

Paranoid Popery: Bishop Moran and Catholic Education in New Zealand

WHEN Patrick Moran the first Catholic bishop of Dunedin died in 1895 one obituarist noted that outside of St. Joseph's (his cathedral) he was 'nothing to nobody'.¹ This was not only ungrammatical it was also untrue. For almost a quarter of a century Moran — from pulpit and platform and from his newspaper, the *New Zealand Tablet*, which he founded in 1873 — had been an aggressive, provocative and formidable spokesman on two matters of notable public interest. He was the main focus for New Zealand support of Irish Home Rule; and, secondly, he initiated and led the campaign to seek aid for Catholic schools from public funds. Not content with trying to form a Catholic electoral bloc, in 1883 he even stood for parliament himself on the education issue. Moreover, while Moran's impact was felt well beyond St. Joseph's the world in which he saw himself to be operating extended even further. Moran impinged on New Zealand with a Catholicism of grievance and crisis in which the plight of the Church in Europe in the face of the 'liberalism' unleashed by the French Revolution was reinforced by the experience of Irish Catholics under English Protestant rule. Ireland and Europe were the centres of his world; not New Zealand, where he energetically fought their battles for twenty-four years.

Moran was born in Ireland in 1823 and ordained priest in 1847. Following appointments in several Dublin parishes he was in 1856, at the remarkably early age of thirty-two, consecrated bishop and appointed to the Eastern Province of Cape Colony in South Africa. Here he worked diligently for thirteen years to build the structure of a diocese around a small but scattered Catholic population, mainly Irish and German. In 1869 he was appointed to New Zealand to undertake a similar task among the Irish settlers brought to Otago by the gold rushes. En route to New Zealand he visited Rome for the first Vatican Council, which gratified him by declaring the infallibility of the Pope, a dogma of which he described himself as a 'strenuous advocate.'²

Moran reached Dunedin in February 1871. From the first his overriding interest was in establishing Catholic schools for Catholic children. In his efforts to obtain assistance for them, to supplement the contributions of his own following, he waged war first against the Otago Provincial govern-

ment and then, from 1877, against the national government — neither of which obliged him. In both cases his basic argument was the requirement of ‘distributive justice’, that Catholics as taxpaying members of the community should receive for their schools the funds that would otherwise be used to educate their children in public schools. This claim was reinforced, at least for the benefit of the Catholic community, by reference to Ireland: ‘In the old country we had to support an alien church for men who robbed us of our property, here we are compelled to support a . . . system of education for children of men who tax us but do not give us a share [of the funds].’¹³ To New Zealand at large, in an election speech, Moran declared: ‘The Irish people have for centuries stood upon these claims for justice, and . . . we their children . . . are [not] going to be driven into your schools by anything that you can do.’¹⁴ Weekly, from August 1883 the *Tablet* carried an excerpt from one of Moran’s speeches as a standing leader: ‘The Catholics of New Zealand provide at their own expense, an excellent education for their own children. Yet such is the sense of justice and policy in the New Zealand Legislature that it compels these Catholics, after having manfully provided for their own children, to contribute largely towards the free and godless education of the other people’s children! ! ! This is tyranny, oppression and plunder.’ The reason for Moran’s stand was, however, not simply the matter of justice or the experience of Ireland: it was the necessity to resist the persecution with which he felt the universal church was constantly threatened. ‘At one time it is carried on by pains and penalties, political and social; at another, less openly, but more insidiously, [through systems of education].’¹⁵ His subsidiary arguments therefore concerned first the Protestantism of the provincial schools and, subsequently, the secularism of the national system, both of which he saw as unequivocally anti-Catholic.

Protestantism even in its most diluted form he would not accommodate. In 1863 when his colleague Bishop Grimley of Western Cape Province was inclined to agree with the government authorities that Catholic schools should receive assistance provided they offered religious instruction consisting of Bible reading — from the Douay version — and an explanation of it by the teacher, Moran denounced the proposal. He and his priests, he said, all taught school in order to save Catholics ‘from the danger of perversion of Protestant schools’; and he would continue to do so rather than accept aid on condition of reading any part of even the Catholic Bible as a school book, because the principle was ‘a Protestant one and [was] intended to undermine the teaching authority of the Church.’¹⁶ Similarly in April 1871, two months after reaching Dunedin, he solemnly forbade Catholics to send their children to government schools, although this was later modified for parents living more than three miles from a Catholic school provided they took certain precautions. It was Moran’s belief that ‘that which is almost exclusively Presbyterian in all its surroundings must be sectarian’; he preached that ‘. . . the whole education system of the Province was anti-Catholic . . . the teachers were

Presbyterian, the books were Presbyterian and the whole tenor of the schools was against [Catholics].’ The law, he urged, should compel teachers to send Catholic children away from the Bible readings at the beginning and end of each day — the only form of religious instruction permitted in government schools since 1864 — instead of leaving it up to the children to exempt themselves in accordance with the ‘conscience clause’ of the education regulations.⁷ But even so, he lamented, they could be forced to use unsuitable textbooks, including for instance, one that cited Macaulay’s panegyric on Cromwell:

He is there spoken of as a representative man and as one of the best men that ever lived. We don’t believe that. We know something about him. His memory lives in the hearts and minds of our race. We know what people say in the old country. If two men quarrel and one of them wishes the greatest injury upon the other he says ‘The curse of Cromwell upon you’. We know what a canting hypocrite he was and what a ruthless slayer of defenceless women and little children. He confiscated our property, persecuted our religion and sent our youths to be slaves in the West Indies. That is the man placed before our children as a demi-god, one of the greatest villains known to the annals of history.⁸

The question arises, then, ‘what evidence is there of anti-Catholic feeling in Otago?’ And the answer is ‘not much’. It appears that Moran’s charges were true of the Benevolent Institution (orphanage) at Caversham, which he characterized as ‘essentially a proselytizing Institution’. In 1884 he told his priests to discontinue giving religious instruction there after all the Catholic children had told him they wished to become Protestants.⁹ But it is not clear that the public school system at large was hostile, although it was set in a community where strong anti-Catholic and anti-Irish feelings occasionally surfaced. For instance, the attempted appointment of the ‘ritualistic’ Anglican bishop Henry Jenner to Dunedin in 1869 was deplored by the Presbyterian *Evangelist* lest his influence ‘diminish the strength’ with which Protestants ‘unitedly oppose the Church of Rome.’¹⁰ In 1871 Moran found it necessary publicly to disprove that it was part of his episcopal duty to ‘persecute’ Protestants; in 1874 he had to rebuke the *Otago Daily Times* for gratuitously describing a migrant party of Irish servant girls as a ‘tainted cargo’ of harlots; in 1876 the *Evening Star* was sufficiently indifferent to the sensitivities of Catholics to report the equally slanderous story that a priest of the diocese had abandoned his office and married a nun; in 1880 the celebrated no-popery lecturer Charles Chiniquy was welcomed by the Presbyterian Synod and spoke in the main Presbyterian churches of Dunedin where his meetings were chaired by prominent churchmen and local members of Parliament; in 1883 both the *Times* and the *Star* attacked Moran’s candidacy in the clearest accents of ‘no-popery’. And as late as 1894 the school committees of the country towns of Moa Creek and Waimumu refused to accept Catholic teachers appointed by the Otago Education Board.¹¹

Most of these cases, however, admit of some qualification. Public baiting of Catholics scarcely survived the 1870s. The *Otago Daily Times* refused to report Chiniquy’s meetings and later no-popery lecturers such as Tessie

Chapman and Biddie O'Gorman ('the escaped nun') received very little public support. An Irish Catholic, John Carroll, was elected mayor of Dunedin in 1890, while in 1894 the Moa Creek and Waimumu incidents were deplored by, for instance, the Presbyterian *Christian Outlook*. And even the *Tablet* suggested a mitigating factor — that Catholic teachers were often not wanted in country districts not because of sectarian hostility but because they were an inconvenience, for the teacher was often expected to conduct the Sunday School class.¹²

Not surprisingly Moran's attacks drew strong responses. The *Otago Daily Times* at first was mildly amused, remarking that 'Dr Moran . . . is cast in the right mould for . . . a Roman Catholic bishop *in partibus infidelibus*', but later labelled him a 'clever firebrand'.¹³ However, the authorities took his charges against the education system seriously. In July 1871 the provincial Council appointed a select committee to investigate them.

This body, did not unearth evidence of explicit anti-Catholicism although it did not entirely discount Moran's charges — for example, some textbooks, it agreed, were objectionable. The Council therefore, while declining to subsidize separate Catholic schools resolved that Catholics should receive the greatest redress possible under the existing ordinances.¹⁴ John Hislop, the Inspector of Schools, later reported that efforts were being made to get unobjectionable textbooks, that teachers were required to ascertain the views of Catholic parents regarding the presence of their children at Bible-reading and prayers and that teachers who did not make every effort to avoid offending Catholics would be 'guilty of highly improper conduct and merit the severest displeasure of the Board.' Still Moran was not placated. He continued to seize on suspected breaches of the regulations with wanton impetuosity. In his Lenten pastoral of 1873, for example, he claimed that the 'conscience clause' was commonly 'a sham and a snare' in government schools, but a commission of enquiry into the one case he had in mind revealed that the charge was based on hearsay and gossip and uncritical confidence in the ill-founded tale-telling of a child.¹⁵

That Moran was so unconstructive in his criticisms is readily explained. He was not, as the authorities fully realized, trying to improve the State system, but to embarrass the government into supporting a separate Catholic one. His basic objection was to the principle that the civil authority had the right to control education. He had already stated this belief in South Africa; but it was with the introduction of the national system of education in 1877 that he was to find most reason to articulate it. For the national system, and its concomitant secular education, brought his *bête noir*, the secular liberal state, most clearly into view. He would, he said, rather accept 'the most Protestant and anti-Catholic [system of education] that could be devised' in preference to a secular system.¹⁶

For most New Zealand politicians the idea that education was not a proper function of government had been disposed of by the passing of the

1870 Education Act in England. The abolition of the provincial governments in New Zealand in 1876, therefore, cleared the way for the introduction of a national education system of which only details remained to be settled. Most discussion centred on the question of religion. In introducing the Education Bill in 1877 Charles Bowen admitted that with the variety of 'energetic and powerful' denominations in the community religion could not be part of a comprehensive education system. Even so, he attempted to ensure the opening of class with Bible-reading and the Lord's Prayer, but was unsuccessful. Accepting defeat on this issue, he did, however, take pains to indicate the expedient nature of the resulting secularism of government education: 'I hope honourable members will put out of their minds what I may almost call the bigotry of secularism if secularism is erected into a principle. I do not think secularism is a principle to be proud of or to be very anxious about.'¹⁷

Secular education to Bowen was simply a means of avoiding issues that divided people and therefore, of making government schools acceptable to the whole community and, in particular, of reconciling Catholics to the state school system. The schools were expected to be agents of social harmony and egalitarianism, homogenisers, solvents of the class distinctions that many of the settlers deplored in England. For that reason, also, private schools were not to be encouraged. Sir George Grey, for instance, wanted New Zealand to remain a land free of 'inherited lumber' and of divisive 'trammels derived from previous ages'; John Sheehan, himself a Catholic, and the first New Zealand-born Cabinet Minister wanted to 'build up a new order of things' in which the differences between Irish, English and Scottish, Catholic and Protestant would be of no account; while the *Otago Daily Times* was against having the community pay for either the 'superstitious teaching' of the Catholics or the Anglican creed of respectability, which aimed at '... a picturesque reproduction of old English village life and the aesthetic effect obtained by the bowing and curtsying of the lower orders to their "superiors", [and] to his reverence the curate.'¹⁸

That Moran saw things differently was not just a personal foible. He was applying Church policy. Education was traditionally a function of the Church. But, more importantly, the propriety of this function was re-asserted by a marked and general 'stiffening' of the attitude of Catholic authorities towards the emerging phenomenon of state education about the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1831 the Irish hierarchy had accepted an undenominational national system, but in 1850 they rejected it. In 1862 the Provincial Council of the Catholic Church in Australia asserted the need for Catholic education as a matter of principle but not as a specific programme. The Council of 1869, however, confirmed the principle with unprecedented 'vigour and emphasis' — faithful and clergy were 'bound to use every exertion to erect . . . Catholic schools in which the authority of the Church [would] be fully recognised.' This statement was the basis of the enactments of the First Plenary Council (of the Province of Australia

and New Zealand) held at Sydney in 1885 and those of subsequent councils. Moran was president of the Education Committee of the 1885 Council.¹⁹

The main reason for the 'stiffening' was the issue of the Syllabus of Errors by Pope Pius IX in 1864. The Syllabus condemned the propositions, among others, that secular education was adequate in itself and that 'the interest of civil society required that public schools be withdrawn from any control, directive power or supervision of the Church.' It was on the basis of the Syllabus together with a letter, also of 1864, from the Pope to the Archbishop of Freiburg regarding education that Moran led the Catholics of New Zealand into building a separate school system. The Pope had written:

... the design of withdrawing primary schools from the control of the Church, and the exertions made to carry this design into effect are ... inspired by a spirit of hostility towards her and by the desire of extinguishing among the people the divine light of our holy faith ... in whatever country the pernicious design of removing the schools from ecclesiastical authority should be entertained and carried into execution and the young thereby exposed to the danger of losing their faith, there the Church would be ... bound ... to declare that no one can in conscience frequent such schools. ...²⁰

Pronouncements such as these were not just statements of the traditional view that education entailed an initiation into a view of life and that therefore, it was properly a religious matter. They were part of the Church's counter-attack against 'liberalism' — especially that preached by the Papacy's political opponents in Italy. That is, the advocates of Italian unity under the aegis of the kingdom of Piedmont. Among these 'liberalism' had a positive anti-Catholic bias. The *Tablet* demonstrated this to its own satisfaction in 1874 by quoting the secretary of the freemasons of Rome: 'Civil marriage deprives them [i.e. the clergy] of control of the family, lay education will shortly withdraw them from that of the rising generation. Civil funerals and cremation will rob them of their last pretensions to rule over death. Progress will thus have annihilated them.'²¹ It was in response to such attacks that the Pope legislated; and it was with reference to anti-Catholic Europe that Moran viewed the situation in New Zealand. He linked the two by an elaborate conspiracy theory, and judged them according to a religion-based political philosophy.

Yet 'liberalism' is not necessarily anti-Catholic nor anti-Christian, certainly not in the form it has taken in British political culture. As a political philosophy liberalism stresses the notion of secular sovereignty; that the standard of right most pertinent to government was the will of the people, not supernaturally founded moral laws. But it is notable, nevertheless, that the question of the primacy of the will of the majority or of the will of God did not turn into a bitter conflict of loyalties for most Christians. One writer suggests that this was because 'there were many, especially in the English speaking world, who thought Christian morality to be so self-evidently right that the reasonable men who made up a nineteenth century electorate would never call it in question.'²² Bowen for instance; but not so Moran. In South Africa, trusting an autocratic governor to be freer to act according to Christian beliefs, he had firmly

opposed the principle by resisting the campaign for responsible government; so much so that on one occasion an advocate of free institutions suggested that the inscription D.O.M. (Deo Optimo Maximo) above the door on the Grahamstown convent might well stand for 'Damn Old Moran'.²³ Similarly in New Zealand he resolutely opposed the increase in and concentration of the power of the state. He deplored, therefore, the abolition of the provincial governments, supported free trade, opposed the spread of leasehold land tenure; and was led to utter extreme *laissez faire* principles in denying the State's right to educate.²⁴ 'The business of the State [is] to protect life and property and it [is] not justified in interfering in education except as a matter of policy.' The state had no more business educating people than it had to provide a high standard of food, clothing and lodging for them.²⁵ In this it is ironic to note that Moran's opinion coincided with that of J. S. Mill, the most notable English philosopher of liberalism — the 'Saint of Rationalism' (as Gladstone called him) — who had, however, argued from 'liberal' premises that Moran abominated. Mill wrote:

That the whole or any large part of the education of the people should be in State hands I go as far as anyone in deprecating. All that has been said of the importance of individuality of character, and diversity in opinions and modes of conduct, involves, as of the same unspeakable importance, diversity of education. A general State education is a mere contrivance for moulding people to be exactly like one another: and as the mould in which it casts them is that which pleases the predominant power in the Government, whether this be a monarch, a priesthood, an aristocracy, or the majority of the existing generation; in proportion as it is efficient and successful, it establishes a despotism over the mind, leading by natural tendency to one over the body. An education established and controlled by the State should only exist, if it exist at all, as one among many competing experiments, carried on for the purpose of example and stimulus, to keep the others up to a certain standard of excellence. . . . In general, if the country contains a sufficient number of persons qualified to provide education under Government auspices, the same persons would be able and willing to give an equally good education on the voluntary principle, under the assurance of remuneration afforded by a law rendering education compulsory, combined with State aid to those unable to defray the expense.²⁶

However, the urgency with which Moran viewed the increasing power of the secular state derived less from its philosophical implications than from his belief in the existence of a great, unified, world-wide conspiracy of anti-Catholicism and irreligion which promoted such developments, and against which it was his duty to hold the line in New Zealand. The conspirators were freemasons, backed by anti-Christian Jews and their money, and ultimately by Satan. And the threat was immediate.²⁷ 'The order [of persecution]', he said, 'has gone out from one end of the world to the other through the secret Councils of this power of darkness,' i.e. the freemasons.

Free, compulsory and secular education is the war cry of the great army that is marshalling its hosts heaven.²⁸

In the minds of the men who originated it secular education has for its sole object the destruction of Christianity, and in the first place, as an indispensable means to that end, the destruction of the Catholic Church.²⁹

[The 1877 bill] was the Freemasons' programme and was nothing more nor less than an embodiment of their principles and their determination to destroy, if possible, the

Catholic Church and faith. The Freemasons of this country were the dupes of those on the Continent and were misled by them.³⁰

Nothing but Catholic education can save the rising generation from the baneful influence of the infidel system of education and from becoming the victims of secret societies whose hatred of the Christian religion is the characteristic and opprobrium of this age.³¹

Moreover, while the main object of the conspiracy was to destroy Catholicism, its second, at least in the British Empire, was to destroy every sentiment and vestige of Irish nationality.³² Indeed, the *Tablet* stated in 1884, that Catholic migrants should avoid New Zealand: they would find it a land of oppression and sorrow and, in all probability, of degradation and moral destruction.³³ Such fears it is important to note, however, were not of Moran's own devising. His ideas of the conspiracy may be traced back to the Abbé Barruel's *Memoires pour servir à l'histoire du jacobinisme*, published in 1797, from which especially in the pages of *La Civiltà Cattolica* they had become stock in trade of much Catholic thinking and policy by the middle of the nineteenth century.³⁴ Outbreaks of social disorder together with the manifold difficulties that had confronted the Church since the French Revolution were attributed to a deliberate, personal, organized causality. Examples abound. According to the *Tablet* freemasonry was behind the Paris Commune of 1870 and was responsible for the murder of Garcia Moreno, President of Ecuador in 1875; in 1874 Pope Pius IX imprisoned in the Vatican, attributed his calamities to the 'craft and conspiring' of the freemasons, and in 1910 a French missionary in the German Solomon Islands could write deploring the school laws the 'freemasons, organised by Satan [were] establishing throughout the world.'³⁵ In fact, as late as 1932 an authoritative textbook of Catholic social teaching, Cahill's *The Framework of a Christian State*, is to be found speaking of 'Jews and Freemasons who utilise the socialist movement in their war against Christianity', and condemns them for 'acting under the direct inspiration of the devil' in seeking to overthrow 'the whole religious order of the world which Christian teaching has produced'.³⁶

The inappropriateness of applying such explanations to the New Zealand situation is, however, clear from the parliamentary debates on the 1877 Educational Bill. It is also indicated by the fact that leading freemasons and politicians such as Vincent Pyke and John Ballance (Premier 1891-93) supported Moran's claims for aid.³⁷ Indeed, freemasonry as an anti-religious movement is a continental not a British phenomenon. In 1891, for instance, Sir Robert Stout, New Zealand's leading exponent of secular, liberal ideology, was, by order of the Prince of Wales, expelled from connection with British Masonic lodges because he had accepted office in the Grand Orient Lodge of France, which in 1877 had decreed that belief in a deity was no longer required for membership.³⁸ Stout and Moran frequently crossed swords. Moran denounced him as 'The King of the Secularists . . . our worst and ablest enemy.'³⁹ It is, therefore, a further commentary in the inapplicability of the conspiracy theory that Stout, as a matter of liberal principle, should have been Moran's staunch

supporter in urging Home Rule for Ireland. In 1889 they appeared on the same platform where Stout (he of the 'perverted mind', 'our most deadly and unscrupulous enemy on the education question'⁴⁰) argued that England had clearly failed to govern Ireland for the Irish and, therefore should not continue to attempt to do so.⁴¹

Yet the arguments and rhetoric employed by Moran cannot be dismissed as unimportant, as the Dunedin *Evening Star* once attempted to do by commenting that he was more like a 'half crazy faddist' than a bishop of the great historic Church.⁴² Their effects and the wider issues they raise demand that they be seriously considered. Thus, an awareness of them is essential for an understanding of the vigour and determination with which Moran committed the Catholics of New Zealand to building and maintaining their own school system — even if in more recent times emphasis of the arguments used to support Catholic claims has shifted. For instance, a document issued by the Catholic bishops in 1970 still saw Catholic schools as a necessary bulwark against 'secular humanism'; but this claim was not developed as an argument against the philosophical basis of the community and there was no tendency to identify the 'enemy' in personal terms.⁴³ Besides, by that time, with the existence of various types of aid already available to non-government schools the principle of distributive justice (in other words, of supporting sectional interests) had already been acknowledged by the politicians and the differences between them and the Catholic lobby reduced to the question of 'how much?'

But to return to Moran. While his belief in the great conspiracy was sheer fantasy this is not sufficient to destroy his case. The pervasiveness of the educational experience and the impossibility of constructing a value-free education system are not easily gainsaid. Such facts lend support to his assumptions that education is a process that can affect a person's whole life and outlook; that it is, therefore, a species of religious activity; and so in a special way is a task for the Church to undertake. It is on historical grounds, however, that this agreement, or at least its conclusion, is most vulnerable. For while it is true that traditionally in European society education had been an adjunct of religion and had been provided mainly by the Church it is also true that government-directed mass education was a relatively recent phenomenon and that it had developed quite independently of the Church. It arose in the nineteenth century in response to the spread of industrialization and of democratic and nationalistic ideas. But it was too large an issue for the Papacy to ignore; and distrust of liberalism — as evidenced by the condemnation of Lamennais in 1832, by the reassertion of Papal conservatism after the revolutions of 1848, and by the decrees of 1864 — ensured that Catholic policy regarding it would be hostile. Had political circumstances in Europe been different Catholic education policy would, conceivably, also have been different.

The argument of the need for religion in education is also weakened by the action of Moran, and his colleagues and successors, in steadfastly resisting all attempts to infuse a measure of religious teaching into the

state system. Indeed, one of the few occasions on which a difference of opinion within the New Zealand hierarchy has become public occurred in 1932 when Archbishop O'Shea's suggestion that Catholics support a bill to allow Bible-reading in government schools was repudiated by his fellow bishops.⁴⁴ Moran, moreover, would see no irony in the fact that the cause he fought for should find a durable memorial in the continued secularism of the state system. In part this is due to his simple, sectarian disapproval of the 'Protestantism' implied in unexplained Bible-reading; he denied the existence of a 'common Christianity'.⁴⁵ This position was reinforced by reference to Ireland. Having Catholics (as tax-payers) pay for Protestantism, said the *Tablet*, would be 'a continuation of three centuries of persecution.' It would be 'an injustice akin to the tithe of old in Ireland.'⁴⁶ But his opposition to the Bible-in-Schools movement was also a tactical measure. By not compromising, by steadily opposing efforts to dilute the secularism of the state schools Moran hoped to induce the Bible-reading lobby to back his efforts to obtain aid for Catholic schools, in return for Catholic support of their plans. Yet there was another reason for Moran's distrust of Protestantism: even if Protestants were not directly party to the anti-Christian conspiracy, Protestant thinking, by rejecting Papal authority, was deemed to have contributed to it. As Cahill, drawing on the teaching of Pope Leo XIII (1878-1903) has it, 'Liberalism is the direct outcome of protestantism, of which its principles and policy may be regarded as the ripened fruit.'⁴⁷ It is not surprising, therefore, that Moran should have been so unwilling to compromise.

While it may be agreed that the assumptions on which the New Zealand Catholic school system was built were questionable, and the 'evidence' used to back those assumptions even more so, it should not be ignored that Moran's stand also raised important matters of principle. It implied for instance, a rejection of the notion of State absolutism which, as J. N. Figgis wrote, is one which 'no religious society can admit without having been false to the very idea of its existence or placing the Divine Law at the mercy of political convenience.'⁴⁸ Or, in terms which J. S. Mill would have appreciated, Moran's suspicion of the increasing power of the state over the affairs of individuals may be seen, in part, as resistance to the totalitarian, anti-liberal capacity of democracy. That it was not necessary does not mean that it may not yet prove to have been worthwhile.

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NOTES

¹ Quoted in *New Zealand Tablet* (NZT.), 19 July 1895.

² For a fuller discussion of Moran see my 'The Life and Context of Bishop Patrick Moran', M.A. thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1964. See also my article

'Bishop Moran: Irish Politics and Catholicism in New Zealand', *The Journal of Religious History*, VI, 1 (1970), 62-76; and Richard P. Davis, *Irish Issues in New Zealand Politics, 1868-1922*, Dunedin, 1974.

³ NZT., 14 May 1880.

⁴ *Otago Daily Times* (ODT.), 23 January 1883.

⁵ ODT., 6 April 1871.

⁶ William Eric Brown, *The Catholic Church in South Africa*, London, 1960, pp. 127-8.

⁷ ODT., 6 April 1871, 20 April 1871, 10 February 1872; *Evening Star* (ES.), 8 June 1871.

⁸ ODT., 28 May 1871.

⁹ Laracy, 'Life and context . . .', pp. 45-46.

¹⁰ *The Evangelist*, 1 March 1869.

¹¹ ODT., 5, 8, 14, 16, 17, 21 June; 24, 25 July; 2, 3 August 1871; 23 May 1874; NZT., 14, 21 July, 6 October 1876; *Morning Herald*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9 March 1880; ODT., 15 January 1883; ES., 10 January 1883; NZT., 28 September 1894; ODT., 26 October 1894; 'Otago Education Board Letter Book', no. 40, 21 August, 20 September, 18 October, 23 November 1894, Hocken Library.

¹² ODT., 8 March 1880; NZT., 23 October 1885, 26 March 1886; NZT., 5 December 1890; *Christian Outlook*, 21 October 1894; NZT., 7 December 1894.

¹³ ODT., 6 April, 5 May 1871.

¹⁴ *Votes and Proceedings of the Otago Provincial Council* (V and P), 1871, vol. XXIX; ODT., 26 July 1871.

¹⁵ Hislop to Coleman, 3 February 1873, V and P, 1873, vol. XXXII; 'Enquiry into alleged beating of a Roman Catholic child at Tokomairiro School', V and P, 1874, vol. XXXIII, Appendix pp. 1-10.

¹⁶ Brown, pp. 127-8; ODT, 28 July 1871.

¹⁷ Bowen, *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates* (NZPD), (1877), p. 243. For a comprehensive discussion of the national education system see John Mackey, *The Making of a State Education System: the passing of the New Zealand Education Act, 1877*, London, 1967.

¹⁸ NZPD, 3 September 1877, p. 222; W. J. Parker, 'John Sheehan: Native Minister and Colonial', M.A. thesis, University of Auckland, 1963, p. 74; ODT., 6 September 1871.

¹⁹ Ronald Fogarty, *Catholic Education in Australia, 1806-1950*, Melbourne, 1959, I, 175-6, 238; *Acta et Decreta Concilii Plenarii Australasiae*, Sydney, 1885, pp. XVII.

²⁰ Quoted in NZT., 17 May 1873.

²¹ NZT., 10 November 1893.

²² Brown, p. 289.

²³ Alban O'Riley, *Notre Mere*, Capetown, 1922, p. 293.

²⁴ NZT., 15 August 1874; 25 February, 24 March, 14 April 1876; 30 May 1884; ODT., 13 January 1883; NZT., 21 July 1882.

²⁵ ODT., 8 June 1871.

²⁶ John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty*, London, 1938 edn., p. 132.

²⁷ NZT., 28 January 1887, 22 December 1893.

²⁸ NZT., 21 November 1879.

²⁹ NZT., 17 November 1876.

³⁰ NZT., 17 August 1877.

³¹ NZT., 11 February 1881.

³² NZT., 14 May 1880.

³³ NZT., 1 August 1884.

³⁴ J. M. Roberts, *The Mythology of the Secret Societies*, London, 1974, pp. 199-213.

³⁵ NZT., 21 November 1879; *ibid.*, 21 February 1874; Forestier to Gay, 26 July 1910, oss 418, Marist Fathers' Archives, Rome.

³⁶ E. Cahill, *The Framework of a Christian State: an introduction to social science*, Dublin, 1932, pp. 185-6.

³⁷ NZPD, 3 August 1877, p. 204; 10 July 1889, p. 346; 14 July 1891, p. 282.

³⁸ *New Zealand Craftsman*, 16 March, 16 May, 11 November 1891; *Papers of the United Masters Lodge*, VII, 14, 2-16; *ibid.* IX, 1, 11-17; Roberts, p. 39.

³⁹ Moran to Grimes, 18 October 1893, archives of the Catholic diocese of Christchurch.

⁴⁰ NZT., 4 February 1887, 23 June 1893.

⁴¹ NZT., 20 December 1889.

⁴² ES, 15 February 1892.

⁴³ Catholic Education Council for New Zealand, *Education: Go Ye and Teach All Peoples*, p. 4.

⁴⁴ I. A. Snook, 'Religion in Schools: A Catholic Controversy, 1930-1934', *The New Zealand Journal of History*, VI, 2, (October, 1972), 169-77. For an account of the Bible-in-Schools movement see Ian Breward, *Godless Schools? A study of Protestant reactions to secular education in New Zealand*, Dunedin, 1967.

⁴⁵ *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives*, 1883, III, Sect. 1-11. p. 22.

⁴⁶ NZT., 24 June 1881, 25 January 1884.

⁴⁷ Cahill, p. 185-6.

⁴⁸ J. N. Figgis, *Churches in the Modern State*, London, 1914, p. 42.

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