

## The *New Zealand Tablet* and the Irish Catholic Press Worldwide, 1898–1923

IN NOVEMBER 1888 Dunedin's Roman Catholic newspaper, the *New Zealand Tablet*, reprinted a small article from its famous American counterpart, the *Boston Pilot*. Entitled, 'Ireland at the Antipodes', it recounted the story of an Englishman in Boston who borrowed a sheaf of Australian newspapers from an acquaintance. He returned them to the owner complaining: 'I wanted Australian papers; these are all Irish'.<sup>1</sup> The English reader expressed surprise that the Melbourne *Advocate* and the *New Zealand Tablet* differed 'little in tone and temper from *United Ireland* and the *Nation*'. He was further astonished to find in these Australasian newspapers regular correspondence from Irish nationalist leaders including Michael Davitt and the Redmond brothers, and accounts of large meetings for the Evicted Irish Tenants' Fund held all the way from Sydney and Timaru.<sup>2</sup>

The appearance of this article in the New Zealand-based Catholic weekly was not in itself extraordinary. In the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century press, the practice of reprinting copy from overseas journals was extremely common, as was the type of Irish-Catholic newspaper 'boosterism' evident in the extract. However, the *Tablet* snippet is compelling because it imparts a sense of the wider information connections created and sustained throughout the Irish diaspora by Irish-Catholic newspapers, their editors and readers.<sup>3</sup>

The Irish diaspora is best viewed as a complex, multilateral phenomenon.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, one historian has recently described it metaphorically as 'a massive reticulation of invisible webbing, stencilling itself all over the globe'.<sup>5</sup> Researching this diaspora involves fashioning a 'de-centred' examination of the world-wide settlement of Irish migrants, their descendants, and importantly, their societies and cultures. People, artefacts, cultural patterns and information did not travel in one direction, but moved back and forth between Ireland and the diaspora's destinations, and between the diaspora destinations themselves. It was a mobile, changing web of peoples, cultural attitudes, social behaviours and religious practices. To date historians' attention has focused principally on the movements of people within the Irish diaspora. The international dimensions of Irish religion (both Roman Catholic and Protestant) and Irish nationalism have also been examined. However, in comparison to the movements of peoples, exchanges of news and information within the Irish diaspora remain little studied. Immigrant letters are at present the most heavily scrutinized form of exchange, but almost no attention has been devoted to the interplay of institutional ties and individual relationships that facilitated the ongoing exchange of information between organs of the Irish-Catholic and secular immigrant press. The *Tablet* was one point of intersection in this far-reaching exchange, and it provides an ideal illustration of the mechanisms and personal relationships involved in the transmission of cultural and political information. In this sense, this examination of the *New Zealand Tablet* offers an innovative case study of considerable international significance.

The *Tablet* excerpt from the *Boston Pilot* reveals one of the ways in which information was exchanged between the Irish–Catholic journals at an institutional level. The *Tablet*, as an emigrant journal, was plugged into networks of Irish and Catholic publishing at home and abroad. Its form, content and function were very much influenced by the history, traditions and practices of these networks. However, in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century successive editors' institutional and personal connections also decisively influenced the *Tablet's* narratives of Ireland and Irish–Catholic identity. This essay will explore these information connections at both the institutional and personal level between 1898 and 1923, and examine the contested and often problematic nature of information about Ireland coursing through the diasporic 'web'. It will focus especially on the role of Dr James Kelly, who directed the paper from 1917 until 1932. More than the editors who preceded him, Kelly used the immediacy of his connections in Ireland to garner information with which to inculcate Irish–Catholic readers in New Zealand with his particular version of Irish nationalism.

From its foundation in 1873 the *New Zealand Tablet*, the premier Catholic journal in New Zealand, was very much the product of its Irish–Catholic newspaper antecedents and the practices of the contemporary emigrant press.<sup>6</sup> An understanding of this aspect of the newspaper is crucial in the examination of its continuing links with Ireland, and with Irish–Catholic newspapers in other diaspora destinations. By that year a strong nationalist (and often simultaneously Catholic) press had been established and consolidated in Ireland.<sup>7</sup> The national and provincial newspaper press in Ireland, which had been small and immature before 1850, experienced a remarkable upsurge in the second half of the nineteenth century. The growth of literate 'middle classes' in Ireland and improvements in communication and transport networks coincided in the 1860s with the removal of newspaper duties and tax on advertising. These conditions created a fertile ground for the expansion of the press in Ireland.<sup>8</sup> The newspaper renaissance laid the groundwork for the emergence of what has been described by historians as Ireland's 'advanced-nationalist press', newspapers that espoused one or more of the different 'brands' of nationalism crystallizing in Ireland in the early twentieth century.<sup>9</sup>

The newspaper press burgeoned in Ireland in the second half of the nineteenth century and contributed greatly to the 'imagining' of the historic Irish nation, and to the alignment of Catholic and nationalist ideology in the south of Ireland.<sup>10</sup> It also had wider ramifications. Irish Catholics who subscribed to and read the *New Zealand Tablet* would have been fully aware of the established tradition of strongly political, religious and culturally influenced newspaper publishing in Ireland. The time frame of Irish Catholic migration reinforces this, as the growth in Ireland's print media was reaching its apogee in the decades immediately preceding the period of the heaviest emigration from Ireland to New Zealand.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, a significant number of Irish Catholics in New Zealand remained active subscribers to one or other of the most important national Irish newspapers as well as to the *New Zealand Tablet*.<sup>12</sup> Kevin Molloy has shown that, until the end of the nineteenth century, subscriptions to Irish newspapers, including the *Dublin Freeman's Journal*, the *Nation* and *United Ireland* were advertised in

the *Tablet* and available through local booksellers.<sup>13</sup> Indeed, until the 1920s subscriptions to Irish Catholic and advanced nationalist newspapers from Ireland were readily available through the *Tablet* or booksellers in the major cities.<sup>14</sup>

Each of the *Tablet's* editors during the focal years of this article — Henry William Cleary (editor from 1898–1910), John Askew Scott (1910–1917) and James Joseph Kelly (1917–1932) — was deeply influenced by the newspapers of Ireland, England, and the publications of the Roman Catholic Church. Although significant differences existed in each editor's presentation of Ireland and Irish affairs, there is one consistent element in the *Tablet's* narrative. Each editor used the *Tablet* to underscore the importance of the traditions of Irish and Catholic newspaper publishing. This historical awareness is evident in the *Tablet's* form, its style and its references to the inviolability of the traditions and history of newspaper publishing in Ireland. For example, in a contributed article published in 1922, the occasional correspondent Seaghan O'Tuathail explicitly located the *Tablet* in the story of the great Irish newspaper tradition: 'When Arthur Griffith started the *United Irishman* 20 years ago, Ireland was not more hopelessly shoneen than was New Zealand when the Editor of the *Tablet* declared for Sinn Fein six years ago.'<sup>15</sup> The *Tablet's* readers also recognized its position and the continuation of tradition. In a letter to the editor in 1917, one prominent Irishman linked the *Tablet's* mission back to Thomas Davis's illustrious newspaper: 'What the *Nation* has accomplished for Catholic and National ideals and aspirations in Ireland, our own *New Zealand Tablet*, under its present virile and fearless editor, will most assuredly accomplish for this Dominion, and maybe beyond it.'<sup>16</sup> The *New Zealand Tablet*, like many other Irish diaspora journals, self-consciously identified itself within the history of Irish nationalist newspaper publishing, and conceived of its work for the Irish national cause as a continuation of that tradition.



**Figure 1:** Henry William Cleary, editor of the *New Zealand Tablet* (1898–1910). Auckland Catholic Diocesan Archives.

Despite their common identification with the traditions of the nationalist press in Ireland, each of the three editors of the *Tablet* from 1898 to 1923 created particular versions of Ireland for their readers. Their narratives were shaped not only by overt editorial bias, but also by shifting cultural patterns brought from Ireland; the competing late nineteenth-century versions of its history; and the range of material the *Tablet* culled from Irish and Irish emigrant newspapers, both Catholic and secular. The specific networks of diasporic connections the *Tablet* utilized and versions of Irish nationalism and politics it embraced are readily apparent in its form and content.

Throughout its publishing life the *New Zealand Tablet* was a modestly-sized publication compared with some of its better-known Australian or American contemporaries, such as the *Boston Pilot* or the *Sydney Freeman's Journal*. Nevertheless, it was hardy, providing weekly information for New Zealand's Irish Catholics over the long period from its foundation in 1873 until 1996. The *Tablet* had a significant role as a narrator of Irish-Catholic life in New Zealand, and contributed profoundly to the definition of an Irish-Catholic identity. Although shaped by 'Home' newspapers, and often containing a large proportion of news taken straight from Irish publications, diaspora journals like the *Tablet* also published unique features and content designed to educate Irish-Catholic emigrants in 'new worlds' and to strengthen both their Irishness and their Catholic faith.<sup>17</sup> Communication networks were sustained at one level between the editors of journals like the *Tablet*, and at another between the readers of Irish and Irish-Catholic newspapers. These networks reveal a creative use of information sources.

Two of the *Tablet's* most useful and frequently used sources, the *Sydney Freeman's Journal* (founded in 1850) and the *Melbourne Advocate* (founded in 1868), shared many of the *New Zealand Tablet's* strongly Irish and Catholic features. Like the *Tablet*, both the *Advocate* and the *Freeman* published regular columns aimed at a wide readership including women and rural workers, and a regular Irish news page. Overall, the form and style of these Irish-Catholic Australian newspapers differed very little from the *Tablet*, even though the Australian papers tended to be larger and have a slightly wider range of columns and advertisements, suggesting a broader subscription base. This was attested to by a 'New Zealander Abroad' in a series of columns contributed to the *Tablet* in 1914, who expressed amazement that the two Victorian papers had circulations 'running into the many thousands', yet neither paper 'kept a traveller'.<sup>18</sup> Although the exchange of information between the *Tablet* and the Irish-Australian press was probably weighted more heavily on the Australian side, articles from the *Tablet* were used with regularity in the Australian papers to report relevant events in New Zealand.

The *Tablet* also had a significant role within a different (but overlapping) diaspora, the great spiritual empire of the Roman Catholic church. The church acted as a crucial information circuit for both writers and the readers of the *Tablet*. All three editors of the *Tablet* from 1898 to 1923 had connections to an assortment of overseas Catholic journals, and depended upon them for information on church affairs and events in Ireland. In the second half of the nineteenth century the Roman Catholic church provided significant opportunities

for clerics with journalistic ability, and priests educated in Ireland and Rome created clearly discernible networks when they became editors of newspapers in Ireland and abroad. When Henry William Cleary accepted the editorship of the *New Zealand Tablet* in 1898, he wrote to Bishop Moore of Ballarat that he joined a select group of his contemporaries: ‘An old Maynooth Confreer of mine is doing good work as editor of the Tasmanian *Monitor*. An old school mate of mine in St. Peter’s, Rev. W. B. Kelly, edits the *W. A. Record*, in succession to the present Archbishop of Adelaide and Cardinal Moran is editor-in-chief of the *Australian Eccles. Record*’.<sup>19</sup> At a more formal level, too, the Catholic church strongly supported its presses, and as the *New Zealand Tablet* was considered the representative organ of the church, its pages were peppered with articles, information, opinions and news from international Catholic publications, often (but not exclusively) those with avowed Irish connections.

Henry William Cleary’s account books and newspaper scrapbooks reveal in detail his editorial relationships with reputable Catholic journals overseas including the London *Tablet*, the American *Ave Maria* and the Australian *Austral Light*.<sup>20</sup> Whenever possible, Cleary and his successor, John Scott, published glowing references to the *New Zealand Tablet* made by Australian and American Catholic journals such as the San Francisco *Monitor* and the St Louis *Catholic Progress*.<sup>21</sup> The *Catholic Progress*, in fact, labelled the *Tablet* ‘unquestionably one of the strongest Catholic exchanges which come to this office’.<sup>22</sup> Cleary’s scrapbooks also reveal much about how he edited the *New Zealand Tablet* and the sources from which he gathered information relevant to New Zealand’s Catholics. Cleary either subscribed to or periodically received clippings from Irish–Catholic Australian newspapers including Sydney’s *Catholic Press* and the *West Australian Record*. He routinely clipped and retained articles of interest from the *Boston Pilot*, the San Francisco *Monitor* and the New York and Dublin-based variants of the *Freeman’s Journal*.

The connections Cleary maintained with these international Catholic journals are clearly reflected in the extracts he included in the *Tablet*. Throughout the duration of his editorship articles were frequently reprinted from the *Catholic Times*, the Dublin and Sydney versions of the *Freeman’s Journal*, the St Louis *Catholic Progress*, the *Boston Pilot* and the San Francisco *Monitor*. And, just as Cleary was reliant on the overseas Catholic press for copy, so Catholic publishing in New Zealand provided a model and valuable copy for other publications elsewhere. A letter from the Vicariate Apostolic of the Eastern Districts of the Cape of Good Hope in 1919 informed Cleary about a new weekly the church hoped to publish and thanked him for a consignment of back numbers of his paper the *Month*.<sup>23</sup>

The *Tablet*’s use of copy drawn from this diaspora-wide network to report on Irish and Catholic events reflects not only its dependence on these individual and institutional networks for news gathering, but also the *Tablet*’s concern about the need to balance the presentation of Irish and Catholic issues in New Zealand’s mainstream press. Like its American and Australian contemporaries, the *New Zealand Tablet* existed in a country where mainstream political opinion was often unsympathetic to Irish or Roman Catholic causes. For much of wider New Zealand society, ‘Ireland’ represented not an oppressed homeland or a glorious

cause but unrest, violence, disloyalty, and the dangers of Roman Catholicism. As a weekly publication reliant on overseas exchanges for copy, the *Tablet's* news was never wholly current. Irish-Catholic readers were compelled to look to New Zealand's dailies for more up-to-date sources of information. The problem with this, from the point of view of the *Tablet's* editors, was that the dailies constantly and perniciously misrepresented Irish affairs and Catholic opinion. Many of Cleary's scrapbooks were devoted to particular subjects or events that he felt needed to be explained to his readers from a Roman Catholic viewpoint. One scrapbook, headed 'Topical', contains clippings from New Zealand newspapers on the calumnious work of Howard Elliott and the Protestant Political Association.<sup>24</sup> Another is labelled 'Bible in Schools Cuttings' and contains clippings Cleary dutifully gathered on the controversial issue from both New Zealand and overseas newspapers.<sup>25</sup>



**Figure 2:** 'The Washington Conference: An Alarming Prospect'. The *New Zealand Herald's* critical take on the adage: 'England's misfortune is Ireland's opportunity'. *New Zealand Herald*, 19 November 1921, p.3.

From the time of his appointment as the *Tablet's* editor in 1917, James Kelly showed more intense disdain for this press hostility — and with good reason. Richard Davis has noted the particular antagonism of the New Zealand press to Irish causes after the end of World War One. The discontent expressed about Irish disloyalty during the war years, the rise of Sinn Fein in Ireland, and the continued stream of cabled reports of 'Irish atrocities' combined to form persuasive anti-

Irish (Catholic) arguments.<sup>26</sup> The *Otago Daily Times* and the *Auckland Star* regularly featured anti-Irish propaganda at this time, despite having once been favourable to the cause of Home Rule.<sup>27</sup> Kelly, an avowed Irish-Irelander (or believer in a Gaelic-inspired Irish nationalism), openly declared in 1918 that New Zealand was governed by a ‘gang of men who not only have not the courage to tell the truth, but who openly admit that they must have a controlled press which shall publish not the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, but only what suits the government’.<sup>28</sup> Kelly believed that a ‘conspiracy against Ireland’ existed in the New Zealand press. It was therefore imperative that the *Tablet* ‘state at length the true facts’.<sup>29</sup> His rhetoric was unforgiving, as was his crusade to reveal the truth: ‘. . . our servile press is prepared even to invent false charges in order to blacken the name of Ireland in the eyes of its readers’.<sup>30</sup> Kelly was not alone in the Irish diaspora in his attempts to expose the bias of his country’s daily press and the cable news service that provided the staple for mainstream newspapers. The Melbourne *Advocate* railed against the publication in Australia’s daily press of sensational headings about ‘Sinn Fein Outrages’.<sup>31</sup>

**CHAOS IN IRELAND**

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**POSITION GROWING WORSE**

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REBEL MURDER GANG.

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**AN UNRELENTING CAMPAIGN.**

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PLOT TO KILL MR COLLINS.

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Press Association.—By Telegraph—Copyright

LONDON, April 9.

The Republicans continue an unrelenting murder campaign against the Free State. The latest exploit was a conspiracy to kill Mr Collins, who was traveling to Wexford. The rebels removed the rails where the line crosses the Avoca River bridge. The driver's timely discovery averted a disaster. Railwaymen who were attempting to repair the line were driven off. The train proceeded later.

Other gangs of armed men seized an engine-driver at Enniscorthy and carried him off in a car. Another train was held up at Churchill. Armed men seized a consignment of bread, saying that the troops must be fed.

Four trains were held up elsewhere, and merchandise and newspapers were burnt.

An policeman was murdered at Templemore. Others were fired at and warned to leave the country on pain of assassination.

The Daily Express's Belfast correspondent paints a startling picture of the conditions southwards of the border. He examined specimens of Bolshevik propaganda with which the Republicans are busy, the most popular text book being the ‘Communist International.’

Communications have ended, except between the rebels. Refugees declare that government has ceased, that justice does not function, that life is not valued. The energy of the countryside is absorbed in the creation of armies and the manufacture of war material. The workers have deserted (or are deserting) offices, shops, and farms, and joining the rebels. Less than half the land will be cropped during 1922. Mr de Valera's following is daily strengthening.—A. and N.Z. Cable.

**Figure 3:** ‘Chaos in Ireland’. An example of the type of one-sided headline that Kelly rebutted so forcefully in the *Tablet*. *New Zealand Herald*, 11 April 1922, p.5.

The misrepresentation of Irish and Catholic issues of which successive editors of the *Tablet* complained forced the *Tablet* to find and utilize alternative sources of information, drawing upon a range of connections in Ireland or other diaspora destinations. From an early stage the *Tablet* made explicit provision for the communication of Irish affairs, running a weekly 'Irish News' page with information about local and national happenings, deaths, clerical appointments and other news of interest to New Zealand Irish Catholics. In the 1880s, 1890s and early 1900s the *Tablet* ran, less consistently, a contributed column entitled 'Irish Letter'. In the 1890s this letter was penned by Rose Kavanagh, whose writing 'kept the memory of the Green Isle fresh in the minds and hearts of her patriot sons and daughters abroad', and 'kept them well informed regarding happenings in the Old Land'.<sup>32</sup>

Although reliance on the overseas Catholic press for copy remained a consistent characteristic of the *Tablet* during these years, subtle shifts in the particular newspapers used by each editor underscored the type and tone of information they wanted for the *Tablet*. Henry Cleary's tastes in English and Irish newspapers can be discerned in the sources he used as editor of the *Tablet*, and later, the *Month*. The newspaper of the Irish parliamentary party, the Dublin *Freeman's Journal*, was used frequently, alongside moderate papers such as the *Irish Weekly*. When he established the *Month* in 1918, Cleary renewed his subscriptions to several newspapers including the *Catholic Times*, the Dublin *Freeman's Journal*, *Studies*, and the *Irish Quarterly Review*.<sup>33</sup> However, alongside these staples were more eclectic items. For example, Cleary's account books for 1900–1901 show that he subscribed to the London newspaper *Tit Bits*.<sup>34</sup> For an editor who so frequently selected 'bits' of other newspapers for publication in the *Tablet* this is not an unlikely title. *Tit Bits*, as the name implies, had exactly the same format. However, Cleary's subscription to *Tit Bits* is striking in light of the explicit condemnation it received from the renowned Irish–Irlander, David Patrick Moran. Moran considered the paper to be an anglicizing force and condemned the Irishman who, instead of learning about his country, 'prefers to read *Tit Bits*, and to discover how many times one issue if stretched out would go round the world and that sort of thing'.<sup>35</sup>

The sources utilized by the *Tablet* became even more diverse between 1916 and 1923 as war in Europe and instability in Ireland increased the difficulty of obtaining reliable information. When James Kelly was appointed editor in 1917 the press connections established under previous editors were initially maintained. However, as Kelly's term as editor progressed and conflict in Ireland escalated he turned to other sources of information. The *New Zealand Tablet's* 'free list' for the period of Kelly's editorship gives vital insights into the connections the newspaper maintained with other members of the world-wide Catholic and Irish press at the time. The free list was a system used by numerous Irish and Catholic papers whereby complementary copies were exchanged between editors. The *Tablet* was sent to seven Australian newspapers that had long been critical sources of news to the *Tablet*, including the Melbourne *Advocate*, the Sydney *Freeman's Journal*, the Brisbane *Catholic Advocate* and the Sydney *Catholic Press*. Nine Catholic journals in America also received weekly copies, among them the radical, New York-based *Irish World and American Industrial Liberator*.<sup>36</sup>



The *Tablet's* relationship with the *Irish World* and *American Industrial Liberator* is particularly noteworthy. In 1914 Scott, Kelly's predecessor, had attempted to prove the *Tablet's* loyalty to the Irish parliamentary party and the British war effort by publishing an editorial, 'Ireland and the War', that criticized the 'hostile attitude' of the *Irish World* towards the 'recognized leaders of National Ireland'.<sup>37</sup> Under Kelly's war time editorship, however, the *Irish World* was viewed very differently. The New York weekly, which had a circulation in America and abroad of around 125,000 in the early twentieth century, was never really an orthodox 'Catholic journal' — its labour and socialistic tendencies sat uneasily with church doctrine.<sup>38</sup> However, notwithstanding its tradition of radicalism, Kelly now believed that the New York newspaper was a worthy source of information on Ireland. Its strident tone and uncompromising hostility to British policy in Ireland provided an antidote to the anti-Irish sentiment of some of the leading American, English and New Zealand establishment newspapers.

During Kelly's editorship copies of the *Tablet* were also sent to several English newspapers including the *Edinburgh Catholic Herald*, the *Glasgow Observer* and the *Liverpool Catholic Times*.<sup>39</sup> Kelly's ongoing battle with the New Zealand press was fuelled in part by his belief that nefarious forces controlled the cable service and the major organs of the English press. In 1923, he published the text of a speech by Hilaire Belloc, a former editor of the *New Witness* that spoke of the 'Decline of the Dailies' and of a bygone era of newspaper publishing where 'editors were men . . . with certain standards of integrity, culture and decency'. 'New journalism' was epitomized, in Belloc's view, by the antithesis of such men, Alfred Harmsworth, Lord Northcliffe.<sup>40</sup> Kelly, like his predecessor Cleary, was concerned about the rise of 'new journalism', and the power of newspapers that attempted to 'influence the politics of the country' — an endeavour rightfully associated with Northcliffe.<sup>41</sup> In publishing Belloc's speech, Kelly took the opportunity to expose again what he saw as the corrupt nature of the Northcliffian press that had done much damage in its consistent misrepresentation of Irish affairs.

Kelly believed that particular independent and liberal-edited English publications offered an antidote to the poison of the Northcliffian press. The newspapers that appeared on the *Tablet's* free list were, in the main, reputable journals in this mould, sources that Kelly believed could be relied upon to present a more accurate view of Irish events. In print he voiced frequently his approval of these and other anti-establishment journals. For example, in 1920 Kelly recommended in the *Tablet* that the editorial staff of the *Otago Daily Times* be provided with copies of the *New Witness*, the *Manchester Guardian*, the *Nation*, the *Sphere*, and the *English Review*. He believed these were newspapers edited by men 'who do not always wear red spectacles at their work'.<sup>42</sup> He answered an inquiry from 'Reader' in 1921 about the English press by declaring the *Nation*, *New Witness* and the *Daily News* the 'best friends Ireland has among British journals'.<sup>43</sup> Kelly also favoured the interpretations of Irish affairs found in English newspapers including *Stead's Review* and the *Nation and Athenaeum*, and turned to them for 'honest' opinion when confusion reigned in the press about the Irish leader Eamon de Valera's alleged motives for refusing to accept

Dominion Home Rule in August 1921.<sup>44</sup> Irish–Catholic Australian newspapers also complained of the battle they faced with the one-sided cable agents. The Melbourne *Advocate* used the anti-establishment and liberal English papers to balance the information available in Australia, and used its correspondents to publish English articles on Sinn Fein and ‘Things Which are Not Cabled to Australia’.<sup>45</sup>

The most potent illustration of Kelly’s search for alternative newspaper sources at this time is his use in the *Tablet* of the *Irish Bulletin*, the underground propaganda organ of Sinn Fein. As early as 1920, at the height of violence in the War of Independence, Kelly published reports from the *Irish Bulletin* (reproduced from the *Manchester Guardian*) to give readers the ‘full history’ of events in Ireland.<sup>46</sup> Later, in February 1922, the *Tablet* published an article on the *Irish Bulletin* and ‘its Vicissitudes’; subtitled, ‘The Mouthpiece of Sinn Fein: A Wonderful Production’.<sup>47</sup> The *Bulletin*, the article stated, was designed to circulate not in Ireland, but ‘among the publicists in England and on the Continent’. Its circulation, the article stated, spanned most every country in the world, and it was reprinted in four European languages. By 1921 the *Bulletin* was sending out 2000 copies daily to — as its editor Frank Gallagher claimed in his memoir of the period — ‘all the important papers in Britain and the United States’, and to the heads of state and politicians in England and America. It went out to ‘India, Egypt and other nations asserting their right to freedom’.<sup>48</sup> The *Bulletin*, the *Tablet* article claimed, made public ‘secret documents and other evidence of the real nature of the war upon the Irish people’, and provided its readers ‘with every means of verifying the truth of its accusations’.<sup>49</sup>

Between 1898 and 1923 the successive editors of the *New Zealand Tablet* made every effort to present to New Zealand readers with a ‘balanced’ view of Ireland or Irish events according to their own biases, using alternative Irish, English and Australian newspapers and other sources of information. However, despite the array of newspapers they drew upon, the editors’ access to and understanding of information on Irish affairs was imperfect for a number of reasons. First, the censorship of the Irish press had an impact upon what type of information left Ireland and reached New Zealand. The advanced nationalist Irish newspapers suffered huge obstacles, from official censorship to the capture and dismantling of their presses. During his years as editor James Kelly frequently published lists of Irish newspapers that had been shut down, and condemned the censorship of the Irish press as an outrage.<sup>50</sup> Because he believed that for the Irish press ‘to tell the whole truth may mean persecution or even death’, Kelly’s interpretation of the Irish situation relied increasingly on reading ‘between the lines’ of the Sinn Fein papers.<sup>51</sup> In 1918 he risked sending his friends the Conaglens ‘a few cuttings from various papers that tell the truth’. He drew special attention to the ‘little Irish papers’, commenting that ‘they are small but they are good. They have been suppressed and abolished over and over again and come to life under new names. And they are keeping the spirit alive in the country that things will come out all right.’<sup>52</sup>

Second, restrictions imposed upon overseas Irish presses and other newspapers sympathetic to the Irish cause affected the *Tablet*’s information gathering. In the early stages of World War One, the United States Post Office informed the *Irish*

*World and American Industrial Liberator* that due to an August 1915 supplement to the Postal Guide of the Commonwealth of Australia, the newspaper was now 'prohibited from importation into the Commonwealth, in bulk, through the post'.<sup>53</sup> In a letter to a friend in 1918, Kelly outlined the hold he believed that the 'Harmsworth gang' had over the American newspapers, and protested the suppression and censorship routinely experienced by papers that advocated the right of self-determination for Ireland. The American government had 'killed' the New York *Freeman*, and even the *Irish World* had to be 'toned down'.<sup>54</sup>

Kelly also complained that the British government had suppressed some members of the independent press including the London *Catholic Times* and the *Glasgow Observer*, which had dared to criticize Prime Minister David Lloyd George and the Unionist leader Edward Carson. G.K. Chesterton's newspaper, the *New Witness*, was still 'pegging away', but was not to be found in any library in New Zealand.<sup>55</sup> In a similar vein, the lawyer Patrick Joseph O'Regan addressed a letter to the *Stead's Review* offices in Melbourne complaining about the irregular delivery of that newspaper in New Zealand as late as 1919.<sup>56</sup> O'Regan was convinced that there was a 'tacit endeavour to ignore and belittle "Stead's" on the part of the press and authorities' in New Zealand.<sup>57</sup> O'Regan also wrote to the editor of the *Nation*, Hugh Massingham, whose paper was one of the few to champion the Irish cause at this time. Despite the embargo placed on the newspaper during the war years, O'Regan informed Massingham that readers in New Zealand were pleased to be able to 'see something of the truth about what is passing in the other side of the world'.<sup>58</sup>

During World War One the New Zealand government also acted to prohibit supposedly incendiary or disloyal publications or items. In January 1917 an order-in-council was published banning the importation of John Devoy's Clan-na-Gael journal, the *Gaelic American*.<sup>59</sup> The prosecution of the *Green Ray* in 1918 and the Attorney-General's warning to James Kelly that the *Tablet* was 'offensive to a section of the community' created an atmosphere in which accusations of sedition and threats to suppress newspapers had real potency.<sup>60</sup> Another order-in-council in 1920 prohibited the importation into New Zealand of 'Sinn Fein Irish Republic Brotherhood Badges' and 'Portraits of Edward or Eamon de Valera, President of the so-called Irish Republic'.<sup>61</sup>



**Figure 4:** 'The Message from the Antipodes'. *The Irish World's* view of the strength of Irish opinion in New Zealand and Australia. *Irish World*, 12 January 1918, p.1.

As reliable press information proved increasingly difficult to obtain, new channels of information became essential to the functioning of the diasporic web. Informal communication networks, word-of-mouth, private letters or the posting by sympathizers of newspapers and newspaper cuttings became critical. Early in 1921 Kelly claimed that even though the press files of the independent newspapers had been withheld, 'returning Australians by the dozen are able to inform their friends about the exact nature of affairs in Ireland'.<sup>62</sup> The diary of the prominent Dunedin Irish-Catholic Thomas Hussey also attests to such networks, recording the 1921 return of Dean Fitchett from Ireland 'with a lot of news re the Irish question'.<sup>63</sup>

The *Tablet* also utilized the often fragmentary information contained in newspapers and letters sent out of Ireland. The *Tablet's* free list shows that it found its way to Ireland, where it was delivered to individuals as well as to the offices of nationalist newspapers including the *Irish Weekly* in Belfast and the *Irish Catholic*, *Weekly Freeman*, *National Volunteer*, *New Ireland*, and D.P. Moran's *Leader* in Dublin.<sup>64</sup> The connections with *Leader* and *New Ireland* demonstrate again Kelly's search for information to support his philosophy on Ireland, as both newspapers had clear Irish-Ireland or Sinn Fein sympathies. Kelly was ever-ready to recommend sources of Irish information, and exhorted readers to subscribe to newspapers including the Dublin *Leader*, the Edinburgh *Catholic Herald*, the *Irish World* and the *Catholic Bulletin*.<sup>65</sup> Under Kelly, the *Tablet* reprinted articles from all of these newspapers, as well as *Old Ireland*, an Irish separatist journal that had Sinn Fein sympathies.<sup>66</sup>

James Kelly also utilized personal letters as a source of information and allowed his extensive contacts in Ireland and the diaspora to shape his writing on Ireland and Irish events. Kelly arrived in New Zealand in 1913, and thereafter maintained communication with friends and acquaintances both in his native Wexford and around the country more generally. Kelly's contacts in Ireland evidently included some well-known Irish nationalist figures, members of Sinn Fein 'directly in touch with the march of events in "the one bright spot"'.<sup>67</sup> In a letter to a friend in 1918 he revealed his reliance on communications from Ireland: 'When I am in despair I get a letter from some one or other of them [Sinn Feiners] that is so cheerful that I say to myself, these people must know as they are on the spot.'<sup>68</sup> Kelly also had an occasional correspondence with the veteran nationalist and author William O'Brien, and gained his written permission to publish as serials in the *Tablet* O'Brien's *When We Were Boys* and *Evening Memories*.<sup>69</sup> O'Brien's subsequent book, *The Irish Revolution and How it Came About*, was reviewed extremely favourably in the *Tablet*, and Kelly apparently thought it an invaluable tool for the education of New Zealand's Irish Catholics.<sup>70</sup> From the tenor of the correspondence it seems Kelly may have known O'Brien in Ireland, and it is apparent that he took pride in claiming the association. He published small excerpts from O'Brien's letters, as in 1920 when he quoted O'Brien as saying 'Ireland cannot lose anything that she has won, and she will go on winning all the time.'<sup>71</sup>

Although Kelly maintained deliberate links with associates in Ireland, he also received unsolicited information from Irish correspondents, a sign of the *Tablet's* presence in Ireland. In 1920 he thanked an Irishman from Cork who sent him

news about the murder of the Lord Mayor, Tomás MacCurtain, adding ‘You are the second correspondent who has written from Cork this week in appreciation of what we are trying to do for Ireland.’<sup>72</sup> Another source of information during his time as editor was his regular exchange of correspondence with John Hagan, rector of the Irish college in Rome. Kelly asked Hagan to send him a regular ‘Roman Letter’ to be published in the *Tablet*, and put Hagan on the newspaper’s free list in return.<sup>73</sup> Kelly valued Hagan’s opinion on the Irish question and viewed Hagan’s position as rector of the Irish College as particularly fortunate in the representation of Ireland’s causes. He believed Hagan (and Michael O’Riordan, who shared the duties as rector until 1919) usefully counteracted the work of a group in Rome which Kelly called the ‘English liars’.<sup>74</sup>

A private ‘underground’ of newspaper exchanges was one other type of information network utilized by both the readers and writers of the *Tablet*. Letters accompanying articles or copies of newspapers sent in by individuals provided a critical source of news. A letter preserved by Bishop Cleary from Mary C. Goulter, a contributor to Cleary’s journal the *Month*, shows how such a network may have worked.<sup>75</sup> Goulter received copies of the *Irish Bulletin* by post from a cousin in Ireland and offered to forward them to Cleary for his information.<sup>76</sup> Mary Goulter was interested in the ‘real state of Irish affairs’ and had asked her cousin to send the newspapers to New Zealand.<sup>77</sup> Her columns had previously examined the fate of women in Ireland and in an article in 1918, ‘The Sheathing of the Sword’, she described her sources of information as ‘sheet upon sheet of English and American newspapers, full of the horrors of organized brutality’.<sup>78</sup> In August 1921 Goulter sent her regular column to Cleary with a short letter indicating that if the enclosed article was ‘too violent’ he could choose to not publish her column. However, she felt compelled to send her contribution as she had ‘been reading too much on the Irish question lately, and found it impossible to write on any other subject, or to write less [than she had done]’.<sup>79</sup>

This pattern of information exchange was repeated elsewhere in the Irish diaspora. Irish Catholics in other destinations also sent or received newspaper extracts through the post to maintain their information links with Ireland. A reader of the *Irish World* who called herself ‘A Wexford Woman’ regularly mailed copies of the newspaper to relatives in Ireland during World War One, but believed that due to censorship ‘only one or two got there’. She changed her approach and sent ‘the editorial page and the third page in an envelope’ to a friend, who then took the cuttings to mass on Sunday ‘and read them to others’.<sup>80</sup> David Fitzpatrick’s study of Irish emigrant letters, *Oceans of Consolation*, observes that emigrants often sent Australian newspapers including the *Sydney Freeman’s Journal* to Ireland and received in return newspapers from Ireland.<sup>81</sup> Fitzpatrick notes that political news was often not commented on in private letters, but conveyed instead by the sending of newspapers.<sup>82</sup>

Despite the existence of these extensive formal and informal communication networks within the diaspora, the *Tablet* experienced significant problems in finding and presenting accurate information on Irish affairs. The most potent illustration of this is the confusion generated in New Zealand by events in Ireland after the signing of the Anglo–Irish treaty in December 1921. That month James Kelly was proclaiming the treaty, writing that Sinn Fein had won a ‘magnificent

victory on nearly all the essential points', and that the 'Free State represents far and away more than Parnell or Grattan ever dreamed of attaining'.<sup>83</sup> Kelly's support of the treaty echoed the sympathetic British press which tread a fine line in 1921 to find points of recommendation for what the treaty offered against what Sinn Féin had wanted.<sup>84</sup> The Australian Irish-Catholic press also welcomed the agreement between the British government and the Irish delegation. The Sydney *Freeman's Journal*, echoing Kelly's comments, saw the treaty as 'a stepping-stone to better things'.<sup>85</sup>

However, less than two weeks later Kelly's feeling of triumph had been replaced by 'grave anxiety'. The sword still hung over Ireland, and for Kelly the uncertainty about the events taking place was difficult to endure: 'We frankly confess that for the first time since 1916 we feel that we are groping in the dark and that the accounts that reach us perplex us not a little'.<sup>86</sup> Kelly had for once to accept the press cables at their face value and accept that there was deep division in the Sinn Féin movement. By 12 January, when the news of Dáil Éireann's ratification of the treaty reached New Zealand, Kelly was sure his readers shared his relief. He was reluctant to condemn de Valera's 'fight to the end for his principles', but recent letters from friends in Ireland had convinced him that the whole of the Irish people viewed the treaty with the same sense of deliverance.<sup>87</sup>

Kelly's *Tablet* swung between optimism and pessimism over the course of the Irish Civil War as the snippets of information received alternately reinforced or contradicted each other. At the start of the fighting Kelly was despondent, the bad news published in the daily papers 'unfortunately corroborated in many respects by letters and newspapers from Ireland'.<sup>88</sup> In May, the *Tablet* told its readers that although both the Lord Mayor of Dublin and a Republican paper had admitted that some armed men 'have got out of hand', there seemed 'no reason to think they will not be rounded up in time'.<sup>89</sup> By September letters from Ireland were informing Kelly that the 'people of Ireland were more solidly than ever behind the Free State'.<sup>90</sup> In October his 'independent sources' had informed him that the 'vast majority of people have become hardened by the senseless policy' of destruction in Ireland.<sup>91</sup> The condemnation of the Republicans by the Irish Catholic bishops confirmed Kelly's belief that the 'Republicans seem to have lost all sense of proportion', and he now censured their newspapers for continuing their attacks on bishops and priests.<sup>92</sup>

By November 1922, the *Tablet's* descriptions of Eamon de Valera were increasingly bitter. In a sign of the *Tablet's* international standing and diasporic reach, Kelly told his readers that de Valera had sent him word from the United States to 'advocate in the *Tablet* not a Republic but for self-determination'.<sup>93</sup> But Kelly believed de Valera's position to be hypocritical: 'he got self-determination and not a Republic and then he wanted the Republic'.<sup>94</sup> In January 1923 Kelly received a letter from a 'consistent Sinn Féiner' who wrote that he was experiencing remorse for ever being associated with a movement 'which turned out so badly'.<sup>95</sup> Kelly would not admit to remorse, but believed that so great was the disgust of most people at the 'insane conduct of the Republicans' that he was in no hurry to help those who are 'making life a hell in Ireland'.<sup>96</sup> By August, Kelly was receiving accounts from people visiting Ireland that reported 'all was

well'. In a letter to O'Regan he expressed hope that the trouble was finished. Even though he could still sympathize with de Valera's side of the argument, he could not forgive him 'for the mad manner in which he tried to win'.<sup>97</sup>

By the time of the Irish Civil War, the *New Zealand Tablet* enjoyed international recognition as an intersection in the exchange of news and information through the Irish diaspora. It was enjoined with a host of other Irish, immigrant and Roman Catholic newspapers in a complex circuit that linked the Irish homeland with millions of men and women of Irish birth or descent worldwide, and also maintained independent connections between the diaspora destinations themselves. This study, the first to explore in detail the operation of these networks, demonstrates the institutional and individual connections that facilitated information exchange through the diaspora. It also highlights the ways the information networks coped with constraints of the spread of news and the effect of censorship in the early twentieth century.

The sources James Kelly and the other editors used and what they wrote in the *New Zealand Tablet* from 1898 to 1923 helps to chart the course of the small strands connecting New Zealand to the web of the Irish diaspora. The *Tablet* editors' attempts to define or redefine Irishness in the New Zealand context were mapped against information they received from a coalition of other newspapers and sources of communication. However, information about Ireland in the *Tablet* did not go uncontested. Neither, as in the post-1921 period, was it always consistently or clearly presented. The complexity of the network revealed here and its malleability over time indicates the need for historians of the Irish diaspora to be as much concerned with the flow of ideas and information as immigrants themselves in shaping Irish diaspora communities abroad.

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NOTES

- 1 *New Zealand Tablet* (NZT), 16 November 1888, p.15.
- 2 *ibid.*
- 3 See Heather McNamara, 'The Sole Organ of the Irish in New Zealand? The *New Zealand Tablet*, 1898–1923', MA thesis, The University of Auckland, 2002.
- 4 Piaras Mac Éinri, 'Introduction', in Andy Bielenberg, ed., *The Irish Diaspora*, New York, 2000, p.1.
- 5 Donald Harman Akenson, *Let's Stop Talking About Irish Emigration: Some Constructive Alternatives*, Inaugural Lecture, Beamish Research Professorship of Migration Studies, The Institute of Irish Studies, The University of Liverpool, 18 November 1998, p.8.
- 6 The *Tablet's* only real competition was the *Month*, an Auckland-published Catholic newspaper created by ex-*Tablet* editor and Bishop of Auckland from 1910, Henry William Cleary. See Rory Sweetman, 'New Zealand Catholicism, War, Politics and the Irish Issue, 1912–1922', PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1991. Cleary's correspondence is preserved in the Auckland Catholic Diocesan Archives (ACDA).
- 7 The development of a Protestant, northern-centred 'Unionist' press also occurred in this period. See Jim Mac Laughlin, *Reimagining the Nation-State. The Contested Terrains of Nation-Building*, London, 2001, p.195.
- 8 Between 1830 and 1890, approximately 100 new papers were established all over Ireland, Mac Laughlin, pp.202–4.
- 9 Virginia E. Glandon, 'The Irish Press and Revolutionary Irish Nationalism', *Eire-Ireland*, 16, 1 (1981), p.24. See also Glandon's 'Index of Irish Newspapers, 1900–1922', *Eire-Ireland*, 12, 1 (1977), pp.86–115.
- 10 Mac Laughlin, pp.187–209.
- 11 *ibid.*, pp.202–3; Donald Harman Akenson, *Half the World from Home: Perspectives on the Irish in New Zealand*, Wellington, 1990, p.42.
- 12 Kevin Molloy, 'Victorians, Historians and Irish History: A Reading of the *New Zealand Tablet*, 1873–1903', in Brad Patterson, ed., *The Irish in New Zealand: Historical Contexts and Perspectives, Proceedings of the Stout Centre Conference 2002*, Wellington, 2002, p.155, estimates that the *Tablet's* circulation for the period 1880–1900 was around 11,500.
- 13 *ibid.*, p.161.
- 14 Mac Laughlin notes that Parnell's *United Ireland* had a national and international circulation of around 44,000 copies in the early 1880s, some of which would have reached New Zealand. See Mac Laughlin, p.206.
- 15 NZT, 9 March 1922, p.23. O'Tuathail published articles on Irish history for both the *Tablet* and the short-lived Irish–Ireland journal, the *Green Ray*.
- 16 NZT, 19 April 1917, p.39. The letter-writer was M. J. Sheahan, prominent Auckland member of the Hibernian Australasian Benefit Society.
- 17 Eileen McMahon, 'The Irish-American Press', in Sally Miller, ed., *The Ethnic Press in the United States: A Historical Analysis and Handbook*, New York, 1987, p.178.
- 18 NZT, 30 July 1914, p.17.
- 19 Cleary to Moore, no date, CLE 85, Cleary Papers, ACDA. Cleary's brother also formed a part of the newspaper network. While visiting his brother in New Zealand (before he died in 1902) he contributed a column entitled 'Our New Zealand Letter' to the *Bendigo Advertiser*. Obituary, J.A. Cleary, *Bendigo Advertiser*, 16 October 1902, CLE 20/1, Cleary Papers, ACDA.
- 20 File A and File T, CLE 3-3/13, Cleary Papers, ACDA.
- 21 As early as 1895 the *Monitor* noted the passing of Bishop Moran and commended the contribution of his 'vigorous hand and keenly critical mind' in the production of the *Tablet*. *Monitor*, 13 July 1895, p.8.
- 22 NZT, 20 December 1906, p.9.
- 23 MacSherry to Cleary, 22 October 1919, CLE 94, Cleary Papers, ACDA.
- 24 'Topical', CLE 40, Cleary Papers, ACDA.
- 25 'Bible in Schools Cuttings', CLE 45, Cleary Papers, ACDA.
- 26 Richard Davis, *Irish Issues in New Zealand Politics, 1868–1922*, Dunedin, 1974, p.199.
- 27 *ibid.*
- 28 NZT, 4 July 1918, p.15.
- 29 *ibid.*, 18 September 1919, p.27.
- 30 *ibid.*, 8 December 1921, p.15.



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- 31 *Melbourne Advocate* (MA), 31 January 1920, p.17. In his memoirs Irish–Australian surgeon Herbert Moran describes the operation of the cable news in Australia: ‘The electric telegraph rolled with a steady bias bowled by some cunning hand in London . . . Never was the artful use of emphasis, and the clever invention of an effective caption turned to more profitable account in the moulding of popular opinion.’ Herbert M. Moran, *Viewless Winds. Being the Recollections and Digressions of an Australian Surgeon*, London, 1939, p.178.
- 32 NZT, 3 May 1923, p.17.
- 33 Cleary to Lenihan, 4 March 1918, CLE 89-1, Cleary Papers, ACDA.
- 34 File L, CLE 3-3/13, Cleary Papers, ACDA.
- 35 D.P. Moran, *The Philosophy of Irish Ireland*, 2nd ed., Dublin, 1905, p.5.
- 36 ‘Free Copies’ list, undated, but c.1921, Coffey Papers, Dunedin Catholic Diocesan Archives (DCDA).
- 37 NZT, 10 December 1914, p.34.
- 38 Paul Rodechko, ‘An Irish-American Journalist and Catholicism: Patrick Ford of the *Irish World*’, *Church History*, 39, 4 (1970), p.525.
- 39 ‘Free Copies’ list, DCDA.
- 40 NZT, 14 June 1923, p.19.
- 41 By 1919 Lord Northcliffe controlled *The Times*, the *Daily Mail*, *Evening News*, *Weekly Despatch*, *Observer*, and a ‘host of provincial papers’. NZT, 13 November 1919, p.13.
- 42 NZT, 13 May 1920, p.15. The editor of the *Manchester Guardian*, C.P. Scott, used his columns to condemn reprisals, and personally wrote to members of the English government criticizing the English policy in Ireland. See David G. Boyce, *Englishmen and Irish Troubles. British Public Opinion and the Making of Irish Policy, 1918–1922*, London, 1972, p.59.
- 43 NZT, 28 April 1921, p.28.
- 44 *ibid.*, 25 August 1921, p.25. Prominent Wellington Irish–Catholic barrister Patrick Joseph O’Regan was also a subscriber and reader of the *Nation*. See O’Regan to Stead, 29 March 1919, O’Regan Correspondence, 76-165-6/13, Alexander Turnbull Library (ATL), Wellington. O’Regan believed that New Zealand readers had only to read the *Nation* or the *Manchester Guardian* to ‘realise what the cable agent omits’. O’Regan to Robinson, 15 May 1919, O’Regan Correspondence, 76-165-6/14, ATL.
- 45 MA, 12 August 1920, p.9.
- 46 NZT, 9 September 1920, p.31. By November 1919 the *Bulletin* was being sent to the offices of the *Manchester Guardian*, the *Daily Herald*, the *Daily News* and the *Nation*. Boyce, p.85.
- 47 NZT, 9 February 1922, p.17.
- 48 Frank Gallagher (David Hogan), *Four Glorious Years*, reprint, New York and London, 1971, p.86.
- 49 NZT, 9 February 1922, p.17.
- 50 In 1920 the *Tablet* published a list of newspaper suppressions in Ireland from May 1916 to September 1919. The list included the Dublin newspapers, the *Leader*, *Nationality*, *Fainne an Lae*, and the *Gael* among a host of regional and provincial nationalist publications. See NZT, 8 January 1920, p.21.
- 51 *ibid.*, 14 April 1921, p.14.
- 52 Kelly to Conaglen, 28 November 1918, Pat Lawlor papers, Marist Archives, Wellington.
- 53 *Irish World and American Industrial Liberator* (IW), 2 October 1915, p.3.
- 54 Kelly to Conaglen, 28 November 1918, Lawlor papers. Kelly is referring to the American government’s decision in early 1918 to curb the mailing privileges of the *Irish World*, the New York *Freeman’s Journal* and John Devoy’s *Gaelic American* under the Espionage Act. By August 1918 the *Irish World* was forced to submit its copy for pre-publication censorship. The New York *Freeman* was eventually forced out of business. See Mulcrone, “‘Those Miserable Little Hounds’: World War I Postal Censorship of the *Irish World*”, *Journalism History*, 20, 1 (1994), pp.15–24, available at: Academic Search Elite, Learn Database, <http://www2.auckland.ac.nz/lbr/alpha>.
- 55 Kelly to Conaglen, 28 November 1918, Lawlor papers.
- 56 O’Regan to Stead, 29 March 1919, O’Regan Correspondence, 76-165-6/13, ATL.
- 57 *ibid.*
- 58 O’Regan to Massingham, 31 March 1921, O’Regan Correspondence, 76-165-6/19, ATL.
- 59 *New Zealand Gazette* (NZG), 1, 16 January 1917, p.167. Devoy’s journal pursued the objective of an Irish party in America solely devoted to the interests of Ireland. See McMahon, p.185.
- 60 Kelly to O’Regan, 18 August 1918, O’Regan Correspondence, 76-165-1/12, ATL.

61 NZG, 1, 18 March 1920, p.894. This did not deter Kelly, who informed his readers that the order-in-council did not extend to badges made in New Zealand, and gave them advice on where to find badges, encouraging them to wear them openly. NZT, 11 March 1920, p.28. The prohibition of the badges and the *Gaelic American* was lifted in 1924. See NZG, 1, 6 March 1924, p.633.

62 NZT, 27 January 1921, p.17.

63 Diary of Thomas Hussey, 6 January 1921, Papers of Moira Hussey and her Father Thomas Hussey, AG 545-5, Hocken Library, Dunedin.

64 'Free Copies' list, DCDA.

65 NZT, 4 May 1922, p.17; 9 March 1922, p.17; 18 August 1921, p.11. The Dublin *Catholic Bulletin* had experienced a dramatic shift in editorial policy after the 1916 rebellion and turned from a path of constitutional Irish nationalism to an increasingly separatist camp. Virginia Glandon suggests that the *Bulletin* played no small role in changing the Irish opinion of the Easter rising. See Virginia E. Glandon, *Arthur Griffith and the Advanced Nationalist Press in Ireland, 1900–1922*, New York, 1985, p.157.

66 NZT, 13 January 1921, p.14; 25 August 1921, p.25.

67 NZT, 5 February 1920, p.14.

68 Kelly to Conaglen, 28 November 1918, Lawlor papers.

69 *Evening Memories* was serialized in the *Tablet* from January 1922, only a year after its publication. See NZT, 5 January 1922, p.26. O'Brien was also on the *Tablet's* free list.

70 NZT, 6 September 1923, p.30.

71 *ibid.*, 5 February 1920, p.14.

72 *ibid.*, 27 May 1920, p.35.

73 Kelly to Hagan, 14 September 1917, Hagan papers, Irish College Rome. I wish to acknowledge Nicholas Reid's generous help in providing me with copies of the Irish College Kelly–Hagan correspondence.

74 Kelly to Conaglen, 28 November 1918, Lawlor papers.

75 Goulter and Bishop Cleary had a regular correspondence. Cleary fostered Goulter's writing ambition, helping her to publish a small booklet in 1922 entitled *Schoolday Memories*.

76 Goulter to Cleary, 21 November 1920, CLE 94-3, Cleary Papers, ACDA.

77 *ibid.*

78 *Month*, 15 August 1918, p.19.

79 Goulter to Cleary, 6 August 1921, CLE 94-3, Cleary Papers, ACDA.

80 IW, 25 September 1915, p.11.

81 David Fitzpatrick, *Oceans of Consolation: Personal Accounts of Irish Migration to Australia*, Ithaca, 1995, pp.66, 251, 552.

82 *ibid.*, p.557.

83 NZT, 15 December 1921, p.14.

84 Boyce, p.147.

85 Cited in Malcolm Campbell, 'Emigrant Responses to War and Revolution, 1914–1921: Irish Opinion in the United States and Australia', *Irish Historical Studies*, 32, 125 (2000), p.91.

86 NZT, 29 December 1921, p.25.

87 *ibid.*, 12 January 1922, p.25.

88 *ibid.*, 27 April 1922, p.25.

89 *ibid.*, 4 May 1922, p.14.

90 *ibid.*, 14 September 1922, p.15.

91 *ibid.*, 5 October 1922, p.25.

92 *ibid.*, 19 October 1922, p.18.

93 *ibid.*, 2 November 1922, p.18. Kelly repeats his incredulity about de Valera's message in a letter to John Hagan, adding that he could see no other clear course at present but to 'stand by the Bishops, even if they have blundered'. Kelly to Hagan, 7 April 1923, Hagan papers.

94 NZT, 2 November 1922, p.18.

95 *ibid.*, 25 January 1923, p.18. The consistent 'Sinn Feiner' may have been Mark Byrne. Kelly mentions receiving word from Byrne in a letter to John Hagan. Kelly to Hagan, 7 April 1923, Hagan papers.

96 NZT, 25 January 1923, p.18. Malcolm Campbell's reading of the Sydney *Freeman's Journal* reinforces the widespread nature of this disgust. In 1922, after the shooting of Michael Collins, the *Freeman* declared that the Irish rebels could expect 'neither sympathy nor assistance from the Irish overseas'. Campbell, p.92.

97 Kelly to O'Regan, 31 August 1923, O'Regan Correspondence, 76-165-6a3, ATL.