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ARCHBISHOP FRANCIS REDWOOD:
HIS CONTRIBUTION TO CATHOLICISM
IN
NEW ZEALAND

A THESIS PRESENTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS IN HISTORY AT
MASSEY UNIVERSITY

NICHOLAS ANTHONY SIMMONS

1981

MASSEY UNIVERSITY

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ABBREVIATIONS

ADA	Auckland Diocesan Archives
AJHR	<u>Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives</u>
AT	Alexander Turnbull Library
CDA	Christchurch Diocesan Archives
CT	<u>Catholic Times</u>
HACBS	Hibernian Australasian Catholic Benefit Society
MAW	Marist Archives Wellington
MHR	Member of the House of Representatives
MLC	Member of the Legislative Council
MM	<u>Marist Messenger</u>
MP	Member of Parliament
NZFJ	<u>New Zealand Freeman's Journal</u>
NZPD	<u>New Zealand Parliamentary Debates</u>
NZT	<u>New Zealand Tablet</u>
PPA	Protestant Political Association
SM	Society of Mary
SJ	Society of Jesus
WAA	Wellington Archdiocesan Archives

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INTRODUCTION

Unspectacular and evolutionary - these two words sum up the general picture of New Zealand religious history in its present state. This is hardly surprising in that the span of our history has been marked by the growth of secularism. Religion was not the prime motive for migration to New Zealand, as it was for many of the first English immigrants to the United States of America. Our forefathers came seeking financial reward in an "antipodean utopia" that had an economic rather than religious base. But, the plain flavour of New Zealand religious history is also due to a lack of research and writing in the field. No church in New Zealand has had its story told in a way that does it justice. Several church histories have been written but they are either dated¹ or incomplete.² However, these books provide a start to a field of historical endeavour that should be exploited in the future.

Our religious history has had several figures that have provided spark, like Bishops Selwyn and Moran, or even notoriety as in the case of the Reverend Howard Elliott.³ A fruitful track in studying our religious history would be a closer examination of the leading figures to see what they said and did, and the impact they had. This thesis seeks to do this, having as its subject Archbishop Francis Redwood, the second Catholic Bishop of Wellington. It is my contention that he did more than any other in transforming the Catholic Church in New Zealand from its missionary state to the institutional type we know today.

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1. Wilson, J.J. The Church in New Zealand, Dunedin, 1910. (Catholic)
Elder, J. The History of the Presbyterian Church in New Zealand 1840-1940, Christchurch, 1940.
 2. Simmons, E.R. A Brief History of the Catholic Church in New Zealand, Auckland, 1978.
Hames, E.W. Out of the Common Way, Auckland, 1972;
Coming of Age, Auckland, 1974. (Methodist)
 - Morrell, W.P. The Anglican Church in New Zealand, Dunedin, 1972.
 3. See Moores, H.S. "The Rise of the Protestant Political Association - Sectarianism in New Zealand Politics During World War I", M.A. Thesis, University of Auckland, 1966.

Leadership in the Catholic Church is hierarchical and more authoritative than in any of the Protestant churches. A bishop is invested with considerable powers over the clergy and laity in his diocese. Because of this he has the potential to do a lot in the areas that are within his brief: education, buildings, social and political issues, Catholic doctrine and practice, church personnel and structure. In the course of his long episcopate (1874-1935), Redwood made contributions in all these fields. Under each chapter, this thesis will seek to describe the contributions Redwood made, and to evaluate their effectiveness and strength, relative to his fellow bishops, and to the context in which they were made.

Obviously the descriptive part of an historian's job is easier than his analytical or evaluative function. In Redwood's case, though nothing comprehensive has been written chronicling his achievements, a thorough search of Catholic archives provided the solid basis of the description that follows. Evaluating the effectiveness of his work proved to be easier in some fields than others. For instance, the role of a church or school building is clear so long as attendance keeps up. Conversely, the effectiveness of a Redwood sermon, pastoral letter, or public statement on an issue is difficult to gauge, especially in the absence of significant oral history. Therefore evaluative statements made in this area are not matters of fact, but my considered opinion in the light of the data found.

After being consecrated in London, Redwood came out to his see in 1874. By that time a few significant events had occurred in our New Zealand's Catholic religious history which provide some background to his episcopate.

The Catholic mission began in New Zealand in January 1838 with the arrival of Bishop Pompallier, and two Marist assistants. The New Zealand mission had been given over to the care of the Society of Mary, or Marists, as they were usually called. Their priests, the first in New Zealand, were mainly Frenchmen, but as the European population

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grew they were surpassed by priests from the United Kingdom (mostly Irish), and later still, by a New Zealand born clergy. Anglican missionaries had previously established their mission in 1814, and the Wesleyans in 1822. After the Catholics arrived, the mission was spiced with doctrinal disputes and competition in conversion. The presence of these rival missionary groups helped ensure that a state religion was not imposed in New Zealand as was the case in the United Kingdom.⁴ In 1848 the New Zealand Catholic mission was divided into two dioceses, divided by the 39th degree of latitude. Pompallier was given charge of the northern diocese known as Auckland, and Bishop Viard became the administrator of the Southern diocese centred at Wellington. Progress fluctuated as the missionaries pondered over the respective merits of their dual apostolate to the Maori and the pakeha. The gold rushes and the wars of the 1860's provided excitement and vitality that did little for the success of missionary endeavours. Viard's huge diocese proved to be unmanageable, and Rome formed the new diocese of Dunedin, whose first bishop, Patrick Moran, arrived in February 1871. Viard's attempt to have Redwood appointed as his coadjutor was still not finalised, when he died on 2 June 1872. On 10 February 1874, Francis Redwood was appointed Bishop of Wellington. His diocese which included the provinces of Taranaki, Wellington, Hawke's Bay, Nelson, Marlborough, Canterbury and Westland, was the largest in New Zealand. The southern provinces of Otago and Southland constituted the Dunedin diocese, and the Auckland province made up the diocese with the same name. With the steady growth of the European population in the Wellington diocese the need was felt to divide Redwood's diocese in two. In 1887 the Vatican's

4. How this came about is explained in Wood, G.A. "Church and State in New Zealand in the 1850's", Journal of Religious History, Vol.8, 1974-75, pp 255-270.

Missionary office (Propaganda) formed the provinces of Canterbury and Westland into the new Christchurch diocese. In recognition of the growing status of the Catholic church in New Zealand it was decided to make one of the existing dioceses the metropolitan see, with its bishop, consequently, becoming an archbishop. A fair degree of controversy marked the time both before and after the decisions were made as to who would be the archbishop, and who would be the first bishop of Christchurch.. It was the most torrid and pressurized time of Redwood's episcopate, and will be discussed in depth in Chapter 7. As his story unfolds, it will be seen that he handled this situation, as with others less stressful, with much perspicacity.

CHAPTER 1

EARLY LIFE

Francis Redwood was born on 8 April 1839, at Tixall, a small village about two miles from Stafford, England. The Redwoods were an ancient non-Catholic, gentry family who had been settled in East Anglia since the Middle Ages. Eventually they went to settle in Staffordshire, where for several generations they were yeoman farmers on the Clifford estate at Tixall. The Cliffords were one of the few Catholic families in England that had a peerage, and it was mainly through their influence that the parents of Francis were converted to Catholicism. With wheat prices in the doldrums, an increased rent on his leasehold and with a large family to feed, Henry Paul Redwood saw few prospects for his kin in England. Attracted by the promise of the New Zealand Company, and persuaded by his fellow migrants, Charles Clifford, William Vavasour, and son-in-law Joseph Ward, Henry disposed of the equity in his leasehold property and went to London full of plans. There for £300 he bought 50 acres of land at Waimea West plus one acre in Nelson from the New Zealand Company and booked passages for his family on the George Fyfe which left Portsmouth on 20 June 1842.¹ They came out as steerage passengers because Henry decided not to waste on cabin comforts, money reserved for future needs in New Zealand. Mr and Mrs Henry Redwood were accompanied by all their children except their second boy, Joseph, who was studying in London. Their children on the ship in order of age were: Mary, Martha (wife of Joseph Ward) Henry, Anne, Elizabeth, Charles, Tom, Francis and Austin. Austin was only five weeks old when they left Portsmouth, and he died at sea one week after leaving home. This left the three-year old boy Francis as the youngest of the family. Like most of his fellow passengers, he was

1. Ward, J. "Diary", 1842. (AT)

sick in the rough conditions of the Bay of Biscay, but enjoyed the rest of the five month voyage, knowing nothing of the hopes and fears of his fellow passengers. In his eighties, Redwood reminisced:

I can remember a sailor motioning to go below with him. I can remember seeing him knock the head off a bottle and giving me a little drink. It was very delicious. I did not know what it was at the time but afterwards learned it was champagne. The man had breached the cargo in the hold. 2

After calling at the Cape of Good Hope for water and provisions the ship arrived in Wellington to discharge cargo in late November, 1842. Having left Wellington for Nelson on 7 December, the ship was blown off course and had to anchor in Cloudy Bay. Eventually the George Fyfe arrived in Nelson on 12 December. The Redwood family moved out to Waimea West and lived in a sixty foot long tent for the first six months while their first house was built on their estate known as Stafford Place. The enterprising father of the family bought the timber used in the emigrant quarters on the George Fyfe along with a considerable quantity of good canvas, and used this to establish and partition the tent. The first Redwood house was two-storeyed and built out of clay and gravel, with an interior finishing of white plaster. According to Francis it was the best house in the Nelson District, and stood without a crack through the violent earthquakes of 1848 and 1855.³

In mid 1843, Joseph Ward, a surveyor by profession, undertook the schooling of the three youngest Redwood boys - Tom, Charley and Frank. When he was not away on survey business he taught the boys reading, writing and arithmetic, receiving in return £3 a quarter from the boys' father.⁴

For almost two years the Redwoods were not able to attend Mass, as no priest visited their locality. Henry Redwood (senior) resolved to sell out and go to Tasmania where he believed priests could be found, unless a priest

2. From a cutting of the New Zealand Times, May 1926. (WAA)

3. Redwood, F. Reminiscences of Early Days in New Zealand, Part 1, Wellington, 1922, p 5.

4. Ward, J. "Diary", 1842. (AT)

was able to visit periodically.⁵ His anxiety was relieved when Bishop Pompallier and Fr O'Reily, an Irish Capuchin, based in Wellington, visited Nelson in May, 1844. Despite the lack of a resident priest, the Redwoods kept their appreciation of religion keen, and taught the children the rudiments of the faith.

Every night we had family prayers in common, preceded by the reading of one of Challoner's Meditations for every day of the year. On Sundays we dressed up just as if we were to attend Mass, and, in the morning, we had what we called "Mass Prayers", that is, suitable prayers recited while we directed our intentions to some Mass actually being said somewhere in the world. In the evening, we had evening Sunday prayers - the Psalter of Jesus, or a Litany as a substitute for Church evening service.⁶

Father O'Reily managed to cross Cook Strait once a year to visit the Nelson Catholics, until in 1850 Bishop Viard, appointed Fr Antoine Garin SM, the first resident priest of Nelson. Finding that Charles and Francis knew their catechism perfectly, Garin called the Redwood boys and some others of their age to a week's retreat at his house to prepare for Holy Communion. They made their First Holy Communion at Midnight Mass on Christmas Day, 1851. This occasion and his association with the saintly Garin obviously had a great effect on eleven year old Francis:

From that First Communion sprang my vocation, the first vocation to the priesthood in New Zealand...I was chosen, and my parents soon approved of my desire to be a priest. But how was I to be educated to that holy and exalted dignity and state?⁷

The answer soon came. At the beginning of 1852, Francis (or Frank as he was called) started as a boarder at Fr Garin's school in Nelson. The only other boarder at first was a lad named George Bonnington, afterwards well-known as a prosperous chemist in Christchurch, and inventor of the famed "Bonnington's Irish Moss", a vaunted remedy for coughs and colds. George, who had been taught the violin by

5. Redwood, F. Reminiscences, Part 1, p 12.

6. *ibid*, p 12.

7. *ibid*, p 14.

his older brother Charles, was soon enticed to teach Frank a few tunes. Henry Redwood (senior), a musical man, who whistled as he worked, was enthralled by Frank's aptitude and paid Charles Bonnington to tutor him.

Frank spent three years at Fr Garin's school. He spent most of his time learning Latin and French, taught by Fr Garin and his assistants Fr Moreau SM and Brother Claude Marie. By the time he left the school he could read an ordinary French book without the aid of a dictionary, and knew his irregular verbs perfectly.⁸

Once a month Frank got leave to go home to Stafford Place which was fourteen miles away. Leaving on Saturday morning he would walk the distance, swim the Waimea River and arrive home on Saturday evening, in time to serve at Fr Garin's Mass on Sunday, which was held at Stafford Place. On the Monday, Frank would walk back to Nelson. At harvest time he returned home for a longer period to help with the reaping. Initially wheat was the main source of income for the family, and after some bumper crops, Frank's father was able to buy an extensive sheep run in Marlborough.

In December 1854, Frank came to a crisis in his life, the decisive turning point of his career: "It was determined that I should go to France, study completely, and become a priest. But how had divine Providence provided the means?"⁹ They were shown with unexpected suddenness. A small brig, the Mountain Maid, 150 tons, suddenly arrived from Wellington. She was not a usual trader at Nelson, but she came, "because Providence had foredoomed her coming."¹⁰ Fr Comte, a Marist Missioner was on board, bound to Sydney, and from Sydney to London. Fr Garin saw at once the unmistakable hand of Providence. He went to his protegee and said:

Frank, Providence has acted on your behalf in answer to my long wishes and prayers. One of our Fathers is leaving the Maori missions for good, and is retiring to France. He will take

8. *ibid*, p 16.

9. *ibid*, p 17.

10. *ibid*,

you to Sydney and thence to France. He will watch over you, and improve your French on the voyage. He will introduce you to one of our colleges, where you can study and so in time, please God, become a priest. Make up your mind and seize the opportunity held out to you by God's 11
favour and mercy, will you go?'

Frank went to the little chapel, prayed as he had never prayed before and made up his mind to face the great sacrifice of leaving home and parents and friends, and to go to an unknown land, guided by the will and the hand of God. He went to Fr Garin and told him that he would go. Fr Garin then wrote a letter to Frank's father regarding the decision made, and the finances for his trip. Frank took the letter home to his father, packed hurriedly, and farewelled those members of his family who happened to be at home (these included his mother who was laid up with a broken leg after a fall from a gig). Later he explained his feelings at his departure:

...I left the dear old home, driven to town by my brother-in-law, Cyrus Goulter, and the most terrible pang, the most fearful wrench I felt was when, as I passed the last gate, I looked back at the old place. I shall never forget that wrench. All other wrenches - and I have had many - were nothing in comparison. I met my father returning from Nelson, and I bade him goodbye on the road, near Appleby. I never saw my father again. On his death-bed he learned my appointment to the See of Wellington, but was too weak to utter a word about it." 12

On 8 December 1854, fifteen year old Francis Redwood left New Zealand, the first to set out from New Zealand to study for the priesthood. He was fearful and alone, having no knowledge that when he was to return 20 years later, he would be the Bishop of Wellington. The date of his departure had great significance for Redwood as it was the exact day the Church solemnly proclaimed the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of Mary as an article of Catholic faith.

11. *ibid.*

12. *ibid.*, p 19.

For the first three days of the voyage he was very sea-sick, but this was soon cured by a sea biscuit dipped in Brandy. A letter to be opened at sea, given to him by Father Garin, contained advice for the trip:

When you have fixed your hour to get up keep it regular; this is most important, for if you do not keep it, all your other exercises of the day will likely suffer. When you are up and have washed yourself, say your prayers, then give a quarter of an hour, or at least ten minutes to meditation. If you get up early, as I think is most wholesome, and before there is any noise upon the deck, it is a most precious time for meditation, as the sight of the ocean brings more to the mind the idea of the greatness, majesty and power of God, as well as the meanness and weakness of man. After your prayer and meditation, you may read some instructive book; after breakfast take some recreation for one or two hours; then you might either write exercises or translations of English into French; after the lunch take also some recreation for two or three hours, then read or write something. At night read a spiritual book for a quarter of an hour, say your Rosary and night prayer, and go to bed early at eight, never after nine o'clock. 13

On 20 December, the ship landed in Sydney, and the two companions stayed a month with the Marist Fathers there. Young Frank spent most of his time out in the forest surrounding Sydney with a shot-gun, shooting birds. On 17 January 1855, Comte and Redwood took a first class passage for £70 each, on a 900 ton ship, the Lady Ann bound for London. The Lady Ann docked at London on 2 May, and for a week Comte and Redwood stayed with the Marist Fathers at St Anne's, Spitafields. They spent their time visiting the sights of London, before going to Paris where they spent another week doing the same. On 18 May they travelled to Lyon which was the headquarters of the Marist Order. There Frank met the Founder of the Society of Mary, Fr Colin, for whom Redwood was later to serve as altar boy at Mass. After being examined in Latin at Lyon, Frank was entered in St Mary's College, St Chamond (Loire) about 30 miles from Lyon.

He attended this school run by the Marist Fathers from May 1856 to July 1860. The school gave a classical training for all careers, and those who were thinking of becoming priests kept it to themselves. Most time was spent learning Greek, French and Latin. Frank showed a lot of promise at languages and won prizes in Greek and French. He also won prizes for music and was the first violinist in the college orchestra.

In October 1860, he entered the scholasticate of the Marist Fathers at Montbel near Toulon. Here he studied philosophy and theology. Redwood's two closest friends were two Irish students: John Ireland (later Archbishop of St Paul, Minnesota) and Thomas O'Gorman (later Bishop of Sioux Falls). On the advice of his spiritual director, Frank interrupted his studies in order to settle his vocation, while making his years novitiate at St Foy-les-Lyon, near Lyon.

During his time at St Chamond and Montbel Frank's letters were normally happy and chatty, except for the occasional bout of homesickness, and annoyance at the lack of mail from New Zealand:

Alone and far from you my heart would be dried up with study, were I not, from time to time, to refresh it in the fountain of your love [i.e. letters from home] Oh! dear father, dear mother how I long to see you again! How I desire to behold once more that house where I have passed the happiest days of my life! Where I knew neither care, nor grief, nor sorrow.... At other times I dream of you. I am at home; you, my dear parents and Charley and Tom are sitting round me listening to my tales of England and France. 14

At St Foy, Frank did much soul searching:

I have great interior struggles to bear: for some months past my life has been almost a perpetual and violent temptation; I sometimes was about to despair of ever obtaining the noble and blessed end to which I tend...Yes, dear brother, my last year of study has been a painful one indeed and my interior anguish has doubtless been a considerable obstacle to my

intellectual progress... I have thoroughly laid wide open my whole past life and the actual state of my conscience to my Godly father [spiritual director]...I often say to God, speak to me, tell me whether your will is that I should be a priest or that I should return to my parents in New Zealand. I'm quite indifferent! Which ever way you like! But Lord how happy I should be in the service of your altar!! 15

Away from the support of his family, Frank obviously experienced periods of loneliness, and wonderment as to whether he should continue. However, his sacerdotal calling was never fully extinguished and in 1863, he wrote joyfully to his sister, Martha:

God has been so good, so good to me, you cannot imagine how good!!! They tell me my vocation to the priesthood and more still to religion in the Society of Mary is, I may say, certain. 16

After finishing his novitiate Frank was transferred to St Mary's College, Dundalk, Ireland as a professor of Latin and Greek, whilst resuming his own studies of theology. Redwood also gave lectures in Rhetoric and English Literature to the Marists scholastics at Dundalk.

On 6 January 1864 Redwood made his religious profession and so became a Marist. In that year he also received Tonsure, Minor Orders and Sub-deaconship. In 1865 he was ordained a deacon, and on 6 June of the same year, at Maynooth, Redwood was ordained a priest. He was the first Marist priest to be ordained in Ireland.

Shortly after this Redwood undertook the examinations for the degree of Licentiate in Theology. His oral examination (in Latin) on dogmatic and moral theology lasted four hours, two in the morning and two in the afternoon. In the same afternoon he was given two and a half hours to write a given thesis with no assistance but a Bible. Having passed both the oral and written sections, Redwood was successful in gaining the degree.

15. Redwood to his brother, Tom, June 1862. (WAA)

16. Redwood to his sister, Martha Ward, 21 Jan 1863. (WAA)

In August 1867, Redwood caught a cold whilst on holiday in France, which, left unattended, developed into pneumonia the following year. A doctor in Dublin forbade him to stay the winter in Ireland, and suggested that he go to the Continent. He went at first to Lyon where he met Bishop Viard, en route to Rome. Redwood was given permission by Father Favre, Superior-General of the Marists, to travel with Viard's party to Rome. From October to December 1868 he took care of his health in Rome, visiting the sights and reading.

From December 1868 to the end of the school year in July 1869, Redwood taught at the Montbel Scholasticate which he had previously attended as a student. In September 1869, fully recovered from his illness, he started the school year in a new position, as Professor of Dogma at the Marist Scholasticate in Dublin.

During the long visit of Bishop Viard to Europe from 1868-1870, Redwood was mooted as a possible coadjutor to Viard.¹⁷ On Viard's recommendation the Dunedin diocese was formed independent of the Marist order, but the Marists did not yet see their way clear to present a coadjutor for Viard.¹⁸ It seems that the Marist hierarchy had in mind Redwood's return to New Zealand at some stage, but in the meantime they used him to plug gaps in the teaching staffs at their schools. For two school years he taught at the Dublin scholasticate, and then in September 1871 he was transferred to the college at Dundalk where he had been from 1863-1868.¹⁹

In 1872 Viard fell ill, and the Marists began negotiations with Rome for Redwood's appointment as coadjutor. The negotiations were not finalised when Viard died on 2 June. Redwood's superiors then withdrew him to St Foy-les-Lyon, France, that he might be available when wanted, and that he might have time to study the duties of a bishop. It took nearly two years for his appointment to be finalised and this, along with news of his father's death obviously

17. Fr Yardin to Fr Forest, 1868. (MAW)

18. Keys, L.G. Philip Viard - Bishop of Wellington, Christchurch, 1968. p 219.

19. From chronology of Redwood's life in Europe supplied by Fr J. Coste SM, Marist Archivist, Rome.

had an unsettling effect upon him. He expressed his feelings to Fr Grimes SM, a colleague at St Mary's College, Dundalk, and later to be the first Bishop of Christchurch,

You are perhaps expecting all manner of news about that ugly mitre. Well you may continue to expect for neither you nor I will know about it until the end of next May at the shortest. I personally desire that the substitute for a "crown of thorns" will never touch this child's brow.

20

As in the days of his novitiate, Redwood showed his abandonment to the will of God:

Pray that the decision - whichever way it turn - may be the one which will contribute the most to the glory of God. I am ready for anything - I long of course for a settlement of some sort, negative or positive. The decision of Rome will be to me the voice of Heaven, no matter in what direction, and I shall take it with calmness and gratitude.²¹

Redwood received the news of his appointment to the See of Wellington on 19 January 1874, the feast day of his patron, St Francis de Sales. He went on retreat to Paris before crossing to England to be consecrated by Archbishop Manning (later a Cardinal) at St Anne's Church, Spitafields, London, on St Patrick's Day, 1874. This day was chosen because the bulk of his flock in New Zealand were Irish.²² At the celebration following the consecration, Sir Charles Clifford, who had come out to New Zealand on the George Fyfe with the Redwoods, proposed the toast to the new Bishop.

After the consecration, Redwood returned to France where he spoke in many churches about New Zealand and the Marist Missions there. This was because much of the finance for these Missions came from France. Redwood then had a holiday in Ireland accompanied by Fr Ginaty SM who was later to become the rector of Christchurch. Whilst in Ireland Redwood also made arrangements with students who later came out to New Zealand as priests.

20. Redwood to Grimes, 17 Feb 1873. (MAW)

21. Redwood to Grimes, 28 Nov 1873. (MAW)

22. Redwood, F. Reminiscences, Part 2, p 9.

On 2 September 1874 Redwood and Fr Kearney SM left Southampton on the 4,000 ton steamer, the Australia. Stopping at Gibraltar and Malta the ship had a smooth passage through the Suez Canal before changing to another steamer at Galle (Ceylon). This ship, the Nubia, took them to Melbourne, where they boarded the Albion bound for Bluff. After brief calls on Bishop Moran in Dunedin, and the Marist Fathers in Christchurch, Redwood arrived in Wellington on 28 November 1874.

Redwood's determination to build his diocese into one well equipped with schools, priests and churches very soon became apparent. Not for him the humble missionary dwelling of his predecessor, which Redwood described as "not many removes from a Maori Whare."²³ Instead he rented a doctor's house for eighteen months until his new house was completed. It cost £2,400 and ranked as one of the finest houses in Wellington. Redwood thought he may have exceeded on the side of splendour, but in 1922 it had become in his own words "the worst episcopal residence in New Zealand."²⁴

Upon his arrival Redwood immediately began to visit his diocese. Of course his first port of call was Marlborough where most of his family now resided. At Blenheim his mother, who last saw him as a boy, welcomed him as her Bishop. After returning to St Mary's Cathedral, Wellington, for his first Christmas celebrations, Redwood visited his childhood mentor, Fr Garin, still based at Nelson. Captain Cross, the Nelson port pilot who farewelled Redwood in 1854, was so overjoyed at Redwood's return twenty years later as a Bishop, that, unauthorised, he fired the cannon from Britannia Heights, and nearly landed himself in trouble because of it. This action, and Garin's address captured the emotion of the reunion:

...what will your Lordship think of the feelings of one who, several years ago, used to call you My Son, and who, by a providential inversion, rejoices now to call your Lordship My Father, My Lord! In conclusion, my Lord,

23. *ibid*, p 13.

24. *ibid*, p 18.

allow me personally to entreat your Lordship that, as in your boyhood I often gave you my blessing, you will in return impart to me yours; mine was only a sacerdotal one, and yet it may be its effect which has worked in your young heart the grace of God; yours is an Episcopal; and therefore a more efficacious one; what have I not to expect from such a blessing.

25

In the early days of his episcopate Redwood visited his diocese on horseback. One can picture the bearded bishop in leather leggings, waterproof overcoat and south-wester hat, astride his horse, full of zest in his new apostolate. He crammed most of his ecclesiastical wardrobe into his saddlebags, and the rest he carried in a long cylindrical waterproof leather case in front of the saddle.²⁶ In this fashion, Redwood began his long episcopate. He was to end it going for a daily ride in a motor car of the 1930's. Between times he was made the first Archbishop of Wellington in 1887, and to make a huge contribution to Catholicism in New Zealand as it evolved from its missionary routine to an established institution in national religious life.

25. NZT, 6 Feb 1875, p 11.

26. Redwood, F. Reminiscences, Part 2, p 16.



Father Francis Redwood at 26 years

CHAPTER 2

ADMINISTRATOR, TEACHER AND PREACHER

One of the most important functions of a bishop is to inform his priests and people of official Church teaching. A bishop is responsible for the enforcement of Canon Law¹, and the promulgation of papal decrees in his diocese. He has to ensure that the practice of the faith in each parish is orthodox. If he is doing his job properly, he should also give leadership to his people on local, national or international issues that affect the life of the Church. Visits, letters, and sermons provide the means whereby a bishop can fulfill these tasks.² Redwood's performance in these areas was meritorious. He was a good thinker, and got his message across well by pen and voice. His pastoral letters were well researched, lucid, ingenious in parallels, sound in moral conviction, and admired and published from time to time in Australia, Ireland, and United States of America. As an orator Redwood was unsurpassed in Australasia. His splendid figure, handsome, kindly features, commanding presence, strong and clear voice and well timed elegant gestures made him a preacher of outstanding quality.³

Redwood had a number of different influences on his life before becoming a bishop, all of which helped shape his personality and his orthodoxy as a bishop. None of these

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1. Body of law constituted by legitimate ecclesiastical authority for the proper organisation and government of the Church in the areas of faith, morals and discipline.
 2. A bishop had to visit each parish in his diocese at least once every five years.
 3. All persons who were interviewed that recall hearing the Archbishop, spoke highly of his preaching abilities. Fr Rasmussen SM remembers clearly the Archbishop's hands gripping the pulpit, occasionally being raised to emphasise the appropriate points. Archbishop O'Shea, eulogised his preaching calling him "the Chrysotom of our isles". (MM, 1 Feb 1935, p 15).

influences seemed to predominate over the others in Redwood's life as a bishop, though each was viewed romantically by him in later years. The first influence was the faith of his parents. They were both converts to Catholicism whilst farming on the Clifford estate in Staffordshire. It was part of Mr Redwood's duty to accompany the resident Catholic chaplain to his lodging at night. These occasions, one surmises, gave rise to discussions which aided by their association with the Catholic Clifford family ultimately led to conversion. The Cliffords were an "old Catholic" family who sought, along with others of their ilk, to re-establish Catholicism in a prominent place in English society. The "old Catholics" resented the restoration to the British Catholic hierarchy in 1850. They were Gallican⁴ in their ideas and had enjoyed their virtual independence in ecclesiastical discipline. The most prominent family names were those of the Duke of Norfolk, Errington, Howard, Stafford, Vaux, Petre, Vavasour, Weld and Clifford. Members of the last four families were amongst immigrants to New Zealand where they exerted influence on New Zealand Catholicism especially in Redwood's Wellington diocese.

The second major influence on Redwood was his family life in New Zealand and his contact with the French Marist, Fr Garin. His family upbringing obviously shaped his personality. It led to a well-disciplined and cultured lifestyle, with a love for learning and music. Energy, industry and the use of practical common-sense were assets that were inculcated in Redwood's youth. From Fr Garin Redwood grew in his knowledge of the faith, and received much of the inspiration that led to his vocation.

His training in France in the hands of the Marists constituted the third important influence. Redwood's life in France was sheltered from French society and politics of the age, and he later showed scant respect for the

4. The Gallicans followed Bossuet (of whom more will be written later) and claimed partial autonomy from Rome. The Gallican Articles, first drafted in 1682, asserted that; the state was independent of ecclesiastical authority, episcopal councils were superior to the Pope, and the Pope's judgement on doctrinal questions was infallible only when confirmed by the consent of the bishops.

direction of French politics after the Revolution. It was a time where he increased in knowledge and piety; where he learnt to love the Marist conception of religious life. This emphasised devotion to Mary, the importance of the community life of priests, and the necessity to spread the faith to all corners of the earth.

Another integral ingredient of Redwood's life as a bishop was the time he spent in Ireland. This brought to him a deep appreciation of the strong piety of the Irish in the face of hardship. His choice of St Patrick's day as the date of his episcopal consecration was made because of his respect of the Irish. Throughout his episcopate he sought to obtain Irish priests for his diocese. Aware of the quick and successful installment in New Zealand of parliamentary government, Redwood soon realised the legitimacy of the Irish having the same.

The final major component in Redwood's makeup was his allegiance to the Pope and the Vatican. The fact that he had left New Zealand for France on the very day the dogma of the Immaculate Conception was proclaimed meant a lot to Redwood. His first visit to the Holy City in 1868 made a huge impression on him, and was written up vividly, in 1922, in his Reminiscences.⁵ Unfailing respect for the Pope and Propaganda was shown throughout his time as bishop. Redwood's education as a cleric was during an age where the Papacy with Pío Nono at the helm grew in admiration and power. Under temporal threat from the forces of Italian nationalism, the Papacy grew in spiritual stature. The new Churches of United States of America, Canada, Australia and New Zealand were particularly loyal to the papacy. One cannot find or imagine an instance when Redwood might question the decision of the Holy See. J.N. Molony has hypothesised that the Church in Australia was Roman in its personnel, teaching and practice.⁶

5. Redwood, F. Reminiscences, Part 2, pp 6-7.

6. Molony, J.N. The Roman Mould of the Australian Catholic Church, Melbourne, 1969. Traditional historiography has argued over the relative importance of the Irish and Benedictines in the Australian church. Molony contends that the Roman influence has been the strongest. Unfortunately his argument is one-sided, and does not show why the Roman influence has been stronger than the other two.

Whilst his book is unbalanced it shows that the bishops of Australia followed the Roman line. The bishops in New Zealand did likewise, showing great loyalty and trust in both the Pope and Propaganda. Redwood loved going to Rome, and was proud of the fact that he personally met five Popes: Pius IX, Leo XIII, Pius X, Benedict XV, and Pius XI.

It is difficult to find individuals that significantly influenced the paths of Redwood's life. Fr Garin's important role has already been mentioned, and the only other person that could have had a major impact on Redwood was Cardinal Manning, Archbishop of Westminster (1865-1892), who consecrated Redwood as bishop. At his Diamond Jubilee in 1934, Redwood said he always visited Manning when in London. He had a great admiration for the Cardinal's administrative capacity, and also of his devotion to the cause of schools for the Catholic poor. The building of a cathedral mattered less to him than the schooling of the needy.⁷ Redwood also met Cardinal Newman whom he described as a dreamer and a thinker.⁸ But his admiration lay with Manning who had power over men. He was the man of action, the born administrator. Redwood sometimes quoted Manning when writing a pastoral letter, or preaching a sermon. They were similar in that they were both born in England, were of keen intelligence, had a wide range of interests and enjoyed preaching and writing. Their moderate support of the Irish Home Rule, views on education⁹ and willingness to reconcile the church to the age of science were other factors they had in common. Christianity, for them, extended to and embraced all states and conditions of human nature and existence. Manning had a greater concern for the poor and underprivileged than Redwood did, and was

7. This was much to the chagrin of the "old Catholics" whose possible influence on Redwood has already been mentioned. They did not get on with Manning.

8. NZT, 21 Feb 1934, p 43.

9. Manning discouraged Catholics from going to Oxford and Cambridge not because he was against tertiary education, but because he thought the two universities were liberal, agnostic and socially unrepresentative.

See McClelland, V.A. Cardinal Manning - His Public Life and Influence 1865-1892, London, 1962, Chapter 4.

a firmer supporter of the Labour movement. Manning was also a teetotaler and a supporter of temperance, though he died before Redwood really got involved in the issue. Their differences were probably more a function of the difference between Britain and New Zealand, rather than a divergence in personality, for in terms of personal characteristics they were very similar: shunning the public limelight, yet sociable with close friends, humanitarian yet very practical.

Redwood got quickly into his stride on arrival in his diocese in 1874. The building of an episcopal residence has already been mentioned. The institution of a seminary fund for the education of priests for the diocese in Europe was established in 1875. Redwood was surprised to find there was no fixed provision for the Bishop's living, so he immediately fixed a rating system that was to be paid twice each year. Stations that had a yearly income of £800 - £1,000 gave 15%, those earning £400 - £800 gave 10%, and those collecting below £400 had to contribute 6%.¹⁰

Redwood printed for the use in all parishes balance sheets, inventories of church equipment, and registers for baptisms, confirmations, marriages and burials. He encouraged further studies amongst his priests by setting them three theological questions on dogma, morality and history to be answered and sent to him for marking. Later Redwood appointed a diocesan theologian to mark the scripts.

One of Redwood's first tasks after he had acquainted himself with the state and needs of his diocese was to formulate statutes to govern the practice of the faith. In order to do this properly and efficiently he convened a diocesan Synod, in which the proposed statutes could be discussed by the clergy in a body, and then finally approved and published by the bishop. Six weeks before the synod, Redwood wrote out some provisions of Canon Law which had been overlooked in New Zealand, along with a few regulations peculiar to his diocese and sent a copy to each priest. At the Synod, a Special Committee was set up to ponder and improve the statutes, before they were passed by vote of

10. Redwood, F. "Letter to Clergy", 1 Sept 1875. Redwood said the contents of the letter must not be communicated to the people.

clergy. Redwood then drew them up and had them printed and distributed. They were found to be most satisfactory by Bishop Moran of Dunedin, who adopted almost all of them verbatim for the Dunedin diocese. This was the first solemn publication of diocesan statutes in New Zealand, and they bolstered clerical discipline, and helped preserve unity and co-operation. The fact that Redwood consulted his clergy in a matter where he was not obliged to, helped start an episcopate that was notable for its smooth priest-bishop relations. Redwood thus became the founder of practical Canon Law in New Zealand. It was an achievement that he himself saw as one of the most important in his whole episcopal career.¹¹

Almost every year of his episcopate Redwood called his priests together in Wellington for a week-long retreat followed by a one day Synod where they discussed matters pertinent to their diocese. After 1885 the retreat and Synod were normally held at St Patrick's College when the students were away on summer holiday. Redwood was responsible for arranging a retreat master (usually a Redemptorist) and for printing material before and after the Synod. Between 1888 and 1894, the printing was done in the offices of the Catholic Times, which was operational during those years. For example, at the Synod of 1893 documents were printed concerning decrees on matrimony, education and religious communities, and a new rite for receiving converts into the church, plus a circular of the Catholic bishops of New Zealand to the clergy. Another administrative task of Redwood's was to print and distribute decrees of the Australasian Plenary Council of 1885, or of the Vatican, and inform his priests and people of indulgences and changes in rite. He represented the link between his people and the Pope. The collection and sending of Peter's Pence - a collection for the Pope - fell into Redwood's brief, as did the communication of greetings and gifts on the occasion of a Pope's jubilee. For instance, at Pope Leo XIII's Golden Jubilee of his priesthood in 1887 the Wellington diocese sent a £500 purse of

11. Redwood, F. Reminiscences, Part 2, p 20.

gold, and a book-album, compiled by Redwood, containing a 63 page history of the work of the Catholic church in the Archdiocese for the last half-century, together with the pictures of many of the clergy, and of all the principal churches, schools, presbyteries and institutions erected in the archdiocese.

One of the main administrative ventures Redwood was concerned with was the founding of an archdiocesan Catholic newspaper. Redwood had been thinking of starting a newspaper for some time before the first issue was printed, as he thought it important that the capital of the colony have a Catholic organ.¹² What probably galvanized him to start the Catholic Times, was the anti-English and anti-Marist utterances of the Tablet after the appointment of Bishop Grimes to Christchurch and Redwood's elevation to archbishop (see Chapter 7). As well as defending these appointments, the Catholic Times favoured Irish self-government, insisted that Catholics were loyal New Zealanders, and covered religious, social and political issues.

The venture was hamstrung somewhat by Redwood's inability to find a satisfactory editor. It had at least four different men filling the role in its short history (1888-1894). The first editor, a Mr Weale, was dismissed for drunkenness, looseness in accounting for money and debts which brought about his imprisonment. The Catholic Times challenged him to take legal action after making these revelations public.¹³ The Tablet, glad at the difficulty encountered by its only rival in the Catholic press, took Weale's side in the belief that he had been dismissed by an anti-Irish faction in Wellington, who had forced him, while Redwood was overseas, to remove Irish nationalist information from the paper.¹⁴ The Dublin Freeman's Journal also took up Weale's cause. However, after he was convicted and imprisoned the Tablet conceded the point. After this the paper was dominated for some

12. Redwood to Grimes, 21 July 1887. (CDA)

13. CT, 23 Aug 1889.

14. NZT, 16 Aug 1889.

time by J.S. Evison, a convert from free-thought and a vicious opponent of the Liberal Government. Evison was editor, as well as manager for much of the time between 1889-1891. He seemed a rather erratic man, and was labelled by a representative of the Typographical Association, during a libel case, as a "religious adventurer" or "a man who sold his religious principles to the highest bidder."¹⁵ The libel action was brought by Evison against the Typographical Association as they had accused him of "sweating" the typographical staff of the Catholic Times, and of concealing the fact from his employer, Archbishop Redwood. The whole affair reflected rather badly on the Association as it appeared that they were piqued at not being able to get Redwood and Evison to join the union. Redwood received praise in the Wairarapa Daily for defending Evison in court, and standing up to the union's pressure.¹⁶

By 1893 Redwood had had enough of being sole proprietor, and determined to convert the newspaper into a limited liability company with some prominent Wellington Catholic gentlemen, including Dr Grace M.L.C. and Martin Kennedy (formerly M.H.R.) as directors. The assets of the company were valued at over £5,000, but Redwood sold it as a going concern for £3,400.¹⁷ By May 1893, the new management was running the newspaper, though Redwood kept a good hold on the religious and moral direction of the paper.¹⁸ However the new management was similarly unsuccessful in finding a suitable editor, and the newspaper folded early in 1894. The Tablet said the experiment had cost Redwood £5,000¹⁹ - a figure which would have been close to the mark.

In 1895 the Holy See separated the ecclesiastical province of New Zealand from Australia. This endowed it with the power to make its own laws, and to have nothing between itself and the Holy See. Redwood as metropolitan was entitled to convene meeting

15. CT, 25 Dec 1891, p 19. (This was, of course, a jibe at his previous commitment to free thought).

16. *ibid.*

17. CT, 17 Feb 1893, p 21.

18. Redwood to Grimes, 23 Jan 1893.

19. NZT, 18 May 1894, p 19.

of the New Zealand episcopal hierarchy. For the next 40 years Redwood presided wisely over these meetings. They were never held regularly until the 1920's when they met in Wellington after Easter. Before this they often met when the bishops were together for the opening of a Catholic institution.

After the province was established, Redwood was also authorised to convene a New Zealand Provincial Council as soon as he deemed it opportune. This marked a milestone in New Zealand's Catholic history. Redwood called the Council together in January 1899. The public sessions were to be held in St Mary's Cathedral, but while the church was being painted it caught alight and was gutted on 28 November 1898, so the public sessions were held in St Joseph's Church, Buckle St, and the private sessions in St Patrick's College. The Council was attended by the four New Zealand bishops who each brought a priest as his theologian. The clergy of each diocese elected a representative, as did each religious order in the country. Prior to the Council, Redwood called together his clergy to elect their representative, and to discuss matters that should be brought up at the Council. The Council itself lasted for nine days. The major decision made was the establishment of a provincial seminary in the Dunedin diocese to train priests for all four dioceses of New Zealand. The seminary was known as Holy Cross College, Mosgiel, and was opened in May 1900. The Pastoral Letter issued by Archbishop Redwood and the other bishops at the close of the Council contained advice and encouragement to the priesthood, parochial schools, homelife, Christian marriage, Sunday worship, frequent communion and Catholic societies.²⁰

Building up the religious personnel within his diocese was another task that Redwood performed most successfully. Before he travelled out to New Zealand after his episcopal consecration, Redwood travelled to seminaries in France and Ireland to try and gain priests for New Zealand. Any

20. Pastoral Letter of the Archbishop and Bishops of New Zealand, in Provincial Council Assembled to the Clergy and Laity of their Charge, 1899.

seminarian who agreed to come to New Zealand, or any New Zealander who went overseas to train, had their fees paid by Redwood's diocese. In this way Redwood was able to establish his diocese as the most well off, as far as priests were concerned, in Australasia. When the Marist seminary was started in Hawke's Bay in 1890, it provided a complementary institution for St Patrick's College, Wellington, for men wishing to pursue priestly life. This provided a much less costly means of educating priests, and one that could be adapted to New Zealand conditions. The establishment of the national seminary at Mosgiel in 1900 gave New Zealand a most satisfactory system of educating priests.

Redwood was also successful in attracting and establishing religious orders in his diocese. When he came to Wellington in 1894 there were only two religious orders in the diocese: the Mercy sisters in Wellington, and the Sisters of Our Lady of the Mission in Christchurch, Napier and Nelson. In 1876 Redwood obtained the services of the Marist Brothers in Wellington. In 1878 he got more Mercy Sisters from Ireland to staff the Hokitika school. 1880 saw the establishment of two new orders invited to the diocese by Redwood: the Sisters of St Joseph of Nazareth in Wanganui and the Sacred Heart sisters in Timaru.²¹ In 1883 the Sisters of St Joseph of the Sacred Heart began foundations at Meanee and Temuka. In the same year the Sisters at Wanganui took over the school at Jerusalem on the Wanganui River. When the Sisters withdrew Redwood planned to form a diocesan order of the Third Order Regular of Mary, but Fr Leterrier the first Marist provincial in New Zealand quenched all hopes of union with the Society. Redwood now decided that they must form an independent diocesan congregation, which would be under his own immediate jurisdiction. He named the congregation the Daughters of Our Lady of Compassion, and appointed Sister Mary Aubert as the first Mother Superior.²² Though it was only the

21. NZT, 15 May 1930, p 46.

22. Rafter, P. Never Let Go! The Remarkable Story of Mother Aubert, Wellington, 1972, p 51.

second New Zealand order (the first had a short career), it grew quickly, and became well known for its soup kitchens and other charitable works in Wellington during the depression of the 1930's. In 1886 Redwood obtained the Good Shepherd Sisters to staff the new Mount Magdala asylum in Christchurch. The Brigidines were another order he introduced, coming to Masterton in 1898. In 1905 the Redemptorist Fathers came to reside in Wellington, and in 1908 Redwood opened their well known church of St Gerard's which looks out over Wellington harbour from the top of Hawker St, or "Fitzgerald's folly" as old Wellingtonians know it. Redwood also introduced the Little Company of Mary to Wellington, and in 1929 opened their hospital in the city; the hospital where he was later to die.

A specialised pastoral task that fell into Redwood's hands upon his arrival in Wellington was the Maori Mission. From the year 1868, the Pai-marire movement had spread throughout the Maori tribes. They were unwilling to listen to European pastors, so the latter went away to minister to the rapidly increasing European population. For eight years (1871-1879) the only religious working amongst the Maoris was the durable Sister Mary Joseph Aubert, later the foundress of the Compassion Sisters. Early in 1878 Redwood entrusted Sister Joseph with the task of revising the Maori prayer book published by Bishop Pompallier in 1847. In 1879 she obtained from Redwood the appointment of a missionary solely devoted to the Maoris. For 42 years Fr Soulas SM was to be a sterling worker in this field. In 1883 Soulas and Sister Joseph were transferred from Hawke's Bay to Jerusalem on the Wanganui River. They were assisted by Fr Moreau SM, a French priest with many years of service in New Zealand. In the same year Fr Lampila SM became the first resident priest of Kaikoura, and made a number of converts from the small tribe in that area. The Society of Mary immediately saw the possibility of resuscitating the Maori Mission, and sent assistance. Fathers Melu, Le Pretre and Cognet and Brother Stanislaus arrived successively from France in the years 1884, 1885, 1886 and 1887. As already mentioned, in 1884 Redwood attempted to establish a diocesan branch of the Third Order

Regular of Mary, the order which Sister Joseph belonged to at Jerusalem. Its object was to train young women in the religious life, and to ensure an adequate supply of teachers for the Maori Mission schools. Despite the demise of this venture in 1892 the spread of the faith was rapid. Two hundred Maoris were baptised in 1886 alone, and the Maori Mission which consisted of 130 souls in 1883, had grown to over 900 by 1887.²³ Of the 9,600 Maoris in the Wellington archdiocese at the 1911 Census about 2,000 were Catholics.

Before the first 1899 Provincial Council, collections for the Maori Missions were rather intermittent. This Council decided on an annual collection, which was of great help to the Mission, though Redwood was annoyed with some of his fellow priests' lack of interest and failure to take up the collection.²⁴ In 1910 Redwood instituted an annual meeting with his Maori Missioners to discuss plans and progress, and the priorities for the allocation of the collection. As a result of these meetings, the New Zealand bishops decided in 1911 to print a uniform Maori prayerbook for the whole country.

Redwood seemed to have an enlightened way of treating the Maoris. He often said in his correspondence with priests that "we must take the Maoris as we find them."²⁵ Though he never learnt to speak Maori he showed great concern for their spiritual good, and always attended any Maori function he was invited to. When the Ratana movement began to attract Maori Catholics in the 1920's some priests were most indignant, calling Ratana a "quack" and refusing the sacraments to those attending Ratana's church. The Maoris protested to the Marist provincial of the way in which they had been treated. Dean Holley, the provincial, asked Redwood for advice, which he duly gave, and which was accepted by the Maoris. Rather than forbidding the Maoris

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23. Redwood, F. Sketch of the Work of the Catholic Church for the Last Half Century in the Archdiocese of Wellington, New Zealand, Wellington, 1887, p 4
24. Redwood to Fr Regnault SM (Marist Provincial), 19 July 1911. (MAW) The Wellington diocese had more Maoris than the two Southern dioceses. In Auckland the Maori Mission suffered somewhat after Pompallier, though it picked up with the introduction of the Mill Hill Fathers in 1886. Bishop Cleary gave added impetus to the Auckland Maori Mission after 1910. He was the first bishop since Pompallier and Viard to speak Maori.
25. Quoted by Regnault to New Zealand Bishops, 10 June 1911. (MAW)

absolutely from going to Ratana's camp, Redwood said they could go there for social and friendly chats, but they were not to take part in any religious exercises, or to take their sick children to Ratana for faith-healing.²⁶ Though some Catholic Maoris disregarded this, it appears that the majority complied, aided by Ratana's insistence that they remain faithful to the Catholic Church.

Before Archbishop O'Shea was appointed his coadjutor in 1913, Redwood was an assiduous visitor of his parishes. Most of this was done on horseback or coach in any weather, snow, wind or rain. He kept a horse in Wellington, and kept it in condition by exercising it each day himself. Early in his episcopate he spent just as much time travelling by sea as by land. His visits to Hawke's Bay, Taranaki, Poverty Bay, Marlborough, Nelson, Canterbury and the West Coast were all done by paddle steamer. As transport improved in the twentieth century Redwood used trains, and later cars, for his travels. Everywhere he went he was received enthusiastically. The length of his tenure meant that he got to know many of his flock by name, and they gave him warm respect that grew with age. Even after O'Shea was appointed, Redwood's good health enabled him to perform many episcopal ceremonies.

A whole host of other matters required Redwood's administrative skills. The transfer of priests could be one of a bishop's most onerous tasks, but Redwood appears to have upset few priests in this area. Priests, through their promise of obedience to the bishop, were supposed to accept their transfers without question, but this did not always happen. Redwood would often discuss possible moves with the priest concerned to try and make the procedure amicable for both parties. Obviously over the course of time mutual affection developed between a priest and his congregation, and this made it an area where bishops had to tread with some caution. Redwood's success in this sensitive task contrasted somewhat with the difficulties experienced by Grimes and Brodie, the first two bishops of Christchurch (see Chapter 7). A priest recalled Redwood

26. Holley to Maori Catholics at Wanganui, 20 May 1922. (MAW)

being asked the secret of success in his diocese, replying "I have a great body of priests and I trust them."²⁷

He had no cause or desire, like Bishop Liston of Auckland, to use the Knights of the Southern Cross for spying on clergy and religious.²⁸ Late in his episcopate he established regional groups of priests into structures known as deaneries, which boosted priestly fellowship, and gave them a greater part in the running of the archdiocese. These deaneries are still in operation today.

Redwood had to oversee and often organise the collection and distribution of various funds throughout his diocese. Any institution or venture that was a diocesan concern, was something that all Catholics were expected to contribute towards: Redwood's house and the Maori Mission have already been mentioned; St Patrick's College and the Stoke Orphanage are covered in the next chapter. But the venture that Redwood himself devoted most energy to was the canvassing of funds for a building that was never to be. As previously noted St Mary's Cathedral on Hill St Wellington was destroyed by fire in 1898. After Redwood had finished presiding over New Zealand's first Provincial Council, he and Fr J. Ainsworth SM began a missionary tour of all parishes in the archdiocese in April 1899. At the same time they made an appeal to the people for the new Cathedral. With several short breaks the two men carried out this task until October 1901. After one year £3,485 had been received, and £17,300 promised.²⁹ A year later £5,400 had been raised.³⁰ Redwood had plans drawn up along the scale and style of the present Catholic Cathedral in Christchurch. He hoped to build about half of the edifice when ten thousand pounds had been raised. In 1907 £12,000 was at hand, but Redwood now decided not to start until £15,000 had been raised.³¹ With the growth of the archdiocese, rapidly increasing building costs and the huge problem

27. Told the author by Fr J. Joyce SM. in interview 19 Aug 1981.

28. Simmons, p 99.

29. NZT, 3 May 1900, p 4.

30. NZT, 13 June 1901, p 5.

31. NZT, 17 Oct 1907, p 12.

that fund raising for such an enormous scheme could be (as Bishop Grimes found out in the building of the Christchurch Cathedral), Redwood's plan never started, and has still not, even to this day. Some of the money raised may have been used to pay off the Basilica of the Sacred Heart (opened 1901), which along with the church of St Mary of the Angels, has served as the "Cathedral" for the archdiocese. Redwood and the archbishops that followed him realised that the overall development of the whole diocese in the matter of churches, presbyteries, schools, convents and charitable institutions was more important than a huge, expensive cathedral.

A bishop is primarily responsible, as pastor of the whole diocese, for parochial development. He has the duty not only of providing churches, but also of ensuring that ambitions do not race ahead of financial realities. All building plans had to be submitted to him for approval. Although Redwood, like most of his time, appreciated the grandeur of church architecture, he was highly practical in this field. In 1879 he wrote to the parish priest of Christchurch telling him to make the tower on his proposed church smaller:

I was surprised to find it so out of proportion and ugly. Don't throw money away on a tower, but keep it for something more useful. 32

In 1883 he had to write to Ginaty on a similiar matter as the latter had not sought Redwood's approval of his planned church. Using language that showed he could carpet someone, if need arose, Redwood's reprobation was sparked by Fr Ginaty's advertisement in the Tablet for a "grand new church":

I will allow the erection of a school-church of modest dimensions and reasonable cost, but I will never allow a "grand new church" or what is absurdly called a "cathedral" to be.... I require of you, therefore, to send to the Tablet orders to discontinue that ad, on receipt of this letter, and more I forbid you strictly to make any other publications in the Tablet re the grand church, without previous written permission from me, and a perusal by me of the intended publication.

A few more such breaches, as the above, and some other matters previously made known to you, will clearly show that you are unfit for the positions you hold. Be warned in time and act in consequence. 33

Redwood was also required, from time to time, to settle disputes between his people. Four instances will give some idea of the nature these could take. Relationships between priests and women could often be a cause for scandal. Twice within a year Fr Ginaty had to write to Redwood for advice regarding the conduct of certain priests. A priest in New Plymouth insisted on having a doctor inspect an unmarried woman, to prove her virginity, before he would hire her as a schoolteacher. But what was worse, he remained while the examination was carried out. The same priest had been amorous to a nun, embracing her and allowing her to rest her head on his breast. Some school children had seen this, and the nun had to be removed. The same letter contained the scandalous accusation of a Christchurch priest's housekeeper that she was bearing the priest's child, and Ginaty did not know who to believe.³⁴ Seven months later Ginaty had to report another incident of improper conduct by a priest who spoke amorously to ladies, and believed that a priest could kiss a nun because it was a holy friendship.³⁵ Redwood's response to such incidents cannot be ascertained, but it appears that he was able to intervene successfully, as he did not have to suspend the priests concerned.

The second instance involved a scandal regarding the teacher at the New Headford (Lincoln) Catholic school.³⁶ Parishoners were split in their opinions of the teacher, a Mr McCabe. The malcontents held that the children made no progress, McCabe was often absent, and that he was cruel to his pupils calling them "blackguards" and "blockheads". The parents of eighteen children threatened to withdraw their children from the school, and would give no money to church collections unless McCabe was sacked.

33. Redwood to Ginaty, 5 Mar 1883. (MAW)
 34. Ginaty to Redwood, 31 Dec 1885. (MAW)
 35. Ginaty to Redwood, 10 July 1886. (MAW)
 36. Ginaty to Redwood, 16 Dec 1886. (MAW)

Mr McCabe intended to resign, but was not willing to endanger his reputation by doing so, until Redwood made a decision on the matter. Ginaty had it on good authority that some of the malcontents were carrying revolvers, and urged Redwood to get rid of McCabe. This, Redwood probably did.

Redwood's administration over the Christchurch diocese, before it was separated from Wellington in 1887 sometimes entangled him in the problems of the southern diocese. In 1902 Redwood was asked by the Christchurch Bishop's Council to arbitrate in a dispute between the Mercy nuns in Christchurch and Greymouth. The latter said they loaned the Christchurch nuns £1,000 to help establish a convent in Christchurch in 1894. The Christchurch nuns however maintained the money had been given to them, and refused to pay anything back. As Redwood had no way of enforcing such a decision, Bishop Grimes had to retake charge of the case. The whole affair dragged on for several years, until in 1906 the Christchurch superior appealed to Rome, and was duly ordered to pay the money back.³⁷

The final incident involved the complaint of a rich Wellington Catholic, Mr Martin Kennedy, regarding a change in the northern boundary of St Mary's parish, which placed him in a different parish. Redwood left the boundaries as they were, but allowed Kennedy to go to St Mary's as he wished. In all these incidents Redwood exhibited impartiality, and a skill in decision-making that gave him a high reputation as an administrator.

Redwood's main official way of teaching his people was through Pastoral Letters read from the pulpit.³⁸ These contained regulations regarding indulgences, fasting and religious practices to be observed. The major part of such Pastorals was taken up with any matter that Redwood

37. Christchurch Bishop's Council Minute Book, 1902 and 1906. (CDA)

38. Redwood also wrote three short religious books; The Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ, Explanation of the Mass, and Jesus Christ Yesterday, Today, and For Ever.

deemed important. An examination of his Pastorals gives an impression of the things Redwood saw important, and what he wanted to instruct his people on. The education issue was the most frequent topic dealt with and this will be discussed in full in the next chapter. Prohibition was another New Zealand social issue that was covered by Redwood, and though it was perhaps a topic that was too political for inclusion in a Lenten Pastoral, he twice indicated his opposition to it in letters to his parishes (see Chapter 6). Usually Redwood's Lenten Pastorals contained an exhortation to his flock on greater religious devotion, to support the Catholic press, and encouragement to start or to join Catholic sodalities such as the Sacred Heart, Blessed Sacrament, Blessed Virgin, Holy Childhood, Holy Family, Apostleship of Prayer, and societies like the Hibernians and St Vincent de Paul. Similarly most of the Pastorals contained requests for money for causes like schools, churches, special institutions, the Propagation of the Faith, the Maori Missions, Peter's Pence, and the Holy Places in Palestine.

Marriage, especially mixed marriage and the evil of divorce was a frequent concern of colonial bishops. It was a topic that came up frequently at bishops' meetings. The general preponderance of men over women in the colonies meant that the males did not quite have the breadth of choice they had in established societies, and mixed marriages were common. Redwood found its incidence in his diocese far too great for his liking. He noted in his 1877 Lenten Pastoral that many who would have been horrified at the thought of a mixed marriage in Catholic Ireland now saw such unions as a matter of course and unobjectionable.³⁹ He pointed out that the Holy See abhorred and forbade such marriages with the exception of cases of true and real necessity. Matrimony as a sacrament represented the ineffable union between Christ and His Church, and one of its prime functions was to lead the two parties and their offspring to heaven in the unity of faith. Redwood practised what he preached and only gave dispensations for mixed marriages in extreme cases. He refused to grant dispensations on application

39. Redwood, F. Lenten Pastoral, 1877.

by telegram, demanding that the full particulars of each case be put down in writing and sent to him. When he was out of the country the priests were given the power to grant dispensations, but with the warning of the grave responsibility thus incurred. Redwood was insistent that the fear of driving people into rebellion against the church was not sufficient reason for granting dispensation.

The subject of marriage provided a more serious problem to Redwood and the other Catholic bishops after 1908. In that year after Easter the papal *Ne Temere* decree came into effect. This determined that no marriage involving a Catholic would be valid unless contracted in the presence of a priest and two witnesses. Previously a Catholic marrying in a Protestant church or Registry office was thought to be sinful but validly married. *Ne Temere* was intended to bring about uniformity in canon law regulations on marriage. It was simply meant to prevent Catholics from solemnising their marriages without the benefit of a sacrament that could only be provided by priests. The Church was asserting its authority over its own members. Protestant reaction at first was small even though the decree seemed to raise grave problems for a non-Catholic party in these marriages, and for the children of a mixed marriage. In 1911 the Presbyterian General Assembly asked for legislation to protect those impugned, but nothing happened—some said because the Prime Minister, Sir Joseph Ward, was a Catholic.⁴⁰ Some Protestants became aware that under the decree couples legally married according to New Zealand's law were now open to slanderous accusations of immorality and concubinage. They also charged that the decree might be used by irresponsible husbands who could claim that their marriages were non-canonical, and repudiate their vows. Presbyterians were most aware of these possible dangers and in 1912 the Presbyteries of Christchurch, Taranaki and Timaru petitioned Parliament to enact legislation to protect from slander Protestant parties in mixed marriages.⁴¹

40. O'Connor, P.S. "Sectarian Conflict in New Zealand, 1911-1920", Political Science, Vol.19, No. 1, July, 1967, p 4.

41. N.Z. Journals of the House of Representatives, Session I-II, 1912, p 164.

The Catholic hierarchy seems to have handled the imposition of the new regulation gently. Redwood informed his people of it in his Lenten Pastoral of 1908. He and his fellow bishops obviously saw it as a decree needing publication only within their own church. There is no evidence that its promulgation led to any case of criminal slander. Nor was there any pressure placed by priests on invalidly married members of their flock to hurry their mates to the altar under the provisions of the 1908 Marriage Act, which allowed for a second marriage certificate to be issued to couples who desired to hold a second marriage ceremony.

Reactions to the *Ne Temere* decree became a lot hotter after the formation of the Protestant Political Association (PPA) in 1917. In the next three years this group, led by the Reverend Howard Elliott, aggressively attacked Catholicism. In 1920 Elliott, whose Association had closely allied itself to the ruling Reform Party, managed to get two clauses attacking *Ne Temere* included in the 1920 Marriage Amendment Act. The debate in the House was lively though some of the comments showed ignorance of the fact that Redwood had said clearly in his 1908 Lenten Pastoral that the decree was not retroactive, and only took effect from Easter 1908. Mr V.H. Potter, the Member for Roskill, asserted that the decree was "an insult to the Crown and constitution, and law of New Zealand" and that there was no doubt that it was working "grave social and evil mischief" and was "causing in this Dominion widespread unhappiness in many homes."⁴² The debate however was by no means one-sided, and many deemed that religious freedom - a much more vital matter - was at stake, and to intervene in this affair was beyond the jurisdiction of the state. Feeling to the contrary, though, was much too strong, with the ruling Reform party all voting for the inclusion of two clauses designed to attack the decree:-

42. NZPD, 189, 1920, p 613.

Every person commits an offence against this Act, and is liable on summary conviction to a fine of one hundred pounds who:

- a) Alleges, expressly or by implication, that any persons lawfully married are not truly and sufficiently married: or
- b) Alleges expressly or by implication, that the issue of any lawful marriage is illegitimate or born out of true wedlock. 43

Redwood was away in Rome whilst the agitation over the decree was going on, but the Catholic side was not left unaided. Henry Cleary, the Catholic bishop of Auckland said he found in New Zealand, after his return from Europe as a military chaplain, "a cycle of sectarian epilepsy."⁴⁴ He was an ardent student of No-Popery in many countries and was determined not to leave the PPA unopposed. In July 1918 he began an Auckland Catholic newspaper called The Month. Part of its professed purpose was to meet the assaults of the PPA and Orange Lodge, and especially the "War on Women",⁴⁵ head on. When the Marriage Amendment Bill came before Parliament, the erudite Cleary wrote four rather long-winded pamphlets in defence of *Ne Temere*, hitting back at the PPA with points like the bar in the British constitution against the monarch marrying a Catholic. Redwood, of course, supported Cleary's advocacy of the Catholic view, which he also carried out in the secular press in the form of his "Challenges" to the PPA.⁴⁶ In practise, the Act made no difference to anyone, but the Catholic bishops feared that an attempt would be made to prevent them teaching that a civilly legal marriage might be sacramentally invalid. Archbishop O'Shea promised to break the law, with his priests, as early and as publicly as possible and, by refusing to pay fines, to turn every New Zealand gaol into a monastery.⁴⁷ The "Howard Elliott Justification Bill" as a savage Liberal dubbed it,⁴⁸ became

43. New Zealand Statutes, 1920, No. 65.

44. The Month, 18 Aug 1918.

45. This referred to Elliott's claims about pregnant nuns, and lime-pits at Convents for burying illegitimate children.

46. O'Connor, "Sectarian Conflict in New Zealand, 1911-1920", p 11.

47. A Reform Supporter placed great store on O'Shea's stance. He hoped that, allied with the anti-Reform articles in the Tablet, it would lead to a "bitter sectarian fight at the next election", and another victory for Reform. Quoted in O'Connor, P.S. "Some Political Preoccupations of Mr Massey 1918-20", Political Science, Sept 1966, Vol. 18, No. 2, p 34.

48. NZPD, 189, 1920, p 236, (R. McCallum).

law on an overwhelmingly party vote. It marked the peak of the PPA anti-Catholic crusade, though thankfully, the heat generated by the Bill soon dissipated.

During Redwood's episcopate there was only one serious theological heresy that the Church had to deal with. This was the so-called liberal Christianity of Modernism. Redwood first warned his people against it in his Lenten Pastoral of 1890. He condemned the movement for its indifference and lack of commitment to the Church's creeds and dogmas, and for its utilitarian trends in education and morality. The main Modernist heresies were: that knowledge of God only came from religious feeling and could not be aided by the use of reason; the Holy Scriptures were not divinely inspired; miracles and prophecies were mere hallucinations; the Church was not a society of supernatural origin, founded by Christ but an organisation based on the need for survival; the Sacraments were not instituted by Christ but introduced by His disciples; and the dogmas of the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Atonement were only the evolution of the Christian conscience. Modernism was based strongly on evolutionary theory, the idea that all things, even the Church, gradually change. Modernists thought the Church had lagged behind the changes in society, and wanted to scientifically reform and adapt it to the ideas and manners of the day. Modernism had no strength in New Zealand.⁴⁹ It was a spontaneous rather than organised phenomenon, and had its centres in France, England, Germany and Italy. Despite its weakness in New Zealand, Redwood as metropolitan was obliged to write something on the topic because of its coverage in both the secular and Catholic press. In 1907 Pope Pius X issued a *motu proprio* against Modernism. To amplify this in New Zealand Redwood had published a series of four articles in the Tablet early in 1908 against the heresy. These articles constituted a rather complicated philosophical criticism, which one can imagine few people reading. His 1908

49. An Australian priest, Fr Thomas Hayden had to stop publishing after his work was sent to the Vatican. (O'Farrell, P. J. The Catholic Church and Community in Australia: A History, Sydney, 1977, p 295.)

Lenten Pastoral was on the same theme but a lot more suitable for the layman. Point by point it condemned Modernism from the basis of the Pope's encyclical on the subject. In 1910 the Pope demanded that ecclesiastical professors and students and certain priests take an oath against the Modernist errors, and recite the Profession of Faith. Redwood had the priests in his diocese whom this concerned, take the oath at the diocesan Synod of 1911. All priests thus required did so without fuss.

Several of Redwood's Lenten Pastorals were addressed against Socialism. There had been major conflicts between labour and capital in Britain,⁵⁰ and the 1890 Maritime Strike in Australia and New Zealand represented the most aggressive labour action to that time in these two countries. Many saw such agitation as proof of "creeping" Socialism. The Catholic Times, under strong opposition from some of its contemporaries, opposed the Maritime Strike, and boasted that they gained scores of subscribers for their stance, and lost only four.⁵¹ In 1891 Redwood addressed his Lenten Pastoral to the current topic of the rights and duties of labour. His Pastoral was conservative and on the side of capital. He conceded the right of labour to form unions, and to receive fair remuneration, but condemned boycotts, intimidation and strikes because they paralysed industry, disturbed public peace, and usually caused injury to the labourers family. Though there was truth in this, especially in the case of the Maritime Strike, Redwood gave a lot of advice to labourers regarding choosing the right leaders and preserving their members from the control of anarchists and socialists, and no advice to the employers the majority of whom he titled, "fair dealing, and benevolent men". He then proceeded to give more advice to the men of toil, quoting liberally from the American, Cardinal Gibbons. To his credit, Redwood also condemned monopolist corporations.⁵²

50. Cardinal Manning was highly influential in mediating the 1889 London Dock Strike.

51. CT, 2 Jan 1891, p 9.

52. Redwood, F. Lenten Pastoral, 1891.

Before his 1892 Pastoral Redwood had the chance to read *Rerum Novarum* (On the Condition of Workmen), the famous encyclical written by Pope Leo XIII. This condemned the evils of capitalism and suggested that the course of the working man could best be advanced through trade unions. The workers' family should not have to live from hand to mouth on pitiful wages, but should have some capital of its own, as well as time for leisure and recreation! One senses that the encyclical may have modified Redwood's attitude towards capitalism somewhat, in favour of the labourers. However he devoted his 1892 Lenten Pastoral to a condemnation of Socialism using as justification Pope Leo XIII's call for the "uniting of all conservative forces, if we are to arrest its progress and successfully prevent its triumph."⁵³ Redwood believed that Catholicism and Socialism were utterly incompatible, a view that not all Catholics agreed with.⁵⁴ Redwood was opposed to Socialism because it would destroy the fourfold foundation of society, viz., property, family, religion, and the state. Socialism began with two fundamental errors: man was born good but society depraves him, and this earth was the final happiness of man. Socialism, he declared, was caused by secularisation and by the general, moral deterioration in society. Though it was not a danger in New Zealand, it was in Europe, because it had formidable means like the press, money, many members and good organisation to further its spread. Redwood tried to prove there was an impassable chasm between Christianity and Socialism praying that God would keep New Zealand from so dire a misfortune as the latter. He offered no means of combat but in his next Lenten Pastoral against it in 1906, he offered a positive four-pronged programme of Christian social reform. The first reform was that of protected Labour. Redwood conceded that New Zealand already had some useful legislation in this area but recommended that it be extended by giving legal protection to workers, especially young women in factories. The spread, elevation, and legal

53. Redwood, F. Lenten Pastoral, 1892.

54. There was a debate in the Letters to the Editor column of the Tablet over whether a Catholic could be a socialist. A priest said no, while a layman said yes. (NZT, 1 Mar 1933, p 7.)

incorporation of trade unions was his second point. This would facilitate collective bargaining, and arbitration between employee and employer. Thirdly, he recommended the insurance of labourers against accidents, sickness and unemployment. Lastly, came diffused ownership, a concept which Leo XIII stressed in *Rerum Novarum*. Following Pope Leo XIII Redwood was opposed to land nationalisation but he wanted a plot of land for an agricultural labourer, or some shares in the case of a factory worker, that they could call their own. In each case it represented some independent family capital which no creditor could touch, and which would serve as insurance in times of hardship or unemployment. These reforms had merit and were most reasonable in the light of the New Zealand Liberal party's social reforms. But most of his four reforms the Liberal Government had already implemented by 1906, and New Zealand was said to lead the world in such social legislation. Notwithstanding that his Pastoral may have also been sent overseas, its main audience was in New Zealand, and this made his four reforms seem rather ill-timed. This fact may confirm a suspicion that his Pastorals and sermons were often plagiarized, only in this case the plagiarism was misplaced. Befitting his Christian approach to social reform, Redwood said the effect of such reforms would however be corroded if the irreligion of godless schools, godless teachers and godless homes was not reversed.

His 1906 Lenten Pastoral also took time to refute socialism by outlining five difficulties in its way: the difficulty of organising business, of supplying wants, of assigning employment, of adjudicating reward, and of furnishing an adequate motive for industry and frugality. Redwood's contention that socialism was contrary to Christianity and not in the interests of the people was taken up by the Labour movement. The New Zealand Worker argued that Christ's teachings showed that he would have favoured socialism and opposed private capital and ownership. If church leaders, such as Redwood, were really sincere in wanting to help the lower socio-economic group, they would preach socialism. Though the Labour movement wanted the support of the churches in its drive for reform, they often felt the need to attack the churches with taunts such as "you are

praying for the coming of the Kingdom of God; we are working for social conditions which would make that Kingdom possible"⁵⁵

While in his 1906 Pastoral Redwood criticised socialism as an impractical economic system, in his 1912 Lenten Pastoral he followed his 1892 line and attacked it as the foe of Christianity. He repeated his contention that socialism would destroy Christianity, church authority and the family. Catholics were warned to keep aloof from socialist propaganda, its fuelling of class hatred, and its attempt to absorb the trade unions. So abhorrent was socialism to Redwood that he had 10,000 copies of this Pastoral printed so as to inform Catholics of its evil.⁵⁶ His rebuttal of socialism was strong enough to create some consternation in Australia. Archbishop Patrick Delany of Hobart hastened to assert that Redwood was not including the moderate Australian Labour Party, in his denunciation, as was interpreted by the Sydney Morning Herald.⁵⁷

Redwood's 1914 Lenten Pastoral was on exactly the same theme, warning Catholics that despite the socialists' promise to treat religion as a private matter (probably in order to attract Catholics), the great socialist philosopher, Friedrich Engels had said that "three great obstacles block the way of Socialism - private property, religion, and the present form of marriage!"⁵⁸

Redwood's final condemnation, in his 1933 Lenten Pastoral, was centred more on Communism, especially as was practised in Russia. Communism, he said, was the most menacing of the assaults on Christianity, past and present, because it sought the banishment of God from the universe. Its tenet of State supremacy was irreconcilable with the moral law of God.

Redwood had earlier condemned Bolshevism in several Tablet articles during 1925, 1927, 1928, and 1930.⁵⁹ The last of these articles rebuked Bolshevism not only for seeking to destroy religion, but capitalism as well.

55. New Zealand Worker, 31 Oct 1906.

56. Redwood to Grimes, 10 Feb 1912. (CDA)

57. Davis, R.P. Irish Issues in New Zealand Politics 1868-1922, Dunedin, 1974, pp 188-189.

58. Redwood, F. Lenten Pastoral, 1914.

59. NZT, 26 Aug 1925, p 27; 7 Sept 1927, p 25; 7 Mar 1928, p 22; 25 July 1928, p 42; 21 May 1930, p 7; 9 July 1930, p 47.

Though Catholics universally denigrated the Bolshevik peril, it was on the grounds of its anti-religious stamp, rather than its opposition to capitalism. Redwood seemed slightly more reluctant than some of his more progressive co-religionists to attack the evils of capitalism.

In spite of the fact that Redwood was strenuously opposed to communism and socialism, he slowly became aware of the weaknesses of the capitalist system. He realised that it concentrated wealth in the hands of too few. This is what in 1919 he termed the "disease of capitalism".⁶⁰ The cure of such a disease must be through a system of profit-sharing for Redwood could see the labourers were not getting a fair deal:

The workers do not enjoy a normal or reasonable degree of independence, self-respect, or self-confidence. They have not sufficient control over the wage contract and the other conditions of employment, and they have nothing at all to say concerning the goods that they shall produce or the persons to whom their product shall be sold. They lack the incentive to put forth their best efforts in production. They cannot satisfy adequately the instinct of property, the desire to control some of the determining forms of material possession. 61

Redwood maintained that the owner of capital had no right to live in idleness off his assets. Rather, his income was a common patrimony to be shared with others when his own reasonable needs had been satisfied.

As the depression gripped the Western world in the 1930's, many Catholics realised that reform of the capitalist system was needed. The main alternatives, communism and especially socialism, were looked at with some interest. In New Zealand most Catholics came to support the moderate socialism of the Labour party. Gustafson⁶² estimates that most Catholics voted Labour by 1919. This estimate could be premature, though such a fact would have definitely become true in the 1920's. One could not say with certainty where Redwood stood in relation to the New Zealand Labour party.

60. NZT, 26 June 1919, p 21.

61. *ibid.*

62. Gustafson, B.S. "The Advent of the New Zealand Labour Party 1900-1919", M.A. Thesis, University of Auckland, 1961, p 222.

His strong opposition to socialism may have prevented him giving his vote to Labour, but he was never critical of the party in public or private. Criticism of Massey's Reform Government in his private correspondence, especially for its passing of the 1920 Marriage Amendment Bill,⁶³ would tend to indicate that he voted either for the Liberal or Labour candidate.

Catholic opposition to radical socialism and communism and its commitment to justice for the working man received further authoritative codification in the encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*, which was published by Pope Pius XI in 1931. This helped mould the development of the Catholic social teaching which Redwood was trying to impart in his Tablet articles and Pastoral Letters. It sought to relate man and institutions to their proper ends, demanded a moderate ownership for all, a just price for work, and control of the national economy by the State for social ends rather than by private persons for their own ends. Roman Catholic social teaching was firmly located within a cosmic frame of reference which endowed it with religious credence. Intrinsic to Catholic thought was the idea that man's nature was essentially social, moral and spiritual rather than materialist. The end of man was God; the end of the State was the welfare of its individual members and the maintenance of family life. Catholic social teachers constantly stressed that social justice was a religious and not a humanitarian quest, and that leadership in this sphere should not go by default to the secular humanists. Catholic social science had particular relevance during the depression. Catholics along with Methodists were the most forthright of the churches both in their criticism of government policy, and in their proposals of reform. A.J.S. Reid who has examined the role of the churches during the depression had this to say:

63. Leo Redwood to F. Redwood, 2 Jun 1925. (WDA)

Only the Catholic Church had sufficient unity, tradition and authority to establish a genuinely independent social doctrine. Whatever else may be said against it, Catholic social science 64 was at least the real thing.

Because no one had any real solutions to the problems of the time, the Roman Catholics were able to make some constructive suggestion. In July 1931 the Archbishop and Bishops of New Zealand published a joint pastoral address on the Present Economic Distress. They assumed that capitalism was a false philosophy of life, as it led on to greed and injustice. The profits of such a system were going to a diminishing minority, so that, in the words of Pope Leo XIII "a small number of very rich men have been able to lay upon the teeming masses of the labouring poor a yoke little less than that of slavery itself." This evil was intensified by the fact that masses of men neglected God and His Law. The bishops maintained that you could not divorce economics from the moral law, and continue to have prosperity, peace and happiness. A return to Christian principles was needed to remedy the problem. Governments needed to check by wise laws the exploitation of people by the powerful, and to ensure a better distribution of wealth. The Christian family needed to be restored to its proper status, mothers needed to pay more attention to the home and more thrift and economy should be practised by all. Catholics should show an example by almsgiving, and by joining groups like reading and study clubs, or the St Vincent de Paul Society which could be of great help during the depression. The bishops asked that Catholic buildings schemes be pushed ahead sooner than had been intended as a way of providing employment.

Redwood's age prohibited a large amount of action from him during the depression. Nevertheless he continued to preside at bishop's meetings, such as that leading to the 1931 joint pastoral, and impressed his fellow bishops with his clear thought at such an advanced age. In 1932

64. Reid A.J.S. "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", M.A. Thesis, Victoria University, 1961, p 95.

he allowed O'Shea to establish an adult sociology class under the tuition of Fr J.A. Higgins SM. This class discussed social problems, the economic system and their relation to the Catholic social ethic. Redwood also showed great interest in the St Vincent de Paul Society which had been revived in Wellington in 1910 by O'Shea. This society sought to give food, clothing and fuel to the needy. Fifty-five Catholic parishes had societies by the end of 1932, and 20 of these had been set up between 1929 and 1932.⁶⁵ In 1932 Redwood inaugurated the New Zealand Superior Council of the Society, and appointed its first president, so as to give the movement a national structure.⁶⁶ Redwood's coadjutor O'Shea was active during the depression, and associated himself publicly with the Unemployment Research Association,⁶⁷ as well as giving approbation to the Douglas Credit movement.⁶⁸ Catholic priests in Auckland, with Bishop Liston's approval, participated in an interdenominational clergy group, that tried to bring about more co-operation amongst the churches, in their helping of the needy.⁶⁹ Many Catholic clergy were to join the "League for the Abolition of Poverty", which was formed by the Douglas Credit in 1935 for the purpose of drawing up a petition to the King asking for a commission to investigate the financial system. Archbishop O'Shea was one of its two Vice-Presidents, and Monsignor H.F. Holbrook helped establish it in Auckland.⁷⁰ Catholic interest in money reform was a little late, but when the Labour party included credit expansion in its 1935 policy, it received support in Catholic circles. Fr Higgins argued that the State should take over responsibility for controlling currency and credit in the national interest if it

65. *ibid*, p 35.

66. NZT, 2 Mar 1932, p 42.

67. Reid, p 56.

68. Clifton, R. "Douglas Credit and the Labour Party 1930-35", M.A. Thesis, Victoria University 1961, p 149.

69. Reid, p 64.

70. Clements, K.P. "The Churches and Social Policy: A Study in the Relationship of Ideology to Action", Ph.D. Thesis, Victoria University, 1970, p 328.

expected to achieve lasting solutions to the social problems confronting the country.⁷¹ There was a largely unintentional convergence between Labour policy and the Roman Catholic church's understanding of the economic and social problems of the time. A few Catholics used Pope Pius XI's anti-socialist bias in *Quadragesimo Anno* to condemn the Labour Party, but such criticisms were countered by the hierarchy's insistence that support of the Labour party did not contravene the Pope's encyclical as Labour in New Zealand was not socialist in the sense used by the Pope.⁷² Redwood gave no indication of seeing the New Zealand Labour Party related to the socialism that he despised.

The whole thrust of Redwood's teaching was to turn man to God. Whenever commenting on a social, or public issue he tried always to show the relevance of the Christian message. Other topics that occupied Redwood's attention in Lenten Pastorals were the encouragement to read Catholic authors, and to steer clear of immoral books,⁷³ a discourse on the role of women which placed them subordinate to men, but holding a greater position in Christian society than given them by the Greeks, Romans or Persians⁷⁴; that science deserved praise for its discovery and organisation of knowledge, but it was not religion and never could take its place⁷⁵; encouragement and advice to his priests⁷⁶; and explanation of the authority of the Church's hierarchy.⁷⁷

Any major world event usually induced some comment from Catholic bishops. Like the huge majority of New Zealanders, they supported the British Empire in both the Boer War and World War I. Redwood was one of the principal speakers at the Wellington Town Hall on the war declaration anniversary in 1915.⁷⁸ However the bishops' support of the World

71. Zealandia, 11 Apr 1935.

72. The Month, 1 Feb 1933.

73. Redwood, F. Lenten Pastoral, 1898.

74. Redwood, F. Lenten Pastoral, 1902.

75. Redwood, F. Lenten Pastoral, 1910.

76. Redwood, F. Lenten Pastoral, 1921.

77. Redwood, F. Lenten Pastoral, 1928.

78. NZT, 12 Aug 1915, pp 25-26. Redwood blamed the war entirely on Germany and exhorted his congregation to give men, money, self-sacrifice, and prayer to the success of the Allied cause.

War I was tarnished by a controversy over the conscription of clergy, religious brothers and theological students which arose during 1915-17. Although the bishops were not opposed to conscription,⁷⁹ they held that it was contrary to Canon Law for priests or religious to be enlisted for military service. When the National Registration Act appeared in 1915, designed to survey the country's manpower, and in many eyes the first step towards conscription,⁸⁰ the bishops again raised the question of exemption for their students. In March, James Allen, the Minister of Defence, turned down a request from O'Shea for the exemption of seminarians from military camps.⁸¹ Archbishop Redwood and Bishop Verdon wrote to Prime Minister Massey, and Allen, in September asking for a bill to exempt their students. Massey and Allen gave a carefully worded promise on which the acrimony that followed hinged: "...should such a [conscription] bill be presented ecclesiastical students will be given favourable consideration."⁸²

When the Military Service Act was passed in 1916 no exemptions were given to priests, religious brothers, or seminarians. The Government feared, of course, that the exemption of any one group would spark demands for the exemption of other groups. At some point during the passage of the Bill the bishops had a meeting with some of the ministers. No record of the meeting appears to have survived, but O'Connor thinks there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of O'Shea's claim that the Government asked not to be embarrassed by a demand for exemption to be included in the statute, and in return promised to provide other means for it.⁸³

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79. This was in marked contrast to the Australian situation where only one out of twenty bishops supported conscription. Catholic opposition and the leadership of Melbourne's Archbishop Mannix were leading factors in the defeat of the Australian conscription referendum in October 1916. See O'Farrell, P.J. The Catholic Church in Australia - A Short History: 1788-1967, Sydney, 1968, pp 222-229.
80. Holland, E.E. Armageddon or Calvary, Wellington, 1919, p 8.
81. Allen to O'Shea, 22 Mar 1915. (MAW)
82. Allen to Redwood, 27 Sept 1915, (MAW)
83. O'Connor, P.S. "Storm Over the Clergy - New Zealand 1917", Journal of Religious History, Vol 4, No.2. 1966-67, p 131. This article provides a summary of the whole issue.

These means were not defined, and when the first ballot came out on 24 November 1916, there was a howl of Catholic protest, for a number of priests were called up.⁸⁴ As a result of this Allen and A.M.Myers, the Minister of Munitions and Supply, met a Catholic deputation on 29 November. This meeting arranged a procedure that was mutually satisfying. The Minister of Munitions, on the application of the bishop or head of a denomination, would issue a certificate of exemption for a cleric which could be presented to the Military Service Boards of the various districts. Certificates would only be given to theological students in the last four years of their seven year course, but they were not to be given to the Marist Brothers.⁸⁵

This arrangement worked satisfactorily until 16 February 1917 when its whole foundation collapsed. A Wellington Military Service Board refused to grant exemption to two Greenmeadows (Marist seminary) students for whom Myers had issued his certificates. It was suddenly made clear to Catholic leaders that there was a small, but important, qualification to the Military Service Board's obligations to the Minister under the Act. A board was generally to respect the ministerial certificates unless it saw "good reason to the contrary"⁸⁶. O'Shea, who had been the main negotiator, was furious. He wrote to Redwood:

This man [Allen] is simply fooling us...
I have instructed the Superior at Greenmeadows not to take any notice of orders that may be sent to the students to go into camp...We will set our [Catholic] Federation Committees...to work at once. The people are very indignant and are going to make their indignation felt too. 87

The Government and Country were soon to know of the bitterness of Catholic feelings at this turn of events.

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84. Bishop Brodie of Christchurch was called up at a later date.
85. The Marist Brothers were the main male Catholic teaching order. A few Christian Brothers in Dunedin were rarely referred to during the controversy.
86. Quoted in Moores, p 70.
87. O'Shea to Redwood, 19 Feb 1917. (WAA)

O'Shea, the Catholic Federation⁸⁸ and the Tablet were a vociferous trio. O'Shea preached an impassioned sermon on "Conscription in the Clergy" where he decried "the organised attempt by sectarian bigots to injure the Church."⁸⁹ His most telling point was his contention that since Catholic priests were unmarried they could all be included in First Division ballots, whereas Protestant clergymen, most of whom were married, would, in the main, be unaffected until the later calling up of men to the Second Division. "You see then", O'Shea bitterly concluded, "how this law, which exists in no other part of the British Empire strikes principally at our Church."⁹⁰ One can imagine that Redwood was similarly piqued, and fully supported his coadjutor.

At the end of April 1917 a compromise was arranged by a conference of the chairmen of the Military Service Boards. The Boards were to accept the certificates of clergymen and adjourn their appeals *sine die* and the cases would come up for revision before the Second Division were called up. No certificates were to be issued for the Brothers but they were given a way out in that no school would be forced to close. The arrangement regarding the theological students remained the same.

The focus now turned to the Marist Brothers for in July 1917 the appeals of three brothers were turned down by a Wellington Military Board. This represented another break with established practice. Two of the three were found unfit but a third was ordered into camp.⁹¹ The uncertainty over the position of the Marist Brothers led to another wave of Catholic protests. The Catholic bishops published a manifesto which described attempts to conscript the Brothers as

88. A lay Catholic group aimed at defending the Catholic view, and obtaining aid for Catholic schools.

89. NZT, 22 Feb 1917, p 35.

90. This was true. In Australia, Prime Minister Hughes granted immunity for priests, seminarians and brothers, immediately upon request from the Catholic bishops. In England clergy and religious orders were exempted by statute though theological students were called upon.

91. Evening Post, 27 July 1917, p 7.

"an intolerable act of oppression"⁹² They contended that the conscription of priests, students and brothers was equivalent to religious persecution and urged Parliament to remedy the situation.

Their manifesto may have had some effect, as Sir Joseph Ward, for the first time in his long political career, took up the cause of his co-religionists. To a government bill proposing simply the exemption of clergy, Ward moved an amendment providing for the exemption of all teachers, including the Marist Brothers, from military service. The amendment was carried 36-32 with the Liberal-Labour vote defeating the governing Reform party which had several members absent. However it was a hollow victory, for the bill was turned down by the Upper House.

Nearly everything was back to square one. The Military Service Boards had another conference at the end of November whereby it was agreed unanimously to conform with the British practice of adjourning *sine die* all appeals of members of religious orders on the understanding that such appeals could be reviewed if the British War Office changed its policy. The occasion for such a review never arose, and the controversy gradually died away during 1918. It would be difficult not to agree with the Tablet's summary that it was a pity that the New Zealand authorities had not followed the British example from the very beginning.⁹³

The whole rumpus really achieved nothing for there is no evidence that any priest, brother or theological student was actually recruited for the Expeditionary Force.⁹⁴ This fact means that the whole episode represented the most successful pressure the bishops ever brought against the Government during Redwood's episcopate. However the odds were stacked in their favour as the Government did not want

92. The Clergy and Conscription - Manifesto of the Catholic Hierarchy of New Zealand, 17 Aug 1917. Redwood was in Australia at this time and did not sign the manifesto, though he would have agreed with it.

93. NZT, 17 Jan 1918, p 14.

94. O'Connor, "Storm Over the Clergy", p 147.

to transgress British law, nor cause Catholic disaffection towards recruiting, an effect that the Australian bishops were believed to have had across the Tasman.

Redwood's role in the whole controversy was small. O'Shea and later Brodie were left to organise the Catholic side, aided by Dr Kelly, the editor of the Tablet. Redwood no doubt agreed with their position, saw they were doing the job capably, and was content to carry on a lighter schedule which included the usual round of opening Catholic institutions, as well as a cruise around the islands of the South Pacific.

The most frequent way Redwood had of teaching others was through the pulpit. Redwood had a splendid reputation as a preacher. A good deal of his time was spent preparing his sermons. He was the frequent recipient of material from his friends overseas, and spent a lot of time translating these sermons written in French or Latin. The careful presentation was matched by a clear and forcible voice that filled the largest church without the use of electrical sound systems. His voice was that of a New Zealander, though he dropped his "h's", like those who came from the part of England where his parents originated. One priest that knew him, and heard him preach, described his language as "Macaulayan, and his style Churchillian"!⁹⁵ Another ranked him with Sir James Carroll as the finest speaker he had ever heard.⁹⁶ Others that heard him said his sermons stood out from the mass of clerical orations, remembering that it was an age where they lasted for at least an hour.

The main influence on Redwood's preaching was probably the French bishop and orator, Jacques Bossuet. Bossuet's eminence as an orator is uncontested, and he has been called the voice of France in the age of Louis XIV. He used a simple but facile vocabulary to express thought of a deep intensity. His thoughts turned on principles of universality, majesty, balance, order and reason. Redwood's

95. Told the author by Fr J Joyce SM.

96. Told the Author by Fr C Crocker SM, in letter of 19 Jan 1981.

sermon's exhibit all these traits. Like Bossuet, he was not conversant with or attracted to mysticism by temperament. His sermons indicate that he was a man attracted more to the mystery of the Church, rather than the mystery of God.

After his return to New Zealand as Bishop of Wellington the Tablet noted his fluid and impressive speeches. On his visits to different parishes he often liked to present a public lecture to raise funds for some cause or another. Two of his favourite topics were: "The Irish Over all the World" and "Civilisation". When he returned from an overseas trip Redwood would often give a public lecture on his travels. He also showed some skill as an apologist. In 1878 he gave a series of six lectures, to which he exhorted his flock to bring a non-Catholic friend.⁹⁷ The whole aim of the lectures was to defend the church against charges made by the non-Catholic world. Good attendance was gained including a number of M.P's. Once Redwood had prepared a series of lectures or sermons such as these they were not closeted. Many years later, in 1906, they were published as a series of articles in the Tablet.⁹⁸ He was not the type of preacher that always presented something new, nor did he extemporize to any degree. Many sermons centred on a particular feast day or on a specific verse from Scripture, a situation that lent itself to the repetition of time-worn facts and phrases. Similarly, the many church and school foundation stone layings and openings that Redwood attended saw him deliver addresses that were the same from place to place. For instance, when he opened a new school he invariably mentioned the Catholic educational grievance which meant they had to provide the funds for separate schools as well as pay taxes that went to the "godless" education of other people's children.

97. Gibbs, Edward. "Diary 1878-1887" p 93. (Held at Marist Seminary, Greenmeadows). This diary contains brief notes of many of the sermons Redwood preached in Wellington.

98. NZT, 7 June 1906 - 11 Oct 1906.

Redwood's reputation as an orator soon spread abroad. He was recognised as being the foremost Catholic preacher out of the Australasian hierarchy, and was often invited to Australia to speak at various functions. In September 1882 he was asked to preach the sermon at the opening of the new St Mary's Cathedral, Sydney. In a widely admired sermon, Redwood took as his theme the divinity of Christ. In 1883, he went to Sydney again to preach a panegyric at the month's mind⁹⁹ of Archbishop Vaughan of Sydney. On an important occasion such as this Redwood would prepare his oration well in advance and then try to memorize it before delivery.¹⁰⁰

At the first Australasian Plenary Council of bishops in Sydney 1885, Redwood was invited to preach the sermon at the public opening. This represented some proof of his recognition as the best preacher amongst the Australasian prelates. The Tablet took its report of the sermon from a Sydney secular newspaper:

In his purple robes and pectoral cross his Lordship presented a fine appearance, and his graceful gestures during the delivery of his forcible and telling oration added a double charm to his impressive eloquence. He was much more successful than most preachers have been in the Cathedral, his clear ringing voice reach-¹⁰¹ing its every corner.

Cardinal Moran, Archbishop of Sydney, and the highest ecclesiastic in Australasia, had a good opinion of Redwood's oratory, for he invited him to preach on several auspicious occasions. Moran's admiration of Redwood's preaching was not out of friendship, for the two men were never close. The controversy over Redwood's appointment as Archbishop in the 1880's put them at odds, and may have been why Redwood turned down an invitation to preach at the inauguration of the completion of St Mary's Cathedral, Sydney in 1888.¹⁰² Redwood's excuse, which was probably genuine, was that it coincided with his priests retreat and synod. This reflected the importance Redwood gave to the annual meeting with his priests

99. A Mass in commemoration of a person one month after their death.
 100. Redwood to Fr MacNamara SM, 18 Sept 1883. (MAW)
 101. NZT, 4 Dec 1885, pp 2-3.
 102. CT, 14 Jan 1888, p 18.

In September 1900, Redwood preached at the dedication of St Mary's Cathedral, Sydney and caused some controversy. He had prepared a sermon that had some offensive charges against Protestantism, but when he found a number of Protestants in his audience, including three Governors and a Chief Justice, he decided not to say what he had planned. However, the printed sermon was given to journalists and was published in the Sydney papers. The offensive words were:

Protestantism...has ever since the Reformation been the author and instrument of the worst foes of Christianity. It desecrated the home, it polluted the nuptial bed; it lowered the dignity of womanhood, it devastated the school,¹⁰³ and it stopped the progress of science.

Redwood would not retract the statements and he was supported and defended by his host, Cardinal Moran. The incident led to some amount of sectarian bickering; but it was untypical of Redwood, who was normally moderate in what he said. An amusing account of the sermon was provided by The Bulletin:

But the sermon! Talk about 'linked sweetness long drawn out'! Archbishop Redwood from Maoriland, preached from behind a beard, 'Of His Kingdom there shall be no end.' The people who had breakfasted early, and the priests who had not breakfasted at all, listened admirably for the first half-hour, the first three-quarters. At the end of an hour a shuffling movement crept over the congregation. Once, a false hope sprang up that this was the end. It seemed as if a peroration had been completed. Everyone moved a little in anticipation. And there was the Archbishop - 'We will now cast a retrospect over the Nineteenth Century.' Later on - at the end of the Nineteenth Century - the preacher apostrophised us 'And now, my dear Brethren, what are these fears?' The look on many faces seemed to cast back the dumb reply, 'That you are not going to stop yet.' Still, it was a vivid address, and its effect was soon ¹⁰⁴ visible.

103. Quoted in O'Farrell, The Catholic Church and Community in Australia, p 288.

104. The Bulletin, date unknown. (MAW)

As time went on, the invitations Redwood received to preach in Australia increased, especially in the light of his frequent habit in the twenties and thirties of spending his winters in Australia. Even in his old age, the now grey-bearded Redwood was a most capable preacher, in spite of the fact that he was reluctant to go to the pulpit. After seeing Cardinal Cullen, the aging Archbishop of Dublin showing his senility by playing marbles with boys in the street, Redwood prayed every day that he would not lose his faculties.¹⁰⁵ These prayers were heard for up until his death at 95 Redwood exhibited a high standard of administration, teaching and preaching. They were the functions that were central to his episcopal role, and in retrospect were the tasks he did best.

105. Told the author by Fr F. Rasmussen, SM in interview 19 Aug 1981.

CHAPTER 3

EDUCATION

Denominational schools were the first to be established in New Zealand. In 1844 the Government, in accordance with the instruction of the British Government, enacted an Ordinance making provision for land endowments and financial assistance to the three principal denominations for the extension of their native school systems. This immediately aroused denominational dispute, and was abandoned in favour of Sir George Grey's Education Ordinance of 1847 which provided for a system of state-aided, fee charging denominational schools throughout the colony. Religious education was made compulsory under this Ordinance, with a conscience clause for day pupils. In practice this Ordinance only took effect in the northern part of the North Island, as the Legislative Council of New Munster refused to make appropriations for the purposes of the Ordinance within its territory. In 1849 Alfred Domett in the same Council had resolutions passed which proposed a national system of locally administered, free, secular and compulsory public schools. This alternative to Grey's state-aided denominational system marked the definite beginning of a struggle between the denominational and public school systems which has lasted both in argument and practise to the present day. All the provinces except Nelson struggled with the anti-theetical educational principles set down by Grey and Domett. When central government became established in 1852 the provincial councils had already shown themselves to be actively engaged in education, so the General Assembly concentrated on other matters. The education systems that evolved under the provincial had many weaknesses and many differences. Two clear signs emerged: firstly, that Domett's public schools ideals steadily prevailed over Grey's denominational system, and secondly, that calls for a national system of public education grew steadily.

In 1871 the Premier, Sir William Fox, put an Education Bill before the House. This scheme was neither free nor secular and led to a melee between centralists and provincialists, nationalists and denominationalists, secularists and religious instructionists. It was not passed in 1871, nor in 1873 when modified and re-introduced by Vogel. The divisions over education that existed in the country, or at least among the politicians, were carried into the House after the abolition of the provinces. The Bill which eventually became the Education Act took almost the whole of the 1877 session to get through. The Act established twelve education boards based more or less on the nine provinces, which were to administer a system of education that was in principle: national, free, secular and compulsory. Seventeen years after the Act was passed, Sir Charles Bowen the gentleman who introduced the Bill reflected on the circumstances surrounding it:

Perhaps no one was quite satisfied with the shape in which the Education Act came out of the ordeal of Committee; but we all felt thankful that the Bill had become law; and we deprecated serious amendments which might imperil it. 1

Redwood, along with most Catholics, was opposed to the Act, and it was a ceaseless task of his, through the course of his episcopate, to show opposition in debate and action.

When Redwood arrived in 1874 there were 34 Catholic schools in his diocese, but only five had religious teachers.² In Wellington there were five Catholic schools in operation, two for boys and three for girls. Due to the fact that the early settlers made no provisions for education, Wellington had become a stronghold of private enterprise in this field. In 1855 the Wellington Provincial Council passed their first Education Act which initiated a system of localised secular education to be funded by fees and Provincial Government appropriations. A lack of finance ensured that such a system was more or less useless, and Acts passed in 1871-72

1. Quoted in Butchers, A.G. Education in New Zealand, Dunedin, 1930, p 3.
 2. NZT, 8 Nov 1917, p 10.

brought several denominational schools into the public school system. Power was given to the Education Board to grant financial aid to church schools contingent on the standards of education provided. This, and the fact that church authorities had the right of veto over the appointment of teachers led to an outcry against what was alleged to be the introduction of denominationalism, and the agreements were terminated in 1876. Further negotiations resulted in the Anglican schools becoming fully incorporated within the public school organization. Agreement could not be reached with the Catholics, and their schools became the nucleus of an alternative education system. The point of all this is to show that the centre of the diocese to which Redwood came in 1874, had a secular education system that was defective, having one of the lowest percentages of school age children attending school out of all the provinces.

Redwood was quick to point out to his flock why the Church could not agree to the secular state setting itself up as a schoolteacher. Though he agreed with the aim of universal education, he detested the secular outlook that ousted religion from education. His Lenten Pastoral of 1876, read in all the churches of his diocese was addressed against secular education. Redwood, like many in the Catholic hierarchy, believed this movement had its origin in the secularizing trends of the Reformation. An extract from the pastoral illustrates Redwood's thoughts on secular education and the role of the state:

Secularism is the mania of the day, and the cry of Secular Education is incessantly dinned into our ears by the pigmy press, and by not a few of the pigmy statesmen of New Zealand.

We maintain that the education of Christian children does not and cannot belong to the jurisdiction of the civil power. The State is incompetent to educate such children both in right and fact. The State has received no right, either by the law of nature, or by the law of Christianity, to assure to itself the education of the people.

The secular system would lead to the extinction of morality. Any amount of mere reading, writing and arithmetic with various smatterings of something else, will ³ not make a man virtuous.

Redwood and his fellow Catholics asked no favours, but a fair share of the taxes Catholics contributed for the secular instruction imparted in Catholic schools. They agreed to allow Government tests and inspection of their schools, so as to prove the merits of their secular curriculum. Forewarned of the mounting tide in favour of a national, secular educational system, Redwood believed that it was a flagrant violation of the liberty of religious denominations:

To attempt to set up a uniform, universal, compulsory, and secular education for New Zealand, would be the inauguration of a period of the worst despotism over the ⁴ conscience of a yet Christian people.

These arguments were often repeated in the years that followed. They represented the normal Catholic position. This view-point, stressed by every Pope since the First Vatican Council, stemmed from Natural Law and the Syllabus of Errors. Redwood frequently based his arguments on articles from Pope Pius IX's Syllabus:

Catholics may not approve of a system of educating youth, unconnected with Catholic faith, and the power of the Church, and which regards the knowledge of merely natural things, as only, or at least primarily, the ends of ⁵ earthly secular life. (Syllabus, 48)

Catholics saw a secularising world full of dangers for their young, and education was a bulwark to protect them.

Introduce a whole generation of boys and girls to a world so seductive and overpowering without the safeguards of Religion, and you liken them to a helpless ship ⁶ drifting to sea without rudder or compass.

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3. Redwood, F. Lenten Pastoral, 1876.
 4. *ibid.*
 5. Quoted in Redwood, F. Lenten Pastoral, 1876.
 6. Redwood, F. Lenten Pastoral, 1887.

In other words, the means of assuring a future for Catholicism in New Zealand was the Catholic school and college. Education must include education in the faith, and if the State would not facilitate this, the Church would have to bear the burden. They did this in a most resolute fashion, spurred by their own self-denial, and by the encouragement of their pastors.

An early practical problem which Redwood faced was presented by the oscillations of the Wellington Education Board. Having successfully obtained the services of three Marist Brothers in 1876 to teach in Wellington, Redwood was left with no school for them to teach in, as the Education Board had severed all connection with the Catholics. Not only was there no school, but Redwood and his Wellington congregation had failed to organise a residence. The generosity of the Catholic people towards the education cause, which was to be called upon many times in the future, came to light immediately with £1600 to help establish the Brothers.⁷ Later in the year the Wellington Education Board offered Redwood £500 for the Catholic Schools. He refused to accept it because of the rancorous opposition to Mr Henry Bunny, a Catholic member of the Board, who first suggested the grant, and because it was given grudgingly and of necessity.⁸ This illustrated that for Redwood, aid to Catholic schools was an indisputable point of justice, and he was not going to accept money from a group who did not acknowledge this.

As most of the provinces lacked the resources and power to establish efficient state education and make it compulsory, the Catholic authorities did not become really concerned till Bowen's Bill was put before the House in 1877. Meetings to oppose the Bill were held by Catholics in Dunedin, Wellington, Wanganui, Milton, Hokitika, Nelson, Westport, Greymouth, Arrowtown, Napier and Reefton.⁹ Redwood chaired the crowded meeting in Wellington, and at the outset aired the Catholic grievances against the Act:

7. NZT, 23 June 1876, p 13.

8. NZT, 1 Oct 1876, p 11.

9. NZT, 31 Aug 1877, p 10.

On looking over the present Bill, we instantly perceive that it is sectarian enough to injure and exclude Catholics, and yet too secular to be compatible with the requirements of a sound Christian education...Firstly we object to its incompleteness...Not a moment of the school hours should be without some religious influence. We believe it would never do to suffer the child to devote six days of the week to worldly science and to depend on Sunday for religious training. The secular system may turn out expert shop-boys, first-rate accountants, but neither good citizens nor virtuous Christians. Its baneful results in regard to public honesty and morality have been lamentably and glaringly conspicuous in France, America, Australia and in every place where it has had an extensive field of action. We believe, then, that the religious and secular elements of education; though distinct, are not separable: that education without religion is a mockery, a sham and a plague. 10

Redwood maintained that those who believed that religious instruction could be satisfactorily taught in the home or at Sunday School were deluded, as religion was an all-pervasive factor in everyday life. He opposed the Bill because it forced the secular system on all sections of the community whether they approved of it or not. Choice in the education of children was a parental right, and the state had no right to usurp the total control of education.

...The unreasonableness of the Government in claiming the right of public education is rendered more conspicuous by its utter incompetency for the task. If it attempts to teach religion in public schools, it will be unfair to every form of religion except the one adopted in the school. In a divided community like ours no common Christianity can be found; much less any common religion. If it leaves out religion altogether, then it only half educates -it only instructs - and mere instruction is not education. 11

The proposed Bill was also unjust for it would tax Catholics to support schools which their consciences rejected. Redwood saw the gratuitous clause of the Bill as a bribe to Catholics; its clause of compulsory attendance as an overly powerful pressure, and its secular nature as the betrayal of a Christian state, now turning infidel. All

10. *ibid*, p 5.

11. *ibid*, p 7.

Catholics wanted was the freedom of conscience to be left alone to run their schools. For this they demanded a fair share of the public funds they contributed by taxation, for the amount of secular instruction imparted in their schools. This could be determined on the principle of the numbers attending Catholic schools, and by the results they achieved.

The Wellington meeting passed resolutions against the principles of the Bill and its unfairness to Catholic teachers, and agreed to agitate against it especially at the hustings. Redwood forwarded the resolutions to the Government.

As the See of Auckland was vacant, it was left to Redwood and Bishop Moran to lead the Catholic fight against the Bill. Priests weighed in where they could, but they had to spend most of their time on parochial tasks rather than in debate, representation to Parliament, or giving public statements on the Catholic position. Moran was recognised as the main Catholic proponent in the education debate because he had been in New Zealand longer than Redwood, and he was much more vehement. Soon after his arrival in New Zealand in 1871 he threw himself into a vigorous campaign for Catholic schools. His 1872 Lenten Pastoral was devoted to education and he condemned the system existing in Otago. It discriminated against Catholic teachers, used unsuitable texts and did not give any money to the Catholics.

Although they held similar views, Moran's approach was different from that of Redwood. Redwood lucidly outlined Catholic arguments against state education appealing to principles of liberty and justice. Redwood's phrases, like those quoted above, would not have been out of place in a lecture theatre or debating chamber. Redwood was out to win by the logic of his case, as he indicated at the start of the Wellington meeting against the 1877 Bill.

We are not here to exhibit animosity, or call names, or impute motives; we are here to consider the Education Bill in the calm, serene light of reason, common sense, and universal justice. In our eyes persons sink into

utter insignificance in a question of such magnitude as the present...We are concerned with principles and their outcome, with measures and not with men. 12

Moran's object was less to win debating points but to stir up the enthusiasm of his flock by dramatising and oversimplifying the issue, appealing to the fact that they were Irish and that they had been discriminated against before. At a public meeting of 800 Catholics in Dunedin Moran was applauded for his suggestion that the New Zealand Government's action was comparable to that of the Russians who, forcing open the mouths of Catholic Poles with bayonets, compelled them to take the Greek Orthodox sacrament.¹³ As Davis¹⁴ has shown, Moran based his argument on a side issue which enabled him to evoke memories of oppression in Erin's green valleys. He feared that under the Bill the elected school committees would not give Catholics exemption from attending state schools. This was the most atrocious and tyrannical measure since the anti-Catholic Irish penal laws. The New Zealand Bill was bringing them back to the days of their fathers, when they were obliged to flee to the mountains and bogs to preserve their faith. Similarly, New Zealand Catholics would be forced either to move more than two miles from the nearest state school to gain exemption or to flee the colony. Moran also suggested actions at the polls, and a possible refusal to obey the law should it be passed. In view of the subsequent amendment settling the exemption issue to Catholic satisfaction, Moran's outbursts appear hysterical and inflammatory. He also carried out a misguided attack on freemasons, whom he accused of being behind the 1877 Bill.¹⁵ The inappropriateness of such a charge was indicated by the fact that leading freemasons such as Vincent Pyke and John Ballance (Premier 1891-93) supported Catholic claims for aid.¹⁶

12. *ibid*, p 5.

13. Davis, p 77.

14. *ibid*.

15. NZT, 11 Feb 1881.

16. Laracy, H.M. "Paranoid Popery: Bishop Moran and Catholic Education in New Zealand", The New Zealand Journal of History, Vol.10, No. 1. April, 1976, p 58.

Whilst Moran's approach was unquestionably more potent than Redwood's when it came to arousing his people, - in the long run it repulsed the very people it had to attract - the politicians, and the non-Catholics. Moran's militancy turned these people off. Goulter, commenting on the first impressions Moran made in Otago, gives amplification of this;

...it would be historically false to slur over the reaction of non-Catholic Dunedin to this new type of Christianity within its gates : a type which did not content itself with trudging the roads of Otago in a shabby cossack, but insisted on raising large sums of money, founding a newspaper, fighting the education question to the last ditch, and finally, contesting a parliamentary election.

During these six months, the papers were deluged with letters from 'Paterfamilias', 'Protestant', 'Sigma', 'Aristides', 'Omega', and others, bitterly resenting the new Bishop's militant attitude.

17

This quotation says just as much about the narrow-minded, anti-Irish, Presbyterian bigotry present in Otago after the goldrushes as it does about Moran's style. In some measure the bitterness that arose between Moran and his opponents on the Education Bill was one of the factors which brought about a secular education system. There were many supporters of a national system, who favoured aid to denominational schools, but despaired of achieving an agreement between the denominations on the matter. If Moran and Redwood had been less demanding and supported the Nelson compromise¹⁸ introduced into the parliamentary debate by Mr O. Curtis, we could have had a far different educational history. Looking at the overall agitation about the Bill it appears the Catholic part was not very strong. Bishop Moran was a fighter, but a sense of discouragement was evident in his retort to the question why a nationwide petition was not made in 1877 as had been done in 1871, when he replied: "We would be laughed at."¹⁹ The

17. Goulter, M.C. Sons of France, Wellington, 1957, p 148.

18. The Nelson system admitted "separated" or denominational schools, which permitted religious teaching if the local school committee was in favour. A conscience clause was provided for objectors. All Nelson schools were inspected for the secular education: they gave. The amendment was not included in the 1877 Education Act.

19. Mackey, J. The Making of a State Education System, London, 1967, p 193.

Catholics were not united. Auckland Catholics felt differently from their co-religionists. In 1877 they did not have a bishop, and contrary to Redwood and Moran's opinions, they petitioned parliament in support of the Nelson compromise amendment to the Education Bill.²⁰ Later they sent a petition against denominationalism.²¹ Overall, Catholic numbers were only a small proportion of the population. In many centres no Catholic protest was heard.

As it was, the Education Bill was hotly debated in the House and the Catholic cause had a number of spokesmen in J.A. Tole, H.E. Bunny, Martin Kennedy, the rich Irish miner, and several Protestant sympathisers (O.Curtis, V. Pyke, W. Gibbs, G. O'Rorke). Sir George Grey, later an educational secularist, also gave support. In the Legislative Council, Dr Morgan S. Grace, who was present at the meeting of Wellington Catholics in August, put the Catholic case with vigour. Interestingly, it was an Irish Catholic politician, John Sheehan who, to an even greater extent than Bowen, ensured the Act was secular and free. Sheehan was an instigator of the 1869 Auckland Common Schools Act which debarred religious teaching from provincial schools, pre-dating by three years the colony of Victoria which was to become a byword in secular education. Sheehan's opposition to the current of Catholic thought reflected the divisions in bishopless Auckland.

Despite all this, the Catholics received some concessions. Protestant observances were disallowed because their form could not be agreed upon, attendance at state schools was not made compulsory if efficient instruction could be gained elsewhere, history was made an optional subject, and in country areas too small for a public school, private establishments could be subsidised.

This was obviously not enough for Redwood or Moran who now placed their hopes in Moran's acquaintance with Grey,²²

20. AJHR, 1877, J-4. Petition of 2,034 Inhabitants of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Auckland.

21. AJHR, 1883, I-II, p 22.

22. Grey was Governor of the Cape Province while Moran was a Bishop in the same province.

the new premier, and in the divisions apparent in the 1877 debate that might overthrow the Act. These hopes were not realised, and a century was to pass before Catholic claims for parity in the allocation of school funds were realised.

Redwood was not to know this, and for the rest of his life he constantly asserted the rights of Catholic schools to receive aid for the measure of secular instruction they imparted. In 1878, and twice in 1887 he led petitions to Parliament for State Aid. In 1883 he presented the Catholic case before the Parliamentary Joint Committee on Education. From one end of his diocese to the other he pointed out the injustices of the 1877 Act to Catholics. Nearly every time he opened a Catholic school, or laid its foundation stone he spoke of the obligation Catholic parents had to support their Catholic schools. His Pastorals of 1876, 1883, 1887, 1896 and 1902 took education as their main topic.

The 1887 Pastoral included details of a state aid scheme that Redwood, and some others had been working towards for some time:

From a common public school fund into which all public school taxes are paid, equal pro rata allocations are made to all public schools, according to their respective number of pupils, and certain standards of proficiency attained by them in their respective grades. The allotments are made irrespective of creed.... Under this system impartially carried out, justice is done to the rights and preferences of parents of various belief, and to those who 23 have no religious belief.

Redwood then went on to point out that this system worked successfully in Belgium, Canada, and the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Almost all of his other Pastoral Letters, between 1877-1910 contained an exhortation to Catholics to support their schools, and to protest about the iniquitous situation into which they had been legislated.

We again remind you that Catholics cannot avail themselves of the Government schools, except in cases of very grave necessity,

23. Redwood, F. Lenten Pastoral , 1887.

and when - such necessity being supposed - every possible precaution is taken to remove all approximate dangers to faith and morals. We exhort, therefore, most earnestly our priests and people to strain every nerve to establish and maintain efficient Catholic schools, wherever it is possible to do so; and we call upon our clergy to exhibit still greater zeal in this great cause than they have hitherto evinced. We must also keep on urging our just claims, and bringing under the notices of our legislators the self-evident injustice with which we are afflicted, and the impolicy of their present suicidal course. Come what may, we will strive against an injustice by every lawful means; and, by the courageous erection of schools of our own, we will preserve our children from the contagion of secular schools, confident that such a manly course must in the long run command the sympathy and support of every honest man, and finally win us the redress of a crying grievance. 24

Catholic parents that did not heed such exhortations and sent their children to state schools were refused the sacraments.

Another Catholic weapon in the education struggle was the so called "block vote". The aim was to coax Catholics to vote as a group on the single issue of education. Via the Tablet Redwood addressed these words to Catholic electors:

It is a notorious fact that Catholics in New Zealand, as a body, are clear and unanimous on this vital point: that in comparison with the education question, all other differences of opinion sink into insignificance. Accordingly, in the next elections they will conform to the following rules: First, whenever out of two or more suitable candidates one or other publicly declares his unwillingness to do justice to Catholic claims, Catholic electors will, at their own discretion, either vote for no candidate at all, or vote, according to their judgment,²⁵ for the least obnoxious one in other respects.

This last clause showed that Redwood took a slightly more moderate and sensible stance than Moran, the editor of the Tablet, who suggested Catholics abstain from voting if all

24. *ibid.*

25. NZT, 28 Oct 1881, p 16.

candidates were against state aid. In similar vein Moran suggested that if a candidate supported the Protestant cause of Bible reading in schools and opposed state aid, the Catholics should vote for a pure secularist.²⁶ Redwood, on the other hand, strove diligently to prevent the rival claims of the Bible-in-Schoolers and the state aiders becoming a tit-for-tat deal. For Redwood they were two separate issues, and it was short-sighted to see the two camps always in a confrontation situation.

The instructions to electors quoted above were the first that Redwood gave publicly. However he worked behind the scenes at the 1879 elections in Christchurch in an attempt to defeat Sir George Grey, and the other enemies of the Catholics in the education system. Grey's inaction on the education issue, and the fact that he had said in his public dispatches as Governor that Catholic missionaries were stirring up the Maori race to rebellion against the Government,²⁷ soured Redwood. He hoped that Fr Ginaty would be able to persuade a Catholic, R.A. Loughnan or W.B. Perceval, to stand in the election, so as to thwart Grey who had a number of Catholic supporters.²⁸ Though the Greyites were voted out of office, Sir George was returned to the House.

The political campaign for government grants reached a peak in 1883. In January, Moran took the unprecedented step of contesting the by-election for Otago Peninsula, against a Catholic, Donnelly, who was against state aid, and Larnach, who favoured the introduction of Bible reading. Moran stood to give disapprobation to the education policies of Donnelly and Larnach. He intended education to be the key issue of the election, though he offered a progressive programme in other fields, including interestingly, a government for each island and a vote for women. Like many others of that time he opposed Chinese immigration, a stance

26. NZT, 21 Oct 1881, p 15.

27. Redwood was probably wrong in assuming this - see Mackey, p 42.

28. Redwood to Fr Ginaty SM, 14 Aug 1879. (MAW)

that today would be called un-Christian.²⁹ The result of the election - Larnach 667, Donnelly 182, and Moran 138 - possibly demonstrated that a forthright Catholic candidate could take votes off a man like Donnelly, who compromised on education.

At the beginning of the 1883 session, Vincent Pyke M.P. (Dunstan) made a further effort to help denominational schools, as he had in the previous three years. A select committee with members from both Houses was appointed to enquire and report upon petitions alleging grievances resulting from the existing system of education. One hundred and twenty-six petitions with 19,763 signatures were received by the joint committee which called upon Bishops Luck, Moran and Redwood to present the Catholic case. The House of Representatives rejected their claims, with Moran's "old" friend Sir George Grey saying that "the present system of education was the most perfect that had been introduced into any country."³⁰ So disgusted was Moran that he printed, in the first issue of the Tablet after the decision, under the heading, "Progress and Justice in the Nineteenth Century", the following protest:

The Catholics of New Zealand provide at their own sole expense an excellent education for their own children. Yet such is the sense of justice and policy in the New Zealand legislature that it compels these Catholics after having manfully provided for their own children, to contribute largely towards the free and godless education of other people's children!!! This is tyranny, oppression and plunder. 31

This piece was placed above every editorial in the Tablet until June, 1897. It showed Moran's anger. The unpromising language stresses the importance Catholics put on education.

Before the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Education in 1883 Redwood proffered a cost analysis of the efforts in his diocese since the 1877 Act:³²

29. Zealandia, 19 May 1966, p 10.

30. NZPD, 46, 28 Aug 1883, p 312.

31. NZT, 31 Aug 1883, p 15.

32. AJHR, 1883, I-11, p 7.

Number of Schools	£	54
Number of Pupils	£	4,563
Expenditure on Land	£	12,473
Cost of Buildings	£	84,466
Cost of Maintenance	£	58,510
Salaries for 147 teachers	£	70,165
		<hr/>
	£	225,614
		<hr/> <hr/>

This was the extent of the Catholic grievance, and this is what Redwood wanted a refund for. Of course the size of the bill grew bigger and bigger. In 1911 Redwood estimated that the Catholics had saved the State in primary education (working expenses alone) £1,100,000.³³ This did not include money expended on lands, buildings and the repairs of same. In 1931 a Tablet editorial entitled "The Four Million Pound Fraud", indicated the growing extent of the Catholic complaint.³⁴

In 1891 Redwood, tired of the lack of progress on state aid, decided on a new tack. It was introduced to the House of Representatives in the form of a Private Schools Bill, by Mr G. Hutchison, the member for Waitotara. Essentially it was the same in all respects to past bills, with one important exception. Redwood was prepared to accept a moiety of the capitation grant usually voted for public schools, rather than the full amount. Based on the previous year's daily average attendance at Catholic primary schools a full capitation grant would amount to £45,000 annually. Hutchison, with Redwood's sanction, asked for a figure of around £14,000.³⁵ Redwood had said that he could only accept this arrangement, if it passed through parliament, for a generation (25 years) as he could not speak for the generations that followed. The Bill however came up against the usual opposition to such proposals: members who feared that any grant would disrupt the sectarian balance they

33. NZT, 2 Feb 1911, p 201.

34. NZT, 24 Jan 1931, p 3.

35. NZPD, 72, 1891, p 265.

thought the 1877 Act had created. It was defeated 40-25.³⁶

The only assistance that was given Catholics was piece-meal. In 1877, inspectors and departmental officers were allowed to give advice to private schools. In 1878 pictures for infant classes could be issued. In 1889 free rail tickets were provided to the nearest private primary school, and in 1913 this was extended to private secondary school pupils. After intermittent school inspection in some Boards, it was made compulsory in 1912.

In the face of such superficial compensation, Catholics had to go about expanding and strengthening their school system by themselves. It was in this area that Redwood made an immense contribution. When he came to the diocese in 1874 it had 34 schools. In 1887, before the diocese was split there were 55 schools made up of 10 high schools and 45 primary schools. When the Christchurch diocese was split off in 1887, Wellington was left with 29 schools. When Redwood died in 1935 the number had increased to 85. Redwood had a great part to play in this expansion. He encouraged his people to undertake school building, he had to approve the school plans, and he gave to most a personal donation when laying the foundation stone, or opening the schools. Seventy seven new schools were established in areas under his authority, which represents an average of more than one new school a year throughout his long episcopate. These schools had a good reputation. The Catholic school system in Wellington was well organised, aided by the formation of the Wellington Catholic Education Board in 1912 by Redwood and his Coadjutor Archbishop Thomas O'Shea. O'Shea was primarily responsible and was the Chairman. Redwood was the Patron. In 1926 the Inspector of the Wellington Catholic schools gave them a glowing report, with 84% of the students obtaining proficiency compared with 74% in the local state schools. Redwood was proud of his Catholic schools, and he had reason to be for he was closely associated with the establishment of many of them.

36. *ibid*, p 294.

Rather than go through each school's foundation, I would like to concentrate on Redwood's contribution to two of the schools that he had close to his heart: the St Mary's Industrial School at Nelson, and St Patrick's College, Wellington.

St Mary's Orphanage as it was called, began in 1872. A few Catholic orphans, whom Garin found in a non-Catholic orphanage in Motueka, were placed under the care of Fr Garin by the Nelson Provincial Council. The girls were lodged in a Convent under the care of the Sisters of the Missions, and the boys in the charge of a matron in a separate cottage. In the early part of 1877 increased accommodation was added at a cost of £240. In 1881 the Orphanage was gazetted as an Industrial School under the Act. Magistrates anywhere in New Zealand could now send Catholic orphans and delinquents to St Mary's, and numbers increased rapidly. The Government gave a grant of one shilling a day for each child's board, clothing and education. This enabled Catholic orphans to be sent from mixed reformatories and orphanages in other parts of the country. The orphanage proved very popular and more accommodation was planned, Redwood appealed for funds through the Tablet³⁷, and in 1882 the addition was completed at a cost of £500.

Under the new Act it soon became clear that the Nelson premises were too small. A large new estate of 375 acres was therefore secured near Stoke at a cost of £2,500. Funds were gathered throughout the diocese and in 1886 a two-story wooden building was erected for just under £5,000. This was formally opened by Redwood on 15 August 1886. Over 100 boys moved out of Nelson to fill it. A few years later 400 acres of a neighbouring estate were acquired for £3,000.

In 1890 Redwood, who was one of the six trustees of the Stoke Orphanage, managed to obtain the services of the Marist Brothers. By 1895 Stoke's numbers were up to 185 boys over nine (the younger boys still lived in Nelson). Most of these had been sent by magistrates. A new wing had to be added in 1896. The boys, some of whom were described by one of the brothers as "incorrigible little scoundrels"³⁸

37. NZT, 21 Oct 1881, p 15.

38. Doyle, A. The Marist Brothers of the Schools, Sydney, 1972, p 369.

spent the mornings at the workshops or on the farm, and the afternoon at classes.

In 1899-1900 complaints began to circulate about ill-treatment meted out to the boys. The rumours quickly snow-balled, and some of the more bigoted members of the Nelson Orange Lodge spiced them up enough to catch the attention of the nation's newspapers. The orphanage affair then became an issue with which the political Opposition attacked the Government - a Government that had already been accused of a pro-Catholic bias in "stuffing" the public service. The Government set up a Royal Commission to inquire into the complaint. The complaint included such areas as food, clothing, work and punishments. The Commission exonerated the Brothers from the allegations of cruelty, and recommended minor alterations in clothing and nutrition. But this was not the end of what was rapidly becoming a farce. Proceedings were initiated in the Supreme Court against two of the brothers. The case for the prosecution collapsed completely. In the words of the New Zealand Times, the charges broke down "with a completeness which is absolutely staggering." Mr Justice Edwards declared that "he would not punish a cat" on the evidence adduced by the Crown.³⁹ The Marist Brothers, after so much ado about nothing, resigned from the management of the school, because they refused to employ women as was requested by the Royal Commission.

Disaster of a different kind struck the institution on 27 April 1903 - the orphanage was burnt to the ground, with one poor lad losing his life. Redwood immediately initiated a fund-raising campaign throughout the diocese to raise the £ 4,000 which was the deficit to be left on the new facilities after insurance.⁴⁰ On 24 May 1905, Redwood opened the new Stoke Orphanage. From then until 1910 the Orphanage operated smoothly under church control, before being taken over by the Government.⁴¹

39. *ibid*, p 374.

40. NZT, 11 June 1903, p 20.

41. New Zealand Gazette, Vol 2, 1910, p 4297. The takeover was effected by David Buddo M.P., the Acting Minister of Education under section 4 of the 1908 Industrial Schools Act.

In 1883 Redwood announced to his people in a Pastoral Letter:

Not a few Catholic Boys in the diocese of Wellington already require a college education, and their number will always be increasing; consequently they require a Catholic college in our diocese; and with the advice of our clergy we have decided that the time has come for its foundation. It will be under the management of the Fathers of the Society of Mary....

The college will be built at Wellington... As the vast majority of the Catholic youth in this colony are sons of Erin, the college is named after the great Apostle of Ireland, St Patrick. Experienced and eminent professors are coming shortly from Europe to form the teaching staff, assisted by able teachers in the colony. It is intended to be a first-class educational establishment, equal to kindred institutions in Europe.

42

Redwood appointed Fathers Devoy SM and Le Menant des Chesnais SM to collect funds for the college throughout the whole diocese. Their appeal met with a satisfactory response, and was carried on for two years until the college opened. Devoy managed to collect £4,000 from the Canterbury and Westland portion of the diocese. In 1885 Le Menant went to the United States of America and Canada to canvass further.⁴³

The section on which the college stood, at the base of Mt Cook near the Basin Reserve, was procured for £2,000. The foundation stone was laid on 16 March 1884 before a crowd of 3,000, including the Bishops of Dunedin (Moran) and Auckland (Luck). On the day £1,200 mostly in gold, was subscribed towards the college building fund. Redwood had written upon its foundation stone: *Lapis male parvus, spe grandis* - "Stone small in size, but great in hope." The future was to see this hope abundantly fulfilled. In his speech Redwood mentioned how the college would act like a scholasticate, pending the establishment of an ecclesiastical seminary. The first prospectus mentioned other aims and attractions:

St Patrick's College is already possessed of the most valuable classical, theological and philosophical library in this Colony [gifted

42. Redwood, F. Pastoral Letter, 1883.

43. Redwood to Fr Le Menant des Chesnais, 10 Apr 1885. (MAW)

by priests.] The College will also have a museum of Natural History and an Astronomical Observatory. In St Patrick's College students will be prepared for the Civil Service, the navy and University degrees. It will enable us, also, to prepare candidates for the priesthood. The formation of pious ecclesiastics, and learned priests, who will devote their zeal and care to the promotion of our religion in New Zealand, is of paramount importance. In St Patrick's College, as in the early Christian schools, Sciences will be carefully taught, and also Fine Arts, but Religion will be the foundation of all. The study of Literature and Sciences will be taught simultaneously with that of Religion; it will be a house of learning, and a house of prayer. 44

On Monday 1 June 1885, the College opened with nine day pupils and twelve boarders. It cost £10,000, and only half of this had been raised when the school opened. One of the boarders was Thomas O'Shea, later to become coadjutor to Redwood. The first rector was Fr Felix Watters, a former student of Redwood's at Dundalk. The College was not formally opened until 21 February 1886 when the Australian Cardinal Moran was visiting New Zealand. Five bishops, including Redwood were present, and one can imagine his pride, looking at what he liked to call the "foremost Catholic College" of our nation.

The college remained very close to Redwood's heart, and he invariably gave out the prizes at the end of the year, and attended the entertainment given before the winter break. The college achieved prowess in sporting and academic fields. Redwood lived to see the College in action for 50 years, during which time it produced ten All Blacks (including the famous Brownlie brothers) Archbishop O'Shea, Professor John Bronte Gatenby, an eminent scientist, Winston McCarthy, the well known rugby commentator, and three rectors of the College who were old boys. The school's founder was even more proud of the 103 old boys who became Marist priests during his lifetime as well as a number who trained as seculars. The school's good name soon caused it to outgrow its facilities and on 27 April 1930, Redwood laid the foundation stone of a new St Patrick's College, at Silverstream, which was to cater for the boarders, while

the old St Pat's would take the day boys. Over 3,500 attended the ceremony, which initiated the building of a school that was to cost over £76,000. Redwood himself headed the list of donors with £1,000.⁴⁵ The school was opened on 15 March 1931 by the Governor General, Lord Bledisloe. It started with 153 boarders and 25 day boys.⁴⁶ Fittingly the Silverstream prize-giving on 13 December 1934 was the last public function Redwood officiated at before his death.

Redwood always recognised the worth of education. A well educated man himself, he strove for the educational rights of others throughout his long episcopate. While the bulk of his energies went into Catholic education, he was not restricted in the narrow-minded way of Moran to this field only. Indeed, his main civil contribution to New Zealand was as a member of the University of New Zealand Council from 1877-1903. He saw great value in tertiary education and was thrilled to be the first patron of the Catholic University Students Guild established in 1922.⁴⁷ Though Redwood lacked the vitality of Moran and the brilliance of Bishop Cleary of Auckland, he strove manfully throughout his episcopate for Catholic educational claims. Following clearly enunciated Church principles, Redwood sought firstly to convert legislators to the principle of state aid. Redwood lacked Moran's polemics and Cleary's astuteness in this area of persuasion, but his reasoned approach probably had just as much (or little) impact. History was to prove that Redwood's second aim, the building of a Catholic school in every town, was to be far more significant.

45. NZT, 7 May 1930, p 46.

46. NZT, 25 Mar 1931, p 46.

47. NZT, 18 Oct 1923, p 17.

CHAPTER 4

BIBLE IN SCHOOLS

Just as the 1877 Education Act led to Catholic claims for state aid, it also led to Protestant demands for Bible reading in state schools. Catholics opposed such demands because they feared that the rights of minorities, especially Catholics attending state schools would be infringed. The Bible in Schools organization increased in strength at a time when Bishop Cleary of Auckland was a member of the Catholic hierarchy. During his episcopate (1910-1929) Cleary was the able spokesman of the hierarchy in the Bible-in-Schools issue. Although Redwood played little direct part in the issue, he fully supported Cleary, and after Cleary's death, appointed Archbishop O'Shea to lead Catholic negotiations with the Bible-in-Schools League. Redwood's unquestioning trust of O'Shea was to have a part in a crisis amongst the Catholic hierarchy between 1930 and 1934. Redwood's role in this crisis forms the bulk of this chapter, which will begin with a brief history of the Bible-in-Schools movement, and the Catholic position during the time of Cleary's leadership.

The first 1877 Education Bill contained a provision for daily Bible reading and repetition of the Lord's prayer. Fierce debating with the secularists caused this clause to be dropped from the Act. Provision was made, however, for school committees to allow school buildings to be used for other purposes when school was not in session, and it was intended that religious instruction could be given in such circumstances. This was a contentious issue because many of the schools existing under the provincial system had religious instruction and worship during school-hours. This was believed to be indispensable for the formation of a child's character. Many Protestants believed that knowledge of the Bible and Christian tenets was essential for the future of the nation. The Bible-in-Schools

movement was the active expression of this Protestant concern for religion in public education.

Initiatives up to the 1890's were mainly local, but became more frequent near the turn of the century. In 1894, Scripture Textbooks in Public Schools Associations were formed in the main centres. These groups sought the introduction into New Zealand state schools of an Irish scripture book, jointly accepted in the 1830's by the Catholic and Protestant archbishops of Dublin, Daniel Murray and Richard Whately. This had been suggested by Charles Bowen, when he first introduced the 1877 Education Bill, but had been opposed by Catholics who saw it as a Protestant move that would infringe the rights of Catholics attending state schools. This opposition was reiterated in the 1890's, and was amplified by the criticism of some ministers and teachers. Nevertheless the proposal gained 15,000 signatories and the government appointed a Parliamentary Committee to hold public hearings. The petitioners asked that: religious instruction be given by state teachers as part of the regular school programme, use to be made of the Irish National Schoolbook of Scripture Lessons, and conscience clauses to be provided for teachers and pupils. Oral evidence was given by various representatives of the Protestant churches. Redwood was out of the capital so could not appear, but sent a telegram representing the views of New Zealand Catholics: "Catholic sentiment opposed to plan re: Bible reading as solution of educational difficulty."¹ Rabbi von Stavern, the representative of the Jewish religion in New Zealand, also expressed strong disapproval, and the other main party in opposition was the New Zealand Educational Institute. This opposition was strong enough to see the proposal defeated, and the Irish books were dropped by 1898.

With this attempt thwarted the Bible-in-Schools advocates in Nelson tried a different approach based on a loophole in the 1877 Act. The Act laid down that there were to be two consecutive hours of secular instruction morning and afternoon. As schools met for three hours in

1. AJHR, 1895, I-2a, p 34.

the morning, the official school opening was delayed for half an hour, to facilitate religious instruction in the first half hour of the school day. This created something of an uproar, though the actual legality of the decision was never tested in court. Doubt about its legality however caused other Education boards to refuse to allow the "Nelson system".

The next stage of the Bible-in-Schools campaign was led by the Reverend James Gibb, a Presbyterian minister in Wellington. He attempted to show that there was considerable popular support for Bible-in-Schools by holding local plebiscites. Results in the Waikato, Otago, Auckland and Palmerston North were most pleasing to Gibb.² Concerned Catholics criticised such plebiscites as they only asked whether the voter was, or was not, in favour of Bible lessons in state schools, and specified nothing regarding the content of such lessons.

In 1903 Gibb convened a meeting of Church heads, which agreed to press for a referendum on the subject seeking 30 minutes of Bible instruction daily by State teachers, with provisions for conscientious withdrawal. This was rejected by the Anglican General Synod of 1904, but the other major Protestant denominations agreed, and, via the newly formed Bible-in-Schools Referendum League, began to whip up support. This led to the formation of the State Schools Defence League, which allied in defensive action with the Catholics against the Bible-in-Schools supporters. In 1904 Redwood and the New Zealand bishops met and published a manifesto (written by Henry Cleary, editor of Tablet) for the consideration of the citizens and Government of New Zealand regarding Bible-in-Schools. They agreed with efforts to impart religious instruction to non-Catholic children in state schools after working hours, so long as Catholic teachers and pupils were allowed to retire without taunt or interference. However this was not what the Bible-in-Schools advocates were asking for, hence the

2. Barber, L.H. "The Social Crusader; James Gibb at the Australasian Pastoral Frontier, 1882-1935", Ph.D. Thesis, Massey University, 1975, p 121.

Bishops went on to state their objections to what they proposed. Firstly they objected to classes using Scripture during school hours. They maintained that the Protestant principle of the private interpretation of Scripture was incompatible with the position of Catholics who believed this function must be done by Church authorities. Religious education was a fundamental duty of parents and ministers, and they should not discharge this duty at the cost of the taxpayer. The manifesto pointed out there was one Protestant minister to every two state schools but only one in eight taught religion outside of school hours compared to one out of every four Catholic priests. Secondly, the bishops objected to the content of the proposed lessons. The lessons were a compromise, drawn up by Protestant ministers who could not agree amongst themselves. They were based on a Protestant version of the Bible which did not deal satisfactorily with the essential Catholic dogmas of the Incarnation and the Virgin Birth. Protestant hymns were included in the scheme, which the bishops concluded was obviously Protestant in its overall tone. They held that it would be impossible for teachers of various creeds or no creed to avoid imparting their own beliefs. The lessons would aggravate the financial burden Catholics had to bear in funding their own schools by compelling them to pay for the conversion of State schools into Protestant Sunday schools. The conscience clause for pupils would be to their disadvantage in the eyes of their fellow pupils, and for the teachers it would lead to the general imposition of a religious test in the matter of appointments. The bishops' final point was to criticize the idea of a referendum on the question of Bible-in-Schools because it impinged on the rights of minorities (i.e. Catholics, Jews).

As it was the Legislative Council rejected General Referendum Bills in 1901, 1903, 1904, and the House of Representatives did likewise in 1905. Gibb conceded defeat, but the Anglican bishop of Christchurch, Bishop Julius took up the reins in 1911, when a meeting he chaired agreed to ask Canon Garland, organiser of the successful Queensland Bible-in-Schools campaign, to come to New Zealand.

He agreed, and the Bible-in-Schools league was formed in 1912, which absorbed earlier groups like the Referendum League. The next two years were to see a flurry of action from this new group and its supporters.

As a result, Catholic opposition became more strident, aided by the newly formed National Schools Defence League. The most prominent Catholic advocate was Bishop Henry Cleary. Cleary was a violent opponent of secular education, and even more emphatic that the state or its agents should not be set up as teachers of religion. Between 1912 and 1914 Redwood was frequently out of the country, so Cleary organized the Catholic bishops in their opposition to the moves of the Bible-in-School League.³

The new League played into their opponents' hands somewhat by proposing the introduction of the New South Wales programme which used a revision of the Irish books already turned down in New Zealand. They also sought a Bible-in-Schools Referendum bill on the Australian system; another measure that had been tried and failed. Garland rejected any exemption for teachers, a proposition that Catholics steadfastly demanded.

Cleary relentlessly attacked the Bible-in-Schools movement. In newspapers, pamphlets and public meeting he came forth with careful and lengthy rebuttals of what they proposed.⁴ Late in 1912, he helped establish the Catholic Federation, a lay, non-political defensive organisation to oppose the no-Popery of the well organised Bible-in-Schools League. This Federation modelled on a group in Victoria, was organised extremely quickly and effectively throughout New Zealand. Redwood fully supported the Federation and encouraged the Wellington Hibernians to establish a group in that city.⁵ The other Catholic bishops lent support

3. Cleary to Grimes, 13 Jan 1913. (CDA)

4. Cleary's attacks received wide coverage in the Tablet and the secular press. His major pamphlets were:

The Bible in Schools Movement in Relation to Taxpayers, Teachers and Pupils, Wellington, 1912.

Bible in Schools League, Auckland, 1913.

The Great Failure, Auckland, 1913.

A New State Religion, Auckland, 1913.

5. NZT, 3 Oct 1913, p 34.

as well, but it was left to the capable Cleary to debate with the opposition. In response to the League's claims that Catholics had signed their petition for a referendum, Cleary published a circular asking Catholics not to sign it, and requesting those that had signed to revoke their support.⁶ Gibb took up the cudgels with Cleary. In response to Cleary's charge that the League was seeking to proselytise, Gibb accused the Catholic minority, comprising 14% of the population, of tyrannising the Protestant majority which constituted 75% of the population.⁷ Cleary was undeterred. In 1913 he wrote a petition to the Legislative Council on behalf of the hierarchy and the Catholics of New Zealand against the referendum. Cleary's massive contribution meant that he was almost indispensable to the Catholic cause. When there was talk of him being promoted as coadjutor Archbishop of Adelaide, the Catholic hierarchy wrote to Rome asking that he remain in Auckland because of "his journalistic gifts in the defence of the Faith...and especially in his fight against Bible-in-Schools."⁸ In 1914 he wrote a circular signed by all the hierarchy, except Redwood who was overseas, which was read in every Catholic church in the land. It urged Catholics to vote against any candidate that pledged support for Bible-in-Schools or the referendum. In the same year he appeared several times before the House of Representatives' Education Committee to argue the Catholic case against Bible-in-Schools. The League undoubtedly had considerable public support (153,000 signed members) but war made it impossible to make it a major election issue. If a referendum had been held it is quite possible that the League request for Bible-in-Schools would have been approved. Garland was by no means convinced that the time was ripe⁹ when James Allen, Minister of Education, introduced a Bible-in-Schools Referendum Bill in June, 1914. The Bill lapsed, but the biggest blow to the League was the 6-4 vote of the

6. NZT, 10 July 1913, p 23.

7. Breward, I. Godless Schools, Christchurch, 1967, p 66.

8. Archbishops Redwood and O'Shea, Bishop Verdon (Dunedin), Dean Hills (Administrator of Christchurch) to Propaganda, 20 Aug 1913. (MAW)

9. He was not popular amongst the clergy. Only 86 of the 1,400 Protestant ministers on the Marriage Register signed his petition.

Parliamentary Education Committee against change in the existing secular system. No concessions were made to the Bible-in-Schools supporters in the 1914 Education Act.

After the war the League was rather slow to regroup, but gathered momentum in the mid 1920's. A number of unsuccessful bills were introduced to Parliament by L.M. Isitt and Henry Holland. Cleary was the authorised representative of the Catholic hierarchy against these so-called Religious Exercises in Schools Bill. He, and the other bishops focussed on the issue of the conscience clause. Cleary called it the "Irish proselytising conscience clause", as it was the same as one imposed on Irish Catholics. Children could only be excluded from Protestant religious lessons if parents wrote a letter requesting exemption. Of course many Irish parents did not do this, indeed some could not as they were illiterate. In 1924 the bishops produced a joint pronouncement which turned the Irish clause on its head. They said the only fair conscience clause was one that permitted attendance at religion classes only when requested in writing. This view was promulgated by the bishops throughout the 1920's. For instance they protested in the form of a letter to all the members of both Houses regarding the "Irish proselytising clause" included in Isitt's 1925 Bill.¹¹ Cleary appeared before a Committee of the Legislative Council in 1926 with a similiar protest and he carried on his production of literature on the issue.

Later in the 1920's the bishops became more reasonable, and expressed willingness to see religion introduced into state schools so long as the consciences of Catholic pupils and teachers were protected by being given automatic exemption, and that any programme was paid for by its supporters and not out of the pockets of objectors. It was to the bishops' credit that they did not, as has sometimes been believed, offer concessions to the Bible-in-Schools supporters, in return for their support of Catholic claims for state aid to Catholic schools.

10. NZT, 17 Dec 1914, p 29.

11. NZPD, 223, 1931, p 726.

The two issues were always kept separate by the Catholic hierarchy of the day.

For some time Cleary had expressed a willingness on behalf of the Catholic hierarchy to meet and negotiate with the representatives of the Bible-in-Schools League. This offer was not taken up, but in 1930 there was a change of attitude on both sides. Unfortunately this did not result in any meaningful action, but led to further bitterness between the two sides, and a split amongst the Catholic bishops that required mediation from the Apostolic Delegate in Australia. The Catholic hierarchy spurred on by Archbishop O'Shea showed willingness to negotiate, and to accept some religion in state schools so long as suitable concessions were made. Redwood, who knew the history of the Catholic stance to Bible-in-Schools, ensured that their position did not change even though their attitude had. They still demanded automatic exemption both for Catholic pupils and teachers, and freedom from having to pay for Protestant religious instruction. The League too had altered. They were willing to grant this, and suspended consideration of Isitt's manifesto on relations with the Catholic church, which stated that Protestant children in primary schools were being kept in ignorance of the Bible largely because of Roman Catholic influence in political circles. Isitt was exasperated by Cleary's attacks, and his manifesto "would have been the strongest and most uncompromising statement ever issued."¹² It would have prejudiced any chance of successful negotiation with the Catholics. Significantly Isitt was not asked to take part in any meetings with the Catholic hierarchy.

On 18 October 1929, the Hon. Mr Carrington, a Catholic Legislative councillor, concluded his speech in a debate on the Education Amendment Bill with an invitation to Christian churches to meet with Catholics in friendly conference on the issue.¹³ After a meeting of the Bible-in-Schools League in March 1930, a letter was written to

12. MacDonald, D.V. "The New Zealand Bible in Schools League", M.A. Thesis, Victoria University, 1964, p 161.

13. NZPD, 223, 1931, p 726.

Archbishop Redwood by E.O. Blamires, their secretary, asking if the Catholic position was as stated by Mr Carrington, and if so, would the two parties be able to meet. The letter quoted the assurance of Bishop Cleary that Catholics would have no objection to religion in state schools provided that the consciences of teachers and children were respected. The letter also asked whether the League was correct in assuming that the state aid question was separate from the Bible-in-Schools issue.¹⁴ From this point, negotiations with the League were carried on by O'Shea, acting on behalf of Redwood as leader of the Catholic hierarchy. As Redwood was now 91 and frequently out of the country, O'Shea did most of the episcopal work, though Redwood remained very much the head of the archdiocese. O'Shea met Blamires, Sir James Allen, Reverend E.D. Patchett and Lieut-Colonel J. Studholme from the Bible-in-Schools League. They agreed to Catholic claims for exemption from classes and taxes for any programme, and a meeting with the rest of the Catholic hierarchy was arranged. On 14 April Blamires wrote to the Catholic bishops setting out the clauses to be added to the parliamentary bill, so as to cover Catholic objections.

On 28 April the Catholic hierarchy, Redwood, O'Shea, Brodie (Christchurch), Liston (Auckland) and Whyte (Dunedin) met in Wellington. O'Shea informed the bishops of the history of the present negotiations. The ensuing discussion lasted for an hour, and a number of doubts were raised by the bishops.¹⁵ On 29 April all the hierarchy, except Redwood, met with the four League executives that O'Shea had met earlier. O'Shea, chairing the meeting as Redwood's delegate, showed willingness to accept the League's proposals, but the other three bishops, especially Brodie expressed reservations. Brodie felt that Catholics would not be treated fairly under the proposed scheme because of the religious bigotry in New Zealand. Whyte brought up the problem of Catholic teachers being discriminated against

14. Blamires to Redwood, 21 Mar 1930. (CDA)

15. Minutes of Meeting of the Hierarchy, 28 Apr 1930. (CDA)

by School Committees because they would not teach religious lessons. He also asked what might happen to Catholic pupils in one-roomed schools, when the religious lessons were in session. Liston broke the Catholic precedent of not linking the state aid issue with the one under discussion, by asking that the League support Catholic educational claims in return. However both sides agreed that the discussion had been worthwhile, and the hierarchy undertook to send a written reply to the League's official proposals.¹⁶ After this conference Brodie, Whyte and Liston went to Christchurch and held a meeting of their own. On 2 May Liston, en route to Auckland, called on O'Shea to report back. A misunderstanding of what transpired at this meeting was to be the crux of the problems that followed.

Throughout the controversy, O'Shea held to the view that when he called, Liston had told him that the bishops had agreed to support the League's proposals. Liston, however, denied that he had conveyed this message and the other bishops denied that they had authorized such a message. The minutes of the meeting of the hierarchy on 13 October 1931 are of interest here: The minutes of the previous meeting of 29 April 1931, were read and approved with the addition of the following paragraph:

At the meeting of October 13th Archbishop O'Shea wished that in the above Minutes reference should be made to the fact that he had asked Dr Liston why he had stated to him (Archbishop O'Shea) in an interview dated May 2nd 1930, that he was authorised by the two Southern Bishops to say that all three had withdrawn all further opposition to the agreement with the B-in-S. League, provided certain conditions were fulfilled. Dr Liston answered that this was not a correct state-¹⁷ment of the position.

Apparently, Liston, who was the secretary for the meetings, had included no reference to the conversation of 2 May between O'Shea and himself. On 12 May O'Shea went ahead and wrote to the League accepting their plan subject to legal advice on the effectiveness of the clauses safeguarding Catholic interests: "... the Catholic hierarchy

16. Minutes of Meeting between Catholic Hierarchy and Bible-in-Schools Representatives, 29 Apr 1930. (CDA)

17. Minutes of Meeting of the Hierarchy, 13 Oct 1931. (CDA)

hereby affirm their approval of the proposals and clauses set out in the above letter [from Blamires] and discussed at our meeting."¹⁸

On 23 May O'Shea wrote to each of the bishops enclosing a draft of the proposed statement on behalf of the hierarchy and the League. Yet prior to this on 12 May, O'Shea had written to the League indicating the support of the hierarchy. This indicates some culpability on O'Shea's part. What probably happened was that O'Shea, prejudiced by his own position, told Redwood that the bishops were in agreement, and went ahead, with Redwood's consent (so he claimed)¹⁹ to write the letter of 12 May, before he had corresponded with the suffragans. O'Shea did this because he believed that his meeting with Liston on 2 May had confirmed the support of the whole hierarchy. Liston's critical and inconclusive reply to O'Shea on 29 May 1930 indicated that O'Shea's letter of 12 May was going to land him in trouble, as none of the suffragans knew about it:

I do not care at all about the form of the statement these people have submitted. I think it would be wholly inadvisable for us to be associated with them in any such statement. There was no suggestion of the statement taking any such form at our meeting in Wellington. [29 April 1930] I note that apart from a mild appeal for goodwill and the clauses exempting our teachers and children they do not in their statement say a word to help our several claims; on the contrary our main claim is definitely brushed aside as apparently a thing to be ruled out of all consideration.

Yet my view is that the situation should be explained further and so I suggest that the Bishops should meet again in Wellington and come to some definite conclusions. 20

That the suffragan bishops did not know of O'Shea's letter of 12 May is confirmed by Brodie's letter to Blamires on 9 June 1930. Brodie had been sent a circular by Blamires and responded: "As I understand His Grace, Archbishop O'Shea will reply on behalf of the hierarchy it will not be necessary to comment on the circular of which you

18. O'Shea to Blamires, 12 May 1930. (CDA)

19. O'Shea, T. "Notes on the Catholic Manifesto Issued by Archbishop Redwood on the Bible in Schools Question, 14 October 1932", p 2. (MAW)

20. Liston to O'Shea, 29 May 1930. (MAW)

sent me."²¹ Blamires, writing from the League's viewpoint, took this as conclusive evidence that O'Shea was speaking for the other bishops. This was recognised by the Catholic bishops, but they did not realise that O'Shea had deceived them by his letter of 12 May. When the three suffragans submitted the case to the Apostolic Delegate, they said they were unaware of this letter for thirteen months, and learned of it only when Blamires revealed it.²² Since the League's case of betrayal depended more on this letter than the public statements of 25 July 1930, the bishops' ignorance of it gravely weakened the position of O'Shea. The same submissions assert that on 18 June 1930 O'Shea called on Brodie in Christchurch and Brodie made it clear that he was not in agreement with the League's proposals. O'Shea is alleged to have said: "All we can say is that we are divided."²³ The submissions made the point that O'Shea could have effectively silenced Brodie by referring to the message conveyed by Bishop Liston on 2 May, which O'Shea later claimed gave the approval of the three suffragans to the League's proposals.

In the meantime O'Shea told Redwood that a concord had been achieved. On 25 July 1930, the newspapers carried parallel statements by the League and Archbishop Redwood which indicated to the public that an agreement had been reached. Redwood's statement contained the assurance: "If a Bill containing the exemptions and safeguards for the consciences of Catholics and of others already mentioned is introduced into Parliament it will not be opposed by us."²⁴

The evidence suggests that Redwood wrote this statement acting on the misleading advice of O'Shea who was Redwood's representative in the negotiations, yet the bishops had not come to any agreement at all. In their submissions to the Apostolic Delegate the three bishops said they were ...

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21. Blamires, E.O. Bible in Schools - Negotiations with Roman Catholics - Official Statement, Wellington, 1931, p 2.
 22. Submissions of the suffragan bishops to the Apostolic Delegate, 3 Feb 1933. (CDA)
 23. *ibid.*
 24. Evening Post, 25 July 1930.

astounded to read in the papers of the morning of 25th July, 1930 a statement issued by Archbishop Redwood indicating readiness to accept the League's proposal...It was learned that parliamentary legislation was not to come forward till the following year, so the bishops allowed the matter to remain in abeyance until the annual meeting of the hierarchy in April, 1931.

25

Unfortunately, a copy of the bishops' meeting of 29 April 1931 could not be found, but there appears no reason to doubt O'Shea's assertion that the three suffragan bishops made clear their repudiation of the Bible-in-Schools proposals at this meeting when they contended that O'Shea had misunderstood Liston's message of 2 May 1930.²⁶ Redwood was now aware of the opposition of the three suffragans, but his presidency of the bishops council may have lacked decisiveness at this point. The backdown of the three suffragans was contained in the minutes of the meeting which Redwood signed,²⁷ yet he made no attempt to clarify or restate the position of the hierarchy. O'Shea said later that Redwood forgot all about having the meeting of 29 April 1931.²⁸ Perhaps the three suffragans having stated their opposition presumed their 3-2 majority would end negotiations with the Bible-in-Schools League. Redwood and O'Shea, meanwhile felt they had to remain loyal to the Catholic principles laid down by themselves, and the three dead bishops (Cleary, Grimes, Verdon), as well as keeping the promise of withdrawing opposition given in Redwood's public statement of 25 July 1930. Though one can appreciate the loyalty Redwood felt toward his colleagues in the past struggle with the Bible-in-Schools advocates, some blame must be attached to him for not clarifying matters at this point.

The League, meanwhile, pleased with the avowed withdrawal of Catholic opposition, proceeded to draft a Bill along the lines suggested, confident that the Bill would

25. Submissions of the suffragan bishops to the Apostolic Delegate, 3 Feb 1933. (CDA)

26. O'Shea, T. "Notes on the Catholic Manifesto..." p 2.

27. *ibid.*

28. *ibid.*

become law. However, on 20 June 1931 Bishop Brodie wrote to Blamires stating:

As a member of the Catholic Hierarchy and having been a party to all negotiations between the Catholic Hierarchy and the Bible-in-Schools League, I wish to remind you that no agreement of any kind has been entered into by the two organisations²⁹ mentioned.

Four days later Brodie made his denial public.³⁰ Brodie probably did this because he had now become aware of O'Shea's letter of 12 May 1930 and now sought to repudiate it. It was a wise tactical move for Brodie knew he had the support of Liston and Whyte, and the denial was made at a time when Redwood was out of the country. The division amongst the bishops, apparent at their meeting in April, had now become public and gave Redwood the awkward responsibility of mending the rift upon his return from Australia. In response to Brodie's denial, Archbishop O'Shea wrote to the League on 1 July re-confirming the original agreement and deprecating the statement by Bishop Brodie. Consequently, O'Shea published in the press on 7 July, his statement of approval, which included the following:

When the league's proposals were submitted, both Archbishop Redwood and myself agreed that they complied with the conditions which had been published over and over again by the Catholic bishops. When the Bill now being brought before Parliament was drafted it was submitted for perusal to our legal adviser Mr P. J. O'Regan, who has reported that as it stands the Bill does not violate any of the conditions that had been laid down by the Catholic leaders and accepted by the Bible-in-Schools executive. Consequently, as repeatedly promised, Catholics will withdraw their opposition to the present Bill. I am speaking not only for myself but for the Metropolitan (Archbishop Redwood), who has already made a pronouncement to this effect...Now that the Bill is before us, and the best legal advice confirms our view that the proposals it contains fulfill the Catholic conditions, we are bound in honour to stand by our dead colleagues and for oft-repeated promises, and withdraw our former³¹ opposition to the enactment.

29. Brodie to Blamires, 20 June 1931. (CDA)

30. Christchurch Times, 24 June 1931.

31. Evening Post, 7 July 1931.

O'Shea obviously knew at this stage he had been caught out. Whereas in his letter of 12 May 1930 he had stated that the whole hierarchy approved of the proposals, he now had to resort to the support of Redwood and their dead colleagues. In retrospect this statement of 7 July 1931 should not have been made. O'Shea now realised that the other three bishops, especially Brodie who had been consistent throughout, did not support the proposals. Notwithstanding the possible confusion over Liston's message on behalf of Whyte, Brodie and himself on 2 May 1930, the division amongst the bishops was now clear to O'Shea. The views of all the hierarchy now needed clarification. Instead, with the support, but without the close advice of Redwood who was in Australia, O'Shea foolishly decided to push his case.

The Religious Exercises for Public Schools Enabling Bill received its first reading on 1 July 1931 and was read a second time on 31 July. It was then referred to the Select Committee on Education. Brodie's public denial of any concord allied with the opposition from Labour members in the House did not aid the Bill's progress.

While this was going on, Redwood was in Queensland, as was his habit, for the winter months. His correspondence with O'Shea indicates that the latter had his ear and sympathy, and that Redwood with O'Shea approved of the Bible-in-Schools agreement. Together, they were disappointed with the barrier to progress the "trio" (Brodie, Liston, Whyte) represented. They were especially annoyed that the three suffragans had never objected to Cleary's repeated statements up to his death in 1929³², but now they did. In response to a letter from O'Shea, Redwood joined him in censuring "certain doings of the trio..." especially "Dr Brodie's denial of his own words."³³ O'Shea was obviously worried that in his press release of 7 July he may have overextended his authority, which as a coadjutor was minimal, for in another letter to Redwood, he sought to obtain reiteration of Redwood's support for the agreement.

32. Redwood to O'Shea, 24 July 1931. (MAW)

33. *ibid.*

This Redwood gave, along with the accurate forecast that: "The storm will in due time pass, but it may have the effect to hinder the passing of the Bill."³⁴ These letters indicate that Redwood was aware of the opposition of the other three bishops yet he supported O'Shea in approving the League's proposals. However he presumed, as told by O'Shea, that the three suffragans had reneged on their "approval" of 2 May 1930. It is obvious that both the Archbishops felt a sense of obligation to past statements of the hierarchy when Cleary was their spokesman. They had offered to meet Bible-in-Schools representatives, and would approve a course of action so long as the two Catholic objections were met. This had now occurred, and Redwood showed his loyalty to the three dead bishops when he wrote: "There might be some justification for opposing it then, [when the Bill appeared] though if they did so they would be letting down the three dead Bishops and ourselves."³⁵

If he was not already fully cognizant of the suffragan's opposition before he left, Redwood certainly learnt of it through O'Shea's letters while he was in Australia. Immediately upon his return to New Zealand Brodie wrote him a letter which indicated that he was sure of Redwood's support for the Bill. After welcoming the Archbishop back from Australia the letter turned to an eloquent appeal that he reconsider his attitude to the Bill. It brought to bear all forces to sway Redwood, from outright flattery - "your name must ever stand in honour as the champion of Catholic education in this young land" - to the fearful suggestion that in approving the Bill, he might be fostering heresy.³⁶ It appears that Brodie solicited the assistance of Fr P.J. Smyth SM who was closely associated with the Archbishop, indeed they lived in the same presbytery. Smyth twice accompanied Redwood to Europe and several times to Australia. O'Shea suspected others, possibly including Smyth, of eventually making him the scapegoat of the whole crisis.³⁷ A draft of a telegram in the Christchurch

34. Redwood to O'Shea, 3 Aug 1931. (MAW)

35. Redwood to O'Shea, 24 July 1931. (MAW)

36. Brodie to Redwood, 9 Oct 1931. (CDA)

37. O'Shea, T. "Notes on the Catholic Manifesto..." p 3. (MAW)

archives to "Dear P.J." was probably addressed to Smyth.

It begins:

God Bless you for your heroic efforts to unite
our divided forces - I have wired [the Bishops
of] Auckland and Dunedin asking them [to] 38
assemble Tuesday in Wellington.

The draft goes on to mention Brodie's letter to Redwood (presumably the letter of 9 October 1931) and adds:

"I hope my letter will please his Grace and your efforts will do the rest."

Brodie's hopes were realised. At a special meeting of the hierarchy summoned by Redwood on 13 October 1931 to sort out the crisis, the following motion put forward by Brodie was finally adopted by all the Bishops except O'Shea:

That a joint statement in the name of the Hierarchy be issued by His Grace Archbishop Redwood; that no member of the Hierarchy have authority to appear before the Parliamentary Committee; that Right Rev. Dr Whyte be authorised to present the statement to the Parliamentary Committee. 39

The following day, without notifying the League, the hierarchy, excluding O'Shea, submitted a letter to the Education Committee condemning the Bill. The Bill was then killed by the Committee, failing to pass the second reading. Understandably, the League was hurt by this apparent *volte face*, and on 13 November 1931 Blamires published an official statement in various New Zealand papers on the course of negotiations with the Roman Catholics. Brodie was the gremlin in their eyes, and the other bishops, except O'Shea, had backed off from their earlier policy as understood by the League. One can feel sorry for the League for they had been led astray by O'Shea, but they had misunderstood the nature of authority in the Catholic Church. They naively presumed that O'Shea's approval meant that of the whole hierarchy, but O'Shea as a coadjutor had little power, and the League knew from their meeting with the hierarchy on 29 April 1930, that the three suffragans, especially Brodie, had expressed reservations.

38. Brodie to P.J. (Smyth?), no date. (CDA)

39. Minutes of Meeting of the Hierarchy, 13 Oct 1931. (CDA)

There can be little doubt that the adamant stand of three suffragans led Redwood to change his opinion and so leave O'Shea in a very weak position: a coadjutor opposed by his superior as well as by all the bishops of the Province. O'Shea was wounded by this. On receiving a draft copy of the minutes of the bishops' meeting of 13 October 1931 he wrote to Redwood objecting to the non-inclusion in those minutes of a statement made by Redwood at the meeting, viz: "That he (Archbishop Redwood) had been in favour of the Bible-in-Schools until then, but had not changed his mind and had decided to oppose it."⁴⁰ Archbishop Redwood agreed that this statement should have been included, and wrote to Liston, the secretary, telling him to have it put in. This was done and a new draft copy was sent to the other bishops. This copy was afterwards read and confirmed at the meeting of 26 October 1932.

After the bishops' revocation of their agreement in October 1931, matters quietened. In April 1932 Redwood went to Europe accompanied by Smyth. They returned during August. On 29 September 1932, the chairman of the League's executive, Sir James Allen, introduced the Religious Instruction in Public Schools Enabling Bill into the Legislative Council. The Bill was debated over several sitting days and on several occasions the Council divided evenly over its clauses, the chairman being forced to deliver a casting vote. With the Bill so close to being passed, and Sir James boasting that the leaders of eight churches including a majority of the Catholic hierarchy⁴¹ supported the Bill, Redwood was forced to publicly clarify the Catholic stance. Although on 14 October 1931, the hierarchy, except O'Shea, had indicated their opposition to the Parliamentary Education Committee, this had not been made more public. On 14 October 1932, Redwood finally made a public statement:

40. *ibid.*

41. Allen made this statement in the Council on 13 October. This remark drew Redwood's public statement the following day, and a reply from Bishop Liston in which he pointed out that contrary to League statements, the hierarchy was opposed to the Bill and had given no promises of support. (Christchurch Press, 15 Oct 1932)

At this time, when some misconception is abroad as to the attitude of the Catholic Hierarchy in this country, I think it opportune to explain to the members of the Legislature and the public generally the true Catholic position in regard to the Religious Instruction in State Schools Bill now before Parliament. 42

Redwood went on to point out that the New Zealand hierarchy did not include O'Shea, who while Redwood was absent from New Zealand, had approved the suggestions of the Bible-in-Schools representations without consulting the other three bishops. The Bishops of Christchurch, Dunedin, and Auckland were unaware that the programme had been submitted to O'Shea, who assumed the concurrence of the three suffragans in his approval. In turn each of the bishops disassociated himself publicly from concurrence. Redwood went on to state that when he returned to New Zealand he summoned a meeting of the Hierarchy that led to the statement of 14 October 1931, which opposed any compromise with the League.

Allen eventually withdrew his 1932 Bill when a casting vote by the chairman negated an amendment aimed at making the Nelson system the starting point for the teaching of religion as a curriculum subject. E.O. Blamires, furious that his Bill had been destroyed in the Council for the lack of a single vote, vented his spleen on the Roman Catholics:

The betrayal of our cause by the Hon. C. J. Carrington was not unexpected after that of Archbishop Redwood, though he stated up to the time of the voting that not even the Pope⁴³ himself could make him change his mind.

The League should not really have been surprised at Catholic suspicion of their moves, and a return to an attitude of confrontation. They offered no support for state aid, did not present their bills of 1931 and 1932 to the hierarchy for consideration, and Gibb, with other Presbyterian League members, had hardly endeared themselves to Redwood by their accusations that the Catholic priests and teaching orders were failing to contribute to unemployment

42. Evening Post, 14 Oct 1932.

43. Quoted in Barber, p 275.

relief because they were not subject to the depression poll tax.⁴⁴ The League like the bishop broke their word. Though they had promised that Catholics would be exempt from paying for any religious instruction in state schools, neither Bill made any mention of this.

O'Shea meanwhile was deeply hurt by Redwood's statement of 14 October which heaped the blame on his shoulders. He set about defending himself by compiling an account of the controversy called "Notes on the Catholic Manifesto Issued by Archbishop Redwood on the Bible in Schools Question, October 14th 1932" He attempted to show in these notes that Redwood's statement of 14 October 1932 contained a number of false statements, which meant the blame for the crisis should have been heaped on Redwood's shoulders rather than his own. As already mentioned, both men had made mistakes that had escalated a difficult situation that could have been avoided. O'Shea's notes make no attempt to vindicate the three "errors" that O'Shea himself had made (i.e. the misinterpretation of his meeting with Liston on 2 May 1930, his letter of 12 May 1930 to the League, and his persistence at compromising with the League in July 1931 after Brodie had made his opposition public). The notes also made some assertions that were interpretations of facts rather than facts themselves. However the document also makes some telling points against Redwood's inconsistencies, like those that have been noted regarding the bishops meeting of 29 April 1931 (see p 96). In the document are reproduced letters from Redwood to O'Shea while Redwood was in Australia in 1931. These, O'Shea had signed by two priests to certify they were a true copy of the original. They were used to demonstrate that, contrary to what was implied in the statement of 14 October 1932, Redwood was well aware of the opposition of the bishops yet continued his support for O'Shea and the Bill. Then suddenly at the meeting of 13 October 1931, influenced by Brodie's letter of 9 October 1931, and the adamant stand of Whyte, and Liston, Redwood announced his change of mind.

44. *ibid.*

That O'Shea was wounded by this is clear from a letter he wrote to Redwood:

You do not yet realise how grossly your suffragans have deceived you, nor the injustice which you did me at their instigation, by publishing a false account of what took place during the negotiations with the Bible-in-Schools representatives, and that you are resolved not even to hear my side of the story. This is not like you. 45

O'Shea seemed sure that it was the suffragans, abetted possibly by Fr Smyth, that had caused Redwood's change of mind specified in his public statement of 14 October 1932. He also thought they got Redwood to call a special meeting of the hierarchy on 26 October 1932, when O'Shea was asked to stultify himself so as to get them out of their difficulty.⁴⁶ This, O'Shea refused to do.

The year 1933 saw the end of negotiations with the Catholic Hierarchy. On 10 December 1932 Redwood wrote a letter to all priests asking them to read it at Sunday Mass, on 18 December. It made no mention of negotiations or agreements with the League, but went back to a fundamental rejection of the Bible-in-Schools position. The points made were: that Protestantism rejected the Church which existed before the Bible, and had authorized that Bible; that the Protestant Bible was incomplete and relegated certain books to an Apocrypha; that the choice of which Bible would be used in public schools was an insurmountable difficulty; that reading without explanation was useless, and only those appointed and controlled by the Church could give such explanation to Catholic children; that the reading of extracts excluded the whole Bible, and to avoid giving offence "the great New Testament passages on the Church, the primacy of St Peter, the Real Presence in the Eucharist", would have to be diluted. The conclusion was that "these considerations show the practical impossibility of the Bible-in-Schools in this country and therefore its condemnation at the bar of reason and justice."⁴⁷

45. O'Shea to Redwood, 8 Nov 1932. (MAW)

46. O'Shea, T. "Notes on the Catholic Manifesto..." p 3.

47. NZT, 28 Dec 1932, p 39.

This letter was published in the secular press often alongside a sermon which was based on the letter.⁴⁸ The League made no reply until the end of January 1933, when a letter signed by Archbishop Averill, Patchett, Allen, Studholme and Blamires was published in the press.⁴⁹ In it they accused Redwood of drawing a red herring. They detailed the way in which agreement had been reached by O'Shea, and asked for a public answer to a number of questions. Why had he not indicated that Cleary's conditions were insufficient either when first approached or in his public statement of 25 July 1930? Why had he raised no objection when O'Shea confirmed that the conditions required had been met? (7 July 1931). Why had he treated this agreement as non-existent and opposed the Bill without warning or explanation? (14 October 1931). Most of these criticisms of Redwood's "glaring inconsistencies" had been stated already in October 1932 when the same five signatories replied to Redwood's first public disclaimer.⁵⁰

Archbishop Redwood's reply was published only two days later. He defended his letter as being no mere irrelevancy, since the difference between versions of the Scriptures, and the teaching office of the Catholic Church constituted the dogmatic foundations on which all questions of Bible teaching rest. He accused the League itself of inconsistency as it had refused to meet Bishop Cleary during his lifetime, but "no sooner was he in his grave than they welcomed a conference." In defence of his actions he wrote that:

I was assured that the League had met the objections [regarding the conscience clause for pupils and teachers] But I found on reading the League's Bill that was recently defeated in the Legislative Council that it was entirely illusory on the point and did not satisfy the conscience-conditions demanded by Bishop Cleary...Now as to my signature to the statement of July 25th 1930, I was not present at the meeting....I entrusted the details of the questions to Archbishop O'Shea and my three suffragan

48. Dominion, 19 Dec 1932.
 49. Evening Post, 28 Jan 1933.
 50. Evening Post, 19 Oct 1932.

bishops, and signed it without any further consideration or inquiry. Later to my surprise, I found that it did not express my own views. I realise that I made a mistake. Surely the Bible-in-Schools League is too honourable to take advantage of that mistake. My residence in New Zealand of over ninety years had convinced me of the fairmindedness of my fellow citizens, the proper way is to correct and not pursue a mistake. At no time had I any communication directly with the League, and the bishops in turn were reported in the public press as opposing the League's proposed bill. The Catholic authorities will ever oppose the proposals of the Bible-in-Schools League in their present form. 51

Redwood, and some of his contemporaries, believed that the mistake of which he admitted had been caused by O'Shea's misinterpretation of what the three suffragans wanted to relay when he met Liston on 2 May 1930. O'Shea had been entrusted with the negotiations by Redwood, and had, as was his practice, trusted him fully. When he found out this trust had been misplaced, he was angry to the point of giving O'Shea a tongue-lashing.⁵² Nevertheless, Redwood as he admitted, had made a mistake. He believed O'Shea when the latter said that the other three bishops supported the League's proposals, and accordingly Redwood signed the statement of 25 July 1930. This was fair enough. However, it seemed that Redwood did not read it clearly or was merely going along with the views of the other bishops as represented to him by O'Shea. When he found that the three suffragans had not supported the proposals, he retracted his approval, leaving O'Shea in a weak and lonely position. It appears that Redwood's initial support was not genuine, otherwise he would have fought the suffragans rather than siding with them. To extricate the hierarchy from a difficult position meant sacrificing O'Shea's reputation for the sake of episcopal unity.

51. *Dominion*, 30 Jan 1933.

52. Told the author by Fr F. Rasmussen SM.

Redwood's reply to the League was considered at a Bible-in-Schools Executive meeting three days after its publication and a further press statement was authorised. This was published about a fortnight later.⁵³ It claimed that a matter of such importance, the resolution of a disagreement which had persisted for half a century, should never have been signed without due consideration, and was probably not in fact signed without the most careful inquiry. During a period of fifteen months the agreement was ratified by various Protestant Churches and received wide publicity, but there was no indication on the part of the Archbishop that he had found he had "made a mistake". It concluded: "The League executive regrets it cannot accept this plea of a mistake as any justification of his repudiation; still less is it satisfied with the manner of his repudiation." A press release, by the Auckland Council of Christian Congregations went so far as to say that

The public confession, if that is what the Archbishop calls his 'mistake' - a confession made after wrecking tactics were employed without notice - is, in the opinion of this council, utterly inadequate and a blow 54 to public morality.

In March 1933 the League issued a final four page leaflet headed: Bible-in-Schools, History of Negotiations with Roman Catholics, Extracts from Official Statements. At a League Executive meeting in August 1933 the League wisely decided to curb any public bitterness towards the Catholics, despite the fact that the Catholic turnaround had knocked their legs from under them.⁵⁵ Archbishop Redwood, being 94, could not continue much longer. Studholme suggested that as a number of Catholic laymen and some priests were in agreement with O'Shea, there was hope for the future. The Executive, however, had had enough. They turned down Studholme's proposals, and the League more or less faded into oblivion. O'Shea attempted to

53. Evening Post, 14 Feb 1933.

54. New Zealand Herald, 14 Feb 1933. Quoted in MacDonald, p 182.

55. MacDonald, p 183.

co-operate with the League again in 1944, but was once again thwarted by his fellow bishops.⁵⁶

While the rift between the League and Redwood was soon forgotten, the divisions amongst the New Zealand bishops were not. O'Shea was sore. He took his grievance to the Apostolic Delegate for Australasia, Archbishop Cattaneo. Cattaneo consoled O'Shea, but had to ask the three suffragans to submit their case.

The nature of the case, Cattaneo's distance from New Zealand, and the steadfast belief of both sides that they were right, ensured that the Delegate could do little. A letter sent by Brodie with the submissions of the suffragans, indicated that despite three meetings of the Hierarchy "the breach was wider than ever."⁵⁷ The rift was eventually healed by the widely respected Archbishop Mannix, of Melbourne, when he came to Wellington for the celebration of Redwood's Diamond Episcopal Jubilee in February, 1934.⁵⁸ A letter from the Delegate to Brodie of 17 March 1934 began: "I have received your letter of the 8th instant notifying me of the complete restoration of harmony among the hierarchy on the Bible-in-Schools question."⁵⁹ It would appear that O'Shea faced with the opposition of Brodie, Whyte and Liston apologised, following the advice of Mannix. Brodie was an especially determined and stubborn bishop, and his letter to Cattaneo suggests that it was O'Shea rather than he that gave in. O'Shea must have realised that given Redwood's age, his own position as metropolitan when he succeeded him would be intolerable if the rift between himself and the bishops persisted.

To summarise, the crisis was caused by six main factors: the misinterpretation of the Liston-O'Shea discussion of 2 May 1930; O'Shea's approving letter of 12 May 1930 before he had sent the proposals to the other bishops; Redwood's failure to clarify the bishops stance after the division

56. *ibid*, p 232.

57. Brodie to Cattaneo, 3 Feb 1933. (CDA)

58. Told the author by Fr J. Joyce SM.

59. Cattaneo to Brodie, 17 Mar 1934. (CDA)

became apparent at their meeting of 29 April 1931; O'Shea's statement of 7 July 1931 when he was fully aware of the opposition of the suffragans; the Redwood - O'Shea loyalty to the three dead bishops; and the League's ignorance of the Catholic hierarchy, coupled with their disregarded promise of Catholic exemption from taxation for Bible-in-Schools.

Redwood's management of the end of the crisis was masterly. Faced with the opposition of three bishops it was pointless for him to side with O'Shea, as it would have meant giving undemocratic approval to the League's scheme. Careful review of the minutes of bishops' meetings indicate that Redwood never pushed a minority point of view. As chairman, he was most considerate of the views of the other bishop. In the last resort, it appears that Redwood took the only way out available to him. And so the hierarchy survived a crisis, and Redwood was able to go to his death-bed, with relations amongst the bishops smoothed as he would like them. It was left to another generation to stimulate the ecumenical movement and vindicate O'Shea's basic stand of tolerance and goodwill.⁶⁰

60. Snook, I.A. "Religion in Schools: A Catholic Controversy, 1930-34", The New Zealand Journal of History, Vol 6, No. 2, Oct, 1972, p 177.

CHAPTER 5

IRISH NATIONALISM

All the British colonies that had immigrants from Ireland, were interested in Irish affairs. The Irish nationalist movement attracted widespread attention in the English speaking world, during Redwood's episcopate. For Catholics in the colonies it was a topic of special interest, for the Irish constituted a majority of their number. In New Zealand, though no Census figures are available, Irish-born Catholics and their children would have made up over 80% of our Catholic population last century. This was reflected in the Catholic press of New Zealand. The first paper The New Zealand Tablet (1873), which was founded to publicize the Catholic stance on education, always had at least two pages of Irish news. The second paper The New Zealand Freemans' Journal (1879-1887), which took its name from similar Irish nationalist papers in Dublin and Sydney, also gave wide coverage of Irish affairs. The third paper, the Catholic Times (1888-1894) founded by Redwood, stated in its first issue:

The Promoters of the Catholic Times, will devote a large portion of their editorial and columns to the consideration of the Irish question...and will strive by sound reasoning and judicious controversy to foster a wealthy public opinion, favourable ¹ to the claims of Ireland to self-government.

For many of the Irish Catholics their nationality and religion were fused. Some seemed to have a "persecution mentality", in that criticism of their nation was also seen as criticism of the Catholicity, and vice-versa. As Irish issues were constantly in the news, a Catholic bishop like Redwood had to have views on these matters, and the

1. CT, 7 Jan 1888, pp 1-2.

people in his diocese wanted to know what they were. Throughout his episcopate Redwood supported the idea of Irish self-rule. After Bishop Moran died in 1895, it fell to Redwood to lead the hierarchy in this sensitive political matter. In contrast to Moran his leadership was calmly supportive, and non-flamboyant.

During the years he spent in Ireland, Redwood developed a love for the Irish people, and a sympathy with the Home Rule cause. A few months before his consecration he revealed this in a letter to Fr Grimes SM:

Home Rule is making rapid strides. They have right on their side, and if they hold together,² well, I think they will ultimately succeed.

Redwood made a fine start to his episcopate. Sensitive, he chose St Patrick's Day as the day of his consecration as a bishop, because he held St Patrick in the highest veneration, and because the bulk of his flock were Irish. Seven years later, in the same church he was consecrated as bishop, and before an English congregation aware of the violence of the Irish Land League, Redwood spoke highly of the Irish:

They have carried with them from their own land to their new home a devotedness to the faith which their race has never failed to display whatever the trials which its profession entailed. And true to their traditions, the Irish of New Zealand have remained loyal to their church; despite trial and persecution, they have kept the faith, and kept it well, which, after all, is the grand point. They are Catholics, not by profession only, but by practice; they come to their duties, they are zealous in the service of the Church, and they are doing wonders for the³ faith.

Admiration for the Irish on religious grounds was far from a commitment to their political freedom, but Redwood showed he favoured this also.

After coming to New Zealand, Redwood quickly indicated that he was in favour of the new moderate Home Rule movement working through a parliamentary party in the British House

2. Redwood to Grimes, 28 Nov 1873. (MAW)

3. NZT, 11 Feb 1881, p 17.

of Commons. In 1875 the centenary of the birth of Daniel O'Connell was celebrated in New Zealand. O'Connell was an Irish hero as he had been responsible for the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829. Redwood delivered a public lecture on O'Connell, which was printed and sold for one shilling, profits going to the Catholic schools. For the same purpose, in the same year Redwood gave lectures on his visitation of Westland on "The Irish over all the World".⁴ Getting off to the right start with his people also necessitated that Redwood join the Hibernian Australasian Catholic Benefit Society. This group of Catholics loyal to the Pope and to Ireland was always closely associated with movements for Irish self government. Redwood joined the Wellington branch upon its foundation in 1875.⁵

In the late 1870's Ireland was beset with agrarian depression. Redwood helped initiate collections throughout the diocese for an Irish Relief Fund. The Irish Catholics were most generous in giving to their kinsmen. A concert held in Palmerston North, was lauded as the "biggest gathering ever" in the town and raised £47.⁶ A grand effort for a town with just over 100 Catholics.

On 1 August 1881, Redwood attended a meeting in Wellington to show sympathy for the Irish tenant farmers, and the Irish Land League. Redwood was asked to convene the meeting but tactfully declined:

I told the deputation that I would not convene the meeting myself. I wished it to be the exclusive work of laymen, and wear no shadow of sectarian character by appearing to emanate from the clergy...I plainly perceived that to set myself against the meeting would be on the one hand, against my own deepest convictions, and on the other, too harsh an opposition to the vast majority of my flock. As far as you are concerned, you are free to have a meeting or not, just as you please.

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4. NZT, 3 Apr 1875, p 13.

5. NZT, 22 Mar 1917, p 30.

6. Manawatu Times, 11 Feb 1880, p 2.

7. Redwood to Ginaty, 22 July 1881. (MAW)

Redwood's sensitivity to the issue indicated the division in popular opinion. Two prominent members of Wellington's Irish community, Dr Grace and Patrick Buckley had misgivings about the Land League and did not attend the meeting. Most of the Irish Catholics were staunchly behind the tenant farmers, as they had direct experience of their plight. The Catholic press fed them information regarding the injustices of landlords, and the actions taken in response. Other colonists, however, depending on the somewhat one-sided cable information in the secular press read with mounting indignation stories of outrages, boycotts, and the rebellious proclivities of Parnell and Davitt, the League's leaders.

The meeting in Wellington was well attended. Politicians - Grey, Balance, Sheehan, Tole and Fisher all spoke boldly, showing the Liberals' support for the Land League. Redwood's speech began with a waving of a Land League card, which he had obtained while in Ireland in October, 1880.⁸ He noted the orange and green colour of the card indicating that the movement was not a religious one but an Irish one. Redwood explained to the crowd that he had been on the platform for some of the Land League's meetings in Ireland. Indeed he liked to boast in his later years when self-rule had been achieved, that he was the first bishop to appear on a Land League platform in Ireland.⁹ After enumerating the aims of the League, Redwood testified to Cardinal Newman's support of the movement. (Newman was one of the leaders of the Oxford Movement and a very well known Catholic). Redwood stressed the non-violent means of the League, something that was soon proved wrong. Cable news began to pour in with stories of brutality to boycotted farmers. The savagery escalated and the British Government had to suppress the League. What capped it all off was the murder of the Chief Secretary for Ireland and his Under

8. NZT, 19 Aug 1881, pp 20-21.

9. This seems to be true. While visiting Carlow with Bishop Lanigan of Goulburn, Australia, in October 1880, Redwood and Lanigan were noticed amongst the crowd of 20,000 seeking to get a better view of a Land League meeting. Those that recognised them urged them to witness the meeting from the platform. (NZT, 23 Mar 1888, p 15.)

Secretary in Phoenix Park, Dublin in 1882. The Liberals abruptly dropped the Home Rule cause, which was defended only by the Catholic press.

In 1883 John and William Redmond came out to Australasia to collect funds for the Land League. Most of the politicians who had supported the League in 1881 ignored the Redmond brothers. The Catholic bishops did not attend the meetings; Redwood was in Australia and Moran was genuinely occupied elsewhere.¹⁰ Bishop Luck in Auckland spoke out against the League. He quoted the Irish Cardinal Cullen against nationalist agitation, and said that New Zealanders should avoid "mixing oneself up on adopted country in the feuds and strifes of the land of one's birth, especially when the land of one's adoption is at the very antipodes of the field of action."¹¹ Despite this the Redmonds got a rousing reception from the laity, especially on the West Coast, and the Tablet and New Zealand Freeman's Journal supported the meetings. At Wellington, John Redmond was assisted by two Legislative Councillors, Patrick Buckley and Dr Grace.

When it became known that Gladstone, the leader of the British Liberal Party, supported Irish Home Rule, the Irish cause became respectable again, amongst New Zealand Liberals. Groups of the Irish National League, the moderate successor of the prohibited Land League, came into existence in the main centres. In church circles, the area was still touchy. Luck in Auckland had little sympathy, Moran in Dunedin had a lot, and Redwood stood in between.

Irish Catholics in New Zealand had several times in the past, dating back to 1847, appealed to the church hierarchy for Irish bishops. They had not met with much success. Only two out of New Zealand's first eight bishops were born in Ireland, with three from England, two from France and one from Holland. The eighth bishop appointed was John Grimes, an Englishman, and his appointment caused much division. Many Irish Catholics wanted an Irishman to

10. Laracy, H.M. "The Life and Context of Bishop Patrick Moran", M.A. Thesis, Victoria University, 1964, p 126.

11. NZFJ, 23 Mar 1883.

be the first Bishop of Christchurch. The issue was inflamed further by a rumour that Grimes had no sympathy with the Irish cause. It was left to Redwood to prepare Grimes for his reception, for Redwood had been the prime mover in getting him appointed:

A feeling as I told you in my last letter, against you as being not Hibernian enough, in fact Anti-Hibernian has been strongly expressed in the New Zealand Tablet, and there are some who may be rendered cold in your regard on account of it. So be particularly cautious in your speeches and sermons, letters etc. to say nothing against the Irish, but imitating Cardinal Manning, always have some kind thing to say in their favour, and if possible, express your sympathy with them in their exertions to obtain Home Rule. I have always, when opportunity occurred privately, endeavoured to destroy this impression, saying that perhaps this was so in your early life, but that experience and extensive knowledge of the world had 'put a great deal of water in your wine' on that question. 12

Redwood was also able to tell Grimes of the virulent correspondence in the Tablet concerning his appointment. Just prior to Grimes' arrival, Redwood had started the Catholic Times in Wellington. The Tablet, which had a monopoly on the Catholic press, was annoyed at the opposition, and especially at a Catholic Times correspondent who said they "are planting the standard of Catholic Progress and Irish Nationality on the plains of New Zealand."¹³ The word "planting" suggested to John Perrin, the editor of the Tablet, that this was being done for the first time, and he vigorously pointed out that the Tablet had been doing this for years. The Tablet's defence of its role, was backed by the assertion that the Catholic Times was merely the mouthpiece of the English Catholic party, which had been so successful in getting Redwood appointed as Archbishop and Grimes as the first bishop of Christchurch (see Chapter 7). The split was best shown by the reports of the reception given to Grimes upon his arrival in Christchurch.

12. Redwood to Grimes, 18 July 1887. (CDA)

13. CT, 28 Jan 1888, p 18.

Both reports centred on the support given, or not given, to Irish nationalism. Firstly the Tablet:

The reception by the Bishop of this warm display of national sentiment [Irish] was somewhat chilling. He appeared to have made up his mind that he would not, at least upon this occasion give himself, as the French say, upon the subject. He seemed in my opinion, to approach the question with a slight irritation of manner. His references to the Irish question were cold, brief, and somewhat ambiguous. 14

On the other hand, the Catholic Times said:

In view of the deep interest felt amongst Irishmen all over the world on National matters we think its fortunate that the Catholics of Christchurch availed themselves of the recent important ceremonials in their city to afford an opportunity to both His Lordship Dr Grimes and His Grace The Archbishop of giving the freest expression of their opinion on so important a subject as Home Rule, and of effectually allaying those feelings of anxiety and irritation with regard to the matter which, for some inconceivable reason, have of late become apparent in certain quarters...the strong and heartfelt sentiment embodied in the address of the Hibernian Society and general laity were responded to in a manner which clearly shows that His Lordship yields to none in his earnest desires for a just and speedy solution of the Irish difficulty. 15

The Catholic Times also took time to point out that Redwood had always been outspoken regarding Home Rule for Ireland, and that he was the first prelate to appear on a platform in support of the Land League.

Redwood was again to show publicly his support at a big Home Rule Meeting held in the Wellington Opera House on 15 March 1888. The meeting was instigated by the Catholic Times. In the best researched speech of the night, heavily interspersed with cheers, Redwood argued persuasively for the resuscitation of an Irish National League Branch in Wellington.

14. NZT, 10 Feb 1888, p 7.

15. CT, 11 Feb 1888, p 17.

In late 1889 the second Irish nationalist delegation came to New Zealand. The party consisted of three members of the House of Commons: John Dillon, Sir Thomas Esmonde and John Deasy. They had an advantage over the Redmond delegation six years previously, in that the Irish cause had been well circulated in New Zealand, and had widespread support. This time the bishops of the country were united in their sympathies to the delegation's object. Bishop Luck, reversing his stand of 1883, and a large number of priests were present at the Auckland meeting, which was chaired by J.A. Tole.¹⁶ As expected Moran attended the Dunedin meeting, and Grimes prevented by illness from attending, sent a telegram of welcome and a donation for the cause.¹⁷ Redwood chaired a meeting in Wellington that organised the delegates' stay in Wellington.¹⁸ Then, along with at least seven local priests, he attended the Opera House Meeting, at which the delegates spoke. Dillon began in Wellington by noting dryly that it was the first time he had been opposed by a prayer meeting. This was being held simultaneously by some local Protestants. At the end of his speech, donations were called for and Redwood led the way with a cheque for £20. While the subscriptions were being called for a letter was read from Harry Atkinson, the Premier, who whilst he supported Home Rule, deemed it inadvisable that he attend the meeting in view of the large number of New Zealanders who did not. The other two members of the delegation then addressed the meeting which was chaired by Patrick Buckley M.L.C. Mr George Fisher M.H.R. and Minister of Education was the only representative of the Government on the Wellington platform,¹⁹ but 18 politicians attended the meetings in other centres. Home Rule was still a divisive issue in the New Zealand political scene as indicated by the letter of protest against the Dillon visit signed by eight M.L.C's and fifteen M.H.R's.²⁰

16. Auckland Star, 7 Nov 1889.

17. Lyttleton Times, 3 Dec 1889.

18. CT, 26 July 1889, p 19

19. CT, 22 Nov 1889, pp 9-13.

20. Davis, p 110.

This letter incorporated a traditional complaint that citizens of the colony were not English, Irish or Scottish, but New Zealanders. Some of the protesters may also have linked Home Rule with the claims of the supporters of denominational education. Generally, Catholics supported the claims of their Irish co-religionists for self-government, while Protestants did not.²¹

The day after the Irish delegates had addressed the Wellington meeting, Redwood escorted them to the Marist Brothers School, St Mary's Convent and St Patrick's College. The boys of St Pat's put on some musical items for the Irishmen, and presented them with £30. Redwood when farewelling them remarked that the last time he had seen Mr Dillon, was just after he had been released from Dundalk prison. Redwood conceded that Dillon had gone to prison for a "noble cause"²² - a radical statement in the light of those issuing forth from the Vatican. Dillon had been one of the instigators of what was known as boycotting, an extreme and offensive measure, whereby a proclaimed enemy of the Land League was denied social or commercial contact with his neighbours.²³ It was for this type of agitation that Dillon was imprisoned. In 1888 Pope Leo XIII condemned boycotting.²⁴ Redwood's statement could not be taken as a wholehearted sanction of the tactics of the Land Leaguers, but it did show that he felt deeply for the plight of the poor Irish tenant farmer - a man he personally identified with through his experiences in Ireland.

The Irish New Zealanders were greatly stimulated by Dillon and his colleagues. After thirty-seven meetings all over the country they had raised £6,000. On his return to Ireland, Dillon marvelled at the support he had obtained in New Zealand.

In the 1890's the movement for Irish self-government underwent a small decline. Parnell, the leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party was levered out of that position by

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21. Some notable exceptions i.e. Rev. Rutherford Waddell, Rev. F.W. Isitt, Rev. G. Barclay.
 22. CT, 22 Nov 1889, p 17.
 23. Kee, R. The Green Flag - A History of Irish Nationalism, London, 1972, p 377.
 24. CT, 23 June 1888, p 5.

Gladstone in 1890. This split the party into two groups - the Parnellites and the anti-Parnellites. In 1891 Parnell died leaving Irish politics in a sort of vacuum. The split meant that precious time was spent on knocking the other side rather than seeking a common goal. These divisions became evident in New Zealand also, when the anti-Parnellites sent a delegate, J.R. Cox, to Australasia in 1891. The Australasian Catholic hierarchy decided not to extend their support to the representatives of either of the rival parties. Luck was the only New Zealand bishop at the meeting which was not binding on the New Zealand bishops. Luck, did not attend Cox's meeting in Auckland, but Grimes was very helpful to him in Christchurch.²⁵ Redwood was in Christchurch when Cox held his meeting in Wellington, so one does not know where he stood.²⁶ Cox did not go to Dunedin but it is unlikely that Moran would have supported him, as Moran refused to recommend the establishment of a branch of the Irish National Federation (the anti-Parnellite group) "till our friends at Home drop their dissensions which made us all here lower our heads and blush for shame."²⁷

In the 1890's the Wellington branch of the Irish National League began to flourish. It was led by prominent Catholic laymen like Buckley, Grace, Kennedy, lawyer J.J. Devine, and coachmaker, M. Bohan. When the famous ex-Fenian and Land League organiser, Michael Davitt, came to New Zealand on a private lecture tour in 1895 he complimented the Wellington branch for acting in the preceding six years "more consistently than any other branch in the Southern Hemisphere in assisting the Home Rule cause".²⁸

There is no evidence that Redwood attended branch meetings, though he probably tacitly supported them. As he mentioned in his letter of 1881 to Fr Ginaty (see p 112). Redwood did not see it to be part of his episcopal role to lead meetings for Home Rule, but nevertheless he

25. Davis, p 114.

26. NZT, 18 Sept 1891, p 3. Two Wellington priests attended Cox's meeting.

27. NZT, 12 Dec 1894, p 20.

28. NZT, 25 Nov 1895. - cited by Davis, p 120. Davis believes that the Auckland branch had been the most active.

indicated his support on public occasions when it seemed warranted.

In 1900 the Irish Party became technically reunited under John Redmond's Leadership, though divisions still existed. It was not until 1906 that the next delegation came out to New Zealand consisting of Joseph Devlin, M.P. and John Donoyan. Although the number of first generation Irish had dropped sharply, enthusiasm for the Irish cause was still widespread. Catholics maintained a high profile during the visit. Martin Kennedy, M.J. Sheehan, J.A. Tole and Fr Cleary, editor of the Tablet, were the chief organisers of the tour. This time the delegation had even wider support from Parliament, with twenty M.H.R's and five M.L.C's, including the premier Joseph Ward, Minister of Education George Fowlds, and Minister of Native Affairs, James Carroll.

Redwood was on the platform for the Wellington meeting on 21 December, along with three fellow priests and the three parliamentarians named above. After Devlin had addressed the crowd of 2,000 which thronged the Town Hall, Ward spoke, followed by Redwood.²⁹ Redwood, in his speech, seemed optimistic that the force of public opinion in favour of Home Rule for Ireland would soon carry the day. Devlin thanked Ward and Redwood for lending to the movement the prestige of their high position.

In 1911 another Irish delegation came out to New Zealand. It consisted of Richard Hazelton, John Donovan again, and W.A. Redmond, son of John Redmond. They arrived in Wellington on 1 May, and the following day Redwood had them to lunch.³⁰ Redwood was on the platform at the meeting at the Town Hall on 3 May along with the acting Prime Minister, Sir James Carroll. Redwood spoke to the crowd of 1700 in support of the vote of thanks given to the delegates. He said that he felt certain that Irish autonomy was near, and that prosperity would then return to

29. NZT, 3 Jan 1907, pp 11-12.

30. NZT, 4 May 1911, p 811.

Ireland.³¹ The delegation was given a rousing reception through the length and breadth of the nation. They spoke at 72 meetings and raised £10,000. Redwood attended their farewell functions hosted by the Wellington Hibernians. At this gathering he paid tribute to the Catholic clergy of New Zealand who he said were ardent Home Rulers, despite not all of them being Irish.

In 1905 the group known as Sinn Fein was formed in Ireland. Its aim was the total separation of Ireland from Britain, a more radical stance than that adopted by the Irish Parliamentary Party. At first Sinn Fein had little support, but after the Dublin Rising in 1916 it came to the forefront of Irish politics. Sometime after 1911 Redwood became sympathetic to the Sinn Fein, perhaps on his visit to Ireland in 1914. Though Redwood offered no public utterances on the abortive Easter Rebellion in Dublin during 1916, it probably helped to crystallize his support for Sinn Fein. One can presume that Redwood, like other veteran supporters of Irish Home Rule, felt that the violence of the rebellion was deplorable. The rebels were denounced from Catholic pulpits, and the Tablet was particularly condemnatory.³² However Redwood may have thought, like Archbishops Mannix and Kelly of Melbourne and Sydney respectively, that the rebellion was due to British provocation, particularly Britain's failure to repress the Ulster Unionists led by Sir Edward Carson, who had threatened to rebel if Home Rule was implemented.³³ The execution of the leaders of the rebellion, followed by a protracted period of martial law, violence, mass arrests and deportations caused a reaction that pulled many Irish in New Zealand as well as in the homeland into allegiance with Sinn Fein. Two positive responses to the 1916 Rising were made in New Zealand. The first was the opening of an Irish Relief Fund, supported by the Catholic bishops, for the dependents of people killed and injured as a result of the insurrection. In reality this fund provided a cover

31. NZT, 11 May 1911, p 859.

32. NZT, 4 May 1916.

33. O'Farrell, The Catholic Church in Australia, p 219.

for further revolutionary activity in Ireland; one of its treasurers was the future Irish guerilla leader, Michael Collins.³⁴ The other development was the establishment in December 1916 of an organisation called the Maoriland Irish National Association. The movement supported Sinn Fein and repudiated the Irish Parliamentary party. Great efforts were made to encourage the study of Irish language and literature. The movement sponsored a radical monthly, the Green Ray, which was suppressed by the Government in July 1918. Its militant Sinn Fein sentiments led to attacks on the New Zealand Catholic bishops who, incidentally, were all in favour of Irish self-rule, though not radical Sinn Feiners. Bishop Cleary was singled out for his support of the war effort, and his absence at the front as a chaplain during 1917. The remaining bishops were "securely locked up in their 'palaces', wholly oblivious of the trials and tribulations their fine young priests and their faithful Catholic people are daily contending with."³⁵

Redwood was by no means the only Catholic in New Zealand that swung to the Sinn Fein side after the Dublin Rising. Fr Watters, the priest Redwood obtained as the first rector of St Patrick's College was accidentally shot by the British during the Rising. This brought to many New Zealand Catholics a personal note of grievance amidst the range of executions, arrests and unauthorised killings that followed the Rising. An important catalyst in the move towards Sinn Fein support was the Rev. James Kelly who was appointed editor of the New Zealand Tablet in February 1917. Kelly's appointment and stance on Irish issues was approved by Redwood and Bishop Verdon of Dunedin. Kelly had been parish priest of Opunake, and Redwood released him so he could take up his new position. He brought a new direction to the Tablet's Irish policy which was the deliberate result of Redwood and Verdon having him appointed. They made no attempt to muffle him so one could presume that Kelly's utterances gave a cover for their

34. Davis, p 195.

35. Green Ray, Apr 1917, p 80.

own views. Few issues of the Tablet thereafter did not contain bitter attacks on the British Government's policy, the "silent acquiescence" of the New Zealand Government, and the "Dublin devilry" of the British soldiers.

England's name had been made, said Kelly, "a synonym for oppression and tyranny."³⁶ The British Government proclaimed its devotion to the cause of small nations "while still maintaining the Prussian principle that might is right."³⁷

The Sinn Feiners were, as a body, "splendid patriots of whom any country might be proud," and were "kith and kin to the brave men who regenerated the soul of Ireland" in the Easter rising.³⁸ Sinn Fein, Kelly asserted, would save Ireland.

Most Catholics in New Zealand followed the line of the majority in Ireland, so when the Nationalist Parliamentary Party was routed at the December 1918 general election by Sinn Fein - who were committed to abstention from Westminster - the direction shown to the New Zealand Irish by the Tablet was clear.

At this time many bishops in Australasia steered away from pronouncing on Ireland, which was beset with atrocities, and a struggle between the more conservative Irish Parliamentary Party and Sinn Fein. Redwood's support of Sinn Fein indicated some depth of feeling on the Irish issue. Unfortunately no evidence could be found that indicated where Redwood stood during the Irish Civil War of the early 1920's. Like his fellow bishops in Ireland, he would probably have supported the treaty signed in London that gave the Irish Free State Dominion status.

Though by no means in the radical camp, Redwood was in the Australasian episcopacy second only to Archbishop Mannix of Melbourne in the fervour of his support for Sinn Fein. However it was a poor second. Redwood's forward views on Irish nationalism were uncharacteristic in the light of his respectable and conservative views at home. He was not given to making statements on political matters.

36. NZT, 14 June 1917, p 30.

37. NZT, 5 July 1917, p 30.

38. NZT, 11 Oct 1917, p 15.

The establishment of an Irish republic, one surmises, was not one of his major concerns. The effervescent Mannix however, was assertive, even provocative, in what he said and did as a bishop. He was an aggressive Catholic leader prepared to condemn British mismanagement of Ireland, anywhere and anytime. The Orange Lodge was so taken aback by his belligerence that in 1916 they demanded his deportation.³⁹ One could never imagine Redwood being arrested under the British Defence of the Realm Act for trying to land in Ireland to whip up support for the Irish Republic, as Mannix was in 1920.

Redwood appeared twice publicly with Mannix to declare his support for the Irish republic. The first occasion was at the 1919 Irish Race Convention in Melbourne. Redwood spoke after Mannix and declared his support of Sinn Fein and of de Valera, the President of the Irish Republic.⁴⁰ In typical vein the English-born Redwood stressed his personal identification with Ireland:

...in regard to the Irish question, in regard to Ireland's inalienable right to self-determination, and her right to follow unto national independence...I am, by conviction and sentiment, as Irish as the best Irish themselves. 41

The Convention was denounced by the Melbourne Argus as part of a worldwide Catholic conspiracy to take over Ireland and Australasia.⁴² Redwood, no less than Mannix, was accused of aiming at the disruption of the Empire. Redwood's stand gained publicity in Irish Catholic circles as far away as North America.⁴³ On his return from Australia Redwood issued a letter to the clergy which announced an Australasian fund which was to be sent to support Sinn Fein. Of the £6,000 collected in New Zealand, £2,000 was collected in the Wellington archdiocese.⁴⁴ Redwood's second appearance with Mannix was

39. O'Farrell, The Catholic Church and Community in Australia: A History, p 324.

40. NZT, 20 Nov 1919, p 9.

41. NZT, 28 Feb 1924, p 16.

42. Argus, 4 Nov 1919, - cited by Davis, p 201.

43. Davis, p 201.

44. NZT, 2 Dec 1920, p 21.

when the latter returned to Melbourne after his controversial "arrest" by the British Government. Before an audience of 15,000 Redwood presented Mannix with an address signed by the 24 Australasian bishops which praised him for his contribution to Ireland.⁴⁵

It has been shown above that throughout his episcopate Redwood supported Irish nationalism. In instances like his support of the Land League and of Sinn Fein Redwood neared the radical side of Irish politics. Along with Bishop Moran, Redwood was the leader of New Zealand Catholic support. Though associated with other eminent prelates like Bishops Croke and Cleary of Auckland and assisted by some able laymen, Moran and Redwood exerted the major influence. In style they were dissimilar, but perhaps complementary. Moran said what he thought and what he wanted plainly and strongly. He had the power to arouse enthusiasm, but was less disciplined in his approach. One gets the impression that Irish grievances were an inextricable part of Moran's Catholicism which also tied in with suspicion of Protestants, fear of conspiracy, and the horror of secularism in education and society. No such confusion appeared in Redwood's position. He appeared more cool, calculating and rational. Somehow his divorce of religion and politics seemed to detract from his convictions on Irish issues. He did not use the rhetoric of Moran and Mannix that linked the victims of Irish cause with martyrs for the one, true faith. Though he went through all the motions of support for Ireland, he does not seem to have convinced all the Catholics of New Zealand. This was evidenced in the furore caused by his appointment as Archbishop. Some Irish laymen were aware of the pressure the English were bringing to bear at the Vatican, and Redwood's support for the Irish cause did not allay their fears of an English domination of the New Zealand church. Redwood did not state his support frequently enough, or in a fashion strong enough to be remembered as a hero in Irish self-rule. In the stirring days of the Anglo-Irish war

45. NZT, 11 Sept 1921, p 29.

Redwood stood shoulder to shoulder with Mannix; the latter achieved an undying place in Irish mythology but the former was all but forgotten. Though Redwood was the only New Zealand bishop to join the protest against the British prohibition of Mannix's Irish visit in 1920, it was James Liston, Cleary's coadjutor in Auckland, who went down in New Zealand history as the fiercest ecclesiastical critic of British policy in Ireland.⁴⁶

Redwood lived in, and reflected an age where the clergy, by and large, kept out of politics. Though by no means bound by this, Redwood never dived deeply into political issues. The only exception was education, and Catholics did not see this as a solely political matter, for it involved a vital theological principle: the state usurpation of a parental and church responsibility. Education aside, it was the Irish issue that Redwood pursued with the most vigour. That a political issue centred in a land far away from New Zealand's shores, should provide a focus of interest greater than any political issue at home, is an illuminating fact about Redwood. Although his time spent in Ireland equipped him with altruism for the Irish cause, one cannot but think other motives may have been at play. Davis suggests that the bishops considered an Irish minority which had gained, through Sinn Fein activism, the courage to face an hostile community would be equally determined in its Catholic educational separatism.⁴⁷ There was certainly a common personnel involved in the two courses, but it would be taking things too far to say that Sinn Fein was supported in order to assist Catholic education claims. A lot more likely as motives were the need for Catholic unity and the maintenance of the allegiance of Irish Catholics. Redwood, Luck and Grimes all seemed to be motivated in this vein. To Redwood's credit, he

46. In 1922 Liston was tried Before the Supreme Court for sedition, relating to an intemperate attack on British policy in Ireland at a St Patrick's Day gathering in Auckland. He spoke of the "martyrs" of the 1916 Easter rising and the many Irish people murdered by foreign troupes. Liston was acquitted when the jury decided that hostility to the British Government in Ireland was not sedition in New Zealand.

47. Davis, p 204.

was more authentic, consistent and forceful in acclaiming Irish Home Rule than the other two. In practical terms the support of New Zealanders for Home Rule could do little to bring it about. Notwithstanding the authenticity of its supporters, its historical significance in New Zealand was as a means of Catholic unity, and a way for bishops and priests to attain the respect of their flock.

CHAPTER 6

PROHIBITION

Throughout New Zealand's European history, various groups and individuals have sought the prohibiting by law of liquor production and sale. Prohibition was first organised at Paihia in the 1830's. The heyday of the movement was between 1890 and 1930. Most of the support came from the non-conformist Protestant churches; from people of respectable means. For those people intemperance was regarded as a major cause of almost all other social problems (e.g. poverty, crime, family discord). Liquor destroyed man's spirituality, defiled him as God's image, and prevented the Word of God from taking root in his heart. These ideas found sympathy amongst Methodists, Presbyterians, Salvationists, Congregationalists and Baptists, who all officially endorsed the prohibition cause. Anglicans and Catholics never gave official recognition though certain leaders, especially Anglicans, lent support.

Redwood was a staunch opponent of the prohibition movement. He, along with many Catholics and Anglicans supported "true temperance", which was voluntary total abstinence, and there were a small number of Anglican and Catholic temperance societies to help those who took the pledge. The Plenary Council of 1885 recommended the formation in every parish of a temperance society, though Redwood did little to encourage their establishment. However in 1877 Redwood allowed into his diocese a Fr Hennebery, a mission priest from the United States of America. He accompanied Hennebery for several months, helping him to hear confessions. A feature of Hennebery's missions was his preaching on the "virtue of Temperance, and the voluntary pledge - not Prohibition, which is not Temperance, and which he disliked and represented as provoking intemperance, a fact widely

confirmed by experience."¹ After the sacraments had been received Hennebery would administer an abstinence pledge from the pulpit on behalf of all those who held their right hands aloft. He also issued pledge-cards and medals on behalf of the Catholic Total Abstinence Association founded by Fr Mathew in 1838.² Though Redwood admired Hennebery as a teetotaler and as a priest, Redwood himself did not take the pledge. This was not because he loved drink for he was a man of strict habits and a sparse drinker. He liked wine, but his favourite drink was whiskey mixed with hot water and lemon. Each time he drank alcohol he would only have one glass.³

After the 1890's the strength of the prohibitionists grew, and the issue became a divisive one on the political scene. In 1893 the Alcoholic Liquors Sale Control Act was passed which provided for a three-issue triennial poll (retention, reduction, abolition), with a provision that the latter two alternatives each required a three-fifths vote to be carried. This system resulted in 12 separate districts going "dry". This momentum was kept up and in the early 1900's prohibition came close to success in New Zealand. The polls of 1902, 1905, 1908 and 1911 all recorded a majority for abolition, but not the three-fifths needed. Redwood and his fellow bishops, with the exception of Moran, thought that bishops should not entangle themselves in political matters, unless they affected the Church directly, so although most Catholics probably opposed prohibition, no effort was made to mobilize opposition to the "wowsers" as they were negatively labelled. Redwood's opposition to prohibition was firm and sincere, but seldom came to public notice, because he believed, as did his fellow bishops, that morality could not be enforced by law but had rather to be taught by example - hence the Catholic emphasis on the religious education of children and the advocacy of moderation, not only in the matter of alcohol but in every aspect of behaviour.

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1. Redwood, Reminiscences, Part 2, p 21.
 2. Wilson, p 169.
 3. Told the author by Fr J. Joyce SM.

However when the prohibitionists claimed that the liquor was regarded by the Scriptures as an evil, and that the wine used in Church liturgies should be unfermented rather than fermented,⁴ Redwood firmly rebutted their arguments. Although the 1910 Licensing Amendment Act, which introduced the national prohibition option, allowed for the manufacture and sale of alcohol for sacramental purposes if prohibition was carried, Redwood and other Catholics felt that this was not a strong enough safeguard for one of their fundamental beliefs. Their fear was exacerbated in 1911 when a prohibition lecturer, the Rev. B.S. Hammond, stated that after ten years of prohibition no wine even for medicinal and sacramental purposes would be allowed in the country.⁵ Redwood immediately issued a circular letter to the Catholic clergy urging them to warn their parishioners against voting for national prohibition as it would eventually render the celebration of the Mass impossible.⁶ Though Hammond argued that he had been misinterpreted and that what he meant was that after seeing and experiencing the benefits of prohibition for ten years, everyone, including Catholics, would be in favour of a total ban on alcohol, this was not enough to repair the damage. The growing Protestant intolerance of Catholics was only made worse when it was felt that the loss of support for prohibition from the episcopal churches had possibly cost the cause greater success, if not victory.⁷ Redwood's letter was believed to have been sufficient to alienate enough votes that would otherwise have helped to carry the vote in favour of national prohibition from the 55.83 per cent achieved to the 60 per cent majority required. The prohibitionists considered it "altogether deplorable that he [Redwood]

4. Their opinion was based on a complicated but erroneous interpretation of the Bible. (See McKimney, P.F. "The Temperance Movement in New Zealand, 1835-1894", M.A. Thesis, University of Auckland, 1968, p 150.)

5. NZT, 7 Dec 1911, p 2479.

6. *ibid.*

7. Grigg, A.R. "Prohibition: The Church and Labour", The New Zealand Journal of History, Vol. 15, No.2, Oct, 1981, p 146.

should have used the full weight of his own authority and that of his Church to buttress the body-and-soul destroying liquor traffic on a plea that is entirely false."⁸

If the power, attributed to Redwood's letter by the prohibitionists, was true, it represented the most significant pronouncement on a social issue he ever made. Statistics indicate that the assessment of the prohibitionists could be correct. Though Catholics comprised only 14 per cent of the total population, in combination with the other main anti-prohibitionist church, the Anglicans, they had a nominal adherence of over 50 per cent of the population. On the basis of percentage figures compiled by H.Mol in a study of church attendance in New Zealand for the census year of 1911, it appears that the active membership of the two denominations was between 12 and 15 per cent of the total population at this time.⁹ If only half of this number had supported the "drys", national prohibition would have been achieved in 1911. In hindsight, it seems rather incongruous that Redwood's circular letter could have had such an effect based as it was on a point that the majority of prohibitionists, even Hammond, gave the lie to. Despite its rather doubtful basis in fact, it represented, however, an authentic Catholic fear, and though being issued at a time when national prohibition was so close to becoming a reality it may well have had the dramatic effect, given it by the prohibitionists, of swinging the vote against what they so earnestly desired.

Concentration on the war took a little of the steam out of the prohibition movement, but in 1919 they came within an ace of making New Zealand "dry". Two polls were held in this year. Under the provisions of the 1918 Amendment Act, National Prohibition with compensation for those in the brewery trade could have been gained by a bare majority vote. The vote was taken on 10 April 1919, and there was a majority of 13,396 in favour of prohibition. However when the votes of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force were counted this was turned into a majority of 10,362 in favour of

8. Vanguard, 23 Dec 1911, p 9.

9. Mol, H. (editor) Western Religion: A Country By Country Sociological Inquiry, The Hague, 1972, pp 367-371.

National Continuance. At the second poll the result was even closer. On 7 December 1919, the first vote on the three issue ballot paper we know today was taken, which resulted as follows: National Continuance 240,151, State Purchase and Control 32,261, Prohibition 270,250.¹⁰ In order to be carried, Prohibition had to secure more votes than State Purchase and Control and Continuance combined, and it fell short on this occasion by only 3,362 votes.

Redwood must have perceived the solid support for prohibition for before the December 1919 vote he had a letter read from the pulpit in all the churches of the Archdiocese. This letter illustrated his arguments against prohibition. He began by saying that if alcohol was an evil in itself, then absolute Prohibition, even for sacramental purposes should follow. This however was contrary to Scripture and to the teaching and example of Christ, who used wine at the Last Supper. If prohibition was urged on account of the misuse that some made of it, then sex, printing, dancing and theatre should also be prohibited. Prohibition would be fatal to Liberty for it infringed natural rights and disregarded the claims of dissenting minorities. It was also fatal to Temperance which was positive and appealed to man's self-control, whilst prohibition was negative and would rest on criminal law. Reform was needed, Redwood argued, but through regulation of the liquor traffic rather than prohibition. Prohibition would bring sly-grogging that could not be controlled and which would encourage evasion, lawlessness and deception. Redwood asserted, unjustly, that the National Prohibition craze was the work of a few fanatics who were bitter enemies of the Catholic Church and who hoped to render Mass impossible by depriving the Catholics of wine. Assurances to the contrary by prohibition leaders in New Zealand were not to be believed because some of these men denounced the Mass as an unchristian superstition. Redwood concluded his letter in strong and pleading tones:

10. Figures from Cocker, Rev. J. and Murray, J.M. Temperance and Prohibition in New Zealand, Wellington, 1929, p 127.

I call, therefore, on all Catholics in the Dominion to vote dead against National Prohibition, as they value common sense, liberty, and the sacred claims of their Holy Faith. Let them band with the best men in the Dominion, the majority of good and moderate men, to stamp out this noxious thing, National Prohibition, for ever. Let such inquisitorial and grinding tyranny never curse this free land. The Catholic who votes for National Prohibition in the present condition of this Dominion...is true neither to his common sense nor his love of freedom, nor his loyalty to his Holy Religion. Let him cast his vote patriotically and religiously against it, in this and every other election. Let him not become the slave of a false system inspired by narrow-mindedness and fanaticism. 11

Redwood's initiative in writing this letter to his people on the subject was probably sparked by a joint pronouncement of the Archbishops of Australasia after their conference in Melbourne in October 1918. Their pronouncement recognised the evils of intemperance, but stated that as the majority of Australians and New Zealanders were sober people, prohibition would be an unwarrantable infringement of their liberty.¹² As it was, this pronouncement and Redwood's letter would have been preaching to the converted. Most Catholics in New Zealand would not have voted for prohibition.¹³

Nevertheless, Redwood recognised in his letter, a small handful of Catholics, who had suffered from a drunken relative, and who now sided with the prohibitionists. However, he was more concerned about the voice and pen of Dr Henry Cleary, Bishop of Auckland, who supported the cause of prohibition. Cleary's skill as a journalist was made use of by the New Zealand Alliance, the main prohibitionist organisation which frequently quoted and reprinted his statements. Quips like "The Church of the Living God is built on a Rock, and not on a Vat", and that she was no more tied to the liquor

11. Redwood, F. "Circular Letter to Priests", 25 Mar 1919. Redwood's circular appears to have been largely plagiarized from the following pamphlet written by a Presbyterian minister, who favoured temperance: Thomson, W. Prohibition Fatal to Liberty, Temperance, and Morality, Wellington, 1911.

12. NZT, 7 Nov 1928, p 44.

13. Grigg, pp 147-148.

traffic than she was to the sale of Fuji silk or bone-dust fertilizers, were given a lot of mileage.¹⁴ Redwood obviously disagreed with Cleary's support of prohibition but the division of the Catholic hierarchy on the topic was never something that was highlighted in the press. Privately Redwood was critical of Cleary's writings on the matter and naively believed they made no impression against the arguments he used.¹⁵ At the same time as the prohibition struggle, Cleary was giving a strong and able Catholic lead on the Bible-in-Schools issue. In some ways his strong interest in socio-political matters, which included an attempt to settle the 1913 Auckland Dock Strike,¹⁶ fitted him to lead the hierarchy on such an issue as prohibition. However his stance, untypical of the Catholic majority, meant that the leadership of Catholic opposition to prohibition fell into Redwood's hands. Cleary was the most conspicuous, but not the only Catholic supporter of prohibition. Charles Todd, a successful Otago businessman, was president of the New Zealand Alliance from 1926-1928, and a vice-president in 1929. In 1919 he wrote a pamphlet offering reasons why Catholics should support prohibition.¹⁷ Todd was highly successful at raising money for the prohibition movement, and during his presidency in 1926 the New Zealand Alliance tallied its largest income, nearly £65,000.¹⁸ In 1922 he brought Fr George Zurcher, a well known American Catholic priest, and accompanied him on a Dominion tour of platform speaking. In 1902 Fr Hays, a stalwart in the English Temperance movement came to New Zealand for a speaking tour. Another Catholic, Dr O'Brien, who had studied the effects of alcohol upon the human system, repeatedly appeared upon the New Zealand prohibition platform as an able and ardent advocate.¹⁹

14. Cocker and Murray, p 161.

15. Leo Redwood (nephew) to F. Redwood, 25 Dec 1925; 18 Nov 1928. (WAA)

16. Bollinger, C. Grog's Own Country, Wellington, 1959, p 102.

Bollinger maintains that Cleary took his role of Cardinal Manning of the South very seriously.

17. Todd, C. Prohibition and Catholics, Dunedin, 1919.

18. Cocker and Murray, p 264.

19. *ibid*, p 161.

Redwood's interest in anti-prohibition was kept alive through the 1920's by his frequent correspondence with his nephew Vernon Charles Redwood. Vernon Redwood was a favourite amongst the Archbishop's many nephews, and with good reason. He attended St Patrick's College before his family moved to Toowoomba in Queensland where they entered the brewery trade. Vernon helped with the successful family business, before entering politics. He was twice returned to the Queensland Parliament as member for Toowoomba, and was made President of the Queensland Chamber of Commerce and became Mayor of Toowoomba in 1910. He founded and became the first President of the Emigration League of Australia in Queensland, and was President of the Australian Association of music, arts, science and literature. Vernon and his sister, Charlotte had fine singing voices, and in 1914 they went to Italy to train to be opera singers aided by a substantial loan from the Archbishop. They did not make the grade in the opera so went to England where Vernon did war work for the government. After the war he became involved with the anti-prohibition movement, and helped to establish the Fellowship for Freedom and Reform, which he saw as the only organized opposition to prohibition in Britain. Vernon became the full-time National Organiser of this group, and the Archbishop was a Vice-President. Their correspondence centred on the work of Vernon for the Fellowship, and on the fortunes of prohibition around the world. In 1919 the Archbishop had several of Vernon's letters published in the Tablet.²⁰ He also wrote an article himself on "Why was National Prohibition Enacted in the USA", his analysis emphasizing the indifference of the people and the power of the Anti-Saloon League.²¹ Their letters were full of mutual praise highlighting in an exaggerated way, the key role each was playing in defeating the forces of prohibition. Vernon claimed that Redwood's anti-prohibition pamphlet Liberty and Regulation, that was published after his 1919 Circular Letter, actually sparked the formation of the

20. NZT, 5 June 1919, p 37; 12 June 1919, p 37; 3 July 1919, pp 18.

21. NZT, 15 May 1919, p 34.

Fellowship.²² He thought, rather naively, that Redwood had saved New Zealand from Prohibition by getting his Circular Letter read in all the Catholic churches in New Zealand.²³ Similarly, the Archbishop was proud of Vernon and of his efforts in debates against the "pussyfoots". He also encouraged Vernon's preaching for the Catholic Evidence Guild, an apologetic Catholic group that Vernon founded in England. Their speakers, of whom Vernon was said to be the best, would preach from a soapbox in Hyde Park or any other place where an audience could be guaranteed. After he retired as National Organiser of the Fellowship in 1929, Vernon became involved with Lord Beaverbrook's United Empire Party, and was the successful candidate for that party in the Bromley by-election of 1930.²⁴

Archbishop Redwood's work against prohibition in New Zealand remained intermittent. A Tablet editorial of 1925 praised his 1919 Circular Letter, and at his 1924 Golden Jubilee Archbishop Clune of Perth did likewise.²⁵ In 1925 he wrote an article for the Tablet on "The Dangers of Prohibition".²⁶ It was not until 1928 that Redwood came out again publicly against prohibition, in a Pastoral Letter that was almost word for word the same as his Circular of 1919. Many bishops, like Redwood, had a habit of stating their views on a certain matter only once, for they expected their people to sit up and take notice. They usually did not campaign vigorously for a certain cause unless it impinged directly on the mission of the church (e.g. education). Obviously this was the case in Redwood's attitude to prohibition. Though his opposition was sincere, he recognised that it was a moral issue on which each man's choice was free. Because of this, and the social problems that liquor caused, the Church could not condemn reform, thus their opposition to prohibition was tempered and could never be

22. Vernon Redwood (nephew) to F. Redwood, 3 Apr 1928. (WAA)

23. Vernon Redwood to F. Redwood, 20 Apr 1923. (MAW)

24. St Patrick's College 1885-1935 - The Record of Fifty Years, Wellington, 1935, p 247.

25. NZT, 4 Nov 1925, p 33.

26. NZT, 28 Oct 1925, pp 30-31.

official Church teaching. Redwood's opposition was matched by Cleary's support and thus the New Zealand hierarchy could never give a uniform pronouncement on the subject, as the Australasian archbishops had done in 1918.

The prohibition movement during its peak years of the early 1900's was probably too political for it to appear seemly for a Catholic bishop, like Redwood, to mobilize opposition to it. This is a reflection of his normally conservative stance in socio-political issues, and his traditional conception of a bishop's role. His prime motivation, as reflected in his 1911 Circular Letter, was to defend the use of wine at Mass, something that impinged directly on his Church. Redwood's involvement was defensive rather than offensive. Several times in his letters to Vernon Redwood he mentioned the idea of establishing a group similar to the Fellowship of Freedom and Reform in New Zealand, but nothing ever came of it. Redwood's views on the prohibition question were stated clearly but infrequently. The Circular Letters of 1911 and 1919 may have had some effect on the way some Catholics voted but they would have been read to those who would have mostly agreed with their content. Prohibition in New Zealand was defeated, not because of anything Redwood wrote, but because many New Zealanders, like him, enjoyed a drink.

CHAPTER 7

MARIST - SECULAR TENSIONS

One of the main threads that has appeared in New Zealand Catholic history is the tension between the two main types of priests - the Marists and the seculars. The Marist order, or regulars, as they were sometimes called, received papal approval in 1836 and were given charge of the mission in Western Oceania. The secular or diocesan priests came to New Zealand after the Marists, belonged to no religious order, and were commissioned to serve in a particular diocese.

The seeds of conflict were sown in the appointment of New Zealand's first Catholic bishop - Jean Baptiste Francois Pompallier. Although Pompallier was associated with the Marists in France for several years he never took the religious vows that bound him to the order. The situation was compounded by the newness of the Marist order, and by the uncertainty existing in the Church at large about the relative spheres of authority of a bishop and the Superior-General of a religious order. This led to frequent disputes between Fr Colin, the Marist Superior-General, and Pompallier. Marist distrust of Pompallier crystallised when Pompallier visited Europe in 1842 leaving his band of missionaries with such meagre funds that priests on the East Coast had to beg for ship biscuit from visiting boats.¹ A letter, one of many from the New Zealand Marists to Fr Colin, reflects the standard Marist view of Pompallier:

Our bishop has many talents for attracting the natives: he has, it seems to me, the qualities of the accomplished missionary. He had from afar a brilliant reputation for ability, confidence, a fortune and even noble blood.

1. Keys, L.G. The Life and Times of Bishop Pompallier, Christchurch, 1957, p 192.

But he does not appear to be reliable in his words, promising too much, quite rash in business, banking on the future and consuming loans, laying little of solid foundation, easy to charm, flatter and catch unawares, or at least yielding to everyone because he wishes to make use of everything and win all. He conceived gigantic enterprises, such as wishing to build a church in brick, to buy a boat....We are like an army that has used up part of its ammunition in fireworks. ²

In 1848 New Zealand was divided into the two dioceses of Auckland and Wellington. By this division the Marists were to be withdrawn into the southern diocese under the French Marist Bishop Philip Viard, and Pompallier had to find secular priests in Europe to man his diocese. The Marist fathers in Auckland were not pleased with the division, as it meant they had to leave the missions they had built up over 11 years to the secular priests.

Like Pompallier, Viard's relations with his Marist priests were not always smooth. Viard's problems were manifold. He was faced with a chronic shortage of money and priests. Four of the Marists left soon after coming to Wellington and Colin could not provide any more.³ Viard became something of a scapegoat for Marist grievances; he seemed to favour the secular clergy, he chose a non-Marist as his Vicar-General, could not allow Marist priests to live together because of their scarcity, rarely visited his priests, seldom gave them a retreat, and he constantly pleaded for more money and more priests. No new priests arrived until three new Marists were sent in 1859. However this was only a palliative in the light of demands from a predominantly English speaking white population for English or Irish priests, rather than the French pastors they had received. In 1863 the first secular priest (not belonging to a religious order) came to the diocese. A slow trickle of Marists and seculars entered the diocese after this to minister to the Catholics on the Otago and West Coast gold-fields.

2. Quoted in Simmons, p 18.

3. Keys, Viard, p 94.

The West Coast was to provide the scene for the first major incident of Marist-secular tension in New Zealand. The dispute centred, as it would in the future, on Irish issues, or more specifically Fenianism. The West Coast gold rush coincided with the abortive Fenian uprising of 1867 which sought an Irish Republic totally separated from England. Amongst the supporters were a large number of Irish goldminers on the West Coast. At that time Irish secular priests manned the Hokitika mission station. The priest in charge, Fr J. McGirr did not support Fenianism, while his two assistants Fathers Larkin and McDonough did.⁴ This caused some conflict in the local Catholic community, and Viard had to separate the three priests. McGirr was given his "Exeat" from the diocese, McDonough remained in Hokitika, and Larkin was sent to Waimea.⁵

These shifts were not to be the end of the trouble however. McDonough, and in particular Larkin, embroiled themselves further in the local Fenian cause. Viard forbade the two priests from participating in a sympathetic demonstration for the Fenian "Manchester martyrs" executed in November 1867 for killing a policeman.⁶ This command was ignored by the two priests.⁷ Larkin was arrested on 27 March 1868 along with six others. Larkin and John Manning, the editor of the New Zealand Celt, an Irish patriot newspaper, received a month in gaol for seditious libel.⁸ On the day following Larkin's arrest Viard suspended him, and on 8 June 1868 he gave Fathers McDonough and Larkin their "Exeat" from his diocese.⁹ Their dismissal created ripples of Irish feelings against the French Marist Viard. Bishop Moran's Tablet subsequently cited Viard's action of

4. *ibid*, p 203.

5. *ibid*, p 204.

6. *ibid*, p 206.

7. One of the "martyrs", Philip Larkin, could have been Fr Larkin's brother. (See May, P.R. The West Coast Gold Rushes, Christchurch, 1967, p 518.)

8. See Davis, Chapter 1, for a fuller account.

9. Keys, Viard, p 208.

expulsion as part of a deeply rooted anti-Irish plot.¹⁰ In the future the French and English Marists were to be accused of not supporting Irish causes as devotedly as did the Irish secular clergy.

Dunedin's first Catholic bishop, Patrick Moran, precipitated further Marist-secular discord on his arrival in that city in 1871. In his first Pastoral Letter he complained bitterly of the poor accommodation offered to him and claimed that the state of his new diocese had been completely misrepresented to him. He seemed to hold the French Marists responsible. Moran reported Fr Moreau SM, the parish priest of Dunedin, to Rome, for mismanagement of church affairs.¹¹ The consequences of the bishop's accusations soon became clear. Out of the six priests in the diocese when Moran arrived, five were soon to go. Viard recalled the three Marists to his own diocese, Bishop Croke in Auckland recalled another priest, and the fifth left on his own accord.¹² The Marists after starting missions throughout New Zealand had been pushed and pulled out of the Auckland diocese, and now the Dunedin diocese. It was little wonder that they later showed marked reluctance to give up their remaining missions in the Wellington and Christchurch dioceses.

Pompallier, Viard and Moran all had difficulties in their relations with the Marists. Their small number of priests, and the general poverty of their mission stations ensured that there was little bickering amongst the priests themselves. As the number of priests increased after 1870, so too did the fortunes of some parishes, making them more desirable than others. In Redwood's diocese this became a source of potential division as the dichotomy between Marist and secular was most apparent following the Marist withdrawal from Auckland and Dunedin. Redwood's mastery as an administrator ensured that no serious split ever occurred in his diocese between himself and his priests, or between religious and secular priests. Such a statement could not be made of some of his fellow bishops. In

10. NZT, July 1887, p 6.

11. Laracy, "The Life and Context of Bishop Patrick Moran", p 35.

12. *ibid*, p 34.

the four years that Bishop Croke manned the see of Auckland (1870-1874) he soured the Franciscans to such an extent that they left the diocese. His successor, Bishop Luck had the Benedictines, a religious order that provided about half of priests, withdraw in 1888, though relations with Luck was only one of several reasons. (Luck himself was a Benedictine). In 1878 Bishop Moran brought two Jesuits into his diocese to run a boys' college. The venture was unsuccessful and the Jesuits were soon recalled. Bishop Grimes, the first bishop of Christchurch, invited some priests of the Sacred Heart Order to help in his diocese. They lasted only four years before being withdrawn. Compared with the bishops that preceded and ruled with him in New Zealand, Redwood's relations with his priests, and his ability to dispel potential conflict between religious, and secular priests was unsurpassed. This was a fine achievement in the light of the more or less equal strengths of the Marist and secular priests staffing his parishes. The major hurdle thrown up for Redwood to overcome in this area was the rivalry over who was to be the first bishop of Christchurch and which diocese would become the metropolitan see.¹³ He handled these challenges in a way that sought to unite rather than to divide and his part in both instances was to be thoroughly vindicated.

This rivalry over who was to be the first bishop of Christchurch, and which New Zealand diocese became the metropolitan see was between the Irish secular priests led by Moran, and Redwood's Marists.¹⁴ These two bishops themselves were vitally involved in as much as they sought to curry the favour of churchmen that had influence in Rome.

The division of the huge Wellington diocese had been mooted several times in the late 1860's and 1870's.¹⁵ The increasing European population made such a division

13. A metropolitan see is established as the seat of an archbishop who presides at meetings of the episcopal hierarchy. Their ecclesiastical authority only exists in their own archdiocese.

14. Some in Auckland thought that city should become the metropolitan see (NZFJ, 29 Oct 1886, p 8.) However, there is no evidence that a petition was organised.

15. Keys, Viard, p 212.

a necessity. In 1877 the Catholics of Christchurch asked Redwood to forward a petition to Rome.¹⁶ Redwood did this, but he was privately hurt by an allegation in the petition that "he did not visit Canterbury to administer Confirmation."¹⁷ Fr John Chareyre SM, who was in charge of the Christchurch mission 1875-77 was in Rome to turn down the vacant bishopric of Auckland which Redwood had nominated him for. The Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda immediately asked Chareyre to take up the bishopric of Christchurch which he also refused.¹⁸

The Marist authorities hoped that a Marist bishop would head the new Christchurch diocese, but in the 1870's they had a shortage of missionaries so they wanted the division postponed. Propaganda was also reluctant to act promptly following Pope Pius IX's death in 1878, and because of the trouble some of the newly appointed Irish bishops had caused them.¹⁹ The issue was more or less shelved until Redwood's visit in 1885 to Europe.

By 1885 the Wellington diocese had more European Catholics than Auckland (20,648) and Dunedin (18,140) combined. As the Wellington diocese was largely staffed by Marists, and had a Marist bishop, the Society of Mary hoped to have a Marist bishop in the new Christchurch diocese. On Redwood's visit to Europe in 1885 the creation of the Christchurch diocese was discussed amongst the Marist hierarchy, with Fr John Grimes SM proposed as the Bishop.

Redwood knew Grimes well and was instrumental in getting him selected. They had taught together at St Mary's College, Dundalk, in the 1860's, and corresponded frequently after that time. The Marist authorities saw in Grimes a priest with the talents to be a bishop. They were also aware of Grimes's desire to serve in New Zealand, which dated back to 1881.²⁰ In August 1885, Redwood wrote to Grimes:

16. NZT, 15 June 1887, p 9.

17. Redwood to Ginaty, 14 May 1877. (MAW)

18. "The Diocese of Christchurch" - transcript pages. (CDA)

19. Fr Poupinel SM to Fr Yardin SM, 1878. (MAW)

20. Redwood to Grimes, 20 Apr 1881. (MAW)

Meanwhile as a vision of consolation in the anxiety which very naturally oppresses you at the prospect of the heavy burden shortly - we feel certain - to be put upon your shoulders, I am happy to tell you that you will have in the diocese of Christchurch the snuggest diocese in all the Australasian colonies... Besides let us wait for the final settlement at Rome before we enter fully
21
in the business.

Redwood wrote this letter after visiting Rome and obviously seemed confident that his negotiations with Propaganda would be fruitful. Two weeks later Redwood was disappointed to learn that the decisions about the new diocese and metropolitan see were to be made at the first Plenary Council of the Australasian bishops due to open in Sydney on 14 November.²² Cardinal Moran of Sydney, who had been in Rome to receive his red biretta from the Pope, would be returning in time for this Synod. Redwood and the Marists had hoped that the whole question would be settled before the Council, as Redwood himself would be the sole Marist bishop at Sydney.

There is no record of the discussions of the Council behind closed doors, but Redwood had reason to be pessimistic. For thirty years a battle had been waged between the English Benedictines and the Irish secular bishops over episcopal appointments in Australia. Bishop Polding the first Benedictine bishop of Sydney had seen his recommendations overruled several times, in favour of the nominees of Cardinal Cullen, Archbishop of Dublin, who had been through the Irish College in Rome during Cullen's rectorship there. From 1860 onwards a string of Irish bishops were appointed in Australia. The appointment of Archbishop Patrick Moran, later to become a Cardinal, assured the Irish domination of the Australian episcopacy. In the face of such a pattern it seemed unlikely that Redwood could do anything to realise the Marists' aims. After its deliberations the Council decided that Christchurch should be the centre of a new diocese, which, it was decided by eleven votes to seven, should be under the care of a secular bishop and secular

21. Redwood to Grimes, 9 Aug 1885. (MAW)

22. Redwood to Fr. Le Menant des Chesnais SM, 22 Aug 1885. (MAW)

clergy rather than the Marists. It was also decided that Dunedin should be elevated to the metropolitan see of New Zealand, with Moran as its Archbishop. Voting on the Archbishopric was Dunedin 9, Auckland 3, Wellington 3. The three New Zealand bishops abstained from voting.²³

A letter from Redwood to Grimes gives some idea of Council proceedings, and explains why the nomination of Grimes had not been accepted:

This in a few words is what has taken place. Before anything was settled in Rome, someone perhaps one of the highest superiors - wrote to America that you were appointed to the new see of Christchurch. This piece of news soon got to New Zealand, via America, and set about 20 secular priests in my diocese in motion abetted as they were by the secular bishop of Dunedin, Dr Moran, and by some of his most influential priests. They got up a petition to Rome, making I believe many charges against me (about their being unfairly treated, about being kept under the Marist Fathers, about not getting the best parishes etc, etc) and asking for a secular Bishop for Christchurch. This petition they either forwarded through Cardinal Moran when he last went to Europe, or he found it just on his arrival in Rome. At all events he took it up warmly and got all the negotiations broken off, until the Council of Sydney should have examined the matter of the Archbishopric of New Zealand, and the new see of Christchurch. At the council he so worded matters with the aid of the secular bishops of Australia (who were in the majority at the Council) he got the Council to fix on Dunedin for the Archbishopric of New Zealand and to recommend as *dignissimus* [first choice] for the see of Christchurch Dr Ricardo of Grahamstown, Cape of Good Hope, the former Vicar-General of Dr Moran of Dunedin, when he was vicar apostolic of the same Grahamstown. The religious bishops at the Council stood to you and got you recommended as *dignior* [second choice] for Christchurch. I have been doing all I can by reports (most exhaustive) to prevent Dunedin, with its only 14 priests, from becoming the archbishopric, and to get a Marist appointed to the new see of Christchurch. The Fathers of the Society of Mary out here

23. *Acta et Decreta Concilii Plenarii Australasiae*, pp xxix-xxx

have also sent a very strong report in the same sense. We hope to succeed, but the Cardinal will certainly do his utmost to frustrate our plans...The human element in the Council was very strong. I do not like to go into details about these affairs but Fr Martin will, I think, keep you *au courant* if you ask him.

Meanwhile on the 14th of February, the Cardinal comes to open the new Cathedral at Dunedin - all this is part of the plan, to push his man. 24

The Council however did not bring an end to the politicking. In December 1885, news filtered back to New Zealand that a secular bishop might be appointed to Christchurch. Fr Ahern of Ross, on holiday in Sydney, telegraphed the priests on the West Coast, urging them to petition Cardinal Moran for a secular bishop in Christchurch, and to submit three names from which to choose.²⁵

The Marist petition was not long in following. It was formulated by 36 priests gathered in Wellington for their annual retreat in January 1886. They began by reporting rumours current in Australasia that Bishop Moran had succeeded in having himself named as archbishop of New Zealand, and that a secular bishop would be appointed in Christchurch. If this was true what had happened to the guarantees given by Rome to the Marists of the Wellington diocese regarding the cession of certain parochial areas in perpetuity? The petition went on to mention that Monsignor Ricardo had been named as Moran's nominee, then pointed out that his advanced age, poor health and total inexperience of New Zealand made him unsuitable for this position. Were he appointed, two areas of conflict would immediately occur: firstly with the diocese of Wellington since young men from the Christchurch area attended St Patrick's College, Wellington; secondly, with the priests of the Society of Mary to whom Rome had given several parishes in perpetuity. A secular bishop would lead to the same differences that had arisen between Pompallier and the Marists in Auckland.

24. Redwood to Grimes, 29 Jan 1886. (MAW)

25. Fr Chervier SM to unknown recipient, 10 Dec 1885. (MAW)

Next followed a detailed comparison of the dioceses of Dunedin and Wellington. Dunedin was not central, and was settled mainly by a Scottish and anti-Catholic population, so there was little chance of making conversions there. It had only 12-15 priests compared to more than 60 in Wellington, where there were also a larger number of churches, convents and presbyteries. Dunedin's Catholic population was 18,000, Wellington's 40,000. St Patrick's College, New Zealand's foremost Catholic College, was sited in Wellington. The city was the capital, and was growing into an important commercial centre because of its central position.

Then came a list of grievances against Bishop Moran. Immediately after his arrival he had sent a bitter report to Propaganda accusing the Marists of mismanagement of Church affairs and finances. This report was full of factual errors, because he had not checked with the central Marist administration. There was particular umbrage felt over his charges that the Marist had expropriated diocesan property, an accusation which had been repeated by Cardinal Moran at the Council together with the charge that the Marists had put most of their efforts into the Maori missions and had largely neglected the European inhabitants. In an effort to deflect these allegations the petition then included a highly itemized financial account of all the outgoings on each parish of the Wellington diocese, in buildings and fittings - a total of £292,932. A similar exercise for the Dunedin diocese up to the time of its handing over to Bishop Moran produced a figure of £10,162. The Marists concluded that Moran would be a poor choice as Archbishop: "He does not have the necessary eloquence for such a position and above all the tact and moderation needed for such a responsibility."²⁶

Just as Redwood realised that Moran had abetted the secular priests' petition, he was party to the Marist's petition. He was present at the retreat and his letter to Grimes indicated his awareness of the petition. Indeed he probably furnished the petitioners with the financial statistics shown above. As well as trying to protect the

26. Petition of 36 Marist Fathers to Cardinal Simeoni, 4 Jan 1886. (MAW)

interests of the priests they represented, both Redwood and Moran had self-interest as a motive. Redwood's earlier abandonment to God's will as discerned by Rome had now been neglected in favour of selling himself and his achievements. Both bishops obviously craved the pallium across their shoulders. They displayed the distrust and suspicion towards each other that had been present in their relationship since the start. Moran believed that in 1872 Redwood had written to Propaganda criticising the conduct of some Irish priests in New Zealand.²⁷ Moran saw this as part of a plan to install a Marist bishop in Wellington following Viard's death. For his part, Redwood, far away in France, waiting to hear if he was to be bishop or not, was convinced that it was Moran who was doing the plotting. He wrote to John Grimes, an English Marist, that he had no news at all from New Zealand for over a month. Redwood thought Moran as administrator of Wellington was deliberately delaying sending his report on the state of the diocese to Rome,²⁸ so that the Marists might be foiled in some way.

While the conflicting petitions and reports were being considered in Rome, relationships between the Marists and seculars were showing signs of strain. Marist ire was raised by the comments of Fr O'Donnell of Ahaura, one of the organisers of the secular petition, to the Grey River Argus. O'Donnell claimed that the new diocese had an urgent need for a bishop who thoroughly understood and sympathized with the grievances of the Irish people. This letter caused something of a sensation amongst Christchurch Catholics.²⁹ Redwood's comment was:

Do not pay the slightest attention to what may be done re. the new bishop of Christchurch; the matter is before Rome and has been for months; an early solution is pending, and what the parties alluded to in your letter may do will have no influence on the question. 30

27. Fr Poupinel SM to Fr Forest SM, 12 June 1973. (AT)

28. Redwood to Grimes, 9 Aug 1873. (MAW)

29. Fr Le Menant des Chesnais to Redwood, 16 Jan 1887. (CDA)

30. Redwood to Ginaty, 3 Feb 1887. (MAW)

The delay in the appointments was most worrying for concerned Christchurch Catholics, who had been trying to get their own bishop for more than a decade. Any news or comment like O'Donnell's was likely to create a stir in a community which had a body of English Catholics hoping for an English Marist bishop, and a larger Irish Catholic community that was wishing for an Irish secular bishop. Their concern at the delay in appointment was expressed in an 1886 petition to Cardinal Moran, in which they urged the Cardinal to ask the Roman authorities to appoint someone as soon as possible. The petitioners stated a number of disadvantages arising from the delay: Redwood seemed reluctant to begin any new work in the diocese, the laity were mystified about the financial state of the new diocese and believed the Marists were using the money given in Canterbury for Marist requirements outside the diocese, the schools were inefficient, the Christchurch parish was too large, and the clergy did not encourage lay organizations. Irritation was obviously mounting in Christchurch:

...it is easy to see that the present unsatisfactory condition of things will not be endured much longer, and it is with a view to prevent the scandal of a breach between the people and their clergy, that we appeal to your Eminence. The system of keeping the people in entire ignorance of their financial position; whilst a continuous demand is made for money, is a condition of things which we feel will not be borne with. 31

Eventually, on 10 May 1887 a papal brief erected the new diocese of Christchurch, appointing John Grimes SM as bishop. At the same time another Marist, Fr Vidal was made Vicar-Apostolic of Fiji. Three days later a further papal edict instituted the national hierarchy of New Zealand, the metropolitan see being Wellington and the new archbishop Francis Redwood. This represented a complete turnaround of what had been recommended by the Plenary Council in Sydney. It appears Dr Ricardo turned down the bishopric of Christchurch, so Grimes, as second choice, was selected.

31. Petition of Christchurch Catholics to Cardinal Moran, 1886. (CDA)

However the choice of Wellington over Dunedin was contrary to what the Council had suggested. Their proposals would most certainly not have been set aside lightly by the Holy See, so Redwood's and the Marist's efforts at Rome had been most successful. Rome's decision represented a complete victory for the Marists. A few suspected that the decision was the result of pressure from an English clique in Rome, and there were grounds for such suspicion.

The appointment of William Walsh, a supporter of Irish nationalism, as Archbishop of Dublin in 1884 was opposed by the British government through an agent at the Vatican. The British favoured the Archbishop Moran of Sydney for the position. Pope Leo XIII was all set to give into the British pressure and called Moran to Rome. In the meantime, the British politicking of the Vatican became public knowledge, and there was an uproar in Irish nationalist circles. Under Irish pressure the Pope changed his mind, appointed Walsh, and gave Moran the consolation of a Cardinal's hat when he arrived in Rome.³² New Zealanders got to hear about the machinations of the English at Rome through the New Zealand Tablet. The Tablet condemned such intriguing and rebuked the Duke of Norfolk and Catholics of his class, for their lack of sympathy with the Irish.

Whether or not the English government had a part in the New Zealand episcopal decisions cannot be known. The English were keen to have colonial bishops that would dampen rather than fan Irish nationalism, though the need for interference with the Irish episcopacy was more important than in New Zealand. Nevertheless in 1847 the Colonial Office had, through Thomas Grant, (the rector of the English College at Rome) advised Propaganda that it would be pleased if an Irish or English bishop were appointed to New Zealand to make it more attractive to Irish emigrants.³³ It is impossible to say whether the English helped overturn the Sydney resolutions because the records of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, the Vatican's Ministry of

32. O'Farrell, The Catholic Church and Community in Australia, p 237.

33. Keys, Viard, p 238.

Missions, are closed for a hundred years after the events to which they relate. Examination of the Marist Archives in Rome by a New Zealander, Fr J. Bell SM has yielded no evidence that any English pressure lay behind the appointments of Redwood and Grimes.³⁴

How the decisions were made is not clear, but a number of New Zealand Catholics made it quite clear that they did not like the appointments. The centres of discontent were Christchurch and Dunedin. A month after the news of the decisions reached New Zealand Fr Ginaty, the rector of Christchurch, wrote to Redwood: "I am afraid you have not, my Lord, anything like a conception of the state of feeling about the appointment of the new Bishop."³⁵

Ginaty, a Marist himself, said he (along with Fr Binsfield SM) regretted the choice of Grimes, and was distraught at having to try and subdue the widespread antagonism to him. This, Ginaty claimed, was being aided by an organised conspiracy between most of the secular priests of the new diocese. Some of the clergy took advantage of the disorder in Christchurch and turned to drink and card-playing until caught by Ginaty. One of the band was a Marist, Fr Halbwachs, which showed, in a peculiar way, that the animosity of the secular priests was aimed at persons further up the Marist and church hierarchies. Whilst in Christchurch the opposition was mainly directed against Grimes's appointment, in Dunedin the Tablet attacked Redwood's elevation as well. For over five months after the news reached New Zealand, the Tablet printed comments and letters that debated the choices, with most coverage going to letters that were critical of the appointments; the position that the Tablet, with Moran as manager, supported.

The news of the elevation of Redwood's Wellington see to metropolitan status reached New Zealand before the official edict. The Tablet's attitude in a leader of 6 May 1887 was cool but kind, stating pride in the growth of New Zealand Catholicism, and congratulating Redwood on his appointment.³⁶

34. Laracy, "The Life and Context of Bishop Patrick Moran", p 142.

35. Ginaty to Redwood, 25 June 1887. (MAW)

36. NZT, 6 May 1887, p 15.

The Tablet's later response was definitely unfair. In a leader titled "The Establishment of a Hierarchy", not a word of congratulation was offered to Redwood, nor his name even mentioned. Instead it was a discourse on the theme that "our province, our hierarchy...is fundamentally the work of Irish Catholics" and should therefore have Irish leaders. The Tablet did not mean to deprecate Catholics of other nationalities, though few of them were true to their religion, "but with the Irish Catholics and their children it is altogether different." Following a series of rhetorical questions to prove the superiority of Irish Catholics the leader concludes that the establishment of the hierarchy is an occasion for the Irish to congratulate themselves, and is "at once a solemn recognition and a monument to their faith, zeal and generosity."³⁷

This was the beginning of a concerted campaign of criticism attacking the English elements of the Catholic Church at large, and in New Zealand. Less directly it was an attack on the Marists by disgruntled supporters of the Irish secular priesthood. The first of these was a somewhat oblique criticism of the London Tablet. The issue concerned an Irish priest in England, Fr Keller, who had been imprisoned for refusing to divulge confidential information given by his people. The Dunedin newspaper condemned its London counterpart for not defending Keller, seeing this as a typical example of the attitude of English Catholics to the Irish as "an inferior race, to be taught, bullied and used for English Catholics' interests as understood by the Tablet."³⁸ English Catholics were accused of using the Church to Anglicise Irish Catholics. "C.T." of Waimea, complained of the way English priests treated Irish Catholics blaming the non-practice of the faith by Irish children living in England on the "unconcealed contempt and bitter abhorrence with which the average English priest treats the unfortunate Irish."³⁹ Another correspondent asked:

37. NZT, 27 May 1887, p 15.
 38. NZT, 20 May 1887, p 15.
 39. NZT, 24 June 1887, p 15.

"Is it in furtherance of the same scheme - Anglicising New Zealand youth - that the Society has used its influence to obtain the present preponderance of Englishmen in the New Zealand episcopate?"⁴⁰ One disgruntled correspondent said he would not send his sons to St Patrick's College, Wellington until he was assured they would get sound teaching on Irish affairs.⁴¹ Another feared that non-Irish leaders would curb the nationalist aspiration of Irishmen - after the manner of Viard's treatment of Fr Larkin in 1868.⁴²

A Tablet leader of 24 June said that many letters had been received on the issue, some of which were too strong to publish. The leader admitted that while little action could come from discussion of the choices it "may perhaps lead on to the adoption of wise measures to prevent a recurrence of them."⁴³

The Marists were acknowledged as having outmanoeuvred the seculars as far as representation to Rome was concerned, and the New Zealand laity were criticised for their apathy, for expecting that the Plenary Council's recommendations would be accepted. If they were not, Propaganda might have asked the opinion

...of the Bishop of Dunedin, who has been more than thirty years in the episcopate and had been several years bishop in New Zealand before any of the other bishops had come from England to rule over dioceses almost exclusively Irish; and who, also as Administrator had governed all the other dioceses for some years. 44

This attempt to lay the blame on apathy amongst the laity was unjust as "Catholicus" pointed out in the next issue. The laity were given to understand that Rome took no heed of the wishes of the laity in making ecclesiastical appointments. The people thought their interests were looked after by the priests, and the Irish bishops had in this case failed "to let Rome see unmistakeably what they wanted."⁴⁵

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40. NZT, 17 June 1887, p 9.
 41. NZT, 12 Aug 1887, p 11.
 42. NZT, 1 July 1887, p 17.
 43. NZT, 24 June 1887, p 16.
 44. *ibid.*
 45. NZT, 1 July 1887, p 17.

In conclusion "Catholicus" said:

Nor can we help mourning that our Holy Father was not better advised by those around him so as to make such important appointments from an Order which is continually out of harmony with the feelings and aspirations of the Irish people... 46

A few weeks later the Tablet announced that it had received "positive and detailed" evidence regarding the influence of the "English Catholic Tories" in Rome in procuring the appointment of English bishops to New Zealand: Luck in Auckland, Grimes in Christchurch, and Redwood in Wellington:

A powerful English party are now taking, and have of late taken a very lively interest in the Catholic affairs of the colonies, especially in those of New Zealand and a special object which they desire to obtain is the eradication of all Irish characteristics from our Catholic population. 47

The writer asked:

Is it not enough that our people have been driven from the homes of their fathers by these people and their cruel legislation? Is it also to be tolerated that they should be permitted to pursue us to the end of the earth in their efforts to cast reproach on us, and to continue to press the heel of tyranny and slander on our necks. 48

On the week following the Tablet became more explicit:

Several English Lords and others known to be enemies of Ireland - among them Lord Granard, the evictor of County Longford - have interested themselves about having English ecclesiastics appointed to New Zealand. 49

A week later came further charges:

...there see the most barefaced intriguing going on in Rome every day with such Catholic English aristocrats as the Duke of Norfolk, Mr de Lisle etc (whom Cardinal Manning had nearly to censure for their writings and sayings) against everything Irish, ecclesiastical or otherwise. Their whole effort backed up by the English government is to eradicate if they can everything Irish from the colonies or any place else. 50

46. *ibid.*

47. NZT, 22 July 1887, p 16.

48. *ibid.*, p 17.

49. NZT, 29 July 1887, p 11.

50. NZT, 5 Aug 1887, p 17.

As shown in the case of the appointment of Walsh as the Archbishop of Dublin, there was a reason for believing that some English Catholic aristocrats or government agents interfered at Rome. Such interference however was extremely unlikely in New Zealand's ecclesiastical appointments. The criticism of Marist priests which was also carried in the Tablet's columns had little or no basis in fact. It was foolish to accuse the Marists of betraying the Irish cause when 15 out of the 35 Marist priests serving in New Zealand during 1887 were Irish born. Eighteen had been born in France, and one each in Luxembourg and Germany. At that time Redwood was the only English born Marist in New Zealand. None of these Marists were on record as showing antipathy to Irish causes, indeed, most, if not all, would have supported the nationalist cause, but this did not deter some critics:

With Ireland and the cause of Ireland, the Marist Fathers have always - with a few honourable exceptions - shown themselves to be out of harmony, and while their usefulness is unquestionable...it is marred by one huge fatal blot in the case of Irishmen. These good men, always zealous and indefatigable in the cause of religion, seem to be filled with the one idea of suppressing every sentiment of Irish nationality among their flocks... 51

The writer went on to accuse Redwood and his priests of trying to suppress the Hibernian Australasian Catholic Benefit Society in Wellington. Such a claim seems highly unlikely as Redwood and many of his clergy were members of the Hibernians, and usually participated in their liturgical celebrations.

Another writer said that a Marist Father had told him in 1873, when it was rumoured that Moran should be transferred from Dunedin to Wellington, that if the Marists did not get a bishop of their own Order to succeed Dr Viard they would leave the diocese.⁵² Such a notion is feasible, though no evidence for it remains except the statement above. It seemed logical that in a missionary diocese staffed largely with Marist priests a Marist bishop would be appointed to succeed Viard, himself a Marist. The same writer had an interesting proposition that may have gone some way in

51. NZT, 1 July 1887, p 11.

52. NZT, 12 Aug 1887, p 11.

quenching the dispute over the appointment of Grimes. He suggested that an Irish Marist from New Zealand should have been selected for Christchurch rather than an English Marist with no experience of the colonies. This idea may certainly have upset fewer people as it seemed that Grimes's nationality rather than his religious affiliation was the irksome point.

The criticism of Marist priests in the columns of the Tablet did not pass unnoticed. From Greymouth, Fr Carew, an Irish Marist, wrote condemning the Tablet for its hostile attitude toward Redwood and Grimes. He said the Irish people on the West Coast regretted the attempt of the Tablet to sow dissent between Irish Catholics of two dioceses and their bishops. Carew pointed out that Redwood had been a long-standing supporter of Irish causes, and criticism of him was unworthy. The Tablet's reply was that it represented the free expression of its readers, and that it was logical to have priests and bishops of a similar nationality to most of the people.⁵³

Redwood felt ambivalent about Carew's defence:

I am almost sorry Fr Carew has gone into print for our dignified silence, was I believe the best way to put a stop to the scandal. However *aba junta e&t* and certainly Fr Carew's letter will make a great impression, as he is most liked on the West Coast and has a great influence there...There are some capital hits, some very severe cuts in Fr Carew's most able letter. 54

Some time later Redwood offered further insight on the matter:

The letter from Fr Carew was written without my knowledge and that of Rev. Fr Sauzeau's [Vice-Provincial of Marists], but it was *ad seur* and hit home very powerfully...The real cause of course of all this outburst is vexation at the success of the Society's plans in opposition to the Cardinal's and Dr Moran's piety. 55

Other readers wrote in defence of English priests and Marist priests,⁵⁶ of Redwood and Grimes,⁵⁷ and of St Patrick's College.⁵⁸

53. NZT, 15 July 1887, p 17.

54. Redwood to Grimes, 21 July 1887. (CDA)

55. Redwood to Grimes, 22 Oct 1887. (CDA)

56. NZT, 15 July 1887, p 18; 22 July 1887, p 16.

57. NZT, 29 July 1887, pp 9-10; 5 Aug 1887, pp 11-13.

58. *ibid.*

One of the correspondents, a Frenchman, wrote to Redwood privately from Timaru suggesting that a plebescite be held throughout the entire old Wellington diocese and sent to Rome to show the almost unanimous support for Redwood.⁵⁹

Despite the conflicting correspondence in the Tablet, no one knew exactly why Redwood and Wellington had been chosen in preference to the Council's recommendation of Moran and Dunedin. A number of possible answers can be adduced, with the better position and size of Wellington being more significant than any notions of Redwood being a better man for the job than Moran. Wellington as the capital of the colony held a similar position to Adelaide and Brisbane which became archdioceses at the same time. The head of a large religious body would have dealings with government, and physical proximity would assist these.

In terms of Catholic personnel and institutions, Wellington was well ahead. Wellington had over three times the number of priests (60-15), over twice as many churches (98-36), five times the number of religious brothers and nuns (231-45), and four times the number of schools (70-15). Obviously the splitting of the Wellington diocese narrowed the gap, but Wellington still remained the largest diocese in New Zealand (see Appendix 1). Moreover, Wellington's central position made it a more convenient meeting place for the bishops of the New Zealand province. These commonsense reasons are confirmed by an anecdote, said on reliable authority to have been told by Archbishop Redwood.⁶⁰

When the question "Dunedin or Wellington" was being discussed in Rome the Pope called for a map of New Zealand. He asked that the location of the two towns be pointed out to him, and then asked which was the capital. On being told "Wellington", he replied "Obviously, Wellington must be the archdiocese."

Redwood had some features in his favour. He had been brought up in New Zealand, and was a more complete New Zealander than any other candidate. Redwood had the administrative

59. de Duval to Redwood, 26 July 1887. (MAW)

60. Told the writer by Fr C. Crocker SM, who was told it by Archbishop Redwood in the 1930's.

and oratorical skills necessary to be archbishop, and was more tactful in his dealings with others than was Moran. The Marists were well established in Wellington and Christchurch. This fact, plus the fact that their order had been given charge of these two dioceses would have helped Rome in granting the nominations of the Society. The appointments of Redwood and Grimes could have circumvented awkward problems of jurisdiction that could arise, and that had arisen in New Zealand between unsympathetic bishops and their regular priests (e.g. Pompallier, Viard, Croke).

Redwood's role throughout the whole affair was calm and admirable. He correctly assessed that jumping to defend himself and the Marists would be fruitless, as the actual decisions made were absolutely in their favour. To Grimes he wrote:

With regard to the other letters [in the Tablet] we have observed a dignified silence, and public opinion is already on our side, as moreover it always was. I am glad this petty appearance of spite and vexation at defeat when success was deemed certain, has had its course before you arrive. 61

When some of the Christchurch secular priests showed reluctance to accept the appointment of Grimes, and threatened to leave the diocese, Redwood told Ginaty that they were bluffing. Grimes could easily get other priests, and he was sure that the few malcontents would not be foolish enough to give up their parishes so easily. He reminded Ginaty that Grimes had been the *dignior* of the Council, and to let this information leak out in the right quarters.⁶² In the Tablet debate, Redwood made no attempt to defend himself, or to contradict any of the gross opinions expressed against the English or the Marists. He wrote to the Tablet on two occasions only to correct factual errors. The first instance was to deny that "the object of St Patrick's College, Wellington is the eradication from the minds of young Catholic New Zealanders of all peculiar ideas, sentiments, and traditions of their parents."⁶³ The second letter was to clear up an

61. Redwood to Grimes, 18 July 1887. (CDA)

62. Redwood to Ginaty, 17 June 1887. (MAW)

63. NZT, 8 July 1887, p 16.

erroneous supposition of the Tablet regarding Redwood's investiture.

When Redwood was invested with the pallium Moran, as senior suffragan, was invited to perform the ceremony. His telegraphed reply was curt: "I regret I cannot go to Wellington on the 28th inst."⁶⁴ Instead he went to Australia to the investiture of the Archbishops of Brisbane and Hobart in Sydney, and to preach at Adelaide's Archbishop Reynolds' investiture.⁶⁵ The Tablet denied a report that he had left for Adelaide in a "huff" and said he had gone at Reynolds's request.⁶⁶ No doubt this was true but it is likely Moran was glad of the excuse to avoid a function which his newspaper had turned into a cause of embarrassment for him. Bishop Luck of Auckland conferred the pallium in Moran's absence and the Tablet supposed that he had been appointed by the Pope to do this.⁶⁷ The Tablet had received the following statement from Moran regarding his absence from the Wellington ceremony:

Re. ceremony in Wellington last Sunday. No bishop can, without express authority from Pope, invest anyone with pallium. I had received no such authority; naturally, therefore, I declined to go to do what I had no power to do. I was neither expected nor desired in Wellington on Sunday last. This was clearly implied in the letter received by me. 68

Redwood wrote to the editor of the Tablet to point out that the Pope had not appointed a bishop to perform the ceremony, but had left the choice to Redwood. When Moran said he could not attend, Luck was invited.⁶⁹

Moran was, further, conspicuously absent from Grimes's reception as Bishop of Christchurch. There was not even an apology or message from him. Instead the Tablet published reports which were most cool toward Grimes, and which censured him for a "somewhat chilling" response to the display of Irish national sentiment (see p 116).

64. NZT, 2 Sept 1887, p 13.
 65. NZT, 16 Sept 1887, p 17.
 66. NZT, 30 Sept 1887, p 18.
 67. NZT, 26 Aug 1887, p 18.
 68. NZT, 22 Sept 1887, p 18.
 69. *ibid.*

Four issues that arose out of the episcopal controversy involved Redwood in some way: the removal of Fr O'Donnell from Ahaura, a petition of complaint from the secular clergy to the Pope, Bishop Moran's treatment of Fr Ginaty, and the rivalry between the newly established Catholic Times and the Tablet.

Father John O'Donnell was an Irish priest who had done much for the Irish nationalist cause on the West Coast. He had been one of the organisers of the petition for a secular bishop of Christchurch. His comments to the Grey River Argus regarding the need for an Irish bishop were also noted by Redwood (see p 148). When Bishop Moran returned from Australia in October 1887, among the greetings that welcomed him was an address from the Catholics of Ahaura congratulating him on his fortieth anniversary as a priest. O'Donnell's name headed the list of signatures. He was removed from the parish in the next month.⁷⁰ The Tablet carried a report of a sympathy meeting for him at Ahaura,⁷¹ told of the progress of subscriptions for him,⁷² and reported the motions of sympathy passed at the Annual General Meeting of the Grey Valley Branch of the Irish National League.⁷³ O'Donnell maintained that Redwood, who retained control over the new diocese until Grimes's arrival, had dismissed him out of annoyance arising from the address to Bishop Moran. It seems likely that Redwood used this occasion for acting on reliable information he had received that O'Donnell was an alcoholic. Several letters in the Christchurch diocesan archives show that not only did a number of his fellow priests know about it, but some lay people too. O'Donnell was posted to the Marist Mission house in Christchurch so that his drinking might be controlled.

It appears from a letter that Fr Le Menant des Chesnais SM wrote to Redwood, that O'Donnell had a large number of

70. Vaney, N.P. "The Dual Tradition: Irish Catholics and French Priests in New Zealand: the West Coast Experience, 1865-1910", M.A. Thesis, University of Canterbury, 1976, p 187.

71. NZT, 2 Dec 1887, p 15.

72. NZT, 6 Jan 1888, p 18.

73. NZT, 20 Jan 1888, p 7.

supporters in Christchurch:

As your Grace might have easily perceived Rev. Father O'Donnell is looked upon as a victim of his patriotism and a kind of martyr. His presence here has greatly revived the discontent which existed against Dr Grimes and the Marists and had, in a great manner been subdued....The majority sympathize with the secular priests whom they look upon as harshly treated by your Grace and the Marists in general. 74

Redwood took Le Menant's advice to treat O'Donnell carefully and had Grimes appoint him to the Darfield parish. From there O'Donnell became one of the leaders of the secular clergy in Canterbury. He was associated with a number of moves to wrest from the Marists in the new diocese some of the power they had during Grimes's episcopate. The first of these was a petition to Pope Leo XIII from the secular clergy of Wellington and Christchurch in 1888. This document was more critical of Redwood than anything else found in research for this thesis. The complaints, paraphrased, were as follows:

- 1) The Society of Mary had the best parishes in the two dioceses, 14 of which had been granted them in perpetuity (i.e. Wellington, Christchurch, Napier, Wanganui, Meanee, Hastings, Timaru, Waimate, Temuka, Nelson, Blenheim, Reefton, Greymouth, Hokitika).
- 2) The secular priests were placed in the most laborious and least remunerative parishes.
- 3) Secular priests sometimes had to serve as curates in parishes with a Marist Superior-General and fuelled antagonism.
- 4) The secular clergy had no unprejudiced ecclesiastical court, since both bishops were Marists, and presumably prejudiced.
- 5) There was no provision for secular priests who became invalided on the mission. Redwood had approved an annual collection for an Infirm Priests' Fund in 1883, but later revoked this approval because some of his Marist Fathers objected.

The priests exhibited some fear of Redwood in their petition:

We greatly dreaded, (and still dread) the consequence of incurring our Bishop's (now Archbishop's) extreme displeasure, which as we firmly believed (and as we still believe) would be provoked by our appealing to the Holy See. The same fear ever still deters some of us from signing this Petition and those who sign it will do so with much sorrow and trepidation. 75

74. Fr Le Menant des Chesnais SM to Redwood, 22 Dec 1887. (CDA)

75. Secular priests of Wellington archdiocese and Christchurch diocese to Pope Leo XIII, 1888. (CDA)

Early in 1888 Fr Ginaty SM, rector of Christchurch, visited the Dunedin diocese to collect funds for the Mt Magdala Asylum in Christchurch. He was refused permission to say Mass in any of Dunedin's churches. Redwood's reply to Ginaty's letter admitted that Bishop Moran had the power to do this, but judged the action as "harsh, arbitrary and uncalled for," and a reflection of his bitterness at missing out on the pallium. Redwood went on in a rather petty vein that indicated that the uproar caused by the metropolitan see decision had got to him also:

If I were you - though I do not oblige you to this course - I would visit as many Protestants as possible in the Diocese of Dunedin...and make no secret to anyone that I had been forbidden to say Mass in the Dunedin diocese possibly because I wanted to collect from non-Catholics and not at all from Catholics. 76

The first copy of the Catholic Times appeared in Wellington on 7 January 1888. The first copy included the manifesto of the paper which would offer coverage on church matters and especially on the Irish question. In what may have been a jibe at the Tablet the Catholic Times promised:

... they will strenuously avoid whatever might disturb the harmonious relations now existing between the various component races that go to build up the young and rising people of this colony...Principles - not Party; Measures not Men! will be its motto. 77

In the same issue an article gave a brief history of the Wellington diocese, and the reasons for its choice as metropolitan see. These reasons closely followed those used in the Marist petition to Rome two years before, and the article concluded with a list of the number of priests, churches, and religious institutions in the archdiocese.

The second issue, in an article reviewing the newly published Australasian Catholic Directory, stated that the most striking fact regarding church statistics in New Zealand, was the vast superiority of the Wellington archdiocese over all the other dioceses.⁷⁸ The same article corrected a mistake

76. Redwood to Ginaty, 12 Jan 1888. (MAW)

77. CT, 7 Jan 1888, p 1.

78. CT, 14 Jan 1888, p 12.

in the Christchurch statistics, which it suspected, had been done on purpose. The Directory gave the number of priests resident in the Christchurch diocese as 21, made up of 9 regulars and 12 seculars. A check was made with the copy that Redwood had sent to the compilers in Sydney, which had tallied 22 priests, composed of 12 regulars and 10 seculars. The Times commented that it seemed very much like "the work of a designing hand for the purpose of putting before the world - contrary to truth - that the secular clergy of the Diocese outnumbered the regular."⁷⁹ The same point is then made about the archbishop's description of the new diocese which had originally read:

This diocese, formerly a part of the Wellington diocese, has recently been erected by Papal brief, May 10, 1887, and assigned to the Congregation of Priests of the Society of Mary. 80

The words telling of its assignment to the Society of Mary were omitted, as they were also in the review of the Archdiocese of Wellington. The Times went on to compare the Dunedin diocese in an unfavourable light with Wellington. At the time of the decision regarding the metropolitan see:

The Diocese of Wellington was then three times as important as that of Dunedin, and now, after the division is more than twice as important, at least in the number of its Clergy, besides being incomparably more important in many other respects. No doubt Dunedin has a fine new Cathedral, as far as it goes, and we congratulate the energetic Bishop upon it; but stone and mortar and some graceful tracery do not make a diocese, and the selection of Dunedin by the Propaganda for the metropolitan see, after such statistics as above came to its knowledge, would have been, on the part of that most wise and cautious congregation simply preposterous. 81

Predictably the Tablet went to the defence of Dunedin. In a leader, it labelled the Times as an organ of the English Catholic party in New Zealand and argued that the review was a deliberate insult to the Dunedin diocese and to the prelates of the Plenary Synod who had chosen it to be the metropolitan see. The Tablet's critique went on to accuse Redwood of starting the argument over the work done by Catholics in New Zealand. Redwood

79. *ibid.*

80. *ibid.*

81. *ibid.*

did this whilst preaching at the evening service on the day of the opening of St Joseph's Cathedral, Dunedin. Earlier in the day Cardinal Moran had praised Dunedin's first bishop who was responsible for nurturing "the grain of mustard seed... into this stately tree!"⁸² In his evening oration Redwood eulogised the work of the Marists in Otago, using a similar metaphor to praise their work: "They planted the mustard seed; we behold the goodly tree."⁸³ This, the Tablet held, went in the face of local belief that saw the Marists as doing a poor job in the province (see p 141).

The two newspapers continued to niggle each other in succeeding issues. The Tablet remained true to form in its negative report of Grimes's reception to Christchurch,⁸⁴ (see pp 115-116), and further criticism of Redwood:

Archbishop Redwood made a rather ungracious valedictory address at eleven o'clock church on Sunday week. He read the congregation a rather severe lesson on their extravagance in dressing, in wearing stylish clothes and a super-abundance of ribbons. From personal observation the rebuke was uncalled for... of the two congregations - Thorndon in Wellington, and the church in Christchurch - the Archbishop's own congregation better deserved the lesson on economy....

The Archbishop's utterances upon the Home Rule question on the night of the arrival did not create a profound impression. He spoke with such decided heat upon the subject that he conveyed the impression that his remarks were made more with the intention of putting someone else in the wrong than of setting himself right...

The enthusiastic satisfaction which Dr Grimes expresses in reference to the appointment of Archbishop Redwood to the archepiscopal dignity had not communicated itself to any extent to the people. The address to the Archbishop upon his first visit to this city since his elevation was by no means a very hearty affair. Such as it was, it received very few signatures... Indeed Irish people, without completely stultifying themselves, could not sign a congratulatory address to Archbishop Redwood upon his recent promotion. They were quite conscious of the absurd inconsistency of doing so, and therefore refrained from signing the address, which had no significance whatever. I deem it necessary to make this explanation, lest Irish Catholics in other parts

82. NZT, 20 Jan 1888, p 17.

83. *ibid.*

84. NZT, 10 Feb 1888, pp 5-7.

of the Colony should be under the impression that those of Christchurch had placed themselves in a false position. 85

The bickering between the two Catholic newspapers soon subsided into an uneasy calm. Clearly the Tablet saw that the Times was started at a time when it could take advantage of the split surfaced by the episcopal appointments: the supporters of the English and French Marist camp could read the Times, whilst the Irish secular supporters could continue taking the Tablet. Despite the size of the Wellington and Christchurch dioceses the Times had difficulty in competing with the larger established Tablet. The Times was to have a chequered and short-lived career (1888-1894) whilst the Tablet is still going strong today.

The whole affair over the metropolitan see appeared to have little noticeable effect on Redwood. He carried on administering his diocese in the firm but fair manner that he had done previously. His treatment of the secular priests had been just and seldom criticised. When he appointed a five-man Council of Advice in February 1888 he showed no sign of being pressured by the fuss made by the seculars and their supporters over the episcopal appointments. Only one, Fr Mulvihill (Hawera) was a secular. The four Marists were Fr Kirk (Wanganui), Fr Mahoney (Nelson) and Fathers Watters and McNamara of Wellington. Though the seculars were outnumbered on the Council four to one, they were outnumbered by only two to one throughout the whole archdiocese. Despite this no protest was raised by the secular clergy. Overall, they were well treated by Redwood, and had no cause to show unified discontent against their archbishop.

Such was not the case in Christchurch. The secular priests of that diocese had more or less equal numbers to the Marists throughout Grimes's episcopate (1889-1915). The seculars used this position of equal strength to accuse Grimes of giving the best posts and parishes to the Marists, and to pressurize their bishop into giving them a better deal.

85. NZT, 17 Feb 1888, p 13.

The situation was certainly stacked in the Marists favour. They had been given charge of the Wellington and Christchurch dioceses in 1885. Despite their avowed willingness to surrender some parishes, few were. The Marists jealously guarded the good parishes they had and showed unwillingness to grant the seculars any favours. Their practice of using the important stations to help support other Marist works was frequently attacked by secular priests and some laymen, who suspected that parochial monies were going elsewhere to aid Marist schools and missions.

Many of the older, more established and affluent parishes had been pioneered by the Marists. Large parishes like Timaru, Greymouth and St Mary's, Christchurch suited the community life of the Marists as they were able to maintain two or three priests in such places. Most of the parishes the seculars were asked to staff were small one-priest parishes, often in isolated country areas. Often the parish buildings were poor, and it was difficult to get healthy parish finances because of the poverty of many Catholics, and the bishops' incessant demands for increased revenue from the parishes.

Secular dissatisfaction reached a peak in 1904 when a group of priests wrote to Cardinal Gotti, the Secretary of Propaganda. There were four principal complaints. The first was that in some New Zealand dioceses the majority of the clergy were Marists. The second was that Marists usually were rectors of the best parishes. The third was that Marists showed want of religious discipline; and the fourth was that the Marists had been poorly trained in their novitiate. The Cardinal referred these complaints to Archbishop Redwood as the metropolitan of New Zealand and asked him to act prudently to put matters right.⁸⁶ Later an experienced New Zealand Marist, Dean Martin of Hokitika, wrote to the New Zealand provincial to comment on the seculars' grievances. Martin pointed out, in relation to the first complaint, that this situation had been created by Propaganda's committing the archdiocese of Wellington and the diocese of Christchurch to the care of the Marists. As for the Marists acting as parish rectors, this had been the legitimate result of the decisions of Redwood

86. Gotti to Redwood, 12 Apr 1904. (MAW)

and Grimes given the men they had available. Martin's comment about the want of religious discipline, was to point out the vagueness of the charge, especially as no examples had been given in proof. As to the final complaint about poor training, it seemed groundless since all New Zealand Marist rectors except one had been trained in Europe at novitiate houses approved by Rome; as for the curates, those trained at the new Marist seminary at Meanee were as good as anyone in in Europe.⁸⁷

Nothing was resolved by all this, and the complaints of the seculars continued. Gotti could do little because of his unfamiliarity with, and the difficulty of, the situation. Redwood now had no official jurisdiction over the Christchurch diocese, so despite Gotti's invitation, he could do nothing. Grimes felt under threat from Gotti's advice, and satisfied himself in self-defence, rather than action.⁸⁸

The shadow of conflict that accompanied Grimes's appointment never lifted entirely throughout his episcopate. Apart from the odium which attached to him because of Redwood's influence in having him appointed, Grimes heaped up Irish and secular hostility against himself by his acceptance of unworthy Irish secular priests, his subsequent disciplining of them, and his efforts to build up his short-staffed diocese by the introduction of another religious congregation, the Sacred Heart Fathers in 1908. Grimes did not want this new order to become too established and compete with the Marists so he gave them the three back-country parishes of Darfield, Ahaura and Lincoln.⁸⁹ The new order did not like the arrangements made for them and left the diocese in 1912. Many of Grimes's flock and some of his priests did not approve of his grandiose cathedral plan.⁹⁰ The fund raising and building was fraught with problems caused by Grimes's lack of business acumen.⁹¹ He also squabbled with the

87. Martin to Devoy, 18 June 1904. (MAW)

88. Grimes to Gotti, 10 Oct 1907. (MAW)

89. Allom, B.S. "Bishop Grimes: His Context and Contribution to the Catholic Church in Canterbury", M.A. Thesis, University of Canterbury, 1968, p 65.

90. O'Donnell to Grimes, 20 Apr 1904. (CDA)

91. Allom, pp 97-98.

Marists in particular over his right to look at their accounts.⁹² However, the major grievance against Grimes, which he did little if anything to change, was that the Marists ran the wealthy parishes while the seculars had to work the poorer and more difficult ones. By the time of his death Grimes had such a current of discontent from the secular priests running against him that one of the prescribed tasks of the new secular bishop, Matthew Brodie, was to adjust the balance between Marists and seculars.

Although the Marist Superior-General ratified the appointment of Brodie, the Society was surprised at not being asked to supply the *Terna* (three possible bishops in order of preference).⁹³ Nevertheless most Marists were initially satisfied with the choice, until Brodie took up the case of the secular priests with such enthusiasm that the new Marist provincial, Dean Holley, appealed to Rome, and visited the Apostolic Delegate in Sydney. Brodie was determined to solve the dispute over the parishes as he had been asked by the Holy See, but when his diocesan conference on the adjustments had to be abandoned he presented to Propaganda the list of complaints of the secular priests of his diocese.⁹⁴ These were largely a repetition of those of 1904 with one interesting addition. This was that when Bishop Redwood first brought Irish secular priests into his diocese he had promised them that the Marists would leave the diocese and that all the missions in the region would be handed over to the secular priests. The evidence for this were the memories of two Irish priests of an address given them by Redwood when he visited them in their seminary. The two priests were James O'Donnell and Henry Bowers. O'Donnell, as earlier recounted, was removed from Ahaura by Redwood in 1887. Support for this assertion is non-existent, and if it was true one wonders why this promise of a Marist withdrawal had not been mentioned in an earlier protest. Past petitions to Rome had noted that the Irish seminarians had been promised a good living in New Zealand by Redwood, a promise which was generally true. The two priests should have realised that

92. *ibid*, p 61.

93. Fr Copere to Redwood, 23 Nov 1915. (MAW)

94. Brodie to Holley, 29 Jan 1918. (MAW)

Redwood was not in a position to promise, if he did, a Marist withdrawal. It was a decision that would only be made by the Marist Superior-General in consultation with advisers.

In an effort to resolve the ensuing deadlock, Dean Holley made a twofold offer: that the Cathedral parish in Christchurch be split in two, and the Marists give up the parishes of Hokitika and Greymouth.⁹⁵ Archbishop Redwood, in commenting on this offer to the Marist Procurator in Rome, Fr Copere, called it "magnanimous and generous to a degree considering their importance and equipment as well as the large sums of money spent in their creation."⁹⁶ Redwood agreed that this situation was the most satisfactory that could be reached. But as a man who had been deeply influenced by and who thoroughly appreciated the work of the early French Marist missionaries he had to pay tribute to them:

It should always be borne in mind that the position of the Marist Fathers in the Archdiocese of Wellington, and in the diocese of Christchurch is far different from that of Religious in Australia, where the Religious are auxiliaries and the Seculars the first in the field; whereas the Society of Mary on the contrary had the two dioceses committed to their care by the Holy See and had worked there and evangelized from the beginning and when the Secular Priests were brought in, it was to aid them. Rome recognized this, and in 1885, perhaps in view of the contingencies, such as now face us, made them over to the Marist Fathers, with boundaries described, *in perpetuity*. It has never been suggested that these parishes ceded by Rome, have ever suffered any loss at the hands of the Marist Fathers, in regard to adequate staffing (personnel) and efficient work.⁹⁷

The cession of Hokitika and Greymouth however only went part of the way towards satisfying the seculars. As their numbers increased relative to the Marists they pressured Brodie and Lyons, his successor, for more parishes. Of course in a situation where little change could be effected without someone being hurt, Brodie's and Lyons's attempts at change were a further source of friction between Marists and seculars.

95. Vaney, p 211.

96. Redwood to Copere, 12 Apr 1918. (MAW)

97. *ibid.*

From the above it can be seen that the Christchurch diocese had many problems from its inception; problems which were caused and fuelled by the tensions between the two groups of priests. The nature of the difficulties has been described in some detail for the priestly personnel of Redwood's archdiocese gave the potential for similar tension. The fact that this did not arise to any significant extent was a consequence of Redwood's experience and skill at his relationships with his priests. Redwood remained aloof from the tensions in Christchurch. Perhaps he was glad to be free from an intractable situation which he had been involved in during its infancy. Maybe it was his sense of decency and not wanting to interfere that stopped him from offering Grimes advice. Whatever the reason, the fact of Redwood's non-interference remains. Whether or not he could have been of assistance is doubtful given the difficulty of the whole affair.

In 1913 Redwood himself was faced with difficulty from some of his secular priests, over his choice of Fr Thomas O'Shea SM as his coadjutor archbishop. In 1912 Redwood now aged 73 decided it was time to find a bishop to help him in his large diocese. He headed for Natchez, Mississippi, to ask Dr Gunn SM, Bishop of Natchez, to come to New Zealand to be his coadjutor. Gunn turned the offer down so Redwood went to Rome to seek approval of the Holy See for the appointment of Fr O'Shea, his Vicar-General. O'Shea's appointment was later confirmed by a telegram Redwood received on 14 May 1913.⁹⁸

O'Shea was born in San Francisco but had come to New Zealand as a small child. He had been a foundation pupil at St Patrick's College, Wellington. After his seminary training at Meaneer he was appointed Professor of Philosophy at the same seminary. He showed great promise as a young priest, and became parish priest of the large Wellington parish of Te Aro when only 31. In 1907 he was appointed Vicar-General of the archdiocese, and in 1913 Archbishop of Gortyna (a titular see) and coadjutor to Redwood with the right of succession.

98. NZT, 22 May 1913, p 26.

The news of the appointment was received without much enthusiasm. Some of the Marists were slightly jealous of O'Shea's quick rise through the archdiocesan administration. Dean Regnault, the Marist Provincial, and O'Shea, as Vicar-General, had had several clashes.⁹⁹ However the main stream of disapproval came from the secular priests. Redwood received a letter from three senior secular priests, Deans James McKenna (Masterton) and Power (Hawera) and Fr McManus (Palmerston North), objecting to the manner by which the appointment was made. Redwood replied to them by the following letter:

As soon as I had made up my mind to ask for a coadjutor Archbishop with right of succession, I enquired from the authorities in Rome, both in writing from New Zealand and personally when in Rome, whether the canonical regulations regarding the appointment of a bishop or Archbishop in the secular dioceses throughout Australasia, were binding in respect to the dioceses of Christchurch and Wellington which have been specially entrusted to the Society of Mary. I was informed authoritatively that certainly they were not binding, and had never intended to be so; and, further, that the procedure which I had to accept was the following:

1) To obtain from the Holy Father permission to have a Coadjutor Archbishop with right of succession; 2) In agreement with the Superior General the names of 3 Marist Fathers together with their qualifications properly and fully stated, in order that the Holy See, - if it judged fitting - might appoint one of the three. This was done and the result was the appointment of Dean O'Shea SM as Archbishop Coadjutor of Wellington with right of succession. Thus nobody's rights have been violated, and no injustice has been committed. The whole matter is the canonical regulation of the Holy See. 100

A few days after dispatching the above letter, Redwood met some of the secular priests who had written to him. They appeared satisfied, but towards the end of the following week a meeting of all the secular priests of the archdiocese, residing in the North Island, was held in Palmerston North. At this meeting the following formal protest was penned and signed by 19 priests:

99. O'Shea to Redwood, 10 Oct 1912. (MAW)

100. Quoted by Regnault to Copere, 12 June 1913. (MAW)

Be it resolved - 1) That we the undersigned respectfully protest against the injustice done to the diocesan clergy by the Advisers of the Holy See in the matter of the appointment of a Coadjutor.

Be it resolved - 2) That lest we prejudice our claims we take no part in consecration or accompanying ceremonies. 101

Five seculars did not sign the protest. At the same meeting it was decided to enlist the sympathy of all the secular priests in New Zealand, and send a cablegram of protest to Rome. There was little Redwood could do in response to such a petition so he did nothing.

Dean Regnault, the Marist Provincial, was in Christchurch when the news of O'Shea's appointment came out. The secular priests in that diocese were disappointed by the decision, and feared a repetition in Wellington of some of the past proceedings in Christchurch. Regnault heard that it was the intention of the Christchurch seculars to send a protest to Rome, not so much because of what had been done, but because they feared that Grimes had gone to Rome to select for himself a Coadjutor in the same way.¹⁰² (Their fears were real as Grimes actually attempted this but was turned down in Rome). A Wellington secular priest Dean John McKenna, was on a mission in Ireland to find more secular priests for the Wellington archdiocese when he heard of O'Shea's appointment. Upon hearing the news he resigned his commission, and returned to Wellington to reconsider his position in the archdiocese.

It appeared that the mode of procedure outlined by Redwood was the point at issue rather than O'Shea himself. The fact that the Marists were able to choose an archbishop with right of succession without any consultation of the secular clergy was particularly irksome to the latter. Regnault stated that the method of selection was news to both Marists and secular priests,¹⁰³ yet this would have been the way that Viard, Redwood and Grimes were appointed. However, widespread ignorance regarding the selection method was real in an age where church affairs were more secret

101. *ibid.*

102. Regnault to Fr Ryan SJ, 18 July 1913. (MAW)

103. *ibid.*

than they are today. The secular priests never realised before, to the same extent, that they were simply the auxiliaries of the Marist Fathers in Wellington and Christchurch. In Wellington they had been kept quiet because they were given a fair share of the wealthy parishes, and they could become parish priests soon after coming to New Zealand, whilst in Ireland they would act as curates for 20 years or more. Now they realised the stark fact that in New Zealand they must give up all hope of attaining the highest dignities in the church or even of having a share in the diocesan administration which they thought they were entitled to. The secular priests wanted a say in who was to be their bishop, which was the practice in other dioceses not confined to a religious order (e.g. Auckland, Dunedin). The trend in the clerical personnel in the archdiocese clearly indicated that the seculars would soon outnumber the Marists. Yet the archdiocese was to be run by the Marist, O'Shea. Their fears were realised for O'Shea, like Redwood, had a long episcopate (1913-1954).

The secular priests duly sent their protest to Rome. They protested that the Marists had undue say in the Wellington archdiocese as shown by O'Shea's appointment. As a result of this they claimed that 29 priests had left Wellington and Christchurch in the last 25 years. They also complained of the passing of the Stoke Orphanage from church to government control without any consultation of the clergy. The secular priests demanded an investigation by Archbishop Ceretti, the Apostolic Delegate for Australasia (Pope's representative).¹⁰⁴ Although Cardinal Gotti of Propaganda was displeased at the conduct of the seculars, some Marists in New Zealand, especially Regnault and Redwood, saw that the seculars were not getting a fair deal. Redwood thought that some hope for the future should be given to the secular clergy. He thought they should have more parishes and more say in episcopal elections and diocesan administration.¹⁰⁵ This was a generous statement from an archbishop who appreciated more than anyone the work done by the Marists

¹⁰⁴. Copere to Redwood, 6 Nov 1913. (MAW)

¹⁰⁵. Regnault to Fr Raffin SM (Marist Superior-General), 2 June 1913. (MAW)

in New Zealand, and who was so keen to see the interests of the Society furthered. Redwood was as good as his word. At the time of O'Shea's consecration he appointed Dean James McKenna his Vicar-General, the first secular priest ever to hold that post in the Wellington diocese. Two years later when Grimes died, the New Zealand bishops sent the *Terna* to Rome, resulting in the appointment of Brodie. The bishops consulted their priests before sending the three names to Rome. O'Shea therefore was the last New Zealand bishop to be selected by the Marists. In terms of its consequences the protest of the secular clergy regarding his appointment was the most successful ever sent from New Zealand. Redwood's sympathy with the seculars' grievances contributed to its success.

The claim of the secular priests that 29 priests left the Wellington and Christchurch dioceses in the last 25 years before 1913 cannot be proved or disproved given the scattered and incomplete records. However an instance of a priest leaving the Wellington diocese gives an idea of the reasons why a priest may wish to shift; in this case it was, as the secular priests' protest implied, because of undue Marist influence. The priest concerned was Fr James Patterson.

Patterson came to New Zealand from England in 1886 and was sent immediately to the Palmerston North parish. Palmerston North's first two priests were Marists, but it was not a parish that had been permanently given over to the Society. Patterson was the second secular priest to be pastor in the parish. He was a talented priest and made a good impression with the people, organising the building of a larger church. Redwood thought highly of Patterson, and took him to Europe as his chaplain in 1889. In 1899 Patterson was elbowed out of the parish. He explained the circumstances to Bishop Lenihan of Auckland, who later accepted him into his diocese:

For some years I have expected to learn the Marists would require the parish of Palmerston North. The archbishop's niece [a nun] was sent up here last January, and she made it no secret that she was sent up for this purpose. However I have left the Archdiocese and the Archbishop led on by Fr Ainsworth a young Marist about 4½ years in the priesthood...

for myself I am glad for I wanted a change
from the Archdiocese, the Sisters and Fr
Ainsworth. 106

Incidents such as this could be expected in a diocese where two groups of priests had roughly equal numbers serving in parishes. Redwood managed to walk the path of mediation between these two potential rivals with great skill. Few complaints regarding his administration were heard. The Marists saw him protecting their rights, yet he was never so heavy handed as to dismay the seculars. He handed over Marist parishes to the seculars at a faster rate than his colleague Grimes. In 1911 Reefton and Opunake were given over to the secular clergy.¹⁰⁷ Yet in 1918 Redwood was able to negotiate with Propaganda to get the Hastings parish given to the Marists in perpetuity, with no great outcry from the diocesan priests.¹⁰⁸ The only organised dissent by the secular priests during Redwood's episcopate was their protest over O'Shea's appointment, where it was clear that Redwood was quite within his rights to act as he did.

In a chapter such as this, which concentrates on conflict, a distorted view of the relations between the Marists and seculars could be gained. Actual clashes were few and far between. The clergy were generally too scattered, and communication too awkward for protests and petitions to be organised. Nevertheless there existed especially in the Christchurch diocese during the episcopate of Grimes and Brodie a current of discontent that was always close to the surface.

In the history of New Zealand Catholicism the Marist-secular conflict has been the main source of division in a church, which providentially has never become polarised. In Australia the main conflict was quite different. It centred on the effort of Australian born and trained priests to indigenize a Church dominated by Irish born bishops and priests. To this end they joined together in 1916 to form the Manly Union in order to promote the interests of native

106. Patterson to Lenihan, 20 Oct 1889. (ADA)

107. Regnault to Redwood, 2 Jan 1911. (MAW)

108. Holley to Redwood, 6 Sept 1918. (MAW)

born clergy. This created deep tension between the Australian and Irish clergy. But in New Zealand the church was indigenized before any desire for New Zealand nationalism grew in the community. No struggle developed in New Zealand between Irish and New Zealand clergy. All New Zealand's metropolitans have been New Zealanders by upbringing if not by birth (e.g. Redwood and O'Shea). In Australia on the other hand, it was not until 1940 that Norman Gilroy became the first Australian-born Archbishop of Sydney, and metropolitan. As late as 1969 an Irish-born cleric was appointed as bishop to one of the Australian dioceses.

As could be seen in the argument over the 1887 episcopal decisions, national divisions (English versus Irish) were a lot more serious than clerical divisions (Marist versus secular). It has already been shown that Redwood's administrative ability and sensitivity helped diffuse potential conflict in his diocese between the two groups of priests. He also did much to ensure that our priests did not split according to whether they were Irish or locally born. The founding of St Patrick's College in 1885 was the most important step in the early indigenization of New Zealand's clergy. The school provided a large number of priests: 126 before Redwood died. Of these 103 or 82% became Marists. The other important institution that Redwood helped establish was the foundation of the Marist seminary at Meanee (later transferred to Greenmeadows) in 1890. This enabled a smooth progression for a number of young men from St Patrick's College into the priestly training at the seminary. These two institutions, allied after 1900 with the national seminary for secular priests in Dunedin, facilitated the early development of a local-born clergy.

It can be seen that the tensions between the Marists and seculars were mostly a product of the historical circumstances involved in establishing Catholicism in New Zealand. It was a natural problem that arose as New Zealand

passed from a missionary country to an organised group of dioceses under secular bishops. The transfer of ownership from the Marist missionaries to the diocesan structures was aggravated by several side issues, that have been covered in this chapter, and by a clash between the temperaments of the mainly Irish seculars, and the French Marists.¹⁰⁹

Individual priests, bishops and laymen were caught up by these tensions, and consequently helped inflame them.

Redwood did not. He was fair and conciliatory, and deserves praise for his attitude and performance in this difficult area. The fact that the Marist/secular tension in New Zealand was nowhere near the strength of the Benedictine/secular discord in Australia was in large measure due to Redwood's skilful diplomacy.

109. See Vaney, Chapter 5.



Archbishop Francis Redwood at 94 years

CHAPTER 8

REDWOOD'S PERSONALITY AND LEADERSHIP

In the course of this final chapter, Redwood's personality and leadership will be described and evaluated, and some conclusions will be drawn regarding his massive contribution to Catholicism in New Zealand.

Redwood was a man of deep religious spirit, of faith, a man of prayer and simple piety. His faith was more intellectual than spiritual, and his prayers ritualistic rather than contemplative. Faithfulness to daily Mass, the office of the Church, and the recitation of the Rosary were regular events of each day for nearly 80 years. His life was God-centred, one that sought to establish firmly the one true Church in New Zealand, the land that he loved. He was not a people's bishop for his clerical training taught him to remain aloof as his sacerdotal calling was a higher vocation than that of the laity. Despite this, he was humble rather than proud, concerned more about obtaining the respect of God rather than the respect of man. In his old age he admitted that he had made many mistakes in his life, but he had always prayed before he acted.¹

His priestly life was, in accord with his training, highly regular. In Wellington he would normally rise at exactly 5.00am (5.30am in his last year) and begin the day with meditation and other prayers to aid his Mass at 7.00am in his house chapel. After breakfast at 8.00am he would go to his office to recite the Church's office for the day. Then he answered letters and attended to whatever other business there was. For those who wrote to him for permission to do something he would turn up the bottom left-hand corner of their letter and reply briefly before signing

1. Told the author by Fr C. Crocker SM.

and sealing it.² At 10.00am he would see anyone who wanted to see him - these appointments were always brief. Following this he would put on his bell-topper, having taken from it the letters placed ready for posting. From his house in Hill St he would walk down Lambton Quay to the Post Office. There he would post his letters and collect the mail before proceeding up Boulcott St to the Terrace. There he usually met Rabbi van Stavern, who was also a regular walker, and the two men, Christian and Jew, would converse with each other, before parting to return to their respective homes. After returning from his walk he would relax with some reading until midday when he would say the Angelus, and prepare the Office of Matins and Lauds for the next day. At 12.30pm he had dinner. In later years, on days that he did not take a walk, he liked to be driven by one of his priests around the waterfront, or to see his niece Mother Bernard at Seatoun. At 5pm he would say Vespers before tea at 6pm. After this he conversed with his fellow priests, before beginning his violin practice at 7pm. This was followed by night prayer, and supper at 9.00pm before retiring to bed.³ At mealtimes Redwood liked to sit at the head of the table, and would always carve the meat. Unlike some bishops of the day, he saw meals as a time for fraternising with his fellow priests, rather than a time of silence.⁴

Redwood was an extremely learned man and daily until the last weeks of his life read from Latin or Greek classics. He was the frequent recipient of overseas journals, some in Greek and Latin which he read assiduously, no doubt imbibing many of the ideas used in his sermons and Pastoral Letters. His favourite writings were those of the early church fathers

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2. Redwood did all his own correspondence. His handwriting remained legible up to his death. In 1931 the Tablet, reflecting the pride New Zealand Catholics had in their "Old Man", as he was affectionately known, reproduced two letters written by Redwood, one in 1874, the other in 1931 to show the steadiness of his 92 year old hand. (NZT, 15 Apr 1931, p 42).
 3. Much of this information was kindly given by Fr C. Crocker SM.
 4. Archbishop Dubig of Brisbane liked silence at the table. Told the author by Fr C. Crocker SM.

(i.e. St John Chrysostom, St Jerome, St Augustine and St Gregory of Nazianzus). He retained his mental vigour until death, when he was reading The Breakdown of Money by Christopher Hollis.⁵ Redwood's appetite for reading assisted his general knowledge, and he was reputed to be a fine conversationalist on a wide range of subjects.

Redwood was fond of music, and attended concerts when he could. Any musicians visiting Wellington, who were Catholics, were invariably invited to a meal at his house. As already mentioned Redwood learnt the violin when he was young. In later years the Archbishop became known all over the English-Catholic speaking world as the proud owner of a "Strad"⁶ which travelled the globe with him. Redwood came to own this quite by chance. In 1889 he and Fr Patterson, an accomplished pianist with whom he used to play, called upon an old Catholic gentleman in Yorkshire to inspect his valuable "Strad". Redwood took along his Amati violin and the two played together. After this the man said that his fingers were getting too stiff for intricate fingering, and sadly wondered what would happen to his violin after he died. "In what better hands could it be than those of an Archbishop?" queried Fr Patterson. The suggestion was accepted and the two fiddlers swapped instruments.⁷ Redwood made sure he did not betray the man's trust and took great care of his precious "Strad". On voyages he would slacken the strings and store the "Strad", wrapped in blankets, in a cool place while they passed through the tropics. When a more temperate zone was reached he would take it out, and play for the pleasure of his passengers. Nuns, especially, seemed a captive audience for the "Old Man". His personal letters are full of instances where he visited a certain convent and played for the sisters. Amusingly, he seemed either unable or disinclined to do the same for the priests in their various presbyteries. Redwood practised frequently on the violin. After turning 80 he played for at least an hour a day. No reliable comment on the standard of his performance remains,

5. Told the author by Fr C. Crocker SM.

6. Highly prized violin expertly made by Antonious Stradiyarius.

7. NZT, 19 Apr 1933, p 4.

but it seems that he was reasonably adept, though by no means a virtuoso. "Strads" were extremely rare instruments, and it was thought that Redwood possessed one out of only two in New Zealand. Because they were so precious, fakes were made. "Strad" labels therefore could not be believed, and the only real test was to submit it to an expert in Europe. This Redwood said he had done⁸, and one could see him turning in his grave, at the value accorded his violin after his death. In his will he bequeathed the violin to St Patrick's College, Silverstream. It was first submitted to the local music specialists to be valued. They stated that it had no authoritative certificate, and no one in New Zealand was capable of giving it one. What was worse, the violin showed signs of borer!⁹

As Redwood got older he became more venerable in the eyes of his flock. His violin playing was an idiosyncrasy that endeared him to many, and helped people remember him long after his death. His golden episcopal jubilee in 1924 was the occasion for great popular enthusiasm with 9,000 people participating in the procession to mark the occasion, while another 15,000 watched.¹⁰ Pope Pius XI marked the jubilee by bestowing upon Redwood the highest ecclesiastical honour short of the Cardinalate - that of Assistant at the Pontifical Throne.¹¹ Ten years later Redwood celebrated his diamond jubilee. He was now, he told his people "a bundle of records". From being the youngest bishop in the world in 1874, he was now the oldest, in terms of both age and years of consecration.

Granted Redwood's personal popularity and the esteem in which he was held by his contemporaries, the historian must objectively analyse whether he did his job well. Was Redwood a praiseworthy bishop and a good leader? Obviously the major contention of this thesis: that Redwood did more than any other person in the development of New Zealand Catholicism from its missionary to institutional status, would answer this question in the affirmative. One can go

8. *ibid.*

9. Devine, Crombie, and Cahill to O'Shea, 28 May 1935. (WAA)

10. *The Month*, 18 Mar 1924, p 18.

11. *ibid.*, 19 Feb 1924, p 17.

some way in proving this by setting out the expectations Catholics of that day had of a bishop. These expectations would depict a good bishop as one who could do the following tasks well: administer, teach, write, speak, raise funds, establish Catholic institutions, represent the Catholic view, meet people and be a figurehead; a person others looked up to.

Redwood's role in meeting these expectations has been described in the preceding chapters, but a few concluding remarks will help to place his contribution in perspective.

The quality of Redwood's administration, teaching and writing and preaching has already been alluded to. His skills as an administrator and preacher were of a slightly better standard than his teaching and writing which were sound and tradesmanlike rather than outstanding. Redwood's role in the establishment of Catholic institutions is probably the achievement he will be most remembered for. His practical ability in the "bricks and mortar" development of his diocese was something aided by his background, especially by his father's common sense in the field. As it was, he was bishop at a time when it was more essential and more appreciated for him to build Catholic institutions, than to provide a notable spiritual leadership. One senses that in a time when most New Zealanders were attempting to establish their family and community lives, that a charismatic spiritual leadership would have been a voice in the wilderness. While no New Zealand bishop offered such leadership, it seems that Bishop Cleary, who probably came closest to being called a charismatic leader, and who offered a brilliant intellectual defense of the Catholic side, was not fully appreciated by the average layman. The layman appears to have been more concerned that there was a Catholic church nearby that his family could attend, and a Catholic school where his children could be educated. It was here that Redwood's role was great. Though he argued strongly for Catholic claims for state aid for their schools, he did not satisfy himself with this alone. Instead he put his energies into school-building, so that by his death every town of any substance in his archdiocese, had a Catholic school to meet the needs of his flock, and Catholic schools had become a permanent feature of New Zealand's educational

history. When Redwood made what was to be his final *ad limina* visit to Rome in 1932, he was proudly able to tell Pius XI that every Catholic child in his archdiocese could attend a Catholic school. Pius XI replied in Latin "*Quid melius*", or "What could be better"¹².

Redwood's representation of the Catholic view on various issues was not always convincing. His best contribution was to the education debate, though this, not surprisingly, lost vigour after Catholic claims for state aid were turned down with such rapidity.

Redwood's involvement in the Bible-in-schools debate was minor until the thirties when, as previously described, he performed in a rather inconsistent vein. His complete change of position from favouring the proposals to opposing them makes it extremely difficult to know what his authentic view was. It seemed that he departed, possibly because of age, from his normal method of deciding his viewpoint on the basis of principles, to a stance that was ill-considered and determined by the views of his coadjutor, O'Shea. As O'Shea pointed out, a certain amount of blame for the crisis had to be apportioned to Redwood, even if only for allowing his coadjutor to lead him to a position that he later recanted.

As far as Irish nationalism was concerned, the bishops were placed in an awkward position in that there was no official Church view. Redwood, Moran and Liston were the three bishops that showed the most sympathy, but even they were sometimes criticised for not being committed enough. The issue was difficult in that it was political rather than religious in nature. Even the bishops of Ireland did not have a unified position. The Vatican was pressured by the British Government to support the status quo, and by the mass of Irish Catholics to support Home Rule. Redwood was subject to similar pressures: on the one hand he wanted to assure the integration of Catholicism into New Zealand life by loyalty to the Empire; on the other he had to show sympathy to a cause that so many of his flock favoured. As outlined in Chapter 5 Redwood already had a favourable

12. Told the author by Fr F. Rasmussen, SM.

disposition towards the Irish people when he returned to New Zealand, and while this may have helped many Irish Catholics to realise that his empathy was from first-hand experience, others, as indicated during the metropolitan see controversy, thought Redwood's support of Irish Home Rule was not convincing.

Only on the prohibition issue, again where the Church gave no official guide, did Redwood actually lead the hierarchy. It was suggested in Chapter 6 that Redwood was almost forced into giving a lead, because the views of Cleary, the bishop most fitted by personality for leadership on socio-political issues, were dissimilar to his own. Once again Redwood's public pronouncements and actions were not frequent enough to attribute to him a part of any consequence in the defeat of the prohibitionists. Certainly Redwood's activity paled in comparison with that of the prohibitionist leaders.

This thesis has concentrated on various social issues that captured public attention during Redwood's episcopate. It must be emphasised that only the education issue really came within the brief of the bishops. If they wanted (as Grimes showed), they could have left Bible-in-Schools, Irish nationalism and prohibition alone, without seriously violating their job prescription. They were issues that were on the periphery of matters involving Catholic bishops, and they arose in an age where bishops were far more non-political than they are today. This must be understood if the shortcomings of Redwood's performance in these three issues are to be seen in the proper light.

In style Redwood was not as militant as Bishop Moran, nor a controversialist like Bishop Cleary. He kept a lower public profile than these two bishops, without compromising his stance on various issues (except Bible-in-Schools). His cool and logical way of approaching issues was respected by all, even his opponents. Redwood was a respected figure in both religious and secular circles, and he was more influential than any other bishop in ensuring the general respectability of New Zealand Catholicism. Redwood seemed

to view his fellow New Zealanders as people of good will; he had an optimistic view of New Zealand and New Zealanders. Moran, on the other hand, was suspicious, looking at every turn for a Protestant or freemason who wished to beat down Catholicism. Moran seemed constantly on the lookout for the anti-Catholic prejudices of the English majority that he had experienced in his native Ireland. In New Zealand one had to look for such instances with a great deal more perception, and Moran often failed to do this. Conversely, Redwood showed that as a New Zealander, he was more interested in the construction of a Catholic presence in New Zealand that would make them fully accepted members of the new nation, rather than looking for anti-Catholic bogeys when his aims were set back a little. In ensuring that each town had its priest, a church and a Catholic school, Redwood guaranteed that Catholicism became an integral part of New Zealand's civic and religious topography. He wanted the gaze of his people to be turned towards the spiritual and temporal welfare of the Catholic community, and not aimed at the establishment of sectarian bitterness. Moran and Redwood did not get on at all well. They seldom wrote or visited each other except on official church business. Their early suspicion of each other, and their rivalry over the metropolitan see, has been mentioned. Redwood's attitude was reflected in a letter to Grimes who was concerned about finding an able replacement for the ailing Moran. Redwood thought a man far superior to him could be found, and did not want to visit him because "I have always thought my presence might be rather a pain to the good patient than a comfort."¹³

Apart from Moran, the other most notable Catholic bishop during Redwood's time was Cleary. Redwood was never particularly close to him either. In some ways they were similar; both were highly intelligent (Cleary more so), had wide ranging interests, and a great capacity for hard work. Cleary had a certain effervescence that Redwood lacked, the latter being a solid patriarchial figure. Cleary was a

13. Redwood to Grimes, 12 Jan 1894. (CDA)

friend of Mark Twain, G.K Chesterton and Hilaire Belloc. He exhibited oil paintings and flowers, gave highly successful performances of magic, was fascinated by machinery and was one of the first passengers on commercial aeroplanes in New Zealand.¹⁴ Cleary was a journalist of exceptional ability, and this talent was used by the hierarchy in defense against the attacks of the PPA and the critics of *Ne Temere*. Cleary was also the principal Catholic opponent of Bible-in-Schools. He was good at winning arguments, but seemed rather less open-minded than Redwood, a consequence perhaps of his dedication to logical distinctions and philosophical subtleties. A simple question before a parliamentary committee or Bible-in-Schools was given an impromptu reply that took several pages to record.¹⁵ Redwood's positive leadership in various issues was every bit as good as Cleary's who will go down in history as a great apologist rather than a charismatic leader in the fullest sense.

Redwood also had important differences from the two bishops he was friendliest with - Grimes and O'Shea. Grimes is remembered mostly for the huge cathedral he built in Christchurch, whilst Redwood had the prescience to realise that such a building was not a priority for the future in his own archdiocese. Grimes's flirtation with "cathedralitis" as it was sarcastically called by some, merely showed his limitations as a businessman and in human relations;¹⁶ factors he did not share with Redwood. Grimes enjoyed mixing with the laity more than Redwood. He preached in an outmoded emotional style, and was not the great orator Redwood was.¹⁷ Grimes loved the pomp of precise liturgical ceremonies; Redwood was retiring at the altar, and not overly concerned about liturgy. Grimes was the least vocal of all the New Zealand bishops on the issues covered in this

14. Simmons, pp 93-94.

15. Snook, I.A. "An Interpretation of the Religion in Schools Issue 1914", M.A. Thesis, University of Canterbury, 1964, p 29.

16. Allom, p 98.

17. *ibid*, p 10.

thesis. Whilst Redwood supported woman's suffrage and opposed prohibition, Grimes gave no opinion on the former, was indifferent to the latter, and was reluctant to show any Irish nationalism.¹⁸ More than any of the other bishops of the period, Grimes saw it unseemly to be involved in anything that smelt remotely political. The largest difference between them was their relations with priests: Redwood's were praiseworthy, Grimes's were stormy.

Of all the bishops O'Shea was the most similar to Redwood. He was intelligent and a good administrator, teacher and preacher. The main distinction between the two men was that O'Shea liked meeting people, while Redwood was a more removed, though just as lovable, figure. Redwood's presidency of the hierarchy was more appreciated by the bishops than that of O'Shea.¹⁹

Redwood was significantly different from Bishop Liston, New Zealand's second longest-serving bishop (after Redwood). Liston was a shy and sensitive person, deeply emotional and very pious. His rather odd mannerisms of speech and deportment made him the most widely and most easily mimicked of all the Church's leaders.²⁰ Liston had a much better memory for the laity than Redwood did. His relationships with the clergy were less happy, for he was difficult to talk to; indeed many of his priests feared him, and his spies from the Knights of the Southern Cross.

Redwood filled the role of a Catholic figurehead very well. Social psychologists have described some of the personal characteristics that are associated with leaders. Many of these characteristics applied to Redwood. His size and physical appearance were impressive. He was approximately 5'9" in height, strongly built; with a striking brown beard that, like his hair, turned grey with age. His dress was the traditional clerical outfit of the day; black shoes, trousers and shirt, white collar, and long, black double-breasted frock coat. At religious ceremonies

18. *ibid.*, p 113.

19. Told the author by Fr J. Joyce SM.

20. Simmons, p 98.

he wore the purple and red vestments of the episcopate, capped with mitre, and with a gold cross on a chain around his neck. For the age, Redwood was not a pompous dresser in everyday life, but for any formal ceremony his canonical robes helped him cut a striking figure. He had the confidence and self-assurance that all good leaders have, and this was most apparent in his public speaking. A strong will, determination, high intelligence and great energy were other leadership characteristics that Redwood possessed. His manner could be perceived as being rather distant, for that was how he was trained, and he led his people from in front, rather than from their midst. He could be sociable and friendly with people he knew well, especially priests, but it was often difficult with lay people who were taught to treat their bishop with great deference, to kiss his ring, and to address him as "My Lord".²¹ A bishop was supposed to be a "prince" of the Church. Despite this Redwood made friends, with many of the laity (mostly the socially prominent), and tried especially hard to keep in contact with his many relatives either by visits or letters. Bishops of a similar age to Redwood related to the laity in a similar fashion, but those of a younger generation like Archbishop O'Shea, could much more fittingly be entitled a "people's bishop".

There is no doubt that Archbishop Redwood is a man that New Zealanders, Catholic and non-Catholic alike, can be proud of. Nurtured in New Zealand, educated in France and Ireland, Redwood returned to New Zealand and through his episcopate made a huge contribution to our nation's religious and civil life. Resolved in his faith it is fitting to conclude with his last words before his death on 3 January 1935; words that reflected his life of faith:

"Your Grace, you are seriously ill", said a priest.

"I am perfectly resigned to do God's will", Redwood replied.

"Lower the lights; I will sleep a little."²²

21. Archbishops were addressed as "Your Grace".

22. New Zealand Free Lance, 9 Jan 1935, p 5.

APPENDIX 1

STATISTICS OF NEW ZEALAND'S FOUR CATHOLIC DIOCESES, 1887,

	Archdiocese of Wellington.	Diocese of Auckland.	Diocese of Dunedin.	Diocese of Christchurch
Districts	17	18	13	14
Churches	58	39	36	40
Clergy Secular	14	17	15	10
Regular	26	10	3	12
Religious Brothers	15	9	5	4
Religious Sisters	100	74	40	112
Colleges	1	0	0	0
Industrial Schools and Orphanages	4	1	0	0
Boarding Schools	5	4	2	4
Day Schools Boys	5	3	1	5
Mixed	18	17	12	17
Institutions	0	0	0	1
Catholic Population	20,085	20,225	18,140	20,570
Total Population, exclusive of Maoris	154,900	130,379	149,154	144,049
Catholic Percentage	12.96	15.51	12.16	14.27
Maori Population	11,190	28,692	453	1097

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- B. PRIVATE PAPERS
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- D. NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS
- E. CONTEMPORARY BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

II SECONDARY SOURCES

- F. BOOKS
- G. ARTICLES
- H. UNPUBLISHED THESES

III PERSONAL COMMUNICATIONS

- I. INTERVIEWS
- J. CORRESPONDENCE

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III PERSONAL COMMUNICATIONS

I. INTERVIEWS

- Fr J. Joyce, SM. 19 August 1981.
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J. CORRESPONDENCE

- Fr C. Crocker, 19 January 1981.