, 15 May 1928, p. 32; 19 June 1928, pp. 23, iii; *NZ Tablet*, 20 June 1928, p. 42.

<sup>116</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 20 June 1928, p. 42.

<sup>117</sup> Gilbert, "Evidence", p. 20. Barrington and Beaglehole (p. 193) give the figure of £400 for the building grant. This was evidently only the initial grant: Liston said that £2,000 had been promised over a five year period but the diocese itself had contributed £4,345 for the buildings and £200 *per annum* for maintenance (*Month*, 19 June 1928), p. 23).

<sup>118</sup> Annual Report, Department of Education, *AJHR*, 1946, vol. II, E.-1, p. 10; Mason, pp. 54, 57, 58.

<sup>119</sup> *Evening Post*, 13 May 1920, p. 7; *NZ Herald*, 15 May 1920, p. 8.

most of which were Catholic. The Catholic Federation understandably saw in the NZEI's policy evidence of a well-organized campaign to establish a state monopoly and suppress private schools.<sup>120</sup> Whatever the long-term aims of the PPA and the NZEI, though, the right of Catholic schools to continue in existence was never really threatened. Moreover, successive governments, whether Reform, United (from November 1928), or the Coalition (from September 1931) tacitly accepted a responsibility to uphold appropriate standards of education in non-state schools. By the mid 1920s, having withstood the attack, Catholic and other denominational schools began once more to acquire minor concessions.

### The Catholic Case

There was no systematic campaign for state aid during the interwar years, but politicians and the Catholic laity were reminded of the Church's official position on state aid at the recurrent openings of new schools. As taxpayers, Catholics contributed to the state education system even though their own schools, unlike church schools in other countries, were excluded from it. Though ultimately seeking the integration of Catholic schools into the national education system and the allocation of an appropriate proportion of government revenue to private schools, Catholic authorities concentrated on more immediate concessions like free school buses, dental treatment and copies of the *School Journal*.

A plea for state aid was as much a part of the ritual for opening new schools as was the collection to reduce the school's debt.<sup>121</sup> Not infrequently a civic dignitary or politician was invited to attend and perforce to hear the case rehearsed once again.<sup>122</sup> Local body officials were not usually in a position to influence government educational policy but some mayors were also members of Parliament or at least members of political parties represented in the House. It was in the interests of politicians, especially Labour politicians - whether local or national - to cultivate the support of Catholic voters, but at the same time they could not afford to leave

<sup>120</sup> *Report...Catholic Federation...1919*, pp. 11, 14, 24.

<sup>121</sup> When Brodie opened a new brick building for St Joseph's school in Lyttelton, it was the first such occasion he knew of when it had not been necessary to hold a collection (*NZ Tablet*, 27 January 1921, p. 19).

<sup>122</sup> In addition to the examples cited below, chapter three refers to further instances when politicians attended Catholic school openings.

opponents of state aid with the impression that Catholics were being granted special favours.

At the laying of a foundation stone for a new school in Thames in April 1923, Liston had the opportunity to summarize "Catholic claims in the matter of education" before an assembly which included both the retiring Mayor, E.N. Miller, and his successor the local Member of Parliament, T.W. Rhodes.<sup>123</sup> Neither responded to the implicit demand for government concessions but contented themselves with words of welcome to Liston and praise for the efforts of the Catholic community.<sup>124</sup> After a typical statement of Catholic attitudes to educational issues by O'Shea, at a school opening in Waipukurau in 1926, Mayor E.A. Goodger declared that "he could heartily endorse all that had been said by His Grace."<sup>125</sup> About the same time, Cleary outlined the Catholic position on state aid in the presence of Mayor George Wildish, while laying the foundation stone of a new school in Gisborne.<sup>126</sup> When the foundation stone of a new building for St Mary's College in Wellington was laid in 1930, the Minister of Education, Harry Atmore, was present to hear speeches by Archbishops Redwood and O'Shea. The latter tactfully explained why Catholics were prepared to finance their own schools despite the availability of a state education system which was "splendid" apart from its exclusion of religion. He acknowledged that neither the Government nor the Minister were in a position to change the system wanted by the majority of people. Atmore noted that "there were remarks of Archbishop O'Shea with which he perhaps could not altogether agree" but went on to endorse the value of religious education. He concurred with O'Shea's view that religious education was not a function for the state, but evidently drew different implications from this principle.<sup>127</sup> Labour MP W.E. Barnard attended the opening of the Marist Brothers' School in

<sup>123</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 17 May 1923, p. 15; *Month*, 15 May 1923, p. 11.

<sup>124</sup> Rhodes also said that "religion was high above the turmoil of politics" and should not be mixed with it, though his words were evidently not an allusion to Catholic educational demands but to the sectarian strife of the period and perhaps to Liston's trial for sedition (*NZ Tablet*, 17 May 1923, p. 15). According to the *Month*, he also asserted that religious bodies in Thames "helped one another" (*Month*, 15 May 1923, p. 11).

<sup>125</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 1 December 1926, p. 41.

<sup>126</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 1 December 1926, pp. 15, 17.

<sup>127</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 26 March 1930, pp. 46-48; *Month*, 15 April 1930, pp. 9, 12. The Minister's presence is not to be explained solely by the school's proximity to Parliament Buildings; he also attended the laying of the foundation stone of St Joseph's School, Nelson (in his own electorate) in November 1931, where a similar exchange of views with O'Shea took place (*NZ Tablet*, 2 December 1931, p. 43).

Napier in 1932, and promised that "he would do everything in his power to have Government grants made available to Catholic schools" especially those which had shouldered extra burdens since the earthquake.<sup>128</sup> In 1935, a new Church and School (in one building) were opened at Forbury and the Mayor of Dunedin (Rev. E.T. Cox) attended along with Frederick Jones MP. Cox (a Methodist) acknowledged that Catholic "claims for assistance from the government were just and righteous, and something should be done for them." Jones noted that "He and his predecessors had always had friendly relations with the Catholics of the electorate, and he hoped this goodwill would continue."<sup>129</sup> Such sentiments were timely in an election year. When Brodie opened a new kindergarten in Riccarton in 1936, he pointed out that some £350,000 had been spent in Christchurch on Catholic education. H.S.S. Kyle, National Party Member of Parliament and Mayor of Riccarton, responded that such expenditure constituted "a case for the subsidising of Catholic schools."<sup>130</sup>

Determined that, as far as possible, Catholic pupils should not attend state schools, Catholic authorities argued that their own schools ought to benefit from taxes paid by the Catholic community. Liston pointed out that Catholic taxes were used to support the public education system yet Catholics, unable in conscience to use this system where Church schools were available, were not given a share of tax to support their own system.<sup>131</sup> According to O'Connell, in an address to the Catholic Federation in Dunedin, Catholics were "deprived of their rightful share of the taxation to which they were bound by law to contribute."<sup>132</sup> Liston explained that while Catholics were "content" to pay for denominational schools without imposing a burden on their fellow-citizens, they nevertheless demanded that an appropriate share of their own taxes be allocated to their own schools.<sup>133</sup> O'Shea pointed out that "the greater part of the money contributed by the Catholic parents of New Zealand is spent on other people's children."<sup>134</sup> Catholics were only saying "that the money contributed to education by the Catholic parents should be spent by the State on the education of

<sup>128</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 31 August 1932, p. 6; cf. pp. 12-13.

<sup>129</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 9 January 1935, p. 33. Cox's name is given as E.C. Cox in the *Tablet*.

<sup>130</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 18 November 1936, p. 7; *Zealandia*, 19 November 1936, p. 3.

<sup>131</sup> *Month*, 15 July 1921, p. 9; 16 October 1922, p. 9.

<sup>132</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 20 March 1919, p. 43; *Report... Catholic Federation...1919*, p. 23.

<sup>133</sup> *Month*, 17 May 1927, p. 13; *NZ Tablet*, 19 February 1930, pp. 47-48; *Month*, 18 February 1930, p. 17.

<sup>134</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 21 August 1919, p. 33.

Catholic children".<sup>135</sup> Cleary and others emphasized that Catholics did not expect to be reimbursed for the costs of religious education but they demanded that "a just proportion" of their taxes be spent on the Church's schools for the results they attained in secular education.<sup>136</sup> To Bishop Whyte, the issue was one of "mere justice"; he compared the injustice of the New Zealand government to that of the penal laws in Ireland<sup>137</sup> and argued that, "A just government would be willing to pay our teachers for the *secular* side of education and it would not compel Catholics to pay for a system of education that they cannot in conscience accept."<sup>138</sup> As usual, it was Kelly who expressed the Catholic view most forcefully, denouncing "the State Theft, or the Public Robbery of Catholics"<sup>139</sup> as a "gross and tyrannical injustice on the part of the Government" which collected taxes from Catholics while withholding aid to their schools.<sup>140</sup> In doing so, "the Government of New Zealand pursues a systematic persecution of our people".<sup>141</sup>

Schools which set moral training first are persecuted. Teachers who sacrifice their lives for the cause of Christian education are penalized.<sup>142</sup>

To reinforce the Catholic case for state aid, the Wellington Catholic Education Board's annual reports invariably included a section with a title such as "Statistics every Catholic should know".<sup>143</sup> Using the Department of Education's annual reports, the Board calculated how much the Catholic community was saving the government by maintaining its own schools without state aid. In 1924, for example, the Board reckoned that Catholics were saving the government £237,835 annually on primary education while contributing £305,699 to the cost of state primary education through their taxes.<sup>144</sup> Statistics calculated by the Board were used, without acknowledgement,

<sup>135</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 29 May 1919, p. 33; cf. 21 August 1919, p. 34; 15 March 1923, p. 17; 8 October 1924, p. 33; for a similar comment by Kelly, see *NZ Tablet*, 3 March 1921, p. 26.

<sup>136</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 1 December 1926, p. 17, cf. *Month*, 17 February 1925, p. 37; 18 March 1924, p. 11; *NZ Tablet*, 21 August 1919, p. 34 (O'Shea) and the quotation from Whyte below.

<sup>137</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 17 November 1926, p. 30; 8 October 1924, p. 26.

<sup>138</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 27 May 1925, p. 30.

<sup>139</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 18 June 1930, p. 3.

<sup>140</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 13 February 1919, p. 15.

<sup>141</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 10 January 1924, p. 29.

<sup>142</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 24 June 1920, p. 15.

<sup>143</sup> "Wellington Catholic Education Board, Report and Statement of Accounts, 1921-22", MAW. Summaries of the annual reports were published in the Catholic press and even in the local newspapers (e.g. *Evening Post*, 10 October 1936, p. 14).

<sup>144</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 12 November 1924, p. 15.

by Catholic politicians pleading their Church's case on educational issues, notably the withdrawal of National Scholarships and the Bible in Schools controversy.<sup>145</sup> Gilbert presented the Recess Education Commission with a similar array of statistics - without acknowledgement - from the Board's 1928-1929 report to justify a plea for state grants.<sup>146</sup> He suggested that if the government paid Catholics £28-11-6 for each pupil in a Church secondary school (the amount spent on pupils attending state secondary schools) it would still retain for other related purposes £13,370 out of an estimated £53,060 contributed annually by Catholics to the total cost of secondary education. He proposed that the extension of free places to registered secondary schools could be among the expenses funded from the remaining £13,370.<sup>147</sup> Speaking at the St Bede's College annual prize-giving in 1929, Gilbert told his audience that Catholics, by paying taxes which were spent exclusively on state education while maintaining Catholic schools at their own expense, paid the government, directly or indirectly, £673,756 annually.<sup>148</sup>

The demand that Catholic schools should receive government funding derived from the taxes of the Catholic population, since their schools taught the state syllabus to the satisfaction of state inspectors, amounted to a claim that these schools should be a part of a national system of education.<sup>149</sup> According to Gilbert, the state education system was not a national one because it did not embrace the various religious beliefs of the community.<sup>150</sup> When Cleary addressed the Cohen Commission on Education in 1912, he argued that "taxes which are levied on all" should "be used for the benefit of all". He looked back to the time when "Catholic schools...formed part of the State system" but "were excluded from it by Act of Parliament in 1877."<sup>151</sup> The example of many other countries demonstrated that governments could reconcile the demands of

<sup>145</sup> *NZPD*, 1920, vol. 189, p. 597 (P.J. Nerheny); cf. *Month*, 15 October 1920, p. 11; *NZPD* 1926, vol. 210, p. 361 (C.J. Carrington); cf. *NZ Tablet*, 16 December 1925, p. 15.

<sup>146</sup> See "Wellington Catholic Education Board, Report and Statement of Accounts, 1928-1929", WCAA. This report did not receive the usual publicity - evidently because it was released about the time of Cleary's death, which naturally preoccupied the Catholic papers.

<sup>147</sup> Gilbert, "Evidence", pp. 6-10, 17. The same figures were used by Butchers (*Education in New Zealand*, pp. 441-442) to outline the Catholic argument for state aid.

<sup>148</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 29 January 1930, supplement, p. 3.

<sup>149</sup> Cf. chapter three above and Butchers, *The Education System*, pp. 195-196.

<sup>150</sup> *Press*, 10 January 1921, p. 2; *NZ Tablet*, 13 January 1921, p. 28.

<sup>151</sup> Report of the Education Commission, *AJHR*, 1912, session 2, vol. III, E.-12, p. 100; cf. the quotation from Cleary at the beginning of this chapter.

both secularist and religious educationalists.<sup>152</sup> Butchers, writing in 1930, agreed, citing as evidence the success of denominational education in the province of Nelson before the establishment of the national education system.<sup>153</sup> At the opening of the new Grey Lynn convent in 1922, Bishop Brodie, who had just returned from overseas, described the methods by which governments in Britain and the dominions - except Australia - funded denominational schools.<sup>154</sup> In his recent audience with Pope Pius XI, the latter had remarked on the strange fact that New Zealand did not follow the example of England. Other countries of the Empire, except Australia, incorporated denominational schools within a national system of education and granted them fair subsidies. The argument that what was possible in other parts of the Commonwealth, and in Holland, ought to be possible in New Zealand was a constant refrain.<sup>155</sup> Brother J.B. Gettons, Rector of St Kevin's College, even used the visit of Governor-General Lord Galway to point out that New Zealand and Australia were the only parts of the British Empire where parents were "penalised for doing their duty towards their children."<sup>156</sup> In 1927, the *Month* published an article demonstrating how the emergence in England of "a Catholic system of education within the national system" made more equitable provision for Catholic schools than what was offered in New Zealand.<sup>157</sup> Gilbert told the Recess Education Commission that Catholics were "ready and anxious to co-operate with the State in evolving a truly national system of Education".<sup>158</sup> Liston, speaking in 1930, looked forward to the time when secular and religious schools would together form a national system of education.<sup>159</sup> Two years

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 101.

<sup>153</sup> Butchers, *Education in New Zealand*, pp. 443-444.

<sup>154</sup> *Month*, 15 November 1922, p. 15.

<sup>155</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 12 June 1919, p. 19; 15 March 1923, p. 17; 13 March 1924, p. 17; 8 October 1924, pp. 24, 33; 19 November 1924, p. 26; 24 February 1926, p. 30; 1 December 1926, p. 41; 17 November 1926, p. 30; 31 August 1927, p. 33; 16 November 1927, p. 30; 19 February 1930, p. 50; 19 March 1930, p. 46; 15 April 1931, p. 31; 2 December 1931, p. 43; 9 January 1935, p. 33; 30 January 1935, p. 13; 5 October 1938, p. 27; *Month*, 15 February 1923, p. 9; 17 May 1927, p. 13; 18 February 1930, p. 17; 1 February 1934, p. 15; *Zealandia*, 29 August 1935, p. 2; 30 July 1936, p. 2; 6 October 1938, p. 6; Gilbert, "Evidence", p. 13.

<sup>156</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 9 December 1936, p. 39.

<sup>157</sup> *Month*, 19 July 1927, pp. 14-15. An later article described the situation in Holland (17 January 1928, p. 11).

<sup>158</sup> Gilbert, "Evidence", p. 21.

<sup>159</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 19 February 1930, p. 50. The *Month* (18 February 1930, p. 17) reported Liston as saying that each new Catholic school was a part of the national system.

later, O'Shea proposed the establishment of a national education system embracing both secular and religious schools and funded by the government on the basis of results in secular subjects.<sup>160</sup>

### Specific Demands

Aware of the political impossibility of realizing their ultimate goal of a reintegration of Catholic schools into the national system, Catholic leaders emphasized specific forms of state assistance. Direct lobbying of the government for state aid, however, was infrequent and very limited in its demands.<sup>161</sup> Moreover, the two issues on which agitation most commonly focussed - health and transport - were primarily for school children and only indirectly benefited schools. Even the request for free copies of the *School Journal* was justified by the needs of the children.

Private schools and their pupils were, in principle, entitled to medical inspection but they do not seem to have received it on a regular basis. The School Medical Service was established in 1912 and registered private primary schools were permitted under the Education Act (1914) to apply for a medical inspection of the school and the pupils.<sup>162</sup> However, a list of "essential duties" carried out by School Medical Service doctors and nurses did not mention private schools.<sup>163</sup> Very occasional inspections did take place, for example at St Joseph's School, Grey Lynn in 1921,<sup>164</sup> but while the Health Act of 1920 made provision for compulsory medical inspection in public schools, it made no reference to private schools.<sup>165</sup> Dr Ada Paterson, Director of the Health Department's Division of School Hygiene, told the Recess Education Committee in 1930 that the division had hitherto confined its efforts to the state primary schools.<sup>166</sup> In an address to the Christchurch Diocesan Council of the Catholic

<sup>160</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 31 August 1932, p. 6. The idea was endorsed by the *Tablet* (*ibid.*, p. 3).

<sup>161</sup> In the context of the Bible in Schools debate in 1927, Cleary asserted that the Catholic Church had not pressed its claim for state aid on parliamentary candidates or legislators since 1902 (*Evening Post*, 29 September 1927, p. 8; *NZ Tablet*, 9 November 1927, p. 23).

<sup>162</sup> Education Act, Clause 134 (6), *Statutes of New Zealand* (1914), p. 226.

<sup>163</sup> Annual Report, Department of Education, *AJHR*, 1918, vol. II, E.-1, p. 28.

<sup>164</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 8 September 1921, p. 22. In 1920, a medical examination of children in Timaru Catholic schools was undertaken by Dr Loughnan and a non-Catholic colleague, Dr Talbot, but they seem to have been acting in a voluntary capacity (*NZ Tablet*, 5 August 1920, p. 39, Catholic Federation report).

<sup>165</sup> Health Act, Clause 139, *Statutes of New Zealand* (1920), p. 213.

<sup>166</sup> *AJHR*, 1930, vol. III, I.-8A, p. 118. It was proposed to extend medical inspections to secondary school pupils who applied for teacher training.

Federation in 1920, J.R. Hayward contended that children attending private schools were entitled to the same medical and dental treatment offered to state school children.<sup>167</sup> Catholic leaders do not appear to have been unduly concerned over the medical inspection of denominational schools but they did speak out on the issue of dental treatment.

In 1921, when the government declared its intention to provide free dental treatment to all children at state primary schools, Cleary denounced the implication that the health of Catholic children was not the concern of the state.<sup>168</sup> It was obviously convenient to offer dental treatment through the school system but the issue was medical, not educational, and to deny treatment to children at denominational schools was to impose a religious test as a condition of state health care.<sup>169</sup> O.R. Wise, an Irish Protestant, wrote to the *Oamaru Mail* in 1926 deploring the policy of not admitting Catholic children to school dental clinics; he saw in this the kind of religious hatred which had caused such harm in Ireland.<sup>170</sup> When Francis Bartley SM opened a new Catholic school at Pleasant Point in 1928, he complained that children whose fathers fought in the same war as the fathers of state school children were suffering from discrimination by not being given dental and medical inspection.<sup>171</sup> Taking up the subject again later while laying the foundation stone for a school in Blenheim, he reminded the Minister of Health that his responsibility extended to all the children of New Zealand and that Catholic schools were available to serve the cause of public health - as they had been during the influenza epidemic.<sup>172</sup> W.J. Girling MP, present at the ceremony, acknowledged that "every section of the community" should have access to the health services provided by the government.<sup>173</sup>

<sup>167</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 12 February 1920, p. 18.

<sup>168</sup> *Month*, 15 July 1921, pp. 11, 13. The School Dental Service was initiated in 1919 but the first cohort of school dental nurses did not complete its two-year training and begin service until 1923. See the Annual Report, Department of Health, *AJHR*, 1939, vol. III, H.-31, p. 90 and T.W.H. Brooking, *A History of Dentistry in New Zealand* (Dunedin: New Zealand Dental Association, 1980), pp. 99-100.

<sup>169</sup> It is noteworthy that the Health Act of 1920 brought both the School Medical Service and the School Dental Service, originally controlled by the Department of Education, under the control of the Department of Health.

<sup>170</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 25 August 1926, p. 17.

<sup>171</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 8 February 1928, p. 23. Bartley had been a chaplain in World War I (*NZ Tablet*, 14 August 1919, p. 34).

<sup>172</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 10 October 1928, p. 22; *Month*, 16 October 1928, p. 15.

<sup>173</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 10 October 1928, p. 23.

Early in 1929, the newly-elected United Government declared that dental treatment would be provided for children attending private schools on the same basis as for state school pupils.<sup>174</sup> When Atmore laid one of the foundation stones for the new Catholic school at Te Aroha, in June 1929, he promised "to legislate for every child in New Zealand" irrespective of "creed, sect or class."<sup>175</sup> Dental treatment, he argued, was a right for New Zealand children whatever school they attended. The predominantly Maori pupils of Matata Convent School were being offered dental treatment by 1933<sup>176</sup> and Catholic school children in Oamaru were admitted to the local dental clinic, for a fee, in 1934.<sup>177</sup> In 1936, Catholic pupils were attending the local clinic in Greymouth and Father Healy was seeking the co-operation of the Kumara state school committee to establish a clinic for both convent and state school children.<sup>178</sup> The admission of new schools to a dental clinic was determined by local committees, however, and the Masterton School Dental Committee refused to admit children from Catholic schools until the Catholic community protested, through the local Member of Parliament, to Health Minister Fraser in 1938.<sup>179</sup> Similarly, the Matamata School Dental Clinic Committee declined to admit children from the Catholic school even though, according to Father Silk, Catholic parents had contributed to the cost of building the clinic.<sup>180</sup>

<sup>174</sup> Brooking, p. 127.

<sup>175</sup> *Month*, 18 June 1929, p. 15; *NZ Tablet*, 19 June 1929, p. 48; cf. *ibid.*, 28 May 1930, p. 47.

<sup>176</sup> Annual Report, Department of Health, *AJHR*, 1934-1935, vol. III, H.-31, p. 35. Out of a total school roll of 55, 51 pupils were Maori.

<sup>177</sup> *Zealandia*, 24 May 1934, p. 6. The payment of £11-4-0 was presumably the Catholic school's share of the incidental maintenance costs which had to be paid for by the local schools (cf. Butchers, *Education in New Zealand*, pp. 490-491 and Health Minister A.J. Stallworthy's comments in the *NZ Herald*, 27 May 1930, p. 10). From 1931, clinics were required to make an additional contribution of £30 *per annum* to the Department of Health for the cost of materials. This approximately doubled the maintenance costs borne by the dental clinic committees, who were therefore authorized to charge children up to five shillings each annually (Annual Report, Department of Health, *AJHR*, 1932, vol. III, H.-31, p. 31). A concessionary rate for families of three or more children was negotiated for children attending the Oamaru Clinic (*Zealandia*, 21 June 1934, p. 6).

<sup>178</sup> *Zealandia*, 10 September 1936, p. 3.

<sup>179</sup> Vincent J. McGlone, *Fruits of Toil: a History of the Catholic Church in the District of the Wairarapa, New Zealand, 1845-1956* (Carterton: printed by Roydhouse and Son, 1957), pp. 193-194; cf. *NZ Herald*, 12 May 1930, p. 12; 27 May 1930, p. 10.

<sup>180</sup> D.V. Silk, *Growth of the Catholic Church in Matamata District, 1840-1959* (Matamata, 1959), p. 20; *NZ Tablet*, 28 May 1930, p. 50 (reprint of undated articles from the *Auckland Star* and *NZ Herald*). Until 1941, local communities had to pay one third of the cost of building a new school dental clinic (Report of the Recess Education Committee, *AJHR*, 1930, vol. III, I.-8A, p. 121; Department of Education, Annual Report, *AJHR*, 1946, vol. II, E.-1, p. 6).

Committee Chairman E.C. Banks explained that new instructions from the Department of Health had not yet been received - although he was aware of the new policy. Only when Silk finally appealed in person to Prime Minister Fraser were the clinic's services extended to Catholic school children.<sup>181</sup> By 1930, only about half the nation's schools were served by dental clinics and any major expansion of the Dental Service was to be delayed by the Depression until 1936.<sup>182</sup> Despite the concession in principle, therefore, extension of free dental treatment to Catholic school children was, in practice, too slow for Catholic leaders.<sup>183</sup>

The Education Department's school bus service, which enabled rural children to attend larger, consolidated schools, rather than smaller, more isolated ones, was begun at Pio Pio in 1924.<sup>184</sup> Although children at private schools had long been provided with free rail travel, the principle was not extended to road transport. Catholics in Te Aroha therefore bought their own school bus in 1930, which, to save costs, was driven by the parish priests.<sup>185</sup> When a free bus service was established for state school children in Matamata, the local Catholics applied unsuccessfully for an extension to buses of the free rail service already enjoyed by their children.<sup>186</sup> Bishop Liston was particularly indignant that Catholic children at Te Aroha and Matamata were not permitted to ride in the state-provided buses for whose cost Catholic taxpayers contributed: he demanded that this "wrong" be set right.<sup>187</sup> The 1930 Recess

<sup>181</sup> Silk, p. 20. Dr C.E. Beeby, contacted while Silk was interviewing Fraser, agreed that it was disgraceful that any children should be debarred from the clinic and Fraser sent a wire to Matamata. The interview must have taken place some time during or after early 1940, since Fraser succeeded Savage as Prime Minister in April and Beeby was appointed Director of Education in May (Ian Cumming and Alan Cumming, *History of State Education in New Zealand, 1840-1975* (Wellington: Pitman Publishing, 1978, p. 268). It seems remarkable, however, that Catholic children could have been excluded for ten years.

<sup>182</sup> Annual Report, Department of Health, *AJHR*, 1939, vol. III, H.-31, p. 90. Although the number of school dental clinics continued to increase during the Depression, staffing levels declined (*ibid.*, pp. 91, 94).

<sup>183</sup> See, for example, Liston in *NZ Tablet*, 21 January 1931, p. 7 and Whyte in *NZ Tablet*, 1 July 1936, p. 7; *Zealandia*, 30 July 1936, p. 2.

<sup>184</sup> Cumming and Cumming, pp. 225, 244. The Department still had only twelve buses by the end of 1930 (Annual Report, Department of Education, *AJHR*, 1931, vol. II, E.-1, p. 17).

<sup>185</sup> *Month*, 18 February 1930, p. 15; *NZ Tablet*, 19 February 1930, p. 50; 28 May 1930, p. 47; *Gracious is the Time: Centenary of the Sisters of Mercy, Auckland, New Zealand, 1850-1950* (Auckland: Sisters of Mercy, 1952), p. 87.

<sup>186</sup> Silk, p. 20.

<sup>187</sup> *Month*, 18 February 1930, p. 15; *NZ Tablet*, 19 February 1930, p. 50; 19 March 1930, p. 46.

Education Committee Report recommended the further consolidation of small rural schools, which would involve an extension of the bus service: Catholic claims were not mentioned.<sup>188</sup>

Free copies of the *School Journal* were claimed on the basis of an argument similar to that employed in the case of Dental Service.<sup>189</sup> It, too, was paid for by the taxes of all citizens for a public good, namely the children of the country. Since private schools benefited the state by teaching according to its standards, their pupils should receive the same benefits the state provided for other children. In effect, it was argued, Catholics paid twice over for the journal: once through their taxes and again when it was bought for use in their schools.<sup>190</sup> In 1930, M.J. Ryan, in a letter to the *Tablet*, suggested that parish priests should write to their local members of Parliament requesting free copies of the *School Journal* for their parochial schools.<sup>191</sup>

In the person of Sydney Smith, Minister of Education from November 1934 until December 1935, private schools found a sympathetic ear but little more. Smith visited a number of Catholic schools (as his recent predecessors had done) and even declared it his duty to show as much interest in the education of children at Catholic schools as those at state schools.<sup>192</sup> He reminded Catholic pupils that their parents paid for both public and private schools and thought there was much to commend denominational schools.<sup>193</sup> In September 1935, O'Shea led a deputation to the new Minister.<sup>194</sup> The petitioners sought free travel on school buses for all pupils attending private schools and free copies of the *School Journal* (currently costing Catholic schools £518 each year) which was needed to prepare pupils for examinations. They also sought an increase in the subsidy paid for some 165 children committed to private institutions to match the level paid to families which accepted foster children. Smith appeared to be sympathetic to these rather modest requests but evidently failed to persuade his colleagues in the Government. Only on the matter of the *Journal* was a minor

<sup>188</sup> *AJHR*, 1930, vol. III, I.-8A, pp. 24-27.

<sup>189</sup> *Month*, 5 July 1930, p. 19.

<sup>190</sup> *Month*, 1 October 1931, p. 21.

<sup>191</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 12 February 1930, p. 52; cf. 12 March 1930, p. 48.

<sup>192</sup> *Zealandia*, 23 May 1935, p. 5; 10 October 1935, p. 5; *NZ Tablet*, 28 August 1935, p. 6; 9 October 1935, p. 6.

<sup>193</sup> *Zealandia*, 10 October 1935, p. 5.

<sup>194</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 2 October 1935, p. 6; *Zealandia*, 7 November 1935, p. 4.

concession made in the form of an increased subsidy.<sup>195</sup> While lamenting the Government's parsimony, the *Tablet* disclaimed any attempt on the part of the Church to influence voting in the forthcoming election, despite the timing of the requests for state aid.<sup>196</sup>

### The Labour Era

After taking office at the end of 1935, the first Labour Government did prove more generous to private schools than had its predecessors. The *Tablet* expressed Catholics' "natural hope" that, although the Labour Party had reaffirmed during the campaign its disapproval of state aid to Catholic schools, the new Government would manifest "a keener appreciation of Catholic requirements, particularly in education affairs, than did its predecessor." Without offering any special privileges, the administration could assist the schools in "a multitude of small ways" by removing "irritating anomalies" inconsistent with the rights of tax-paying Catholics.<sup>197</sup> Whyte hoped that the Government would alleviate the disadvantages under which Catholic education suffered and that the community as a whole would recognize the justice of Catholic claims, particularly in regard to dental clinics and school buses.<sup>198</sup> During its first year of office, the new administration "decided to supply the *School Journal* free to children attending private schools" and to arrange for both private and state schools to obtain radio equipment at concessionary rates.<sup>199</sup> When free milk was introduced to schools in March 1937, there was no discrimination against children attending private schools.<sup>200</sup> Dr Elizabeth Gunn, Director of School Hygiene, noted in her annual report

<sup>195</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 30 October 1935, p. 6; *Zealandia*, 7 November 1935, p. 4.

<sup>196</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 6 November 1935, p. 3. A letter written to the *Tablet* soon after did suggest that it was time for Catholics to protest at the ballot box, but expressed reservations about the Labour Party's readiness for government (*NZ Tablet*, 20 November 1935, p. 11).

<sup>197</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 4 December 1935, p. 4.

<sup>198</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 1 July 1936, p. 7; *Zealandia*, 30 July 1936, p. 2.

<sup>199</sup> Annual Report for 1936, Department of Education, *AJHR*, 1937-1938, vol. II, E.-1, p. 3.

<sup>200</sup> Annual Report, Department of Health, *AJHR*, 1936-1937, vol. III, H.-31, p. 25; *ibid.* 1939, vol. III, H.-31, p. 12. Back in 1934, the National Tobacco factory in Napier had started a scheme to supply milk to local public and private school children (*Zealandia*, 2 August 1934, p. 6). The Catholic Education Trust Board noted that, in Wellington, there had been a similar private scheme run by the Smith Family during the winter, which also included Catholic pupils. In its annual report, the Board expressed gratitude for the free milk, the *School Journal* and the other recent government grants (*NZ Tablet*, 1 December 1937, p. 7; cf. Annual Report, Department of Health, *AJHR*, 1936, vol. III, H.-31, p. 28).

for the year 1937-1938 that medical inspections were being made in convent schools in Hawke's Bay, Nelson and Wellington.<sup>201</sup> At St Anne's school, Newtown, regular inspections began about this time and a medical room was included in additions to the school.<sup>202</sup> Gunn's hope that increased staff would enable annual inspections of such schools to take place was evidently fulfilled. The Health Amendment Act of 1940 specifically allowed private schools to apply for medical inspection.<sup>203</sup> Although hitherto permitted under the Education Act (1914), the new legislation betokened a commitment on the part of the Government to offer more regular medical service.<sup>204</sup>

Under the Labour administration, children attending denominational schools were permitted to travel on rural school buses. It will be recalled that school buses were introduced to transport children affected by the policy of consolidating schools. Late in 1937, the Education Department issued instructions that even if such children enrolled at a private school, they should be permitted to travel in school buses. Education Minister Fraser reserved for Parliament the wider question of whether the free rail travel offered to private school children should be extended to all those travelling by road.<sup>205</sup> Brodie sent out a circular to establish the need for bus transport within his diocese and reported that steps were being taken to secure agreement from the Government on transport for Catholic pupils.<sup>206</sup> The concession was evidently extended to other areas, for example the Canterbury Education Board in February 1938 agreed to allow the Akaroa bus driver to pick up convent school children - but only if there was spare room for them on the bus.<sup>207</sup> Later, government approval was given

<sup>201</sup> Annual Report, Department of Health, *AJHR*, 1938, vol. III, H.-31, p. 28.

<sup>202</sup> Heather Aim, "Life History of Mary Scully" (University of Canterbury B.A. research essay in Sociology, 1986), p. 5; Mary Scully, untitled autobiographical essay (University of Canterbury B.A. essay in Education, 1984).

<sup>203</sup> Health Amendment Act, Clause 12, *Statutes of New Zealand* (1940), pp. 201-202.

<sup>204</sup> Unfortunately the annual reports of the Department of Health during the Second World War, like those of other departments, were too brief to include any information on the extension of the School Medical Service to Catholic schools.

<sup>205</sup> *NZPD*, 1937, vol. 249, p. 1115. An article in the *NZ Herald* (18 July 1937, p. 14) reported that pupils eligible for conveyance to public schools who were in fact attending private schools, could henceforth use departmental and contract buses if accommodation were available. Presumably Fraser's statement in the House (on 7 December) was intended to clarify imprecise press reports such as this.

<sup>206</sup> Brodie, circular on "Transport Facilities for Catholic Children", 25 November 1937, CCDA.

<sup>207</sup> S. Dowland (Canterbury Education Board) to Sister M. Theresa (Convent of Mercy, Akaroa), 3 February 1938, CCDA.

for primary and secondary children attending private schools to be given conveyance allowances on the same basis as public school children from the beginning of 1940.<sup>208</sup>

A sympathetic government could assist denominational schools in unexpected ways. Under the provisions of the Physical Welfare and Recreation Act (1937), the Knights of the Southern Cross in Whangarei secured from the Government in 1939 a grant to pay all the wages needed to carry out improvements to the local Catholic school grounds - at an expected cost of £350.<sup>209</sup> The Act itself, which made provision for disbursements to voluntary organizations to pay, for example, for grounds and equipment, made no mention of schools, but the Knights successfully made representations to the Minister of Internal Affairs (W.E. Parry), through J.G. Barclay MP and L.J. Brake of the National Council of Physical Welfare.<sup>210</sup> In 1939, Liston thanked the Government and the Employment Bureau for providing labourers to prepare the grounds of the new Christian Brothers' School in Auckland, but this form of assistance had occurred before the advent of the Labour administration.<sup>211</sup>

The assistance proffered to private schools by the Labour Government could usually be rationalized in two ways. Apart from the radio subsidy and work on school grounds, the increased aid offered to private schools by the Labour Government between 1935 and 1940 was all offered to the pupils rather than the schools. Again, in 1944, boarding allowances were made available to pupils attending private schools.<sup>212</sup> When these allowances were originally introduced, in 1937, Brother Tarcisius of Sacred Heart College, Auckland, had complained of discrimination against Catholic parents. The allowances, he explained, were not a subsidy to schools but were paid only to the parents of state school children.<sup>213</sup> Usually, a second consideration was also involved in the Labour Government's grants: as the report presented to the 1944

<sup>208</sup> Annual Report, Department of Education, *AJHR*, 1940, vol. II, E.-1, pp. 2-3; Mason, p. 50.

<sup>209</sup> The Knights were a secretive organization established by the bishops during the early 1920s to promote Catholic interests - see E.R. Simmons, *In Cruce Salus: a History of the Diocese of Auckland, 1848-1980* (Auckland: Catholic Communications Centre, 1982), p. 230.

<sup>210</sup> Minutes Book, 10 April 1937 to 30 November 1939, Knights of the Southern Cross, Whangarei, meetings of 24 February 1938, 5 May 1938, 28 September 1938, 30 March 1939 and 29 June 1939, MAW; cf. *New Zealand Statutes* (1937), pp. 53-60.

<sup>211</sup> *Zealandia*, 2 February 1939, p. 5; cf. the reference to relief work during the Depression earlier in this chapter. The grounds of Redcastle College, Oamaru, were also improved by Government work scheme employees between 1936 and 1940 (O'Neill, pp. 88-89).

<sup>212</sup> Mason, p. 69; cf. p. 50.

<sup>213</sup> *Zealandia*, 23 December 1937, p. 6; 13 January 1938, p. 5.

Education Conference noted, when "additional facilities are provided for children of State schools the question of the participation of those in private schools, is always sympathetically considered."<sup>214</sup> In accordance with these two trends, the precedents set by school milk and radio subsidies were followed by, for example, free apples and subsidies for film projectors.<sup>215</sup> Similarly, the School Library Service, begun in 1942, was offered to private schools on the same basis as public schools and the textbooks published during the 1940s by the Department of Education for its new syllabus were freely distributed to private schools.<sup>216</sup> In 1943, bursaries were established to enable remote rural pupils with School Certificate to study for University Entrance at public or private secondary schools large enough to offer accrediting.<sup>217</sup>

Despite its more generous policy towards private schools, then, Labour was not prepared to concede openly the principle that the state ought to pay for private education. The lengthening list of grants did not amount to much in comparison with the overall costs of maintaining denominational schools. Free bus transport, for example was expected to cost only £21,500 annually.<sup>218</sup> Moreover, the bishops noted in 1940 that in some parts of the Auckland Province there were still difficulties.<sup>219</sup> Dr Noel Gascoigne testified that Catholic school children were still walking to school as state school buses passed them by.<sup>220</sup> According to Silk, writing at the end of the 1950s, Catholic children were only allowed to ride on the bus if there was room to spare and they had to get off if the bus became overcrowded.<sup>221</sup>

Relations between Catholic educationalists and the Government, however, were now much warmer than in the days of Hanan and Parr. In October 1936, P.J. O'Regan

<sup>214</sup> Mason, p. 70.

<sup>215</sup> Annual Report, Department of Education, *AJHR*, 1946, vol. II, E.-1, p.6; Mason, p. 69; Ian McLaren *Education in a Small Democracy: New Zealand* (London and Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974), p. 59.

<sup>216</sup> Annual Report, Country Library Service, *AJHR*, 1942, H.-32A, p. 4; Annual Report, Department of Education, *AJHR*, 1946, vol. II, E.-1, pp. 4-5 (This report, like Mason, p. 21, says that the School Library Service was begun in 1938 but it was in that year that the Country Library Service, which was to administer the School Library Service, was inaugurated - see Annual Report, Country Library Service, *AJHR*, 1939, vol. III, H.-32A, p. 1); Mason, p. 69.

<sup>217</sup> Annual Report, Department of Education, *AJHR*, 1946, vol. II, E.-1, p. 8; Mason, p. 69. The award of University Entrance (matriculation) by accrediting was first allowed in 1944 (Mason, p. 42).

<sup>218</sup> Annual Report, Department of Education, *AJHR*, 1940, vol. II, E.-1, pp. 2-3.

<sup>219</sup> Minutes of bishops' meeting, 22 April 1940, CCDA. Liston was negotiating with the Minister of Education.

<sup>220</sup> McLaren, p. 59 (quoting Gascoigne); Gascoigne, pp. 17A-18.

<sup>221</sup> Silk, p. 20.

accompanied representatives of the Anglican and Presbyterian Churches in a deputation to Prime Minister Savage, seeking rating relief for charitable and educational institutions run by the churches. Savage hoped that acceptable amendments could be made to the appropriate legislation without undue delay.<sup>222</sup> Speaking at the opening of a new school at Kerrytown, Clyde Carr, Labour politician and Congregational minister, affirmed his belief that since denominational schools saved the government "a very considerable yearly outlay", they ought to receive some payment in return.<sup>223</sup>

The Catholic Church had a particularly good relationship with Peter Fraser, Labour's Minister of Education and later Prime Minister. At the annual general meeting of the Association of Heads of Registered Secondary Schools of New Zealand in May 1937, chaired by J.W. Dowling SM of St Patrick's College, Silverstream, Fraser told the teachers that the state education system benefited from the greater freedom of private schools to experiment.<sup>224</sup> He hoped that "the close co-operation existing between the Education Department and the registered secondary schools" would continue to grow and said it would be a pleasure for him to assist in overcoming any difficulties faced by private schools.<sup>225</sup> The Minister was thanked for the concessions already made, of which the free provision of the *School Journal* seems to have been the most important to date, and a request was made for copies of the *Education Gazette* and regulations concerning school courses.<sup>226</sup> At the opening of the Christian Brothers' new college in Auckland in 1939, Attorney General H.G.R. Mason, apologizing for Fraser's absence, spoke of the Government's recognition of "the immense work the Catholic Church was doing for education."<sup>227</sup> Liston took the opportunity to allude briefly to the "heavy educational burden" facing the Catholics of New Zealand.<sup>228</sup> Later in the year, at the opening of a primary school in Karori,

<sup>222</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 21 October 1936, p. 13.

<sup>223</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 9 February 1938, p. 7. Carr had indicated his support for Catholic educational claims before the election of the Labour Government (*NZ Tablet*, 12 June 1935, p. 13).

<sup>224</sup> *Evening Post*, 19 May 1937, p. 7; *NZ Tablet*, 26 May 1937, p. 8; *Zealandia*, 3 June 1937, p. 4.

<sup>225</sup> In 1938, teachers at Catholic schools in Auckland were invited by the Education Board to attend state teachers' conferences on the new curriculum, held with the inspectors at four centres (*Zealandia*, 12 March 1938, p. 23).

<sup>226</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 2 June 1937, p. 35. The only other concessions mentioned were "the generous provision of bursaries and allowances to holders of higher leaving certificates...and the free carriage of school correspondence in districts affected by the paralysis epidemic."

<sup>227</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 8 February 1939, p. 46.

<sup>228</sup> *Zealandia*, 2 February 1939, p. 5.

O'Shea praised the New Zealand education system and the accomplishments of the Minister of Education, who was present for the occasion. Fraser reciprocated by lauding the "valuable educational work being carried out by the teaching Orders of the Catholic Church, and in particular the Sisters of Mercy", who were to staff the new school. He evidently ignored O'Shea's remarks about Catholics' having to pay not only for their own schools but also, through taxation, for public schools.<sup>229</sup> However sympathetic he might be towards Labour's Catholic supporters, Fraser had to be cautious. In 1936, he told a Bible in Schools League delegation that the Government could not allow the introduction of (Protestant) religious exercises into state schools because this would strengthen the Catholic case for state aid to their own schools. While he had no objection to this in itself, it would inevitably lead to similar demands from other groups and the break-up of the state education system.<sup>230</sup>

In an overview of Catholic education written in 1959, Gascoigne praised Fraser's "innate sense of justice and ready sympathy for the private schools" and argued that he had given more to them than had all his predecessors as Minister of Education or Prime Minister since 1877.<sup>231</sup> Gascoigne was particularly impressed with the opportunity given him by Fraser to address the Labour caucus on the issue in 1948.<sup>232</sup> He believed that, until Labour's electoral defeat in November 1949, Fraser was working towards a settlement of the state aid issue, though the Prime Minister had apparently yet to convince his colleagues.<sup>233</sup> Under the National Government of the 1950s, the trend towards increasing aid was arrested for another decade.<sup>234</sup> In 1956, Walter Otto, National President of the Holy Name Society, presented a state aid petition to Parliament but New Zealand was not yet ready to fulfil the educational aspirations of the Catholic community.<sup>235</sup> During the 1960s and 1970s, however, the

<sup>229</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 9 August 1939, p. 6. The absence of religious education, however, was "a very great deficiency."

<sup>230</sup> Bible in Schools League, Auckland Branch Executive Minutes 1936-1941, pp. 1-2 (meeting of 24 April 1936), ATL 82-391-2.

<sup>231</sup> Gascoigne, pp. 18, 19.

<sup>232</sup> McLaren, p. 59; Gascoigne, p. 19.

<sup>233</sup> Gascoigne, pp. 18-19. McLaren (p. 59), however, points out that, in its final year of government, Labour gave little indication of finally resolving the state aid issue.

<sup>234</sup> Grey, p. 197; Wilson, p. 142; McLaren, pp. 59, 62-65.

<sup>235</sup> Gascoigne, p. 17A; Cumming and Cumming, pp. 302-303; McLaren, p. 60; Colin McGeorge and Ivan Snook, *Church, State and New Zealand Education* (Wellington: Price Milburn, 1981), pp. 18-20. For the Select Committee's report, see *AJHR*, 1956, vol. IV, I-8, p. 3 and *NZPD*, 1956, vol. 310, pp. 2724-2746.

context of the state aid debate was to change dramatically and Catholic schools were finally re-integrated into the national education system.

### Conclusion

A few concessions to non-state schools, or to their pupils, had been offered in the late nineteenth century but the Liberal administration, even with a Catholic Prime Minister, had been guarded about aid to private schools. In its first few years of office, the Reform Government had been more generous but during the First World War and its immediate aftermath, it reversed this policy although it stopped short of implementing the full demands of the PPA and the NZEI and left intact the minor concessions it had inherited. It was not until the later 1920s that Catholic schools once again began to acquire new forms of aid. The Depression was naturally a lean time for private schools but the Labour Government, while avoiding any commitment to the principle of state aid, found ways to contribute to denominational education.

Both Church leaders and politicians realized that heavy demands from Catholics or generous concessions by governments would arouse antagonism in some sections of the community. The agitation of the Catholic Federation during the war no doubt contributed to the widespread reaction against denominational schools led by the PPA and the NZEI. Concessions which had been made by the Reform administration were quickly taken back when public animosity was aroused. The withdrawal of the right to hold National Scholarships in private schools was felt keenly and the lesson seems to have been learnt. In a rare lapse of political judgment, Cleary in 1926 considered seeking legislative endorsement for state aid to Catholic schools but the wiser counsels of his fellow bishops prevailed.<sup>236</sup>

Although less prominent than it had been, opposition to state aid to Catholic schools did not disappear after the mid-1920s. When the United Government announced that children attending private schools were to be eligible for the School Dental Service, Howard Elliott protested that the previous Minister of Health (James Young) had declared this ought not to be done until the service was provided for all state school children.<sup>237</sup> The new Minister (Arthur Stallworthy) defended the policy by asserting that it was unrelated to the matter of "sectarian schools" and had been

<sup>236</sup> M.D. Clark, "The Roman Response to the Protestant Mission: Bishop Cleary and the Bible-in-Schools in the 1920s" (University of Auckland M.A. research paper in History, 1984), pp. 25-26, citing ACDA CLE 84-3.

<sup>237</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 24 April 1929, p. 47, citing the *Dunedin Evening Star* of 18 April.

intended by his predecessor. I. Bridger of the PPA also criticized Atmore's willingness to assist at the opening of Catholic schools.<sup>238</sup> At the annual meeting of its Dominion Council in August 1930, the PPA expressed its "grave anxiety and concern" at the inroads being made into secular education by the Minister's attendance at the openings of "sectarian schools".<sup>239</sup> He had enough to do looking after the national system without eulogizing and spending money on private schools. In 1936, David McDougall MP told an audience attending the opening of a new convent school in Gore that, since the laying of the foundation stone, he had been criticized "in certain quarters" for endorsing Catholic demands for government subsidies to denominational schools.<sup>240</sup>

By keeping its specific demands modest, the Church kept such antagonism to a minimum and gained more than it would have by aggressive lobbying. Under the Labour Government, Catholic patience brought rewards in the form of a piecemeal and pragmatic policy, which accorded benefits to the pupils of private schools and overlooked distinctions between state and non-state schools when new forms of government expenditure were introduced.

Roy Shuker has recently criticized Laurie Barber's contention that the debate over state aid ended in the late 1930s.<sup>241</sup> Even though there were no state aid bills in the interwar period, Barber's claim that the consolidation of the Catholic education system led to a reduction in the urgency of Catholic demands is not supported by the evidence presented in this chapter.<sup>242</sup> However, even Shuker's recognition that "state aid remained very much an issue in Catholic minds" but was dormant until the expansion of Catholic schools in the 1950s is not an accurate summary.<sup>243</sup> Shuker overlooks both the demands for aid addressed to successive governments and the response of the Labour Government in particular. It is no doubt correct to say that World War II and post-war educational reforms overshadowed the politics of religious education, yet

<sup>238</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 11 September 1929, p. 7.

<sup>239</sup> *Evening Post*, 13 August 1930, p. 3.

<sup>240</sup> *Zealandia*, 2 July 1936, p. 3.

<sup>241</sup> Roy Shuker, *The One Best System?* (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1987), p. 251; cf. Lawrence Barber, "The Defence of Secular Education in New Zealand, 1887-1937", *Delta* 4 (May 1969), pp. 37-38. Although writing before the Integration Act (1975), Barber should not have overlooked the Catholic agitation in the 1950s or the marked increase in government grants during the 1960s.

<sup>242</sup> Barber, p. 41.

<sup>243</sup> Shuker, pp. 251-252.

during this time denominational schools received an unprecedented degree of government aid.

Without organizing a sustained campaign, Catholic leaders nevertheless sought to keep the state aid issue before politicians and the Catholic laity. Despite their limited success, the bishops had to be seen by Catholic parents to be working to reduce the costs of private education since they exerted such pressure on Catholic families to educate children in denominational schools. Demands for state aid were most commonly voiced in Catholic gatherings, especially school openings, and in the Catholic press: the main audience was the Catholic laity. After the resignation of James Kelly at the end of 1931, no editor of the *Tablet* displayed his passion for the education issue. At the beginning of each school year, L.J. Cronin's editorials on education not only lacked Kelly's fiery conviction, but also concentrated on parental obligations rather than Catholic demands and were often little more than reprints from a previous year.<sup>244</sup> In 1938, the new editor, Alan Carter, asked whether Catholics were becoming complacent about the situation.<sup>245</sup> He warned his readers that they would not secure their just claim if they merely sat down and waited for it. Indeed, the "justice" Catholics sought was, as the editor admitted on a later occasion, "yet distant", although he did claim to discern "signs...that an era of good-will has commenced."<sup>246</sup> The *Zealandia* also showed more concern over the duties of Catholics than for state aid, especially at the beginning of each school year.<sup>247</sup> When the *Auckland Star* complained that some people were being taxed twice over for the new pension scheme in 1938, however, the editor took the opportunity to remind readers that Catholics had long been subjected to a double taxation for education.<sup>248</sup>

Catholics were convinced that eventually the justice of their case would be recognized by the rest of the community. Kelly thought that most Protestants would support Catholic claims for a share of the taxes they contributed to maintain their schools "if only they got a vigorous lead from their pastors."<sup>249</sup> O'Shea was sure other

<sup>244</sup> Compare the editorials (all on page 3) in *NZ Tablet*, 24 January 1934 with *ibid.*, 23 January 1935 and 22 January 1936 with 27 January 1937.

<sup>245</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 19 January 1938, p. 5.

<sup>246</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 13 September 1939, p. 5. These "signs" were not specified but most of the editorial was about the greater acceptance of Catholic claims in Australia.

<sup>247</sup> *Zealandia*, 31 January 1935, p. 4; 13 January 1938, p. 6; 27 January 1938, p. 6; 19 January 1939, p. 4.

<sup>248</sup> *Zealandia*, 12 May 1938, p. 6.

<sup>249</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 1 November 1923, p. 18.

citizens would come to acknowledge the importance of the work of Catholic education and not inflict hardship on any section of the community if they understood the situation.<sup>250</sup> Liston also thought that once they appreciated the position, non-Catholics would endorse a settlement of the issue.<sup>251</sup>

Meanwhile, since Catholics were obviously willing and able to pay for their own schools, governments saw little need to spend money on denominational education. As Dean Burke told a gathering to open a new school building in Invercargill, "No matter what the expense the good Catholic people will keep the flag of Christian education flying over many and ever multiplying primary schools, secondary schools [and] colleges".<sup>252</sup> Gilbert told the Recess Education Committee that "if no aid comes from the State, we shall still joyfully go on with our work".<sup>253</sup> In 1934, Archdeacon Holbrook, acknowledging that "the present state of the country's finances" rendered inopportune any serious demands for government aid, promised that "we will continue to make our sacrifices until we receive justice."<sup>254</sup> Brodie, opening St Paul's School in Christchurch the following year, assured his audience, which included three parliamentarians, that, "Whether help came or not, the Catholic community would continue its efforts and sacrifice when the necessity arose."<sup>255</sup> Speaking in Greymouth in 1938, he reiterated that Catholics would continue to maintain their own schools whatever the financial burden.<sup>256</sup>

There were three main reasons why successive governments avoided any open commitment to the principle of state support for denominational schools.<sup>257</sup> Butchers emphasized the anxiety that, if Catholic schools were subsidized, other denominations, especially the Anglican and Presbyterian Churches, would also establish a comprehensive network of schools and demand similar concessions. Drained of pupils, staff and resources, the national system would then be forced to give way to

<sup>250</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 15 March 1923, p. 17; 8 October 1924, p. 33.

<sup>251</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 19 February 1930, p. 48; *Month*, 18 February 1930, p. 17.

<sup>252</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 8 October 1924, p. 27.

<sup>253</sup> Gilbert, "Evidence", p. 13.

<sup>254</sup> *Month*, 1 February 1934, p. 15.

<sup>255</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 13 February 1935, p. 2. W. Hayward MLC and D.G. Sullivan MP (Mayor of Christchurch) were themselves Catholics; the other MP was R.W. Hawke.

<sup>256</sup> *Zealandia*, 6 October 1938, p. 6.

<sup>257</sup> Butchers (*Education in New Zealand*, p. 442) expressed the matter differently by saying that the principle of granting some aid was accepted in practice but not applied consistently.

state-subsidized private schools.<sup>258</sup> This was the fear expressed by Parr to justify the withdrawal of National Scholarships from denominational schools and it was also the nightmare of the NZEI and the PPA. Although more generous than its predecessors, the Labour Government, too, was profoundly committed to the maintenance of the national system of secular education. Secondly, therefore, politicians had to be wary of arousing the anti-Catholic lobby and other opponents of private schooling.<sup>259</sup> The PPA was implacably opposed to state aid for the schools of all denominations but, being inherently antagonistic towards the Catholic Church, it considered any concession to Catholic schools an unjustified special privilege. Finally, as long as Catholics were willing and able to support their own schools, governments were spared the expense of educating thousands of New Zealand children. Only in the 1970s, when Catholics ceased to be able to pay for their own schools - and when the threat of antagonism from anti-Catholics and educationalists could be discounted - would government policy have to be reviewed. The failure of the Catholic Church to obtain full satisfaction for its educational demands does reflect its minority status: New Zealand society as a whole refused to spend public money to satisfy the special interests of Catholics - or any other church. During the interwar period, it was not anti-Catholicism which determined the outcome of the state aid debate but pragmatism and the pressure for conformity.

<sup>258</sup> Butchers, *Education in New Zealand*, pp. 442-443; *The Education System*, pp. 196-197.

<sup>259</sup> Butchers (*Education in New Zealand*, p. 442) referred to "an almost instinctive sub-conscious fear on the part of the Protestant majority of the Roman Catholic Church itself."

## *Chapter Seven*

# **"A Protestant Country"? The Bible in Schools Controversy**

Ever since the establishment of a national system of "free, secular and compulsory" education, following the Education Act of 1877, the Catholic Church and some leading Protestant groups had sought to alter the status quo. While Catholics claimed state support for denominational schools, many Protestants lobbied for the introduction of religious instruction into the national education system. Although most Catholic children attended denominational schools, their Church retained an interest in state education, as Bishop Liston explained: "It is part of our country, many of our Catholic children have to be educated under it, and a great deal of our Catholic money is sunk in it, and is yearly spent on it."<sup>1</sup> Speaking in the Legislative Council, Carey Carrington claimed for Catholics the right to a voice on the question of religious lessons or observances in state primary schools because their taxes were helping to support public education while they also paid the full cost of a private education system.<sup>2</sup> Consequently, the Catholic Church became involved in the recurrent debates initiated by the Bible in Schools League. From 1912 to 1914, the League ran a vigorous campaign, calling for a referendum on religious education. Parliament declined to hold the referendum and the League went into recess during the war.

After the war, the League renewed its attempts to have the law changed in favour of religious education. During the 1920s, it adopted a new strategy by endorsing Leonard Isitt's Religious Exercises in Schools Bill, under which schools would be required to conduct simple religious observances devised by the Protestant churches. The Catholic Church refused to participate in the preparation of the exercises and, through the 1920s, vigorously opposed their introduction. From 1930 to 1935, the League promoted yet another programme, embodied in the Religious Instruction in Public Schools Enabling Bill. Although Archbishop O'Shea endorsed the new Bill on behalf of the Catholic hierarchy, it was denounced by the other bishops.

Since the League claimed to represent all the main Protestant churches and regarded the Catholic Church as its major opponent, the debate over religious

<sup>1</sup> *Month*, 17 May 1927, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> *NZPD*, 1929, vol. 223, p. 720; *Month*, 19 November 1929, p. 13.

education in state schools tended to be seen as a contest between Catholicism and Protestantism. In fact, the controversy reflected a rather more complex range of opinions and interest groups. Contestants in the "Bible in Schools" debate were competing for the opportunity to influence the course of education and thereby to mould future generations of New Zealanders. The national education system therefore functioned as a microcosm of society as a whole, reflecting in miniature the tensions and values of the population at large.

At stake were three conflicting models of New Zealand society, just as there had been when the national education system was established in 1877.<sup>3</sup> According to the "Protestant" view, epitomized by the Bible in Schools League, New Zealand was a Protestant society and its public institutions should reflect this, notably by including suitable religious observances in the school curriculum. Catholics agreed that religion provided the necessary basis for civilized society but they were not prepared to compromise distinctively Catholic doctrines and forms of worship. They therefore proposed a "pluralist" model, demanding that the state deal even-handedly with different religious groups. In education, this meant subsidizing denominational schools and making equitable provision for the religious instruction of Protestants, Catholics and other religious communities in state schools, according to their numbers. A "secularist" model was promoted by a somewhat heterogeneous collection of people who agreed that public institutions should not reflect the interests of any religious group: secularity was deemed to be neutrality. Most "secularists" were actually Protestants for whom the state education system was sacrosanct and had to be protected against the introduction of any officially sponsored religious instruction. In his capacity as Mayor of Christchurch, the Rev. J.K. Archer, a Baptist, opened a conference on religious education in 1929 by describing himself as "a convinced and unqualified secularist as far as religious education was concerned".<sup>4</sup> This position was championed by the National Schools Defence League, founded during the controversy over the Religious Instruction in Schools Referendum Bill before the war,<sup>5</sup> and was

<sup>3</sup> Richard P. Davis, *Irish Issues in New Zealand Politics, 1868-1922* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 1974), pp. 78-79.

<sup>4</sup> *Press*, 4 September 1929, p. 15.

<sup>5</sup> Defence League President A.R. Atkinson was probably an atheist, while another prominent representative, Professor T.A. Hunter of Victoria University College, was a Rationalist. See I.A. Snook, "An Interpretation of the Religion in Schools Issue 1914" (University of Canterbury MA thesis in Education, 1964), p. 35 and Colin McGeorge and Ivan Snook, *Church, State and New Zealand Education* (Wellington: Price Milburn, 1981), p. 14. The Religious Liberty Association also opposed the Bible in Schools League (see F.L. Sharp to the editor, *Dominion*, 20 August 1927, p. 11).

also espoused by the Labour Party and the New Zealand Educational Institute. Although the Catholic Church had a very different agenda from that of the secularists, its response to the Bible in Schools League was similar. Both Catholics and advocates of secular education worked for the defeat of the League and its Protestant supporters.

The debate over religious education in public schools offers important insights into the place of the Catholic Church within the wider society. It will be seen that the Bible in Schools League sought to marginalize the Church, stigmatizing it as a minority group whose special interests were incompatible with those of the Protestant majority. During the 1920s, however, Bishop Cleary demonstrated that his Church could participate in a public debate on a par with other groups, presenting views which were not merely reflections of sectional interests but were widely shared by other contributors to the debate. Despite O'Shea's agreement with the League in the 1930s, moreover, the Catholic hierarchy as a whole continued to side with opponents of the League. Although voluntary religious education and observances were increasingly permitted outside official school hours in state primary schools, the education system remained legally secular. The defeat of the League reflected public rejection of its "Protestant" conception of New Zealand society: the Catholic Church was not marginal to but an integral part of the wider society.

Although Protestant attempts to introduce religious education into state schools have been examined by a number of scholars, little attention has been paid to the Catholic opposition in the interwar years.<sup>6</sup> Ian Breward's survey of Protestant agitation for religious education is indispensable but naturally gives little information on Catholic attitudes.<sup>7</sup> Similarly, Donald MacDonald's thesis on the Bible in Schools

<sup>6</sup> Brief overviews of the religious education issue are provided by McGeorge and Snook; Bruce Turley and Margaret Reid Martin, *Religion in Education: Outlines and Reflections on the History of New Zealand Developments* (Wellington: Churches Education Commission, 1981); J.J. Small, "Religion and the Schools in New Zealand 1877-1963", *Comparative Education Review*, 9 (1965) 53-62; Lawrence H. Barber, "The Defence of Secular Education in New Zealand, 1877-1937", *Delta* 4 (May 1969) 37-48. According to Barber (p. 41), the Catholic bishops "reduced their opposition to Protestant demands for religious exercises and Bible teaching in state schools" so that they could then claim state aid for Catholic schools on the grounds that state schools taught Protestantism. However Cleary explicitly rejected the strategy of supporting the League in order to strengthen the case for state aid once the Bill was passed (*NZ Tablet*, 9 November 1927, p. 23, 25). The only time when some of the bishops withdrew opposition to the Bible in Schools lobby was in the early 1930s when O'Shea agreed not to use the introduction of religious exercises in schools as an argument for state aid. Roy Shuker, *The One Best System?* (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1987), pp. 241-263 summarizes the issues but completely neglects the 1920s.

<sup>7</sup> Ian Breward, *Godless Schools? A study of Protestant reactions to the Education Act of 1877* (Christchurch: Presbyterian Bookroom, 1967).

League supplies few details on the Catholic Church's role in the religious education debates of the period, although it is a serviceable, but uncritical, summary of League sources.<sup>8</sup> M.P. Crosswell's essay on Cleary and the Bible in Schools League makes little contribution to the subject but M.D. Clark's research paper on the same theme gives a detailed introduction to the debate in the 1920s.<sup>9</sup> Clark's work is important as the only substantial research directly concerned with the Catholic contribution to the religion in schools debate in the 1920s, but his approach is more chronological than analytical. Donald Akenson, while devoting a whole chapter to Catholics and education between 1860 and 1950, has rather more to say about religious education in Ireland and the integration of Catholic schools in the 1970s than about Catholic involvement in the Bible in Schools controversies of the 1920s and 1930s.<sup>10</sup> League secretary Rev. E.O. Blamires compiled an account of the negotiations with the Catholic Church in the 1930s but this is largely composed of documents published at the time and offers disappointingly few insights for an author who was so intimately involved in the events.<sup>11</sup> The interactions among the Catholic bishops in the 1930s have been largely untangled by Ivan Snook.<sup>12</sup>

Newspapers, especially the Catholic press, and parliamentary publications are the most useful published primary sources for this chapter. It is fortunate that Cleary, the

- <sup>8</sup> Donald V. MacDonald, "The New Zealand Bible in Schools League" (Victoria University of Wellington, M.A. thesis in Education, 1964). Two other theses dealing with the debate over religious education contain some useful material: M.G. Milmine, "An Investigation into the Place of Religious Instruction in the Primary Schools of New Zealand" (University of Otago, M.A. thesis in Education, 1935) and E.A. Johnston, "Religious Education in the State Primary Schools" (Victoria University College, M.A. thesis in Education, 1952). Ivan Snook's thesis (*op. cit.*) on the controversy over the League's Referendum Bill (1914) provides further useful background.
- <sup>9</sup> M.P. Crosswell, "Bishop Henry William Cleary and the Religion in Primary Schools Issue", University of Auckland M.A. research essay in History, 1973; M.D. Clark, "The Roman Response to the Protestant Mission: Bishop Cleary and the Bible-in-Schools in the 1920s", University of Auckland M.A. research paper in History, 1984. This thesis is indebted to Clark's paper for several references to Protestant sources.
- <sup>10</sup> D.H. Akenson, *Half the World from Home* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1990). What Akenson does say on the subject is derived from secondary sources and not always accurate. He claims, for example, that "with the exception of a brief wobble in the early 1930s" the Catholic Church consistently opposed the Nelson System (pp. 183-184). It will be seen in the course of this chapter that the Nelson System was not opposed by the Church during the 1920s; nor was it at issue in the events of the early 1930s. Akenson does not seem to have been aware of Clark's work.
- <sup>11</sup> E.O. Blamires, *A Christian Core for New Zealand Education* (Auckland: printed by Whitcombe and Tombs, 1960), pp. 23-39, 84-90.
- <sup>12</sup> I.A. Snook, "Religion in Schools: a Catholic Controversy", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 6/2 (October 1972) 169-77. This article is a revision of the appendix to Snook's thesis.

main Catholic protagonist in the 1920s, edited his own newspaper, since his correspondence was not accessible during the course of this research.<sup>13</sup> The surviving records of the League contain some useful information, including Blamires' papers.<sup>14</sup> O'Shea preserved most of his correspondence concerning the agreement with the League in the 1930s, but this matter will not be considered in detail here.<sup>15</sup>

The first section of this chapter will discuss the League's proposals in the 1920s. Then an examination of Catholic objections to the League's Religious Exercises Bill and of Catholic counter proposals will show that the Church's views on religious education in state schools had a lot in common with those of non-Catholics. Next, the League's attempt to blame its failure on the machinations of the Catholic Church will be contrasted with the real reasons for Parliament's rejection of the Religious Exercises Bill. Then the bitter debate between the League and the Church will be considered to show that the League sought to override Catholic concerns and assert a Protestant hegemony. Lastly, it will be shown that in the 1930s the principle of state secular education finally triumphed over the League's attempts to change the law in favour of Protestantism.

### The League's Agenda

After an initial meeting in 1921, representatives of the Protestant churches gathered in Wellington in August 1922, and decided to lobby for the introduction of religious exercises (the Lord's Prayer, hymns and Bible readings) rather than explicit religious instruction.<sup>16</sup> These observances, according to Isitt's Religious Exercises in Schools Bill, were to be conducted for between fifteen and twenty minutes at the beginning of the day in "public schools, Native schools, secondary schools, and technical high

<sup>13</sup> Some of Cleary's papers, held in the Auckland Catholic Diocesan Archive, are cited by Clark. There is little relevant material from the 1920s in other Catholic archives.

<sup>14</sup> Churches Education Commission Collection, ATL 82-391, boxes 1, 2, 24 and 25

<sup>15</sup> O'Shea's papers in the WCAA duplicate much of the material kept by Blamires and there are copies of some items in the CCDA. O'Shea's interpretation of his quarrel with the rest of the hierarchy is extensively documented in an eleven-page duplicated statement headed "Bible-in-Schools Question" (copies in CCDA and WCAA; cf. Snook, "Catholic Controversy", p. 173.) Since the last date mentioned is 14 February 1933, it was probably this account to which Archbishop Cattaneo, the Apostolic Delegate in Sydney, referred when he acknowledged receipt of "the two copies of your Statement on the Bible-in-Schools question" in May that year, shortly after the Delegate had been asked by the other bishops to settle the dispute (Cattaneo to O'Shea, 20 May 1933, WCAA).

<sup>16</sup> PGA, 1922, pp. 186-187; *Evening Post*, 12 August 1922, p. 8; Breward, pp. 74-76; MacDonald, pp. 83-105.

schools", except that schools already conducting similar exercises (as most secondary schools did) would not have to alter their practice.<sup>17</sup> There was to be no "instruction in the tenets, dogma, or creed peculiar to any religious society or denomination" and the Scripture reading was "to be without interpretation or comment" except what was "reasonably necessary for grammatical explanation".<sup>18</sup> When the Bible in Schools League was re-constituted in May 1925, it gave official support for the change of policy.<sup>19</sup> Each year from 1923 to 1926 inclusive, Isitt unsuccessfully sponsored his Bill - in the latter year, he introduced it into the Legislative Council to which he had recently been promoted. Revised editions of the same Bill were sponsored by Henry Holland in 1927 and 1928, but again without success.<sup>20</sup>

Despite these repeated setbacks, the League consistently claimed its proposals were endorsed by most New Zealanders. Isitt, seconded by Education Minister James Parr, claimed "the united and wholehearted support of every Protestant church in the Dominion".<sup>21</sup> It was assumed that the endorsement of the League's programme by the leaders of the Protestant churches guaranteed the backing of the membership of these churches. Isitt claimed for his Bill the support of "no less than 1,065,487" church members - a figure which, as Cleary scornfully pointed out, included "the latest babe in arms".<sup>22</sup> According to Archbishop Averill, Anglican Primate and President of the League, the leaders of most denominations, representing 70 to 80 per cent of the population, "were absolutely agreed upon the platform of the Bible in State Schools

<sup>17</sup> The Religious Exercises in Schools Bills and other rejected bills can be found in the bound annual volumes of "Bills Thrown Out" available in the Parliamentary Library and elsewhere. For the original version of the Bill, see the volumes for 1923 to 1926. The quotation is from the preamble; clause two defines the time; the content of the exercises is specified in clause three and clause six refers to established practices. On one day each week the religious exercises could be replaced by patriotic exercises (clause two).

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, preamble and clause three.

<sup>19</sup> League Executive Minutes, 28 May 1925, ATL 82-391-1.

<sup>20</sup> *Bills Thrown Out*, 1927 and 1928. The new versions limited the time for the exercises to fifteen minutes (clause two) and a procedure was specified for the preparation of the hymnal and Scripture manual by church representatives (clause three). In 1928, Native schools were omitted from the schools affected (preamble, clauses two and seven) and teachers' comments were to be confined to what was needed for "verbal" rather than for "grammatical" explanation (clause three). The omission of native schools seems to have been an attempt to overcome the opposition of three Maori members of Parliament - Pomare, Ngata and Henare (*NZ Herald*, 1 August 1928, p. 10) but for the official explanation, see *NZPD*, 1928, vol. 217, p. 968 (Holland).

<sup>21</sup> *NZPD*, 1925, vol. 207, pp. 504 (Isitt), 514 (Parr and Isitt); cf. 1924, vol. 203, p. 587 (Parr), p. 627 (Isitt).

<sup>22</sup> Isitt to the editor, *Dominion*, 19 August 1927, p. 7; *Month*, 20 September 1927, p. 23.

League", so the government had a duty to implement their demands.<sup>23</sup> On the basis of a very dubious and widely criticized "plebiscite", the League claimed the support of over eighty per cent of New Zealanders for its proposed legislation<sup>24</sup> - effectively the entire Protestant population of the country.

Protestants, however, were not of one mind on the religion in schools issue and many were satisfied with the Nelson System, which had been popularized before the turn of the century by James H. MacKenzie, a Presbyterian Minister and one-time chairman of the Nelson city Schools Committee. Under this system, official school hours were shortened on one day each week and religious instruction was given by volunteers within normal school hours but while the school was officially closed. The League regarded the Nelson System as a rival and a half-measure and when attempts were made to give it a firmer legislative basis, in the late 1920s, they failed to attract support from the League.<sup>25</sup>

By its rejection of the Nelson System and the admission that numerous New Zealand children were not being taught religion by their parents, the League showed that its real concern was not to reflect public opinion but to lead it. According to Blamires, "the text-book of the national faith of New Zealand...was unknown to thousands of young New Zealanders".<sup>26</sup> Isitt claimed that 100,000 New Zealand children were being brought up "practically in heathenism".<sup>27</sup> This assertion was incompatible with the League's claim that eighty per cent of the population supported its programme. The real concern of the League was not to fulfil the demands of parents but to evangelize their children. Isitt, concerned that many school children had never prayed before, argued that familiarization with selected passages of Scripture,

<sup>23</sup> *Evening Post*, 9 August 1926, p. 10; *Month*, 15 March 1927, p. 17.

<sup>24</sup> *Pronouncements of 1928*, p. 12; *NZPD*, 1927, vol. 215, p. 507 (Holland); 1929, vol. 223, p. 503 (Isitt). For criticisms of the plebiscite, see *Month*, 15 February 1927, p. 17; 21 June 1927, pp. 19-20, quoting editorials from the *Lyttelton Times*, 19 April 1927, the *Dunedin Evening Star*, 2 April 1927 and the *Auckland Star*, 16 May 1927; *Evening Post*, 30 April 1927, p. 10 also citing the *Evening Star*.

<sup>25</sup> An amendment to Education Minister Robert Wright's Education Amendment Bill (1927) would have legalized the Nelson System, as would George Thomson's Education Amendment Bills of 1928 and 1929. See Education Amendment Bill, Clause 10A, "Bills Thrown Out", 1927; Education Amendment Bill, "Bills Thrown Out", 1928 and 1929. For the League's position, see *NZPD*, vol. 223, pp. 437-438 (Allen); 507, 510-511 (Isitt); cf. *ibid.*, p. 716 for the attitude of Blamires.

<sup>26</sup> *Evening Post*, 7 May 1928, p. 10.

<sup>27</sup> *Press*, 4 September 1929, p. 15. When Isitt's statement was quoted in Parliament, he denied that he had been exaggerating (*NZPD*, 1929, vol. 223, pp. 505, 799).

"beautiful hymns" and especially the Lord's Prayer, would "prove a great influence for good", whether immediately or "perchance in later years when sorrow and deep need bring them to memory."<sup>28</sup> Like the Catholic Church, the League believed that children brought up without moral training based on religion would be a menace to society.<sup>29</sup> Religious exercises, Isitt argued, would "pay their way many times over" by preventing "moral declension" and promoting "moral uplift".<sup>30</sup> Since the Nelson System and Sunday Schools reached only a minority of children, the League placed its hopes in legislation which would require all state schools to introduce religious exercises.

### Catholic Objections

Like other sections of New Zealand society, the Catholic Church was firmly opposed to the League's demands. Far from being the views of a besieged minority, Catholic criticisms of the League's Bill were paralleled by other influential individuals and organizations. Catholics had four main objections to the religious exercises scheme, each of which was also expressed by non-Catholic critics of the League. First, the Bill sought to impose at public expense a sectarian form of religious observance. Secondly, there were insufficient safeguards for dissenting teachers and pupils. Thirdly, the religious exercises constituted an inadequate form of religious education. Fourthly, they would burden teachers with a responsibility which properly belonged to clergymen.

The first objection was that, in Catholic eyes, the Religious Exercises in Schools Bills would have sectarianized or Protestantized the state schools<sup>31</sup> by imposing what Cleary called an "Established and Endowed State School Religion".<sup>32</sup> This State Religion would be Reformed in character, using "a sectarian translation of the Bible"

<sup>28</sup> L.M. Isitt, *Should I Support Bible Reading in the State Schools?* (Christchurch: printed by Alex Wildey Ltd, 1927), p. 5.

<sup>29</sup> Breward, p. 77; Isitt, *Should I Support Bible Reading?*, pp. 22-23; cf. chapter three for Catholic views.

<sup>30</sup> Isitt, *Should I Support Bible Reading?*, p. 12.

<sup>31</sup> *Month*, 15 September 1922, pp. 6, 7; *NZ Tablet*, 12 June 1924, p. 18; 23 July 1924, p. 29; 18 November 1925, p. 33; 3 August 1927, p. 33.

<sup>32</sup> *Month*, 15 September 1925, p. 19; cf. *ibid.*, 17 June 1924, p. 15; 18 August 1925, p. 19; 15 June 1926, p. 17; 21 September 1926, p. 15; 18 October 1927, p. iii; 17 July 1928, p. 23; 21 August 1928, p. 19; *NZ Tablet*, 19 August 1925, p. 27; 15 December 1926, p. 31; *JLC*, 1926, "Religious Exercises", p. 5.

(either the Authorized or the Revised Version)<sup>33</sup> and the Protestant text of the Lord's Prayer. The latter, Cleary asserted, was "widely different" from the Catholic version and its use would imply acceptance of Protestant doctrine.<sup>34</sup> Even if a Catholic hymn or the Catholic version of the Lord's Prayer were introduced, the addition would not significantly alter the nature of the religious exercises.<sup>35</sup> "Kaihoe" argued that reading the Bible and allowing the children to determine for themselves what it meant was, in practice, to follow a fundamental principle of Protestantism.<sup>36</sup> As Cleary noted, the manual of Scripture readings would certainly omit passages which the Catholic Church regarded as essential, notably

the Petrine texts; those dealing with the constitution, authority, unity, and perpetuity of the Church, the power of forgiving sins, the ritual use of oil on the sick, the spiritual advantages of the holy celibate state for those called to it, the sixth chapter of St. John (relating to the Blessed Eucharist); and so on.<sup>37</sup>

The Protestant State Religion would be taught at public expense and Non-conformists would be required to share in its cost even though they objected to it.<sup>38</sup> Fear of a "new kind of State religion" was also expressed by Canon J. Russell Wilford of

<sup>33</sup> *Month*, 17 June 1924, p. 15; 18 August 1925, p. 19; 21 September 1926, p. 15; 21 June 1927, p. 20; *NZ Tablet*, 19 August 1925, p. 27; *JLC*, 1926, "Religious Exercises", pp. 1, 5. Catholics were prohibited by Canon Law from reading Protestant versions of the Bible (*Month*, 21 September 1926, p. 16; *JLC*, 1926, "Religious Exercises", p. 7). It will be seen below that the League was prepared to use the Douai Bible, though it is highly unlikely that Protestants would have tolerated the exclusion of the Authorized Version.

<sup>34</sup> *Month*, 21 September 1926, pp. 15, 16; *JLC*, 1926, "Religious Exercises", pp. 5, 7.

<sup>35</sup> *Month*, 16 August 1927, p. iii; 18 October 1927, pp. ii-iii.

<sup>36</sup> *Month*, 21 June 1927, p. 20.

<sup>37</sup> *Month*, 15 September 1922, p. 7. Cleary noted that omissions were as significant as inclusions (*Month*, 15 October 1921, p. 7). Of course, the Catholic Church itself used selective Scripture manuals, especially the Lectionary, in its rituals. Moreover, Catholic school children were usually taught from "Bible Histories" rather than copies of the Bible itself. In Kelly's view, "What is wanted is not the Bible in the school but the catechism in the school" (*NZ Tablet*, 7 June 1923, p. 18; cf. *ibid.*, 16 November 1927, p. 22). It is perhaps significant that Catholics wanted the Bible to be placed "in the hands of every non-Catholic child in the state schools of this Dominion" (*Month*, 15 October 1921, p. 6, emphasis added).

<sup>38</sup> *Month*, 15 July 1921, p. 7; 15 November 1922, p. 7; 17 June 1924, pp. 15, 17; 18 August 1925, p. 19; 17 August 1926, p. 17; 21 September 1926, p. 15; 18 January 1927, p. 21; 16 August 1927, p. iii; 18 October 1927, p. ii, iii; 17 July 1928, p. 23; *JLC*, 1926, "Religious Exercises", p. 2, 5, 12; *NZ Tablet*, 19 August 1925, p. 27; cf. Carrington in the *Month*, 19 November 1929, p. 15 and *NZPD*, 1929, vol. 223, p. 722. Cleary argued that it was contrary to natural law to require Catholics to contribute to the cost of preparing materials for forms of instruction and worship prohibited by their Church (*Month*, 21 September 1926, p. 16; *JLC*, 1926, "Religious Exercises", pp. 7-8). Kelly feared that Catholics' taxes would be used to promote false religion (*NZ Tablet*, 1 November 1923, p. 18).

Christchurch, an outspoken Anglican critic of the Bible in Schools League.<sup>39</sup>

Similarly, the Rev. L.R. Harvey, a Seventh-day Adventist, objected to the establishment of a "State theology".<sup>40</sup> Cleary's criticisms of the Religious Exercises in Schools Bills were further endorsed by an *Evening Post* editorial which declared that by

proposing to introduce a Protestant text-book and Protestant religious exercises into the State schools the Bill threatens an outrageous injustice upon taxpayers of other denominations or of no denomination who will be compelled to pay for teaching which they cannot conscientiously accept, and upon teachers who will be compelled to plead an utterly illusory conscience clause.<sup>41</sup>

The Director of Education, John Caughley, warned the Legislative Council in 1926 that "unless the Government can provide instruction in one or more forms acceptable to every denomination it cannot justly give preference to any one."<sup>42</sup> Cleary's critics, however, claimed that Protestants in such Catholic countries as Italy, Spain, Poland and Peru were denied the concessions demanded for New Zealand Catholics.<sup>43</sup>

Questioned as to what the Catholic Church would do if it constituted a majority in New Zealand, Cleary replied that grants would be offered to denominational schools.<sup>44</sup>

In the second place, the conscience clause embodied in the successive Religious Exercises in Schools Bills was denigrated by Cleary as the "Irish proselytizing conscience clause" originally devised for "weaning the Irish from the abuses of Popery".<sup>45</sup> He even charged the League with deliberately seeking to proselytize

<sup>39</sup> *Sun* (Christchurch), 4 May 1926 cited in the *Month*, 18 May 1926, p. 17 and *NZ Herald*, 5 May 1926, p. 15. Wilford was Principal of the Collegiate Department of Christ's College and Canon of Christchurch Cathedral. For Wilford's perspective on the controversy, see his *Southern Cross and Evening Star: Reflections and Recollections* (London: Martini Publications, 1949), pp. 210-219.

<sup>40</sup> *Evening Post*, 28 September 1927, p. 10; *Month*, 18 October 1927, p. 21.

<sup>41</sup> *Evening Post*, 6 August 1926, p. 6 (also cited in the *Month*, 17 August 1926, p. 29 and *NZ Tablet*, 11 August 1926, p. 33); cf. *Evening Post*, 9 August 1926, p. 8 and 22 July 1927, p. 8. Similar criticisms of the Bill's contents were made before the Committee by A.R. Atkinson: "A religious text-book taught in the State schools, and therefore at the expense of taxpayers of all creeds, would...do serious wrong to those who could not accept its teaching." *JLC*, 1926, "Religious Exercises", p. 14.

<sup>42</sup> *JLC*, 1926, "Religious Exercises", p. 21; cf. Caughley's 1927 evidence, *Evening Post*, 12 October 1927, p. 12 and 13 October 1927, p. 14 and Atkinson's evidence (*ibid.*, 20 October 1927, p. 7).

<sup>43</sup> *NZPD*, vol. 223, p. 510 (Isitt); James to the editor, *NZ Herald*, 16 December 1926, p. 17; Norman Burton to the editor, *NZ Herald*, 12 November 1927, p. 14. Burton's letter initiated a lengthy but unfruitful exchange on the subject with Buxton.

<sup>44</sup> *Evening Post*, 29 September 1927, p. 8.

<sup>45</sup> *Month*, 17 June 1924, p. 15; 21 October 1924, p. 18; 18 November 1924, p. 19; 20 January 1925, p. 17; 18 August 1925, p. 19; 15 September 1925, p. 19; 19 January 1926, p. 29; 18 May 1926, p. 17; 15 June 1926, p. 17; 21 September 1926, p. 15; 18 January 1927, pp. 21, 22; 16 August 1927, p. iii; 20 September 1927, p. 24; 18 October 1927, p. iii; 17 July 1928, p. 23; *NZ Tablet*, 19 August 1925,

children not belonging to the churches it represented.<sup>46</sup> Canon Percival James, Chairman of the Auckland Bible in Schools League Executive, denied that the League sought to "turn little Romans into little Protestants".<sup>47</sup> Rather than requiring written parental permission to be excused from the religious exercises, Cleary argued that school children should have to present a written parental request to be admitted. This proposal would, he believed, ensure that no parents were tempted (by, for example, inertia or fear of disapproval) to violate their consciences by passively allowing their children to attend religious lessons of which they themselves disapproved.<sup>48</sup> Cleary's advocacy of a positive rather than a negative conscience clause was endorsed in 1924 by R.H. Hobday, acting editor of the Anglican *Church Gazette*.<sup>49</sup> The League's reluctance to make this concession must be attributed to its determination to reach the children of the religiously indifferent.

There was also concern on the part of Cleary and others that compulsory religious exercises amounted to a "religious test" for teachers.<sup>50</sup> The secularist Arthur Atkinson described the conscience clause as "equivalent to an informal but effective and cruel religious test".<sup>51</sup> George Fowlds, a Congregationalist and former Minister of

(Footnote continued from previous page.)

p. 27; *JLC*, 1926, "Religious Exercises", pp. 2, 6, 8-9. The latter phrase, taken from Archbishop Whatley, is cited in context in the *Month*, 21 September 1926, p. 16; *JLC*, 1926, "Religious Exercises", p. 8).

<sup>46</sup> *Month*, 16 August 1927, p. iii. The charge may have been provoked by Isitt's recent misrepresentation of the Catholic case but it was repeated before the Education Committee of the House of Representatives in September that year. *Month*, 18 October 1927, p. iii.

<sup>47</sup> *NZ Herald* 16 December 1926, p. 17.

<sup>48</sup> *Month*, 15 September 1922, p. 7; 17 June 1924, p. 15; 18 November 1924, p. 19; 20 January 1925, p. 17; 18 August 1925, p. 19; 17 August 1926, p. 18; 21 September 1926, pp. 16-17; 16 August 1927, p. iii; 18 October 1927, p. iv; *NZ Tablet*, 19 August 1925, p. 27; *JLC*, 1926, "Religious Exercises", pp. 2, 9-12.

<sup>49</sup> *Church Gazette* 1 August 1924, p. 121; cf. 1 September 1924, p. 137 for the authorship of the editorial; *Month*, 19 August 1924, p. 19; 15 March 1927, p. 17. In the following issue of the *Gazette* (1 September 1924, p. 137), the official Anglican view was expounded by James. The Congregationalist Rev. D.G. Miller had no objection to Cleary's proposed alteration to the conscience clause (*Month*, 18 October 1927, p. 21) and Malcolm wanted admission by written parental consent only (*NZPD*, 1929, vol. 223, p. 442). Cleary claimed that supporters of the League had admitted to him that they did not favour the "Irish proselytizing clause" in principle but feared that parents would simply not apply for their children to take part in religious worship in schools (*Month*, 19 January 1926, p. 29).

<sup>50</sup> *Month*, 17 June 1924, p. 15; 21 September 1926, p. 17; 17 July 1928, p. 23; *JLC*, 1926, "Religious Exercises", p. 9.

<sup>51</sup> *JLC*, 1926, "Religious Exercises", p. 14.

Education, argued that state involvement in religious education would establish a "religious test" which influenced appointments.<sup>52</sup> For the sake of their livelihood and career prospects, Cleary argued, teachers would be tempted to participate even against their religious scruples.<sup>53</sup> Fears for the consciences and careers of dissenting teachers were also echoed by other educationalists.<sup>54</sup> As evidence that these concerns were not merely hypothetical, Cleary emphasized the difficulties faced by Catholic pupils and teachers in state secondary schools where characteristically Protestant religious lessons and worship were regularly conducted.<sup>55</sup> A Catholic headmaster in a state school wrote to the *Month* attesting to the pressure which was felt by Catholic pupils and teachers in secondary schools to participate in religious observances.<sup>56</sup> Caughley believed that the requirement to conduct religious observances in secondary schools had already led to the "exclusion of all Catholics from the principalship of the schools"<sup>57</sup> and that under the proposed legislation many teachers, both Catholic and Protestant, "would suffer severely in their profession."<sup>58</sup>

According to their opponents, the religious exercises endorsed by the League suffered from a third objection: they constituted a wholly inadequate form of religious education. James Kelly, editor of the *Tablet*, argued that there was no religious value

- 52 *Evening Post*, 27 September 1927, p. 10; *Month*, 18 October 1927, p. 21. Fowlds gave evidence before the parliamentary committee as the representative of the Auckland branch of the State Schools Defence League.
- 53 *Month*, 17 June 1924, p. 15; 18 August 1925, p. 19; 18 October 1927, p. iii; *NZ Tablet*, 19 August 1925, p. 27; *JLC*, 1926, "Religious Exercises", p. 2.
- 54 *JLC*, 1926, "Religious Exercises", pp. 25-26 and *Evening Post*, 28 September 1927, p. 10 (NZEI); *JLC*, 1926, "Religious Exercises", p. 18 and *Month*, 18 October 1927, p. 21 (Hunter); *Evening Post* 3 May 1927, p. 10 and *Month*, 17 May 1927, p. 30 (A. McKenzie, Headmaster of Te Aro School, Wellington); *Sun*, 4 May 1926, reprinted in the *Month*, 18 May 1926, p. 17 and the *NZ Herald*, 5 May 1926, p. 15 (Wilford).
- 55 *Month*, 21 October 1924, p. 18; 18 November 1924, pp. 17-21; 20 January 1925, p. 17; 17 August 1926, p. 18; 18 January 1927, p. 22; 16 August 1927, pp. iii-iv; 18 October 1927, pp. iii-iv; cf. *ibid.*, 15 July 1921, p. 7.
- 56 *Month*, 20 September 1927, p. 15.
- 57 *Month*, 16 August 1927, p. iv, quoting the *Auckland Star*, 12 August 1927; cf. *Evening Post*, 13 October 1927, p. 14. Cleary challenged anyone doubting this claim to produce a list of Catholic principals (*Month*, 18 October 1927, p. iv); it was challenged by T.R. Cresswell, Headmaster of Wellington College (*Evening Post*, 20 October 1927, p. 7) but without evidence.
- 58 *JLC*, 1926, "Religious Exercises", p. 23, 24. Further evidence to this effect was offered to the parliamentary education committee the next year. *NZ Tablet*, 19 October 1927, p. 25 (quoting the *Press*); 2 November 1927, p. 22; *Evening Post*, 11 October 1927, p. 10 (Hugh Mackenzie); 13 October 1927, p. 14 (Caughley); 20 October 1927, p. 7; 20 October 1927, p. 14 (Atkinson).

in teaching Scripture "as a merely literary subject".<sup>59</sup> If the country were to be saved from crime and immorality, religion had to be "taught thoroughly, as it is in Catholic schools".<sup>60</sup> According to Father Bartley, Bible readings with explanation from the teacher would be subject to private interpretation but without explanation they would be "as insipid as porridge without salt".<sup>61</sup> Cleary regretted the "absence of definite religious instruction, and (what is more serious still) the total lack of the supreme element - the religious *training* of the heart and will which forms the solid Christian character."<sup>62</sup> This "watered-down" Christianity - the result of compromises among the supporters of the League - could not be accepted by Catholics.<sup>63</sup> Nor could they assist in the preparation and use of an interdenominational hymnal or Scripture manual,<sup>64</sup> Cleary delighted in quoting Protestant authorities among the "League denominations" who had criticized proposals like those now being promoted.<sup>65</sup> Even Averill had once denounced a Scripture manual as "an emasculated caricature of Bible teaching".<sup>66</sup> Hobday disapproved of Bible reading without instruction and decried the "total absence of any definite Christian teaching" in the League's religious exercises.<sup>67</sup> Wilford, claiming to speak for other members of the Anglican Church, declared

Bare "exercises" will not lead a child to a true and living faith in the Saviour of the world.... Religion can only be taught in a religious atmosphere and by religious people.<sup>68</sup>

- <sup>59</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 28 October 1925, p. 33; 16 November 1927, p. 22. Presumably the passages chosen for the proposed manual would not have included any which lent themselves to the "prurient reading" feared by Kelly.
- <sup>60</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 18 November 1925, p. 33. For further discussion of Catholic views on the necessity of integrating religion and education, see the discussion of religious education in chapter three above.
- <sup>61</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 10 October 1928, p. 22; *Month*, 16 October 1928, p. 15.
- <sup>62</sup> *Month*, 17 June 1924, p. 17 (original emphasis); cf. *ibid.*, 15 May 1922, p. 4; 19 August 1924, p. 19; 18 August 1925, p. 19; 17 November 1925, p. 20; *NZ Tablet*, 19 August 1925, p. 27; *JLC*, 1926, "Religious Exercises", pp. 2, 10, 11.
- <sup>63</sup> *Month*, 17 August 1926, p. 17; 18 January 1927, p. 21; 16 August 1927, p. iii; 18 October 1927, pp. ii, iii.
- <sup>64</sup> *Month*, 15 October 1921, p. 7; 15 September 1922, p. 7; *Month*, 21 September 1926, p. 16; 20 September 1927, p. 24; *JLC*, 1926, "Religious Exercises", p. 7.
- <sup>65</sup> *Month*, 21 September 1926, p. 17; *JLC*, 1926, "Religious Exercises", p. 10.
- <sup>66</sup> *Month*, 17 August 1926, p. 17, citing the *Press* 2 May 1904; cf. *Month*, 17 June 1924, p. 15; 18 January 1927, p. 19; 15 March 1927, p. 17; 20 September 1927, p. 24; 18 October 1927, p. i; *JLC*, 1926, "Religious Exercises", p. 17.
- <sup>67</sup> *Church Gazette*, 1 August 1924, pp. 121-122; cf. *Month*, 19 August 1924, p. 19; 15 March 1927, p. 17.
- <sup>68</sup> *Sun*, 4 May 1926, reprinted in *Month*, 18 May 1926, p. 17 *NZ Herald*, 5 May 1926, p. 15; cf. similar sentiments in C.A. Fraer (Vicar of Phillipstown) to the editor, *Evening Post*, 26 October 1927, p. 8.

Archer agreed with Catholics in asserting that religion had to be taught in a complete fashion "and not merely in snips".<sup>69</sup> Contemporary educationalists argued that reading a passage of Scripture, while refraining from comment on any but grammatical matters was pedagogically unsound and religiously inappropriate.<sup>70</sup> Caughley described the proposed method of Bible reading as a "direct violation of the most fundamental principles of teaching" and Henry Parkinson, Secretary of the NZEI, declared the proposed Scripture lessons "contrary to all the canons of education".<sup>71</sup>

The fourth objection to the Religious Exercises in Schools Bill was that its clerical supporters, in Cleary's view, were seeking to abdicate their responsibilities as preachers of the gospel and impose them instead upon state officials.<sup>72</sup> As Kelly said, the state represented people of all denominations and ought not to assume the role of a "Protestant parson".<sup>73</sup> While the state should foster religious education, he added, "it is NOT the duty of the state to impart such education itself."<sup>74</sup> Similarly, Wilford argued that Scripture should be taught by the clergy, not by school teachers who might not even be Christians<sup>75</sup> and A.F. Barrell of Christchurch wrote to the *New Zealand Methodist Times* that the Christian Church should not be trying to pass on to others the task of teaching Scripture.<sup>76</sup> In what can hardly have been a coincidence, Wellington's *Evening Post* published simultaneously letters from the Headmaster of Phillipstown School (Christchurch) and from the Vicar of Phillipstown, both of whom opposed the

<sup>69</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 16 November 1927, p. 29.

<sup>70</sup> *JLC*, 1926, "Religious Exercises", p. 13 (Atkinson); p. 19 (Hunter); *Evening Post*, 22 September 1927, p. 12; 27 September 1927, p. 10 (Parkinson and Professor W.H. Gould); A.C. Maxwell (Headmaster of Phillipstown School) to the editor, *Evening Post*, 26 October 1927, p. 8; *Month*, 18 October 1927, p. 21 (Gould).

<sup>71</sup> *JLC*, 1926, "Religious Exercises", pp. 23, 25.

<sup>72</sup> *Month*, 15 September 1922, p. 9; 15 November 1922, pp. 7-8; 17 June 1924, p. 15; 18 August 1925, p. 19; 15 September 1925, p. 19; 17 November 1925, p. 20; 19 January 1926, pp. 27-29; 15 June 1926, p. 17; 21 September 1926, p. 15; 16 November 1926, p. 41; 18 January 1927, p. 21; *NZ Tablet*, 19 August 1925, p. 27; *JLC*, 1926, "Religious Exercises", pp. 1, 5, 12.

<sup>73</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 26 August 1925, p. 33.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, original emphasis.

<sup>75</sup> *Sun* (Christchurch), 4 May 1926, quoted in *Month*, 18 May 1926, p. 17 and *NZ Herald*, 5 May 1926, p. 15; Wilford to the editor, *Evening Post*, 20 October 1927, p. 5; cf. Wilford's statement quoted above and Wilford, *op. cit.*, pp. 214, 217-219. A similar concern was expressed by Hobday (*Church Gazette*, 1 August 1924, p. 121).

<sup>76</sup> *NZ Methodist Times* 23 October 1926, p. 6, cited in the *Month*, 16 November 1926, p. 41.

taking over by teachers of one of the principal duties of the clergy.<sup>77</sup> Professor Thomas Hunter thought that teachers should not have to do the work of the clergy.<sup>78</sup> Nor were most of them willing to: their annual conference in May 1926 voted 57 to 19 in favour of a resolution declaring Bible reading in schools to be "inadvisable".<sup>79</sup> Although the NZEI membership was overwhelmingly Protestant, the Institute's Secretary estimated in 1926 that up to 80 per cent of teachers opposed the Bill.<sup>80</sup> Parkinson was less confident the following year, however, admitting under cross-examination that "a lot of teachers" approved of the Religious Exercises Bill and that it was "an open question as to how far a plebiscite of the teachers would go".<sup>81</sup>

### Catholic Counter Proposals

Catholic objections to the Religious Exercises Bill were based on the particular form of religious education it proposed, which Catholics regarded as actually worse than the secular education of which they had long disapproved.<sup>82</sup> Consequently, they found themselves in agreement with both religious and secularist opponents of the League. Moreover, while no other church followed the Catholic example by maintaining its own schools, Catholics shared in the widespread public approval of the Nelson System. Just as Catholic objections to the Religious Exercises Bill were shared by other interest groups, therefore, Catholic proposals for religious teaching in state schools also paralleled those of other interested parties.

Despite their opposition to the Bible in Schools League, Catholics claimed, with justice, to have demonstrated a commitment to religious education unmatched by the other churches.<sup>83</sup> Buxton contended that, "the entirely secular system of education in

<sup>77</sup> Maxwell to the editor and C.A. Fraer to the editor, *Evening Post*, 26 October 1927, p. 8. Phillipstown was a noted centre of High Church Anglicanism.

<sup>78</sup> *JLC*, 1926, "Religious Exercises", pp. 18-19.

<sup>79</sup> *JLC*, 1926, "Religious Exercises", p. 24; *Month*, 15 June 1926, p. 17.

<sup>80</sup> *JLC*, 1926, "Religious Exercises", p. 25. He also testified that "nearly all" the NZEI's 29 branches opposed it.

<sup>81</sup> *Evening Post*, 28 September 1927, p. 10. T.R. Fleming, a former Chief Inspector of Schools, disputed the NZEI's claim to represent the views of teachers on the issue (*Evening Post*, 5 October 1927, p. 12) and T.B. Strong, the Director of Education, claimed that most teachers were not opposed to the Bill (*Evening Post*, 21 October 1927, p. 12).

<sup>82</sup> According to a statement by Cleary in 1912, "the secular system of public instruction...is a much lesser evil than the seven-headed scheme which the League offers as a substitute" (Snook, "Interpretation", p. 68).

<sup>83</sup> *Month*, 15 October 1921, p. 6; 15 May 1922, p. 4; 15 September 1922, p. 7; 15 November 1922, p. 7; 19 August 1924, p. 19; 20 January 1925, p. 17; 18 August 1925, p. 19; 17 November 1925, p. 19; 18 January 1927, p. 21; 16 August 1927, pp. i-iii; *NZ Tablet*, 19 August 1925, p. 27.

New Zealand...was created and has been maintained by adherents of the Bible-in-Schools League denominations."<sup>84</sup> As Cleary remarked, "Catholics still remain the only religious body in this Dominion that make serious and sustained sacrifices - of coin, of personal effort, of consecrated lives - in the sacred cause of Christian education."<sup>85</sup> The leading Protestant denominations, and their clergy in particular, were criticized for doing so little to secure religious education for New Zealand children.<sup>86</sup> When Averill, at a Bible in Schools meeting in the Wellington Town Hall in 1926, threatened to campaign for denominational schools if the Religious Exercises Bill were rejected by Parliament, Cleary hoped the promise would be fulfilled but, on the basis of past inaction, doubted that it would.<sup>87</sup> Cleary told a committee of the Legislative Council in 1926 that Catholic priests gave proportionately more instruction to children in rural schools than did clergy of any other denomination.<sup>88</sup> In the absence of more recent statistics, he often cited an official report of 1903 showing that only one in eight Protestant clergymen visited state schools to teach religion while the proportion of Catholic priests visiting state schools was nearly double that - even though Catholic clergy also had responsibility for schools run by their own Church.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>84</sup> *NZ Herald*, 20 December 1926, p. 16; cf. Cleary's assertion that "For nearly fifty years the clergy who at intervals agitate for an endowed sectional State-schools Religion, have been one of the mainstays of the purely secular and God-excluding system" (*Month*, 15 September 1925, p. 19). See also Cleary to the editor, *Dominion*, 25 August 1927, p. 13, reprinted in *NZ Tablet*, 31 August 1927, p. 30.

<sup>85</sup> *Month*, 17 June 1924, p. 15; cf. *ibid.*, 20 October 1925, p. 33; 18 January 1927, p. 21.

<sup>86</sup> *Month*, 15 September 1922, p. 9; 15 November 1922, p. 7; 15 September 1925, p. 19; 20 October 1925, p. 33; 15 June 1926, p. 17; 20 September 1927, p. 23; 18 October 1927, p. i; 17 January 1928, p. 21; 18 June 1929, p. 19; *NZ Tablet*, 16 September 1925, p. 33; Cleary to the editor, *Dominion*, 25 August 1927, p. 13, reprinted in *NZ Tablet*, 31 August 1927, p. 30.

<sup>87</sup> *Month*, 17 August 1926, pp. 17-18; cf. *Evening Post* 9 August 1926, p. 10. Similar scepticism was expressed over a threat by the *NZ Methodist Times* (1 June 1929, p. 6) to "organize a great campaign" for a religiously based education system if secularist teachers continued to keep religion out of the national system (*Month*, 18 June 1929, p. 19).

<sup>88</sup> *JLC*, 1926, "Religious Exercises", p. 12.

<sup>89</sup> *Month*, 15 October 1918, p. 10; 15 September 1925, pp. 19, 35; 17 August 1926, p. 18; 21 September 1926, p. 15; 18 January 1927, p. 19; 16 August 1927, p. i; 18 October 1927, p. i; 17 July 1928, p. 23; Cleary to the editor, *Dominion*, 25 August 1927, p. 13, reprinted in *NZ Tablet*, 31 August 1927, p. 30; *JLC*, 1926, "Religious Exercises", pp. 5, 11, 16. The 1925 "Statement by the Catholic Archbishops and Bishops of New Zealand" said that Catholic clergy took nearly eight times more advantage of the existing arrangements than did the clergy of the denominations supporting the Religious Exercises Bill, but this error was corrected when the statement was presented to the Committee on the Petitions Against the Religious Exercises in Schools Bill (*Month*, 18 August 1925, p. 19; *NZ Tablet*, 19 August 1925, p. 27; cf. *JLC*, 1926, "Religious Exercises", pp. 3-4).

Cleary's figures were correct, although he did not mention that the same report showed that only one of the 56 lay preachers who visited state schools was a Catholic.<sup>90</sup>

In the context of the religion in schools debate, Catholics frequently reaffirmed their Church's advocacy of religious education even in state schools.<sup>91</sup> Catholics, Cleary declared, were "ever in cordial sympathy" with "the fundamental aim" of all attempts to introduce "some measure of religion into the Government's schools-without-God".<sup>92</sup> These attempts, however, had all been vitiated by "intolerable attacks upon the religious liberties and rights of conscience of others".<sup>93</sup> In an official statement issued in 1924, Cleary declared,

I most heartily approve of both religious instruction and religious worship in State schools, for the children of religious denominations or individuals *requesting them*, provided that the rights of conscience of other children and of teachers be properly safeguarded.<sup>94</sup>

Cleary promised that if his Church's objections to the Religious Exercises in Schools Bill were accommodated, Catholic opposition would "at once and automatically cease".<sup>95</sup>

Catholics ideally preferred denominational schools which received government funding.<sup>96</sup> Kelly thought the Bible in Schools League should make common cause

<sup>90</sup> *NZPD*, 1903, vol. 127, pp. 258-259. Using figures derived from the report (introduced by Education Minister Seddon), it appears that 112 out of 870 ministers and 38 out of 169 priests gave instruction. The proportions of clergy offering their time (12.9 per cent and 22.5 per cent) were not large.

<sup>91</sup> *Month*, 15 October 1921, pp. 6-7; 17 June 1924, pp. 15, 17; 20 October 1925, p. 33; 15 June 1926, p. 17; 18 October 1927, pp. i, iii; *NZ Tablet*, 12 June 1924, p. 18; 11 August 1926, p. 33; Cleary to the editor, *Dominion*, 26 August 1927, reprinted in *NZ Tablet*, 31 August 1927, p. 30); cf. Carrington's statement, "We cannot support the principle of secular education" in *NZPD*, 1929, vol. 223, p. 727 and *Month*, 19 November 1929, p. 34.

<sup>92</sup> *Month*, 18 January 1927, p. 19.

<sup>93</sup> *Month*, 18 January 1927, p. 19.

<sup>94</sup> *Month*, 21 October 1924, p. 18 (original italics). Cf. Cleary's earlier statement that Catholics would "gladly see the Holy Scriptures seriously taught to, and religious worship earnestly carried on by, Protestant children during school hours, in every State school - so long, and so far, as this can be done without violation of the religious rights and conscience of people who do not desire such instruction or worship for their children." *Month*, 15 July 1921, p. 7 and, in almost the same words, 15 November 1920, p. 19.

<sup>95</sup> *Month*, 18 October 1927, p. iv; cf. *ibid.*, 21 August 1928, p. 19 and Cleary to the editor, *Dominion*, 25 August 1927, p. 13, reprinted in *NZ Tablet*, 31 August 1927, p. 31.

<sup>96</sup> See above, chapters three and six.

with the Catholic Church in demanding state funded denominational schools.<sup>97</sup> Other arrangements could be made, however, as a means of introducing religious education into established secular schools.<sup>98</sup> Under no circumstances could Catholic children be taught religion by non-Catholics,<sup>99</sup> but what non-Catholics did for their own children was their own responsibility. Despite Catholic disapproval of the inadequate form of religious education proposed by the League, the Church was quite willing to allow non-Catholics freedom to teach religion in this way.<sup>100</sup> There could be no objection to the compiling of a hymnal and manual of Bible readings, by Protestants for their own use.<sup>101</sup> Moreover, wrote Cleary, "We shall not venture to dictate to the people of other faiths what particular form of religious instruction or worship they would impart, so long as they let our children and teachers alone."<sup>102</sup> The only religious education acceptable for Catholic children was "instruction by Catholic teachers, in the Catholic faith".<sup>103</sup> As Kelly put it, "unless we have denominational religious instruction it will be worth nothing."<sup>104</sup> What Catholics wanted, then, was that time be allocated in state schools for the accredited representatives of every interested group to teach, according to their lights, the children whose parents requested such instruction. The issue of religion in schools would not be settled, Cleary declared, until "the Government of this country holds the scholastic balance fairly between the different forms of religious

<sup>97</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 16 November 1927, p. 22.

<sup>98</sup> Since Cleary approved of state schools even though the Catholic ideal that all education should take place in a religious atmosphere could not be implemented in them, Snook has assumed that Cleary did not know what he wanted ("Interpretation", p. 91) but this is unfair, since it confuses the ideal with an acceptable "second best". Admittedly, however, Cleary was so preoccupied with opposing the League's proposals that his positive proposals for religion in state schools remained undeveloped.

<sup>99</sup> Catholics were forbidden by ecclesiastical law from taking part in non-Catholic or interdenominational worship or religious instruction (*Month*, 17 June 1924, p. 15; 18 November 1924, pp. 18, 19; 21 September 1926, p. 16; *JLC*, 1926, "Religious Exercises", p. 7).

<sup>100</sup> *Month*, 17 August 1926, p. 17; 16 August 1927, p. iii; 18 October 1927, p. ii; *JLC*, 1926, "Religious Exercises", p. 11; *NZ Tablet*, 2 November 1927, p. 22 (citing Cleary); Buxton to the editor, *NZ Herald*, 31 December 1926, p. 9.

<sup>101</sup> *Month*, 17 November 1925, p. 19; 16 August 1927, p. iii; 18 October 1927, p. ii; *JLC*, 1926, "Religious Exercises", p. 11.

<sup>102</sup> *JLC*, 1926, "Religious Exercises", p. 11.

<sup>103</sup> *JLC*, 1926, "Religious Exercises", p. 12.

<sup>104</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 7 June 1923, p. 18; *cf ibid.*, 26 August 1925: "Nothing short of invincible ignorance could have prevented Mr. Isitt from knowing that Catholics would be pleased to see Protestant children enjoying Protestant religious education, provided always that Protestants paid for it themselves and did not seek to force others to shoulder their responsibilities in the matter."

faith and conscience."<sup>105</sup> If the government paid for Protestant religious exercises in state schools, the Catholic Church would demand a share of those funds to pay for Catholic religious exercises in the same schools.<sup>106</sup>

What Catholics sought, then, was quite compatible with the Nelson System. In Cleary's estimation, this approach to religious education was "far ahead of any Bible in Schools Bill yet proposed".<sup>107</sup> Among the questions Cleary addressed to candidates in the 1928 election, there was one eliciting support for the Nelson System or some other scheme which would make each denomination responsible for providing religious exercises for its own children.<sup>108</sup> When the Legislative Council was considering the Religious Exercises in Schools Bill (1926), Carrington moved (and lost) an amendment which would have given School Committees wanting to introduce the Nelson System, but thwarted by their Education Boards, authority to appeal to the Minister of Education.<sup>109</sup> Two years later, Cleary, through a solicitor, approached Education Minister Harry Atmore with a view to promoting legislation favouring the Nelson System.<sup>110</sup>

The principal reservation about the Nelson System expressed by Catholics was over exemption from lessons conducted by non-Catholics, although in practice the Nelson System fell far short of full denominational education. In 1922, Kelly criticized the Nelson System, as operated in Wellington, because, although allowing for the exemption of pupils, the Education Board's instructions required teachers to be present while instructors of other denominations conducted lessons.<sup>111</sup> Cleary praised the increasing adoption of the Nelson System in 1929 but expressed concern over reports that Catholic children were being induced to participate in non-Catholic religious instruction and worship.<sup>112</sup> Speaking on George Thomson's Education Amendment Bill (1929) - in effect a measure to legalize the Nelson System - Carrington praised the efforts of clergymen, including Catholic priests, who made use

<sup>105</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 15 December 1926, p. 31; *Month*, 18 January 1927, p. 22.

<sup>106</sup> *Month*, 18 October 1927, p. iii.

<sup>107</sup> *Evening Post*, 29 September 1927, p. 8; *NZ Tablet*, 5 October 1927, p. 31.

<sup>108</sup> "The Bible'-in-Schools League and their Religious Exercises in Schools Bill...Questions for Candidates (1928)", CCDA.

<sup>109</sup> *NZPD*, 1926, vol. 210, p. 312.

<sup>110</sup> *Clark*, p. 35.

<sup>111</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 12 January 1922, p. 14.

<sup>112</sup> *Month*, 17 September 1929, p. 19.

of the Nelson System.<sup>113</sup> He commended the Bill for abandoning the conscience clause which had rendered the League's bills unacceptable, although its provision in this regard was still not thought to give adequate protection to teachers or pupils.<sup>114</sup> Carrington's evaluation of the Bill coincided with that of Cleary himself who issued an instruction to his diocese and wrote to the Education Committee a submission which was published as a pamphlet.<sup>115</sup> Cleary told the Committee that he welcomed the Bill, although the religious education it envisaged was inadequate and he offered "suggestions" to give pupils and teachers greater freedom of conscience. He also criticized the proposal to offer only "non-sectarian" instruction but his uncharacteristically brief submission offered no specific alternative.<sup>116</sup>

In its support for the Nelson System, Catholic opinion conformed to the views of other opponents of the League's Religious Exercises Bills. No doubt many of the Protestant volunteers who sustained the Nelson System were content with it - like MacKenzie himself<sup>117</sup> - although others, including League officials Paterson and Blamires, were simply using the only avenue of religious instruction available and were by no means satisfied with it.<sup>118</sup> Parkinson told the Legislative Council's Committee on the Petitions against the Religious Exercises in Schools Bill that the NZEI "officially commended" the Nelson System.<sup>119</sup> Atkinson, representing the National Schools Defence League, also recommended it: he favoured religious education in principle and argued that the government should authorize School Committees to decide whether or not to adopt the Nelson System, rather than allowing

<sup>113</sup> NZPD, 1929, vol. 223, p. 722; *Month*, 19 November 1929, p. 15.

<sup>114</sup> NZPD, 1929, vol. 223, pp. 722, 723; *Month*, 19 November 1929, pp. 15, 33-34.

<sup>115</sup> H.W. Cleary, *The Hon. Mr. Thomson's Education Amendment Bill* (Auckland, September 1929); "Instruction to the Clergy, Religious and Laity of the Diocese of Auckland" (signed by Cleary) *Month*, 17 September 1929, p. 19. The *NZ Tablet* (2 October 1929, p. 5) quoted this "Instruction" with approval, describing the Bishop of Auckland as "an expert in this matter".

<sup>116</sup> For a different interpretation of Cleary's response to Thomson's Bill, see Snook, "Interpretation", pp. 70, 79.

<sup>117</sup> *Evening Post*, 13 October 1927, p. 14; MacKenzie to the editor, *Evening Post*, 6 August 1926, p. 6 and 26 July 1928, p. 10. MacKenzie himself was still giving instruction under the Nelson System at Kelburn Normal School.

<sup>118</sup> Blamires to the editor, *Evening Post*, 28 June 1928, p. 10 and 20 October 1932, p. 5; cf. PGA, 1924, p. 177. According to Blamires, the Nelson System was acceptable "within its limits, but it did not cover enough ground" (*Evening Post*, 5 October 1927, p. 12).

<sup>119</sup> JLC, 1926, "Religious Exercises", p. 26; cf. *Evening Post*, 22 September 1927, p. 12; 27 September 1927, p. 10; 28 September 1927, p. 10.

the Education Boards to veto it as at present.<sup>120</sup> The *Evening Post* consistently defended the Nelson System and opposed the rival scheme proposed by the League.<sup>121</sup> When Paterson urged supporters of the League to take their gloves off and campaign more vigorously for the Bill, the *Post* proposed instead that they "take off their coats and work for the Nelson system".<sup>122</sup> Caughley contrasted the benefits of the Nelson System with the pitfalls of the League's proposals.<sup>123</sup> Pastor Harvey considered the Nelson System "much better than what is proposed in the Bill".<sup>124</sup> Rabbi Van Staveren anticipated only strife from the League's Bill but had no objection to the Nelson System.<sup>125</sup> Even Labour Party Leader Harry Holland supported the Education Amendment Bill of 1927 because its provision to legalize the Nelson System would, he hoped, "largely settle the vexed question of religious instruction in the schools of this country."<sup>126</sup> There was also strong support for the Nelson System among other parliamentarians, as will be seen later in this chapter. In preferring the Nelson System to the Religious Exercises Bill, the Catholic Church conformed with a broad range of opinion which opposed the League.

### **The League's Failure: Catholic Conspiracy or Parliamentary Politics?**

Rather than admit that their proposals lacked popular approval, the League and its supporters attributed repeated parliamentary rejection of the Religious Exercises Bill to the machinations of the Catholic Church. According to Isitt, the Catholic Church accounted for "almost all the serious opposition" although Rationalists, Mormons and Unitarians were also attributed a minor share of the blame.<sup>127</sup> The *Church Gazette*

<sup>120</sup> *JLC*, 1926, "Religious Exercises", p. 15-16; *Evening Post*, 22 September 1927, p. 12; 20 October 1927, pp. 7, 14; cf. Hunter's support for the Nelson System (*Evening Post*, 27 September 1927, p. 10).

<sup>121</sup> *Evening Post*, 9 August 1926, p. 8; 16 August 1926, p. 8; 19 August 1926, p. 8; 26 October 1927, p. 8; 3 November 1927, p. 6; 7 May 1928, p. 8.

<sup>122</sup> *Evening Post*, 24 November 1927, p. 6; 7 May 1928, p. 8.

<sup>123</sup> *Evening Post*, 13 October 1927, p. 14.

<sup>124</sup> *Evening Post*, 28 September 1927, p. 10.

<sup>125</sup> *Evening Post*, 20 October 1927, p. 14; cf. Mark Cohen MLC to the editor, *Evening Post*, 20 August 1926, p. 12 for other expressions of Jewish opposition to the League's Bill.

<sup>126</sup> *NZPD*, 1927, vol. 216, p. 485.

<sup>127</sup> *NZPD*, 1925, vol. 207, pp. 502, 570; 1926, vol. 210, pp. 75, 572; *Evening Post*, 9 August 1926, p. 10; Isitt, *Should I Support Bible Reading?*, p. 2; cf. *NZPD*, 1925, vol. 207 for Harris' claim that everyone but Catholics supported the Bill.

demanded a referendum, arguing that it was "time the Government made up its mind whether our national education policy shall be decided by the people themselves or dictated by the Roman Catholic hierarchy."<sup>128</sup> After yet another defeat in Parliament, the *Gazette*, lamenting that "the will of the majority has been thwarted by the Roman vote", asserted that, "Minority rule cannot last forever in a democratic country."<sup>129</sup> The Rev. J. Gibson Smith, preaching at St Ronan's Presbyterian Church, Eastbourne, was sure that domination of the 80 per cent by the minority 20 per cent could not last in a democratic society.<sup>130</sup> Looking back after Cleary's death, the *New Zealand Baptist* maintained that the Catholic Bishop of Auckland had made the views of 20 per cent of New Zealanders prevail over those of the majority 80 per cent.<sup>131</sup>

Naturally the League's conspiratorial explanation for its failure aroused controversy with the Catholic Church. An examination of this debate and of Parliament's repeated refusal to pass the Religious Exercises Bills will show that it was not Catholics alone who defeated the League - although they provided a convenient scapegoat for the League. The Religious Exercises Bills were defeated because they were widely opposed by a variety of interests inside and outside Parliament.

In trying to explain Parliament's alleged submission to Catholic wishes, Isitt revived the spectre of the Catholic "block vote". At a Methodist service in Christchurch, he asserted that the Catholic "block vote" had thwarted the will of the "nine-tenths" of the population wanting religious education.<sup>132</sup> In a 1927 pamphlet, he characterized the "Roman Catholic Block vote" as "the one thing that has prevented the politicians from assenting to the Bill".<sup>133</sup> Isitt told Parliament that "the one barrier" to the passage of his Bill was "the block vote of the Roman Catholic Church"; without this, the Bill would pass by at least 60 per cent of the House.<sup>134</sup> James told a meeting in the Auckland Town Hall in July 1928 that the "Roman Catholic Church was keeping the Bible out of schools by organizing the Roman Catholic vote." The "will

<sup>128</sup> *Church Gazette*, 1 March 1927; cf. *ibid.* 1 September 1926, p. 183; 1 November 1926, p. 233 and *Month*, 19 April 1927, p. 31.

<sup>129</sup> *Church Gazette*, 1 December 1927, p. 4.

<sup>130</sup> *Outlook*, 4 June 1928, p. 31.

<sup>131</sup> *NZ Baptist*, January 1930, p. 1.

<sup>132</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 16 September 1925, p. 33.

<sup>133</sup> Isitt, *Should I Support Bible Reading?*, p. 4.

<sup>134</sup> *NZPD*, 1925, vol. 207, p. 500; cf. *Evening Post*, 18 October 1927, p. 10.

of the people" was being thwarted by a "sinister subterranean intrigue".<sup>135</sup> Cleary ridiculed the notion that the small Catholic community could somehow overrule the Protestant majority.<sup>136</sup> Bernard Gondringer SM also scorned the assumption that thirteen per cent of the population "could dictate the policy of the country" and offered to pay £250,000 for the construction of a new Anglican cathedral if James could prove his allegations.<sup>137</sup>

Closely associated with the notion of a Catholic "block vote" was the assertion that Catholics were able to defeat the Religious Exercises Bills by colluding with the Labour Party. In 1925, the *Tablet* noted that opposition on the part of Labour politicians to the Religious Exercises Bill had "brought forth the usual unfair accusation that they were in league with the Catholic Church and were angling for Catholic votes."<sup>138</sup> Isitt told a meeting in the Wellington Town Hall in August 1926 that "the block vote of the Roman Catholics and...the materialistic leaders of the Labour Party in the House" were together responsible for Parliament's rejection of his Bill.<sup>139</sup> Two years later, James asserted that Labour politicians, "obeying the orders of their masters, the Roman Catholic Church" obstructed discussion of the Religious Exercises Bill in Parliament in return for electoral support.<sup>140</sup> According to Isitt, the Catholic community, making up fourteen per cent of the population, was large enough to determine the result of a poll and could induce its Parliamentary representatives to stonewall the Bill, as Labour politicians did.<sup>141</sup>

No convincing evidence was offered to substantiate the claim that the Church and the Labour Party were colluding against the League. Isitt charged that members of the

<sup>135</sup> *NZ Herald*, 16 July 1928, p. 14.

<sup>136</sup> *Month*, 16 August 1927, p. i.

<sup>137</sup> Gondringer to the editor, *NZ Herald*, 18 July 1928, p. 14. A rich American uncle would supply the funds (Gondringer to the editor, *NZ Herald*, 24 July 1928, p. 12). Anglican journalist Norman Burton claimed the prize, but, since he only summarized the unsatisfactory "evidence" already adduced by James, he had not earned it (Burton to the editor, *NZ Herald*, 26 July 1928, p. 14).

<sup>138</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 26 August 1925, p. 33.

<sup>139</sup> *Evening Post*, 9 August 1926, p. 10. Clark (p. 43) points out that the Legislative Council (which was currently considering the Bill), included only two Catholics and no Labour supporters, but Isitt was referring to the defeat of the Bill in previous years.

<sup>140</sup> James to the editor, *NZ Herald*, 25 June 1928, p. 12. This letter was part of an controversy with Thomas Bloodworth, arising out of a public address by James and not originally concerned with the Catholic Church. See *NZ Herald*, 22 June 1928, p. 14 and Bloodworth to the editor, *NZ Herald*, 23 June 1928, p. 14.

<sup>141</sup> Isitt to the editor, *Dominion*, 19 August 1927, p. 7.

Catholic Church had been writing to Harry Holland.<sup>142</sup> A letter from O'Shea to Holland had been intercepted by friends of the League, but it evidently contained nothing incriminating.<sup>143</sup> Cleary had asked Michael Savage to present Parliament with a Catholic petition against the Religious Exercises Bill but, recognizing the danger of too close an association with Labour, he withdrew the request and urged O'Shea to cease corresponding with Holland.<sup>144</sup> He also wrote to Sir Joseph Ward, asking his advice about entrusting the Catholic petition to a Reform politician who was a personal friend of Cleary.<sup>145</sup> Far from providing evidence of exercising improper influence, this correspondence merely shows that Catholic prelates sought the support of politicians - of any party - sympathetic to their concerns. The League itself, it will be seen, had gone beyond this in securing pledges of support from election candidates who did not disclose these undertakings to the public at large. James claimed there was "ample proof" of collusion between the Labour Party and the Catholic Church, but the only evidence he offered was inferential.<sup>146</sup> Both organizations had consistently opposed the League and the Labour Party was unwilling to support a referendum on religious education, in contrast to its advocacy of referenda on other matters. James also regarded Liston's 1922 identification of the Catholic and Labour interests as particularly telling.<sup>147</sup> Cleary vehemently denied the existence of any compact between Labour and the Church and emphasized the official Catholic policy of non-involvement in party politics.<sup>148</sup> He was embarrassed by renewed publicity over Liston's gaffe six years earlier and James' remarks led to somewhat acrimonious exchanges with Averill both privately and through the columns of the *New Zealand Herald*.<sup>149</sup> There were only four official heads of the Catholic Church in New Zealand, Cleary argued, and none of them had ever broken the Church's policy of

<sup>142</sup> *Evening Post*, 9 August 1926, p. 10.

<sup>143</sup> Clark, p. 42.

<sup>144</sup> Clark, pp. 41-42.

<sup>145</sup> Clark, pp. 41-42. The friend in question was presumably Carrington.

<sup>146</sup> *NZ Herald*, 17 June 1928, p. 14; 27 June 1928, p. 14; 29 June 1928, p. 16; James to the editor, *NZ Herald*, 25 June 1928, p. 12.

<sup>147</sup> *NZ Herald*, 29 June 1928, p. 16; cf. chapter five.

<sup>148</sup> *Month*, 17 July 1928, pp. 23, 25. The sermon printed in the *Month* was also reported in the *Evening Post*, 2 July 1928, p. 10.

<sup>149</sup> Cleary to Averill, 30 July 1928, in *NZ Herald*, 31 July 1928, p. 12; Averill to Cleary, 31 July 1928, in *NZ Herald*, 1 August 1928, p. 14; Cleary to Averill, 1 August 1928, in *NZ Herald*, 2 August 1928, p. 12 (abridged). See also *Month*, 21 August 1928, pp. 21-22.

neutrality in party politics.<sup>150</sup>

It was quite unnecessary to posit collusion between Labour and the Church in order to explain their common opposition to the League since Labour's educational policies reflected its socialist origins rather than any Machiavellian opportunism. Had Labour really wanted to "buy" Catholic votes, it would have had to promise state aid to denominational schools, which would have offended its non-Catholic supporters. When the *Church Gazette* claimed that the Catholic Church had allied with secularists to defeat the Bible in Schools League, the *Month* replied correctly that Catholics had more in common with the League than with secularists; differences with the advocates of religious exercises in schools concerned methods, not principles.<sup>151</sup> (In 1922, the secularist Professor Hugh Mackenzie was attacked by the *Tablet* for a lecture on the evils of religious education, whether Catholic or Protestant.<sup>152</sup>) As Kelly argued, the educational policies of the Labour Party and the Catholic Church were "as widely separated as the poles", since the former advocated "free, secular, and compulsory education", while the latter stood "four square for religious education".<sup>153</sup> Harry Holland naturally rejected James' charge that Labour was buying Catholic support by opposing the Religious Exercises Bill: for his party, the defence of secular education was "a matter of fundamental policy".<sup>154</sup> C.B. Jordan - a Methodist minister - argued that it was "purely an accident that both the Roman Catholic Church and the Labour Party are opposing the Bible in Schools." Himself "an ardent supporter of the Bible in Schools", Jordan recognized that the Labour Party's opposition was explicable in terms of "the history of the Labour movement".<sup>155</sup>

No doubt Labour was concerned not to offend Catholic voters but the party also included Protestants who opposed the League's proposals. Archer was applauded by a Catholic audience when he expressed his delight at the defeat of Henry Holland's 1927 Bill.<sup>156</sup> Holland was a Methodist lay preacher as were W.J. Jordan and W.L. Martin,

<sup>150</sup> *Month*, 17 July 1928, p. 25; Cleary to Averill, 30 July 1928, in *NZ Herald*, 31 July 1928, p. 12 and *Month*, 21 August 1928, p. 21; Cleary to James, 6 July 1928, quoted in Clark, p. 44.

<sup>151</sup> *Church Gazette*, 1 October 1925, p. 169; 1 September 1926, p. 183; *Month*, 20 October 1925, p. 33.

<sup>152</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 20 July 1922, p. 15.

<sup>153</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 26 August 1925, p. 33; cf. 2 October 1919, p. 15 and a similar comment by Darby in *NZ Herald*, 26 June 1928, p. 12.

<sup>154</sup> *NZPD*, 1928, vol. 217, p. 975; cf. *ibid.*, p. 992 (Lee).

<sup>155</sup> Jordan to the editor, *NZ Herald*, 28 July 1928, p. 14.

<sup>156</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 16 November 1927, p. 29.

Auckland Labour parliamentarians who voted with their party against the Bill. The Wellington branch of the Methodist Lay Preachers' Association dissociated itself from them, charging that their vote was influenced by pledges to the Labour Party.<sup>157</sup> Labour made a slightly more convincing scapegoat for the League than did the Catholic Church, but neither Catholic politicians nor the Labour Party - nor even the two in concert - could have defeated the League's Bills in the 1920s without opposition from other quarters. When Isitt introduced his Bill into the Legislative Council in 1926, there were no Labour politicians to oppose it but Isitt blamed the three Catholic members for Council's rejection of the Bill.<sup>158</sup>

Catholic parliamentarians seem to have played only a minor role in defeating the successive attempts to legislate for religion in state schools. When Isitt, giving evidence before the parliamentary Education Committee in 1927, claimed that if the Catholic Church changed its stance on the Religious Exercises Bill, it would be passed by both houses "without difficulty", the claim was immediately challenged by Atmore and Fraser.<sup>159</sup> Apart from Carrington, Catholic politicians showed no evidence of dependence upon Cleary's voluminous writings in their addresses - and, as a member of the Legislative Council, Carrington had only one opportunity to debate the Bill. Far from conspiring with his co-religionists, he apparently thought he was the only Catholic in the Council until it was pointed out by Henry Michel that Wiremu Rikihana was also a Catholic.<sup>160</sup> When Isitt introduced his Bill into the Council in 1926, Carrington was ill-prepared: he had just suffered a bout of influenza and, being a new parliamentarian, he had not yet read the Bill.<sup>161</sup> (The Bill was the same as that introduced into the House of Representatives three times already and was little over a page in length.) Carrington emphasized that the Catholic Church should have been consulted over the proposed religious exercises; he was concerned over which version of the Lord's Prayer would be used and about the inadequate protection given by the Bill's conscience clause to Catholic children attending rural state schools.<sup>162</sup>

<sup>157</sup> H.P. Mourant (President) and J.R. Burley (Hon. Secretary) to the editor, *Evening Post*, 4 November 1927, p. 6.

<sup>158</sup> Isitt to the editor, *Dominion*, 19 August 1927, p. 7; cf. Cleary to the editor, *Dominion*, 25 August 1927, p. 13, reprinted in *NZ Tablet*, 31 August 1927, p. 30; *Month*, 20 September 1927, p. 23.

<sup>159</sup> *Evening Post*, 18 October 1927, p. 10.

<sup>160</sup> *NZPD*, 1926, vol. 210, p. 420.

<sup>161</sup> *NZPD*, vol. 209, 1926, p. 999.

<sup>162</sup> *NZPD*, 1926, vol. 210, pp. 96-97, 361-362.

Rikihana's brief contribution to the debate reflected his responsibilities as a Ngapuhi elder as much as any denominational loyalty: he was concerned over the possibility of arousing sectarian tensions among Maori belonging to different churches.<sup>163</sup> Sir James Carroll, a nominal Catholic, took no part in the debate but, along with Carrington and Rikihana, voted against the third reading.<sup>164</sup>

In the House of Representatives, there was very little difference between the arguments advanced by Catholic politicians and those of other opponents of religious exercises. Catholic Labour politicians, in particular, reflected their party's position more clearly than that of their Church.<sup>165</sup> Catholic parliamentarians were either wary of the political dangers of too close an association with their Church or did not need specifically Catholic reasons to bolster their case. Sir Joseph Ward did not speak on the issue and Tim Armstrong was evidently unaware of Cleary's strictures against religious exercises in secondary schools.<sup>166</sup>

The Religious Exercises Bills were not rejected by Parliament simply because of Catholic opposition, but because the Bills' promoters could never muster quite enough votes in Parliament itself. Isitt's 1923 Bill was allowed to lapse and in subsequent years the House of Representatives denied similar bills a second reading by narrow margins (one vote in 1924, four in 1925, five in 1927 and two in 1928).<sup>167</sup> In 1927, the House accepted Atmore's proposal to defer the second reading vote for six months pending consideration of the Nelson System.<sup>168</sup> This motion seems to have allowed some Reform politicians who had given pledges of support for religious education to fulfil their promises without actually voting for the League's Bill as they had been expected to do.<sup>169</sup> The Legislative Council decided by two votes in 1926 not to give

<sup>163</sup> *NZPD*, 1926, vol. 210, pp. 418-419. Isitt was assured by Anglican and Methodist Maori Church leaders, however, that their people supported the Bill (*ibid.* p. 570).

<sup>164</sup> *NZPD*, 1926, vol. 210, p. 576. Carroll was "paired" with George Garland; for his religion see the *Month*, 16 November 1926, p. 21.

<sup>165</sup> In a rare reflection of the specific concerns of his Church, Dan Sullivan told the House that there could be no compromise between Catholics and Protestants in the teaching of religion and that the Catholic bishops could not accept Scripture reading without explanation because they opposed the principle of private interpretation (*NZPD*, 1925, vol. 207, p. 543).

<sup>166</sup> *NZPD*, 1927, vol. 215, p. 524. For an allusion to Ward's presence during the 1927 debate, see *ibid.* p. 506.

<sup>167</sup> *NZPD*, 1924, vol. 203, pp. 628-629 (32:31); 1925 vol. 207, p. 573 (32:26); 1927, vol. 215, p. 537 (36:31); 1928, vol. 217, p. 1008 (31:28, amended to 31:29 on p. 1018).

<sup>168</sup> *NZPD*, 1927, vol. 215, pp. 511, 537.

<sup>169</sup> *Evening Post*, 3 November 1927, p. 8; cf. Holland's comments reported in the *Evening Post*, 9 July 1928, p. 10 and Isitt's interpretation in *NZ Herald*, 22 November 1927, p. 8.

the Bill a third reading.<sup>170</sup> In theory, all three political parties were committed to the maintenance of the national system of "free, secular and compulsory" education. The Labour Party officially opposed the Religious Exercises Bills as incompatible with this commitment<sup>171</sup> and Labour members uniformly voted with their party.<sup>172</sup> The Reform Party and the Liberal Party (the latter was reorganized as the National Party in 1925 and as the United Party in 1928) treated the issue as non-partisan and allowed their members to vote according to their own consciences.<sup>173</sup> Some regarded themselves as committed to upholding secular education,<sup>174</sup> but others gave pledges to support the League's proposals. It was claimed that a majority of parliamentarians elected in November 1925 had given such pledges - to the irritation of the *Tablet* and the *Evening Post*.<sup>175</sup> The latter criticized Reform in particular for the inconsistency between party policy and the pledges given by many members.

In practice, though not a government measure, the League's Bills drew most of their support from the governing Reform Party yet claims of majority support proved groundless. As Holland noted, of the thirty-one members who voted for his Bill in 1927, only one, T.K. Sidey, was not a government member.<sup>176</sup> The only other Liberals to vote for the League's Bills were D. Buddo, J. Edie, E.A. Ransom and Isitt himself. Buddo and Edie both indicated that they would not vote for a third reading unless the Bill were subjected to significant amendments and, like Ransom, they voted against a second reading at least as often as they voted for one.<sup>177</sup> Meanwhile, sixteen members

<sup>170</sup> NZPD, vol. 209, 1926, p. 576.

<sup>171</sup> NZPD, 1924, vol. 203, p. 590 (Holland), p. 602 (Armstrong), p. 608 (Bartram), p. 615 (McCombs), p. 622 (Lee); 1925, vol. 207, p. 508 (Holland), p. 535 (McCombs), pp. 537-538 (Armstrong), p. 549 (Fraser), p. 555 (McIlvride), pp. 558-559 (Howard); 1928, vol. 217, p. 975 (Holland).

<sup>172</sup> For party affiliations, see G.A. Wood (editor), *Ministers and Members in the New Zealand Parliament* (Dunedin: Tarkwode Press, 1987), pp. 101-120.

<sup>173</sup> NZPD, 1924, vol. 203, p. 583 (Isitt), p. 586 (Wilford), p. 593 (Massey), p. 609 (Forbes); 1925, vol. 207, p. 512 (Parr).

<sup>174</sup> NZPD, 1924, vol. 203, pp. 586-587 (Wilford), p. 609 (Forbes), p. 619 (McKay), p. 625 (Smith); 1925, vol. 207, pp. 525, 526-527 (Forbes), p. 540 (Lye), p. 544 (Murdoch), p. 563 (Smith and Rolleston), p. 570 (McKeen).

<sup>175</sup> PGA, 1926, p. 64; Isitt, *Should I Support Bible Reading?*, p. 1; *NZ Tablet*, 20 June 1927, p. 22; 3 August 1927, p. 33; 16 November 1927, p. 22; *Evening Post*, 22 July 1927, p. 8; 3 November 1927, p. 6; 14 November 1927, p. 8; 15 June 1928, p. 8.

<sup>176</sup> NZPD, 1928, vol. 217, p. 969.

<sup>177</sup> NZPD, 1924, vol. 203, p. 536 (Edie), p. 604 (Buddo), 1925, vol. 207, p. 532 (Buddo); cf. Wood, *loc. cit.*, and the references to the division lists above.

of the Reform Party voted against the League's Bills at least once, though six of these also supported the Bills on other occasions.<sup>178</sup> Parliament was almost evenly divided on the issue, but, no doubt recognizing that the country at large was equally divided, a slim majority of politicians prevented any change to the status quo.

Arguments used by politicians opposed to the introduction of the League's religious exercises were similar to those advanced by the Catholic Church and other opponents of the proposed legislation. The state ought not to endorse a particular form of religious observance for which all New Zealanders had to pay, irrespective of their own religious convictions.<sup>179</sup> Many politicians feared that religious exercises in schools would encourage sectarian dissension<sup>180</sup> and that non-participating children would suffer discrimination - a concern expressed particularly by Catholic politicians.<sup>181</sup> The safeguards for dissenting teachers were also inadequate.<sup>182</sup> Merely reading the Bible with only incidental explanation would be of no religious or pedagogical value.<sup>183</sup> Religious education was the responsibility of the family and the churches and the clergy ought not to pass its duty on to state-employed teachers.<sup>184</sup>

<sup>178</sup> Consistent Reform opponents: A. Bell, J.G. Coates, F.J. Rolleston, T. Henare, J. Mason, J.G. Elliott, H.M. Campbell, H.S.S. Kyle, E. Walter, A.M. Samuel. Sometime Reform opponents: W.H. Field, R.P. Hudson, M.W.P.N. Pomare, V.H. Potter, J.C. Rolleston, K.S. Williams.

<sup>179</sup> *NZPD*, 1924, vol. 203, p. 597 (Sullivan); 1925, vol. 207, p. 508 (Holland), pp. 542-543 (Sullivan); 1925, vol. 207, p. 521 (Lee), p. 528 (Langstone), p. 538 (Armstrong), p. 565 (Monteith); 1926, vol. 210, pp. 78, 80-81, 158 (Malcolm), p. 91 (Hanan); 1927, vol. 215, p. 529 (Sullivan); 1928, vol. 217, p. 984 (Atmore).

<sup>180</sup> *NZPD*, 1924, vol. 203, p. 610 (Forbes), p. 614 (Langstone), p. 621 (Monteith), p. 622 (Lee); 1925, vol. 207, p. 509 (Holland), p. 518 (Witty), p. 520 (Lee), pp. 525, 526 (Forbes), pp. 527-528, 530 (Langstone), p. 537 (Armstrong), pp. 540-541 (Lye), p. 547 (Parry), p. 548 (Bartram), p. 549 (Fraser), p. 555 (McIlvride), pp. 566, 567 (O'Brien); 1926, vol. 210, p. 83 (Malcolm), pp. 84, 85 (Witty), p. 98 (Carrington), p. 413 (Barr), p. 423 (MacGregor); 1927, vol. 215, p. 523 (Armstrong), p. 532 (Sullivan); 1928, vol. 217, pp. 976, 978 (Holland), p. 997 (Veitch), pp. 1005-1006 (Potter).

<sup>181</sup> *NZPD*, 1924, vol. 203, p. 617 (O'Brien); 1926, vol. 210, p. 86 (Hanan), pp. 361-362 (Carrington); 1927, vol. 215, p. 531, 532 (Sullivan).

<sup>182</sup> *NZPD*, 1924, vol. 203, pp. 592-593 (Holland), p. 602 (Armstrong), p. 617 (O'Brien), pp. 621, 623 (Lee); 1925, vol. 207, pp. 509-510, p. 511 (Holland), p. 525 (Forbes), p. 528 (Langstone), p. 539 (Armstrong), p. 548 (Bartram), pp. 566, 567 (O'Brien), p. 569 (McKeen); 1926, vol. 210, pp. 79, 430 (Malcolm); 1927, vol. 215, pp. 514-515 (Hudson), p. 524 (Armstrong), pp. 530-531 (Sullivan), p. 535 (Horn); 1928, vol. 217, p. 991 (Lee).

<sup>183</sup> *NZPD*, 1924, vol. 203, p. 597 (Sullivan), p. 599 (Atmore), p. 624 (Lee); 1925, vol. 207, p. 516-517 (Atmore), pp. 538-539 (Armstrong), pp. 543-544 (Sullivan), p. 545 (Murdoch); 1926, vol. 210, p. 360 (Hanan), p. 415 (Barr), p. 430 (MacGregor); 1927, vol. 215, pp. 215-216, 218, 219-220, 509 (Atmore), p. 514 (Hudson), p. 523 (Armstrong); 1928, vol. 217, p. 985 (Atmore), p. 991 (Lee).

<sup>184</sup> *NZPD*, 1924, vol. 203, p. 600 (Atmore), p. 618 (O'Brien), pp. 623-624 (Murdoch); 1925, vol. 207, pp. 516-517 (Atmore), p. 523 (Lee), p. 529 (Langstone), p. 537 (Armstrong), pp. 540-541 (Lye), p. 563 (Rolleston), pp. 568, 569 (McKeen); 1926, vol. 210, p. 84 (Witty), p. 90 (Hanan), p. 412 (Barr), p. 429 (MacGregor); 1927, vol. 215, pp. 221, 510 (Atmore), p. 512 (Ngata); 1928, vol. 217, p. 976

In addition to the arguments used by Catholics, politicians opposed to the League invoked a further consideration: the fear that introducing religion into state primary schools would justify and thus stimulate Catholic demands for state aid. Cleary contrasted the League's demand for the state to fund its particular form of religious education with the Catholic demand for compensation (from the taxes of Catholics) for the Church's work in secular education only.<sup>185</sup> However Caughley, in his evidence before the Legislative Council in 1926, argued passionately that if the state paid for Protestant religion lessons, it would be morally obliged to provide proportionate funding for Catholic religious education.<sup>186</sup> The point was taken up by other commentators, including the *Evening Post* and the secularist Hugh Mackenzie who did not want the state to be burdened with the costs of Catholic schools.<sup>187</sup> Cleary responded with the assertion that, if the Bible in Schools League were to be funded to teach religion, he at least would promote the Catholic claim with renewed vigour. Moreover, his Church would no longer limit its claims to the cost of the secular education it offered but would expect even the cost of its religious education to be reimbursed.<sup>188</sup> O'Shea, too, threatened "strenuous organized efforts" to secure government financial aid to Catholic and other religious schools,<sup>189</sup> while Liston promised that Catholics would "agitate might and main" for their educational claims.<sup>190</sup>

(Footnote continued from previous page.)

(Holland), pp. 983, 985 (Atmore), p. 1004 (Potter); vol. 223, p. 722 and *Month*, 19 November 1929 (Carrington).

<sup>185</sup> *Month*, 19 August 1924, p. 19; 17 February 1925, p. 37; 18 October 1927, p. ii.

<sup>186</sup> *JLC*, 1926, "Religious Exercises", pp. 21-23; cf. Caughley's 1927 evidence, *Evening Post*, 13 October 1927, p. 14. Caughley appears to have been the first to see the logical connection between the League's demands for state-funded religious exercises and the costs of specifically religious (as distinct from secular) education undertaken by the Catholic Church.

<sup>187</sup> *Evening Post*, 9 August 1926, p. 8; 16 August 1926, p. 8; 22 July 1927, p. 8; Mackenzie to the editor, *Evening Post*, 16 August 1926, p. 10 (reprinted in the *NZ Tablet*, 25 August 1926, pp. 22-23).

<sup>188</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 15 December 1926, p. 31; 9 November 1927, p. 23 (quoting a sermon by Cleary at St Patrick's Cathedral 30 October 1927); *NZ Herald*, 13 December 1926, p. 13; *Month*, 18 January 1927, p. 22; 16 August 1927, p. iii; 20 September 1927, p. 24; 18 October 1927, p. iii; Cleary to the editor, *Evening Post*, 10 November 1927, p. 23; L.T. Buxton (on behalf of Cleary) to the editor, *NZ Herald*, 10 November 1927, p. 14.

<sup>189</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 1 June 1927, p. 31; *Month*, 21 June 1927, p. 17.

<sup>190</sup> *Month*, 17 May 1927, p. 13.

There was reason to fear that this escalation of state aid demands would not have been limited to the Catholic Church. The Rev. P.B. Fraser - a prominent champion of Presbyterian orthodoxy - argued that if state schools "were made satisfactory to the vast body of Protestant people", some "equitable adjustment" would have to be made in response to Catholic claims, since Catholics were "a very large body of our people" and were "equally entitled with ourselves to equitable consideration of Parliament."<sup>191</sup> Professor Hunter, who claimed to "differ fundamentally from Bishop Cleary" on matters of religion, felt that if the Religious Exercises Bill were passed, he would find himself "in the position of having to advocate State grants to the Catholic schools on the ground of justice".<sup>192</sup> Not only would the Catholic claim then be irresistible, but, he added, there would be other claims leading to the breakdown of the state education system.<sup>193</sup> Similar views were expressed by Atkinson<sup>194</sup> and Caughley, too, argued that government provision of financial support for Catholic religious teaching would in turn "most probably lead to the establishment of other denominational schools" and, in consequence, "our national system would largely break up into a denominational one".<sup>195</sup> The same argument was advanced by Parkinson in 1927.<sup>196</sup>

Catholic demands for state aid consequently exercised a negative influence on Parliament. It was not that Catholics held the League's Bill to ransom while demanding state aid - as the League charged<sup>197</sup> - but a number of parliamentarians shared the fear of educationalists that the introduction of religious exercises in state primary schools would encourage demands for aid to denominational schools.<sup>198</sup> This argument was also used by several Catholic politicians.<sup>199</sup> Whether they themselves opposed state grants is not clear: Cleary himself, though refusing to support the Bill in

<sup>191</sup> Fraser to the editor, *Otago Daily Times*, 31 August 1927, p. 4; cf. *Month*, 20 September 1927, p. 17.

<sup>192</sup> *JLC*, 1926, "Religious Exercises", p. 19.

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22.

<sup>196</sup> *Evening Post*, 28 September 1927, p. 10.

<sup>197</sup> See below.

<sup>198</sup> *NZPD*, 1925, vol. 207, p. 540 (Lye), p. 546 (Murdoch), p. 549 (Fraser); 1926, vol. 210, pp. 84-85 (Witty), pp. 86, 93 (Hanan), pp. 148-149 (Earnshaw), p. 411 (Newman), pp. 426-429, 433-434 (MacGregor); 1927, vol. 215, pp. 220, 510 (Atmore), pp. 224-225 (Fraser); 1928, vol. 217, p. 977 (Holland), p. 991 (Lee).

<sup>199</sup> *NZPD*, 1925, vol. 207, p. 657 (O'Brien); 1926 vol. 210, p. 361 (Carrington); 1927, vol. 215, p. 523 (Armstrong).

order to strengthen the Catholic case for state aid, had yet threatened to use it in that manner if it were passed. Ironically, Catholic demands for state aid and widespread opposition to such demands both worked against the League.

Parliament's failure to legislate for religion in schools probably owes most to members' reluctance to endorse a controversial policy which would win them as many enemies as friends. As the *Evening Post* noted in 1927, the Reform Government under Coates "would be glad to escape altogether" having to deal with the Bill.<sup>200</sup> The *Herald* observed with reference to the 1928 Bill that it was unanimously regarded by parliamentarians as a nuisance to be gotten rid of.<sup>201</sup> Alexander Malcolm MLC suggested in 1929 that "both Parliament and the country are weary of agitation in connection with this subject".<sup>202</sup> That the recurrent debates over religious education were an embarrassment to many politicians can be illustrated by the fate of attempts to legalize the Nelson System. Successive parliamentary committees - in 1914, 1926, 1927 and 1930 - endorsed the Nelson System in preference to the League's schemes.<sup>203</sup> In the parliamentary debates on the Religious Exercises in Schools Bills, moreover, opponents often argued that the Nelson System should be more fully used.<sup>204</sup> Measures to legalize the Nelson System were introduced into the House in 1927 and into the Council in 1928 and 1929.<sup>205</sup> The failure of these moves suggests that while politicians were content to allow a quasi-legal form of religious instruction to continue without interference, they were not willing to commit themselves by legislating for it. As one opponent of the 1929 Bill argued, the form of religious instruction it envisaged was already taking place outside official school hours, but if the Bill were passed, the government would have to take "statutory cognizance" of such lessons.<sup>206</sup>

<sup>200</sup> *Evening Post*, 22 July 1927, p. 8.

<sup>201</sup> *Herald* 30 July 1928, p. 11.

<sup>202</sup> *NZPD*, 1929, vol. 223, p. 439.

<sup>203</sup> *AJHR*, 1914, vol. III, I.-13B, p. i; 1927, vol. III, I.-8, pp. 4-5; 1930, vol. III, I.-8A, pp. 133-134, 153; *JLC*, 1926, "Religious Exercises", p. 3.

<sup>204</sup> *NZPD*, 1924, vol. 203, p. 598 (Sullivan), p. 600 (Atmore), pp. 602-603 (Armstrong), p. 610 (Forbes), pp. 615-616 (McCombs), p. 619 (McKay), pp. 622, 624 (Lee); 1925, vol. 207, pp. 515-518 (Atmore), pp. 526-527 (Forbes), p. 532 (Buddo), p. 540 (Lye), p. 544 (Sullivan), p. 545 (Murdoch), p. 562 (Smith), pp. 563-564 (Rolleston); 1926, vol. 210, pp. 82, 432 (Malcolm), p. 85 (Witty), pp. 93-94 (Hanan), pp. 98-99 (Carrington), pp. 143, 147-8 (Earnshaw); 1927, vol. 215, pp. 218-219, 220 (Atmore), pp. 511-512, 514, 515, 523 (Hudson), pp. 531-532 (Sullivan); 1928, vol. 217, pp. 982-988 (Atmore), pp. 998-999 (Veitch), pp. 1002-1003 (Horn), pp. 1003-1004 (Potter).

<sup>205</sup> Education Amendment Bill, Clause 10A, "Bills Thrown Out", 1927; Education Amendment Bill, "Bills Thrown Out", 1928 and 1929.

<sup>206</sup> *NZPD*, 1929, vol. 223, p. 797 (John Barr).

### Protestant Hegemony or Religious Pluralism?

Following its "Protestant" model of New Zealand society, the League overlooked Catholic concerns about religion in public schools. This dismissal of Catholic concerns and the League's appeal to Protestant solidarity provoked a renewal of sectarian conflict from the mid-1920s. Rejecting Catholic offers of negotiation, the League asserted that the Church's demands were unacceptable to the rest of the community. However, there was more common ground between Catholics and Protestants than the League could afford to acknowledge. While attempting to stigmatize the Catholic Church as a marginal group, the League only showed itself to be an intolerant, sectarian body which lacked the support of those whom it allegedly represented.

Isitt claimed for the Protestant majority the right to override Catholic concerns. New Zealand, he declared, was "a Protestant country, and we have a Protestant Empire - definitely Protestant".<sup>207</sup> The Religious Exercises Bill simply recognized the "national religion".<sup>208</sup> There was "nothing for it but to ignore protests that we believe to be unwarranted" - not least because they emanated from "an alien church".<sup>209</sup> In 1927, Fraser asked Isitt whether Protestants, as a majority in New Zealand, "were entitled to impose their will upon the Catholic minority". He replied, "I think so. The Protestants have treated them very generously."<sup>210</sup> According to Isitt, the League had done all it could to accommodate the interests of the Catholic Church.<sup>211</sup> League demands had been reduced, for example by not allowing teachers to offer their own interpretive comments on the biblical passages read, not only to attain agreement among the Protestant churches but also to secure Catholic acceptance.<sup>212</sup> In compiling manuals for school use, the League was prepared to use passages from the Douai Bible (or texts which were rendered similarly in the Douai and Authorized Versions) and hymns used by both Catholics and Protestants.<sup>213</sup> It was even prepared, said Isitt, to

<sup>207</sup> NZPD, 1925, vol. 207, p. 499; cf. p. 571 and Isitt, *Should I Support Bible Reading?*, p. 11. Isitt's view was endorsed by Nosworthy (NZPD, 1925, vol. 207, p. 524).

<sup>208</sup> NZPD, 1926, vol. p. 403.

<sup>209</sup> Isitt, *Should I Support Bible Reading?*, p. 11.

<sup>210</sup> *Evening Post*, 18 October 1927, p. 10.

<sup>211</sup> NZPD, 1926, vol. 210, p. 76; cf. 1925, vol. 207, p. 540 (Hawken), p. 524 (Nosworthy); Isitt to the editor, *Evening Post*, 3 November 1927, p. 13; Isitt, *Should I Support Bible Reading?*, p. 4.

<sup>212</sup> NZPD, 1926, vol. 210, pp. 75, 570-571; Isitt, *Should I Support Bible Reading?*, p. 4.

<sup>213</sup> NZPD, 1924, vol. 203, p. 585; 1925, vol. 207, pp. 501, 571; 1926, vol. 210, pp. 75-76, 570 (Isitt); cf. p. 420 (Michel); Isitt to the editor, *Evening Post*, 3 November 1927, p. 13; Isitt, *Should I Support Bible Reading?*, p. 4.

use the Catholic version of the Lord's Prayer.<sup>214</sup> Catholics should have been satisfied with the Bill's conscience clause and, besides, there was "nothing in the religious exercises that are enacted in this Bill that are out of harmony with the logical tenets of the Roman Catholic Church."<sup>215</sup> Similarly, Michel declared that he would not vote for the Bill if he thought it would inflict any injustice on Catholics.<sup>216</sup> In other words, the Bible in Schools League and its supporters, claiming to represent the views of the country's Protestant majority, could determine on their own authority what safeguards were needed to protect the consciences of Catholic children, even if the Catholic authorities disagreed.

The more ardent Protestant exponents of the religious exercises failed to recognize that while Catholics were indeed concerned over which version of the Lord's Prayer would be recited, which hymns would be sung and which translation of the Bible would be read, they were even more deeply troubled by the Protestant character of the observances themselves, which bore little resemblance to Catholic forms of worship.<sup>217</sup> James naively characterized the proposed observances as "the simple brief act of lifting up the heart to God". He could not understand why Catholics objected to a hymn-book not as yet compiled or to the use of the Lord's Prayer. Far from being a "sectarian version" of Scripture, the Authorized Version was to him simply the "English Bible".<sup>218</sup> Everyone knew, however, that there was no prospect of facing a crucifix or some other sacred image, making the sign of the cross, reciting the Rosary or the Angelus or ending the daily worship with an invocation to the saints. The neglect of these customary features of Catholic prayer could only imply that they were

<sup>214</sup> NZPD, 1926, vol. 210, p. 570; Isitt to the editor, *Evening Post*, 3 November 1927, p. 13; Isitt, *Should I Support Bible Reading?*, p. 4.

<sup>215</sup> NZPD, 1925, vol. 207, p. 501; 1926, vol. 210, p. 75; cf. Isitt, *Should I Support Bible Reading?*, pp. 3, 19. Perhaps Isitt intended to imply that the Catholic Church also taught illogical doctrines which could not be taken into consideration, but his letter to School Committees in 1924 or 1925 stated more simply that his Bill "traverses no R.C. doctrine" (copy in League Executive Minutes, 1925-1927, ATL 82-391-1).

<sup>216</sup> NZPD, 1926, vol. 210, p. 423.

<sup>217</sup> J. Gibson Smith argued that Scripture readings alone would not represent any denomination but an "undefined primitive Christianity which Roman Catholics themselves accept" (*Outlook*, 4 June 1928, p. 16). He realised, however, that by including prayer and hymns in the proposed religious exercises, supporters of the League could not "effectively meet a charge of attempting to establish a Protestant church in our state schools" (*ibid.*, pp. 16, 29).

<sup>218</sup> *NZ Herald*, 17 August 1925, p. 11.

inessential: *lex orandi, lex credendi*. Catholics would have agreed with Wilford that "by not teaching a religious truth you do by that very fact teach that it is not a necessary truth".<sup>219</sup> Failing to recognize this, Isitt thought that the omission of doctrinal teaching from the religious exercises should have made them acceptable to the Catholic Church.<sup>220</sup> What the League proposed was, from a Catholic perspective, "mutilated worship" and concern over the selection of prayers, hymns and biblical translations cannot be dismissed as mere quibbles.<sup>221</sup> There was justice in the *Month's* charge that the League had "persistently refused either to consult or fairly consider other types of faith or conscience".<sup>222</sup>

Not originally anti-Catholic by inclination, Isitt's commitment to the Religious Exercises Bill led him to lose sight of other considerations. Even though New Zealand was a "Protestant country", Isitt asserted, "we have treated our Roman Catholic brothers with absolute fairness". No other member of Parliament had "fought more vigorously and fearlessly" for Catholics against sectarianism in the past, but it was "going too far" to allow them to determine how Protestants should educate their own children.<sup>223</sup> (The *Tablet* remembered Isitt with gratitude for his condemnation of the PPA and defence of the Marist Brothers, but lamented the failure of the League to "make common cause with us".<sup>224</sup>) Sullivan and other Labour politicians accused Isitt of "political cowardice" for accepting the support of Catholics in the past but waiting until the end of his career to introduce a Bill which offended them.<sup>225</sup> As Cleary pointed out, Isitt had opposed the 1914 Referendum Bill on the grounds that it offered no alternative but acceptance or rejection of one particular form of religious

<sup>219</sup> Wilford to the editor, *Evening Post*, 20 October 1927, p. 5; cf. Wilford, p. 215. It is noteworthy that James was an outspoken critic of "Romanizing" tendencies in his own Church (*Evening Post*, 7 May 1928, p. 8).

<sup>220</sup> Isitt, *Should I Support Bible Reading?*, p. 8; cf., p. 23 where opposition from churches opposed to the religious exercises is dismissed as "the warring of the sects over non-essentials" (*ibid.*, p. 23).

<sup>221</sup> See Cleary to "My Lords Archbishops & Bishops", 22 March 1927, CCDA, and the dismissal of Cleary's comments by Snook, "Interpretation", p. 73 (where the date of the letter is incorrectly given as 1929).

<sup>222</sup> *Month*, 18 June 1929, p. 19.

<sup>223</sup> *NZPD*, 1925, vol. 207, pp. 500, 571; cf. 1929, vol. 223, pp. 509-510.

<sup>224</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 16 November 1927, p. 22.

<sup>225</sup> *NZPD*, 1925, vol. 207, p. 542; cf. *ibid.*, p. 567 (O'Brien); 1927, vol. 215, p. 221 (Fraser); *Evening Post*, 18 October 1927, p. 10 (Atmore). Having introduced his Bill into the House of representatives three times since the election of 1922, Isitt was promoted to the Legislative Council in 1926 and therefore did not have to face the electorate again.

education.<sup>226</sup> On an earlier occasion, he had expressed opposition to any form of religious education in state schools.<sup>227</sup> His refusal to countenance the views of Catholic and Protestant opponents in the 1920s left him open to a charge of inconsistency.<sup>228</sup> Atmore and John MacGregor claimed, in opposing Isitt's Bill, to be upholding the very principles which he had once invoked.<sup>229</sup> In view of Isitt's vacillating opinions, P.J. O'Regan suggested that he might "temper his utterances with a meed of consideration for those whose views are less pendulous than his own".<sup>230</sup>

Isitt disowned any intention of provoking sectarian animosity and declared himself a "personal friend" of Cleary,<sup>231</sup> but his obsession with the Religious Exercises Bill led to an alliance with politicians and lobbyists who had no claim to being well disposed towards the Catholic community. Parr confessed himself unable to understand the Catholic viewpoint and accused the Church of inconsistency in complaining that state schools were godless while opposing the introduction of religious education.<sup>232</sup> The notoriously anti-Catholic William Nosworthy could not comprehend Catholic opposition either, asserting that there was nothing contentious in the Bill and that if Catholics really wanted religion in schools, they should support it.<sup>233</sup> Parliamentarians like Harris and Lysnar, who could not accept that the Bill reflected sectional interests, simply overlooked Catholic concerns.<sup>234</sup> Ignoring concern over Catholic children in

<sup>226</sup> *Month*, 20 September 1927, p. 15; 18 October 1927, p. iii; cf. *NZPD*, 1914, vol. 171, p. 593. Isitt explained that the crucial differences between the Referendum Bill and his own Religious Exercises Bill were the inclusion in the latter of a conscience clause and safeguards against sectarian teaching, such as denying clergy the right to enter schools to teach religion (*NZPD*, 1924, vol. 203, pp. 583-584; 1925, vol. 207, pp. 499, 571).

<sup>227</sup> O'Regan thought this was in early 1898 (O'Regan to the editor, *Evening Post*, 17 August 1926, p. 6). Isitt explained his earlier opposition to religious education in state schools as a reaction to developments in England while he was there (*NZPD*, 1926, vol. 210, pp. 575-576; cf. *ibid.*, p. 424 and *Month*, 15 March 1927, p. 19).

<sup>228</sup> Cf. *NZPD*, 1926, vol. 210, pp. 85, 89-90 (Hanan).

<sup>229</sup> *NZPD*, 1926, vol. 210, pp. 424-425 (MacGregor); 1927, vol. 215, pp. 214, 509; 1928, vol. 217, p. 982 (Atmore).

<sup>230</sup> O'Regan to the editor, *Evening Post*, 17 August 1926, p. 6.

<sup>231</sup> *NZPD*, 1924, vol. 203, p. 584; 1925, vol. 207, pp. 501, 570; cf. Isitt, *Should I Support Bible Reading?*, p. 5. Earnshaw, another supporter of the bill, declared "the utmost personal respect" for Cleary (*NZPD*, 1926, vol. 210, p. 133).

<sup>232</sup> *NZPD*, 1925, vol. 207, p. 514. For Parr's lack of sympathy towards Catholic schools on the state aid issue see chapter six.

<sup>233</sup> *NZPD*, 1925, vol. 207, p. 524. See chapter five for Nosworthy's attitude to Catholics.

<sup>234</sup> *NZPD*, 1925, vol. 207, p. 533 (Lysnar); 1928, vol. 217, p. 994 (Harris); p. 1000 (Lysnar). The latter evidently regarded Catholics as having no right to influence the policies of state schools, since they had their own educational system (*NZPD*, 1927, vol. 215, p. 522).

state schools and the use of Catholics' taxes to fund the national education system, League Secretary E. Philpot-Crowther demanded to know

What business is it of theirs, or injury to them, what the Bill does for Protestant children? Their children are provided for in their own schools.<sup>235</sup>

According to James, the religion in schools issue had to be "decided by the wishes of the parents of the great majority of the children actually in the schools".<sup>236</sup> With good reason, O'Shea resented the assumption that Catholics, having withdrawn from the state education system - when it was made secular - had no right to be consulted over a plan to make it religious again, even though the taxes of Catholic citizens would be used to teach "an alien religion".<sup>237</sup>

The quarrel over religious education in state schools generated renewed sectarian bitterness in the later 1920s largely because the League refused to consider seriously the merits of Cleary's arguments. After the defeat of Isitt's 1926 Bill in the Legislative Council, Cleary expressed concern that "a regrettable amount of sectarian feeling was manifested by some supporters of the Bill."<sup>238</sup> He saw in the League's attacks on the Catholic Church a small scale resurgence of "the Minor Industry of Professional Defamation" which the PPA had encouraged.<sup>239</sup> James responded to the Catholic bishops' 1925 statement on the religious exercises proposal with a condemnation of "the entirely negative and destructive" role of the Catholic Church, which he characterized as a "wrecker".<sup>240</sup> He challenged the bishops to "put forward their positive proposals as publicly as they have stated their objections".<sup>241</sup> Cleary retorted with his well-rehearsed comparison of Catholic and non-Catholic efforts to provide religious education in New Zealand.<sup>242</sup> He was even more affronted when the *Church Gazette*, endorsing James's criticism, declared that "the British way" of placing one's

<sup>235</sup> Philpot-Crowther to the editor, *Evening Post*, 19 August 1926, p. 16.

<sup>236</sup> *NZ Herald*, 17 August 1925, p. 11.

<sup>237</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 1 June 1927, p. 31; *Month*, 21 June 1927, p. 17. Substantially the same interpretation was offered by Caughley, substituting the government (if the Religious Exercises in Schools Bill were passed) for the League (*JLC*, 1926, "Religious Exercises", p. 22).

<sup>238</sup> *Month*, 21 September 1926, p. 15; cf. Cleary to the editor, *Evening Post*, 10 November 1927, p. 23.

<sup>239</sup> *Month*, 18 October 1927, p. 19.

<sup>240</sup> *NZ Herald*, 17 August 1925, p. 11.

<sup>241</sup> *NZ Herald*, 17 August 1925, p. 11.

<sup>242</sup> *Month*, 18 January 1927, pp. 19-21.

"cards on the table" was evidently "not the Roman way".<sup>243</sup> In response, he detailed the Catholic position on education, citing previous statements on the issue, and offered - not for the first time - to meet with representatives of the League.<sup>244</sup> The next *Gazette* editorial did not consider Cleary's "broad guiding principles" as fulfilling the demand for "constructive suggestions of a practical nature" and failed to take up the offer of a meeting.<sup>245</sup> Cleary replied by once again rehearsing the main elements of the Catholic case and regretting that the *Gazette* continued to criticize Catholic policy and failed to offer the *amende* he had sought.<sup>246</sup> In 1927, Philpot-Crowther, ignoring the proposals in Cleary's writings, challenged "Cleary and the great Church militant he represents" to "come forward and assist us with some genuine and sensible suggestions".<sup>247</sup> Cleary decried the "sectarian bitterness" of Isitt's 1927 pamphlet and characterized the author's misrepresentation of the Catholic viewpoint on religious education as "bitter and envenomed fiction".<sup>248</sup> After the House of Representatives had failed to give the 1927 Bill a second reading, Paterson charged that the Bill's opponents, "led by Bishop Cleary", had "used every means" to defeat its supporters and "had vilified them on every occasion".<sup>249</sup> Hitherto, the latter "had refrained to their utmost from stirring up strife in the community", but now they were exhorted to take their gloves off and launch a "stirring campaign from end to end of the Dominion".<sup>250</sup> The *Evening Post*, regarding the allegations against the Bill's opponents as unfounded, or, at best, grossly exaggerated, hoped nevertheless that a period of strife would lead to a final resolution of the issue.<sup>251</sup> Later that year, after three weeks' unproductive debate in the correspondence columns of the *Herald*, James condemned the "crookedness" of "the Roman methods of controversy".<sup>252</sup>

<sup>243</sup> *Church Gazette*, 2 November 1925, front page; cf. *Month*, 17 November 1925, p. 19; for a similar charge by Isitt, see *Evening Post*, 18 October 1927, p. 10.

<sup>244</sup> *Month*, 17 November 1925, pp. 19-20.

<sup>245</sup> *Church Gazette*, 1 December 1925, p. 222.

<sup>246</sup> *Month*, 19 January 1926, pp. 27-29; cf. *ibid.*, 17 November 1925, p. 20.

<sup>247</sup> Philpot-Crowther to the editors, *NZ Herald*, 7 November 1927, p. 14 and *Evening Post*, 7 November 1927, p. 8.

<sup>248</sup> *Month*, 16 August 1927, p. i.

<sup>249</sup> *Evening Post*, 24 July 1927, p. 6.

<sup>250</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>251</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>252</sup> *Herald* 29 November 1927, p. 14. The debate began with Buxton's letter published on 7 November 1927, p. 14; the participants and the subject matter changed in the course of the correspondence.

In 1928, the League even allied its cause with the Orangemen. The Orange Lodge had moved from opposition to support of the Referendum Bill in 1914 but Howard Elliott served as secretary to the Auckland branch of the New Zealand National Schools Defence League.<sup>253</sup> By late 1927, the Lodge's newspaper, lamenting the organization's lack of official involvement in the debate, was interpreting the controversy over religious education as a battle in the war between Rome and Protestantism.<sup>254</sup> In July 1928, the Loyal Orange Institution sponsored meetings to promote the League's Bill in the Wellington and Auckland Town Halls - at about the time of its annual commemoration of the Battle of the Boyne.<sup>255</sup> The Auckland meeting, billed as a "Protestant Demonstration", was preceded by a march from the top of Symonds Street to the Town Hall by members of the Grand Orange Lodge.<sup>256</sup> Given his own organization's previous attitude, it was rather incongruous for District Grand Master J.T. Inkersell to declare in Wellington that "Rome...was responsible for the absence of the Bible from our State schools to-day."<sup>257</sup> The Rev. Lionel B. Fletcher, who presided over the Auckland gathering, declared that, in "a Protestant nation", the Catholic Church should not be allowed to "exclude the Bible from State schools".<sup>258</sup> Addresses were also given by Blamires and Holland (in Wellington) and by James (in Auckland).

While Isitt and James portrayed the Catholic authorities as implacable opponents, Cleary insisted that, as long as the rights of all parties were respected, his Church was eager to participate in efforts to introduce religious education into state schools.<sup>259</sup> On this condition, the Catholic bishops offered "time and again" to meet with other interested parties to discuss concrete proposals.<sup>260</sup> In 1914, Cleary had testified before the Education Committee of the House of Representatives: "Over and over again, in

<sup>253</sup> MacDonald, pp. 57, 63; McGeorge, "Schools and Socialisation", p. 445; Breward, p. 60.

<sup>254</sup> Clark, p. 45, citing the *Nation*, 10 October 1927 and 10 November 1927.

<sup>255</sup> *Evening Post*, 9 July 1928, p. 10; *NZ Herald*, 16 July 1928, p. 14.

<sup>256</sup> *NZ Herald*, 14 July 1928, pp. 9, 22; 16 July 1928, p. 14.

<sup>257</sup> *Evening Post*, 9 July 1928, p. 10.

<sup>258</sup> *NZ Herald*, 16 July 1928, p. 14.

<sup>259</sup> *Month*, 15 October 1921, p. 7; 19 August 1924, p. 19; 16 August 1927, p. i; *NZ Tablet*, 16 September 1925, p. 33.

<sup>260</sup> *Month*, 17 June 1924, p. 17; 20 October 1925, p. 33; 17 November 1925, pp. 19-20; 19 January 1926, p. 27 (the latter reference noted that the offer had been open since 1911); 16 August 1927, p. iii; 18 October 1927, p. ii; 17 July 1928, p. 23; *JLC*, 1926, "Religious Exercises", p. 12; Buxton to the editor, *NZ Herald*, 31 December 1926, p. 9.

the Press and upon the platform, I have intimated the willingness of the Catholic leaders to meet all interested parties in conference upon this subject, with only one proviso, the recognition of the proper equal rights of all before the law."<sup>261</sup> There is no reason to doubt Cleary's sincerity in wishing to come to terms with the Bible in Schools League. As he pointed out, in numerous other countries there were national education systems which included religious instruction along lines acceptable to the Catholic Church.<sup>262</sup> Writing to the other bishops in 1927, he insisted that if the League invited them to send a representative to a conference, it was essential that they accept.<sup>263</sup> To be sure, Catholics argued that teachers could not be expected to impart denominationally neutral explanations of Scripture<sup>264</sup> and there was no such thing as "unsectarian" religious education.<sup>265</sup> Clark has therefore concluded that there would have been no point in holding a conference on religious education in state schools, since there could be no agreement.<sup>266</sup> While Cleary rejected combined lessons and observances, however, he would have welcomed a system of separate activities managed by different denominational groupings for appropriate children.

Despite Cleary's repeated offer to negotiate, however, the League held aloof. The Catholic bishops charged that their offers to meet with the League's representatives had been "studiously ignored".<sup>267</sup> Even registered letters addressed to members of the League Executive had not elicited so much as a "formal acknowledgement of receipt".<sup>268</sup> The reference was to letters written by Cleary on behalf of the hierarchy

<sup>261</sup> *AJHR*, 1914, vol. III, I.-13B, p. 17.

<sup>262</sup> *Month*, 19 August 1924, p. 19 (England, Scotland, Ireland, Holland, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland and some states in Canada are referred to); cf. Buxton in *NZ Herald*, 20 December 1926, p. 16. A similar argument was used in the context of the debate over state aid to Catholic schools (cf. chapter six).

<sup>263</sup> Cleary to "My Lords Archbishops & Bishops", 22 March 1927, CCDA and WCAA.

<sup>264</sup> *Month*, 15 September 1922, p. 7; *NZ Tablet*, 12 June 1924, p. 18.

<sup>265</sup> *Month*, 15 November 1922, p. 7; 18 November 1924, p. 18; 16 August 1927, p. iii; *NZ Tablet*, 28 October 1925, p. 33.

<sup>266</sup> Clark, p. 23.

<sup>267</sup> *Month*, 18 August 1925, p. 19; 15 September 1925, p. 19; *NZ Tablet*, 19 August 1925, p. 27. The phrase was also used by Carrington (*NZPD*, 1929, vol. 223, p. 719; *Month*, 19 November 1929, p. 13); cf. an address by Buxton in *NZ Herald*, 20 December 1926, p. 16 and Buxton to the editor, *NZ Herald*, 31 December 1926, p. 9.

<sup>268</sup> *Month*, 18 January 1927, p. 21; cf. *ibid.*, 20 September 1927, pp. 23-24; 21 August 1928, p. 21; *Dominion*, 25 August 1927, p. 13, reprinted in *NZ Tablet*, 31 August 1927, p. 30; Buxton to the editor, *NZ Herald*, 11 December 1926, p. 14 and 31 November 1926, p. 9.

and the Catholic Federation to individual members of the League, to its Executive and to Canon David Garland during the campaign over the Referendum Bill of 1914.<sup>269</sup> Under cross-examination by Cleary before the Education Committee in 1914, Garland acknowledged having received the letters but explained that he had not replied since, if the Federation wanted a conference, it should have made the arrangements and issued invitations.<sup>270</sup> Paterson's claim that Cleary had not requested a meeting with the League was incorrect.<sup>271</sup> Cleary does not appear to have sent any further invitations during the 1920s, although he made it clear in his public statements that the invitation was still open.

In 1927, Cleary and the League quarreled over a claim that the Catholic bishops had themselves ignored an offer to negotiate. Interrupting another speaker during the 1926 debate on the Religious Exercises Bill, Isitt implied that the League had, in fact, taken up the Catholic offer to negotiate but he gave no details.<sup>272</sup> The following year, Cleary challenged him to explain when the League had responded.<sup>273</sup> Prompted by Paterson's evidence before the Education Committee in 1927, he also wrote an open letter to him, soliciting information about the claim.<sup>274</sup> Paterson replied that in 1918 he had written to Redwood and the heads of the other denominations, inviting the larger churches to send four representatives to a conference on religious education; no reply was received from the Catholic Church.<sup>275</sup> Cleary had not known about this invitation; in 1924, he expressed "surprise and regret" that his Church had not been invited by the League to participate in formulating proposals for religious education.<sup>276</sup> On learning in 1927 about Paterson's alleged letter, he was affronted not to have been contacted

<sup>269</sup> Cleary to Paterson, published in *Evening Post*, 18 October 1927, p. 10; Cleary to the editor, *Evening Post*, 10 November 1927, p. 23.

<sup>270</sup> *AJHR*, 1914, vol. III, I.-13B, pp. 179, 181.

<sup>271</sup> Paterson to Cleary, published in *Evening Post*, 17 October 1927, p. 8.

<sup>272</sup> *NZPD*, 1926, vol. 210, p. 420.

<sup>273</sup> Cleary to the editor, *Dominion*, 25 August 1927, p. 13, reprinted in *NZ Tablet*, 31 August 1927, p. 30.

<sup>274</sup> Cleary to Paterson, published in the *Evening Post*, 10 October 1927, p. 8; cf. *ibid.*, 5 October 1927, p. 12.

<sup>275</sup> Paterson to Cleary, 15 October 1927, published in *Evening Post*, 17 October 1927, p. 8; Paterson to Cleary, 13 October 1927, quoted in Isitt to the editor, *Evening Post*, 3 November 1927, p. 13; cf. *NZPD*, 1929, vol. 223, p. 509.

<sup>276</sup> *Month*, 17 June 1924, p. 15; cf. *ibid.*, 21 September 1926, p. 15; *JLC*, 1926, "Religious Exercises", p. 5.

directly, since it was well-known that he was the Catholic Church's official representative on the Bible in Schools issue.<sup>277</sup>

Paterson's story seems to have been based on inaccurate recollections. He did not respond to Cleary's request for a copy of the original letter to Redwood<sup>278</sup> and Blamires could find no record of it in 1930.<sup>279</sup> Redwood was overseas when the controversy arose and Cleary concluded that either the Archbishop had not received the letter (perhaps because he was away in 1918) or that the invitation was in some respect unacceptable.<sup>280</sup> According to Paterson, the conference he convened ("as secretary of the old Bible-in-Schools League") formulated the religious exercises proposals.<sup>281</sup> Although Paterson claimed to have written officially, however, he was not a member of the League Executive - as Cleary discovered on making enquiries to the Rev. Robert Wood.<sup>282</sup> The League was in recess in 1918 and the Dominion Executive did not meet until 24 February 1921.<sup>283</sup> This meeting was convened on the authority of Bishop Julius, evidently prompted by Wood who sent out the invitations and was appointed as Acting Secretary. Paterson was not present and had not submitted an apology. No correspondence had been received from him even though a number of letters were tabled urging that the League re-evaluate its position. The new programme only emerged at the conference held in August 1922 and Isitt's Bill was not officially endorsed by the League Executive until in May 1925.<sup>284</sup> Although Paterson reported to the Presbyterian General Assembly that he had sent out the

<sup>277</sup> Cleary to Paterson, published in *Evening Post*, 10 October 1927, p. 8; Cleary to the editor, *Evening Post*, 10 November 1927, p. 23.

<sup>278</sup> Cleary to the editor, *Evening Post*, 10 November 1927, p. 23. This information is also in a note written by Isitt (in ATL 82-391-25/21) presumably for Blamires, consisting of an extract from a letter by Carrington to Isitt (dated 30 October 1929), which itself quotes a letter from Cleary to Carrington (on 23 October).

<sup>279</sup> Blamires to James, 5 June 1930, ATL 82-391-24/17.

<sup>280</sup> Cleary to Paterson, published in *Evening Post*, 10 October 1927, p. 8 and 18 October 1927, p. 10; Cleary to the editor, *Evening Post*, 10 November 1927, p. 23. Cleary asked O'Shea to look for the letter, but he too was away from Wellington at the time (Clark, p. 25).

<sup>281</sup> Paterson to Cleary, published in *Evening Post*, 17 October 1927, p. 8.

<sup>282</sup> Clark, p. 24. Wood himself had parted company with the League over the new programme adopted in 1925 (Beward, p. 76).

<sup>283</sup> "Bible in State Schools League of New Zealand, Minutes of Dominion Executive Meeting, Wellington, 24th February, 1921" printed copy in League Executive Minutes, 1925-1927, ATL 82-391-1. At this meeting, Wood read the minutes of the last Dominion Executive meeting (in September 1915) at which H. Harold Robjohns had been appointed Acting Secretary.

<sup>284</sup> See the section on "The League's Agenda" at the beginning of this chapter.

invitations to the 1922 meeting, he made no mention of an having written to Redwood.<sup>285</sup> He was not appointed Secretary until March 1925, although he reported to the General Assembly that he had already been acting in that capacity "for several years".<sup>286</sup>

Whatever happened in 1918, it is clear that during the 1920s the League gave no serious thought to the possibility of negotiating with the Catholic Church. Paterson claimed in 1927 that Catholic clergy in Wanganui had been invited to meetings on the religious exercises proposal but had not come.<sup>287</sup> If such invitations had been issued, it is unlikely that individual priests would have been authorized to represent their Church. Not long after his appointment as League Secretary, Blamires sought the advice of the Executive Committee about having a conference with Cleary: the matter was left in his own hands but, according to a note he added to the minutes book, "The general opinion was unfavourable".<sup>288</sup>

Isitt and the League claimed to see no value in a conference involving the Catholic Church because its demands, even if accepted by the League, could not be approved by Parliament.<sup>289</sup> The Catholic Church, according to Isitt, would not be satisfied unless clergy were permitted to enter state schools to teach the children "the full tenets" of their respective denominations.<sup>290</sup> This was an over-simplification of Cleary's position, for he did not seek to influence the way in which Protestant children were taught as long as Catholic pupils and teachers were exempted. He did want Catholic instruction for Catholic children but the precise arrangements would have been subject to negotiation. Isitt further claimed that Cleary demanded state grants for denominational schools as a condition for acquiescence in the introduction of religious education into state schools.<sup>291</sup> Responding to this charge, Cleary declared, "we will never let any such claim interfere in the least degree with the restoration of religion to

<sup>285</sup> PGA, 1922, pp. 186-187.

<sup>286</sup> League Executive Minutes, 31 March 1925, ATL 82-391-1; PGA, 1925, p. 202.

<sup>287</sup> *Evening Post*, 5 October 1927, p. 12.

<sup>288</sup> League Executive Minutes, 1927-1937, p. 18 (9 May 1928), ATL 82-391-1.

<sup>289</sup> Paterson, in an open letter to Cleary, advanced the same views as Isitt (*Evening Post*, 17 October 1927, p. 8).

<sup>290</sup> NZPD, 1925, vol. 207, p. 501; 1926, vol. 210, pp. 75, 155, 570-571; Isitt, *Should I Support Bible Reading?*, p. 5; cf. the more ambiguously worded allusion to this claim in NZPD, 1924, vol. 203, pp. 584-585.

<sup>291</sup> NZPD, 1924, vol. 203, pp. 584-585; 1925, vol. 207, p. 501; 1926, vol. 210, pp. 75, 570-571; Isitt, *Should I Support Bible Reading?*, pp. 5, 11, 19; Isitt to the editor, *Dominion*, 19 August 1927, p. 7.

the government schools on fair terms all round."<sup>292</sup> The claim that Cleary did regard state aid as a prerequisite for co-operation over religion in schools was evidently not based on anything Cleary actually said but on Isitt's assumption that the establishment of denominational schools was the only means whereby children could be taught by members of their own denominations.<sup>293</sup> He claimed that Cleary's insistence that Catholic children be offered only Catholic doctrine, rather than the "non-denominational" religious exercises endorsed by the main Protestant churches, "boiled down" to a demand for state aid for private schools.<sup>294</sup> Isitt was personally opposed to both state aid and clerical entry<sup>295</sup> but since he was trying to convince other politicians that the League was justified in ignoring Catholic appeals for a conference, he emphasized instead that Parliament would not agree to these two conditions.<sup>296</sup> While Isitt claimed that Cleary's offers to meet in conference were intended to mislead Catholics,<sup>297</sup> he himself was seriously misrepresenting Cleary's position. In vain, Cleary requested a public withdrawal of the accusation.<sup>298</sup>

The reasons Isitt usually gave for not accepting the Catholic offer of a conference, then, were not convincing, but more compelling motives can be discerned. No doubt a number of the Protestants who supported the League were antagonistic towards the Catholic Church and sought to promote Bible reading, at least in part, as a defence against the errors of Rome.<sup>299</sup> The Salvation Army's *War Cry* asserted that "a certain religious body" was "zealous to prevent Bible reading in schools" because "where it is the policy to dominate by a priest it is unsafe to allow free and general access to the Bible."<sup>300</sup> Frustration with opposition from the Catholic Church naturally encouraged the revival of old polemics.

<sup>292</sup> *Month*, 16 August 1927, p. iii; cf. *ibid.*, 18 October 1927, pp. ii, iii; 17 July 1928, p. 23; Cleary to the editor, *Dominion*, 25 August 1927, p. 13, reprinted in the *NZ Tablet*, 31 August 1927, p. 30; Cleary to the editor, *Evening Post*, 10 November 1927, p. 23.

<sup>293</sup> Isitt to the editor, *Evening Post*, 3 November 1927, p. 13.

<sup>294</sup> *NZPD*, 1929, vol. 223, p. 509; cf. *Evening Post*, 18 October 1927, p. 10.

<sup>295</sup> *NZPD*, 1925, vol. 207, p. 571; 1926, vol. 210, pp. 75, 154.

<sup>296</sup> *NZPD*, 1925, vol. 207, p. 501; 1926, vol. 210, p. 154-155, 571.

<sup>297</sup> *Evening Post*, 18 October 1927, p. 10; *NZ Tablet*, 2 November 1927, p. 22; Isitt to the editor, *Evening Post*, 3 November 1927, p. 13.

<sup>298</sup> *Evening Post*, 24 October 1927, p. 3; 31 October 1927, p. 10.

<sup>299</sup> Cf. Breward, pp. 77-78, quoting Rutherford Waddell.

<sup>300</sup> *War Cry*, 28 June 1927, quoted in *Month*, 19 July 1927, p. 41.

More importantly, there were, within the Protestant camp itself, parallels to the two unacceptable demands attributed to the Catholic opposition.<sup>301</sup> There were Anglicans who wanted their Church to establish more schools partly funded by public money.<sup>302</sup> At the 1929 conference on religious education, the Rev. H. Williams argued that Isitt's Bill did not go far enough and that there should be state aid for all church day schools.<sup>303</sup> The Anglican Church had only recently relinquished the hope of legislation giving clergy the right to offer religious instruction in schools and the Anglican Bishop of Dunedin (Isaac Richards) withdrew his support from the League in 1926 because he still supported the old policy.<sup>304</sup> Paterson acknowledged in 1927 that "many Presbyterian and Anglican ministers would like the right of entry into schools" but had had to compromise.<sup>305</sup> Canon Wilford, who openly criticized Canon James, declared that, "Many members of the Church of England are utterly opposed to the propaganda of the Bible in State Schools League and believe the system of Bible reading which is proposed to be destructive of true religion."<sup>306</sup> He regarded the Anglican episcopate's endorsement of Isitt's Bill as "a breach of trust".<sup>307</sup> More succinctly than Cleary, Wilford proposed precisely the kind of religious education wanted by the Catholic Church for public school pupils: "We believe that the children should be taught their different religions in the State schools in school hours by accredited teachers of their own faith."<sup>308</sup> Catholic support for an improved version of the Nelson System would also have found support among Protestants at any inter-church conference.<sup>309</sup> During

<sup>301</sup> Catholics naturally rejoiced in evidence of Anglican disaffection with the League's programme (*Month*, 15 June 1926, p. 17; 20 July 1926, p. 41; 17 August 1926, p. 17; 15 March 1927, p. 17; 19 April 1927, p. 31; 18 October 1927, p. ii &). John MacGregor MLC claimed that Anglican views had not really changed and were accurately represented by Canon Wilford (*NZPD*, 1926, vol. 210, pp. 426-427).

<sup>302</sup> For quotations from Anglican sources, see *Month*, 15 August 1919, p. 18; 15 October 1920, p. 17; 15 May 1922, p. 4; 20 July 1926, p. 17.

<sup>303</sup> *Press*, 5 September 1929, p. 16.

<sup>304</sup> League Executive Minutes, 1925-1927, meeting of 2 September 1926, ATL 82-391-1.

<sup>305</sup> *Evening Post*, 5 October 1927, p. 12.

<sup>306</sup> *NZ Herald*, 5 May 1926, p. 15; *Month*, 18 May 1926, p. 17 (reprinted from the *Sun*); cf. Wilford to the editor, *Evening Post*, 20 October 1927, p. 5. In an earlier letter, Wilford claimed in his support "the weight of Church opinion" (Wilford to the editor, *Evening Post*, 20 September 1927, p. 8).

<sup>307</sup> Wilford, p. 212.

<sup>308</sup> *NZ Herald*, 5 May 1926, p. 15; *Month*, 18 May 1926, p. 17.

<sup>309</sup> Apart from MacKenzie himself, Wood, a former League official, was another Presbyterian supporter of the Nelson System in preference to the Religious Exercises Bill. *Evening Post*, 6 October 1927, p. 8 (Wood); cf. Wood to the editor, *Evening Post*, 10 October 1927, p. 8; 13 October 1927, p. 14 (MacKenzie).

the 1924 and 1925 debates on the Religious Exercises Bill, Isitt and Parr emphasized that for the first time all the larger Protestant churches had agreed on a common policy for religious education.<sup>310</sup> Isitt himself, it has been noted, opposed the League's 1914 Bill.

The League knew that the compromise it had wrought among the conflicting aspirations of the various Protestant churches would not long survive the inclusion of the Catholic Church. In the 1926 debate, Isitt openly acknowledged the League's real concern: "To call a fresh conference and reopen the question would furnish opportunities for the dissatisfied elements in the Churches to bring forward all sorts of contradictory suggestions and divide us again into antagonistic sections."<sup>311</sup> Differences among the Protestant churches had already delayed the introduction of religious education for some years and they were "not prepared at the dictation of this church to throw all the work achieved at such difficulty into the melting-pot."<sup>312</sup> Isitt asserted in 1929 that Cleary's demands were already known to be unacceptable and that a revival of "the old discussions" involving the Catholic Church "might break down completely, putting us where we were fifteen years ago".<sup>313</sup> The most important reason for the League's refusal to treat the Catholic Church as an equal in the religious exercises debate was not the fear that Catholic demands would be unacceptable to Parliament. It was, rather, the realization that they were in fact likely to prove acceptable to enough Protestants to undermine the coalition of interests represented by the League. That is why Isitt and James misrepresented Cleary's position and vilified the Catholic Church: they could not afford to have Catholic views taken seriously and hoped that they would be overridden in an appeal to Protestant solidarity. In fact, the League's claim to represent a consensus of Protestant opinion supported by the overwhelming majority of the country was unjustified. Its increasingly anti-Catholic rhetoric reflected the inevitable frustration of promoting a measure which did not have the degree of Protestant support claimed for it. On the Bible in Schools issue, the League, not the Catholic Church, was an embattled minority interest group.

<sup>310</sup> *NZPD*, 1924, vol. 203, pp. 587-588 (Parr), 627 (Isitt); 1925, vol. 207, p. 514 (Parr).

<sup>311</sup> *NZPD*, 1926, vol. 210, p. 570; cf. Isitt's earlier admission that an agreement with the Catholic Church "would immediately split all supporters of a Bill for the establishment of religious exercises in schools into contending factions" (*NZPD*, 1926, vol. 210, p. 154). In a letter addressed to School Committees in 1924 or 1925, Isitt acknowledged that any attempt to broaden the Bill would revive earlier disputes (League Executive Minutes, 1925-1927), ATL 82-391-1.

<sup>312</sup> Isitt to the editor, *Evening Post*, 3 November 1927, p. 13.

<sup>313</sup> *NZPD*, 1929, vol. 223, p. 510.

### The Triumph of Secularism

During the early 1930s, the League made its final, unsuccessful attempt to have religious education introduced by law. Cleary had died in December 1929 and the new Religious Instruction in Public Schools Enabling Bill was drafted in consultation with Archbishop O'Shea and P.J. O'Regan. With the exception of O'Shea and his circle however, it proved no more acceptable to critics of the League - both Catholic and non-Catholic - than had the Religious Exercises Bill of the 1920s. By the mid-1930s, even the League was forced to recognize that its quest for legislative change was futile. Consequently, a new programme, less offensive to the Catholic Church and other opponents of the League, was adopted. No longer did the League expect to have the law concerning education changed in order to reflect its view of New Zealand as a Protestant society. A review of these developments will serve to reinforce the conclusion that Catholic views on religion in state schools were more politically acceptable than were those advanced by the League.

On 29 April 1930, the Catholic hierarchy (except for Redwood) met with four representatives of the League (Sir James Allen, Lieutenant-Colonel John Studholme, the Hon. Leonard Isitt and the Rev. E.O. Blamires).<sup>314</sup> Negotiations between the League and the Church had finally begun the previous month when Blamires wrote to Redwood and received an encouraging reply from O'Shea.<sup>315</sup> At the meeting, the League offered to devise a Bill which would exempt Catholic teachers and pupils from religious exercises in schools and Catholic tax-payers from paying for religious education.<sup>316</sup> However, no indication was given as to how such concessions could be guaranteed and the suffragan bishops showed themselves to be very suspicious of both the League and the churches it represented. No agreement was reached but the following month, after a meeting with Liston, O'Shea told the League that the suffragan bishops had withdrawn their opposition to the proposed new Bill.<sup>317</sup> In fact,

- <sup>314</sup> "Précis. Meeting at the Archbishop's House, Wellington, Tuesday, April 29th. 1930." CCDA, WCAA; Retyped copy in WCAA and MAW PHL 2/301-305; "Report of Deputation to the R.C. Hierarchy on April 29th at Archbishop Redwood's House Wellington", League Executive Minutes, 1927-1937, pp. 60-63, ATL 82-391-1.
- <sup>315</sup> Blamires to Redwood, 21 March 1930, WCAA (copy in CCDA); Blamires to Redwood, 26 March 1930, WCAA (also retyped copy in WCAA); League Executive Minutes, 1927-1937, pp. 48-53 (Minutes of the Conference of Representatives of Churches, 26-27 March 1930, including a copy of the letter), ATL 82-391-1.
- <sup>316</sup> There was to be similar exemption for Jews (*ibid.*), but when Blamires approached Rabbi Van Staveren, the Jewish leader apparently refused to see him or discuss the issue (Blamires to O'Shea, 29 July 1930, WCAA).
- <sup>317</sup> O'Shea to Blamires, 2 May 1930, WCAA; cf. Blamires, *Christian Core*, p. 32.

O'Shea had misconstrued the views of the other bishops, and they themselves failed to abide by the conditions for negotiation laid down by the hierarchy during the League's Referendum campaign before the war and subsequently reiterated by Cleary through the 1920s.<sup>318</sup> On 25 July, the League and Redwood (the latter acting on O'Shea's advice), simultaneously published statements affirming their agreement.<sup>319</sup>

Meanwhile, the League had begun to draft its new Bill. Based on Studholme's conclusions after a study tour of Britain and other countries, it drew heavily on the English system of religious education in state schools.<sup>320</sup> Unlike the Religious Exercises Bill, the Religious Instruction Bill sought, as its name suggests, to introduce not only religious observances at the beginning of the school day but also explicit religious teaching.<sup>321</sup> No more than two hours were to be spent on religious education or worship and denominational teaching was forbidden.<sup>322</sup> Studholme anticipated that religious observances would be conducted for ten minutes at the beginning of each day in addition to two half-hour periods of instruction at other times during the week.<sup>323</sup> The Minister of Education was to appoint a Committee entrusted with the task of drawing up a syllabus and compiling manuals of prayers, hymns and Scriptural passages.<sup>324</sup> A lengthy schedule detailed how the Committee was to be appointed (there were to be representatives of the churches, the NZEI and the Minister) and how it was to proceed with its task. Only when the materials it produced had been approved by the Minister could they be used in schools.<sup>325</sup> Objecting teachers and

<sup>318</sup> In particular, the suffragan bishops demanded League endorsement of Catholic state aid claims as a precondition for the withdrawal of their opposition to the League's proposals. The complex interactions of the bishops cannot be dealt with in this context; see the appendix to Snook's thesis and his article, "Catholic Controversy". A detailed investigation of the controversy by the present writer is in preparation.

<sup>319</sup> *Evening Post*, 25 July 1930, p. 11; *Dominion* of 25 July 1930, p. 8; Blamires *Christian Core*, pp. 27-31; A.G. Butchers, *Education in New Zealand* (Dunedin: Coulls Somerville Wilkie Ltd, 1930), p. 445.

<sup>320</sup> John Studholme, *New Zealand Bible-in-Schools League. Religious Instruction in Schools Enabling Bill. Explanatory Notes*. (Wellington: printed by Wright and Carman Ltd, 1930), p. 7.

<sup>321</sup> "Bills Thrown Out", 1931, 1932-1933 and 1934-1935, Religious Instruction in Public Schools Enabling Bill, Clause 3. A few changes were made to the wording of the Bill in 1934 (clauses 3, 6 and 7) but only the alteration of clause 6 had any importance (see below). As Studholme pointed out, opponents of the League had not been appeased by the Religious Exercises Bill's prohibition of comments by teachers (Studholme, *Explanatory Notes*, p. 4).

<sup>322</sup> Clauses 11 and 12.

<sup>323</sup> Studholme, *Explanatory Notes*, p. 6.

<sup>324</sup> Clause 4.

<sup>325</sup> Clause 5.

children whose parents did not want them to participate were to be exempted on application in writing to the Chairman of the School Committee or the Head Teacher; exempted pupils and teachers would be engaged in some other school work.<sup>326</sup> It was also specified that ecclesiastical authorities could obtain from the Minister blanket exemptions for all teachers and pupils belonging to their respective denominations.<sup>327</sup> (This concession was intended to meet Catholic concerns.) If there were not enough teachers available to offer religious instruction, School Committees could engage "one or more persons from outside the school staff".<sup>328</sup> No public money was to be spent on the religious instruction other than funds given voluntarily for the purpose.<sup>329</sup> (This provision was also intended to allay the concerns of Catholics in particular.) Any schools already conducting religious observances or instruction could, if their committees preferred, continue their existing practices instead of or in addition to those envisaged by the new law.<sup>330</sup>

With the apparent withdrawal of Catholic objections in 1930, the League - which had too readily blamed the Catholic Church for parliamentary rejection of the old Bill - expected the new one to pass through Parliament with little difficulty.<sup>331</sup> But, as the *Evening Post* warned, appeasing the Catholic Church would not in itself overcome the other obstacles.<sup>332</sup> The *Post* was probably correct in arguing that the successive Bills promoted by the League had never been wanted by the country at large and that the League's best hope of success lay in the distraction caused by contemporary economic

<sup>326</sup> Clauses 6, 7 and 10. In the 1934 version of the Bill, only those teachers who applied to do so were to give instruction; it was still assumed that they would conduct religious observances unless they sought exemption (Clause 6). Holland also claimed that parents would have to make a written application before their children could take part in religious instruction (*Evening Post*, 3 July 1934, p. 11) but the Bill was not altered to support this change.

<sup>327</sup> Clause 8.

<sup>328</sup> Clause 9.

<sup>329</sup> Clause 13.

<sup>330</sup> Clause 14. Writing in November 1930, Studholme expected that, if the Bill were passed, religious instruction would be introduced gradually into primary schools, after plebiscites had been conducted, and would initially depend on the efforts of volunteers (Studholme, *Explanatory Notes*, pp. 5-6, 8) but the final draft of the Bill did not provide for these concessions.

<sup>331</sup> Blamires to James, 5 June 1930, ATL 82-391-24/17; Allen to Blamires, 3 June 1930, ATL 82-391-24/18; cf. *PGAPC*, 1931, p. 79 and Studholme (*Explanatory Notes*, p. 4) who thought that, in view of the concordat, the new Bill "would have at least as good a chance of acceptance by Parliament" as the old one.

<sup>332</sup> *Evening Post*, 28 July 1930, p. 8.

problems.<sup>333</sup> Even Allen, in a discussion on the feasibility of making religious exercises in schools an election issue, admitted privately that, "The average voter is so apathetic on this matter that any attempt to force our supporters would probably in most cases expose our weakness."<sup>334</sup> In the December 1931 election, the *Post* argued, the Religious Instruction Bill had not been at issue so "the people had not been consulted" on this "revolutionary" Bill.<sup>335</sup> To Arthur Atkinson and the National Schools Defence League, the new Bill was no better than its predecessors, so his League lobbied the government against the new Bill on the same grounds that it had agitated against the old one.<sup>336</sup> The opposition of the NZEI also continued; the Wellington Branch, for example, passed resolutions against the Bill in 1931 and 1934.<sup>337</sup> In 1934, the NZEI published a series of articles explaining its disapproval of the League's proposals.<sup>338</sup> Joint depositions representing the Defence League and the NZEI approached Prime Minister Forbes in 1931 and 1934.<sup>339</sup> A.G. Butchers, a leading contemporary educationalist, wrote in 1932 that

The proper persons to teach religion are those who believe in it and no others....The inculcation of religion, in a word, is the Church's work, and not the State's.<sup>340</sup>

Parliament itself allowed the Religious Instruction Bill to lapse three times between 1931 and 1935. The House of Representatives' Select Committee on Education heard extensive evidence on the Bill in 1931 before recommending that it should not proceed.<sup>341</sup> Holland decided not to pursue the Bill because it was now too late in the

<sup>333</sup> *Evening Post*, 13 October 1932, p. 10.

<sup>334</sup> Report by Allen, 10 November 1933 in League Executive Minutes 1927-1937, p. 135, ATL 82-391-1.

<sup>335</sup> *Evening Post*, 25 October 1932, p. 6.

<sup>336</sup> *Evening Post*, 6 August 1931, p. 14; 11 October 1932, p. 6; Breward, p. 82. Atkinson and others petitioned Parliament not to pass the Religious Instruction Bill in 1931 (*AJHR*, 1931, vol. II, I-8, p. 2; *NZPD*, 1931, vol. 228, p. 873). Further petitions were presented by Hugh MacKenzie and others in 1934 (*AJHR*, 1934-1935, vol. III, I-8, p. 3).

<sup>337</sup> *Evening Post*, 9 July 1931, p. 15; 19 July 1934, p. 4.

<sup>338</sup> *Evening Post*, 27 July 1934, p. 14; 30 July 1934, p. 5; 2 August 1934, p. 4; 3 August 1934, p. 14; cf. Milmine, pp. 129-131; Small, p. 58 and note 28.

<sup>339</sup> *Evening Post*, 6 August 1931, p. 14; 2 August 1934, p. 12; Milmine, pp. 145-149.

<sup>340</sup> Butchers, *The Education System* (Auckland: National Printing Co. Ltd, 1932), pp. 198-199.

<sup>341</sup> *AJHR*, 1931, vol. II, I-8, p. 2; *NZPD*, 1931, vol. 228, p. 869; for references to the evidence, cf. *ibid.*, 1931, vol. 228, p. 869 (Holland), p. 872 (Sykes); 1932, vol. 233, p. 462 (Allen).

session and some members had already gone home.<sup>342</sup> When Allen introduced the Bill into the Legislative Council the following year, only the Speaker's casting vote secured it a second reading.<sup>343</sup> Neither the Bill's opponents nor its supporters could command a majority when it was considered in committee the next day so it was withdrawn.<sup>344</sup> The League complained that no-one had been willing to supply a "pair" for Sir Edwin Mitchelson, a supporter of the Bill who was too ill to be present, and that Carrington, having pledged his support in accordance with O'Shea's agreement, changed his mind at the last moment.<sup>345</sup> In 1934, Holland re-introduced the Bill into the House and the second reading debate was cut short (on 4 October) so that the Education Committee could consider the Bill.<sup>346</sup> Once again the Committee recommended (on 29 March 1935) that the Bill not be allowed to proceed.<sup>347</sup>

Politicians opposed to the Religious Instruction Bill used the same arguments which had told against the Religious Exercises Bill of the 1920s. Once again, there were fears of arousing sectarian controversy, especially in the playground.<sup>348</sup> There was concern over the interests of objecting teachers<sup>349</sup> and Carrington sought to amend the Bill by providing a right of appeal for teachers who felt they had suffered because of their convictions.<sup>350</sup> Religious education was not the responsibility of the state or the teachers it employed: it was the duty of parents and the churches.<sup>351</sup> Richard McCallum MLC, though claiming to be "an orthodox Presbyterian", agreed with the Catholic view that the Bible needed to be interpreted by the clergy; he advocated the

<sup>342</sup> *NZPD*, 1931, vol. 228, p. 869. The Committee's recommendation was not binding but there was no prospect of success in the time available.

<sup>343</sup> *NZPD*, 1932, vol. 233, p. 724.

<sup>344</sup> *NZPD*, 1932, vol. 233, p. 770.

<sup>345</sup> *Ibid.* (Allen); League Executive Minutes, 1927-1937, pp. 119-120; Blamires, "Bible in Schools League, Supplementary Report" (c. October 1932, enclosed with League Executive Minutes, 1927-1937), ATL 82-391-1.

<sup>346</sup> *NZPD*, 1934, vol. 238, pp. 348-349.

<sup>347</sup> *NZPD*, 1935, vol. 241, pp. 697-698; *AJHR*, 1934-1935, I-8, p. 2.

<sup>348</sup> *NZPD*, 1932, vol. 233, p. 469 (Hanan), p. 524 (Witty), p. 653 (Fagan); 1934, vol. 238, p. 853 (Downie Stewart).

<sup>349</sup> *NZPD*, 1932, vol. 233, pp. 468, 470 (Hanan), p. 525 (Witty), p. 579 (McIntyre), p. 583 (Carrington), pp. 651-652 (Fagan), p. 662 (McCallum), p. 718 (Masters).

<sup>350</sup> *NZPD*, 1932, vol. 233, p. 583.

<sup>351</sup> *NZPD*, 1932, vol. 233, pp. 467-469 (Hanan), p. 579 (McIntyre), pp. 650-651 (Fagan), p. 663 (McCallum), pp. 711-712 (Scott); 1934, vol. 238, p. 858 (Tirkatene).

Nelson System rather than the League's proposals.<sup>352</sup> According to Robert Scott MLC, it was a "Reformation principle" that the state should have nothing to do with religion and people should be allowed to choose for themselves how they worshipped God.<sup>353</sup> If the state promoted religious education in its schools, it would encourage demands for grants to denominational schools, which would, in turn, undermine the national education system.<sup>354</sup>

As in the 1920s, then, it was by no means only the Catholic Church which opposed the League's legislative proposals but advocates of the Religious Instruction Bill were slow to learn the lessons of failure. Still trying to evangelize the population while claiming only to reflect its wishes, they continued to exaggerate their organization's support and blamed the Catholic Church for its failure. In Parliament, Allen and Holland cited the 1927 plebiscite,<sup>355</sup> claiming the support of most churches and consequently of the majority of the population.<sup>356</sup> Isitt declared that some 1,053,000 people - that is, all Protestants - supported the Bill<sup>357</sup> and still failed to see that this assertion was incompatible with his belief that between one and two hundred thousand New Zealanders - all those who had been taught in the country's secular schools since 1877 - lived "in an almost heathenish state of ignorance on the most simple religious truths" because of the secular education system.<sup>358</sup> The Presbyterian Church's Public Questions Committee traced parliamentary rejection of the Bill back to Redwood's repudiation of the agreement with the League.<sup>359</sup> In January 1933, a conference of churches associated with the League claimed that once again the Catholic Church, whose members made up only thirteen per cent of the population, had made itself "the

<sup>352</sup> NZPD, 1932, vol. 233, pp. 660-661, 663.

<sup>353</sup> NZPD, 1932, vol. 233, pp. 708-709 (In endorsing an Anabaptist perspective, Scott overlooked another Reformation principle more usually associated with Presbyterianism: *Cujus regio, ejus religio.*)

<sup>354</sup> NZPD, 1932, vol. 233, pp. 467, 468 (Hanan), pp. 523-524 (Bell), pp. 709, 712 (Scott); 1934, vol. 238, p. 853 (Downie Stewart).

<sup>355</sup> NZPD, 1932, vol. 233, pp. 460-461 (Allen); 1934, vol. 238, pp. 846-847 (Holland).

<sup>356</sup> NZPD, 1932, vol. 233, p. 460 (Allen); 1934, vol. 238, pp. 372, 842-843 (Holland); cf. Rev. J. Thomson Macky's claim in 1937 that the League represented over 80 per cent of the population (*Dominion*, 17 September 1937, p. 13).

<sup>357</sup> NZPD, 1932, vol. 233, pp. 657-658. The figure was based on the size of the Protestant population recorded in the 1926 census (cf. the more precise figure cited by Allen, *ibid.*, p. 460).

<sup>358</sup> NZPD, 1932, vol. 233, p. 657; cf. p. 724 (Allen).

<sup>359</sup> PGAPC, 1933, p. 86.

chief hindrance to the ending of the secular system".<sup>360</sup> Studholme regarded the Catholic hierarchy as the greatest obstacle in Parliament to the success of the Bible in schools movement.<sup>361</sup>

Although Catholic opposition to the Religious Instruction Bill was not decisive, it did contribute to Parliament's rejection of the Bill in 1931 and 1932. In June 1931, Bishop Brodie wrote an open letter to Blamires to "remind" the League and the public in general that "no agreement of any kind" had been made between the Catholic hierarchy and the League.<sup>362</sup> Bishops Whyte and Liston confirmed their rejection of the agreement the following month.<sup>363</sup> In October, at Brodie's request, Redwood summoned a special meeting of the hierarchy.<sup>364</sup> A submission, signed by all the bishops except O'Shea, was duly delivered to the Parliamentary Education Committee opposing the Bill on the grounds that both its conscience clause and its financial provisions were inadequate.<sup>365</sup> According to Brodie, Colonel McDonald, the Chairman of the Education Committee, was ecstatic when he learnt of Catholic opposition to the Religious Instruction Bill.<sup>366</sup> Blamires had already warned O'Shea that he thought both the Minister and McDonald to be opposed to the Bill.<sup>367</sup> Naturally

<sup>360</sup> *Dominion*, 28 January 1933, p. 11; *Evening Post*, 28 January 1933, p. 15.

<sup>361</sup> *Outlook*, 13 November 1933, p. 9. The next most serious obstacle was advocacy of the Nelson System. Politicians who feared the Catholic block vote but did not want to appear anti-religious, Studholme argued, gave their nominal support to the Nelson System instead of the League's Bill.

<sup>362</sup> Brodie to Blamires, 20 June 1931, CCDA; *Press*, 24 June 1931, p. 8; *Christchurch Times*, 24 June 1931, p. 6; *Evening Post*, 24 June 1931, p. 11.

<sup>363</sup> *Evening Post*, 9 July 1931, p. 15 (Whyte); 24 July 1931, p. 9 (Liston).

<sup>364</sup> Brodie to Redwood, 9 October 1931, CCDA; Brodie to P.J. [Smyth], 15 October 1931, CCDA. There are two versions of the minutes of the 13 October meeting, both written by Liston and bearing his initials. (Both versions are in WCAA; the original is in CCDA Box 19 and a corrected version in CCDA, Bible in Schools File. Retyped copies of both versions, with an additional note explaining why there are two versions, are in WCAA and MAW PHL 2/310, 311. These copies have the letters "J.M.J.": the typist evidently mistook Liston's initials for a pious formula commonly put at the top of a page, representing the names "Jesus, Mary and Joseph"! O'Shea had objected to the omission, in the first draft, of any reference to Redwood's having changed his mind and prevailed upon the latter to ask Liston to make an amendment to the minutes. (O'Shea to Redwood, 29 October 1931; Redwood to O'Shea, 31 October 1931, WCAA).

<sup>365</sup> Handwritten transcriptions of Redwood's letter to Colonel McDonald of the Education Committee (13 October 1931) and of the submission itself, are in ATL 82-391-24/9. The submission, as published in Redwood's statement of 14 October 1932 (*Evening Post*, 14 October 1932, p. 11) differs slightly from this manuscript.

<sup>366</sup> Brodie to P.J. [Smyth], 15 October 1931, CCDA. McDonald was later said to have changed his mind, saying in 1932 that he would now support the League's Bill (*NZPD*, 1932, vol. 233, p. 721).

<sup>367</sup> Blamires to O'Shea, 28 September 1931, WCAA.

they were pleased to have the support of the third largest Church in the country as a counterweight to the League and its Protestant supporters.

Given the equal division of opinion in the Legislative Council, Carrington's decision not to support the Bill in 1932 was important - although even if the Bill had been passed by the Council, it seems unlikely that it would have been endorsed by the Lower House. On 14 October 1932, Carrington was approached by Father P.J. Smyth who advised him, incorrectly, as Carrington later realized, that O'Shea had withdrawn support for the Bill and that Carrington should therefore vote against it - despite having promised Allen his support.<sup>368</sup> That afternoon, Carrington told the Council that "right up to this morning" he had intended to support the measure but that he now recognized the difficulties it would impose on dissenting teachers.<sup>369</sup> Moreover, despite the League's undertaking to maintain a neutral stance on the question of state aid to denominational schools, Isitt had made his personal opposition clear in the course of the debate.<sup>370</sup> The only satisfactory solution to the religious education dilemma, Carrington argued, would be for the state to pay for the secular instruction offered by denominational schools and include them as part of the national system of education.<sup>371</sup>

Shortly before the hierarchy's submission opposing the Bill in 1931, O'Shea told Redwood that the Prime Minister (Forbes) had assured him he would have the Bill "thrown out at once" if Redwood were opposed to it.<sup>372</sup> Moreover, the other bishops were said to "carry absolutely no weight with Parliament"; it was enough for Forbes that Redwood was "the Head of the Church in New Zealand". Whatever Forbes told O'Shea, Redwood obviously did not have the influence with which he was credited. Despite the Metropolitan's publicly expressed disapproval of the League's Bill, it was given lengthy deliberation in 1931, 1932 and 1934-1935. O'Shea also told Redwood that the League was "not too hopeful" its Bill would be passed (in 1931) because of opposition from secularists and politicians who feared that it would threaten the secular education system. Herein lay the main reason for Parliament's continued rejection of the League's proposals, not only in 1931 but also in other years.

<sup>368</sup> Carrington to Brodie, 4 August 1934, re-typed copy in WCAA.

<sup>369</sup> *NZPD*, 1932, vol. 233, p. 583.

<sup>370</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 519-20, 583, 584.

<sup>371</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 584.

<sup>372</sup> O'Shea to Redwood, 26 July 1931, WCAA (edited copy in "Bible-in-Schools Question", *op. cit.*).

After the collapse of the agreement negotiated by O'Shea, the Catholic authorities showed little interest in the public debate over religious education in state schools. Cleary was dead and O'Shea, his successor as the hierarchy's representative, was effectively silenced. The other bishops, who had not been unduly anxious over the issue in the 1920s, were unlikely to be much troubled by the League's less significant efforts in the 1930s.<sup>373</sup> When Parliament heard evidence on the Religious Instruction Bill for a second time (in 1934), the Catholic bishops did not even register their opposition.<sup>374</sup> The *Month* and its successor, the *Zealandia*, displayed no interest in challenging the League. When the Bill was introduced into the Legislative Council in 1932, the *Tablet*, recalling "the epic struggles of the past", expected another interesting controversy.<sup>375</sup> Beyond observing that if taxpayers were to pay for religion in state schools the government would be morally obliged to assist Catholic schools, the *Tablet* itself, however, made no contribution to the debate. Another brief notice and a synopsis of the Bill appeared in 1934 but the *Tablet* did not venture an opinion on its merits or defects.<sup>376</sup> McCallum's 1934 Education Amendment Bill which would have legalized the Nelson System and made Sunday School attendance compulsory, was called "an extraordinary measure" but the *Tablet* correctly recognized it as "more a gesture...to emphasize the lack of religion among our young people than a serious attempt to alter the law of the land" and urged the need for parents to fulfil their responsibilities in training children.<sup>377</sup> McCallum himself had explained the Bill in these terms and, finding no support for it in the Legislative Council, had withdrawn it.<sup>378</sup>

By the mid-1930s, the attempt to enshrine in law a Protestant hegemony over the national education system had obviously failed. The Religious Instruction Bill had proved no more acceptable to the public in general or to politicians than had the old Religious Exercises Bill. Moreover, the composition of Parliament was increasingly

<sup>373</sup> Cf. Brodie to O'Shea, 6 July 1927, WCAA: "I think we may take it as quite certain that the many amendments which will be moved and the obstructionist tactics which will be adopted will cause the bill to be killed."

<sup>374</sup> Blamires to Milmine, 5 October 1935, quoted in Milmine, p. 126; League Executive Minutes 1927-1937, p. 161 (Secretary's Report for 1934), ATL 82-391-1.

<sup>375</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 5 October 1932, p. 4.

<sup>376</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 4 July 1934, p. 7; 18 July 1934, p. 4.

<sup>377</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 25 July 1934, p. 3.

<sup>378</sup> *NZPD*, 1934, vol. 239, pp. 327-334; "Bills Thrown Out", 1934-1935.

unfavourable to the League. The Reform Party - from which the League drew most of its parliamentary support - lost its majority in 1928, winning only 28 seats in the election of that year. After counting the likely supporters and opponents of the League in the House of Representatives following the 1931 election, Blamires admitted that, "The chance of victory is somewhat slender."<sup>379</sup> The Labour Party's representation increased from 19 seats in 1928 to 24 in 1931 and the decisive election of the first Labour Government in November 1935, with 51 seats, finally sealed the fate of the Religious Instruction Bill. There was no further prospect of legislation favouring the League's proposals. Prime Minister Savage explained to a League deputation in 1937 that he could not afford to split the Government and its supporters by introducing a bill to promote religious instruction in state schools.<sup>380</sup> Meanwhile, the Catholic authorities, no longer threatened by the League, naturally reduced their opposition to it.

Critics of the League, including the Catholic Church, maintained their support for the Nelson System. The NZEI and the *Evening Post* continued to endorse it.<sup>381</sup> Similarly, the National Schools Defence League objected to the Religious Instruction Bill in part out of fear that its implementation would undermine the Nelson System, whose operation it endorsed.<sup>382</sup> As in the 1920s, politicians opposed to the League's Bill endorsed the Nelson System without being willing to legislate for it. The Recess Education Committee (1929-1930), chaired by Harry Atmore, had recommended that the Nelson System be enshrined in law and the Select Committee on Education endorsed this recommendation in 1931 and 1935.<sup>383</sup> Individual politicians, speaking against the Religious Instruction Bill, also advocated the Nelson System or the conclusions of the Atmore Report.<sup>384</sup> James O'Brien seems to have expressed the prevailing view, however, when he declared that although he had no objection to the

<sup>379</sup> League Executive Minutes 1927-1937, p. 103 (report by Blamires, evidently presented to the Executive meeting of 15 March 1932), ATL 82-391-1.

<sup>380</sup> *Dominion*, 17 September 1937, p. 13. As Blamires pointed out, Savage apparently did not realise that the deputation was not actually seeking a change in the law on this occasion.

<sup>381</sup> *Evening Post*, 25 October 1932, p. 6; Milmine, pp. 135-136.

<sup>382</sup> *Evening Post*, 21 July 1931, p. 9; 6 August 1931, p. 14; 11 October 1932, p. 6; 2 August 1934, p. 12; Milmine, p. 146; Breward, p. 82.

<sup>383</sup> *AJHR*, 1930, vol. III, I.-8A, pp. 134, 153; 1931, vol. II, I.-8, p. 2; 1934-1935, I.-8, p. 2; *NZPD*, 1931, vol. 228, p. 869; 1935, vol. 241, pp. 697-698.

<sup>384</sup> Nelson System: *NZPD*, 1932, vol. 233, p. 469 (Hanan), pp. 579, 581 (McIntyre), p. 582 (Carrington), pp. 652-653 (Fagan); 1934, vol. 238, pp. 851-851 (Jordan). Recess Committee: *NZPD*, 1931, vol. 228, p. 871 (Harris), p. 872 (Atmore); 1932, vol. 233, p. 525 (Witty), pp. 716-717 (Masters).

Nelson System, to legislate for it as the Recess Committee recommended would encourage the undermining of secular education.<sup>385</sup> The appeal of the Nelson System was aptly conveyed in the words of the *Evening Post*, which declared that this form of religious education created "an atmosphere of perfect freedom which imposes no responsibility on the State".<sup>386</sup> When the House of Representatives' Education Committee reported its rejection of the Religious Instruction Bill in 1935, the *Tablet* took heart from its recommendation of the Nelson System, which the editor described as having "apparently been used quite satisfactorily in some parts of the country."<sup>387</sup> Readers were reminded that the Church's opposition to particular proposals for religious education was based on defects in those schemes rather than disapproval of religious education in principle.<sup>388</sup> In 1937, Peter Fraser, as Minister of Education, introduced a wide-ranging Education Amendment Bill which would have legalized the Nelson System by allowing religious instruction to be given in primary and intermediate schools by approved volunteers for half an hour on two days each week.<sup>389</sup> The *Zealandia* regarded the Bill as "gratifying to all who have at heart the interests of true character building" since it would encourage religious education - albeit not adequately from a Catholic perspective.<sup>390</sup>

Finally recognizing that the law was not likely to be changed to allow religious instruction within official school hours, the League slowly altered its policy to a programme more acceptable to the Catholic Church and other bodies. By the mid-1930s, the League was actively promoting the Nelson System as well as the growing practice of conducting religious observances (consisting of a hymn, a Scripture reading and the Lord's prayer) for five minutes at the beginning of each school day.<sup>391</sup> When Fraser announced that he intended to legislate *against* morning devotions as well as *for*

<sup>385</sup> NZPD, 1934, vol. 238, p. 698.

<sup>386</sup> *Evening Post*, 25 October 1932, p. 6.

<sup>387</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 10 April 1935, p. 3.

<sup>388</sup> The editor also rejoiced - prematurely and quite unjustifiably - that "thanks largely to the consistent efforts of the Catholic community", the problem of which version of the Bible to use had been "surmounted". A third of the editorial was taken up with unacknowledged quotation from Redwood's 1932 statement; gone was the eloquence of a Cleary or a Kelly!

<sup>389</sup> NZPD, 1938, vol. 250, p. 391; Education Amendment Bill, "Bills Thrown Out", 1937 (see clause 39 and the Explanatory Memorandum at the end of the Bill).

<sup>390</sup> *Zealandia*, 7 April 1938, p. 6.

<sup>391</sup> Breward, pp. 87-88; Blamires to Milmine, 5 October 1935, in Milmine, p. 127; *Evening Post*, 21 May 1937, p. 10.

the Nelson System, complaints by the Protestant churches led to the abandonment of the both proposals.<sup>392</sup> The Catholic Church had not entered the fray and presumably did not consider the morning devotions a threat. When the Wellington Education Board considered allowing schools under its jurisdiction to introduce the devotions, Blamires produced a letter from O'Shea which gave the Archbishop's approval of the devotions.<sup>393</sup> Although religious instruction and observances increasingly found a place in state primary schools, they had no legal sanction. State education remained officially secular.

### Conclusion

Despite its claims, the Bible in Schools League did not represent a united Protestant view on the question of religious education. Opposition to its Bills created an informal alliance which cut across religious barriers and through denominations. Many Protestants, some of them in Parliament, consistently rejected the League's proposals. Former Education Minister Hanan summed up the prevailing view when he declared, "I am a Protestant and not opposed to sound religious training, but not in State schools."<sup>394</sup> John Caughley, Director of Education from 1921 to 1927, and one of the most outspoken opponents of the League, was a Presbyterian with a long-standing involvement in Sunday School teaching.<sup>395</sup> A Wellington woman remarked in 1927 that although her children attended Sunday School, she was opposed to the League's proposals and did not regard Te Aro School, on whose Committee she was a member, as "the proper place for Bible lessons".<sup>396</sup> F.L. Sharp of the Religious Liberty Association, who believed "most thoroughly in the reading and teaching of the Bible",

<sup>392</sup> Blamires, *Christian Core*, pp. 12-13; *PGAPC*, 1938, pp. 210-211. For the protests, see: *Evening Post*, 11 May 1938, p. 9 (Wellington Presbytery); *NZ Herald*, 9 May 1938, p. 14 (meeting at Pitt Street Methodist Church and South Auckland Methodist Ministers' Synod held at Morrinsville); 11 May 1938, p. 17 (Auckland Presbytery); *League Executive Minutes, 1937-1955*, pp. 60-63 (meeting of 19 May 1938), ATL 82-391-1. For Fraser's change of mind, see: *Evening Post*, 5 May 1938, p. 10; 10 May 1938, p. 12; 11 May 1938, p. 9; *NZ Herald*, 9 May 1938, p. 14; 11 May 1938, p. 17; J.L. Scoullar to the editor, *NZ Herald*, 13 May 1938, p. 13. The NZEI regarded the morning devotions as undesirable and, at its 1937 annual meeting, resolved by a vote of 60 to 22 that religious instruction should be limited to the Nelson System (*Evening Post*, 21 May 1937, p. 10).

<sup>393</sup> O'Shea to Blamires, 5 June 1937, ATL 82-391-247 (copy in WCAA); Blamires to O'Shea, 17 June 1937, WCAA; *Evening Post*, 16 June 1937, p. 10. It is unlikely that the other bishops were quite as positive towards the devotions as was O'Shea.

<sup>394</sup> *NZPD*, 1929, vol. 223, p. 446.

<sup>395</sup> *JLC*, 1926, "Religious Exercises", pp. 21-24; *Evening Post*, 12 October 1927, p. 12.

<sup>396</sup> *Evening Post*, 3 May 1927, p. 10. The woman's name is not given.

was nevertheless "opposed to the State teaching it."<sup>397</sup> Paterson took heart at the results of the 1925 election and the near acceptance of the Religious Exercises Bill by the Legislative Council in 1926 but reluctantly conceded that, "The fetish of "secular" education has so many worshippers even among religious people that it is no easy task to get the Bible into schools...".<sup>398</sup> By the late 1920s, support for the League was in decline and its leaders were, as Breward has observed, "increasingly out of touch with the changing political and social scene".<sup>399</sup> In 1928, for example, James claimed that public support for the Religious Exercises Bill "was so rapidly on the increase that victory was assured, and could not be long delayed".<sup>400</sup> He had been closer to the truth in 1924 when he said that only the "apathy and indifference of Anglicans" could defeat the League's Bill.<sup>401</sup> Unwilling to accept that its proposals did not represent the desires of the overwhelming majority of the population, the League blamed the Catholic Church and the Labour Party for their continued rejection by Parliament.

The view that the League's bills "were defeated in the 1920s because of Catholic opposition" and that in 1931 "the opposition of the Catholic Church was again decisive"<sup>402</sup> is not supported by the evidence adduced in this chapter. Although Cleary was the League's single most effective protagonist in the 1920s, there was little active Catholic lobbying against the League after his death in 1929. According to Cleary, the Bill was rejected in 1924 because of its "inherent defects" - which he had pointed out.<sup>403</sup> In 1930, the *Evening Post* denied that the Catholic Church had played a decisive role in defeating successive Religious Exercises Bills and argued that, "It was on the broad and fundamental grounds of religious peace, of justice, and of the freedom of conscience, and of the need for the complete neutrality of the State in matters of religion, that the issue has been hitherto determined."<sup>404</sup> Atmore, champion of the Nelson System and a consistent opponent of the League, was affronted by the suggestion (made by Paterson) that the opposition to the League was led by Cleary.

<sup>397</sup> *Dominion*, 20 August 1927, p. 11.

<sup>398</sup> *PGAPC*, 1926, p. 64.

<sup>399</sup> Breward, pp. 80-81, 85-6.

<sup>400</sup> *NZ Herald*, 6 August 1928, p. 11.

<sup>401</sup> *NZ Herald*, 17 October 1924, p. 12.

<sup>402</sup> McGeorge and Snook, p. 15.

<sup>403</sup> *Month*, 19 August 1924, p. 19; cf. *Month*, 18 August 1925, p. 19 and *NZ Tablet*, 19 August 1925, p. 27.

<sup>404</sup> *Evening Post*, 28 July 1930, p. 8.

The Bishop, asserted Atmore, led only the Catholic opposition.<sup>405</sup> In the person of Henry Cleary, nevertheless, the League was challenged by a formidable opponent and many parliamentarians were undoubtedly moved by his appeals. Quite apart from what he or the League actually said, however, it was clear that passions ran high on both sides and Parliament, as in 1877, sought a neutral course. If, as the *Evening Post* argued, the secular education system had brought half a century of peace, it would be foolhardy for the state to take sides in such a contentious issue.<sup>406</sup> In effect, Parliament adopted Hanan's axiom that the state schools should only teach "subjects upon which there are no differences of opinion".<sup>407</sup> T.B. Strong, Caughley's successor as Director of Education, and, unlike him, a supporter of the League's proposals, argued prematurely that the religious tension which led Parliament in 1877 to vote for secular education no longer existed.<sup>408</sup> State-sponsored religious education was opposed by interest groups with quite different worldviews but they all shared the same underlying motive: they did not want the views of any other group to be given an unfair advantage in competing for the allegiance of the next generation. Seen from this perspective, Catholics shared concerns with both secularists and many Protestants. In the final analysis, the Labour Party was the most effective opponent of the League: having been elected to power in 1935, it ended once and for all the League's quest for legislative change.

Though popular feeling cannot readily be measured, the changing balance in Parliament seems to have reflected New Zealand opinion as a whole. William Earnshaw, who opposed the Bill in the Legislative Council and was no friend of the Catholic Church, was probably correct in suggesting that there was as much opposition to the League's Bill among religious people as there was outside the various religious organizations.<sup>409</sup> The *Month* attributed the failure of the League to its inability to secure widespread support from the Protestant laity for its "compromise schemes".<sup>410</sup>

<sup>405</sup> *Evening Post*, 22 June 1928, p. 8.

<sup>406</sup> *Evening Post*, 6 August 1926, p. 6; cf. 22 July 1927, p. 8 and 3 November 1927, p. 6.

<sup>407</sup> *NZPD*, 1929, vol. 223, p. 444.

<sup>408</sup> *Evening Post*, 21 October 1927, p. 12.

<sup>409</sup> *NZPD*, 1926, vol. 210, p. 142. Earnshaw boasted that he had "always stood four-square on the question of the Jesuit movement in the world" and recalled having drafted the constitution of the PPA on a rail journey while Archbishop Redwood sat on the opposite side of the carriage (*ibid.*, p. 149).

<sup>410</sup> *Month*, 20 October 1925, p. 33.

In Cleary's judgment, "the vast bulk of the Protestant laity are unfriendly to this mainly clerical movement".<sup>411</sup> This was probably an exaggeration but even according to the Presbyterian Church's Bible in Schools Committee, "the great mass of the people", despite the support shown through the League's referendum, did not "desire intensely enough" the religious exercises. The demonstrations organized by the League in 1928 had been "well attended" but were not as large as they should have been.<sup>412</sup> Six months after Paterson appealed to League supporters to take their gloves off, the *Evening Post* reflected that the promised campaign had not materialized and concluded that the League did not have the support it claimed.<sup>413</sup> Many Protestants, secularists and the NZEI were satisfied that the Nelson System provided the most acceptable format for religious education in state schools; in refusing to legislate for it, successive governments probably erred on the side of caution.

Opponents of the Religious Exercises Bills explicitly criticized the League's attempt to establish in public schools a form of religious observance acceptable to only a section of the community.<sup>414</sup> Speaking as "a very strong Protestant", the Presbyterian Malcolm emphasized the need to "respect the rights of another man's conscience". It was unacceptable to tell people who had "conscientious scruples" over the religious exercises that they should not have them, for "they are the only judges of what their consciences approve or disapprove."<sup>415</sup> According to MacGregor, the movement represented by Isitt showed a "total disregard for the interests of...our Roman Catholic fellow citizens".<sup>416</sup> Atmore argued that passing the Bill would impose an injustice on the Catholic minority, which, while maintaining its own schools, would have to pay for the religion of others.<sup>417</sup>

Labour politicians were particularly adamant champions of the rights of religious minorities.<sup>418</sup> John A. Lee declared that the Labour Party was "opposed to this Parliament being made the tool of a certain group of alleged religious people who want

<sup>411</sup> *Month*, 18 October 1927, p. ii.

<sup>412</sup> *PGAPC*, 1928, pp. 228-229.

<sup>413</sup> *Evening Post*, 7 May 1928, p. 8.

<sup>414</sup> *NZPD*, 1928, vol. 217, p. 997 (Veitch).

<sup>415</sup> *NZPD*, 1926, vol. 210, p. 79, cf. p. 431. For Malcolm's religious affiliation, see *ibid.*, p. 151.

<sup>416</sup> *NZPD*, 1926, vol. 210, p. 425; cf. p. 430 (Malcolm).

<sup>417</sup> *NZPD*, 1927, vol. 215, pp. 218, 220.

<sup>418</sup> *NZPD*, 1925, vol. 207, p. 547 (Parry).

to make the whole community the vehicle for their special views."<sup>419</sup> Holland argued that no religious majority, whether Catholic, Atheist or Protestant, had the "right to impose its religious teaching on any other Church or on those who are not Church people"; Parliament had to ensure religious freedom.<sup>420</sup> Armstrong, a Catholic, defended religious liberty for believers and unbelievers, arguing that no Christian denomination should have more rights than another. A majority had no right to interfere with the rights of a minority and religion was a matter for each individual's conscience.<sup>421</sup> Catholic concerns were explicitly supported by Fraser who rejected the view that a government had the right to determine for Catholics what safeguards they needed: "the Catholic people are the best judges of what is in accord with their faith" and it was not for anyone else to doubt their claim that the Bill violated their faith.<sup>422</sup>

The election of a Labour Government confirmed the defeat of the Protestant model of New Zealand society, so forcefully asserted by Isitt, and ensured the ascendancy of the secularist model. It was an outcome the Catholic Church could live with - especially since it was sweetened by Labour's relatively generous attitude toward Catholic schools.<sup>423</sup> According to Kelly, New Zealand was not a predominantly Protestant country, but a predominantly secular one, as evidenced by the failure to establish religious education in state schools.<sup>424</sup> While the attempt to assert Protestant hegemony failed, there was little support, outside the Catholic Church, for the pluralist model, except insofar as it agreed with the secular model. There was no more prospect of official provision for the denominational religious instruction in state schools desired by the Catholic Church than there was for the League's "undenominational" religious exercises. Recognizing this, the Church had concentrated on maintaining its own schools and opposing the "Protestantizing" of the state system. In the debate reviewed in this chapter, the Catholic Church was more politically realistic than was the Bible in Schools League. On the issue of religious education in state schools, its policies - though not its aspirations - conformed more closely to those of New Zealand society as a whole than did those of the League and the churches which supported it.

<sup>419</sup> *NZPD*, 1928, vol. 217, p. 991; *cf.* p. 990.

<sup>420</sup> *NZPD*, 1928, vol. 217, p. 977.

<sup>421</sup> *NZPD*, 1925, vol. 207, p. 538; 1927, vol. 215, p. 525.

<sup>422</sup> *NZPD*, 1925, vol. 207, p. 549; for further reference by Fraser to the rights of minorities, see *NZPD*, 1927, vol. 215, pp. 222, 224.

<sup>423</sup> See chapter six above.

<sup>424</sup> *NZ Tablet*, 16 September 1925, p. 33.

## Conclusion

The Catholic community in interwar New Zealand was well integrated into the wider society, although it had a number of distinctive characteristics, above all its religious beliefs and practices. In the course of this thesis, five principal topics have been investigated: the demographic profile of the Catholic population, Catholic spirituality, denominational organizations and institutions, gender and ethical issues, and politics. The quest for state aid to Catholic schools and the Bible in Schools controversy have been considered as case studies of political issues in which Catholics had a particular interest.

Only one seventh of the total New Zealand population was Catholic, the rest being overwhelmingly Protestant. Most Catholics were of Irish descent but by the interwar period only a small and declining proportion of New Zealand Catholics had been born in Ireland or any other foreign country. Little effort was made to sustain a sense of Irish identity, although some of the smaller Catholic ethnic groups, notably the Dalmatians, Italians and Lebanese, maintained aspects of their particular cultural and religious heritage for somewhat longer. The Catholic population, including the smaller ethnic groups, was fairly evenly dispersed through the country as a whole and in its urban centres. While there were relative concentrations, most notably in the small province of Westland, Catholics nowhere predominated except in a few rural settlements like Puhoi. Catholics were somewhat over-represented in the lower socio-economic strata of New Zealand society, as evidenced by their over-representation in city centres rather than suburbs, relatively high mortality rates, large numbers of unmarried men, high levels of institutionalization and particularly by Catholic employment patterns. Catholic men were under-represented as employers and in commerce generally and in occupations requiring capital investment or advanced education. There were also some areas of government employment in which Catholics were over-represented, notably the police force, the railways, and the telegraph and the telephone service. The consistently high proportion of Catholics in gaol was made up by a small number of individuals, largely from poor backgrounds, most of whom had only tenuous links with the rest of the Catholic community. Other denominations also had distinctive demographic profiles and there were some respects in which the Catholic community was more like the overall population than some other large denominations were.

Catholic spirituality reflected overseas patterns and was quite distinct from that of Protestants. Five principal trends in the development of Catholic religious practice have been discussed: the continued flourishing of ultramontane devotional piety, the development of newer forms of more active spirituality, the cult of the Eucharist, the liturgical movement and the modelling of lay piety on the religious life. These overlapping tendencies reflected clerical efforts to deepen lay religious experience, not only to safeguard the religious integrity of Catholics living in an increasingly secular and even anti-religious environment, but also to promote the re-Christianization of modern society. The five trends were adopted with almost no modification from the Catholic Church overseas and this in itself, like the observance of Catholic sacred times and dietary laws and interest in European sacred places like Lourdes, distinguished Catholics from Protestants. Religious differences were heightened by an emphasis on external observances and the particular forms of spirituality which were stressed, for example in the extra-liturgical worship of the Blessed Sacrament Catholics gave expression to their belief in transubstantiation. Catholic piety reflected a triumphalist worldview which was sometimes manifested in public displays such as Eucharistic processions. Such activities, however, were not intended to alienate Protestants but to define and inculcate Catholic belief and practice among the faithful, especially in opposition to widespread religious indifference - not least among Catholics themselves. Although large crowds were attracted to major events like the Catholic centennial celebrations in Auckland and the Eucharistic Congress in Wellington, and thousands enrolled in undemanding organizations like the Holy Name Society, most Catholics showed little or no active interest in movements which required a high level of religious commitment. For the less committed Catholics, there could be no serious tension between belonging to a religious minority and participating in the wider society. The official religious life of the Catholic community was usually conducted largely in isolation from non-Catholics but was regarded by Catholics themselves as conducive to good citizenship. There was Protestant criticism of public manifestations of Catholic spirituality but most Protestants were not interested in religious polemics and preferred silence or even respectful interest. While their spirituality distinguished Catholics from the rest of the population, it did not alienate them from it.

Organizations and institutions established under the auspices of the Catholic Church for cultural, welfare, charitable, educational and sporting purposes did not, and were not intended to, separate Catholics from the wider society: the Catholic

community did not seek to be self-sufficient. There were no Catholic political parties or trade unions; Catholics lived and worked among non-Catholics and their cultural and leisure pursuits were the same as those prevailing in society at large. By teaching the national syllabus, preparing their pupils for public examinations and inculcating respectable values such as patriotism, Catholic schools socialized young Catholics in much the same way as did state schools. Religion was added to but did not detract significantly from the educational experience Catholic children shared with other New Zealanders. On numerous occasions, non-Catholic community leaders and the public in general demonstrated their approval of Catholic institutions. While Catholic organizations often duplicated the efforts of secular or Protestant associations, they almost invariably had good relationships with them and sometimes co-operated directly, or, in the case of cultural, sporting and leisure pursuits, engaged in amicable competition. The Payne Trophy dispute in Christchurch does not appear to have been occasioned by sectarian antagonism and, once excluded from playing rugby, the Marist Old Boys' Association immediately joined in other public sporting competitions. Antagonism towards a rival education system on the part of state primary teachers led to the exclusion of teams representing Catholic schools from inter-school competitions during the early 1920s but the teachers' concern was not shared by secondary teachers or sports officials. Catholic organizations were intended to reinforce their members' distinctive religious identity so that they could participate in society as Catholics with a minimum of risk to their continued religious commitment. Particular attention was paid to young Catholics, most notably in the establishment of denominational schools, but also in the provision of cultural groups and leisure activities. Clerical efforts to persuade (or coerce) parents to send their children to Catholic schools were remarkably successful, at least in the case of primary education. However, only a minority of Catholics participated in the full range of Church-sponsored activities: others were either not interested in these particular activities or joined secular associations. The only non-religious institution which the clergy sought to make exclusively Catholic was the family but while official Church teaching portrayed inter-marriage with non-Catholics as an exceptional occurrence, there was in fact a high rate of mixed marriage. In the establishment of Catholic organizations and institutions, occasional or temporary isolation was a means, but integration, albeit self-consciously as Catholics, was the end.

Catholic attitudes to gender roles and matters of personal morality were not as different from Protestant views as clerical moralists often maintained. Uniquely among the major Christian denominations in New Zealand, the Catholic Church exalted religiously motivated celibacy and upheld chaste saints as exemplars even for married people. Despite the imagery of the Holy Family, however, Catholic ideals concerning the roles of married men and women, including the assumption that women were the moral guardians of society, were quite similar to those of other moralists. Indeed, the contemporary cult of domesticity was reinforced by the image of the Blessed Virgin as a devoted wife and mother. Catholic moralists criticized the Protestant churches for compromising traditional Christian standards, particularly on the issues of divorce and contraception, but they greatly exaggerated the increased liberalism of their Protestant counterparts. The main Protestant churches continued to uphold the permanence of marriage; they allowed contraception by married couples only for "unselfish" motives, sanctioned only therapeutic abortion and generally opposed sterilization of the "unfit". Since the leading Protestant churches differed in the extent to which they were willing to reassess their traditional moral teachings, the Catholic Church can be seen as standing at one end of a spectrum. Expressions of moral triumphalism on the part of Catholics were directed primarily at their co-religionists precisely because it was feared, rightly, that lay Catholics themselves were also changing their views on personal morality. Catholics were at least as likely to divorce as non-Catholics and the declining Catholic birth-rate, while remaining somewhat higher than that of Protestants, indicates the widespread use of artificial contraception. On matters of family ethics, there was a greater gap between theory and practice among Catholics than among Protestants. Catholic moral teaching was formulated by celibate clerical theologians and authoritatively promulgated by an international hierarchy centred in Rome and committed to the maintenance of traditional doctrine. Protestant teaching was more responsive to the experience of the laity and largely formulated by a married clergy who took into consideration, but were not bound by, overseas developments. In the ethics of leisure, however, Catholic teaching was rather more in keeping with popular practice than was that of the Protestant clergy. By contrast with some Protestant denominations, Catholics were over-represented in industries associated with entertainment, particularly horse-racing and drinking. Irish cultural traditions and the Catholic Church had relatively liberal attitudes to the pursuit of leisure but Catholics were somewhat influenced by prevailing attitudes to "the Sabbath". Catholic and Protestant moralists shared

concerns over modern dancing, especially when alcohol was available, and made joint representations to the government seeking stricter censorship of films and magazines. There was a high degree of consensus on ethical issues among Catholic and Protestant moralists, and both sought to curb increasingly liberal attitudes among members of their churches.

At the beginning of the interwar period, the Catholic Church was the object of public sectarian attacks by lobbyists who had some influence on the Reform Government, but well before the Second World War, Catholic relations with the other churches and the Labour Government had become quite cordial. Latent sectarian tensions were aroused by a variety of local and international causes. Before World War One, the Prohibition controversy, the defeat of the Bible in Schools League and the establishment of the Catholic Federation had already led to some sectarian animosity. During the war, Catholics were accused of disloyalty, especially when arrangements to avoid the conscription of Marist Brothers and seminarians came to public attention. The Easter Rising in Ireland and Dr James Kelly's militant endorsement of Sinn Fein in the pages of the *New Zealand Tablet* confirmed the fears of many Protestant loyalists, whose views were expressed by the Rev. Howard Elliott and the Protestant Political Association. With the passage of the Marriage Amendment Act, directed against Catholic mixed marriage legislation, the PPA attained only a symbolic victory and the Massey Government soon recognized that there was more to lose than could be gained by identification with the PPA. Tensions eased during the early 1920s, especially when most of Ireland was granted self-determination and both Catholics and Protestants were able to claim a moral triumph in the acquittal of Bishop James Liston on a charge of sedition after remarks endorsing rebellion in Ireland. In the debate over Prohibition, which provides an informative case-study of the Church's role in the politics of the period, the Catholic community, like the rest of New Zealand society, was divided. While Bishop Henry Cleary, himself a Prohibitionist, stressed that Catholics were free to vote as they chose, Archbishop Francis Redwood urged Catholics to oppose Prohibition. The rejection of Prohibition by the country as a whole indicates the increasingly marginal position of puritan moralists; on this issue, most Catholics shared the views of the more liberal majority.

Despite sectarian claims that the Catholic Church dominated the Labour Party, and despite the considerable sympathy for Labour politics on the part of an increasing number of lay Catholics and influential churchmen, there was no corporate relationship between the Church and the Party and Catholics were not directed as to which political

party they should support. Many Catholics were drawn to the Labour Party because it represented their class interests but Catholics also supported and joined other parties. Although fear of Socialism contributed to the Church's unwillingness to state unequivocally that Catholics could support the Labour Party, numerous Catholics - and Protestants - came to see a Labour Government as the only means of achieving essential social reforms which they advocated in the name of Christianity. This tendency was accelerated by the Depression, when Protestant and Catholic leaders joined in criticizing the Coalition Government - despite the often triumphalist tone of Catholic social teaching. During the 1930s, Catholics avoided unnecessary controversy over the potentially divisive issue of the Spanish Civil War and used opportunities like the accession of King George VI to affirm their loyalty. There was considerable co-operation among Catholic and Protestant church leaders, notably in Wellington where Archbishop Thomas O'Shea appointed representatives to the Inter-Church Council on Public Affairs when it was established in 1941. During the war, political and ecclesiastical leaders joined in ensuring that there was no outbreak of sectarian hostility as there had been during the First World War. While the Catholic community was somewhat isolated at the beginning of the interwar period, by the end there were few who publicly challenged the Church's place as a respectable and responsible part of mainstream society.

This transition can be illustrated by the response of successive governments to Catholic demands for state assistance for their schools. The Catholic Church argued that taxpayers' money should be used to subsidize denominational education for those parents who wanted it, but no government was prepared to concede this principle, which was seen as a threat to the national education system and would have aroused widespread public opposition. Before the Reform Government came to power in 1912, a few concessions had been granted, of which the most important was the right to government inspection, which ensured that pupils could earn recognized qualifications. Pupils attending private schools were allowed to hold state scholarships from 1914 but the efforts of the Catholic Federation to obtain further assistance were ill-timed and aroused the opposition of the PPA and the New Zealand Educational Institute. Consequently the Government withdrew the concessions it had made but not those which it had inherited from previous administrations. Moreover, it actually reaffirmed the state's duty to ensure the quality of private education by linking the registration of schools with official inspection - despite the NZEI's opposition to the issuing of certificates to private school pupils. While reiterating their demands nearly every time

they opened a new school or classroom - a very frequent event, especially during the 1920s - the Catholic clergy were forced to concentrate on securing piecemeal concessions. By the later 1920s, they had a measure of success as private school pupils were admitted to technical education classes in state schools and the United Government announced in 1929 that it intended to extend the school dental service to private school pupils. Without admitting the principle that governments should support private schools, the Labour administration made unprecedented concessions. Like the other forms of assistance already granted, some of these, such as school medical inspection, could be described as assisting pupils rather than their schools. Whereas new forms of education-related spending introduced in the earlier 1920s, however, like the school dental service and rural buses, were originally restricted to state school pupils, expenditures initiated by the Labour Government, such as free milk and radio subsidies, were granted to public and private schools alike. While Catholics remained committed to paying for their own schools, they were no longer threatened with the loss of established forms of assistance and were gradually receiving more.

Although it advocated the integration of separate denominational schools into the national education system, the Catholic Church opposed attempts to give official sanction to Protestant religious observances and Bible reading in state primary schools. The Church shared the Bible in Schools League's desire for universal religious education but held that its specific proposals were inherently inadequate and would have given the main Protestant churches an unfair monopoly of the state's personnel and resources. These objections were widely endorsed by prominent non-Catholics, most of whom, like Catholics, preferred the Nelson System under which voluntary teachers could enter schools while they were officially closed. Failing to recognize that its schemes lacked popular support, the League blamed the Catholic Church and especially Cleary, the Church's representative on the issue, for repeated rejection of the League's bills in Parliament. Leonard Isitt and other leading figures in the League revived claims that the Catholic Church controlled the Labour Party and thereby thwarted the will of the Protestant majority. Labour was indeed the only Party which required its parliamentarians to oppose Bible in Schools legislation but even before the election of a Labour majority in 1935, the League had never quite mustered enough votes in either chamber. The persistent reintroduction of the League's bills was a source of embarrassment to politicians who had little to gain by endorsing so contentious a measure. Claiming to represent the majority of the population in a Protestant country, the Bible in Schools League even proposed that Catholic concerns

be ignored - despite repeated offers by Cleary to negotiate. The League's proposals were based on compromises reached with some difficulty by leaders of the main Protestant churches. Since admitting Catholic representatives to new discussions would have revealed the lack of agreement among Protestants, the League appealed instead to Protestant solidarity and even identified itself with the Orange Lodge. Discussions with the Catholic bishops were finally opened in 1930 on the initiative of League Secretary E.O. Blamires and an agreement was reached with O'Shea that the Church would not oppose the League's revised proposals for voluntary religious instruction in schools. However, the other bishops repudiated O'Shea's endorsement of the new Bill and other interest groups, such as the NZEI, also continued their opposition. Even before the election of the Labour Government, the League's defeat had become apparent and it turned to supporting the Nelson System which it had vilified in the past. State primary education, a microcosm of society at large, remained officially secular and the League's vision of a Protestant country in which Catholic concerns could be overridden proved to be a mirage.

The Catholic community in interwar New Zealand sought to maintain its religious identity while being fully integrated into the wider society. Since it usually succeeded in this endeavour, it is more accurately characterized as forming a part of that society than of standing apart from it.

*Appendix*

## Population Statistics

*Table 8.1*  
Major Religious Professions of the Non-Maori Population, 1916-1945

	1916	1921	1926	1936	1945
<b>Anglican</b>	459,023 41.75	514,607 42.22	553,993 41.21	600,786 40.28	601,786 37.53
<b>Presbyterian</b>	260,659 23.71	299,545 24.57	330,731 24.60	367,855 24.66	374,956 23.38
<b>Catholic</b>	151,606 13.79	164,133 13.47	173,364 12.89	195,261 13.09	215,629 13.45
<b>Methodist</b>	106,024 9.64	112,344 9.22	121,212 9.02	121,012 8.11	130,220 8.12
<b>Baptist</b>	20,872 1.90	19,926 1.63	21,955 1.63	24,703 1.66	27,512 1.72
<b>Brethren</b>	9,758 0.89	11,055 0.91	12,973 0.96	17,260 1.16	18,629 1.16
<b>Salvation Army</b>	10,004 0.91	11,591 0.95	12,241 0.91	12,608 0.85	13,203 0.82
<b>Object to State</b>	25,577 2.33	38,591 3.17	62,585 4.66	71,302 4.78	126,426 7.88
<b>Total included</b>	1,043,523 94.91	1,171,792 96.13	1,289,054 95.88	1,410,787 94.59	1,508,361 94.06
<b>Total excluded</b>	55,926 5.09	47,121 3.87	55,415 4.12	80,697 5.41	95,193 5.94
<b>Population total</b>	1,099,449 100.00	1,218,913 100.00	1,344,469 100.00	1,491,484 100.00	1,603,554 100.00

This table includes the eight largest religious categories used in the five censuses held between 1916 and 1945. The first row for each denomination indicates the number of non-Maori adherents; the second row gives the percentage of the total non-Maori population belonging to that denomination. Source: New Zealand Census, 1945, vol. VI, p. 1.

Table 8.2  
Major Denominations in the Ten Provinces, 1921-1936

Denomination and Year	Auck-land	Hawke's Bay	Tara-naki	Welling- ton	Marl- borough	Nelson
<b>Anglican</b>						
1921	171,438	28,251	28,781	113,544	9,131	21,830
	46.38	46.37	46.49	45.64	51.33	45.83
1926	191,831	29,710	30,450	121,169	9,020	22,664
	45.19	45.28	44.67	44.30	49.24	44.72
1936	213,355	30,820	31,804	132,382	9,139	26,250
	43.74	43.82	43.35	43.05	49.23	44.32
<b>Presbyterian</b>						
1921	70,510	14,444	10,845	48,540	2,952	7,812
	19.08	23.71	17.52	19.51	16.60	16.40
1926	82,656	15,622	12,159	53,142	3,181	8,658
	19.47	23.81	17.84	19.43	17.37	17.08
1936	96,217	16,743	14,159	60,784	3,221	10,514
	19.73	23.80	19.30	19.77	17.35	17.75
<b>Catholic</b>						
1921	49,334	8,010	8,755	34,706	2,987	6,785
	13.35	13.15	14.14	13.95	16.79	14.25
1926	53,643	8,425	9,464	36,215	3,084	6,756
	12.64	12.84	13.88	13.24	16.84	13.33
1936	61,918	9,014	10,111	42,511	3,170	7,733
	12.69	12.82	13.78	13.83	17.08	13.05
<b>Methodist</b>						
1921	33,942	4,312	8,472	22,918	1,740	4,535
	9.18	7.08	13.68	9.21	9.78	9.52
1926	38,080	4,442	9,401	24,577	1,708	4,834
	8.97	6.77	13.79	8.99	9.32	9.54
1936	38,686	4,733	9,118	24,504	1,582	4,874
	7.93	6.73	12.43	7.97	8.52	8.23
<b>Total population</b>						
1921	369,618	60,925	61,911	248,801	17,788	47,628
	30.32	5.00	5.08	20.41	1.46	3.91
1926	424,531	65,620	68,162	273,500	18,317	50,677
	31.58	4.88	5.07	20.34	1.36	3.77
1936	487,755	70,335	73,372	307,477	18,563	59,235
	32.70	4.72	4.92	20.62	1.24	3.97

Table 8.2 (continued)

	West- land	Canter- bury	Otago	South- land	Totals
<b>Anglican</b>					
1921	5,501	89,957	32,666	13,508	514,607
	38.79	45.20	23.86	21.74	42.22
1926	5,628	95,080	34,887	13,554	553,993
	37.20	44.45	23.33	20.81	41.21
1936	6,886	101,116	34,419	14,615	600,786
	37.16	43.40	22.82	20.18	40.28
<b>Presbyterian</b>					
1921	2,632	44,736	65,525	31,549	299,545
	18.56	22.48	47.87	50.77	24.57
1926	2,875	48,480	71,172	32,786	330,731
	19.00	22.67	47.60	50.35	24.60
1936	3,499	54,452	71,276	36,990	367,855
	18.88	23.37	47.27	51.07	24.66
<b>Catholic</b>					
1921	4,464	24,661	15,639	8,792	164,133
	31.48	12.39	11.43	14.15	13.47
1926	4,557	25,805	16,608	8,807	173,364
	30.12	12.06	11.11	13.52	12.89
1936	5,141	28,870	17,180	9,613	195,261
	27.74	12.39	11.39	13.27	13.09
<b>Methodist</b>					
1921	787	22,734	8,915	3,989	112,344
	5.55	11.42	6.51	6.42	9.22
1926	856	23,073	10,202	4,039	121,212
	5.66	10.79	6.82	6.20	9.02
1936	1,063	22,568	9,702	4,182	121,012
	5.74	9.69	6.43	5.77	8.11
<b>Total population</b>					
1921	14,181	199,034	136,880	62,147	1,218,913
	1.16	16.33	11.23	5.10	
1926	15,129	213,890	149,522	65,121	1,344,469
	1.13	15.91	11.12	4.84	
1936	18,532	232,992	150,800	72,423	1,491,484
	1.24	15.62	10.11	4.86	

The first line for each year gives the number of persons belonging to the denomination in the province; the second line gives the percentage of the province's population belonging to the denomination. Sources: New Zealand Census, 1921, part VII, p. 19; 1926, vol. VIII, p. 13; 1936, vol. VI, p. iii.

**Table 8.3**  
**Major Denominations in the Largest Towns, 1921-1936**

	Auckland	Wellington	Christchurch	Dunedin	Hamilton	Gisborne	Napier
<b>Anglican</b>							
1921	74,465	48,502	53,021	19,333	5,860	6,522	8,197
	47.20	45.12	50.18	26.76	42.47	45.13	47.69
1926	88,878	53,809	57,783	22,068	6,775	6,735	8,516
	46.24	44.28	48.76	25.93	40.97	45.54	47.14
1936	94,826	62,959	62,459	20,311	7,681	6,881	8,277
	45.07	42.15	47.22	24.82	39.65	44.33	44.88
<b>Presbyterian</b>							
1921	24,603	19,063	17,637	29,997	2,854	3,403	3,400
	15.60	17.74	16.69	41.52	20.68	23.55	19.78
1926	30,839	21,715	20,474	35,851	3,574	3,368	3,551
	16.04	17.87	17.28	42.13	21.61	22.77	19.66
1936	33,419	27,288	23,566	34,152	4,382	3,227	3,506
	15.88	18.27	17.81	41.73	22.62	20.79	19.01
<b>Catholic</b>							
1921	21,792	16,620	11,583	7,934	1,832	2,077	2,736
	13.81	15.46	10.96	10.98	13.28	14.37	15.92
1926	25,023	17,655	12,889	9,183	2,127	2,051	2,744
	13.02	14.53	10.88	10.79	12.86	13.87	15.19
1936	28,266	22,679	15,526	9,179	2,531	2,217	2,742
	13.43	15.18	11.74	11.21	13.06	14.28	14.87
<b>Methodist</b>							
1921	14,820	8,814	12,447	5,693	1,632	764	1,081
	9.39	8.20	11.78	7.88	11.83	5.29	6.29
1926	17,116	9,700	13,174	6,972	1,982	793	1,128
	8.90	7.98	11.12	8.19	11.98	5.36	6.24
1936	15,991	10,530	13,084	6,703	1,912	675	1,278
	7.60	7.05	9.89	8.19	9.87	4.35	6.93
<b>Total Population of the Town or City</b>							
1921	157,757	107,488	105,670	72,255	13,798	14,450	17,187
1926	192,223	121,527	118,501	85,095	16,538	14,789	18,066
1936	210,393	149,382	132,282	81,848	19,373	15,521	18,443

Table 8.3 (continued)

	Hastings	New Plymouth	Wanga-Palmerston nui	North	Nelson	Timaru	Inver- cargill	Total
<b>Anglican</b>								
1921	5,998	6,608	10,845	7,389	5,274	5,657	4,933	262,604
	46.17	52.26	46.10	43.76	49.60	36.48	25.68	43.77
1926	6,390	8,067	11,613	8,304	5,603	5,996	5,211	295,748
	44.19	50.64	44.44	42.13	47.68	35.64	23.85	42.65
1936	7,617	8,633	10,724	10,154	6,324	6,638	6,065	319,549
	43.00	47.45	42.37	42.39	46.69	35.30	23.62	41.48
<b>Presbyterian</b>								
1921	2,819	1,595	4,761	2,947	1,242	4,556	8,393	127,270
	21.70	12.61	20.24	17.45	11.68	29.38	43.69	21.21
1926	3,302	2,188	5,548	3,458	1,537	5,120	9,783	150,308
	22.84	13.73	21.23	17.55	13.08	30.44	44.78	21.68
1936	3,989	2,968	5,062	4,149	1,958	5,754	11,564	164,984
	22.52	16.31	20.00	17.32	14.46	30.60	45.03	21.41
<b>Catholic</b>								
1921	1,746	1,275	3,014	2,169	1,049	2,171	2,529	78,527
	13.44	10.08	12.81	12.85	9.87	14.00	13.17	13.09
1926	1,911	1,598	3,422	2,414	1,095	2,350	2,836	87,298
	13.22	10.03	13.10	12.25	9.32	13.97	12.98	12.59
1936	2,342	1,862	3,693	3,006	1,297	2,784	3,373	101,497
	13.22	10.23	14.59	12.55	9.58	14.80	13.13	13.17
<b>Methodist</b>								
1921	1,024	1,974	2,244	1,725	1,160	1,569	1,722	56,669
	7.88	15.61	9.54	10.22	10.91	10.12	8.96	9.44
1926	1,094	2,401	2,263	2,171	1,282	1,722	1,821	63,619
	7.57	15.07	8.66	11.02	10.91	10.24	8.33	9.18
1936	1,376	2,250	1,982	2,167	1,247	1,777	1,842	62,814
	7.77	12.37	7.83	9.05	9.21	9.45	7.17	8.15
<b>Total Population of the Town or City</b>								
1921	12,990	12,645	23,523	16,885	10,632	15,507	19,210	599,997
1926	14,460	15,931	26,129	19,709	11,752	16,822	21,849	693,391
1936	17,715	18,194	25,312	23,953	13,545	18,805	25,682	770,448

The first line for each year gives the number of people in the town or city belonging to a particular denomination; the second line gives the percentage of the town belonging to that denomination.  
Sources: New Zealand Census, 1921, part VII, p. 20; 1926, vol. VIII, p. 16; 1936, vol. VI, pp. 7-8.

**Table 8.4**  
**Catholic Populations of Boroughs, 1921-1936**

Borough	1921			1936		
	Catholics	Population	Percentage Catholic	Catholics	Population	Percentage Catholic
Whangarei	332	4,015	8.27	768	7,093	10.83
Dargaville	421	2,054	20.50	396	2,071	19.12
Birkenhead	176	2,507	7.02	307	3,377	9.09
Northcote	169	2,040	8.28	226	2,342	9.65
Takapuna	383	3,910	9.80	568	7,215	7.87
Devonport	897	8,761	10.24	1,035	9,759	10.61
New Lynn				274	3,485	7.86
One Tree Hill				854	8,011	10.66
Auckland	13,729	81,712	16.80	15,982	101,323	15.77
Newmarket	549	3,083	17.81	441	2,973	14.83
Mount Eden	1,221	14,635	8.34	1,922	18,487	10.40
Mount Albert	974	11,345	8.59	2,064	19,659	10.50
Onehunga	1,034	7,073	14.62	1,394	10,838	12.86
Otahuhu	517	2,813	18.38	889	5,215	17.05
Pukekohe	342	1,891	18.09	281	2,356	11.93
Huntly				251	1,925	13.04
Ngaruawahia	138	1,120	12.32	271	1,225	22.12
Hamilton	1,572	11,441	13.74	2,171	16,050	13.53
Cambridge	177	2,065	8.57	249	2,181	11.42
Te Awamutu	169	1,523	11.10	330	2,211	14.93
Te Kuiti	278	2,247	12.37	251	2,353	10.67
Taumarunui	375	2,144	17.49	379	2,504	15.14
Matamata				177	1,311	13.50
Morrinsville	223	1,327	16.80	247	1,794	13.77
Te Aroha	322	2,109	15.27	368	2,361	15.59
Paeroa	312	1,645	18.97	330	2,026	16.29
Waihi	778	3,957	19.66	622	3,892	15.98
Thames	551	4,765	11.56	467	4,113	11.35
Tauranga	150	2,241	6.69	269	3,340	8.05
Te Puke				110	943	11.66
Rotorua	523	3,872	13.51	813	5,862	13.87
Whakatane	230	1,707	13.47	186	1,684	11.05
Opotiki	211	1,140	18.51	223	1,257	17.74
Gisborne	1,656	10,931	15.15	1,960	13,336	14.70
Wairoa	354	1,921	18.43	476	2,345	20.30
Napier	2,224	14,346	15.50	2,159	15,201	14.20
Hastings	1,393	9,115	15.28	1,894	12,663	14.96
Waipawa	190	1,119	16.98	148	1,139	12.99
Waipukurau	169	1,381	12.24	261	2,045	12.76
Dannevirke	458	3,895	11.76	487	4,321	11.27
Woodville	97	1,150	8.43	108	1,029	10.50
Waitera	209	1,566	13.35	193	1,806	10.69
New Plymouth	1,189	11,395	10.43	1,751	16,424	10.66
Inglewood	151	1,184	12.75	196	1,254	15.63

Table 8.4 (continued)

Borough	1921			1936		
	Catholics	Population	Percentage Catholic	Catholics	Population	Percentage Catholic
Stratford	500	3,085	16.21	585	3,752	15.59
Eltham	274	2,022	13.55	271	1,896	14.29
Hawera	640	4,149	15.43	751	4,639	16.19
Patea	219	1,168	18.75	197	1,309	15.05
Wanganui	2,300	16,490	13.95	3,361	22,926	14.66
Ohakune	276	1,535	17.98	298	1,320	22.58
Raetihi				110	1,023	10.75
Taihape	465	2,099	22.15	444	2,131	20.84
Marton	261	2,602	10.03	207	2,680	7.72
Feilding	376	4,510	8.34	369	4,543	8.12
Palmerston North	2,046	15,649	13.07	2,807	22,110	12.70
Foxton	248	1,686	14.71	158	1,510	10.46
Shannon	165	1,013	16.29	108	922	11.71
Levin	198	1,979	10.01	254	2,579	9.85
Otaki	204	1,075	18.98	221	1,448	15.26
Pahiatua	245	1,340	18.28	209	1,636	12.78
Eketahuna	118	875	13.49	84	732	11.48
Masterton	983	7,820	12.57	1,087	9,058	12.00
Carterton	219	1,670	13.11	241	1,915	12.58
Greytown	135	1,217	11.09	95	1,105	8.60
Featherston	172	1,067	16.12	188	1,019	18.45
Martinborough				76	940	8.09
Upper Hutt				720	3,863	18.64
Lower Hutt	826	5,730	14.42	1,779	15,848	11.23
Petone	1,152	7,978	14.44	1,604	10,864	14.76
Eastbourne	173	1,416	12.22	267	2,255	11.84
Wellington	14,020	88,920	15.77	18,281	115,368	15.85
Picton	272	1,362	19.97	264	1,311	20.14
Blenheim	796	4,345	18.32	919	5,015	18.33
Nelson	991	9,285	10.67	1,119	11,188	10.00
Richmond	54	1,026	5.26	62	1,136	5.46
Motueka	70	1,484	4.72	130	2,118	6.14
Westport	1,039	3,802	27.33	1,003	4,236	23.68
Brunner	153	527	29.03	169	998	16.93
Runanga	261	1,233	21.17	329	1,646	19.99
Greymouth	1,552	4,986	31.13	2,282	8,108	28.15
Kumara	219	507	43.20	215	500	43.00
Hokitika	660	2,215	29.80	692	2,687	25.75
Ross	147	464	31.68	149	451	33.04
Rangiora	261	2,003	13.03	234	2,223	10.53
Kaiapoi	126	1,693	7.44	115	1,578	7.29
Christchurch	7,884	67,291	11.72	11,224	92,018	12.20
Riccarton	289	3,250	8.89	527	5,385	9.79
Woolston	347	4,208	8.25			
New Brighton	268	3,864	6.94	465	5,233	8.89

Table 8.4 (continued)

Borough	1921			1936		
	Catholics	Population	Percentage Catholic	Catholics	Population	Percentage Catholic
Sumner	175	2,971	5.89	339	3,238	10.47
Lyttelton	465	3,779	12.30	354	3,235	10.94
Akaroa	104	619	16.80	82	515	15.92
Ashburton	530	4,825	10.98	570	5,677	10.04
Geraldine	133	956	13.91	127	957	13.27
Temuka	356	1,753	20.31	420	1,896	22.15
Timaru	2,002	14,058	14.24	2,598	17,388	14.94
Waimate	252	2,100	12.00	386	2,314	16.68
Oamaru	808	5,729	14.10	997	7,479	13.33
Hampden	42	334	12.57	39	308	12.66
Palmerston	56	808	6.93	110	798	13.78
Waikouaiti	10	582	1.72	50	597	8.38
Port Chalmers	254	2,594	9.79	196	2,165	9.05
West Harbour	123	1,696	7.25	116	1,862	6.23
Dunedin	6,666	58,074	11.48	7,529	64,600	11.65
St Kilda	646	6,084	10.62	922	7,749	11.90
Green Island	134	1,962	6.83	134	2,277	5.88
Mosgiel	193	1,762	10.95	226	2,105	10.74
Milton	199	1,363	14.60	209	1,422	14.70
Kaitangata	78	1,721	4.53	79	1,375	5.75
Balclutha	59	1,485	3.97	79	1,540	5.13
Tapanui	17	308	5.52	18	316	5.70
Lawrence	109	703	15.50	151	676	22.34
Roxburgh	61	397	15.37	73	478	15.27
Naseby	10	229	4.37	17	219	7.76
Alexandra	154	687	22.42	98	871	11.25
Cromwell	150	611	24.55	114	734	15.53
Arrowtown	48	317	15.14	49	278	17.63
Queenstown	189	751	25.17	239	931	25.67
Gore	631	3,679	17.15	837	4,630	18.08
Mataura	140	1,170	11.97	199	1,498	13.28
Winton	103	612	16.83	183	877	20.87
Invercargill	1,990	15,203	13.09	2,910	21,425	13.58
Invercargill South	257	1,833	14.02	123	983	12.51
Bluff	269	1,601	16.80	262	1,946	13.46
Riverton	125	847	14.76	120	902	13.30
<b>BOROUGH TOTALS</b>	<b>93,985</b>	<b>681,988</b>	<b>13.78</b>	<b>120,373</b>	<b>884,282</b>	<b>13.61</b>

Sources: New Zealand Census, 1921, part VII, pp. 27-32; 1936, vol. VI, pp. 13-16.

*Table 8.5*  
**Proportions of Persons Not Married in Age Cohorts, 1936**

Age Cohort in Years	Anglican	Presby- terian	Catholic	Methodist	Total Population
	<b>Men</b>				
16-19	99.55	99.65	99.52	99.64	99.49
20-24	89.11	90.62	90.70	89.94	89.67
25-29	54.38	56.02	62.61	51.45	55.75
30-34	28.26	28.80	38.99	25.05	29.92
35-39	17.97	18.25	30.00	15.58	19.98
40-44	13.31	13.68	24.32	10.92	15.33
45-49	11.77	12.44	23.44	8.23	14.15
50-54	11.35	11.91	23.29	8.52	13.08
55-59	11.58	12.07	23.52	7.74	13.27
60-64	12.54	13.34	24.41	8.27	14.30
65-69	12.13	13.27	25.89	7.49	14.12
70-74	12.12	13.14	23.89	7.00	13.67
75-79	12.60	12.87	20.71	6.66	13.12
80 and over	11.02	11.20	19.94	5.13	11.93
unspecified	32.79	36.00	49.52	30.61	33.72
	<b>Women</b>				
16-19	96.36	97.07	96.83	97.08	96.64
20-24	69.84	73.11	75.60	72.29	71.78
25-29	35.19	39.49	43.48	37.74	37.87
30-34	20.02	22.99	28.67	23.30	22.68
35-39	14.73	17.61	22.72	17.44	17.05
40-44	12.78	15.04	20.52	15.14	14.91
45-49	11.71	13.89	18.34	13.65	13.56
50-54	11.42	14.74	17.95	13.03	13.33
55-59	11.80	14.64	18.45	12.09	13.63
60-64	12.76	16.29	19.53	12.42	14.67
65-69	12.93	15.23	16.65	10.63	13.81
70-74	11.80	12.88	13.32	8.39	11.81
75-79	10.06	10.04	10.96	7.55	9.81
80 and over	7.00	7.93	8.73	4.38	7.32
unspecified	23.40	23.08	31.40	29.79	23.91

Source: New Zealand Census, 1936, vol. VI, p. 24.

**Table 8.6**  
**Marital Status and Religious Affiliation, 1926-1936**

	Never Married	Married	Widowed	Not Specified	Total
<b>1926 Men</b>					
Anglican	70,764	109,280	7,302	1,387	190,736
	37.10	57.29	6.16	0.73	
Presbyterian	42,469	64,244	4,191	717	112,360
	37.80	57.18	6.06	0.64	
Catholic	26,779	26,454	2,282	604	56,627
	47.29	46.72	7.80	1.07	
Methodist	13,457	23,475	1,415	206	38,772
	34.71	60.55	5.64	0.53	
Total Population	183,139	258,251	18,295	4,571	468,755
	39.07	55.09	6.51	0.98	
<b>1936 Men</b>					
Anglican	81,242	125,979	8,745	231	219,974
	36.93	57.27	6.31	0.11	
Presbyterian	50,540	75,663	5,069	147	132,786
	38.06	56.98	6.17	0.11	
Catholic	32,041	31,714	2,661	119	67,545
	47.44	46.95	7.52	0.18	
Methodist	15,273	24,744	1,541	37	42,066
	36.31	58.82	5.76	0.09	
Total Population	211,551	304,955	21,574	763	547,228
	38.66	55.73	6.44	0.14	

Table 8.6 (continued)

	Never Married	Married	Widowed	Not Specified	Total
<b>1926 Women</b>					
Anglican	57,038 30.60	109,584 58.79	16,636 12.94	844 0.45	186,397
Presbyterian	38,011 34.03	62,645 56.09	9,690 13.25	562 0.50	111,685
Catholic	21,655 37.48	29,559 51.15	5,513 15.44	429 0.74	57,785
Methodist	13,989 32.47	24,762 57.48	3,818 13.19	149 0.35	43,082
Total Population	147,434 32.83	253,821 56.53	40,078 13.42	2,988 0.67	449,019
<b>1936 Women</b>					
Anglican	67,133 30.62	127,028 57.94	20,859 13.73	176 0.08	219,233
Presbyterian	44,569 33.61	74,661 56.31	11,749 13.37	135 0.10	132,588
Catholic	26,451 38.29	35,019 50.69	6,381 15.00	91 0.13	69,079
Methodist	14,900 32.49	26,104 56.91	4,271 13.80	25 0.05	45,865
Total Population	175,230 32.71	301,802 56.34	49,662 13.80	523 0.10	535,646

Only persons aged sixteen years and over are included in these figures; the numbers in the final column refer to all men and women aged sixteen years or over in the denomination concerned. The percentages in the first two columns, and in the "not specified" column, record the proportions of men and women aged sixteen years and over as percentages of the denominational total. In the third column, percentages of widows and widowers are based on the total number of people in the denomination who had ever married. See also Table 4.1 for figures on separation and divorce. Sources: New Zealand Census, 1926, vol. VIII, p. 27; 1936, vol. VI, p. 19.

### Employment Statistics

Unfortunately the "industrial distribution" tables giving the numbers of men and women in each denomination who worked in particular industries at the time of the three interwar censuses were not published in a uniform format and this sometimes makes it difficult to compare changing employment patterns.<sup>1</sup> The general categories used for reporting each census were essentially the same, but, in themselves, most of them are too heterogeneous to give a clear indication of the actual occupations of Catholics or other members of the country's population.<sup>2</sup> This problem is most acute in the statistics for 1926 where it is indicated, for example, that 6,310 Catholic men were either involved in no industry or had failed to indicate which industry they were employed in. Looking at the comparable table for the 1936 census, it is apparent that this category includes, among others, pensioners and labourers who had not given enough information to be classified according to industry.<sup>3</sup>

Even the quite specific employment categories used in the census reports were not always tabulated uniformly. The number of men recorded under "agricultural farming (cropping)" in 1921 (16,187), for example, is nearly three times greater than the 1936 figure for the same category (5,603), suggesting that the statistics for the two years were calculated differently and may not be comparable.<sup>4</sup>

Since fewer general categories were given for 1936 than for the other two censuses, it is often possible to compare general categories for 1921 and 1926 but not for 1936. For the 1921 census, the general categories were broken down into sub-categories but there was no breakdown given for 1926 and only the larger sub-categories were listed separately for 1936. In the absence of the full range of sub-categories for 1936, it is not possible to calculate general categories for that year which could be compared with those published for 1921 and 1926. The sub-categories supplied for 1921 and 1936, then, offer the most useful basis for reviewing the patterns of employment among Catholics in the interwar period, even though comparable statistics are not always available for the two years.

<sup>1</sup> The data from these tables is reproduced in Tables 8.14 and 8.15.

<sup>2</sup> General categories are indicated in Tables 8.14 and 8.15 by headings in bold type and lower case lettering (except for the initial letters).

<sup>3</sup> See NZ Census, 1926, vol. IX, p. 35 for a partial breakdown of the total figure.

<sup>4</sup> A detailed breakdown showing how the 1921 total figure was made up was published (NZ Census, 1921, part VIII, p. 33), but the nearest equivalent table for 1936 gives all the occupations associated with agricultural and pastoral farming without indicating which ones make up the 5,603 total for agriculture narrowly defined (NZ Census, 1936, vol. X, p. 38).

Another serious constraint for the present investigation is that the tables describing "industrial distribution" according to religious affiliation give no precise indication of the actual occupation of those who were represented in them. The censuses did include a question about people's occupations<sup>5</sup> but the reports on religion only record "the industry with which the individual is associated, irrespective of his own particular personal occupation in that industry".<sup>6</sup> Managers and technicians, the highly skilled and their unqualified assistants are therefore all grouped together according to their industrial categories. To say, then, that 3,418 Catholic men were involved in sheep-breeding and farming in 1921, is to conceal a crucial distinction between farm labourers and farmers who owned their own property. Since most industrial categories included workers with a variety of personal occupations, generalizations about the skills and levels of training of Catholics (or others) must be regarded as inferences rather than established conclusions. The 1921 census report on industries and occupations includes a detailed breakdown of industrial sub-categories according to the actual occupations of those employed in them and this is a useful guide for interpreting the data on industries and religion.<sup>7</sup> Unfortunately there is no equivalent table for 1936 although the various tables in the volume on employment do provide useful information to supplement the religion and industry data.

Information about "industrial distribution" according to the "grade of employment" or occupational status of the members of the larger denominations was published in separate tables for 1921 and 1926, and these, too, have some limitations.<sup>8</sup> Only the aggregate figures for males and females (and the combined totals) were included in the 1926 census report. For 1921, separate tables recorded the occupational statuses of the adherents of the larger religious denominations according to industrial sectors. These groupings - although more telling than the aggregate figures published for 1926 - are so broad that they each include a wide variety of occupations and make it difficult to draw conclusions about specific areas of employment. Since no such information was published for 1936, a potentially useful measure of social mobility among Catholics in the period is unavailable. Despite these reservations, the "industrial distribution" tables - both those concerned with particular industries and the more summary tables

<sup>5</sup> NZ Census, 1921, part VIII, p. 1; NZ Census, 1936, vol. X, p. i.

<sup>6</sup> NZ Census, 1921, part VII, p. 10. The three questions on employment concerned the industry for which one worked, one's personal occupation within that industry and one's occupational status.

<sup>7</sup> NZ Census, 1921, part VIII, pp. 32-104.

<sup>8</sup> See Tables 8.8, 8.10 and 8.12.

presenting grades of employment - do provide useful information on the employment of Catholics and, thereby, of their social status as a group.<sup>9</sup> All the information on the number of Catholics associated with particular industries can be found in the Tables 8.14 and 8.15, in which the statistics from the three interwar censuses are collated.

The most important use for these statistics is to ascertain whether the proportion of Catholics in any given industry was more or less than the proportion of Catholics in the total workforce. To calculate accurately the proportion of Catholics in the nation's paid workforce, it would be necessary to remove from consideration both dependants and those who received "unearned" income, such as pensioners. The published statistics do not always allow the second part of the operation to be carried out. Dependants - whether wives, children or inmates of institutions - were grouped into a single category whose total membership can be subtracted from the grand total, as can the total numbers of people who were either not involved in any industry or who failed to indicate their industry.<sup>10</sup> (This category includes those who enjoyed "unearned" incomes.) To refine or "correct" the resulting figure it is necessary to restore those working people whose industry was not recorded. For the 1926 census report this cannot be done, because those involved in no industry and those who failed to state their industry cannot be separated out; for 1936 a near complete breakdown of this category was given<sup>11</sup> and only for 1921 was a complete breakdown published for both males and females.<sup>12</sup> Since the "corrected" figures - where available - are not very different from the "uncorrected" figures, it may be assumed that comparisons between particular industrial categories and the "uncorrected" figures would not be seriously inaccurate.

Table 8.12 classifies the adherents of the main denominations and the total population according to their occupational status in 1921 and 1926. In Table 8.13, the proportion of each of the main occupational status categories made up by the major denominations is recorded. For 1921, it is possible to list also the numbers of men and

<sup>9</sup> For a more pessimistic view of the usefulness of this material, see Akenson, *Half the World from Home: Perspectives on the Irish in New Zealand, 1860-1950* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1990), p. 233, n. 30. The degree of care with which the author looked at these tables can be inferred from his having missed the imprisonment statistics in the 1921 census (*cf. ibid.*, p. 82).

<sup>10</sup> This gives the "uncorrected" figures in Tables 8.14 and 8.15, reproduced in Table 8.7.

<sup>11</sup> The Catholic male sub-categories add up to 8,283 out of a total of 8,338; the Catholic female sub-categories account for 5,088 out of 5,168.

<sup>12</sup> This was achieved by including a small "others" sub-category which in fact consisted of dependants (as will be seen below).

women belonging to the larger religious groupings according to their "grade of employment" in the eight broad "industrial groups" (Tables 8.8 and 8.10). From these figures have been derived the proportions of the total in each employment status category within each industrial group (Tables 8.9 and 8.11).

The eight industrial categories used in the 1921 table in fact group together the specific industries listed in Tables 8.14 and 8.15 which have been divided up using the names of these eight categories as headings. That this is how the compilers of the 1921 census report operated is evidenced by the fact that the numbers of people belonging to particular denominations and to the total population in each general category in the "grade of employment" tables correspond with the aggregate totals in the tables giving the numbers of men or women of each denomination in specific industries<sup>13</sup> Actually, the census report is not entirely consistent in this regard. In the "Other groups" sections at the end of both the male and female tables of specific industries, there is a miscellaneous "All others" ("All others n.e.i." in the female table) figure for the total population and for each denomination.<sup>14</sup> Only if these figures are transferred to the "Dependent on public or private support" sections, do the two sections tally with the "Other groups" and "Dependants" categories in the "grade of employment" table.<sup>15</sup> The people counted in the "All others" group were in fact all or mostly dependants.<sup>16</sup>

The "dependants" category in Table 8.12 includes people in institutions, children and women without independent incomes, while the "non-dependants" category is an approximation for "all those in paid employment". Since, as explained in the previous paragraph, the "dependants" and "other groups" categories were calculated differently from those in Tables 8.14 and 8.15, the proportions for 1921 differ from both the

<sup>13</sup> Compare the "TOTAL 1921" figures at the end of each of the eight sections in Tables 8.14 and 8.15 with the equivalent figures in Tables 8.8 and 8.10.

<sup>14</sup> See the section labelled "No industry, or industry not specified" in Tables 8.14 and 8.15.

<sup>15</sup> There are 268 "All others" in the male table (Table 8.14) and 194 "All others n.e.i." in the female table (Table 8.15). Transferring these figures from "Other groups" (males: 25,871-268=25,603; females: 21,221-194=21,017) to "Dependant on public or private support" (males: 206,109+268=206,377; females: 466,825+194=467,019) brings these categories into line with those of the occupational status tables, ("Other groups": 25,603 males and 21,017 females; "Dependants": 206,377 males and 467,019 females). A similar set of calculations can be made for each denomination. (See Tables 8.8 and 8.10 and 8.14 and 8.15.)

<sup>16</sup> Of 268 males, 177 were under 15 years of age and 50 were inmates of institutions, while the 194 females included 141 girls under 15, 25 other minors and 10 inmates (NZ Census, 1921, part VIII, pp. 20, 103).

"corrected" and the "uncorrected" percentages. In the 1926 census report, dependants were included with others to whom grades of employment such as "employer" or "wage earner" were not applicable and it is not possible to separate them out. Table 8.12 therefore incorporates the figures for dependants from the published tables on specific industries.<sup>17</sup>

Thus three sets of estimates of the Catholic proportion of the paid workforce can be made and these are reproduced in Table 8.7. The "corrected figure", where available, should be regarded as the most accurate standard by which it can be determined whether there was an over or under-representation of Catholics in any particular occupation or occupational status in any given census year. There is not enough evidence to determine whether the "uncorrected" or the "non-dependants" percentage is the more accurate for 1926: the true proportion lies somewhere in between.<sup>18</sup>

The difficulty of estimating the proportion of Catholics in the workforce is compounded by yet another consideration. Catholics, unlike other denominations, had substantial numbers of religious who were not, strictly speaking, a part of the paid workforce, since they worked only in Catholic institutions and without proper remuneration. The census enumerators were not consistent in classifying religious: in 1921 and 1936, most of them were counted as members of their occupational group (usually teachers) but in 1926 they were grouped under "religion".<sup>19</sup> This is only an issue in the case of nuns, for the total number of priests and brothers made up only a tiny proportion of the Catholic male workforce and priests were balanced by non-Catholic clergy. In 1921, there were about 1,321 Catholic nuns in New Zealand and in 1936 there were about 1,718.<sup>20</sup> Even though some of these would have retired from active work and others would still be in training, they represent a significant proportion of the total number of Catholic women in employment (17,525 and 21,331 for the two census years). If nuns are removed from the "corrected" female figures for 1921 and

<sup>17</sup> NZ Census, 1926, vol. VIII, pp. 35-37.

<sup>18</sup> The difference between the two estimates is that whereas the "uncorrected" percentage excludes both dependants and those who were retired or whose industry was not specified, the "non-dependants" percentage excludes only dependants.

<sup>19</sup> See NZ Census, 1921, part VIII, p. 91 for a breakdown of the "religion" category for that year (including only 101 nuns and no brothers), NZ Census, 1926, vol. IX, p. 49 where "religion" includes 47 brothers and 1,309 nuns, NZ Census, 1936, vol. X, p. 57 (306 nuns) and *ibid.*, p. 49 (5 brothers). The 1936 figures refer to professional women and men generally, no details being published for specific professions. See also the discussion of Catholic "professional" women below.

<sup>20</sup> ACD, 1922, p. 253; 1937, p. 443.

1936, the proportions of Catholics in the female workforce are reduced by over one per cent to 14.88 per cent and 14.29 per cent.<sup>21</sup>

**Table 8.7**  
**Catholic Proportions in the Workforce**

		1921	1926	1936
<b>"Uncorrected"</b>	<b>Males</b>	12.73	11.84	12.12
	<b>Females</b>	15.97	15.14	15.33
<b>"Corrected"</b>	<b>Males</b>	12.89	----	12.36
	<b>Females</b>	15.90	----	15.35
<b>"Non-Dependants"</b>	<b>Males</b>	12.82	11.99	----
	<b>Females</b>	15.39	14.55	----

For the derivation and significance of these proportions see the accompanying text. Source (for the "Uncorrected" and "Corrected" figures): Tables 8.14 and 8.15; (for the "Non-Dependants" figures): Table 8.13. As explained in the text, if nuns are excluded from the "corrected" proportions of females in 1921 and 1936, these percentages are reduced to 14.88 and 14.29 respectively.

<sup>21</sup> These proportions were calculated by subtracting the numbers of nuns from the "Totals for all those in Paid Employment or Unemployed" at the end of Table 8.15.

**Table 8.8**  
**Occupational Status of Men in Industrial Categories, 1921**

Denomination	Employer of others	Self- Employed	Relative Assisting	Waged or Salaried	Unem- ployed	Not Applicable	Not Stated	Total
<b>PRIMARY</b>								
Anglican	9,808	17,282	2,403	26,738	1,157		72	57,460
Presbyterian	8,276	11,759	1,826	18,644	708		25	41,238
Catholic	2,553	5,173	891	9,133	451		24	18,225
Methodist	2,026	3,760	624	4,817	173		16	11,416
<b>Total Pop.</b>	<b>24,845</b>	<b>42,617</b>	<b>6,300</b>	<b>65,965</b>	<b>2,848</b>		<b>161</b>	<b>142,736</b>
<b>INDUSTRIAL</b>								
Anglican	3,777	3,218	55	33,107	1,335		36	41,528
Presbyterian	2,411	1,607	30	17,543	682		11	22,284
Catholic	774	809	7	9,828	474		12	11,904
Methodist	1,156	806	21	7,314	246		10	9,553
<b>Total Pop.</b>	<b>9,568</b>	<b>7,741</b>	<b>138</b>	<b>7,888</b>	<b>3,199</b>		<b>79</b>	<b>98,613</b>
<b>TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION</b>								
Anglican	663	1,607	20	20,210	520		4	23,024
Presbyterian	350	769	13	10,013	250		3	11,398
Catholic	145	448	2	7,431	227		1	8,254
Methodist	125	305	5	3,437	69		0	3,941
<b>Total Pop.</b>	<b>1,413</b>	<b>3,503</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>46,458</b>	<b>1,237</b>		<b>13</b>	<b>52,665</b>
<b>COMMERCIAL</b>								
Anglican	3,143	2,765	72	17,992	558	801	17	25,348
Presbyterian	1,773	1,259	40	9,753	272	471	9	13,577
Catholic	511	709	22	4,170	172	158	2	5,744
Methodist	853	577	15	4,070	111	231	2	5,859
<b>Total Pop.</b>	<b>7,497</b>	<b>6,682</b>	<b>170</b>	<b>40,894</b>	<b>1,302</b>	<b>1,938</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>58,519</b>
<b>PROFESSIONAL</b>								
Anglican	1,292	1,214	7	10,578	205	8	8	13,312
Presbyterian	529	480	0	5,529	94	82	2	6,716
Catholic	220	221	7	3,272	59	132	1	3,912
Methodist	124	123	0	1,891	22	19	0	2,179
<b>Total Pop.</b>	<b>2,474</b>	<b>2,414</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>24,154</b>	<b>432</b>	<b>289</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>29,803</b>
<b>DOMESTIC</b>								
Anglican	689	357	33	2,685	152		2	3,918
Presbyterian	241	123	10	893	45		1	1,313
Catholic	421	132	17	1,149	43		2	1,764
Methodist	58	52	3	278	4		0	395
<b>Total Pop.</b>	<b>1,630</b>	<b>908</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>5,998</b>	<b>314</b>		<b>5</b>	<b>8,927</b>
<b>OTHER GROUPS</b>								
Anglican	65	132	3	3,466	679	6,196	77	10,618
Presbyterian	34	50	2	1,545	313	3,948	28	5,920
Catholic	26	40	4	1,523	325	1,696	21	3,635
Methodist	28	35	2	305	230	1,465	25	2,090
<b>Total Pop.</b>	<b>164</b>	<b>287</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>7,679</b>	<b>1,739</b>	<b>15,460</b>	<b>259</b>	<b>25,603</b>

Source: New Zealand Census, 1921, part VII, pp. 43-44.

Table 8.9

## Occupational Status of Men in Industrial Categories, 1921 (Percentages)

Denomination	Employer of others	Self- Employed	Relative Assisting	Waged or Salaried	Unem- ployed	Not Applicable	Not Stated	Total
<b>PRIMARY</b>								
Anglican	39.48	40.55	38.14	40.53	40.63		44.72	40.26
Presbyterian	33.31	27.59	28.98	28.26	24.86		15.53	28.89
Catholic	10.28	12.14	14.14	13.85	15.84		14.91	12.77
Methodist	8.15	8.82	9.90	7.30	6.07		9.94	8.00
<b>INDUSTRIAL</b>								
Anglican	39.48	41.57	39.86	42.51	41.73		45.57	42.11
Presbyterian	25.20	20.76	21.74	22.52	21.32		13.92	22.60
Catholic	8.09	10.45	5.07	12.62	14.82		15.19	12.07
Methodist	12.08	10.41	15.22	9.39	7.69		12.66	9.69
<b>TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION</b>								
Anglican	46.92	45.87	48.78	43.50	42.04		30.77	43.72
Presbyterian	24.77	21.95	31.71	21.55	20.21		23.08	21.64
Catholic	10.26	12.79	4.88	16.00	18.35		7.69	15.67
Methodist	8.85	8.71	12.20	7.40	5.58		0.00	7.48
<b>COMMERCIAL</b>								
Anglican	41.92	41.38	42.35	44.00	42.86	41.33	47.22	43.32
Presbyterian	23.65	18.84	23.53	23.85	20.89	24.30	25.00	23.20
Catholic	6.82	10.61	12.94	10.20	13.21	8.15	5.56	9.82
Methodist	11.38	8.64	8.82	9.95	8.53	11.92	5.56	10.01
<b>PROFESSIONAL</b>								
Anglican	52.22	50.29	43.75	43.79	47.45	2.77	33.33	44.67
Presbyterian	21.38	19.88	.00	22.89	21.76	28.37	8.33	22.53
Catholic	8.89	9.15	43.75	13.55	13.66	45.67	4.17	13.13
Methodist	5.01	5.10	.00	7.83	5.09	6.57	.00	7.31
<b>DOMESTIC</b>								
Anglican	42.27	39.32	45.83	44.76	48.41		40.00	43.89
Presbyterian	14.79	13.55	13.89	14.89	14.33		20.00	14.71
Catholic	25.83	14.54	23.61	19.16	13.69		40.00	19.76
Methodist	3.56	5.73	4.17	4.63	1.27		0.00	4.42
<b>OTHER GROUPS</b>								
Anglican	39.63	45.99	20.00	45.14	39.05	40.08	29.73	41.47
Presbyterian	20.73	17.42	13.33	20.12	18.00	25.54	10.81	23.12
Catholic	15.85	13.94	26.67	19.83	18.69	10.97	8.11	14.20
Methodist	17.07	12.20	13.33	3.97	13.23	9.48	9.65	8.16

The table gives the percentages of each occupational-status category in general industrial groupings made up by men belonging to the four largest denominations (e.g. the percentage of male primary industry employers who were Anglicans). Note that some percentages in the table are based on very small numbers of individuals and cannot be regarded as significant. Source: Table 8.8.

**Table 8.10**  
**Occupational Status of Women in Industrial Categories, 1921**

Denomination	Employer of others	Self- Employed	Relative Assisting	Waged or Salaried	Unem- ployed	Not Applicable	Not Stated	Total
<b>PRIMARY</b>								
Anglican	376	492	1,525	1,188	6	4		3,591
Presbyterian	316	390	1,043	908	4	0		2,661
Catholic	143	222	504	403	3	1		1,276
Methodist	73	98	397	360	0	0		928
<b>Total Population</b>	<b>952</b>	<b>1,320</b>	<b>3,789</b>	<b>3,118</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>7</b>		<b>9,200</b>
<b>INDUSTRIAL</b>								
Anglican	193	801	52	6,886	162	6		8,100
Presbyterian	89	470	29	3,678	80	3		4,349
Catholic	60	305	29	2,434	62	0		2,890
Methodist	44	215	12	2,040	58	0		2,369
<b>Total Population</b>	<b>444</b>	<b>2,046</b>	<b>154</b>	<b>17,231</b>	<b>433</b>	<b>11</b>		<b>20,319</b>
<b>TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION</b>								
Anglican	7	8	4	1,131	10			1,160
Presbyterian	3	4	0	535	1			543
Catholic	0	4	1	553	4			562
Methodist	1	4	0	209	1			215
<b>Total Population</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>2,610</b>	<b>21</b>			<b>2,670</b>
<b>COMMERCIAL</b>								
Anglican	199	524	267	6,791	148	241	2	8,172
Presbyterian	122	284	136	4,183	80	136	1	4,942
Catholic	66	234	81	2,316	43	71	0	2,811
Methodist	52	121	78	2,138	35	37	0	2,461
<b>Total Population</b>	<b>500</b>	<b>1,351</b>	<b>646</b>	<b>17,225</b>	<b>343</b>	<b>533</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>20,601</b>
<b>PROFESSIONAL</b>								
Anglican	150	1,171	18	7,433	203	26	11	9,012
Presbyterian	64	508	6	4,724	94	13	4	5,413
Catholic	21	343	3	2,223	60	1,234	3	3,887
Methodist	13	182	2	1,322	33	5	3	1,560
<b>Total Population</b>	<b>277</b>	<b>2,531</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>17,451</b>	<b>442</b>	<b>1,320</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>22,082</b>
<b>DOMESTIC</b>								
Anglican	320	624	319	12,358	294	3		13,918
Presbyterian	156	326	171	7,111	153	0		7,917
Catholic	183	308	213	4,928	129	1		5,762
Methodist	42	103	26	2,221	51	1		2,444
<b>Total Population</b>	<b>750</b>	<b>1,489</b>	<b>771</b>	<b>29,049</b>	<b>697</b>	<b>6</b>		<b>32,762</b>
<b>OTHER GROUPS</b>								
Anglican	1	1	1	750	80	7,908	27	8,768
Presbyterian	0	0	1	400	42	4,920	15	5,378
Catholic	1	0	2	236	33	2,337	7	2,616
Methodist	1	1	0	187	22	1,771	8	1,990
<b>Total Population</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1,747</b>	<b>204</b>	<b>18,983</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>21,017</b>

Source: New Zealand Census, 1921, part VII, pp. 45-46.

*Table 8.11*  
Occupational Status of Women in Industrial Categories, 1921 (Percentages)

Denomination	Employer of others	Self- Employed	Relative Assisting	Waged or Salaried	Unem- ployed	Not Applicable	Not Stated	Total
<b>PRIMARY</b>								
Anglican	39.50	37.27	40.25	38.10	42.86			39.03
Presbyterian	33.19	29.55	27.53	29.12	28.57			28.92
Catholic	15.02	16.82	13.30	12.92	21.43			13.87
Methodist	7.67	7.42	10.48	11.55	0.00			10.09
<b>INDUSTRIAL</b>								
Anglican	43.47	39.15	33.77	39.96	37.41			39.86
Presbyterian	20.05	22.97	18.83	21.35	18.48			21.40
Catholic	13.51	14.91	18.83	14.13	14.32			14.22
Methodist	9.91	10.51	7.79	11.84	13.39			11.66
<b>TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION</b>								
Anglican	58.33	38.10	66.67	43.33	47.62			43.45
Presbyterian	25.00	19.05	0.00	20.50	4.76			20.34
Catholic	0.00	19.05	16.67	21.19	19.05			21.05
Methodist	8.33	19.05	0.00	8.01	4.76			8.05
<b>COMMERCIAL</b>								
Anglican	39.80	38.79	41.33	39.43	43.15	45.22	66.67	39.67
Presbyterian	24.40	21.02	21.05	24.28	23.32	25.52	33.33	23.99
Catholic	13.20	17.32	12.54	13.45	12.54	13.32	0.00	13.64
Methodist	10.40	8.96	12.07	12.41	10.20	6.94	0.00	11.95
<b>PROFESSIONAL</b>								
Anglican	54.15	46.27	47.37	42.59	45.93	1.97	47.83	40.81
Presbyterian	23.10	20.07	15.79	27.07	21.27	0.98	17.39	24.51
Catholic	7.58	13.55	7.89	12.74	13.57	93.48	13.04	17.60
Methodist	4.69	7.19	5.26	7.58	7.47	0.38	13.04	7.06
<b>DOMESTIC</b>								
Anglican	42.67	41.91	41.37	42.54	42.18			42.48
Presbyterian	20.80	21.89	22.18	24.48	21.95			24.17
Catholic	24.40	20.69	27.63	16.96	18.51			17.59
Methodist	5.60	6.92	3.37	7.65	7.32			7.46
<b>OTHER GROUPS</b>								
Anglican	33.33	50.00	25.00	42.93	39.22	41.66	36.49	41.72
Presbyterian	0.00	0.00	25.00	22.90	20.59	25.92	20.27	25.59
Catholic	33.33	0.00	50.00	13.51	16.18	12.31	9.46	12.45
Methodist	33.33	50.00	0.00	10.70	10.78	9.33	10.81	9.47

The table gives the percentages of each occupational-status category in general industrial groupings made up by women belonging to the four largest denominations (e.g. the percentage of female primary industry employers who were Anglicans). Note that some percentages in the table are based on very small numbers of individuals and cannot be regarded as significant. Source: Table 8.10.

**Table 8.12**  
**General Occupational Status, 1921-1926**

	Year	Employer of others	Self- Employed	Relative Assisting	Waged or Salaried	Unem- ployed	Total
<b>MALES</b>							
Anglican	1921	19,437	26,575	2,593	114,776	4,606	167,987
	1926	19,656	24,771	3,400	125,343	4,303	177,473
Presbyterian	1921	13,614	16,047	1,921	63,920	2,364	97,866
	1926	13,717	15,882	3,091	70,027	2,116	104,833
Catholic	1921	4,650	7,532	950	36,506	1,751	51,389
	1926	4,424	7,181	1,457	37,772	1,564	52,398
Methodist	1921	4,370	5,658	670	22,112	855	33,665
	1926	4,427	5,346	829	24,965	718	36,285
All Males	1921	47,591	64,152	6,752	269,036	11,071	398,512
	1926	48,226	62,226	9,586	305,120	10,694	435,852
<b>FEMALES</b>							
Anglican	1921	1,246	3,621	2,186	36,537	903	44,484
	1926	1,335	3,126	414	38,820	947	44,642
Presbyterian	1921	750	1,982	1,386	21,539	454	26,111
	1926	886	1,746	237	23,158	560	26,587
Catholic	1921	474	1,416	833	13,093	334	16,150
	1926	529	1,103	193	13,388	363	15,576
Methodist	1921	226	724	515	8,477	200	10,142
	1926	262	669	97	9,047	199	10,274
All Females	1921	2,938	8,760	5,408	88,431	2,154	107,691
	1926	3,358	7,705	1,065	96,425	2,434	110,987
<b>TOTAL (Males and Females)</b>							
Anglican	1921	20,683	30,196	4,779	151,313	5,509	212,471
	1926	20,991	27,897	3,814	164,163	5,250	222,115
Presbyterian	1921	14,364	18,029	3,307	85,459	2,818	123,977
	1926	14,603	17,628	3,328	93,185	2,676	131,420
Catholic	1921	5,124	8,948	1,783	49,599	20,85	67,539
	1926	4,953	8,284	1,650	51,160	1,927	67,974
Methodist	1921	4,596	6,382	1,185	30,589	1,055	43,807
	1926	4,689	6,015	926	34,012	917	46,559
Total Pop.	1921	50,529	72,912	12,160	357,467	13,225	506,293
	1926	51,584	69,931	10,651	401,545	13,128	546,839

Table 8.12 (continued)

	Year	Not Stated	Not Applicable	Dependants	Total Non-Dependants	Grand Total
<b>MALES</b>						
Anglican	1921	216	94,283	87,278	175,208	262,486
	1926	871	102,569	93,364	187,549	280,913
Presbyterian	1921	79	55,147	50,646	102,446	153,092
	1926	431	61,779	55,884	111,159	167,043
Catholic	1921	63	31,350	29,364	53,438	82,802
	1926	306	33,803	31,052	55,455	86,507
Methodist	1921	53	20,893	19,178	35,433	54,611
	1926	147	22,243	19,850	38,825	58,675
All Males	1921	577	224,064	206,377	416,866	623,243
	1926	2,448	248,084	223,951	462,433	686,384
<b>FEMALES</b>						
Anglican	1921	50	207,578	199,400	52,721	252,121
	1926	200	228,238	221,140	51,940	273,080
Presbyterian	1921	23	120,319	115,250	31,203	146,453
	1926	104	136,997	132,482	31,206	163,688
Catholic	1921	12	65,169	61,527	19,804	81,331
	1926	74	71,207	67,967	18,890	86,857
Methodist	1921	12	47,579	45,766	11,967	57,733
	1926	36	52,227	50,711	11,826	62,537
All Females	1921	118	487,861	467,019	128,651	595,670
	1926	559	546,539	528,273	129,812	658,085
<b>TOTAL (Males and Females)</b>						
Anglican	1921	266	301,861	286,678	227,929	514,607
	1926	1,071	330,807	314,504	239,489	553,993
Presbyterian	1921	102	175,466	165,896	133,649	299,545
	1926	535	198,776	188,366	142,365	330,731
Catholic	1921	75	96,519	90,891	73,242	164,133
	1926	380	105,010	99,019	74,345	173,364
Methodist	1921	65	68,472	64,944	47,400	112,344
	1926	183	74,470	70,561	50,651	121,212
Total Population	1921	695	711,925	673,396	545,517	1,218,913
	1926	3,007	794,623	752,224	592,245	1,344,469

This table records the numbers of people in the total population and in each of the main denominations according to their occupational status. The "Not Applicable" figures include "Dependants". Sources: New Zealand Census, 1921, part VII, pp. 44, 46; 1926, vol. VIII, p. 35. The dependants figures for 1926 are taken from *ibid.*, pp. 36-37.

**Table 8.13**  
**General Occupational Status, 1921-1926 (Percentages)**

	Employer of others	Self- Employed	Relative Assisting	Waged or Salaried	Unem- ployed	Dependants	Non Dependants	Total
<b>MALES</b>								
<b>Anglican</b>								
1921	40.84	41.43	38.40	42.66	41.60	42.29	42.03	42.12
1926	40.76	39.81	35.47	41.08	40.24	41.69	40.56	40.93
<b>Presbyterian</b>								
1921	28.61	25.01	28.45	23.76	21.35	24.54	24.58	24.56
1926	28.44	25.52	32.24	22.95	19.79	24.95	24.04	24.34
<b>Catholic</b>								
1921	9.77	11.74	14.07	13.57	15.82	14.23	12.82	13.29
1926	9.17	11.54	15.20	12.38	14.63	13.87	11.99	12.60
<b>Methodist</b>								
1921	9.18	8.82	9.92	8.22	7.72	9.29	8.50	8.76
1926	9.18	8.59	8.65	8.18	6.71	8.86	8.40	8.55
<b>FEMALES</b>								
<b>Anglican</b>								
1921	42.41	41.34	40.42	41.32	41.92	42.70	40.98	42.33
1926	39.76	40.57	38.87	40.26	38.91	41.86	40.01	41.50
<b>Presbyterian</b>								
1921	25.53	22.63	25.63	24.36	21.08	24.68	24.25	24.59
1926	26.38	22.66	22.25	24.02	23.01	25.08	24.04	24.87
<b>Catholic</b>								
1921	16.13	16.16	15.40	14.81	15.51	13.17	15.39	13.65
1926	15.75	14.32	18.12	13.88	14.91	12.87	14.55	13.20
<b>Methodist</b>								
1921	7.69	8.26	9.52	9.59	9.29	9.80	9.30	9.69
1926	7.80	8.68	9.11	9.38	8.18	9.60	9.11	9.50
<b>TOTAL (Males and Females)</b>								
<b>Anglican</b>								
1921	40.93	41.41	39.30	42.33	41.66	42.57	41.78	42.22
1926	40.69	39.89	35.81	40.88	39.99	41.81	40.44	41.21
<b>Presbyterian</b>								
1921	28.43	24.73	27.20	23.91	21.31	24.64	24.50	24.57
1926	28.31	25.21	31.25	23.21	20.38	25.04	24.04	24.60
<b>Catholic</b>								
1921	10.14	12.27	14.66	13.88	15.77	13.50	13.43	13.47
1926	9.60	11.85	15.49	12.74	14.68	13.16	12.55	12.89
<b>Methodist</b>								
1921	9.10	8.75	9.75	8.56	7.98	9.64	8.69	9.22
1926	9.09	8.60	8.69	8.47	6.99	9.38	8.55	9.02

This table gives the percentages of each occupational-status category made up by each of the four largest denominations (e.g. the percentage of male employers who were Anglicans). Source: Table 8.12.

Table 8.14  
Industrial Distribution of Catholic Males, 1921-1936

Occupation	Number Catholic	Total Employed	Percentage Catholic
<i>PRIMARY</i>			
<b>Fishing and trapping</b>			
fishing (food fishes)	142	892	15.92
<i>fishing, n.o.d.</i>	248	1,255	19.76
rabbits	106	710	14.93
<i>rabbit trapping or poisoning</i>	106	1,006	10.54
other	6	102	5.88
<i>other</i>	40	274	14.60
TOTAL 1921	254	1,704	14.91
1926	370	2,599	14.24
1936	394	2,535	15.54
<b>Agricultural and pastoral</b>			
government administrative officers	34	454	7.49
agricultural farming (cropping)	2,424	16,187	14.97
<i>agricultural farming [cropping]<sup>22</sup></i>	785	5,603	14.01
sheep breeding and farming	3,418	31,375	10.89
<i>sheep farming</i>	3,586	33,645	10.66
cattle breeding and grazing	229	1,564	14.64
dairy farming	6,228	51,229	12.16
<i>dairy farming</i>	8,270	71,480	11.57
pig farming	12	169	7.10
mixed farming or farming undefined	1,440	10,696	13.46
<i>mixed farming</i>	1,793	15,963	11.23
orchard and fruit farming	168	2,877	5.84
<i>fruit and nut growing</i>	374	3,970	9.42
market gardening	138	2,672	5.16
<i>market gardening</i>	256	2,889	8.86
poultry farming	45	766	5.87
<i>poultry farming</i>	54	1,027	5.26
bushfelling and scrub cutting	213	989	21.54
<i>flower and seed growing and nursery gardening</i>	161	1,980	8.13
other	359	4,002	8.97
<i>farming, n.o.d.</i>	617	4,462	13.83
TOTAL 1921	14,708	122,980	11.96
1926	12,806	116,953	10.95
1936	16,275	144,456	11.27

<sup>22</sup> NZ Census, 1936, vol. X, p. 4.

Table 8.14 (continued)

Occupation	Number Catholic	Total Employed	Percentage Catholic
<b>Forestry</b>			
bush sawmilling	1,499	8,547	17.54
<i>bush sawmilling</i>	1,264	7,915	15.97
kauri-gum gathering	463	1,026	45.13
<i>government nurseries and plantations</i>	202	1,068	18.91
other	56	319	17.55
TOTAL 1921	2,018	9,892	20.40
1926	2,129	10,614	20.06
1936	1,764	10,248	17.21
<b>Mining and quarrying</b>			
coal-mining	589	4,780	12.32
<i>coal-mining</i>	602	5,255	11.46
gold-mining (quartz)	266	1,407	18.91
<i>gold-mining (quartz)</i>	310	1,671	18.55
gold-mining (alluvial)	193	881	21.91
<i>gold-mining (alluvial)</i>	609	3,198	19.04
road-metal, gravel and sand-pits	125	670	18.66
other	72	422	17.06
TOTAL 1921	1,245	8,160	15.26
1926	1,232	8,384	14.69
1936	1,766	11,359	15.55
<b>Overall Totals for Primary Industries</b>			
1921	18,225	142,736	12.77
1926	16,537	138,550	11.94
1936	20,199	168,598	11.98

**INDUSTRIAL****MANUFACTURE, ETC., INVOLVING:****Stone, clay, glass and minerals, n.e.i.**

cement	91	412	22.09
lime	58	351	16.52
bricks, tiles, drainpipes, fireclay and pottery	125	1,132	11.04
other	66	588	11.22
TOTAL 1921	340	2,483	13.69
1926	335	2,788	12.02
1936 ( <i>stone, clay, earthenware, etc.</i> )	339	2,988	11.35

**Chemicals, animal and vegetable products, n.e.i.**

fellmongering, wool washing and scouring	65	592	10.98
<i>fellmongering, woolscouring</i>	144	1,078	13.36
tanning and currying	41	502	8.17

Table 8.14 (continued)

Occupation	Number Catholic	Total Employed	Percentage Catholic
grain-threshing, chaffcutting and grain-crushing	304	1,711	17.77
<i>grain-threshing or crushing, chaffcutting</i>	260	1,686	15.42
other	114	1,058	10.78
TOTAL 1921	524	3,863	13.56
1926	490	3,857	12.70
<b>Metals, implements, conveyances, etc.</b>			
foundry and general engineering	573	5,981	9.58
<i>iron, steel and brass foundries, general engineering and machine repairing</i>	623	6,416	9.71
tin-plate and sheet-metal working	89	770	11.56
<i>tin-plate and sheet-metal working, etc.</i>	126	1,137	11.08
agricultural machinery and implements	29	419	6.92
blacksmithing	342	2,445	13.99
<i>blacksmithing</i>	183	1,444	12.67
motor engineering	163	1,731	9.42
<i>motor engineering</i>	234	2,806	8.34
electrical engineering	49	740	6.62
<i>electrical engineering, etc.</i>	113	1,572	7.19
other non-precious metal industries	60	538	11.15
*other metal industries, not precious metals, jewellery or plate	48	407	11.79
*foundry and engineering <sup>23</sup>	1,313	14,095	9.32
TOTAL 1921	1,305	12,624	10.34
1926	1,361	14,502	9.38
<b>Carriages and vehicles</b>			
horse-vehicles, wheelwright's work	122	1,270	9.61
motor-car, wagon, etc.	49	520	9.42
<i>motor-vehicles, assembly and body building</i>	234	1,993	11.74
other	20	259	7.72
TOTAL 1921	191	2,049	9.32
1926	196	2,127	9.21
<b>Ship-building and equipment</b>			
ship and boat building (shipwrights)	57	658	8.66
<i>ships, boats and equipment</i>	54	614	8.79
other	13	92	14.13
TOTAL 1921	70	750	9.33
1926	78	621	12.56

<sup>23</sup> These 1926 figures include all the "Metals, implements, conveyances, etc." (to use the 1921 formula) except the "other metal industries, not precious metals, jewellery or plate". The corresponding figures for 1921 are 1,245 Catholics or 10.30 per cent out of 12,086 workers. These figures are calculated by subtracting the "other non-precious metal industries" from the total given for "metals, implements, conveyances, etc." (see NZ Census, 1926, vol. IX, p. 14).

Table 8.14 (continued)

Occupation	Number Catholic	Total Employed	Percentage Catholic
<b>Jewellery, watch and clockmaking, etc.</b>			
TOTAL 1921	55	782	7.03
1926	67	814	8.23
1936 ( <i>jewellery and watches</i> )	72	819	8.79
<b>Textile fabrics and fibrous materials</b>			
woollen cloth, yarn, blankets, etc.	87	1,101	7.90
<i>woollen-mills</i>	94	1,250	7.52
flax milling	112	832	13.46
other	36	414	8.70
TOTAL 1921	235	2,347	10.01
1926	386	3,178	12.15
<b>Dress</b>			
tailoring	252	2,101	11.99
<i>tailoring</i>	142	1,330	10.68
clothing	71	578	12.28
<i>clothing and waterproof, n.e.i., making</i>	235	1,897	12.39
boots, shoes (manufacture)	227	2,036	11.15
<i>boot, shoe and slipper (not rubber) making (not repairing)</i>	240	2,033	11.81
boot-repairing	147	1,105	13.30
<i>boot and shoe repairing</i>	146	1,431	10.20
other	31	439	7.06
TOTAL 1921	728	6,259	11.63
1926	675	6,347	10.63
1921 (excluding "other")	697	5,820	11.98
1936 (no "other" figure recorded)	763	6,691	11.40
<b>Harness, saddlery and leatherware</b>			
saddlery, harness and whips	94	837	11.23
other	10	197	5.08
TOTAL 1921	104	1,034	10.06
1926	102	958	10.65
1936	104	796	13.07
<b>Food</b>			
meat freezing and preserving	1,253	8,557	14.64
<i>meat freezing and preserving</i>	1,210	9,112	13.28
butter and cheese	197	2,475	7.96
<i>butter and cheese factories</i>	409	4,129	9.91
grain-milling	52	582	8.93
bread, biscuit and pastry making	344	3,267	10.53
<i>breadmaking</i>	402	4,000	10.05
other	258	2,227	11.59
TOTAL 1921	2,104	17,108	12.30
1926	1,727	15,654	11.03

Table 8.14 (continued)

Occupation	Number Catholic	Total Employed	Percentage Catholic
<b>Drink</b>			
malting, brewing and bottling	207	1,152	17.97
cordials and aerated waters	93	601	15.47
other	15	65	23.08
TOTAL 1921	315	1,818	17.33
1926	244	1,508	16.18
1936 ( <i>aerated waters, beer, wine, etc.</i> )	248	1,674	14.81
<b>Tobacco, cigars and cigarettes</b>			
TOTAL 1921	2	30	6.67
1926	5	50	10.00
1936 ( <i>tobacco</i> ) [ <i>includes cigars and cigarettes</i> ] <sup>24</sup>	25	280	8.93
<b>Wood-working, cane and basketware, n.e.i.</b>			
joinery-works, sash and door factories	73	1,168	6.25
<i>joinery-works, sash and door factories</i>	83	1,163	7.14
other	50	617	8.10
TOTAL 1921	123	1,785	6.89
1926	202	2,426	8.33
<b>Furniture and fittings</b>			
bedstead, cabinet and furniture making	300	2,951	10.17
<i>cabinet and furniture making</i>	281	2,767	10.16
other	41	390	10.51
TOTAL 1921	341	3,341	10.21
1926	343	3,356	10.22
<b>Stationery, printing, bookbinding and photography</b>			
books, newspapers and periodicals	187	1,758	10.64
<i>printing and publication of books,</i>			
<i>newspapers and periodicals</i>	435	3,853	11.29
job and general printing	284	2,665	10.66
<i>job and general printing</i>	302	2,986	10.11
photography	27	428	6.31
other	44	466	9.44
TOTAL 1921	542	5,317	10.19
1926	650	6,445	10.09
<b>Other miscellaneous manufactures</b>			
TOTAL 1921	92	1,043	8.82
1926	74	883	8.38
<b><u>Totals for Manufacture, Alteration and Repair</u></b>			
1921	7,071	62,633	11.29
1926	6,935	65,514	10.59
1936	8,532	78,251	10.90

24 NZ Census, 1936, vol. X, p. 7.

Table 8.14 (continued)

Occupation	Number Catholic	Total Employed	Percentage Catholic
<b>CONSTRUCTION OR REPAIR OF BUILDINGS, ROADS, RAILWAYS, ETC.</b>			
<b>Buildings</b>			
bricklaying	162	1,427	11.35
general carpentering	907	10,076	9.00
<i>general carpentering</i>	280	3,015	9.29
painting, paperhanging, glazing	430	4,351	9.88
<i>painting, decorating, paperhanging, and glazing</i>	449	4,454	10.08
plastering	84	764	10.99
plumbing, gasfitting and drainlaying	298	2,661	11.20
<i>plumbing, gasfitting and drainlaying</i>	305	2,967	10.28
electric installation	98	960	10.21
building and construction undefined	489	4,464	10.95
<i>building and construction, n.e.i.</i>	1,246	13,304	9.37
other	48	481	9.98
TOTAL 1921	2,516	25,184	9.99
1926	2,924	31,588	9.26
<b>Roads, railways, earthworks etc.</b>			
roads	1,179	4,949	23.82
<i>construction and maintenance of roads</i>	2,138	11,480	18.62
railways	299	1,078	27.74
hydro-electric works	106	504	21.03
land drainage and irrigation	231	875	26.40
<i>land drainage and reclamation</i>	384	1,719	22.34
<i>government administrative officers, n.e.i.</i> <sup>25</sup>	267	1,692	15.78
other	200	804	24.88
TOTAL 1921	2,015	8,210	24.54
1926	2,458	11,498	21.38
<b>Total for Building and Construction</b>			
TOTAL 1921	4,531	33,394	13.57
1926	5,382	43,086	12.49
1936	6,051	45,602	13.27
<b>Gas, water and electricity supply (and production)</b>			
gas	194	1,584	12.25
<i>gasworks</i>	233	1,688	13.80
electricity	91	821	11.08
<i>electric light and power works and supply</i>	352	3,181	11.07
other	17	181	9.39

<sup>25</sup> It is clear from NZ Census, 1936, vol. X, p. 8 that this category belongs with "Roads, railways, earthworks etc." rather than with "Buildings".

Table 8.14 (continued)

Occupation	Number Catholic	Total Employed	Percentage Catholic
TOTAL 1921	302	2,586	11.68
1926	608	4,772	12.74
1936	632	5,293	11.94
<b>Overall Totals for Industrial Categories</b>			
1921	11,904	98,613	12.07
1926	12,925	113,372	11.40
1936	15,215	129,146	11.78

**TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION**

<b>Land and air</b>			
railway service	2,661	14,881	17.88
railway service	2,801	17,426	16.07
tramway service	306	2,467	12.40
tramway service	310	2,759	11.24
motor-garages and taxi service	477	4,197	11.37
taxi services	236	1,513	15.60
motor-garages	501	4,809	10.42
Total for taxi services and motor-garages	737	6,322	11.66
carrying and cartage service	946	6,188	15.29
carrying and cartage service	1,005	8,141	12.34
other	82	618	13.27
aerodromes and aviation service	6	39	15.38
air transport	7	127	5.51
TOTAL 1921	4,478	28,390	17.77
1926	4,568	33,132	13.79
<b>Water</b>			
shipping service	1,218	8,135	14.97
shipping service	944	6,382	14.79
loading and discharging vessels	1,014	5,447	18.62
loading and discharging vessels	854	5,174	16.51
harbour board services, lighthouses	343	2,404	14.27
harbour board administrative officers	142	1,264	11.23
other	42	444	9.46
TOTAL 1921	2,617	16,430	15.93
1926	1,967	14,840	13.25

Table 8.14 (continued)

Occupation	Number Catholic	Total Employed	Percentage Catholic
<b>Post and telegraph services</b>			
postal [excluding Post Office Savings Bank] <sup>26</sup>	314	2,171	14.46
postal service [including Post Office Savings Bank] <sup>27</sup>	488	3,174	15.37
telegraph and telephone	599	3,872	15.47
telegraph, cable and telephone service	756	4,600	16.43
undefined (postal, telegraph or telephone) officers	237	1,681	14.10
other [wireless and cable workers] <sup>28</sup>	9	121	7.44
TOTAL 1921	1,159	7,845	14.77
1926 [excluding Post Office Savings Bank] <sup>29</sup>	1,267	8,469	14.96
<b>Overall Totals for Transport and Communication</b>			
1921	8,254	52,665	15.67
1926	7,802	56,441	13.82
1936	8,556	60,022	14.25

**COMMERCIAL**

<b>Property and finance</b>			
proprietor of houses, land, capitalist	158	1,938	8.15
auctioneering and valuing	265	2,874	9.22
auctioneering and valuing, house and estate agencies	181	1,702	10.63
banking [including Post Office Savings Bank] <sup>30</sup>	224	2,453	9.13
banking (excluding Post Office Savings Bank)	260	3,317	7.84
insurance	201	2,133	9.42
insurance (all classes)	358	3,580	10.00
other	94	946	9.94
TOTAL 1921	942	10,344	9.11
1926	815	8,897	9.16
stock and station agents	265	2,699	9.82
<b>Commerce, dealing in:</b>			
horses, cattle and other livestock	148	1,438	10.29
grain, flour and forage	138	1,501	9.19
coal and firewood	164	1,317	12.45
coke, coal and firewood	145	1,393	10.41

<sup>26</sup> NZ Census, 1921, part VIII, pp. 19, 72.

<sup>27</sup> NZ Census, 1936, vol. X, pp. 9, 34.

<sup>28</sup> NZ Census, 1921, part VIII, p. 19.

<sup>29</sup> NZ Census, 1926, vol. IX, p. 21.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Post and telegraph service.

Table 8.14 (continued)

Occupation	Number Catholic	Total Employed	Percentage Catholic
groceries and provisions	369	3,510	10.51
<i>groceries and provisions</i>	950	8,258	11.50
milk and dairy products	53	844	6.28
<i>dairy products</i>	153	1,623	9.43
butcher-meat	390	3,385	11.52
<i>butcher's meat</i>	649	5,647	11.49
vegetables and fruit	89	1,541	5.78
<i>vegetables and fruit</i>	161	2,505	6.43
tobacco, cigars, etc.	94	662	14.20
chemicals, drugs	139	1,407	9.88
<i>drugs, chemicals and druggists' sundries</i>	144	1,681	8.57
metal goods, hardware	231	2,761	8.37
<i>ironmongery, hardware and machinery, etc., n.e.i.</i>	253	3,142	8.05
cycles and motor-vehicles	97	1,250	7.76
<i>motor-vehicles and accessories (including tyres)</i>	285	2,488	11.45
<i>motor-spirits and motor-oils</i>	145	1,557	9.31
precious metals, jewellery, watches, etc.	51	626	8.15
textiles, clothing, drapery, etc.	603	6,197	9.73
<i>textiles, clothing, drapery, hosiery, haberdashery, hats and millinery</i>	760	7,277	10.44
boots and shoes	65	795	8.18
harness, saddlery and leather goods	34	400	8.50
timber	226	1,931	11.70
<i>timber</i>	223	2,060	10.83
furniture	44	536	8.21
books, newspapers, stationery	87	1,181	7.37
<i>books, newspapers, paper, stationery</i>	118	1,351	8.73
wool, hides and skins	96	906	10.60
seeds, flowers and plants	32	438	7.31
departmental stores, general stores and mixed businesses	715	7,122	10.04
<i>department stores and general stores</i>	306	2,766	11.06
manufacturer's agents, indent agents, etc. <i>manufacturers' agents, merchants, indent agents or importers, n.e.i.</i>	50	698	7.16
	392	4,466	8.78
debt collecting and commission agents etc.	56	484	11.57
other and undefined dealing	244	2,172	11.23
others	535	4,681	11.43
TOTAL 1921	4,750	47,783	9.94
1926	5,337	54,607	9.77
<b>Storage</b>			
TOTAL 1921	52	392	13.27
1926	64	791	8.09
1936	139	963	14.43

Table 8.14 (continued)

Occupation	Number Catholic	Total Employed	Percentage Catholic
<b>Overall Totals for Commercial Businesses</b>			
1921	5,744	58,519	9.82
1926	6,216	64,295	9.67
1936	7,751	75,827	10.22
<b>PROFESSIONAL</b>			
<b>Public administration</b>			
general government administrative officers and others, n.e.i.	475	3,365	14.12
general government administrative and not otherwise specially classed	359	2,617	13.72
local government administrative officers and others, n.e.i.	719	4,269	16.84
local government administrative and not otherwise specially classed	770	5,987	12.86
other	4	23	17.39
TOTAL 1921	1,198	7,657	15.65
1921 (excluding "other")	1,194	7,634	15.64
1936 (no "other" given)	1,129	8,604	13.12
<b>Defence</b>			
army	162	1,035	15.65
navy	47	514	9.14
other	0	1	0.00
TOTAL 1921	209	1,550	13.48
1936	186	1,681	11.06
<b>Totals for Public Administration and Defence<sup>31</sup></b>			
TOTAL 1921	1,407	9,207	15.28
1926	1,529	11,390	13.42
1936	1,315	10,285	12.79
<b>Law and Order</b>			
police	290	950	30.53
police	276	1,251	22.06

<sup>31</sup> For 1926, the men employed in public administration and defence were added together. These figures are therefore given here alongside the comparable totals for 1921 and 1936. It is not possible to calculate separate denominational figures for public administration and defence in 1926.

Table 8.14 (continued)

Occupation	Number Catholic	Total Employed	Percentage Catholic
legal profession [in public practice, including clerks and students, etc.] <sup>32</sup>	272	2,460	11.06
legal profession in private practice, including law clerks, law students, etc.	239	2,531	9.44
other	84	524	16.03
TOTAL 1921	646	3,934	16.42
1926	621	4,306	14.42
<b>Religion and social welfare</b>			
religion, including persons connected with places of worship	311	1,807	17.21
religion, including persons connected with churches etc.	535	2,241	23.87
other	18	204	8.82
TOTAL 1921	329	2,011	16.36
1926	448	2,282	19.63
<b>Health</b>			
public hospital staffs [including attendants etc.] <sup>33</sup>	158	1,273	12.41
public hospital staffs and attendants, etc.	127	1,267	10.02
medical profession [in private practice] <sup>34</sup>	32	663	4.83
dental profession [in private practice, including attendants] <sup>35</sup>	56	744	7.53
other	86	913	9.42
TOTAL 1921	332	3,593	9.24
1926	364	3,957	9.20
<b>Education</b>			
primary and secondary schools	257	3,187	8.06
primary and secondary school staffs	382	4,501	8.49
technical and other	86	1,235	6.96
TOTAL 1921	343	4,422	7.76
1926	361	5,197	6.95
<b>Other professional</b>			
civil engineering, surveying and architecture	147	1,840	7.99
public accountancy	59	1,049	5.62
public accountancy, auditing, etc.	117	1,754	6.67

<sup>32</sup> NZ Census, 1921, part VIII, p. 20.

<sup>33</sup> NZ Census, 1921, part VIII, pp. 20, 93.

<sup>34</sup> NZ Census, 1921, part VIII, pp. 20, 93.

<sup>35</sup> NZ Census, 1921, part VIII, pp. 20, 93.

Table 8.14 (continued)

Occupation	Number Catholic	Total Employed	Percentage Catholic
other <sup>36</sup>	63	648	9.72
TOTAL 1921	269	3,537	7.61
1926	235	3,521	6.67
<b>Entertainment, sport and recreation</b>			
moving pictures	64	509	12.57
<i>moving pictures</i>	170	1,032	16.47
racing [includes racecourses, training-stables, horse-racing and trotting] <sup>37</sup>	318	1,397	22.76
<i>racecourses, training-stables, etc., horse-racing and trotting</i>	327	1,490	21.95
<i>parks, gardens, recreation-grounds, swimming-baths, etc.</i>	88	1,096	8.03
other <sup>38</sup>	204	1,193	17.10
TOTAL 1921	586	3,099	18.91
1926	572	3,654	15.65
<b>Overall Totals for Professional Occupations</b>			
1921	3,912	29,803	13.13
1926	4,130	34,307	12.04
1936	4,537	37,050	12.25

## DOMESTIC

<b>Personal and domestic service</b>			
private domestic service	133	1,008	13.19
<i>private domestic service</i>	282	2,684	10.51
licensed hotels [including accommodation houses] <sup>39</sup>	1,090	3,944	27.64
<i>licensed hotels and licensed accommodation-houses</i>	1,119	4,070	27.49
private hotels and boarding houses	148	1,009	14.67
restaurants, tearooms etc.	124	555	22.34
laundries, job-dyeing, etc.	37	701	5.28
hair-dressing, beauty specialists, etc.	148	910	16.26
<i>hair-dressing, manicure, beauty specialists, etc.</i>	316	1,743	18.13
other	84	800	10.50
TOTAL 1921	1,764	8,927	19.76
1926	1,535	8,084	18.99
1936	2,250	12,263	18.35

<sup>36</sup> Including scientists, architects, trade union officials etc. (NZ Census, 1921, part VIII, pp. 20, 97-98).

<sup>37</sup> NZ Census, 1921, part VIII, pp. 20, 99.

<sup>38</sup> Including theatre, circuses, billiard saloons, etc. (NZ Census, 1921, part VIII, pp. 20, 93).

<sup>39</sup> NZ Census, 1921, part VIII, pp. 20, 100.

Table 8.14 (continued)

Occupation	Number Catholic	Total Employed	Percentage Catholic
<b>Totals for all categories listed above</b>			
1921	49,803	391,263	12.73
1926	49,145	415,049	11.84
1936	58,508	482,906	12.12
<b>OTHER GROUPS</b>			
<b>No industry, or industry not specified<sup>40</sup></b>			
independent means, pensioners, etc.	1,530	14,036	10.90
<i>pensioner</i>	1,204	8,101	14.86
<i>retired</i>	2,850	29,066	9.81
unspecified or none <sup>41</sup>	2,105	11,567	18.20
<i>labourer, industry unspecified</i>	2,757	14,982	18.40
<i>typist or clerk, industry unspecified</i>	214	1,388	15.42
<i>no industry</i>	321	1,978	16.23
<i>all others<sup>42</sup></i>	76	268	28.36
<i>other unspecified</i>	937	6,245	15.00
TOTAL 1921	3,711	25,871	14.34
1926	6,310	47,384	13.32
1936	8,338	62,122	13.42
<b>DEPENDANTS</b>			
<b>Dependent on public or private support</b>			
dependent on natural guardians	27,448	198,232	13.85
<i>dependent on hosts or natural guardians</i>	29,122	204,442	14.24
inmates of orphanages, benevolent institutions, etc. [including hospitals] <sup>43</sup>	1,525	6,797	22.44
<i>inmates of mental hospitals</i>	778	4,203	18.51
<i>inmates of hospitals or benevolent institutions, n.o.d.</i>	551	1,785	30.87

- <sup>40</sup> This general category is used in the census reports for 1926 and 1936; the equivalent category used for 1921 is simply "Other groups".
- <sup>41</sup> The total figure includes 1,115 who stated they had no industry (914 with no occupation, 111 retired and 90 others) and 10,452 (of whom 7,207 were labourers) who did not state their industry (NZ Census, 1921, part VIII, pp. 20, 104).
- <sup>42</sup> In the occupational status table published in NZ Census, 1921, part VII, p. 44, this category was evidently included with the dependants, as it was in part X, pp. 20, 103. In fact most of those included here were children, as is explained above.
- <sup>43</sup> NZ Census, 1921, part VIII, pp. 20, 103.

Table 8.14 (continued)

Occupation	Number Catholic	Total Employed	Percentage Catholic
<i>inmates of gaols, industrial schools, etc.</i> <sup>44</sup>	315	1,080	29.17
TOTAL 1921	29,288	206,109	14.21
1926	31,052	223,951	13.87
1936	30,605	211,198	14.49
<b>Totals for all those in Paid Employment or Unemployed</b> <sup>45</sup>			
1921	51,908	402,830	12.89
1936	62,735	507,499	12.36
<b>Grand Totals</b>			
1921	82,802	623,243	13.29
1926	86,507	686,384	12.60
1936	97,451	756,226	12.89

Sources: New Zealand Census, 1921, part VII, pp. 36-40; 1926, vol. VIII, p. 36; 1936, vol. VI, pp. 26-27. Supplementary information in square brackets has been added from other census tables as indicated. Sub-categories for 1926 are marked with an asterisk; those for 1936 are given in italics; unless otherwise indicated, all other figures derive from the 1921 census. Since the year is given for TOTAL figures, no asterisk or italics are needed.

<sup>44</sup> Including lock-ups and reformatories (NZ Census, 1921, part VIII, p. 103).

<sup>45</sup> These totals include all those evidently in employment or unemployed from the general category labeled "No industry, or industry not specified". They therefore include, the sub-categories "unspecified or none", "*labourer, industry unspecified*", "*typist or clerk, industry unspecified*", "*no industry*" and "*other unspecified*". To these figures have been added the progressive totals already given ("Totals for all categories listed above"). In the case of the 1926 census, it is not possible to distinguish these categories from "independent means, pensioners, etc.".

*Table 8.15*  
**Industrial Distribution of Catholic Females, 1921-1936**

Occupation	Number Catholic	Total Employed	Percentage Catholic
<i>PRIMARY</i>			
<b>Fishing and trapping</b>			
TOTAL 1921	1	18	5.56
1926	0	7	0.00
1936	2	11	18.18
<b>Agricultural and pastoral</b>			
agricultural farming	94	520	18.08
sheep farming	155	1,039	14.92
<i>sheep farming</i>	76	711	10.69
dairy farming	947	6,653	14.23
<i>dairy farming</i>	479	3,529	13.57
farming undefined or mixed farming	33	373	8.85
<i>mixed farming</i>	82	525	15.62
<i>hopgrowing</i>	82	666	12.31
other	33	513	6.43
TOTAL 1921	1,262	9,098	13.87
1926	478	3,396	14.08
1936	813	6,357	12.79
<b>Forestry</b>			
TOTAL 1921	7	51	13.73
1926	15	94	15.96
1936	5	83	6.02
<b>Mining and quarrying</b>			
TOTAL 1921	6	33	18.18
1926	5	29	17.24
1936	11	64	17.19
<b>Overall Totals for Primary Industries</b>			
1921	1,276	9,200	13.87
1926	498	3,526	14.12
1936	831	6,515	12.76

Table 8.15 (continued)

Occupation	Number Catholic	Total Employed	Percentage Catholic
<b>INDUSTRIAL</b>			
<b>MANUFACTURE, ETC., INVOLVING:</b>			
<b>Stone, clay, etc.</b>			
TOTAL 1921 (stone, clay, earthenware etc., n.e.i.)	2	34	5.88
1926 (stone, clay, glass, etc.)	4	37	10.81
1936 ( <i>stone, clay, earthenware, etc.</i> )	14	73	19.18
<b>Chemicals, animal and vegetable products, n.e.i.</b>			
TOTAL 1921	30	251	11.95
1926	37	227	16.30
1936	73	474	15.40
<b>Metals, machines, conveyances, etc.</b>			
*foundry and engineering	36	312	11.54
*other metal industries (not precious metals, jewellery or plate)	5	18	27.78
TOTAL 1921	46	390	11.79
1926	41	330	12.42
1936 ( <i>metals, machines and implements</i> )	92	619	14.86
<b>Carriages and vehicles</b>			
*carriages and vehicles	0	29	0.00
<i>vehicles</i>	17	83	20.48
<b>Ship-building and equipment</b>			
*ship building and equipment	0	3	0.00
<b>Jewellery, etc.</b>			
*jewellery, watch and clock making and repairing	1	28	3.57
<b>Textiles and fibrous materials:</b>			
woollen cloth, yarn, blankets, rugs, etc.	119	1,148	10.37
<i>woollen-mills</i>	181	1,596	11.34
other	12	89	13.48
TOTAL 1921	131	1,237	10.59
1926	154	1,544	9.97
<b>Dress</b>			
tailoring	650	3,780	17.20
<i>tailoring</i>	300	1,902	15.77
clothing	347	2,148	16.15
<i>clothing and waterproof, n.e.i., making</i>	846	5,985	14.14
shirt and blouse making	72	580	12.41
dressmaking	774	5,049	15.33
<i>dressmaking</i>	666	4,836	13.77

Table 8.15 (continued)

Occupation	Number Catholic	Total Employed	Percentage Catholic
millinery	153	1,115	13.72
millinery-manufacture	144	1,263	11.40
boots and shoes [including slippers] <sup>46</sup>	72	680	10.59
boot, shoe and slipper (not rubber) making (not repairing)	136	1,129	12.05
other	71	630	11.27
TOTAL 1921	2,139	13,982	15.30
1926	1,945	13,374	14.54
<b>Harness, saddlery and leatherware</b>			
TOTAL 1921 (leatherware)	9	89	10.11
1926 (harness, saddlery and leatherware)	13	97	13.40
1936 (harness, saddlery and leatherware)	17	143	11.89
<b>Food, drink and tobacco</b>			
bread, biscuit and pastry making	64	619	10.34
cake and pastry making	61	509	11.98
confectionery [including sugar] <sup>47</sup>	65	406	16.01
confectionery (sugar) making	123	937	13.13
*food	226	1,820	12.42
aerated waters, beer, wine, etc.	18	125	14.40
*drink	12	68	17.65
tobacco	79	488	16.19
*tobacco, cigars and cigarettes	4	63	6.35
other	83	631	13.15
TOTAL 1921	212	1,656	12.80
1926	242	1,951	12.40
<b>Furniture, etc.</b>			
furniture, woodworking, basketware, etc.	32	298	10.74
*woodworking, cane and basketware, n.e.i.	14	124	11.29
wood, cane and basketware, n.e.i.	6	70	8.57
*furniture and fittings	22	232	9.48
furniture and fittings	42	348	12.07
TOTAL 1921	32	298	10.74
1926	36	356	10.11
1936	48	418	11.48
<b>Printing, stationery, photography, etc.</b>			
stationery and bookbinding	42	389	10.80
stationery and account-book manufacture and book-binding	71	562	12.63
production of newspapers, books and general printing	122	917	13.30

<sup>46</sup> NZ Census, 1921, part VIII, pp. 18, 52.

<sup>47</sup> NZ Census, 1921, part VIII, pp. 18, 52.

Table 8.15 (continued)

Occupation	Number Catholic	Total Employed	Percentage Catholic
<i>printing and publication of books, newspapers and periodicals</i>	75	585	12.82
<i>job and general printing</i>	91	514	17.70
photography	37	348	10.63
other	25	151	16.56
TOTAL 1921	226	1,805	12.52
1926 (paper, stationery and requisites, printing, bookbinding and photography)	271	2,080	13.03
<b>Other</b>			
other and miscellaneous manufactures	39	295	13.22
*other manufacturing	17	159	10.69
<b>Totals for Manufacture, Alteration and Repair</b>			
1921	2,866	20,037	14.30
1926	2,761	20,215	13.66
1936	3,709	27,111	13.68
<b>Construction or repair of buildings, roads, railways, earthworks, etc.</b>			
*buildings	18	191	9.42
<i>buildings</i>	23	206	11.17
*roads, railways, earthworks, etc.	3	30	10.00
<i>roads, railways, earthworks, etc.</i>	26	117	22.22
TOTAL 1921	15	199	7.54
1926	21	221	9.50
1936	49	323	15.17
<b>Gas, water and electricity supply</b>			
TOTAL 1921	9	83	10.84
1926	17	180	9.44
1936 ( <i>includes production</i> )	39	278	14.03
<b>Overall Totals for Industrial Categories</b>			
1921	2,890	20,319	14.22
1926	2,799	20,616	13.58
1936	3,797	27,712	13.70

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**TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION**
**Land**

TOTAL 1921	76	439	17.31
1926	104	645	16.12
1936	123	843	14.59

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Table 8.15 (continued)

Occupation	Number Catholic	Total Employed	Percentage Catholic
<b>Water</b>			
TOTAL 1921	52	307	16.94
1926	55	302	18.21
1936	39	319	12.23
<b>Land and Water</b>			
TOTAL 1921	128	746	17.16
1926	159	947	16.79
1936	162	1,162	13.94
<b>Air</b>			
<i>air transport</i>	0	5	0.00
<b>Post and telegraph services</b>			
postal [excluding Post Office Savings Bank] <sup>48</sup>	121	602	20.10
postal service [including Post Office Savings Bank] <sup>49</sup>	115	651	17.67
telegraph and telephone	249	999	24.92
undefined and other	64	323	19.81
TOTAL 1921	434	1,924	22.56
1926 [excluding Post Office Savings Bank] <sup>50</sup>	299	1,327	22.53
1936 <sup>51</sup>	254	1,161	21.88
<b>Overall Totals for Transport and Communication</b>			
1921	562	2,670	21.05
1926	458	2,274	20.14
1936	416	2,328	17.87

<sup>48</sup> NZ Census, 1921, part VIII, pp. 19, 72.

<sup>49</sup> NZ Census, 1936, vol. X, pp. 18, 36.

<sup>50</sup> NZ Census, 1926, vol. IX, p. 30.

<sup>51</sup> The figures for postal and telegraph services in 1936 were calculated by subtracting the numbers involved in land, water and air transport from the total number of women engaged in transport and communication. (It is assumed that, like 1921 and 1926, all those counted in the general transport and communication category but not involved in transport were employed in postal and telegraph services.) The accuracy of this procedure is confirmed by NZ Census, 1936, vol. X, p. 18, which gives a total of 1,161 for "Communication".

Table 8.15 (continued)

Occupation	Number Catholic	Total Employed	Percentage Catholic
<b>COMMERCIAL</b>			
<b>Commerce and finance</b>			
proprietors of houses, land, etc.	71	549	12.93
auctioneering, land agencies, etc.	73	572	12.76
banking [evidently including Post Office savings Bank] <sup>52</sup>	60	431	13.92
insurance	73	647	11.28
others connected with property or finance	49	311	15.76
TOTAL 1921	326	2,510	12.99
1926 (property and finance)	243	1,674	14.52
1936 (property and finance)	413	2,776	14.88
<b>Commerce, dealing in:</b>			
pastry and confectionery	134	929	14.42
<i>cakes, bread, biscuits, pastry and confectionery</i>	289	1,917	15.08
groceries and provisions	90	685	13.14
<i>groceries and provisions</i>	168	1,186	14.17
vegetables and fruit	72	578	12.46
<i>vegetables and fruit</i>	101	728	13.87
hardware, etc.	53	434	12.21
<i>ironmongery, hardware and machinery, etc., n.e.i.</i>	53	511	10.37
clothing, drapery, etc.	1,078	7,326	14.71
<i>textiles, clothing, drapery, millinery, etc.</i>	964	7,162	13.46
boots and shoes	52	453	11.48
<i>boots and shoes</i>	88	675	13.04
books, newspapers, stationery, etc.	54	635	8.50
<i>books, newspapers, paper and stationery</i>	85	771	11.02
departmental stores, mixed businesses	352	2,427	14.50
<i>departmental stores and general stores</i>	351	2,262	15.52
<i>manufacturers' agents, merchants, etc., indent agents or importers</i>	173	1,182	14.64
*storage	9	94	9.57
storage	0	10	0.00
other and undefined dealing	143	1,008	14.19
others connected with commerce	457	3,616	12.64
TOTAL 1921	2,485	18,091	13.74
1926	2,242	17,819	12.58
1936	2,895	21,263	13.62
<b>Overall Totals for Commercial Businesses</b>			
1921	2,811	20,601	13.64
1926	2,485	19,493	12.75
1936	3,308	24,039	13.76

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Post and telegraph services.

Table 8.15 (continued)

Occupation	Number Catholic	Total Employed	Percentage Catholic
<i>PROFESSIONAL</i>			
<b>PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND PROFESSIONAL</b>			
<b>Public administration and defence</b>			
general and local government,			
administrative and not otherwise classified	199	1,138	17.49
*public administration and defence, n.e.i. <sup>53</sup>	169	1,032	16.38
<i>general government administrative</i>			
<i>and not otherwise specially classed</i>	133	637	20.88
<i>defence</i>	5	19	26.32
<b>Law and order</b>			
legal profession [in public practice,			
including clerks and students] <sup>54</sup>	170	1,269	13.40
<i>legal profession in private practice,</i>			
<i>including law clerks, law students, etc.</i>	235	1,476	15.92
*law and order	170	1,240	13.71
<b>Religion and social welfare</b>			
religion [including persons connected			
with places of worship] <sup>55</sup>	140	484	28.93
<i>religion, including persons connected with churches, etc.</i>	545	1,059	51.46
benevolent institutions, orphanages, etc.			
and social welfare work <sup>56</sup>	188	717	26.22
<i>benevolent institutions, homes, orphanages, etc.</i>	173	672	25.74
TOTAL 1921	328	1,201	27.31
1926 <sup>57</sup>	1,369	2,347	58.33
1936	718	1,731	41.48

53 The 1921 figure incorporates 839 general government employees and 299 women working for local authorities but excludes 11 women working for foreign governments and 137 women employed by the army (NZ Census, 1921, part VIII, pp. 20, 89). However, the more heterogeneous 1926 figure includes 662 general government, 341 local authority, 6 foreign government and 23 defence employees (NZ Census, 1926, vol. IX, pp. 31-32).

54 NZ Census, 1921, part VIII, p. 20.

55 NZ Census, 1921, part VIII, pp. 20, 91.

56 The total figure includes 556 workers in benevolent institutions other than hospitals and 161 others in social welfare (NZ Census, 1921, part VIII, pp. 20, 92).

57 Unlike the those for 1921 and 1936, the 1926 total evidently includes nuns; see "Education".

Table 8.15 (continued)

Occupation	Number Catholic	Total Employed	Percentage Catholic
<b>Health</b>			
public hospital staff [including mental staff and assistants] <sup>58</sup>	415	2,781	14.92
public hospital staffs and attendants, etc.	554	4,666	11.87
mental hospital staffs and attendants	169	645	26.20
Total for public and mental hospitals	723	5,311	13.61
private hospital staff [including attendants] <sup>59</sup>	169	1,145	14.76
private hospital staffs and attendants, etc.	299	1,415	21.13
dental profession, including attendants [in private practice] <sup>60</sup>	53	543	9.76
dental practitioners in private practice, including attendants, etc.	76	668	11.38
nurses and mid-wives [in private practice] <sup>61</sup>	230	1,919	11.99
nurses and midwives in private practice district, Karitane, Plunket, school or dental nurse, etc.	61	782	7.80
other	50	517	9.67
TOTAL 1921	917	6,905	13.28
1926	989	8,196	12.07
1936 [total of the published categories]	1,438	10,489	13.71
<b>Education</b>			
primary and secondary school teachers	1,695	7,865	21.55
primary and secondary school staffs, etc.	1,455	6,843	21.26
teachers of music, languages, art, etc.	330	1,765	18.70
correspondence schools, business schools, etc. [including music teachers] <sup>62</sup>	220	1,384	15.90
other	42	596	7.05
TOTAL 1921	2,067	10,226	20.21
1926 <sup>63</sup>	1,121	9,750	11.50
<b>Other professional</b>			
other	111	905	12.27
*other professional	83	772	10.75
public accountancy, auditing	63	599	10.52

<sup>58</sup> NZ Census, 1921, part VIII, pp. 20, 93.

<sup>59</sup> NZ Census, 1921, part VIII, pp. 20, 93.

<sup>60</sup> NZ Census, 1921, part VIII, pp. 20, 93.

<sup>61</sup> NZ Census, 1921, part VIII, pp. 20, 94.

<sup>62</sup> NZ Census, 1936, vol. X, p. 21.

<sup>63</sup> The 1926 total evidently excludes nuns, unlike that of 1921 (cf. Religion and social welfare)..)

Table 8.15 (continued)

Occupation	Number Catholic	Total Employed	Percentage Catholic
<b>Entertainment, sport and recreation</b>			
<i>moving pictures</i>	156	580	26.90
TOTAL 1921	95	438	21.69
1926	113	611	18.49
<b>Overall Totals for Professional Occupations</b>			
1921	3,887	22,082	17.60
1926	4,014	23,948	16.76
1936	4,869	27,686	17.59
<b>DOMESTIC</b>			
<b>Personal and domestic service</b>			
private domestic service	2,671	20,621	12.95
<i>private domestic service</i>	4,319	32,064	13.47
licensed hotels [and accommodation houses] <sup>64</sup>	1,527	4,107	37.18
<i>licensed hotels and licensed accommodation houses</i>	1,155	3,308	34.92
private boarding hotels and boarding houses	967	4,627	20.90
<i>private hotels</i>	281	1,260	22.30
<i>boardinghouses and lodginghouses</i>	382	1,999	19.11
restaurants, tea-rooms, etc.	376	2,200	17.09
<i>restaurants, tearooms, milk bars, etc.</i> <sup>65</sup>	567	2,982	19.01
laundries, job-dyeing and cleaning	93	521	17.85
<i>laundries, job-dyeing, dry cleaning, etc.</i>	150	865	17.34
<i>hairdressing, manicure, beauty specialists, etc.</i>	196	1,558	12.58
others	128	686	18.66
TOTAL 1921	5,762	32,762	17.59
1926	5,840	36,416	16.04
1936	7,130	44,482	16.03
<b>Totals for All Categories Listed Above</b>			
1921	17,188	107,634	15.97
1926	16,094	106,282	15.14
1936	20,351	132,762	15.33

<sup>64</sup> NZ Census, 1921, part VIII, pp. 20, 100.

<sup>65</sup> Including railway refreshment rooms (NZ Census, 1936, vol. X, p. 22).

Table 8.15 (continued)

Occupation	Number Catholic	Total Employed	Percentage Catholic
<b>OTHER GROUPS</b>			
<b>No industry, or industry not specified<sup>66</sup></b>			
independent means, pensioners, superannuated	2,279	18,400	12.39
<i>independent means</i>	35	479	7.31
<i>retired</i>	1,456	12,949	11.24
<i>annuitant or superannuitant</i>	7	81	8.64
<i>pensioner</i>	779	4,967	15.68
unspecified or none <sup>67</sup>	337	2,617	12.88
all others, n.e.i. <sup>68</sup>	24	194	12.37
<i>typist or clerk, industry unspecified</i>	512	3,281	15.60
<i>industry not specified, other</i>	468	2,884	16.23
<i>domestic duties (women, excluding wives, who had no gainful occupation but received incomes)<sup>69</sup></i>	1,831	17,515	10.45
TOTAL 1921	2,640	21,211	12.45
1926	2,796	23,530	11.88
1936	5,168	42,623	12.12

**DEPENDANTS**

<b>Dependent on public or private support</b>			
dependent on natural guardians	59,980	461,711	12.99
<i>dependent on hosts or natural guardians</i>	71,049	554,697	12.81
inmates of orphanages, benevolent institutions, etc.	1,331	4,805	27.70
<i>inmates of hospitals or benevolent institutions, n.o.d.</i>	659	1,611	40.91
<i>inmates of mental hospitals</i>	537	3,288	16.33
inmates of gaols, etc. <sup>70</sup>	192	309	62.14
TOTAL 1921	61,503	466,825	13.17
1926	67,967	528,273	12.87
1936	72,291	559,873	12.91

<sup>66</sup> This general category is used in the census reports for 1926 and 1936; the equivalent category used for 1921 is simply "Other groups".

<sup>67</sup> Including 371 women who stated that they had no industry and 2,246 who did not state their industry (NZ Census, 1921, part VIII, pp. 20, 104).

<sup>68</sup> In the occupational status table published in NZ Census, 1921, part VII, p. 45, this category was evidently included with the dependants as it was in part X, pp. 20, 103. In fact, most of those included here were children, as is explained above.

<sup>69</sup> The wording of the original here is quite unclear because of the absence of commas (*cf.* NZ Census, 1936, vol. XII, p. 104 and vol. X, p. 37 for intelligible wording).

<sup>70</sup> Including lock-ups, reformatories and industrial schools (NZ Census, 1921, part VIII, pp. 20, 103).

Table 8.15 (continued)

Occupation	Number Catholic	Total Employed	Percentage Catholic
<b>Totals for all those in Paid Employment or Unemployed<sup>71</sup></b>			
1921	17,525	110,251	15.90
1936	21,331	138,927	15.35
<b>Grand Totals</b>			
1921	81,331	595,670	13.65
1926	86,857	658,085	13.20
1936	97,810	735,258	13.30

Sources: New Zealand Census, 1921, part VII, pp. 41-42; 1926, vol. VIII, p. 37; 1936, vol. VI, pp. 28-29. Supplementary information in square brackets has been added from other census tables as indicated. Sub-categories for 1926 are marked with an asterisk; those for 1936 are given in italics; unless otherwise indicated, all other figures derive from the 1921 census. Since the year is given for TOTAL figures, no asterisk or italics are needed.

<sup>71</sup> These totals include all those evidently in paid employment or unemployed from the general category labeled "No industry, or industry not specified". They therefore include the sub-categories "unspecified or none", "*typist or clerk, industry unspecified*", and "*industry not specified, other*". To these figures have been added the progressive totals already given ("Totals for all categories listed above"). For 1926 (where no sub-categories were published) it is not possible to make comparable calculations.

*Table 8.16*  
**Denominations of Convicted Prisoners, 1887 to 1931**

Year	Anglican	Catholic	Presbyterian	Methodist	Other
1887	43.54	32.51	15.31	2.61	6.03
1888	42.99	31.88	16.48	2.45	6.20
1889	43.31	32.85	15.21	2.71	5.92
1890	43.18	32.29	15.68	3.09	5.76
1891	42.17	33.18	15.19	2.84	6.62
1892	43.21	33.13	15.30	3.65	4.71
1893	44.48	33.16	14.21	2.99	5.16
1894	44.66	31.72	15.60	3.22	4.80
1895	44.46	31.61	15.49	3.00	5.44
1896	41.74	32.95	17.15	3.00	5.16
1897	46.12	29.46	15.29	3.56	5.57
1898	43.09	33.00	14.63	3.78	5.50
1899	42.26	31.25	15.48	4.85	6.16
1900	42.39	33.32	15.83	3.69	4.77
1901	41.28	33.30	16.25	3.75	5.42
1902	41.53	32.97	16.99	3.63	4.88
1903	40.36	33.46	16.43	3.94	5.81
1904	38.88	35.19	16.30	3.66	5.97
1905	39.16	34.51	17.17	3.26	5.90
1906	40.86	34.66	15.31	3.61	5.56
1907	40.96	34.13	16.95	2.85	5.11
1908	41.24	33.40	17.25	2.66	5.45
1909	41.03	34.69	16.56	2.94	4.78
1910	41.89	34.49	16.07	2.31	5.24
1911	42.44	32.92	17.20	2.05	5.39
1912	43.01	30.03	16.15	3.32	7.49
1913	42.12	34.34	15.70	2.73	5.11
1914	42.26	33.02	16.72	2.45	5.55
1915	42.62	32.28	16.11	2.05	6.94
1916	39.60	33.69	16.56	2.83	7.32
1917	38.22	32.26	15.01	3.00	11.51
1918	36.39	32.27	14.64	2.53	14.17
1919	40.34	34.67	15.42	2.38	7.19
1920	41.48	34.69	14.97	1.71	7.15
1921	41.63	33.56	15.55	2.77	6.49
1922	44.78	31.52	16.07	2.80	4.83
1923	42.92	32.44	16.44	2.32	5.88
1924	42.83	30.56	16.47	2.45	7.69
1925	45.61	31.00	14.39	2.60	6.40
1926	41.85	32.01	15.14	2.69	8.31
1927	41.50	30.62	16.60	3.06	8.22
1928	41.33	30.53	16.37	2.82	8.95
1929	42.37	28.43	16.06	3.74	9.40
1930	42.00	31.01	15.64	2.45	8.90
1931	40.02	29.16	17.02	3.09	10.71

Table 8.16 (continued)

Year	Anglican	Catholic	Presbyterian	Methodist	Other
<b>Proportions of the Population Aged 15 and Over</b>					
1921	42.28	13.17	24.56	9.08	
1926	41.08	12.50	24.44	8.93	
1936	40.57	12.64	24.52	8.13	

The table records the percentage of non-Maori prisoners belonging to the main denominations gaoled each year. Inmates who were imprisoned on more than one occasion were counted only once. Source: *Statistics of the Colony [Dominion] of New Zealand, 1891*, p. 366 and subsequent issues. From 1921, this series was replaced by the *Report on the Justice Statistics of the Dominion of New Zealand for the year 1921*, p. 76 and subsequent issues, but the format of the table concerned remained unaltered. Each issue includes the current year and the four previous years. Until the publication of the 1894 volume, no "Others" figures were printed but these have been calculated using the published figures. The label "Wesleyan" was used until the 1917 volume, when the name "Methodist" replaced it. Since the percentages given for Methodists in the years 1913 to 1916 are the same as those published for Wesleyans in the previous volume, it would appear that the Methodist Church of Australasia and the Primitive Methodist Church, which united in 1913, had been treated all along as one denomination. Statistics on age are based on NZ Census, 1921, part VII, p. 34; 1926, vol. VIII, pp. 32-33; 1936, vol. VI, pp. 20-23.

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