

“Cheap Reading for the People”: Jeremiah Moore and the development of the New South Wales Book Trade, 1840–1883

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Introduction

Reconstructing the life and business practices of the Australasian colonial bookseller relies on considerable forensic work. At best the sources are uneven, at worst non-existent.¹ Given the paucity of the paper trail, inference and supposition, based on a contextual positioning of surviving pieces of the record, enables some of the business processes to be mapped, and personal histories to be glimpsed. Such is the case with Sydney bookseller Jeremiah Moore whose life and business practice presents the Australian book historian, and scholars of Irish migration, with considerable insights into early nineteenth-century colonial life. The following reading of Moore—as participant and major player in the colonial book trade—attempts to tease out some of the key aspects of his life as immigrant and entrepreneur.

Jeremiah Moore arrived in Sydney in December 1840 during a period of a growing book consignment and auction trade, but without the educational skill-sets of Australian booksellers such as William McGarvie, George Evans, and William Dolman. Further, he lacked training in the book trade, unlike that of colonial contemporaries James Tegg, William Moffit and George Piddington; or his recently arrived Dublin associates George Robertson and Samuel Mullen.² Nevertheless, he quickly succeeded in regularising book-trade practice in his chosen market—initially the Irish of Catholic persuasion in New South Wales. For this section of the population he ensured a steady supply of books and prints from Dublin and London sources, in so doing breaking what he called the “artificial scarcity and high prices” that bedevilled those involved in this market.³ Yet, as an Irish immigrant, and despite his obvious involvement with Church affairs, Moore did not conform to the regular pattern of Irish Catholic bookselling found amongst his Irish and Catholic contemporaries in Sydney, like

¹ Wallace Kirsop, “Bookselling and Publishing in the Nineteenth Century,” in *The Book in Australia. Essays Towards a Cultural and Social History*, ed. D. H. Borchardt and W. Kirsop (Melbourne: Centre for Bibliographic and Textual Studies, Monash University, 1988), 17, 31.

² *Ibid.*, 25. For details on McGarvie, Moffitt and Tegg see *Australian Dictionary of Biography* online, (adbonline.anu.edu.au/adbonline.htm) Vol. 2, 166, 242–43, 504–5. Hereafter referred to as *ADB*. Some observations on Dolman can be found in R. B. Walker, *The Newspaper Press in New South Wales 1803–1920* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1976), 152.

³ [Adv.] J. Moore, “Catholic Books,” *Freeman’s Journal* (Sydney), 7 May 1853, 1. Hereafter referred to as *FJ*.

William Dolman, Edward Flanagan, and James Hill, or later Irish and Catholic booksellers in Sydney and New Zealand, who largely confined themselves to Irish, Catholic and educational texts. Moore steadily worked to position his import and bookselling business so as to cater to all sections of a rapidly evolving New South Wales colonial society.

Arriving in Sydney as a twenty-two-year-old bounty immigrant Moore immediately plied his trade as a cobbler,⁴ and some time later began supplementing his income through the purchase and on-selling of books from recently arrived immigrants.⁵ Within two years he was operating a series of pavement-barrow bookstalls, captured in artist John Rae's watercolour sketch of south George Street in 1842.⁶ By 1843 he had a circulating library in operation from 8am to 9pm, advertising "cheap reading for the people."⁷ In 1846 Moore had premises built on land directly opposite St. Andrew's Church, and began developing the lucrative book import and retail business that was later described as a "Sydney institution."⁸ Wallace Kirsop notes that Moore was only one of a handful of Sydney booksellers operating in the difficult days of the 1840s who survived and flourished well into the second half of the century.⁹ Patrick O'Farrell places Moore with that small band of pre-Famine Irish immigrants who arrived from O'Connell's Ireland of the "forties,"—tailors, shopkeepers, journalists, accountants and booksellers, middling men—scorned by the Sydney Irish emancipists and the men of 1798 "who considered them little better than peasants," but who were confident in their identity, their political rights and their abilities, and "whose names occur in the annals of Australian Irish organisations from the 1850s to the 1880s, and beyond."¹⁰

⁴ Moore arrived in Sydney on 16 December 1840, by the *Royal Sovereign*, with his wife Catherine Moore. Immigration details list his trade as "shoemaker," see "Immigration Agent's Immigration Lists. April 1838–November 1841," State Library of New South Wales (SLNSW), micro 2134.

⁵ Isadore Brodsky, *Sydney's Phantom Book Shops* (Sydney: University Co-operative Bookshop Ltd., 1973), 23–24. Brodsky has gathered her material from several sources, including J. M. Forde, *Some Fragments of Old Sydney* (Sydney: McCarron, Steward & Co., 1898), and J. M. Forde, "Old Sydney: Truth Articles, 1903–28, by Old Chum (J. M. Forde)," SLNSW, ref: MAV/FM4/7710. The information on Moore she ascribes to J. M. Forde's (Old Chum), *Truth* articles. A card index to the articles was compiled by C. H. Bertie, and is available on microfilm at SLNSW, Mitchel Library, FM4/568.

⁶ John Rae, "George Street. Looking South." Watercolour, in "Sydney Illustrated by John Rae," SLNSW, MS. Ref: Micro: CY 1225 (A 807), digital image no a928362. (See cover image.)

⁷ James R. Tyrrell, *Old Books, Old Friends, Old Sydney* (North Ryde, NSW: Angus and Robertson, 1987), 29. Tyrrell describes these bookstalls as "rough, lean-to structures." [Adv], J. Moore, "Cheap reading for the people," *Morning Chronicle*, 1 October 1845, 1. For details on his circulating library see his advertisement, *FJ*, 6 March 1851, 1. Opening hours are given in the *Morning Chronicle*, 11 March 1846, 1.

⁸ See "Obituary, Jeremiah John Moore," *FJ*, 10 February 1883, 16.

⁹ Kirsop, "Bookselling and Publishing in the Nineteenth-Century," 31.

¹⁰ Patrick O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia* (Sydney: New South Wales University Press, 1987), 59–60.

Assessing how someone from Moore's background moved, relatively swiftly, from cobbler to bookseller is not easy. Moore's wife Catherine, from County Wexford, was described as a dairywoman who could not write, though she had some knowledge of reading.¹¹ Moore himself was born in inner-city Dublin in 1818, in an area not far from Christchurch Cathedral in the Liberties.¹² He grew up in pre-Famine Ireland, could read and write, and many years later, in conversation with Sydney journalist Joseph Forde, described his familiarity with the neighbourhood in the vicinity of Dublin's Four Courts, and the open-air booksellers who catered to the legal profession.¹³ As he told Forde, on board the ship on which he travelled to Sydney were "heaps of books," and, in the summer of 1840, he conceived the notion of buying-up these works carried by passengers arriving on the immigrant ships. With the "signal for the arrival of a passenger vessel in Sydney Harbour," Moore would "shoulder his bag and betake himself to the ship, and it would be a poor day when he did not come back with a sack full of books, wanted on the voyage out," but no longer needed for "the life struggle which was about to commence in the new land."¹⁴ Moore continued his trade, repairing boots, while his customers waited, biding their time by browsing in the bookstalls or barrows he had erected against the burial ground wall of the old Sydney cemetery in George Street. One user described the stalls as semi-permanent fixtures, large box-like structures that could be securely closed at night and left in position.¹⁵

Evidence related by Forde further indicates that within several years of his 1840 arrival in Sydney Moore had acquired a considerable number of works and was operating from several sites in the town, including Hunter Street and George Street.¹⁶ Information also suggests Moore was in regular attendance at the Sydney night auctions, initially run by the well-known auctioneering partnership of J. K. Heydon (who later purchased the *Freeman's Journal*), and the Englishman W. G. Moore, and that he acquired much of his early stock from this source.¹⁷ Kirsop maintains that the book auctions were one of the most convenient mechanisms for book distribution during this early period of the trade. Contemporary advertisements for the night auctions provide detailed lists of books, both general

¹¹ Details given for Catherine and Jeremiah Moore, *Royal Sovereign*, "Immigration Agent's Immigration Lists, April 1838–November 1841," State Library of New South Wales, micro 2134.

¹² Moore was baptised at Sts. Michael and John on 1 November 1818. His parents were listed as Lewis Moore and Catherine Moore, nee Kelly; see <http://www.irishgenealogy.ie/index.html>.

¹³ Joseph Michael Forde [pseud. Old Chum], "Old Sydney: Truth Articles, 1903–28," SLNSW, article no. 202, 27 August 1911, 200, micro. MAV/FM4/7710.

¹⁴ Forde, "Old Sydney: Truth Articles, 1903–28," 25 September 1910, 131.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Forde, "Old Sydney: Truth Articles, 1903–28," no. 202, 27 August 1911, 200; no. 229, 3 March 1912, 240, provides a slightly different version, suggesting Moore may have moved from one site to another, and not operated them concurrently.

¹⁷ "Personal Items," *The Bulletin*, 19 June 1880, 9.

and tailored to niche markets, including the Irish and Catholic markets. Heydon was certainly receiving Irish and Catholic works from the English publishing house Richardson and Son of Derby, a publishing house with outlets in both Dublin and London.¹⁸ Irish lithographer and printer William Baker provides a particularly illuminating account of these night auctions in his 1847 article on the subject, as well as a fine pen sketch of W. G. Moore who continued for many years in this line of business.¹⁹ In June 1880 when the *Sydney Bulletin*, in reference to a piece on Moore, intimated the sometimes dubious origins of the books put up for night auction, the aspersions cast, as to the origins of Moore's early fortune, necessitated a swift apology from the editors of the journal. The *Bulletin* stated the remarks were made merely to illustrate the "rough-and-ready method in which dealings were conducted in Sydney on almost all hands many years ago," and that the remarks "were not calculated to convey that Mr Moore had been connected with business in any way dishonourable."²⁰ There was certainly money to be made in books; in December 1851 Thomas Marr was sentenced to five years hard labour on the roads for stealing two-hundred-and-twenty books and other articles, over a period, from Jeremiah Moore's premises, as the report of this case noted: "The prisoner was a night watchman, and Mr Moore's shop lay on his beat; Mr Moore having for some time past missed books, kept a watch and detected the prisoner taking some away, and in prisoner's coat pocket was found a marked book belonging to Mr. Moore, while subsequently at prisoner's residence were found above two-hundred volumes."²¹ It was presumed the books were being progressively sold, though Moore stated at the trial that Marr was also lending volumes to residents in the city.

The first known reference to Moore in the newspaper press was in 1845, advertising the opening of his circulating library with a stock of two thousand volumes of the most reputable authors, and, "despite the depression of the times ... within the reach of every person," for a mere six pence per week subscription. Added to this he was trading in new and second hand works, with later advertisements of 1845 and 1846 revealing the mixed nature of his stock, including volumes by Scott, Dickens and the Irish Banim brothers, plus holdings covering divinity, theology, medicine, the arts, science, history, biography, school books and classical texts.²²

¹⁸ "Catholic Books," *Morning Chronicle*, 25 February 1846, 3.

¹⁹ William Baker, "W. G. Moore the Night Auctioneer," in *Heads of the People. An Illustrated Journal of Literature, Whims and Oddities*, vol. 1, no. 4 (May 1847), n.p.

²⁰ *The Bulletin*, 19 June 1880, 9, and 26 June 1880, 4.

²¹ "Extensive Larceny," *SMH*, 8 December 1851, 2; "Friday Dec. 5. Before the Chief Justice ... Larceny," *The Maitland Mercury, and Hunter River General Advertiser*, 10 December 1851, 3.

²² "Cheap Reading for the People," *Morning Chronicle*, 1 October 1845, 1; "Moore's Circulating Library," *Morning Chronicle*, 12 November 1845, 1. By March 1846 Moore had 2,500 volumes, *Morning Chronicle*, 11 March 1846, 1.

In November 1845 printed catalogues for the circulating library were available for inspection. Moore's fledgling establishment was not, however, without opposition in both the general and the Irish devotional text trade. Competition came from established booksellers like William Moffitt, who was receiving consignments of Catholic works from Belfast publishers Sims and McIntyre; John Cooke, who in the mid 1840s was street-selling in the same area as Moore, and who later received Catholic works by consignment; booksellers Sands and Kenny, who were also involved in the Catholic consignment trade; and Michael D'Arcy, bookseller and one-time editor of the *Sydney Morning Chronicle* (1843–1846), who retailed a standard stock and the occasional consignment of Catholic and Irish works from James Duffy & Co. in Dublin.²³ As was the usual practice for some newspapers over this period, the *Freeman's Journal* office received book consignments and regularly advertised Irish and Catholic titles as they became available.²⁴ Newspaper advertisements, our only known source of information on Moore's business direction at this early stage, suggest he was becoming increasingly involved in the consignment trade. An extensive advertisement in the *Sydney Morning Herald* of 1849 lists large numbers of Catholic devotional works received.²⁵ In a departure from usual practice, and possibly with a desire to challenge or break barriers, Moore was advertising Catholic doctrinal and devotional works in an establishment newspaper whose tone and convictions were considered by the Irish community in Sydney to be largely Protestant.²⁶ It was a practice not undertaken by his contemporary co-religionists in Sydney, or Irish and Catholic booksellers in New Zealand, who confined their bookshop advertising almost exclusively to journals with an Irish and Catholic readership.²⁷ Moore continued the practice of using the *Sydney Morning Herald* over the

²³ William Moffitt, "Catholic Books," *Sydney Chronicle*, 2 September 1846, 1; Sands and Kenny, "Catholic Books," *FJ*, 16 October 1851, 12; John Cooke, Bookseller and Stationer, "Catholic Books, Mathematical Instruments," *FJ*, 10 December 1853, 2; Michael D'Arcy, Printer, Bookseller and Stationer, "Catholic Books," *Sydney Chronicle*, 10 July 1847, 3. Forde, or his informants, considered Cooke a direct competitor to Moore in his early pavement days, see Forde, "Old Sydney: Truth Articles, 1903–28," no. 202, 27 August 1911, 200. W. A. Duncan, former editor of the *Australasian Chronicle*, was also importing Catholic books, see *Morning Chronicle*, 22 November 1843, 1; Irishman Michael D'Arcy, was the nephew of John McEncroe, Irish Catholic Archdeacon in Sydney and founder of the *Freeman's Journal*.

²⁴ See for example the extensive "Catalogue of Catholic Books to be had at the office of the 'Freeman's Journal,'" *FJ*, 24 July 1851, 12.

²⁵ "Catholic Books," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 June 1849, 1. Hereafter referred to as *SMH*.

²⁶ Walker, *The Newspaper Press in New South Wales*, 148.

²⁷ However, it should be noted that the *Herald* was used sporadically: for example, Edward Flanagan advertised the arrival and availability of the *Dublin Nation* in the *SMH*, 16 February 1864, 9; and William Dolman used the *Herald* for notices like the O'Connell Monument Fund committee meetings, for which he was secretary, *SMH*, 5 October 1864, 1.

succeeding years, though not for religious works.²⁸ In addition he advertised in local newspapers outside Sydney, like the *Maitland Mercury and Hunter River General Advertiser*, where, for example, in April 1851, still under the banner "cheap reading for the people," he noted the arrival of 20,000 copies of *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* for the years 1847, 1848 and 1849, which he was selling at four pence each.²⁹ From the late 1850s, with the exception of almanac inserts, the occasional religious item published from his press, plus some specific Irish and devotional book notices in the late 1860s and early 1870s, Moore appears to have abandoned regular advertising in the Sydney Irish newspaper the *Freeman's Journal*, and does not appear in later rival newspapers such as J. G. O'Connor's *The Catholic Times* or *The Express*.³⁰

The demise of the newspaper the *Sydney Chronicle* in September 1848 creates a two-year gap in our understanding of Irish print trade activity in New South Wales and especially Moore's involvement. We find one advertisement by Moore in the *Sydney Morning Herald* of 1849, already mentioned, and then nothing until the arrival of the *Freeman's Journal* in June 1850. How Moore became involved in the appearance of this paper is not known, though the circumstances of its printing have come down to us. The instigator of this venture, Irish Archdeacon John McEncroe, had previously edited and managed a newspaper in Charleston, West Virginia, in the 1820s, and had taken editorial control of the *Morning Chronicle* in Sydney in 1843, before his nephew Michael D'Arcy took control and turned the publication into a newspaper tailored to an Irish readership. McEncroe had some experience with the operational demands of a newspaper press.³¹ Sometime after the demise of the *Sydney Chronicle* he gathered a group of Irish interests in Sydney to support a new print venture, for which he put up the capital. Evidence suggests the paper was not a money-making concern, but aimed simply to ensure the availability of a liberal newspaper containing Irish and Catholic information. Based on the Dublin *Freeman's Journal*, and disavowing itself as an official organ of the Catholic Church,³² the *Freeman's Journal* was initially printed on a hand-turned press at the St. Mary's seminary in Woolloomooloo Street, Sydney, by Jeremiah Moore.³³ Although by 1850 Moore was printing works from his own premises, the *Freeman's Journal* was not printed from his shop in George Street,

²⁸ See *SMH*, 12 December 1867, 1; 14 July and 21 November 1870, 1; 20 March and 25 October 1873, 1. By and large Moore's advertising related to new arrivals of books, magazine journals, stationery items and school texts, plus new works published by his business.

²⁹ "Cheap Reading for the People ... Copies of Tait's Magazine," *The Maitland Mercury and Hunter River General Advertiser*, 12 April 1851, 4.

³⁰ It should also be noted that there was no obituary notice for Moore in *The Express* in 1883.

³¹ "Our Golden Jubilee," *FJ*, 30 June 1900, 9. "John McEncroe (1794–1868)," *ADB*, 2, 165–66.

³² Editorial, *FJ*, 27 June 1850.

³³ "Centenary Supplement," *The Catholic Weekly*, 29 June 1950; "For 92 Years," *The Catholic Weekly*, 19 August 1965, 16–17.

though distribution is attributed to the George Street premises in the newspaper's colophon. It is unknown whether this was due simply to convenience, issues of space, or was dependent on the type of hand printing press involved in the production of a large format newspaper. What we do know is that Moore continued to be named as printer and publisher until a permanent home was found in premises in Castlereagh Street in 1851.³⁴

The publication of the *Freeman's Journal* had an immediate effect on the politics of New South Wales in favour of the Irish community. The paper, more marketable than its predecessors, gave the Irish-Catholics, who constituted one third of the New South Wales population, a necessary public voice. It fostered internal communication amongst the Irish ethnic group, and ensured their involvement in all political processes. In 1853, while writing to James Goold, Archbishop of Melbourne, who was contemplating the support of a similar venture, McEncroe outlined some of the difficulties in running a newspaper press at this time, especially while being involved in clerical duties:

The weekly expense for getting out the Freeman is £20 for printing, paper, collector, clerk and exclusive of house rent and editor's salary. It could not be brought out for any such moderate sum in Melbourne. It costs therefore £1040 exclusive of rent and editors pay, and will then take 800 good subscribers at £1.8s each person equal to £1120 to meet the mere printing and publishing, besides the type, presses etc. belonging to the office. The chief difficulty with you will be to get a good manager and accountant and a prudent editor well acquainted with Colonial parties and politics. I could fairly report on our esteemed friend Dr. Murphy—he writes but very seldom, and he has not, like me, to write weekly some ten or fifteen pages of foolscap for the "Freeman," to manage all the affairs and correspondence of our 50 Catholic Schools with the Board, to attend sick-calls, preach almost every Sunday, and do other parochial duties with Sunday matters besides.³⁵

It is perhaps not surprising that Moore, with developing business commitments, declined full-time involvement in such a high risk and time-consuming enterprise. Similarly, it is perhaps to be expected that, after seeing the venture through the initial start-up period, McEncroe, within a few years, disposed of his interest in the newspaper to his nephew Michael D'Arcy, who, fully committed to the project, increased significantly its Irish content and views, and in so doing trebled its circulation.³⁶

³⁴ *The Catholic Weekly*, 19 August 1965, 17.

³⁵ John McEncroe (Sydney) to Dr. Goold (Melbourne), 30 May 1853, "McEncroe Correspondence," Archives of the Catholic Archdiocese of Sydney, St. Mary's Cathedral, U1313.

³⁶ Walker, *The Newspaper Press in New South Wales*, 150.

Obviously Moore did not wish to enter the newspaper trade. Possibly he did not have sufficient speed as a compositor, or the necessary writing skills as an editor to pursue such a venture, unlike his well-educated contemporary William Dolman who, after bankruptcy in the Sydney Irish-Catholic book trade, took over management and editing work on the *Freeman's Journal*. On the other hand, advertisements of 1851 placed in the *Freeman's Journal* indicate that Moore, or possibly an employee, certainly possessed some printing trade skills. One recurring ad notes that his business undertook “bookbinding in all its branches,” plus “[l]etter-press printing executed with accuracy and despatch.”³⁷ Whether he was a skilled craftsman or not, we can get some idea of his early printing expertise in the first six monthly issues of the *Freeman's Journal*. From 1851 however, Moore outsourced much of his printing. This includes religious and secular publications like the anti-transportation poem *The Australiad* (1851); the annual *Moore's Australian Almanac*, produced from 1853; his 1854 *Catalogue of Choice and Standard Catholic Works*; the 1856 publication of Rev. J. Milner's *The Alcestes of Euripides*; Harold Stephen's 1877 novel *The Golden Yankee: A Tale of Life and Adventure on the Diggings*; plus his Australian publications list that included geography texts, maps and pocket-books, works on sheep-breeding, wool-growing, Catholic hymns and manuals.³⁸ Other publications, such as the 1856 *Occasional Papers by the United Association of Teacher of New South Wales*, or the 1860 Yass lectures given by the St Augustine Literary Institute are published under Moore's business name but printed by various Sydney printers such as the Empire General Steam Printing Office, or by F. Cunninghame, General Steam Machine Printer.³⁹ Moore noted in 1854 that the times were “extremely difficult for printing,” indicating the lack, in Sydney, of good printers and proofreaders in this early period.⁴⁰ Some of his own works, like the twenty-two page *Catalogue of Choice and Standard Catholic Works*, and the more technically challenging 1854 *Almanac*, were produced by F. Cunninghame of the Albion Printing Office, 113 King Street, Sydney.⁴¹

³⁷ “Cheap Book and Stationery Establishment,” *FJ*, 6 March 1851, 1.

³⁸ An exception may be Abbe Fleury, *A Short Historical Catechism*, Sydney: J. Moore, 1857, a very short pamphlet with no printer's imprint.

³⁹ *United Association of Teachers of New South Wales. Occasional Papers, No. 1 December 1856*, Sydney, Smith and Gardiner and J. Moore, 1856; *St Augustine's Literary Institute, Yass. Two Lectures ... to which is appended rules and regulation of the institute*, Sydney: J. Moore, [1860?].

⁴⁰ For a list of some of his commercial Australian publications see, *Moore's Australian Almanac and Hand Book* (Sydney: J. J. Moore, 1871), ix, xiii, xiv. Regarding typographical errors and lack of good printing see “Preface,” *Moore's Almanac and Handbook ... for the Year 1854* (Sydney: J. J. Moore, 1854).

⁴¹ Jeremiah Moore, *A Catalogue of Choice and Standard Catholic Books on sale at Jeremiah Moore's* (Sydney: J. J. Moore, 1854), inserted in *Catholic Almanac and Directory for Divine Service in the Archdiocese of Sydney and the Diocese of Maitland* (Sydney: n.p., 1854–62).

Business Development: 1850–1883

The importance of Moore as a successful bookseller can be gauged by the growth of his establishment and his business connections, especially in Victoria, where, with the discovery of gold, wealth was increasing significantly, and the population had risen from 80,000 to 300,000 by the mid-fifties. Moore's earliest business partnership was with the Melbourne bookseller P. J. Cregin, of Collins Street, with whom several joint publications are attributed. Some of these works indicate the partnership had bookselling premises in both Melbourne and Geelong.⁴² The Cregin and Moore bookshop in Melbourne opened in December 1849 and Moore was shipping book stock from Sydney to Melbourne from 1850. However, by 1852 the store was in difficulties and the stock was disposed of.⁴³ While some booksellers and printers from Sydney had moved into Victoria for the gold rush, such as Moore's Dublin compatriot William Baker,⁴⁴ for commercial reasons Moore contemplated departure from the colony. In an 1854 advertisement he noted that owing to increased business activity in Sydney he had decided to close his "two" business establishments in Melbourne in order to concentrate on the New South Wales market and his "friends in the interior."⁴⁵ His 1856 *Almanac and Hand Book*, however, does refer to Moore and Company of Collins Street, Melbourne, indicating that he continued some business interests in that city. His familiarity with the towns of New South Wales was apparent when he appeared before the New South Wales Parliament Select Committee on Irish Female Immigration in August 1858, stating "I have a [business] connexion with nearly every town and district in the Colony ... and I would not go beyond the truth if I said every town, village, and hamlet in this Colony."⁴⁶ Comments before this committee hearing indicate Moore networked well with towns and outlying districts in New South Wales, ensuring these areas access to his own publications and imported goods, and guaranteeing the existence of viable distribution networks that enabled later expansion into colonies like Queensland. Advertisements for Moore's *Sydney Commercial Almanac* of 1851 and *Almanac and Handbook* for 1852 give us some clues as to the scope of his connections, the

⁴² See for example, *Second Book of Lessons, for the Use of Schools*, Sydney: Published by J. Moore, George St., Cregin and Moore, Melbourne and Geelong, 1851.

⁴³ "Cregin & Moore," *The Argus*, 12 December 1849, 2; "Shipping Intelligence. Imports," *The Argus*, 25 January 1850, 2; advertisement noting the selling off of stock, *The Argus*, 2 March 1852, 3. The bookstore premises were described as being "in Collins-street, three doors west of Elizabeth Street."

⁴⁴ Wallace Kirsop, "Baker's Juvenile Circulating Library," in *Light on the Book Trade: Essays in Honour of Peter Isaac*, ed. Barry McKay, John Hinks, and Maureen Bell (London: Oak Knoll Press, 2004), 133.

⁴⁵ See "J. Moore, Bookseller, Publisher and Wholesale Stationer," in the advertisement section of Moore, *Almanac and Hand Book ... for the Year 1854*, n.p.

⁴⁶ Evidence of Jeremiah Moore, bookseller, George Street, "Minutes of Evidence Taken before the Select Committee on Irish Female Immigration," *New South Wales Legislative Assembly, Votes and Proceedings, 1858*, 9, 2, 396–99.

almanacs being retailed by listed agents in Parramatta, Moreton Bay, Maitland, Morpeth, Bathurst, Turon, Newcastle, Goulburn, Windsor and Wollongong, New South Wales' most prominent towns.⁴⁷ Moore conducted his import and wholesale business from extensive premises at 560–562 George Street, Sydney and, from the mid 1870s, an additional branch establishment at 334 George Street. Evidence from the select committee proceedings of 1858 indicates he employed a number of staff as both domestics and in his business concerns. Forde later commented on one in particular, Mr Kiely, who for many years was Moore's reliable business manager and the person who continued to manage the firm on behalf of the family after Moore's death in 1883.⁴⁸

Evidence indicates that by 1870 Moore was operating a wholesale and retail establishment in Edward Street, Brisbane, as well as making use of the services of a wholesale agent in London. The use of a London agent is also alluded to by journalist J. M. Forde.⁴⁹ Moore's 1871 catalogue lists twenty-five publishing houses with which he was in direct communication and from whom he was receiving full supplies of publications. Further, deceased estate records of 1883 reveal J. J. Moore & Co. had current accounts owing to fifty-six English and Irish publishers, including Whittaker, George Phillip, Burns and Oates, Blackwood, Chambers, Macmillan and Longmans in England; and T. D. Sullivan, James Duffy, and educational publishers Sullivan Brothers in Ireland.⁵⁰ George Robertson had an agent operating in London from 1854, and by the end of the decade had his employee, Edward Petherick, acting as supplier to a number of booksellers in Sydney. It seems likely that, given the range of London and Dublin booksellers from whom Moore was importing, plus the business complexity of dealing with multiple off-shore publishing houses, that he was part of this network; in effect paying Robertson for the service.⁵¹

The material assets of Moore's business establishment perhaps indicate more than anything else that his book trade business in New South Wales was thriving.

⁴⁷ See advertisements for Moore's *Almanacs* in *FJ*, 19 December 1850, 1; and *FJ*, 15 January 1852, 1.

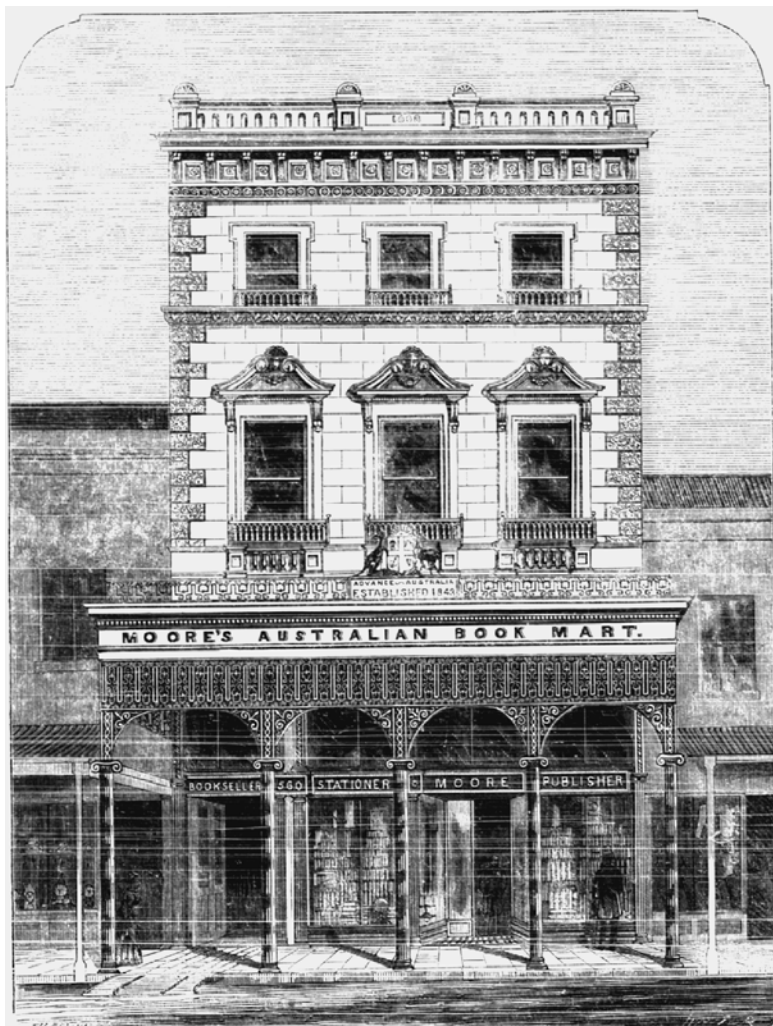
⁴⁸ Forde, "Old Sydney: Truth Articles, 1903–28," no. 202, 27 August 1911, 200. The manager's name was variously spelt Kiely, and later, by Forde, Keiley.

⁴⁹ See the advertisement section of *Pugh's Queensland Almanac, Directory and Law Calender for 1878* (Brisbane: William Thorne, 1878). This particular advertisement indicates Moore had an establishment in London; see Forde, "Old Sydney: Truth Articles, 1903–28," no. 155, 25 September 1910, 131.

⁵⁰ For a full list see "Amounts owing to English Publishers in open accounts current on the 7th February 1883," Deceased Estate File, "Jeremiah Moore, 1883," State Records New South Wales, no. Z4868.

⁵¹ See Alison Rukavina, "'This is a Wonderfully Comprehensive Business': The Development of the British-Australian and International Book Trades, 1870–1887," *Script & Print. Bulletin of the Bibliographical Society of Australia & New Zealand*, 32, No. 2 (2008): 69–94.

According to Forde it was sometime in 1862 that Moore had a state-of-the-art bookshop premises and adjoining warehouse built on his George Street site.⁵²



The *Illustrated Sydney News* of May 1870 provides sufficient detail on a set of buildings upon which “all that care, skill, and money could contrive and obtain, has been done, and well done.”⁵³ Purpose-built by Sydney architect Michael Golden of Glebe Point as combined book-trade business premises and domestic dwelling, nothing was spared in furnishings and building technology:

⁵² The exact date comes from Forde, “Old Sydney: Truth Articles, 1903–28,” no. 202, 27 August 1911, 200.

⁵³ “J. J. Moore’s Australian Book Mart,” *The Illustrated Sydney News*, 11 May 1870, 392, source of the image above.

The interior of the shop measures 35 by 22 feet, and is handsomely fitted up with polished cedar, trimmed in the Ionic style to harmonize with the external adornments. The gallery, to which access is obtained by means of a staircase at the end of the shop, runs completely round the interior, having a clear opening 22 feet by 11, and 11 feet from the ground. It is supported by 8 cast-iron Doric columns, and a similar number of Ionic columns are continued from these to support the second floor.... The whole of the shop and gallery is fitted with shelving of neatly carved and polished cedar, for books in every department of literature.... Connected with the shop are numerous offices and show-rooms, and a covered way leads from the gallery to the first floor of the centre stores.... Immediately in the rear of the premises thus described is an extensive store, four stories in height, completely fitted up with shelving. Trap-doors fixed immediately over each other in each floor allow of goods being hoisted to any of the rooms, from a truck which traverses a tramway, running the length of the yard and gateway to the front of the street. The whole of the block being built on pillars, leaves the yard unobstructed, save a portion occupied by stables, coach-house, and other offices. At the extreme end of the yard is erected another store for goods in bulk, in three flights.⁵⁴

Befitting the nature of the building, the new wealth of its owner, and his success in the profession, the outside was suitably embellished with the sculptured heads of “Virgil, Homer and Shakespeare, types of the three great schools of poetry, and emblematical of the trade purpose for which the building was erected.” The engraving accompanying the *Illustrated News* article, Moore incorporated into his 1871 *Almanac and Directory*.

Estate details for Moore’s business dwellings and the adjoining four-storey warehouse reveal the extent of the property with a market value of £12,000. In addition two further premises are listed, one on which is situated the three-storey bulk warehouse, valued at £650, and the other an adjoining lot, possibly for carriage and horses but with no dwellings noted, valued at £900.⁵⁵ It was in the large warehouse to the rear of the premises that Moore’s business colleague, George Grehan, fell to his death through a top floor trap-door in February 1878, seventeen days after entering into business partnership with the firm of Messrs J. J. Moore & Co.⁵⁶ Grehan, a native of County Roscommon, operated an extensive business as a forwarding agent for Murrurundi in northern New South Wales and was described as someone well read in “Catholic” literature, a brilliant

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Deceased Estate File, “Jeremiah Moore, 1883” SRNSW, Z4868. Advertising in the 1854 *Almanac and Handbook* indicates Moore was about to build a warehouse in that year on the George St. site. It is presumed this is the smaller three-storey bulk warehouse mentioned in the *Illustrated Sydney News* article. This obviously pre-dates the purpose built (1862) four-storey warehouse mentioned in that article.

⁵⁶ Initial details and the Coroner’s inquest verdict can be found in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, see *SMH*, 1 March 1878, 5, and inquest details 2 March 1878, 4.

businessman, and a polished speaker and advocate in local politics for the Catholic community.⁵⁷ Exact details of the business partnership have not surfaced, so it is unclear in what direction Moore wished to take his commercial interests.⁵⁸ It is certain, however, that he wanted to groom an able successor for his import and publishing concerns. Describing Moore's bookselling establishment as the largest in New South Wales, newspaper details of the time indicate the partnership was an advantageous move by the thirty-five year old Grehan, who had passed his interests in the highly successful forwarding agents business to his brother.⁵⁹



J. J. Moore bookshop and warehouse, George Street, Sydney, 1873.
Detail from Francis W. Robinson, panel 6 of 10 part 360 degree panorama from Sydney Town Hall, SPF/Sydney, 1873(BM) (State Library of New South Wales).

The significance of the 1870 *Sydney Illustrated News* feature on the architectural merits of Moore's business premises is its indication that, by 1862, a mere twenty years after his arrival in Sydney, Moore had become a very wealthy individual, and that his business interests in bookselling and the provisioning of books and stationery to individuals, schools, libraries and other establishments throughout New South Wales was a lucrative and expanding affair. As an Irish immigrant, the son of a farmer,⁶⁰ Moore had achieved that success for himself and his family in what he called the "glorious, free and favoured land" of Australia, a success

⁵⁷ Obituary, "Death of Mr George Grehan," *The Catholic Times*, 7 March 1878, 3.

⁵⁸ Initial details of the partnership were published in the *Catholic Times*, 16 February 1878.

⁵⁹ "Death of Mr George Grehan," *The Catholic Times*, 7 March 1878, 3.

⁶⁰ On Moore's death certificate the occupation of his father is given as "farmer," even though Moore himself was born in inner-city Dublin. See the death certificate details, "Jeremiah John Moore," New South Wales Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages, 1883/4152.

alluded to in his testimony to the New South Wales Legislative Assembly Select Committee in 1858. Moore admired intensely what Australia had to offer, and its difference from “old” Europe:

As a colonist, and one having a deep and abiding interest in all that affects the welfare of this community—deeply sensible of the many blessings we enjoy in this glorious, free and favoured land of ours, where, thanks to our liberal and free institutions, together with the fine friendly spirit that pervades all classes of society, class distinction is almost unknown—I cannot but deplore that any person could be found anxious to stir up causes of ill feeling amongst us. It is gratifying to find that fine healthy feeling of liberality that pervades all classes of society, brought about by a happy amalgamation of the various races, without that sickening heartburning and distrust which caused many a man to leave the old European countries in disgust, and seek a home and resting place in our midst.⁶¹

Moore’s presentation before the Select Committee offers a fascinating insight into the world-view of this relatively successful Irish bookseller. There is no hint of victimisation, ethnic inferiority, religious ostracism or cultural dissembling, even though he was appearing as a “cultural character witness” for the reliability of Irish female immigrants, many survivors of the Great Famine, as domestic servants in the houses of Sydney Protestants. On the contrary, what appears is an urbane but street-wise gentleman, very sure of himself, sophisticated in the ways of the world, with an ability to network and interact well with other ethnic groups and creeds, and relishing the cosmopolitan nature of New South Wales. Moore’s testimony also provides some touching period cameos of Sydney society, such as the wealthy Protestant ladies coming to his shop seeking advice on the purchase of religious books, as gifts, for their Irish domestics. Above all however, we should note that Moore was still very much the Irishman, and quite secure in his identity, just as deeply committed to injustice in the land of his birth as he obviously was to individual liberty and freedom of expression in New South Wales.

From a very early period of settlement in Sydney Moore had been involved in political activity at some level. An 1883 obituary in the *Freeman’s Journal* noted that in the “old days Mr Moore took an active part in public affairs,” and as a respected citizen in Sydney had carried out the duties of a Justice of the Peace. Evidence of Moore’s politics includes his association in 1844 with Melbourne bookseller John J. Walsh in protests against the exclusion of Irish Catholics from Dublin jury lists in state trials against Irish nationalists;⁶² his work on behalf of Irish immigration; activity on behalf of the citizens of Sydney in calling for an

⁶¹ Evidence of Jeremiah Moore, bookseller, George Street, “Minutes of Evidence Taken before the Select Committee on Irish Female Immigration,” 399.

⁶² “Jeremiah John Moore,” Typescript, 4 pp., Archives of the Catholic Archdiocese of Sydney, St. Mary’s Cathedral.

extension of the franchise in 1849; and involvement with the anti-transportation league in 1851, when reactivation was mooted.⁶³ Moore had been associated with the *Freeman's Journal* from the start as printer and publisher, and both he and fellow bookseller Edward Flanagan acted as sureties for the newspaper when it was newly acquired in 1866 by William Dolman, Richard Blundell and Richard O'Sullivan. They were also involved when, in the wake of the shooting of Queen Victoria's son in Sydney, and the hasty introduction of the Treason Felony Act of 1868, the paper was closed and the editor and publisher Dolman, and printer Blundell, were prosecuted by the New South Wales Attorney General's Office.⁶⁴ In the late 1850s Moore was listed as treasurer of the Australian Celtic Association, and several years later was treasurer and committee member of the New South Wales branch of the Irish National League.⁶⁵ In addition, in the 1860s Moore was involved in the Donegal Relief fund, a scheme designed for bringing Irish immigrants to Queensland, his bookstore being used for meetings.⁶⁶ Associationalism marks both the degree of acculturation and ethnic homogeneity attained by immigrants.⁶⁷ Moore's political activity was the result of an interest in Irish, Catholic and general political affairs of New South Wales, as well as being possibly a by-product of his social status as a wealthy and successful citizen with numerous personal and business connections, and, obviously, unafraid to make more. For example, in 1853, on a whim, he presented a copy of his recently printed *Almanac and Handbook* to the Irish nationalist politician Charles Gavan Duffy, one of the founders of the Dublin newspaper *The Nation*, co-instigator of the Irish National Library series, and future premier of Victoria.⁶⁸ Moore was gregarious and articulate, as his appearance before the Legislative

⁶³ Petition sheets for signing were left at his premises, amongst others; see *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 January 1849; Moore was involved in the publishing, with Cregin of Melbourne, of the anti-transportation poem *The Australiad: a poem*, in 1851. This work, by George Mackaness, was dedicated to the New South Wales Association for Preventing the Revival of Transportation.

⁶⁴ Walker, *Newspaper Press of New South Wales*, 153–54. Details can be found in "The Case Against the Freeman's Journal," *FJ*, 1 August 1868, 9, and *FJ*, 8 August 1868, 15, detailing the subscribers defence fund. Jeremiah Moore and Edward Francis Flanagan are referred to as "J. M****" and "E. F. F****" of George Street.

⁶⁵ "Australian Celtic Association," *FJ*, 21 May 1862, 7. For details on the association, especially its library and cultural and Irish famine relief fundraising ventures see *FJ*, 15 May 1858, 3 November 1858, 1, where Moore is listed as treasurer, and Patrick O'Farrell *The Irish in Australia* (Sydney: New South Wales Press, 1987), 208. For Moore's association with the NSW Branch of Irish National League see *FJ*, 18 June 1864, 8.

⁶⁶ "Donegal Relief Fund," *Courier* (Brisbane, Queensland), 13 November 1861, p. 2, reprinted from the *Sydney Morning Herald*.

⁶⁷ For an analysis of colonial Irish associationalism and its effects see "Irish Associationalism," in R. A. Burchall, *The San Francisco Irish 1848–1880* (Manchester: University Press, 1979), 96–115, especially the concluding comments; and Lyndon Fraser, *To Tara Via Holyhead. Irish Catholic Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century Christchurch* (Auckland: University Press, 1997), 91–100.

⁶⁸ Forde, "Old Sydney: Truth Articles, 1903–28," no. 164, 4 December 1910, 143.

Assembly Select Committee hearings indicates, and certainly at home with political ideas entertained both in Ireland and his adopted country. We may also surmise that, despite his proficiency in reading and writing—indicative of some early schooling—he was self-improved, and proud of it, as his rather unusual and prolific almanac entries, "Notices of Self-Raised Men," indicate.⁶⁹ Early advertising reveals that he despised pretension, "clap-trap" and "puffing," as he put it in an 1856 advertisement to his clients, yet gained tremendous satisfaction from the work of bookselling.⁷⁰

Nevertheless, despite Moore's evident public and financial success, his life must have been affected by personal circumstances. Moore lost all his first family; married in Dublin to Catherine Byrne, and arriving in Sydney together, the couple had six children, all of whom had died by the early 1860s—four under five years old.⁷¹ In addition, in 1858 Moore's wife Catherine died of consumption at the age of thirty-seven. In 1864 Moore remarried, fathering a further five children between the years 1865 and 1874, all of whom survived.⁷² Details from his estate reveal strong family ties and responsibilities, including, in addition to his own family, financial support for two sisters in Sydney, Mrs Mary Mooney and Kate Moore, both of whom operated a book and stationery store supplying the "latest Catholic works" and "school books."⁷³ Their central city bookshop was owned by their brother, as was a cottage near Moore Park, Sydney, occupied by the sisters.

Moore and the Sydney Book Trade

In surveying Moore's involvement with the book trade it is possible to discern several phases. The first, from 1840, covers his period as cobbler and acquisition of books from arriving immigrant ships; this is followed in 1843 by his opening of a circulating library, and his trade in second-hand works acquired from various sources including the Sydney night auctions.⁷⁴ Although catalogues were issued for his circulating library, none appears now to be extant. The next phase begins in 1849 when Moore first appears as a consignment trader of Catholic and general works.⁷⁵ By July 1850 Moore advised, through the columns of the *Freeman's*

⁶⁹ For example see his *Almanac and Hand Book ... for the Year 1854*, 113–15.

⁷⁰ See the advertisement, "Moore's Book Mart and Stationery Warehouse," in *Moore's Almanac and Handbook ... for the year 1856* (Sydney: J. Moore, 1856), n.p.

⁷¹ "Jeremiah John Moore," typescript, 4pp. Archives of the Catholic Archdiocese of Sydney, St. Mary's Cathedral. Details largely verified through NSW Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages, and Moore's death certificate details.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ "M. Mooney, Bookseller and Stationer," *The Express*, 24 April 1880, 1. The store was in 136 Oxford Street, off Hyde Park, and was still operating in 1889 when Mary Mooney was listed in *Sands Sydney and Suburban Directory* as operating at 146 Oxford Street.

⁷⁴ "Cheap Reading for the People," *Morning Chronicle*, 1 October 1845, 1.

⁷⁵ For a general consignment see the advertisements for Chamber's Publications in *FJ*, 18 July 1850.

Journal, that he had “formed a direct communication with the celebrated Catholic Publisher Mr James Duffy of Dublin, for a constant supply of Catholic Books.”⁷⁶ This was a considerable improvement on contemporary practice, like that of Michael Dalton, who was using a clerical friend in Dublin to choose works for his Sydney bookselling business.⁷⁷ From 1851 Moore was importing significant numbers of Irish national and devotional works from Duffy & Co., plus importing from the London religious publishers Burns and Lambert. At this early stage Moore was both tailoring his trade to the growing Irish and Catholic market, and beginning to import and retail works with a broader appeal for the general market.⁷⁸ From data collected by Elizabeth Webby we know that, with the exception of one *Sydney Morning Herald* advertisement in 1849,⁷⁹ Moore seems not to have been involved in the consignment trade before that time. Therefore, we can tentatively date the beginnings of his business as a regular book importer and retailer from 1850 with his notification of a standard book import service from Dublin and London to Sydney.⁸⁰

Upon his death Moore’s estate was valued at over £35,000, most of this tied up in book stock and land associated with his import and retailing business. However, while he could be described by his contemporaries in 1878 as operating the most extensive bookselling business in New South Wales, and, according to figures used by Rubinstein would have been within the top-one-hundred list of the most-wealthy persons in that colony in the early 1880s,⁸¹ he fails to make an appearance in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, although he does receive several brief lines in the biographical register name index, the name supplement to the *Dictionary*.⁸² A lack of primary material largely accounts for this omission. Fortunately we can form a good idea of Moore’s business practices through his advertising, and a small number of extant catalogues from the once-numerous monthly reprints.⁸³ The earliest of these is the 1854 *Catalogue of Choice*

⁷⁶ *FJ*, 25 July 1850, 7.

⁷⁷ Details on Michael Dalton can be found in the *FJ*, 7 January 1854, 1, and 15 December 1855, 1, when he moved his premises to Woolloomooloo. See also *FJ*, 10 November 1858, noting the purchase of his stock and trade by Edward Flanagan.

⁷⁸ “Catholic Books,” *FJ*, 18 December 1851, 1.

⁷⁹ Elizabeth Webby, “A Checklist of Early Australian Booksellers’ and Auctioneers’ Catalogues and Advertisements: 1800–1849. Part III 1845–1849,” *Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand Bulletin*, vol. 4, no. 2 (1979): 110–15.

⁸⁰ The London connection with Burns and Lambert is noted in a Moore advertisement in 1851, “Catholic Books,” *FJ*, 18 December 1851, 1.

⁸¹ See W. D. Rubinstein, “The Top Wealth-holders of New South Wales, 1817–1939,” in *Australian Economic History Review*, 20, no. 2 (1980): 141.

⁸² H. J. Gibbney and Ann G. Smith, eds., *A Biographical Register 1788–1939. Notes from the name index of the Australian Dictionary of Biography. Vol. II* (Canberra: Australian National University, 1987), 116.

⁸³ An advertisement in Moore’s *Australian Almanac and Hand Book for the year 1876*, i, directed to

and *Standard Catholic Works*, inserted in the *Catholic Almanac and Directory for Divine Service in the Archdiocese of Sydney and the Diocese of Maitland*. Similarly, a further select one-hundred-and-forty plus page catalogue was inserted in the annual *Moore's Australian Almanac and Hand Book for the Year 1871*.⁸⁴ In addition, scattered throughout the advertising in the annual almanacs one finds a number of catalogue inserts, ranging from five to thirty-two pages.⁸⁵ In effect, our understanding of the range of Moore's holdings relies upon this material and what appears as the near complete though "select" 1871 catalogue. This publication documents multiple titles in various departments and reveals a complex import and trading enterprise for New South Wales, though one of smaller scope than that of his Victorian contemporary George Robertson.⁸⁶

When considering Moore's general stock-in-trade it is the 1871 *Select Catalogue* that provides us with a snapshot of his business in a decade when his book import and retailing was perhaps at its peak. The 1871 *Catalogue* of one-hundred-and-forty-four pages was appended to the thirty-six page *Almanac* of that year, to which was added a further twelve pages of general advertising. The catalogue consists of a general section of standard works, followed by an appendix containing a number of discrete sequences, including: "Works Relating to Ireland," the "Railway Series," "School and College Books," "Books for School Prizes," "Christmas Presents and Birthday Gifts," "Cassell's Children's Library," "Illustrated Books," "Handsomely Bound Books," and "Atlases, Globes, Maps, School Diagrams." Although the appendix does contain a small section dealing with Catholic prayer books, within the general section reference is made to a separate catalogue of "Catholic Publications," the only such reference to a further catalogue. Unfortunately the 1871 Catholic catalogue appears to be no longer extant. The content of the general collection is as diverse as one would expect of a bookseller importing from numerous publishing houses. There are, for

librarians, book-buyers and readers, notes that lists of new books and supplies were issued two and three times a month, containing titles, descriptions, sizes and prices. Advertising in the *SMH* notes the publication of new catalogues, for example, "Just published, 144 pages ... Moore's new select catalogue," *SMH*, 21 November 1870, 1.

⁸⁴ J. J. Moore's *Select Catalogue of New & Standard Books in Every Department of Literature* (Sydney: J. J. Moore, 1871), 1–141, appended to *Moore's Australian Almanac and Hand Book for the Year 1871* (Sydney: J. J. Moore, Australian Book Mart, 1871).

⁸⁵ Nearly all of Moore's almanacs contain some self-advertising, usually of a single page, for example 1858, 1876, 1877. However in the intervening years it is possible to find some substantial catalogues, for example, 1854 (10 pages); 1856 (13 pages); 1861 (23 pages); 1865 (5 pages); 1866 (32 pages). The extant catalogues of 1871 and 1877 appear to be the last substantial catalogues in the *Almanacs* before his death.

⁸⁶ For example, see Robertson's 1860 catalogue, George Robertson, *Trade Catalogue of Books, Stationery & Co.* (Melbourne: George Robertson, William Goodhugh & Co., 1860), 1–168. Later catalogues produced by Robertson in the 1870s were up to 380 pages and contained 55,000 listings. See Kirsop, "The Four Phases of Australian Book-Trade History," 12–13.

example, collected works by Bunyan and texts covering Cook's voyages; a large section on cookery and domestic economy; Darwin's *Origin of the Species* and other works; all of Dickens and George Eliot; the complete writings of Emerson and an extensive "Enquire Within" and "Reason Why" series; works by Charles Kingsley and the Australian Kendall; sections on medicine, surgery, pathology and anatomy; large sections on John Stuart Mill and Thomas Moore; Cameron and Ferguson's extensive musical publications; Thackeray's works and those of the Anglican Archbishop Whately; plus collections like Miss Wetherell's "Popular Tales." Despite the fact there is an appendix of works relating to Ireland, the general listing contains a sprinkling of current Irish historical and political works by such authors as Mitchel, McGee, O'Neill Daunt, Conyngham, and Maguire. Some of the same works by these authors are also found in the Irish section. The total number of titles listed in Moore's 1871 catalogue is approximately 6,000 works.⁸⁷ If we compare this with George Robertson's estimated 55,000 works in his 380 page 1873 catalogue, we get some appreciation of the relative size of Moore's Sydney establishment, and can understand why Kirsop describes Robertson as "the most significant Australian publisher" and importer in the colonies.⁸⁸ J. J. Moore & Co., importers and retailers, should perhaps be considered a large book trade establishment of "middle size."

The Irish appendix in Moore's 1871 catalogue constitutes the only known list of Irish works still extant from nineteenth-century booksellers in Sydney dealing in Irish literatures. One hundred and twenty seven titles are listed, excluding variant editions, and fall into standard nineteenth-century categories for Irish titles—fiction, history, poetry, oratory, biography, music and memoir. The Irish listing provides a good genre profile of the Irish-Australian market after twenty-five years of successful operation, and, when compared with data collected from advertised booklists in the *Freeman's Journal*, largely confirms the overall popularity of Irish fiction, history, and poetry, and the increasing popularity of music, especially song books and historical memoirs for the niche Irish market in New South Wales during this period. Serial fiction, always a strong presence in the *Freeman's Journal*, does increase noticeably over the 1860–70 period, and, when considered as free advertising, would possibly have had a positive impact upon book sales in businesses like that conducted by Moore.⁸⁹

At this stage, 1871, Moore had two competitors for the Irish niche market, Edward Flanagan and James Hill. Flanagan dealt only in Irish and Catholic

⁸⁷ This is based on a count of selective pages averaging forty works per page.

⁸⁸ Kirsop, "The Four Phases of Australian Book-Trade History," 12–13.

⁸⁹ *Freeman's Journal* serial fiction makes a noticeable impact on the paper from the late 1860s, with its poetry and reviews supplemented by extensive runs of fiction from Irish, Irish-American and Irish-Australian writers, including William Carleton, Maurice Kavanagh, Mary Anne Sadlier, Robert Joyce and Charles Gavan Duffy.

works, plus the extensive Irish devotional trade. James Hill retailed both Irish and Catholic works amongst a range of other goods, and when his trade was taken over by his wife, and later, daughter and sister-in-law, the business specialised exclusively in devotional works imported from Irish publishing concerns. While it is impossible to estimate the size of the New South Wales Irish and devotional trade, the fact that there were four booksellers catering to this market from mid-1850 to the early 1890s gives some indication of its vibrancy and business potential. As regards intercolonial trading, documentation suggests there were strong connections between Flanagan, and his successor the Finn Brothers, and the New Zealand Irish and devotional book market. Further, up to the 1880s Moore was supplying the Dunedin booksellers Joseph Macedo, New Zealand's largest retailer of Irish and devotional works, with the great proportion of his stock. In addition Moore was also a major supplier to other New Zealand booksellers, bankruptcy details for the Wellington bookseller George Dutton indicating George Robertson and Jeremiah Moore of Sydney were two of the largest creditors.⁹⁰

A final area of Moore's business interests that should be considered is that dealing with the educational trade. Current evidence suggests J. J. Moore & Co. were the sole agent and depot for the importation and sale of Irish National school books in New South Wales. The Irish National texts, in general use by state run schools throughout the British Empire (in Australia called national schools), were printed by the educational publishers Sullivan Brothers of Dublin, and were only gradually replaced in Australia after the 1870s.⁹¹ Early advertising by Moore, under the banner of the New South Wales legislature coat of arms, indicates he was "Agent" and "Depot for the Sale" for the Irish National publications by at least 1861, and was able "to supply Schools and other Educational Establishments, in any quantity, at greatly reduced prices."⁹² By 1865 advertisements for school and college books plus the Irish National School books, feature prominently,⁹³ and in

⁹⁰ "Meeting of Creditors," *Evening Post* (Wellington), 5 May 1879, 3. George Dutton's principal creditors included George Robertson, bookseller, Melbourne, £390.19s.9d; Hayman & Co., importers, Dunedin, £213.1s.8d.; J. J. Moore, bookseller, Sydney, £205.17s. Joseph Macedo's insolvency file of 1879 indicates that J. J. Moore, bookseller, Sydney, was owed £236, George Robertson, bookseller, Sydney, £12, and Hayman & Co., Dunedin, £682.2s. 10d; see Insolvency File, J. A. Macedo, Archives New Zealand, Dunedin Regional Office, file DAAC, 18118, 552.

⁹¹ Sullivan Brothers were located in Abbey Street, Dublin. Advertising by this company in 1877 maintains 200,000 plus Irish National texts were distributed throughout Britain, Ireland and the Colonies annually. See Sullivan Brothers advertisement in Maurice Hime, *An Introduction to Logic* (Dublin: Sullivan Brothers, 1877), 4.

⁹² "Depot for the Sale of Irish National School Books," *Moore's Almanac and Hand Book ... for the Year 1861* (Sydney: J. Moore, 1861), 6-7.

⁹³ J. J. Moore, "Catalogue of Books and Stationery," *Moore's Almanac and Hand Book ... for the Year 1865*, [53].

1866 he was advertising himself as an educational bookseller with numbers of his publications tailored to the needs of the national schools.

In 1867 many of the National texts became mandatory throughout the New South Wales elementary education system, and additional locally produced texts were added.⁹⁴ Further evidence of Moore's involvement in educational importation, retail and publishing is garnered from advertising in Moore's early almanacs up to 1870. For example, the 1856 *Almanac and Handbook* contains a thirteen-page catalogue exclusively of educational books; the 1861 *Almanac* twenty-three pages of school texts; the 1865 *Almanac* a five-page educational catalogue; and of the 1866 *Almanac*, a thirty-two page catalogue, twenty-one pages of which are devoted to educational works.⁹⁵ In addition, Moore was closely associated with the committee of teachers that produced the *Australian Journal of Education*, a journal that, over its short life, regularly reviewed his educational publications and in 1870 acknowledged Moore's *Australian Almanac* as being for seventeen years an important source of information for teachers on educational book importation and publishing in the Australian colonies. Of the 1870 *Almanac* it noted that, "the extensive and valuable catalogue of books and stationery which it contains ought alone to ensure it a place on the table or bookshelves of every teacher."⁹⁶

Inferences that can be drawn suggest Moore was heavily involved in educational importation and distribution for various school systems, both national and denominational, that this was an extremely lucrative trade and that possibly it funded his establishment through the decades from the late 1850s to at least the early 1870s. One source suggests it was through educational works alone that Moore survived and built his fortune.⁹⁷ We know from his Deceased Estate details and later sources that Moore carried a very large stock, valued on his death at over £12,000. However Forde, who had many dealings with Moore, suggested, in his 1910 articles, that much of Moore's stock never moved:

Jerry's stock in the early seventies was an extraordinary one. His agent at home, or his indent clerk here, had wonderful notions of the reading capabilities of Mr Moore's customers. He certainly had a wholesale connection. I was in the trade myself then and have "cleared" Jerry's shelves of volumes in sets—Chambers' Encyclopaedia, Chambers' Miscellany, and such like—by the score, books that had never been disturbed from the time that they were unpacked until Sam Shaw

⁹⁴ See Alan Barcan, *Two Centuries of Education in New South Wales* (Sydney: NSW University Press, 1988), 106–10.

⁹⁵ Extant *Almanacs* for the years 1875, 1876, 1877, 1878, 1879, 1880, 1882, 1885 contain no further catalogues or educational inserts.

⁹⁶ *The Australian Journal of Education*, vol. 8, no.1 (1870): 20.

⁹⁷ Jeremiah John Moore, "Jeremiah John Moore," typescript, 4pp. Archives of the Catholic Archdiocese of Sydney, St. Mary's Cathedral.

(RIP.) or Mr Keiley, had the dust of years brushed off them at my order, and Jerry used to “wonder” how the stock came to accumulate.⁹⁸

The above indicates a certain nonchalance as regards stock turnover. Given Moore’s business assets it perhaps suggests there were other titles, such as the school texts, that provided the quick sales and bulk movement of in-demand stock. The *Bulletin*, in 1880, acknowledged that Moore “had printed for the schools of this colony many useful books,” inferring that, like his “sheet almanac” that was “issued in increasing thousands,” the school texts were also hugely profitable.⁹⁹ Moore was a great self-publicist, and invariably his publication lists are flagged in the *Almanacs*. For example, the 1871 *Almanac* lists a complete page of his firm’s publications, including many school texts, while the 1882 *Almanac* lists school works as published, nearly ready, or in preparation.¹⁰⁰

These lists do not include the Catholic religious works published by Moore in the late 1840s and early 1850s, nor the more general works noted in Ferguson’s *Bibliography of Australia* such as the *Scripture Lessons, for the use of schools. New Testament* (1849), and the school text *Moore’s Table Book for the use of Schools* (1860).¹⁰¹ It appears many of the early religious and educational works were not reprinted and so did not form part of Moore’s small but staple publication list.

Conclusion

In 1880 Moore undertook an extensive journey to Europe, including a period in Ireland. Evidence from the *Bulletin* in 1880, half-jokingly querying his state of mind, plus his obituary in the *Freeman’s Journal* in February 1883, indicates Moore had been unwell for several years, was seen less in public, and went into sudden decline after his return to New South Wales. He died at the relatively young age of sixty-four at his residence in Woollahra and was buried in the Catholic cemetery in Petersham.¹⁰² Statements in the Sydney *Bulletin* of the 1880s, plus later comments by Tyrrell, tend to cast Moore as a rather colourful and eccentric individual, especially in relation to the production of his annual *Almanac and Directory*.¹⁰³ However, the *Bulletin* observer, in describing him as “industrious and frugal,” and Moore’s obituary writer in the *Freeman’s Journal* praising the

⁹⁸ Forde, “Old Sydney: Truth Articles, 1903–28,” no. 155, 25 September 1910, 131.

⁹⁹ “Personal Item,” *The Bulletin*, 19 June 1880. One extant single-sheet copy of *Moore’s Sydney Commercial Sheet Almanac*, for the year 1855 is noted in J. A. Ferguson, *Bibliography of Australia, Vol. VI* (Sydney; London: Angus and Robertson, 1965), 716.

¹⁰⁰ J. J. Moore, *Almanac and Hand Book ... for the Year 1871*, 155; J. J. Moore, *Almanac and Hand Book ... for the Year 1882*, xiii.

¹⁰¹ Ferguson, *Bibliography of Australia*, vol. iv, 265, and vol. vi, 712.

¹⁰² “Obituary. Jeremiah John Moore,” *Freeman’s Journal*, 10 February 1883, 16; *The Bulletin*, 19 June 1880, 9, and 26 June 1880, 4. Moore’s Death Certificate indicates he died from “softening of the brain;” see “Moore, J. J.,” NSW BDM 1883/4152.

¹⁰³ See Tyrrell, *Old Books, Old Friends, Old Sydney*, 29.

“practical knowledge and unresting energy” that enabled him to “push his way in the world,” perhaps throw into relief those characteristics required in the “rough and ready”¹⁰⁴ world of the early Sydney book trade of the 1840s and 1850s.

Moore quickly developed his trade once he had both identified his markets and achieved relative financial security. However, what is characteristic of his approach is the obvious business skill that enabled him to progressively enter the book trade while still operating as a cobbler. His barrow market progressed into a circulating library and bookshop establishment, and, by 1851, he was touting himself as wholesale stationer, letterpress printer, publisher, bookbinder and circulating library proprietor, with the “largest assortment of *light reading* of any library in the colony.”¹⁰⁵ With an opportunist’s eye for the bargain, Moore grew his business rapidly, displaying his understanding of the trade and ability to supply the niche market wherever it appeared. His close connection with Irish and Catholic devotional publishing and book importation, plus his development of the educational market in New South Wales are obvious examples, and of course he never stopped retailing stationery and its associated items.¹⁰⁶

As to the undertaking of the publication of miscellaneous Catholic works as required, and later the substantial educational texts and maps, we know, from colophons on his publications, that Moore, after a certain date, left the printing to those qualified in the trade. In effect his publishing business rested largely on his entrepreneurial skills as business manager and quality controller in charge of a production and distribution process that obviously involved liaison with authors, printers, distributors and, in the case of educational texts, departmental authorities. We get some hint of the networking required from statements he made concerning the production of his 1854 almanac, and the difficulties and the “great pains” involved in obtaining information “first hand” from gentlemen at “the various offices where information was sought.”¹⁰⁷ Like a newspaper journalist, Moore “did the rounds,” made numerous personal contacts, and instilled confidence. From humble beginnings publishing church hymn-books, texts for Catholic schools, and devotional works, Moore proved his reliability, a characteristic that ensured his access to high profile contracts for the lucrative importing and publishing of school text-books in New South Wales.

Finally, Moore should be assessed not only as an important Australian colonial bookseller, but also as an immigrant whose experience throws into relief the collective Irish experience. A well-known figure in the Irish Catholic community of Sydney that included a number of prominent booksellers such as

¹⁰⁴ *Bulletin*, 26 June 1880, 4.

¹⁰⁵ My italics, see “Cheap Book and Stationery Establishment,” *FJ*, 6 March, 1851.

¹⁰⁶ See for example his advertisement in the *Sydney Morning Herald* of 1873 for the “Inexhaustible Magic Inkstand,” *SMH*, 25 October 1873.

¹⁰⁷ J. J. Moore, *Almanac and Handbook ... for the Year 1854*, preface.

Edward Flanagan, James Hill, Robert Hannigan, D. R. Mitchell and William Dolman, Moore was part of a network both within that community, and in the colony as a whole. The colonial printing trade was an amalgam of small business concerns—publishers, printers, booksellers, newspaper proprietors, auctioneers, writers and editors, that, as Webby noted, multi-tasked for many decades. While Moore's ethnic grouping was important in facilitating advancement, he quickly moved aspects of his business beyond the confines of the Irish and Catholic community in Sydney, dealing and trading for all groups and creeds within New South Wales. It is perhaps indicative of his business direction, and his realisation of potential commercial opportunities, that whilst Irish and Catholic booksellers identified their premises by ethnic origin, for example Edward Flanagan's "Dublin Book Mart;" James Hill's "Armagh House;" Hannigan and Mitchell's "Irish National, American and Catholic Literature Depot," Moore chose to name his business premises the "Australian Book Mart." Unlike many nineteenth-century Irish-Australians Moore was not afraid of wealth.¹⁰⁸ Consequently, his approach to business is not typical of the Australasian Colonial Irish bookseller, especially that of the latter stages of the century typified by the advertisements of some Catholic booksellers severely critical of those in the trade who branched out beyond the Irish and Catholic clientele.¹⁰⁹ This position would have been totally anathema to Moore's business ideals. Moore's movement from Dublin cobbler to Sydney bookseller, printer, and publisher; his considerable investment in property; experimentation in business partnerships; expansion in Victoria; developments in the country districts of New South Wales; and later, expansion in Queensland, provide ample evidence of his versatility and ability to move beyond the economic conditioning of his pre-Famine Irish background where access to disposable capital, and the skills for making and growing wealth, were generally not freely available.

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¹⁰⁸ A characteristic that O'Farrell maintains was strongly present in the Irish Catholic immigrant experience in Australia, and that was later reinforced by some clergy. See O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 120.

¹⁰⁹ For example, Sydney booksellers Louis Gille, under the patronage of Sydney's Cardinal Moran, noted the following of its business: "Its staff, from the Manager to the youngest errand boy, is, has been and will always be Composed of Catholics ... its stock of Church Requisites, religious articles, and books is purely and solely of the approved Catholic style. Its management has always systematically left aside all other goods. It has refused, as inconsistent with its high hoisted flag ... Australian General Catholic Depot ... to imitate other firms which, on the contrary, try to stock articles of a dubious style, so as to cater as well to the numerous Protestant Denominations, "Important. Messrs. Louis Gille and Co.'s Australian General Catholic Depot," *FJ*, 4 March 1899, 14.