

Devotion and Acculturation:
*Irish Print Culture and the Ethnic-Religious
 Interface in Colonial New Zealand, 1873-1914*

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Introduction

In surveying nineteenth-century Australian and New Zealand Catholic Irish newspapers one is often struck by the consistent advertising of religious and Irish national literature; sermons sit side-by-side with separatist political oratory, theological works with militant Irish nationalist texts, prayer books with Irish and Catholic fiction, and music for Latin masses with Irish national song books and popular ballads. That all these literatures were utilised in the process of ethnic definition in New Zealand and Australia is without doubt, as the content of surviving newspapers like the *Sydney Freeman's Journal* and *New Zealand Tablet* testify. However, the status of the composition of that literature, its perceived dual Catholic and Irish national components in Irish consciousness, has received little attention by those working in the field of Irish Studies, Irish Diaspora Studies or print history. With this in mind the following paper will explore the link between ethnic identity and Irish print culture, and assess how the Irish-Catholic immigrant community in nineteenth-century New Zealand negotiated this relationship. In addition the paper will consider the use of print as both an index-marker for situating the Irish within New Zealand society, and as a means for plotting the progress of this group towards ethnic definition and acculturation over the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

The Irish arrived in New Zealand over several periods; the first major influx between 1860-70, was initiated by the discovery of gold in the Central Otago and Westland provinces of the South Island. This was followed by planned immigration schemes covering the period 1871-1888, designed to set in motion a large-scale public works programme. Nomination and kinship-ties were features of these schemes. The third period of nineteenth-century immigration dates from the 1890s and is characterised by a rapid falling-off in numbers to a very much smaller though steady stream of immigrants. The peak period for Irish born in New Zealand was 1886, when Irish Catholics numbered approximately 90-100,000, or 18.5% of the population, evenly split between Irish born and their offspring.¹

Evidence of the use of print as a social, cultural and organisational tool can be found from the initial stage of the Irish presence in New Zealand. In 1841,

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Irishman Thomas Poynton of the Hokianga, North Auckland, was acting as agent for the Sydney produced *Australasian Chronicle*, a nominally Catholic paper carrying Irish news. Throughout the 1850s copies of the Sydney based Irish-Catholic newspaper the *Freeman's Journal* were regularly finding their way to Irish settlers in New Zealand, and by the 1860s this publication had agents in Dunedin and Auckland, as well as in Westport and Charleston on the West Coast of the South Island. In 1867 the *New Zealand Celt*, New Zealand's first Irish newspaper, began publication in Hokitika in the South Island. Appearing at a time of growing Irish Fenian membership in both Australia and New Zealand, and a recent attempted assassination of Queen Victoria's son in Sydney, this newspaper was proscribed under the hastily introduced *New Zealand Treason Felony Act* of 1868, and its editors imprisoned for sedition.² The demise of this publication removed the secular base from which a public Irish voice in New Zealand might have developed. The next major Irish newspaper initiative, the *New Zealand Tablet*, began its life quite clearly under Irish clerical control and operated with a more 'loyal' and 'Catholic' Irish agenda.³ In fact, it would be forty-eight years before the next appearance of a fully secular Irish newspaper in New Zealand.⁴

In line with the international use of the Irish-Catholic newspaper in the diaspora, Irish clerical personnel were quick to recognise the potential of print as an information and cultural medium.⁵ Setting out the newspaper's "objects and principles," the first editorial of the *New Zealand Tablet* of May 1873 admitted that the paper's proprietors embarked on the newspaper venture almost reluctantly, to fill the void created by a lack of "good books":

It is difficult...for all in this remote corner of the world to procure such books, and it has, consequently, struck the proprietors that a good Catholic newspaper might, to a very considerable extent at all events, meet this difficulty.⁶

This oft-cited editorial was the paper's first public utterance, and its innocuous tone could be seen as something written to placate the largely Presbyterian Dunedin community, where the paper was printed, and to allay residual government fears regarding militant Irish nationalism. Nevertheless, the intention of providing information for Irish Catholics, and the New Zealand public, by removing "that veil of prejudice through which the Irish nation...[was] regarded,"⁷ appears to have been just as paramount as its religious agenda, and was repeated throughout the paper's editorials in succeeding years.⁸ A later advertisement by the paper's proprietors commented: "love of country and of religion occupies the first place among the highest sentiments of Irishmen. With them patriotism and religion seem so entwined that the cultivation or neglect of the one implies the cultivation or neglect of the other."⁹ In the mid-1880s P.E. Hurley, an observer of Irish

Catholic immigrants in New Zealand, commented upon this close bond, for the Irish, between the “land of their fathers” and the “faith of their fathers.” Hurley linked religion, nationality, emigration and education in distinctly New Zealand terms that demanded both the creation of a strong Catholicism and sense of Irish nationalism:

[I]n New Zealand the mass of our Catholic people are ‘exiles of Erin.’ The vast majority of them are the sons and daughters of the small farmer and the labourer. They left their homes without wealth and with only the rudiments of knowledge. They are merged in the different nationalities scattered through this vast country, where Catholics are in a miserable minority...Landing on these shores, our young men and women...very often...have only a vague, sometimes, an incorrect knowledge of what they precisely do believe...We are here not a nation-but isolated individuals.¹⁰

The reasons for the entwining of Irish Catholicism and Irish cultural and political nationalism are many and complex, including the stance of European Catholicism in a post-Napoleonic world; the rise of Daniel O’Connell’s Catholic Association in the 1820s — the “first mass movement in Western Europe,” operating with its penny-rent funding programme, and resting upon the “double foundation of the authority of the priest and the general will of the people”; the emotional and political impact of the great Famine of the 1840s; and a devotional revolution between 1850-1870 that permanently changed Irish religion and religious practice.¹¹ Needless to say, in a post-Famine context religion and Irish nationality were well-accepted as interchangeable metaphors in public discourse by both Irish and non-Irish observers.¹² The consequent dual role played by Irish clerical figures within the New Zealand Catholic Church, in their protection of Catholic and Irish national interests, and the construction of an Irish-Catholic identity, were outcomes evident not only in this country but throughout the Irish diaspora.¹³

Within this complex social and cultural profile the artefacts of Irish print culture — books, newspapers, prints and religious paraphernalia — assume the prominence alluded to in the *New Zealand Tablet’s* first editorial. Books and newspapers, the information medium of the Irish diaspora, can be considered a print source that played a key role in mediating the lives of this immigrant community, both internally, in their new country, and externally, by keeping this group in touch with other Irish-diasporic communities and their home land. In an international context nineteenth-century Irish and Catholic print culture attenuated the conditions of the isolated Irish immigrant identified by Hurley, by integrating this group into a local and international community “pervaded by the nationalist move-

ments and by the Roman Catholic Church."¹⁴ Within this space created by Irish and Catholic print, books and newspapers, the Irish immigrant was always sure of his or her place, whether in the new colonial settlements of Australia or New Zealand or the more established countries of North America. In effect, "traditional conceptions of nationhood" were no longer necessarily "territorially bounded."¹⁵

It would not be entirely true, however, to assume that interest in religious and devotional literatures in the New Zealand and Australian Irish communities was the result of clerical imposition. Evidence from Sydney in New South Wales suggests that from 1840 to the mid-1880s there was little clerical involvement in the business direction of Irish booksellers and importers who regularly shipped in large quantities of both religious and Irish national works from publishing houses in Dublin, London and later New York.¹⁶ In New Zealand, from the early 1870s, Irish business concerns tapped into a well-established international trade in devotional and secular Irish literatures at a time that coincided with the establishing of an Irish Catholic administration in New Zealand. Although papers like the *New Zealand Tablet* and *New Zealand Freeman's Journal* give the appearance of providing clerical direction in reader preference, it seems Irish clerical leaders simply integrated existing colonial print culture resources into their long-term program for the Irish Catholic community.¹⁷ In Australia clerical involvement in the promotion of Irish-Catholic nationalism is ascribed by Patrick O'Farrell as beginning in the 1880s, considerably post-dating, for example, the well-established and very profitable Irish and Catholic bookselling concerns of notable Irish booksellers like Jeremiah Moore, Edward Flanagan and James Hill in the central business district of the city of Sydney.¹⁸

Evidence: the Literature

Bookseller advertising lists gathered from the *New Zealand Tablet*, the only continuously published Irish-Catholic newspaper over the five decades from 1873-1914, suggests a substantial number of religious, devotional and Irish national works were imported over the period by, and for, this ethnic group. In addition, contextual data indicates that access to both the newspaper, and to Catholic and Irish literatures, was seen as vital for consolidating the idea of an Irish-Catholic immigrant community.¹⁹

Of just over fifteen-hundred religious titles identified as regular imports by Irish and Catholic booksellers, 44% are strictly devotional, including such works as manuals, sermons, prayer books, Marian works and breviaries, designed for both a general and clerical Catholic audience; 19% fall into the controversial category theology, apologetics, biblical criticism, lectures and philosophy — works

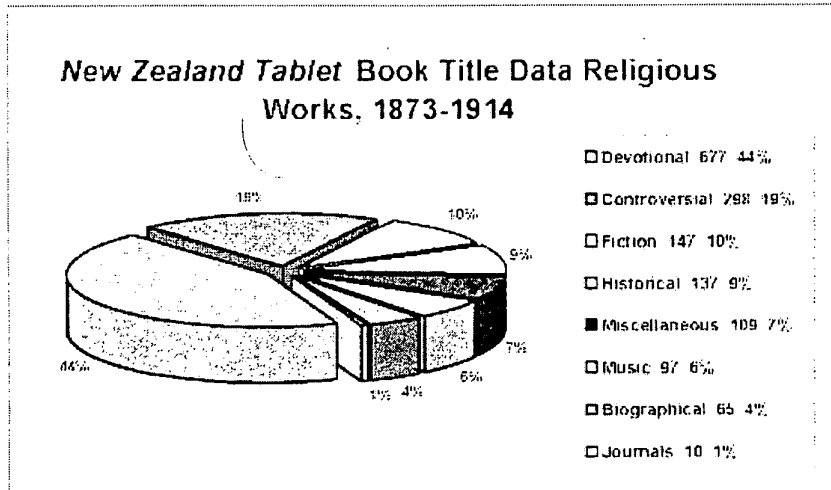


Fig. 1 Advertised Religious works, New Zealand Tablet. Total recorded texts =1540.

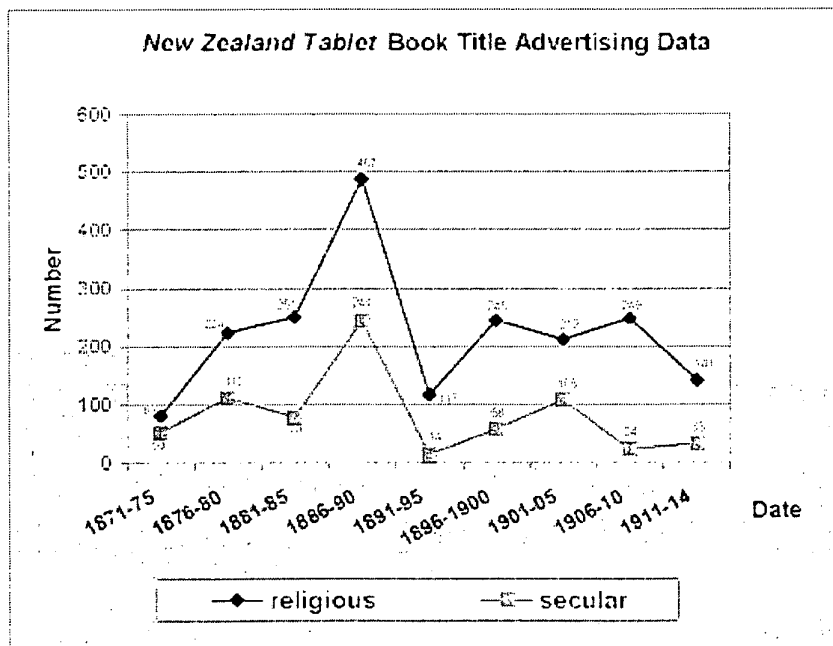


Fig.2 New Zealand Tablet total book title advertising data, 1873-1914.

more than likely purchased by educated clergy and wealthy lay Catholics; while other categories include non-Irish Catholic fiction at 10%; historical works, including hagiography, 9%; biographical 4%, with church music and the annual and bi-annual religious and general Catholic journals, many with a large fictional content, at 6% and 1% respectively. These works originated largely from publishing houses in Dublin, New York, London and Glasgow, such as James Duffy & Co. and M.H. Gill; D. & J. Sadlier, P.J. Kenedy and the Benziger Bros; Cameron and Ferguson; and Burns, Oates and Co. Later, New Zealand booksellers were also receiving book imports via Sydney and Melbourne booksellers Finn Bros & Co., Louis Gille, and W.P. Linehan.²⁰

For an overall picture of the importation and retailing of Irish-Catholic works by booksellers specialising in this trade we can add to the above data a further five-hundred secular Irish national works.²¹ The comparison, of approximately two thousand titles, indicates religious works dominated secular Irish national works by three-to-one.

In the absence of extant import and bookselling business records from the chief business concerns in the trade, the above data relies on the book-title and author-list advertisements placed by those importers and booksellers. Annual title and author frequency has been used, not weekly advertisement frequency. Given the generally long duration of many single advertisements, advertised titles have been recorded by yearly appearance. These have subsequently been grouped in a five-year time-period and then graphed (fig.2). In terms of book categories, definitions have been assigned according to accepted usage within nineteenth century Irish-Catholic newspapers in both New Zealand and New South Wales.²² Though produced on a regular basis no New Zealand Irish-Catholic booksellers' catalogues appear to have survived, so it is impossible to determine exactly what categories may have been used. In general however, extant catalogues from publishing houses James Duffy & Co, Dublin, and D. & J. Sadlier, New York, plus early Sydney catalogues produced by Irish and Catholic booksellers J.J. Moore and William Dolman, organise works alphabetically, by publisher's series, or author, and only very occasionally by category.²³

Total collected advertising data (fig.2), indicates a close correlation, over five decades, between the advertising and/or popularity of religious and secular works.

Conclusions that may be tentatively drawn suggest that in the period before 1900 those purchasing religious works were also those most likely to purchase Irish national works, the close effect of one upon the other also being noted in the anecdotal literature on the subject.²⁴ Given that profit margins for bookselling on this scale were relatively small in the nineteenth-century colonial world of print, that proprietors knew their stock well, and were in many cases on familiar

terms with many of their clientele, advertising would appear to run parallel to perceived demand. Peak advertising occurs over the mid 1880 to mid 1890 period, a time of heightened political activity in Ireland, and representation of Irish issues in the British and Colonial press. This also marks the period of the highest number of immigrant Irish Catholics, and their offspring, in New Zealand. From 1900 oppositional trends are evident in the data, which may indicate the rise of separate audiences for religious and Irish national literature. This could be partly explained by the complete disarray of Irish national politics after the fall of Parnell and defeat of Gladstone's 1893 Home Rule Bill, and the consequent disillusionment of many colonial Irish with political processes in Ireland. In 1897 it was acknowledged in one *New Zealand Tablet* editorial, and subsequent correspondence, that the rising New Zealand-born Irish-Catholic generation had very little knowledge of, or familiarity with, Irish literature and culture.²⁵ This change, part of a generational shift that saw the reading habits of second generation Irish-Catholics move more towards mainstream reading habits, witnessed the demise of Irish literature in mainstream advertising, and the almost complete disappearance of the nineteenth-century Irish-American novel in New Zealand.²⁶ In addition, there is an obvious shift in content and format of the *New Zealand Tablet*. This reflects, possibly, a move in audience expectation, from a mixed Irish-national and strictly church-news journal towards a more ecclesiological and devotional paper that, with the exception of those years of Irish history between 1916-1922, remained the preferred format for many future decades.²⁷ A similar trend is also evident in the Sydney *Freeman's Journal*, though contextual data here indicates that clerical authorities in New South Wales were advocating for both a more religious and cheaper newspaper than the *Freeman's Journal*, and one that would be directly under the control of a clerical committee, with content vetted by the incumbent Cardinal, Patrick Moran.²⁸ The mood of the times is reflected in the various papers given on newspapers, Catholic journalism, and a Catholic press association, by the editor of the *New Zealand Tablet*, Rev. Henry Cleary, at the Second Australasian Catholic Congress in Melbourne in 1904.²⁹

Current nineteenth-century data indicates the existence of an Irish transnational literature based on the large-scale print production of Irish and Irish-diaspora literatures in Ireland, England, Scotland and the United States, and the movement of Irish print between these locations, as well as to major areas of recent Irish settlement in such places such as Australia, Argentina and New Zealand.³⁰ Unlike models that have traditionally mapped the movement of nineteenth-century print-output from centre to periphery, for example the case of the Colonial Editions, there is no such obvious movement in the transnational model.³¹ Publishing houses in places of Irish settlement, including in some in-

stances Australia, produced many of the same titles and exported their products freely across nation-state boundaries for an Irish transnational audience. This movement of print also included the exporting of texts "back to the metropolis," and the phenomenon of local diasporic print productions in turn becoming transnational texts.³² Although there was a substantial secular component that was both political and imaginative, and was linked with historical and contemporary notions of origin and exile, change and adaptability, the literature produced was predominantly religious, devotional and Catholic, and was in keeping with developments in the period — devotional revolutions in post-Napoleonic France, followed by post-famine Ireland — that accelerated growth in nineteenth-century Catholic religious printing.³³ With large print runs religious works played an important role in the funding of secular printing and kept both printers and publishers in business.³⁴ This was crucial to the survival of the smaller Irish and Catholic publishing houses in Ireland and America, as well as the Irish and Catholic booksellers in Australia and New Zealand. Though book production figures are not extant, circumstantial evidence would suggest that the bulk production of nineteenth-century Irish and Catholic literatures, in English, took place outside Ireland, mainly in the United States and Britain, and in most cases by Irish and Catholic publishers in those countries.³⁵

An additional impact on, and component of, nineteenth-century Irish print culture, was the rise in English language religious writing and publishing, the product of the nineteenth-century English Catholic renaissance.³⁶ Booklists published in Sydney papers the *Australasian Chronicle* and *Morning Chronicle* in the 1840s, contain numerous devotional works and translations from English publishing houses, as well as works from the publishing house of James Duffy in Dublin.³⁷ However, from 1850 the Sydney *Freeman's Journal* was regularly advertising imports of Catholic works from the London publishing houses Charles Dolman, Burns and Lambert and Thomas Richardson and Son, a publisher, bookseller and stationer with premises in both Dublin and London.³⁸ From this time the names of Hay, Manning, Wiseman, Newman, Milner, Faber, Fullerton, Formby, Allies and Benson begin to pervade the bookseller lists, and works by these authors later become recommended literary standards for New Zealand Catholic Irish readers. One can see in the *New Zealand Tablet* from the 1880s the interchangeability of English and Irish texts in both advertising and serial fiction. Added to this was the intermixing of religious and secular works, Irish authors and English authors, in the same booklists.³⁹ The apparent semantic shift from Irish national literature to Catholic literature, and the blurring of distinctions between Irish and Catholic writers, is evident in advertisements like the following:

Encourage the spread of Catholic Literature by patronising Catholic Booksellers, and read such AUTHORS as – Lady Fullerton, Miss Caddell, Frances Noble, Mrs Hope, Mrs Parsons, Mrs Cashel Hoey, Mrs Sadlier, Clara Mulholland, Miss E. M. Stewart, Father Finn, C.J. Kickham, Gerald Griffin, Father Potter, Father O'Reilly, Faber, Manning, Newman, Wiseman, and other Writers of Fiction, and Morals.⁴⁰

Of the above eighteen writers, six are Irish, three Irish-American, and nine English.⁴¹ As this example indicates, the cultural transformation or morphing of Irish national literature into general Catholic literature as an ethnic preference for the Irish in New Zealand was one that assumed prominence in New Zealand towards the turn of the century. Strict ethnic identification became less important for the developing second generation Irish, than the social and cultural values of an international Catholicism in English.

Finally, while a detailed investigation of the New Zealand Irish and Catholic book importers and booksellers is beyond the scope of the present paper, some aspects of their trade, and its difference from that in New South Wales, should be noted. A feature of early bookselling in Sydney was professional multi-tasking. As Elizabeth Webby has noted, "bookselling was rarely a full-time occupation in Australia before 1850," and even for several decades later it was combined with stationary sales, circulating libraries, lithography, bookbinding and publishing endeavours, and, in the case of the Irish-Catholic coterie, the world of newspapers, whether printing, publishing, editing or writing.⁴² Certainly the availability of the efficient and transportable Albion presses from the 1820s made a combined business of publishing and bookselling quite feasible, and it is presumed these early Irish and Catholic business concerns in Sydney were using the Albion, or some similar model, to produce shop catalogues, almanacs, church directories, and a steady number of religious publications over the 1840-1880 period.⁴³ These circumstances differ quite markedly to that in New Zealand where, over the 1870-1914 period, it appears Irish and Catholic booksellers were confined exclusively to bookselling and devotional retailing, with catalogues and other works almost always produced by specialist newspaper printers such as the Tablet Printing Company Ltd. in Dunedin, or the Catholic Times Printing Company in Wellington, both of whom established commercial jobbing departments to ensure long-term financial viability.⁴⁴ Correspondingly, business diversity and opportunity in the New South Wales context, including property investment, and branch establishments, inevitably led to wealth creation, the estates of a number of Sydney Irish-Catholic booksellers, deceased or retired over the 1880-1900 period, having achieved considerably more than a modicum of financial security.⁴⁵ New Zealand Irish and Catholic booksellers by contrast, working with a much smaller Irish and Catholic

population base, generally eked out a more modest existence, and though there were good decades, one estate showing above average wealth for a family business that continued well into the twentieth century, diminishing returns in some cities did lead to closure and bankruptcy.⁴⁶

Conclusion: The religious-ethnic interface

Was the retailing and buying of Catholic literature by Irish immigrants in New Zealand an act of national affirmation by Irish colonials; just as much a statement about being Irish, as of being Catholic? And did this dramatically change with a generational shift over the years 1900-1914, one that witnessed a steady diminishing of the presence of secular Irish national literatures in preference to largely English Catholic works? In answer to both questions, we can perhaps say yes. The buying of Catholic literatures by Irish immigrants in nineteenth-century New Zealand was an act of national affirmation, in the same sense that the production and purchase of Bunyan's *Pilgrims Progress*, membership of the British Tract Society (BTS), or the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS), was a national affirmation of Englishness, and British imperial culture.⁴⁷

However, there are obviously as many different strands involved in the understanding of reader preferences for the Irish in the diaspora as there are for the British Victorian world. The preceding data for the Irish in New Zealand indicates ethnicity, identity, was something that was not fixed, determined or necessarily consciously known, but was the result of a process that was negotiated in that space between physical arrival, and the emergence of a relatively acculturated second generation.⁴⁸ The Irish did not arrive in New Zealand or Australia with a necessarily coherent or articulated view of either religion or national identity, and certainly did not come armed with books and other print culture accessories. As a considerable amount of contextual evidence indicates, these were things that were quite consciously constructed within New Zealand society in response to specific Irish needs and the place of this group as a minority in a largely Anglo-Saxon⁴⁹ culture. Evidence from Irish Catholic newspapers like the *New Zealand Tablet* indicates that in this process clerical authorities certainly utilised existing print culture structures for pastoral ends, and encouraged and made use of religious and secular Irish texts, at will, in their construction of a strong Catholic-Irish ethnic awareness in nineteenth-century New Zealand.

As to the weight, or composition of the literature imported, evidence suggests that in the popular mind at least Catholic and secular Irish literatures had been "formalised" as complimentary aspects of a national literature from a very early period in the nineteenth century, and that by the mid-1840s this literature was being imported into Australia, many years before a strong Irish church adminis-

tration was in place. Evidence suggests a trickle-over effect for New Zealand from this date, with books being sent to individuals in Auckland in the 1830s; the ready availability, through New Zealand agents, of Australian Catholic Irish newspapers from the 1840s; and in Auckland the very active Irish small-business community over the 1840-60 period, members of whom founded such clerically autonomous associations as the Auckland Catholic Literary Society, and later became involved in the *New Zealand Freeman's Journal*.⁵⁰ Further influences, via the Irish from the Victorian goldfields, manifested themselves in the goldmining towns of Otago and the South Island's West Coast from the 1860s, with the first appearance of an Irish newspaper in Hokitika, the *New Zealand Celt*, in 1867, and by the early 1870s the establishing of a national Irish-Catholic newspaper and regular book retail trade for the Irish Catholic community in general.

Obviously publishing production determined the availability of texts and the types of literatures colonial Irish Catholic booksellers would import. As surviving publishing and import records indicate, in a niche market the latest secular Irish texts — fiction, history, poetry — could not compete with the sheer volume of new and translated writings generated from an international Catholic community. It is evident that Irish publishing houses in Dublin and New York, and English publishing houses in London, were producing large orders of Catholic works, very often all producing the same texts. However, nineteenth-century colonial importers appear to have made very little distinction between Catholic and Irish literatures in terms of suitable subject matter for first-generation Irish immigrants. Newspaper advertising discourse similarly conflates the notion of devotional and national publications as an accepted norm for the Irish Catholic community. Although beyond the scope of this study, account should be made of the transitional nature of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Irish literature, in terms of new authors, quality, production, and access to publishing houses. Although a period rich in Irish publishing production, new works do not appear to have fed into the mainstream Irish Catholic colonial world.⁵¹

Just as the huge financial burden undertaken by immigrants in the investment in bricks and mortar for churches, religious houses and separate educational facilities was a source of religious, national and ethnic pride, and a visible manifestation of an Irish presence in their new society, so too was the setting up of ethnic newspapers, and the construction of print culture networks for the importation of literatures that were largely unavailable to the Irish in New Zealand through the established print culture channels.⁵²

If Irish print culture had one major function to perform in nineteenth-century New Zealand it was as a tool for the creation of a "shared landscape," a set of social, cultural, political and religious reference points that sought to address in-

herent issues associated with emigration from the land of Ireland, and adjustment in a new social and cultural landscape. Catholic culture, combined with Irish cultural and political nationalism, was used as a way of forming and consolidating ethnic identity, and provided a convenient bridge over the period of generational shift in which the Irish in New Zealand became, to a degree, acculturated in selected aspects of New Zealand's predominant Anglo-Saxon society.

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Endnotes

¹ Donald Harman Akenson, *Half the world from Home. Perspectives on the Irish in New Zealand 1860-1950* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1990), 39, 63-64. For an overview of immigration data flows in New Zealand to 1914, including inflow and outflow graphs, see "British and Irish Immigration to New Zealand 1840-1914," at <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/Gallery/brit-nz/index.htm> [Accessed 6 April 2005].

² Circulation figures for the *New Zealand Celt* were given by the paper's proprietors as 1500 weekly, *New Zealand Celt*, 21 February 1868, 13. This paper is hereafter referred to as *NZC*.

³ "Our Objects and Principles," *New Zealand Tablet*, 3 May 1873, 8. Hereafter referred to as *NZT*.

⁴ *The Green Ray. A Review of Current Affairs, Literature, Art, Industry, and a Magazine of Irish National Thought*, published from Dunedin between 1916-1918. See also Richard Davis, *Irish Issues in New Zealand Politics 1868-1922* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press), 196-98.

⁵ See "The Newspaper Press," *NZT*, 13 February 1875, 9-10.

⁶ *NZT*, 3 May 1873, 8.

⁷ "Circular," *NZT*, 11 February 1876, 10.

⁸ See for example, "Catholic Newspapers," *NZT*, 25 August 1876, 10-11, "The Catholic Press alone is the friend of the Irishman. In its columns alone does he meet with justice and due appreciation, and here alone does he find his nation fitly estimated, its trials considered, and its interests advocated."

⁹ "Important Notice to the Catholic Reading Public," *NZT*, 21 March 1884, 10.

¹⁰ P.E. Hurley, "Some Reasons Why Catholics Lose the Faith in New Zealand," in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 3rd Series, 8 (1887), 206-07.

¹¹ Sheridan Gilley, "The Roman Catholic Church and the Nineteenth-Century Irish Diaspora," in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 35, no.2 (1984), 194-195 and passim.

¹² For a nineteenth-century New Zealand example of this see J.C. Firth, *Our Kin Across the Sea*. With a Preface by J.A. Froude (London: Longmans, 1888), 199-208.

¹³ Hurley, "Some Reasons Why Catholics Lose the Faith in New Zealand," 214, and Gilley, "The Roman Catholic Church," passim.

¹⁴ Gilley, "The Roman Catholic Church," 189.

¹⁵ Kevin Kenny, "Diaspora and Comparison: The Global Irish as a Case Study," *Journal of American History*, vol. 90, no.1 (2004): 4., at, <http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/jah/90.1/kenny.html>. [Accessed 10 January 2005]. Gilley, "The Roman Catholic Church," 189, describes this as the creation of an "international consciousness" through the "fusion of religious, national and ethnic identity," and "reinforced by newspapers, parochial organisations and political parties."

¹⁶This changed with the arrival of Patrick Moran in 1884, and his evident involvement in the large-scale ordering and purchase of school books and other religious works in the 1890s; see for example Benziger Bros. (N.Y.), invoices for 10 February & 18 December 1899, in Patrick Cardinal Moran, "Correspondence," Archives of the Catholic Archdiocese of Sydney, St. Mary's Cathedral, Series 2/33, T2521.

¹⁷This is particularly noticeable in the period the *NZT* was under the control of Bishop Henry Cleary (1898-1910), and, Joseph Kelly (1917-32), especially after the 1916 Rising, the Anglo-Irish war (1918-1920) and the Civil War; for details on these individuals see Heather McNamara, "The Sole Organ of the Irish Race in New Zealand," MA Thesis, University of Auckland, 2002. Only later did patronage of booksellers occur in both Australia and New Zealand, and, towards 1900, was there obvious clerical direction in the production of Catholic Truth Society (CTS) publication and retailing.

¹⁸Jeremiah Moore operated in Sydney, and briefly in Brisbane and Melbourne, from approximately 1843 until his death in 1883; Edward Flanagan, Sydney and Brisbane, 1858 to mid-1890s; James Hill Sydney, 1858-1879. Evidence suggests family members continued these business concerns until the 1890s.

¹⁹See for example the following articles, "Catholic Newspapers," *NZT*, 25 August 1876, 11, and "Ireland's Favourite Reading," *NZT*, 25 July 1884, 3. P.E. Hurley commented, "When they forget the land of their fathers, the faith of their fathers vanishes too," in Hurley, "Some Reasons Why Catholics Lose the Faith in New Zealand," 214.

²⁰See advertisements by E. O'Connor, *NZT*, 24 September 1897, 16, and 26 July 1900, 16, plus the *Tablet* review notice, "Book Notices. Messrs. Louis Gille and Co.," *NZT*, 9 July 1897, 19. The Finn Brothers & Co. purchased Edward Flanagan's bookshop and business concerns in 1892, upon his retirement. They in turn sold to importers and booksellers Louis Gille & Co. in 1896, though they continued a printing and stationery business under the name Finn Bros. William Linehan operated from Melbourne from approximately 1898.

²¹For details on secular Irish texts and import networks see Kevin Molloy, "Literature in the Irish Diaspora: the New Zealand Case, 1873-1918," in *Journal of New Zealand Studies*, nos. 2 & 3 (October 2003- October 2004), 87-128.

²²Genre terms, "devotional," "controversial," "biographical," "historical," and "Catholic tales" (fiction), first begin to appear in advertisements by Edward Flanagan in the *Sydney Freeman's Journal*, 20 November 1858, 3. This paper hereafter referred to as *FJ*; these standard categories can later be found in the *New Zealand Tablet*, see for example the advertisement by E. O'Connor, *NZT*, 13 October 1882, 10.

²³James Duffy & Co., *A Catalogue of Standard Catholic Works and Books Relating to Ireland* (Dublin: James Duffy & Co., 1851); D. & J. Sadlier & Co., *Catalogue of Books Published and For Sale* (New York, Boston, Montreal: D. & J. Sadlier & Co., 1861); J.J. Moore, *A Catalogue of Choice and Standard Catholic Books on Sale at Jeremiah Moore's* (Sydney: J.J. Moore, 1854); William Dolman, *A Catalogue of Catholic Books, Kept on Sale by William Dolman* (Sydney: Dolman, 1856).

²⁴See for example the pertinent argument "Nationality and Religion," in *The Express*, (Sydney) 29 December 1883, 3. The period from the early 1880s to the mid-1890s was one of consolidation of an Irish Catholic administration in New Zealand. In addition it was also the time of the greatest number of Irish born.

²⁵Editorial, *NZT*, 2 April 1897, 17; Correspondence, "The Proposed Irish Literary Club," *NZT*, 9 April 1897, 19.

²⁶For example see "Catholics and the Public Libraries. A Suggested Book List," *NZT*, 5 February 1914, 23-24, and "Irish Books for Public Libraries," *NZT*, 22 April 1915, 43. These lists were compiled by the Literature Committee of the Dunedin Diocesan Council of the Catholic Federation, and included James Michael Listen, a future bishop of Auckland, and Mr J.A. Scott, former editor of the *New Zealand Tablet*, as members.

²⁷The consolidation of Irish national politics obviously helped in the rise evident in advertising for

Irish national works up to 1903, starting with visits from Irish politicians like Michael Davitt in late 1895. However, the visit by Joseph Devlin MP and John O'Donovan (1906-07), though a financial success with second generation Irish, had no appreciable impact on Irish book advertising. The sudden fall, in the years leading to the European War, was possibly connected with the commitment by the Irish national leader Redmond, to any future British action on the European continent.

²⁸ This led to the founding of the *Catholic Press* in 1895. For background details on the type of newspaper required, and the political manoeuvrings involved, see the following letters, J.A. Shawellhood (sic.) to Patrick Moran, 28 July 1894, and 4 August 1894, in Patrick Cardinal Moran, "Correspondence," Archives of the Catholic Archdiocese of Sydney, St. Mary's Cathedral, Series 2/33, T2521.

²⁹ Henry W. Cleary, "Secular and Catholic Journalism. A Plea for the Catholic Paper," and "A Proposed Catholic Press Association," in *Proceedings of the Second Australasian Catholic Congress, 1904* (Melbourne: St. Patrick's Cathedral, 1905), 577-591, 599-611.

³⁰ Much of this production is post-Famine, though the movement of books from Irish publishers like James Duffy & Co., to Sydney, through the 1840s was not uncommon. By-and-large works originated from the publishing houses of James Duffy & Co. and M.H. Gill (Dublin), Cameron and Ferguson (Glasgow), Dolman and Burns and Oates (London), and D. & J. Sadlier, P.J. Kenedy, and the Benziger Bros. (New York).

³¹ For a brief explication of this point see Isabel Hofmeyr, "From Book Development to Book History – Some Observations on the History of the Book in Africa," *SHARPNews*, vol. 13, no. 3 (Summer 2004), 3-4.

³² This model, in which the "circuits of influence travel in more than one direction," is discussed by Isabel Hofmeyr, *The Portable Bunyan. A Transnational History of the Portable Bunyan* (Princeton and Oxford: University Press, 2004), 24. The most obvious example of local texts in turn becoming transnational literatures are those by author Mary Anne Sadlier, whose American publications were printed in Dublin, Glasgow, and London, as well as throughout the east coast of the United States and in Canada. In addition her works were serialised in American, Australian and New Zealand Irish-Catholic newspapers.

³³ The parameters of transnationalism in an Irish diasporic context have been extensively explored by Kenny, "Diaspora and Comparison: The Global Irish as a Case Study." Frederic Barbier, "The Publishing Industry and Printed Output in Nineteenth-Century France," in Kenneth E. Carpenter, ed., *Books and Society in History* (New York, London: R.R. Bowker Company, 1983), 201-202 and passim; Ralph Gibson, *A Social History of French Catholicism 1789-1914* (London, New York: Routledge, 1989), Ch. 5 passim.; Emmet Larkin, "The Devotional Revolution in Ireland, 1850-75," in *American Historical Review*, vol. 77, no. 3 (June 1972), 625-652.

³⁴ Surviving copies of nineteenth-century printers publication expense books, like those from the Dublin publisher M.H. Gill & Co., indicate print-runs in the thousands, in multiple editions, for religious works, as compared to many of the novels, memoirs and histories also produced by that firm. See M.H. Gill & Son, "Publication Expenses Books, One, 1872-1883," and "Two, 1882-1885," Trinity College Dublin, Department of Early Printed Books, OL Micro 696-697.

³⁵ As regards publishing houses the number in New York alone, producing both Irish and Catholic works, far outnumbered those in Dublin, while production runs of some works by D. & J. Sadlier & Co. were in the many tens of thousands. In Britain, publishing houses such as Charles Dolman, T. Jones, Burns & Lambert/ Burns and Oates, produced a substantial number of Catholic and some Irish works, while later, Cameron and Ferguson in Glasgow was publishing many Irish and Irish-American texts.

³⁶ There was also a consequent rise in anti-Catholic, anti-Popery discourse in both mainstream and peripheral English writers of all genres over the whole nineteenth century. see Michael E. Schiefelbein, *The Love of Babylon. Seven Protestant Novelists and Britain's Roman Catholic Revival* (Georgia: Mercer University Press, 2001), 2-9.

³⁷"Standard Catholic Books," *Australasian Chronicle*, 30 December 1841, 1; "Catholic Books," *Morning Chronicle*, (Sydney) 22 November 1843, 1.

³⁸*FJ*, 16 October 1851, 12, and 18 December 1851, 1. It should be noted that publishers in Dublin and New York also produced many of the same texts. Richardson was an important importer for Sydney bookseller William Dolman, see for example details concerning Dolman's book import and retailing business, "William Dolman, Insolvency File," State Records New South Wales, 2/9121, no.6743.

³⁹The exception to this was at times of commemoration, such as the anniversary of the 1798 Rebellion in 1898, when Irish nationalist advertising again becomes prominent, for a brief time, with some booksellers; see for example, "E.W. Dunne," *NZT*, 27 May 1898, 16.

⁴⁰Advertisement, "E. O'Connor, Catholic Book Depot," Christchurch, *NZT*, 7 June 1900.

⁴¹Authors without a given first name include Georgiana Fullerton, Mary Caddell, Isabel Hope, Gertrude Parsons, Mary Anne Sadlier, Elizabeth Stewart, Francis James Finn (S.J.), Rev. Thomas J. Potter, Rev. Augustine J. O'Reilly, Rev. Frederick William Faber, Cardinal Henry Manning, Cardinal John Henry Newman and Cardinal Nicholas Patrick Wiseman. For a list of Catholic novelists recommended by the *New Zealand Tablet* see "Some Catholic Novelists," *NZT*, 1 November, 1900 19.

⁴²Elizabeth Webby, "A Checklist of Early Australian Booksellers' and Auctioneers' Catalogues and Advertisements: 1800-1849. Part 1: 1800-1839," *Bulletin. Bibliographical Association of Australia and New Zealand*, 13, vol. 3, no. 4 (1978), 124.

⁴³For example, Sydney booksellers Jeremiah Moore and Edward Flanagan printed and published a number of religious and secular works over the 1850-1880 period, ranging, for example, from catechisms, *Sydney Chronicle*, 26 August 1848, 155; Catholic college reports, *FJ*, 18 September 1857; hymnbooks, *FJ*, 17 March 1883, 12; Lenten addresses, *FJ*, 14 July 1877, 13; to Almanacs, novels and poetry; for the two latter consult "AustLit, The Resource for Australian Literature," <http://www.austlit.edu.au>. [Accessed 11 April 2005].

⁴⁴For general jobbing advertisements see "NZ Tablet Printing and Publishing Office," *NZT*, 13 August 1886, 14. For reference to catalogues produced by the Tablet Printing Company see details in the advertisement by Whitaker Bros., *NZT*, 5 November 1886, 14.

⁴⁵Deceased estate and probate figures, New South Wales, for selected Irish booksellers: Jeremiah Moore, d.1883, £35,731 (debts £17,350); Edward Flanagan, d.1901 (retired), £2166; and Margaret Hill, d. 1886) £2224 (debts £1264). New Zealand probate figures for Irish and Catholic booksellers: Edward O'Connor, d.1911, total assets approximately £1350 (debts £47); Joseph Macedo, filed for bankruptcy 1895 (debts £323, assets £244); James Dunne, d.; 1907 (estate under £120); Bernard Whitaker, d.1916 (estate under £600). See "Probate, J.J. Moore," State Records New South Wales, series 3, no. 8247, 1883; "Probate, E.F. Flanagan," SRNSW, series 4, no. 21567, 1901; "Probate, Margaret Agnes Hill," SRNSW, series 3, no. 13914, 1886. "Probate, James Dunne, 1907," Archives New Zealand, Dunedin, series 9074, 231, no. A399; "Official Assignee File, Macedo 1895," ANZ, Dunedin, D442, 14f, no. 102; "Probate, E. O'Connor, 1911," ANZ, Christchurch, series CH171, no. 7355; "Probate, B. Whitaker, 1917," ANZ Wellington, series 6029, no. 20172. Jeremiah Moore would have been within the top-one-hundred list of the most wealthy persons of NSW in the early 1880s according to figures used by Rubinstein; see W.D. Rubinstein, "The Top Wealth-holders of New South Wales, 1817-1939," in *Australian Economic History Review*, 20, no. 2 (1980), 141.

⁴⁶The establishment of Irish bookseller Edward O'Connor, of Christchurch (est.1880), continued as a family operated business beyond the mid-1950s; see *Stone's Canterbury (Nelson, Marlborough & Westland) Directories, 1941, 1951, 1955*, where it is listed variously as (E. O'Connor) Catholic Depot, and Catholic Depot, under the proprietorship of P.B. (Paul Benedict) & L. (Leo) O'Connor.

⁴⁷Leslie Howsam, *Cheap Bibles: Nineteenth-Century Publishing and the British and Foreign Bible Society* (Cambridge: University Press, 1991), xiii, 18. Howsam draws on E.P. Thompson and Halevy, amongst others, for indicating the transformation of "British homes, churches and public morality."

To this could possibly be added John Henry Newman's comments in "University Subjects Discussed," on the essentially Protestant nature of all English literature; see Ian Ker, *The Catholic Revival in English Literature 1845-1961* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2003), 1. For his discussion of Newman see pp.13-33.

⁴⁸ On the construction of ethnic identities see Lyndon Fraser, *To Tara via Holyhead. Irish Catholic Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century Christchurch* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1997), 3.

⁴⁹ Disentangling the input of various ethnic groups into the make-up of the dominant cultural discourse in nineteenth-century New Zealand is a process currently being investigated by scholars. Although New Zealand held a significant Scottish immigrant population the Scots component was not generally identified in New Zealand-Irish discourse on the colony's dominant cultural, social and political values. However, when, in the Irish mind, the Scots were identified, it was more often than not to note that, like the English, they subscribed to a federated "British" Empire. See, Editorial, *NZT*, 28 May 1886, 15, and *NZT*, 15 May 1896, 3.

⁵⁰ For details consult Gabrielle Fortune, "Hugh Coolahan and the Prosperous Irish. Auckland 1840-1890," MA, University of Auckland, 1997, 91.

⁵¹ See, for example, the work of the early twentieth century Dublin publishing house Maunsell, in David Gardiner, "The Other Irish Renaissance: the Maunsell Poets," in *New Hibernia Review/ Iris Éirannach Nua*, 8, no. 1 (Spring/Earrach, 2004), 54-79. Possibly one can gauge the general knowledge of, and access to, new Irish literature in New Zealand, by perusing the list of Irish works recommended for public libraries in 1915, see "Irish Books for Public Libraries," *NZT*, 22 April, 1915, 43.

⁵² While former Dublin bookseller and Melbourne bookselling entrepreneur George Robertson stocked some Irish works over the years, as surviving catalogues indicate, it wasn't until 1896 that the firm's Sydney branch of George Robertson & Co. began to seriously engage its Irish and Catholic clientele by stocking large quantities of the most recent Irish and Catholic works, and appointing a specialist supervisor to this department. Such was the novelty, and, possibly, suspicion, that it was noted and discussed in the columns of the *Freeman's Journal*, see for example "Literary Notes," *FJ*, 22 February 1896, 20.