

‘Typical of the New Zealand Occupational Distribution’?: a Reconsideration of Catholic Interwar Employment Patterns

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During the 1920s and 1930s, New Zealand Catholics often characterised themselves as a relatively poor community, and mostly engaged in low-paid, unskilled employment.¹ Opening a new school in Seatoun in 1923, Archbishop Thomas O’Shea observed that ‘The Catholics of New Zealand . . . were not overblessed with a surplus of this world’s goods, and whatever they possessed had been earned by hard work.’² Three years later columnist Mary Goulter noted that Catholics had traditionally been ‘a poor and struggling community’, while in 1934 D. McLaughlin, Treasurer of the National Union of Unemployed could write that ‘The Catholic Church is famous because of the large number of poor members.’³ In the 1970s, reflecting on the Church fifty years earlier, historian Ernest Simmons claimed that Catholics tried to explain their relative lack of social and career advancement by blaming the Masons and other opponents and by creating ‘a myth that Catholics had always been poor’.⁴ In his seminal 1990 work on the Irish in New Zealand, Donald Akenson attempted to debunk this myth, declaring that ‘the dead-centre normality of Irish Catholics is striking’ and that they were ‘typical of the New Zealand occupational distribution’.⁵

Essentially, Akenson based his argument on section XIII of the ‘General Report’ on the 1921 census.⁶ While the report does not correlate employment with ethnic descent, Akenson used religious statistics, arguing that most Catholics were of Irish descent, while only a minority of Irish immigrants and their descendants were Protestants. Citing the proportions of Catholic men and Catholic women in each of eight industrial categories compared with the corresponding proportions for the total population, Akenson noted that ‘the largest group of [male] Irish Catholics were primary producers, that is, farmers’ (22.90 per cent of the total male population and 22.01 per cent of the Catholic male population). Moreover, Irish men were ‘somewhat *underrepresented* in the industrial category, where the unskilled jobs were’ (15.82 per cent of the male population but 14.38 per cent of the Catholic

male population).⁷ Akenson ignored the marked under-representation of Catholic men in commerce (6.94 per cent as compared to 9.39 per cent in the whole male population). He went on to argue that, while 'in general' the 'typicality' of Catholic men was 'striking', the data on females indicated that 'women of Irish Catholic background were little different from the general population'.⁸ Since each of the eight industrial categories included a full range of occupational statuses and forms of employment (from owner-managers to the unemployed) however, these statistics, in themselves, reveal little about the occupational status of Catholics or the areas in which Catholics worked. Moreover, the inclusion of dependants as an industrial category distorts the percentages for each sector of the paid workforce.

This paper contends that a much more accurate indication of Catholic employment patterns can be secured from the census reports on religion. Tables correlating religion and 'industrial distribution' were published for 1921, 1926, 1936, and 1945, but only those for 1921 and, to a lesser extent, 1936 are sufficiently detailed to illuminate the present discussion.⁹ These two reports break the eight broad industrial categories down into much smaller and more homogeneous groups, detailing the numbers of men and women engaged in each. Given his apparent confidence in the usefulness of the eight broad categories that summarised the entire population, it is surprising that Akenson dismissed the more detailed tables for 1921 and 1945 (he did not mention 1926 or 1936).¹⁰ Indeed, although observing that the industrial groupings give few indications of occupational status or social class (they record peoples' industries, not their occupations), Akenson ignored the 1921 and 1926 tables that do correlate 'grade of employment' with religion.¹¹

The principal issues to be considered, then, are whether Catholics were under- or over-represented in any given area of employment by comparison with their representation in the workforce as a whole, and in what capacity they were engaged, for example as employers or wage earners. It will be argued that Catholic employment patterns, as revealed in the 1921 and 1936 censuses, reinforce the impressions of a community with a high proportion of working-class or lower middle-class members. Catholics were over-represented in occupations that required limited education, skills, and capital, as well as in areas of employment traditionally favoured by the Irish – notably government service, hospitality, and, for women in particular, religion.

After raising some further methodological considerations, the paper will review occupational status, as recorded in 1921, and the main sectors of employment in that year (primary production, industrial occupations, transport and communication, commerce and finance, professional employment, domestic occupations and 'other groups'). In general, only the larger industries will be discussed – those involving over 1,000 men

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or women – but some smaller industries with notable over-representations of Catholics will also be surveyed.

Catholics in the workforce

To assess whether Catholics were over- or under-represented in any employment category, an ‘index of representation’ based on the actual and expected proportions of Catholic men and women in the workforce has been utilised.¹² The total numbers and proportions of Catholics in the workforce are given in Table 1.¹³

Table 1 – Catholics in the workforce, 1921 and 1936

		Total Employed	Total Catholics	Percentage Catholic
1921	men	402,830	51,908	12.89
	women	110,251	17,525	15.90
1936	men	507,499	62,735	12.36
	women	138,927	21,331	15.35

Source: *Census . . . 1921*, part VII, pp.36-42; *Census, 1936*, vol.VI, pp.26-29.

To calculate the index of representation, the actual percentage of Catholic men or women in a particular category of employment is divided by the expected percentage (that is, the percentage of Catholic men or women in the whole paid workforce) and then multiplied by 100. An index figure above 100 indicates there were more Catholics in a particular employment field than might be expected, given their overall representation in the workforce. Conversely, a figure below 100 suggests that Catholics were under-represented. In the following discussion, otherwise unexplained numbers (given in brackets) refer to this index of representation – not to the actual number of individuals. Where two index numbers are given without further explanation, the first refers to the 1921 census, the second to the 1936 census.¹⁴ As well as assessing the proportion of Catholics in particular industries, the index of representation has also been used to gauge the occupational status of Catholics (as summarised in Table 2).¹⁵

Table 2 – Occupational status in 1921

	Employer	Self-employed	Relative assisting	Waged or salaried	Unemployed	Not applicable	Not stated	Total
Primary production								
All men	24,845	42,617	6,300	65,965	2,848		161	142,736
Catholics	2,553	5,173	891	9,133	451		24	18,225
Index	80	94	110	107	123		116	99
All women	952	1,320	3,789	3,118	14	7		9,200
Catholics	143	222	504	403	3	1		1,276
Index	94	106	84	81	135	90		87
Industry (manufacturing and construction)								
All men	9,568	7,741	138	77,888	3,199		79	98,613
Catholics	774	809	7	9,828	474		12	11,904
Index	63	81	39	98	115		118	94
All women	444	2,046	154	17,231	433	11		20,319
Catholics	60	305	29	2,434	62	0		2,890
Index	85	94	118	89	90	0		89
Transport and communication								
All men	1,413	3,503	41	46,458	1,237		13	52,665
Catholics	145	448	2	7,431	227		1	8,254
Index	80	99	38	124	142		60	122
All women	12	21	6	2,610	21			2,670
Catholics	0	4	1	553	4			562
Index	0	120	105	133	120			132
Commerce and finance								
All men	7,497	6,682	170	40,894	1,302	1,938	36	58,519
Catholics	511	709	22	4,170	172	158	2	5,744
Index	53	82	100	79	103	63	43	76
All women	500	1,351	646	17,225	343	533	3	20,601
Catholics	66	234	81	2,316	43	71	0	2,811
Index	83	109	79	85	79	84	0	86
Professional employment								
All men	2,474	2,414	16	24,154	432	289	24	29,803
Catholics	220	221	7	3,272	59	132	1	3,912
Index	69	71	340	105	106	354	32	102

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	Employer	Self-employed	Relative assisting	Waged or salaried	Unemployed	Not applicable	Not stated	Total
All women	277	2,531	38	17,451	442	1,320	23	22,082
Catholics	21	343	3	2,223	60	1,234	3	3,887
Index	48	85	50	80	85	588	82	111
Domestic employment								
All men	1,630	908	72	5,998	314		5	8,927
Catholics	421	132	17	1,149	43		2	1,764
Index	200	113	183	149	106		310	153
All women	750	1,489	771	29,049	697	6		32,762
Catholics	183	308	213	4,928	129	1		5,762
Index	154	130	174	107	116	105		111
Other employment								
All men	164	287	15	7,679	1,739	15,460	259	25,603
Catholics	26	40	4	1,523	325	1,696	21	3,635
Index	123	108	207	154	145		63	
All women	3	2	4	1,747	204	18,983	74	21,017
Catholics	1	0	2	236	33	2,337	7	2,616
Index	210	0	315	85	102		60	
Total								
All men	47,591	64,152	6,752	269,036	11,071	17,687	577	416,866
Catholics	4,650	7,532	950	36,506	1,751	1,986	63	53,438
Index	76	91	109	105	123		85	
All women	2,938	8,760	5,408	88,431	2,154	20,860	100	128,651
Catholics	474	1,416	833	13,093	334	3,644	10	19,804
Index	101	102	97	93	98		63	

According to Table 1, Catholics consistently made up higher proportions of the female workforce than of the male workforce; Catholic women were also more likely to work outside the home than women of other denominations. In 1921, 34.27 per cent of Catholic working-age women (15-64 years) were in the workforce, compared with 28.19 per cent of non-Catholic women.¹⁶ The equivalent 1936 figures are 32.71 per cent for Catholics and 27.06 per cent for non-Catholics.¹⁷ While it is possible that Catholic women felt a greater need to supplement their husbands' incomes (despite the Church's discouragement),¹⁸ the most obvious explanation for the higher rate of employment amongst Catholic women is their lower rate of marriage.

Whereas Catholics made up 13.05 per cent of women aged 15 to 64 in 1936, they constituted 14.99 per cent of unmarried women in this age group – a proportion that is closer to their representation in the workforce (15.35 per cent) than to their representation in the working-age cohort.¹⁹

The number of unmarried Catholic women was substantially augmented by female religious, who had few counterparts in other denominations, and whose inclusion complicates any analysis of Catholic female employment patterns. In 1921, there were some 1,321 Catholic nuns in New Zealand, and by 1936 there were about 1,718.²⁰ As Table 2 indicates, the 1921 census counted 1,234 ‘professional’ Catholic women, individuals for whom grades such as ‘employer’ or ‘working for wages or salary’ were not applicable.²¹ Most nuns would be included in this total. They usually received only nominal remuneration and worked exclusively in the Church’s own benevolent institutions, social welfare agencies, hospitals, schools, and other religious institutions. Their inclusion in the employment figures increases the percentage of the female workforce that was Catholic, at the same time depressing the index of representation for Catholic women in other areas of employment. Removing 1,234 women from the 1921 statistics would reduce the proportion of Catholics in the total female workforce from 15.90 to 14.94 per cent. Basing the index of representation on the latter rather than the former figure would turn a small apparent under-representation in a specific area of employment into a small over-representation. For example, a slight under-representation of Catholics amongst the 5,049 women dressmakers in 1921 (96) becomes a slight over-representation (103) if nuns are not counted as a part of the workforce. In the case of Catholic women, therefore, only quite marked divergences from 100 can be interpreted as either under- or over-representations. Moreover, the much smaller size of the female workforce makes female statistics less significant than male statistics for the present discussion.

As a group, Catholic women in 1921 were marginally over-represented amongst employers (101) and the self-employed who did not employ others (102), slightly under-represented amongst relatives assisting without payment (97) and the unemployed (98), but rather more obviously under-represented in the much larger category of wage and salary earners (93). These figures, which would be lifted if nuns were not counted as part of the paid workforce, conceal distinctive features of Catholic women’s employment that will be further considered in the analyses of specific industrial categories.

If the average occupational status of Catholic women at first appears unremarkable (apart from the low index for wage earners despite a high number of working women), that of Catholic men was much more distinctive. In 1921, Catholic men tended to be under-represented amongst the higher-status (and therefore more remunerative) occupational categories and over-

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represented in the lower-status categories. They were considerably under-represented amongst employers (76) and, to a lesser degree, the self-employed (91). They were, however, over-represented amongst relatives assisting without payment (109), and markedly so amongst the unemployed (123). While they were proportionately less over-represented amongst employees receiving wages or salaries (105), this category was many times larger than any of the others and correlates with Catholic under-representation amongst employers. To some extent, this occupational status pattern must have been influenced by the younger age profile of Catholics, a disproportionate number of whom were unlikely to have been old enough to have their own businesses.²² Moreover, under-representation amongst employers and the self-employed is a rather crude measure of career success, taking no account of those who were promoted within large public or private concerns. While Catholics were over-represented in some sections of the public service, it will be demonstrated that they were under-represented in commerce and, with their generally more limited financial resources, they were more likely to be employees rather than employers or self-employed.

Primary production

Although Catholic men were almost as likely to work in primary occupations as were those of other persuasions in 1921 (99), they were notably under-represented amongst primary sector employers (80) and under-represented amongst the self-employed (94). Conversely, they made up a large share of relatives assisting without payment (110), wage and salary earners (107), and the unemployed (123). Catholic women were under-represented (87) in primary employment, especially as unpaid relatives assisting (84) and as wage or salary earners (81), but less so as primary production employers (94). They were over-represented amongst the self-employed (106). The substantial number of Catholic men recorded as primary sector wage earners, unemployed, or relatives assisting without pay is probably inflated by the substantial number of Catholic men who did not marry, and perhaps by larger than average families.²³ Most of the Catholic women managing farms were widows, but the proportion of women working on their own account may have been boosted by a tendency for men owning small farms to undertake seasonal work on larger properties, leaving their wives to manage the family farm.²⁴ Catholic farmers working on their own account were probably disproportionately farmers of small properties or even sharecroppers.

The above suggestions are consistent with the proportions of Catholics in the various kinds of farming detailed in the census reports. The under-representation of Catholics amongst sheep farmers in both 1921 and 1936 (85 and 86 for men, 94 and 70 for women) may be partially explicable by a tendency for New Zealand sheep farmers to be drawn from parts of

Britain where there were relatively low proportions of Catholics. It seems even more probable, however, that relatively few Catholics could afford the substantial outlays required to establish specialist sheep farms, even if some were employed on such farms. By contrast, Catholics were less under-represented amongst dairy farmers in the same years (94 for men, 89 and 88 for women), by far the largest primary occupational category with 51,229 men and 6,653 women in 1921 and 71,480 men and 3,529 women in 1936. Catholic men were actually over-represented in arable farming (116 and 113), this probably reflecting a high rate of casual employment during harvest time (the censuses were held on 17 April 1921 and 24 March 1936). Therefore, Catholics owning their own farms must commonly have been modest dairy or mixed farmers, running relatively small, often economically marginal, family businesses: precisely the milieu described in Dan Davin's short stories and novels set in rural Southland.²⁵ It may be symptomatic that the growth of dairying in the Auckland province led to an urgent need for Catholic schools in Matamata, Te Aroha, and Morrinsville by 1930 (although the index figures do not reflect any national increase in the proportion of Catholic dairy farmers).²⁶ Curiously, despite a substantial increase in the number of male mixed farmers between the two counts (from 10,696 in 1921 to 15,963 in 1936), the representation of Catholics declined drastically (from 104 to 91). Perhaps this was because many were unable to find casual employment or maintain marginal farms during the Depression.²⁷

Catholic men were over-represented in most other primary industries employing a large proportion of unskilled or semi-skilled labour. The high representation of Catholics amongst fishermen (124 and 160) was almost certainly boosted by Italian Catholics in the Wellington area, while an extremely high proportion of kauri-gum gatherers in 1921 were Catholic (350), reflecting the large number of Dalmatians in this occupation. Catholics were also markedly over-represented amongst bush sawmillers (136 and 129), bushfellers and scrub cutters (167 in 1921), and workers in government nurseries and plantations (153 in 1936). There was a consistent pattern of Catholic over-representation amongst both quartz (147 and 150) and alluvial (170 and 154) gold-miners. The small under-representation of Catholics in coal mining (96 and 93) may reflect a tendency for coal-miners to have been drawn predominantly from non-Catholic mining regions of the United Kingdom. It may also be noted that the small population of the West Coast, with its uniquely high proportion of Irish Catholics, accounted for but 2.20 per cent of the country's miners in 1921 and 4.55 per cent in 1936.²⁸

Industry (manufacturing and construction)

While Catholic men were well-represented at least in the less affluent groupings of the country's largest industrial sector – primary production

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– they were somewhat under-represented in industrial occupations, that is, manufacturing and construction (94 for men, 89 for women in 1921). If, as Akenson suggests, this is ‘where the unskilled jobs were’,²⁹ the under-representation of Catholics cannot be explained by their possessing higher than average skills. In 1921 Catholic men were over-represented amongst the industrial unemployed (115) and only slightly under-represented amongst industrial wage and salary earners (98). Catholic women were somewhat more under-represented (89, the same as their overall representation in industry). However, the number of Catholic men amongst industrial employers was extremely low (63), so also amongst the self-employed (81). The evidence suggests, therefore, that a disproportionate number of Catholic men engaged in manufacturing and construction were either unskilled or lacked capital to set up independently. While Catholic women were less likely than non-Catholics to work in industry, least of all as employers (85), a number evidently did work for themselves (94).

Most of the self-employed Catholic women were skilled in the making and mending of clothes, an occupation that accounted for a majority of the women involved in the industrial workforce. However, their representations in tailoring (108 and 103), clothing (102 and 92), dressmaking (96 and 90), and millinery (86 and 74) declined from 1921, probably because of increasing competition from factory production. Conversely, there was a noticeable increase in the number of women, and the proportion of Catholic women, engaged in the manufacturing of boots and shoes (from 67 to 79), presumably because factory production enabled women to move into an area traditionally dominated by male cobblers. There was also an increase in the number and representation of Catholic women working in woollen mills (65 to 74).

There were relatively low proportions of Catholic men in manufacturing and related industries, where high levels of technical skill were required. The indices for founding and engineering in the two censuses are quite low (74 and 79), those for motor engineers (73 and 67) slightly lower, and for electrical engineering even lower (51 and 58). Joinery works employed a small proportion of Catholics (49 and 58), whilst Catholics were also somewhat under-represented amongst cabinet-makers (79 and 82). In 1921, few Catholics were employed in the manufacture of horse-drawn vehicles (75) or motor cars (73), but as the assembly-line production of cars expanded, creating new jobs for the unskilled, the proportion of Catholics increased (95 in 1936). Catholics were over-represented amongst blacksmiths (109 and 103), but blacksmithing was a rural occupation, one that could be learnt without a formal apprenticeship, and one that would have been widely practised amongst Irish immigrants and their immediate descendants. Catholics were over-represented in grain-threshing (138 and 125), which

was a labour-intensive, unskilled occupation. They were somewhat under-represented in printing and publication (83 and 91) and in job and general printing (83 and 82), presumably because these occupations employed a large proportion of skilled men. Similarly, the under-representation of male Catholics in woollen mills (61 in both years) is an indicator of a relatively skilled workforce.³⁰ Catholics were under-represented amongst tailors (93 and 86), but decreasingly so amongst less skilled clothing workers (95 and 100).

Catholic men were over-represented amongst freezing workers and others involved in food preserving (114 and 107). Drink production also required large numbers of unskilled workers, a disproportionate number of whom were Catholics (125 in the manufacture of cordials and aerated waters and 139 in breweries in 1921, the latter figure reflecting more liberal Catholic – and Irish – attitudes towards alcohol). They were consistently under-represented in the more skilled area of bread-making (82 and 81). While relatively few Catholics were employed in butter and cheese production in 1921 (62), there was an appreciable increase by 1936 (80), as dairy factories increased in size and became more mechanized.

A similar pattern of Catholic under-representation amongst skilled tradesmen, and over-representation amongst the unskilled, also prevailed in the building and construction industries. Catholics were under-represented in carpentry, building, and construction (70 and 75),³¹ amongst painters, paperhangers, and glazers (77 and 82), amongst bricklayers (88 in 1921), and amongst plumbers, gasfitters, and drainlayers (87 and 83). By contrast, there was a marked over-representation of Catholic men in the predominantly unskilled work of constructing and maintaining roads (185 and 151),³² building and servicing railways (215 in 1921), and in land drainage and reclamation (205 and 181).³³ Each of these areas, it may be noted, indicates a Catholic predilection for government employment.

Transport and communication

In 1921, Catholic men were strongly over-represented in transport and communication (122). However, they were markedly under-represented amongst employers in this occupational category (80), and their representation amongst the self-employed (99) in no way matched their large numbers in this industrial category. The great majority of Catholic men occupied in transport and communication were wage and salary earners, a category in which they were considerably over-represented (124). They were also heavily over-represented amongst the unemployed in the category (142). In addition, Catholic women were strongly over-represented amongst women engaged in transport and communication (132), overwhelmingly as wage and salary earners (133).

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As has been suggested, many of these Catholics worked by preference for the government rather than private enterprise, particularly in the Post Office and the Railways Department, explaining why they were disproportionately employees. It is scarcely surprising, then, that there was a marked over-representation of Catholics in the telegraph and telephone service (120 and 133 for men, 157 for women in 1921) and, to a lesser extent, amongst 'undefined' postal, telegraph, or telephone officers (109 for men in 1921, 125 for women). Perhaps it is significant that in 1921, when the census reports included employees of the Post Office Savings Bank with general postal service workers, Catholic men were not so over-represented (112) as they were in 1936 (124). In the latter year, the more skilled employees of the POSB were excluded. Catholic women were also markedly over-represented in the postal service, but in their case the proportion decreased (from 126 to 115) – though the numbers involved are probably too small to impute any significance to this change. The railways offered work to large numbers of unskilled men, and it seems possible that the marked but declining proportion of male Catholic railway workers (139 and 130) in the interwar period included descendants of the Irish assisted immigrants brought to New Zealand to be employed on public works in the 1870s.

In most other transport-related industries, Catholic men were characteristically over-represented amongst the less skilled. Amongst those engaged in the 'loading and discharging of vessels', there was a very considerable over-representation of Catholics (144 declining to 134).³⁴ There was also an over-representation of Catholic men in shipping services (116 and 120). An over-representation of Catholic men engaged by harbour boards in 1921 (111) was reduced to an under-representation by 1936 (91), perhaps because the retrenchment of personnel (from 2,404 to 1,264) had the most impact on unskilled employees.³⁵ In the tramway services – also largely controlled by local bodies – there was no over-representation of Catholic men comparable to the that observable in the government-controlled railways. Certainly, the tramway service was a much smaller occupational category, requiring proportionately fewer unskilled staff, but the representation of Catholics (96 and 91) showed some decline, perhaps again reflecting economic conditions having a greater impact on the unskilled. The over-representation of Catholics engaged in carrying and cartage in 1921 (119) was reduced to the same proportion (100) as Catholic men in the overall workforce by 1936, presumably because the replacement of horses and carts with trucks required greater capital investment. In 1936, there was a high proportion of Catholic men employed in taxi services (126) but an under-representation in the more skilled work of motor-garages (84).³⁶

Commerce and finance

As in later decades, Catholic men were markedly under-represented (76) in commercial and financial occupations in 1921. They were even more drastically under-represented amongst commercial employers (53) and men whose income was derived from property and similar investments (63).³⁷ There was greater representation amongst commercial wage and salary earners (79) and the self-employed (82), the index figures being actually higher than for Catholic men in commerce overall. Ironically, while they were under-represented in commerce generally, Catholic men were actually over-represented amongst the sector's unemployed (103). Catholic women were also under-represented in commerce and finance (86) in 1921, but their representations amongst wage and salary earners (85) and amongst property investors (84) were similar. They were over-represented amongst the self-employed (109). It would appear that Catholics were especially under-represented in those commercial activities requiring substantial capital or higher education, but less so in niches requiring less capital or education.

Few Catholics were involved in high-level financial transactions or dealing in expensive goods and services. Only a small proportion of men described as capitalists or proprietors of houses and land in 1921 (63) were Catholic. Similarly, relatively few Catholic men were employed in banking (71 and 63). The higher 1921 figure reflects the inclusion of employees of the Post Office Savings Bank, the humbler end of the banking spectrum. Predictably, Catholic men were also under-represented in insurance (73 and 81), stock and station agencies (79 in 1936), and as auctioneers (72 and 86). They were under-represented amongst merchants dealing in hardware and machinery (65 in both census years) and amongst 'manufacturers' agents, merchants, indent agents, or importers' (71 in 1936). Catholic women were much less under-represented in the latter category (95 in 1936), but are likely to have been disproportionately engaged as typists and clerks rather than in more influential and remunerative positions.

Amongst the more widespread and less capital-intensive small shops, the under-representation of Catholics was less extreme, for example, amongst men selling textiles and clothing (76 and 84), groceries and provisions (82 and 93), and meat (89 and 93). Indeed, the only commercial occupation in which Catholic men were over-represented was the sale of tobacco products (110 in 1921), but this was a very small category (662 men, including 94 Catholics) linked to hairdressing, in which Catholic men were also over-represented. Catholic women, too, were less under-represented in small-scale commerce, including the sale of clothing and textiles (93 and 88), groceries and provisions (83 and 92), and pastry and confectionery (91 and 98 – the latter figure including cakes, bread, and biscuits). Catholics were also less under-represented in enterprises where they needed no capital of their own,

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such as in department and general stores (78 and 89 for men, 91 and 101 for women).³⁸ It seems certain that most of the growing number of men selling motor vehicles and accessories (2,488 in 1936), including a relatively high proportion of Catholics (93), would have been employees. Furthermore, commercial activities requiring strong men with limited skills or training attracted comparatively more Catholics, examples being the sale of horses and livestock (80 in 1921), coal and firewood (97 and 84), and timber (91 and 88).

Professional employment

Catholics were slightly over-represented amongst so-called 'professional' men in 1921 (102). These professional Catholics, however, were notably under-represented amongst employers of others (69), while only a slightly higher proportion was self-employed (71). They were correspondingly over-represented in the very much larger category of wage and salary earners (105). Of the 289 men to whom these 'grades of employment' did not apply, 132 (an index of 354) were Catholics, a proportion almost certainly swollen by the inclusion of lay brothers (who had no precise equivalent in other denominations) and by priests who did not usually receive stipends in the manner of Protestant ministers.³⁹ Yet, if the inclusion of the unsalaried male religious accounts for only a comparatively small number of professional Catholic men, it is quite otherwise with the inclusion of nuns as professional Catholic women. Catholic women were notably over-represented in the professional category (111 in 1921), but were considerably under-represented amongst employers (48), the self-employed (85), wage and salary earners (80), and the unemployed (85). The consistency of the latter three indices gives an accurate impression of the modest involvement of Catholic women in professional occupations other than as nuns (who, as has been observed, largely account for the huge 'not applicable' index figure, 588). The high proportion of Catholic 'professional' men amongst employees and the low proportions amongst employers underline the tendency of these men to work for the government rather than the private sector. While Catholic women were also over-represented in the government service, it was primarily their membership of religious orders that boosted their representation in the professional category.

At first sight, the relatively high proportion of Catholic professional men may appear to conflict with the impression so far conveyed of a comparatively unskilled Catholic workforce. This is certainly the impression conveyed by Akenson: on the basis of the 1921 census report, he suggested that 4.78 per cent of all males and 4.72 per cent of Catholic males were professionals.⁴⁰ Indeed, the more precise measures of Catholic employment patterns employed in the present paper indicate an even higher proportion

of Catholics in the professional category than Akenson proposes. However, with an index of 102 in 1921, there were only 70 more 'professional' Catholic men (giving a total of 3,912) than there would have been with an index of 100. It is also probable that rather more than 70 of these Catholic men were not professionals in the strictest sense of the classification, for the 'professional' category included clerks and labourers. Additionally, it included occupational areas that could be entered with a minimum of formal qualifications, for instance the police force, the army, and even health.⁴¹

Two of the largest areas of 'professional' employment were central and local government, these accounting for many Catholics with limited vocational skills. Catholic men were consistently over-represented amongst 'general government administrative officers and others not elsewhere included' (110 and 111). Amongst the 3,365 'professional' men of all denominations thus classified in 1921, there were 1,305 clerks, 335 labourers, 130 messengers, 45 night watchmen and 45 storemen.⁴² While in 1921 there was a considerable over-representation of Catholics amongst male 'local government administrative officers and others' (131), this had declined by 1936 (104). Nearly half of the total figure for all religious groups in 1921 (4,269) was made up of government employed labourers (1,901).⁴³ In 1921, Catholic women were over-represented (110) amongst the 1,138 women engaged in general and local government administration (including 968 clerks and typists).⁴⁴ They continued to be over-represented in 1936 (136), although by this time the category was little more than half its 1921 size. A case can therefore be made that Catholic over-representation in government employment is, therefore, more attributable to the availability of unskilled or low-skilled jobs, and of occupations that could be entered with a minimum of formal qualifications, than to any tendency for Catholics to have high educational qualifications.

The army, and even more so the police force, offered attractive careers to respectable and ambitious but unskilled young men from humble origins – including large numbers of Catholics.⁴⁵ Catholic men were notably over-represented in the army (127 in 1921), while there was a huge but declining over-representation of Catholics in the police force in the 1920s and 1930s (237 and 178). Indeed, the 30.5 percent of policemen who were Catholics in 1921 represented a considerable decline from earlier years (an 1898 Royal Commission found that 41.6 per cent of policemen were Catholics). This over-representation has generally been attributed to recruitment from the Royal Irish Constabulary, a practice that seems to have led to an over-representation of Presbyterians as well.⁴⁶ Commissioner John Cullen (1912-16), a Catholic, was a member of the Royal Irish Constabulary before coming to New Zealand.⁴⁷ During the interwar years, four of the six Police Commissioners, and about 40 per cent of officers, were Catholics.⁴⁸ Cullen's

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successor, John O'Donovan, another Catholic, advertised in the *New Zealand Tablet* for recruits,⁴⁹ but after his retirement at the end of 1921 there may well have been a policy of reducing the intake of Catholics.⁵⁰ In O'Donovan's last year, 34 of the 147 new recruits (23 per cent) were Catholics, but in 1922 only seven out of 75 new policemen (9 per cent) were Catholics.⁵¹ The actual number of Catholics in the force declined from 290 in 1921 to 276 in 1936, even though the total force increased from 950 to 1,251 over the same fifteen years.

As a general rule, in those professional occupations requiring higher education or advanced training, Catholics were usually under-represented. Where their under-representation was less pronounced, and where there was an over-representation, it was usually because of special characteristics of the Catholic population. Few Catholic men were civil engineers, surveyors, or architects (62) in 1921, and even fewer public accountants (44 and 54). The women in the last profession in 1936 (68) were mainly typists and clerks.⁵² The under-representation of Catholic men was less dramatic in the legal profession (86 and 76), but the classification included law clerks and students, while women in the legal profession (84, rising to 104) were predominantly typists and clerks.⁵³ That Catholics were better represented in law than in the other learned professions may owe something to experience in the police force, as well as to Catholic secondary education, which inclined towards the academic rather than the commercial or technical.⁵⁴

Catholics also tended to be under-represented in the health and education professions, except in the less skilled jobs and in cases where the Church's own institutions engaged considerable numbers of nuns. Few Catholic men in the medical or dental professions were in private practice (37 and 61 in 1921), while Catholic women were under-represented amongst nurses and midwives in private practice (75 and 79). Although there was a much lower under-representation of Catholic men employed in public hospitals (96 and 81), most of those included in this category were not medical personnel.⁵⁵ The apparently small under-representation of Catholic women on the staff of public hospitals in 1921 (94), in contrast to their more considerable under-representation in 1936 (77), is explainable by the inclusion in the 1921 figure of the generally less-skilled staff and attendants of mental hospitals. Catholic women tended to be greatly over-represented in this area of health (171 in 1936). The marked increase in the proportions of Catholic women on the staff of private hospitals in the interwar period (93 and 138) is attributable to the opening of new Catholic hospitals, run by nuns, in Wellington and Dunedin.⁵⁶ The considerable over-representation of Catholic women working in benevolent institutions such as orphanages (165 and 168) and in 'religion' (182 and 355) is also largely explained by the presence of nuns.

School teaching was another area in which Catholic males were under-represented (63 and 69; 54 for technical and other teachers in 1921). Catholic women, however, were markedly over-represented amongst primary and secondary teachers (136 and 139) – but only because of the inclusion in the total of the nuns who largely staffed the Church's numerous schools.⁵⁷ It must be remembered that religious orders accepted quite young aspirants (including school-leavers from Ireland), and that most nuns would have trained as teachers only after entering the convent. Nuns (and probably other unmarried women) also help account for the high proportion of female Catholic teachers of music and other specialist subjects (118 in 1921), music lessons being an important source of convent income.⁵⁸ The equivalent category for 1936 included correspondence school and business school teachers. An increase in the proportions of such teachers – and perhaps a drop in the number of music teachers during the Depression – could help explain the declining representation of Catholics (104).

Other occupations officially classified as 'professional' but employing large numbers of unskilled staff attracted Catholics in considerable numbers. For instance, the growing number of picture theatres employed an increasing proportion of Catholics (98 and 133 for men, 175 for women in 1936). There was also a striking over-representation of Catholic men involved in horse-racing (177 and 178). To some extent, these figures reflect the popularity of horse-racing amongst the Irish and their descendants in New Zealand – and to disapproval of gambling, and perhaps other popular entertainment, amongst many Protestants.

Domestic employment

Personal and domestic service occupations strongly attracted Catholics (153 for men, 111 for women in 1921), particularly in what would now be called 'the hospitality industry'. Catholics were over-represented amongst domestic wage earners (149 for men, 107 for women) and unemployed domestic staff (106 for men, 116 for women).⁵⁹ The remarkably high representation of Catholics amongst domestic employers (200 for men, 154 for women), the self-employed (113 for men, 130 for women), and amongst relatives assisting without pay (174 for women) strongly suggests that Catholics often ran their own establishments, but most frequently these were quite small family businesses.

Amongst Catholics who were self-employed, or who were employers, there was a strong representation of hairdressers, an increasingly popular occupation amongst Catholic men (126 and 147), perhaps because barbering required little training or capital. Somewhat surprisingly, Catholic women were under-represented in this area (82 in 1936). By contrast, there were very high proportions of Catholic women engaged in the largely unskilled

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work of restaurants and tearooms (107 and 124),⁶⁰ also in laundries and dry-cleaning (112 and 113).

The domestic service occupation to attract Catholics above all others, however, was the hotel industry and the provision of other forms of accommodation. The indices for Catholics working in licensed hotels were particularly high (214 and 222 for men, 234 and 227 for women). Like horse-racing, maintaining a licensed hotel was a traditional Irish occupation, and one more likely to meet approval amongst Catholic families than those of many Protestants. The great majority of Catholics working in hotels, however, were not owners but wage and salary earners – once again, people with limited skills or capital. It is not therefore surprising to find that the related occupations of working in private hotels or boarding houses also had an over-representation of Catholic men (114 in 1921) and women (131 in 1921; 145 for private hotels and 124 for boarding houses in 1936).

Although private domestic service offered work to the unskilled, there was a consistent under-representation of Catholic women in this category in the interwar period (81 and 88), surprising when this was by far the largest category of paid female employment (20,621 women including 2,671 Catholics in 1921 and 32,064 women including 4,319 Catholics in 1936). It is also surprising given anecdotal evidence of Irish Catholic female preference for such work. However, the overall indices of representation for personal and domestic service (111 and 104) suggest that the over-representation of Catholic women in other forms of domestic employment, most notably hospitality, more than compensated for their under-representation in private domestic service. It is likely a number of Catholic women preferred to work in a hotel managed by a co-religionist than in the home of a wealthy Protestant, or just possibly the latter did not want them.

Other employment

In addition to dependants and the six industrial categories already discussed, the census reports for 1921 and 1936 recorded the 'grade of employment' of a heterogeneous group of people who did not indicate in which industry they were employed or had formerly been associated with. Many, of course, were pensioners or retired people rather than active members of the workforce, but here too there is some evidence that Catholics were over-represented amongst the less skilled. In 1921, Catholic men were notably over-represented amongst 'other' wage or salary earners (154) and the unemployed (145). They – largely the same group of men – were also considerably over-represented amongst those either not specifying their industry or not actively participating in 1921 (141). Out of a total population of 11,567, this category included 7,207 labourers and 914 men with no listed occupation.⁶¹ Catholic men were again markedly over-represented amongst labourers who did not indicate

their industry in 1936 (149), and amongst the typists and clerks who also failed to specify their industry in that year (125). Catholic women, also, were slightly over-represented amongst typists who did not specify their industry in 1936 (102).

Conclusion

In the early decades of the twentieth century, Catholic employment patterns were largely self-perpetuating, reflecting the aspirations and opportunities of individual Catholics. Most would have sought (or settled for) jobs sanctioned by their cultural milieu, and for which community role models were readily available.⁶² For example, maintaining a tradition endorsed by their Catholic heritage, and sometimes the fortunes of inheritance, entrepreneurial Catholics often invested in hotels or horse-racing rather than other forms of business. This was a phenomenon observable amongst English as well as Irish Catholic families. A substantial proportion of those lacking capital or management skills no doubt found such work more congenial than many other forms of employment, or simply more available because of family connections. Members of the working- or lower middle-classes were less likely to aspire to occupations in which they had no friends or relatives to act as role models, or to help them secure a position. This could account for why even some professions that could be entered with a minimum of formal qualifications and for which training could be undertaken in the course of employment (such as surveying or accounting) attracted comparatively few Catholics. Conversely, having relatives in some form of government employment, for instance the police force, may well have led young Catholics to consider government service.⁶³ Comparatively low levels of Catholic representation in commerce, and high levels in government employment, should therefore be regarded as obverse sides of the same phenomenon and likely to change only gradually. After visiting New Zealand in 1899, André Siegfried observed that Irish Catholics retained 'many of their traditional characteristics', including a 'fondness for employment in the police or military'.⁶⁴ While the clergy regularly exhorted Catholics to forsake government service in favour of other occupations, such as commerce or farming, it seems certain that cultural patterns, family connections, and the availability of financial resources were more influential in determining futures.⁶⁵

Limited money or education constrained Catholics' employment opportunities in many cases and help to explain why they were under-represented in educated professions or those requiring substantial capital investment. To a considerable extent, government employment was popular amongst Catholics because it offered relatively stable employment to the unskilled and semi-skilled. It also provided career structures that attracted talented applicants with limited education, for example in public

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administration or the railway workshops. Despite strong efforts to provide primary schools, the Catholic Church was slow in establishing its own secondary schools, and even slower in providing technical schooling.⁶⁶ The Church also taught that girls ought to learn domestic and narrowly vocational rather than academic skills. Once married, they should not work outside the home. There was little cognisance of the high proportion of unmarried Catholic women.⁶⁷ Though ill-equipped to teach its pupils trade skills or commerce, the Catholic school system was well able to prepare them for the Public Service Examination,⁶⁸ even if many of those who entered the Civil Service before the reforms of 1912 had not needed any formal qualification. For some Catholics, the Church itself provided another means of pursuing a professional career without prior training; Catholic women were always more likely to be typists than teachers or nurses – unless they first became nuns.

It is also quite possible that early twentieth century Catholic employment patterns were perpetuated by recruitment practices – on the part of both Catholics and Protestants – that favoured co-religionists. Some Catholic employers may have recruited employees who were known through school or parish connections.⁶⁹ It is equally likely that some Protestant employers preferred not to take on Catholics, as was commonly alleged during sectarian strife of the early 1920s.⁷⁰ However, the columnist Eileen Duggan later suggested that when Catholic applicants were asked about their religion it was only to determine their character, while the journalist Pat Lawlor actually claimed that ‘many non-Catholic employers employ only Catholics because they know they must be honest’.⁷¹ Even the suspicion of anti-Catholic prejudice would have encouraged Catholics to seek employment elsewhere, however, and the assurance of equal opportunity was no doubt one of the attractions of government employment.

It would obviously be an exaggeration to claim that Catholics were all ‘poor and struggling’, but a close scrutiny of the 1921 and 1936 census evidence does not support Akenson’s view that ‘Irish Catholics were typical of the New Zealand occupational distribution’.⁷² The published census reports indicate that Catholic women were over-represented in the workforce and that Catholics were disproportionately engaged in working- and lower middle-class occupations. In most sectors of employment Catholics were less likely than non-Catholics to be employers and more likely to be wage or salary earners or unemployed. Catholics were over-represented in certain areas of government employment, hospitality, entertainment, and religion, but generally in low-skilled, labour-intensive occupations not requiring high capital investments, and in those which provided training in the course of employment. Conversely, they were under-represented in industry and even more so in commerce, as well as in those occupations requiring higher

education or substantial capital. The Catholics of interwar New Zealand were mostly of Irish descent, and their immigrant forbears commonly lacked education, capital, and vocational skills. In a number of industries (for example, drink manufacturing, road construction, the railways, public administration, and the police force) the over-representation of Catholics declined between 1921 and 1936, but normalising the range of Catholic employment and raising the overall socio-economic status of the Catholic community would require more generations than most Catholic families had had in New Zealand by the 1920s and 1930s.

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- 1 I am grateful to Dr James Watson and Associate Professor Peter Lineham for their advice and encouragement on this research.
 - 2 *New Zealand Tablet (NZT)*, 15 March 1923, p.17.
 - 3 *Month*, 17 August 1926, p.37; *NZT*, 28 February 1934, p.21.
 - 4 E.R. Simmons, *A Brief History of the Catholic Church in New Zealand*, Auckland, 1978, p.101. The myth was also supposed to account for an alleged lack of participation in society at large, but on this topic see C.J. van der Krogt, 'Catholic Religious Identity and Social Integration in Interwar New Zealand', in *The Catholic Historical Review*, vol.86, no.1 January 2000, pp.47-65.
 - 5 D.H. Akenson, *Half the World from Home: Perspectives on the Irish in New Zealand, 1860-1950*, Wellington, 1990, pp.76, 77. Similar material is available in Akenson's earlier works, *Small Differences: Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants, 1815-1922, An International Perspective*, Kingston and Montreal, 1988, p.58; also in 'Immigration and Ethnicity in New Zealand and the U.S.A. – the Irish Example', in J. Phillips (ed), *New Worlds? The Comparative History of New Zealand and the United States*, Wellington, 1989, pp.45-46.
 - 6 *Results of a Census of the Dominion of New Zealand . . . 1921*, 'General Report', p.130.
 - 7 Akenson, *Half the World from Home*, p.77 (original emphasis).
 - 8 *Ibid.*
 - 9 The 1921, 1926, and 1936 figures are collated, with comments on their interpretation, in C.J. van der Krogt, 'More a Part than Apart: the Catholic Community in Interwar New Zealand Society, 1918-1940', PhD thesis, Massey University, 1994, pp.548-85. For 1945, see *New Zealand Population Census, 1945*, vol. VI, pp.23-24.
 - 10 Akenson, *Half the World from Home*, p.233, note 30.
 - 11 *Ibid.*; *Census . . . 1921*, part VII, pp.43-46; *Dominion of New Zealand, Population Census, 1926*, vol. VIII, p.35. Information from the 1921 tables is given here in Table 2.
 - 12 I am grateful to Professor David Thomson for suggesting this approach.
 - 13 These figures exclude dependants as well as persons of independent means, pensioners and retired people. For further discussion, see van der Krogt, 'More a Part than Apart', pp.550-553, 574, 585.
 - 14 These index figures are calculated from *Census . . . 1921*, part VII, pp.36-42 and *Dominion of New Zealand, Population Census, 1936*, vol. VI, pp.26-29.
 - 15 The most significant indices in this table will be discussed in the course of this paper without further references.
 - 16 Calculated from Table 1 and *Census . . . 1921*, part VII, p.34 (assuming all working women were within this age range).
 - 17 Table 1 and *Census, 1936*, vol. VI, pp.22-23.

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- 18 C.J. van der Krogt, 'Imitating the Holy Family: Catholic Ideals and the Cult of Domesticity in Interwar New Zealand', in *History Now*, vol.4, no.1, May 1998, p.17.
- 19 *Census, 1936*, vol.IV, p.33 and vol.VI, p.25 (15-year olds have been included amongst the unmarried).
- 20 *Australasian Catholic Directory*, Sydney, 1922 edition, p.253; 1937 edition, p.443.
- 21 *Census . . . 1921*, part VII, p.45. The largest number for any other denomination in the table (the Church of England) is 26, and there were only 101 nuns amongst the 140 Catholic women employed in 'religion' in 1921 (*Census . . . 1921*, part VIII, p.91). In 1936, there were 306 nuns amongst 545 Catholic women employed in 'religion'; *Census, 1936*, vol.X, p.57). The 1,234 figure would not include all nuns because some earned fees as music teachers, while novices and retired sisters were probably counted as dependants.
- 22 Van der Krogt, 'More a Part than Apart', pp.24-27.
- 23 Of 4,224 male relatives assisting without wages on agricultural and pastoral farms, 3,899 had never married; see *Census . . . 1921*, part VIII, p.113 and van der Krogt, 'More a Part than Apart', pp.28-31.
- 24 Of 950 female agricultural and pastoral employers, 707 were widows; of 1313 self-employed women, 735 were widows, 263 had never married, and 308 were married; see *Census . . . 1921*, part VIII, p.118.
- 25 See especially 'The Vigil', 'Milk Round', and 'Growing Up' in Dan Davin, *The Gorse Blooms Pale*, London, 1947.
- 26 *NZT*, 28 May 1930, p.47.
- 27 At the same time, there was a marked decline in the numbers of agricultural farmers (from 16,187 to 5,603), probably as part of the long-term trend towards mixed rather than agricultural farming.
- 28 *Census . . . 1921*, part VIII, p.24; *Census, 1936*, vol.X, p.23.
- 29 Akenson, *Half the World from Home*, p.77.
- 30 Of 1,101 men in 1921, only 106 were described as 'labourers' (*Census 1921*, part VIII, p.49).
- 31 Figures for general carpentering and for building and construction have been combined here since they were not distinguished consistently in 1921 and 1936.
- 32 The 1936 total (11,480, of whom 2,138 were Catholics) is much higher than the 1921 figure (4,949, including 1,179 Catholics) and no doubt includes a substantial number of relief workers.
- 33 The increase from 875 workers (including 231 Catholics) in 1921 to 1,719 (including 384 Catholics) in 1936 evidently reflects the growth of government work schemes.
- 34 Of the 5,447 men in this group in 1921, 4,965 were designated as watersiders (*Census . . . 1921*, part VIII, p.71).
- 35 The occupations of harbour board employees included a high proportion of unskilled jobs; see *Census . . . 1921*, part VIII, p.72.
- 36 The 1921 census report combined these two occupations, giving an aggregate index of 88, slightly below the 1936 aggregate index of 94 – a clear example of the way in which consolidating employment categories conceals significant differences between skilled and unskilled occupations in industries aggregated by the census reports.
- 37 This index figure refers to the 158 Catholics amongst the 1,938 men involved in commerce for whom employment categories like 'employer' or 'salaried' were 'not applicable' in Table 2. Most of them (1,783) lived off 'property owning'; see *Census . . . 1921*, part VIII, pp.73, 128.
- 38 The number of men so designated declined from 7,122 (715 Catholics) in 1921 to 2,766 (306 Catholics) in 1936, perhaps reflecting a combination of worsening economic

- conditions and a change in the method of calculating this category. Meanwhile, the number of manufacturers' agents etc. increased by a comparable number; cf. *Census . . . 1921*, part VIII, pp.86-87 and *Census, 1936*, vol. IX, pp.47-48.
- 39 There were 63 brothers and 101 religious priests in New Zealand in 1921 according to the *Australasian Catholic Directory*, 1922 edition, p.253. Most brothers and many religious priests would have been school teachers or occupied in religious activities like conducting retreats and missions and therefore classified as 'professional'.
- 40 Akenson, *Half the World from Home*, p.77.
- 41 It should be recalled the statistics on religion and employment record the industries in which people worked rather than their actual occupations. For breakdowns of the total 'professional' category according to the personal occupations of those associated with it, see *Census . . . 1921*, part VIII, pp.90-98 and 1936, vol. X, pp.48-49, 57-58.
- 42 There were also 189 cadets, a number of people in small categories, and 826 'others'; see *Census . . . 1921*, part VIII, p.89. Comparable statistics for 1936 do not appear to be available.
- 43 *Census . . . 1921*, part VIII, p.89. Since they include so many labourers, these central and local government figures cannot be used to demonstrate a Catholic penchant for clerical work as J. Watson, 'Were Catholics Over-Represented in the Public Service During the Early Twentieth Century?' in *Political Science*, vol.42, no.2, December 1990, p.31 assumed.
- 44 *Census . . . 1921*, part VIII, p.89.
- 45 G. Dunstall, *A Policeman's Paradise: Policing a Stable Society, 1918-1945*, Palmerston North, 1999, pp.102-108.
- 46 'Report and Evidence of the Royal Commission on the Police Force of New Zealand', *AJHR*, H.-2, 1898, p.viii. For further discussion, see Watson, 'Were Catholics Over-represented. . .', pp.31-32.
- 47 *NZT*, 8 November 1939, p.8; R. Hill, in *DNZB*, vol.3, pp.125-27.
- 48 Dunstall, *A Policeman's Paradise*, p.228.
- 49 *NZT*, 27 March 1919, p.23; 3 April 1919, p.9; 21 October 1920, p.35. See also Dunstall's entry in the *DNZB*, vol.3, pp.370-71.
- 50 See *NZT*, 18 May 1922, p.21 and 28 December 1922, p.43 for O'Donovan's retirement and a trip to 'the Old Country'.
- 51 Annual Police Reports, *AJHR*, 1922, vol. II, H.-16, p.5; 1923, vol. II, H.-16, p.6. The proportions in the preceding and subsequent years are consistent with this interpretation.
- 52 *Census, 1936*, vol. X, p.57.
- 53 *Census . . . 1921*, part VIII, pp.91, 97; *Census, 1936*, vol. X, p.57.
- 54 The Catholic education system is discussed below.
- 55 Only 87 out of 1,267 were doctors; see *Census . . . 1921*, part VIII, p.93.
- 56 *NZT*, 28 August 1929, pp.46-47; 12 February 1936, pp.8, 36; *Month*, 17 September 1929, p.33; *Zealandia*, 13 February 1936, pp.1-3. The expansion of Auckland's Mater Misericordiae Hospital in March 1936 may also have occurred just in time to influence the census figures; see M. Belgrave, *The Mater: a History of Auckland's Mercy Hospital, 1900-2000*, Auckland, 2000, pp.64-66.
- 57 The 1921 table that subdivides industries according to specific occupations gives the number of teachers who were nuns as only 194 (*Census . . . 1921*, part VIII, p.95), but this figure greatly underestimates their true numbers.
- 58 *NZT*, 8 January 1930, p.3.
- 59 The indices of representation for Catholic women amongst domestic workers in general and wage earners in particular have been reduced by their under-representation amongst private domestic servants (discussed below).

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- 60 The 1936 figure includes railway tearooms (*Census, 1936*, vol.X, p.22) and may not be comparable to the 1921 figure.
- 61 *Census . . . 1921*, part VIII, p.104.
- 62 For reflections on a parallel situation in Australia, see P. O'Farrell, *Vanished Kingdoms: Irish in Australia and New Zealand*, Kensington: New South Wales, 1990, pp.259-260.
- 63 Watson, 'Were Catholics Over-represented . . .', p.30.
- 64 A. Siegfried, *Democracy in New Zealand*, translated by E.V. Burns, Wellington, 2nd edition, 1982, p.317.
- 65 *NZT*, 1 August 1918, p.25; 5 June 1919, p.26; 17 July 1919, p.14; 13 January 1921, Supplement, p.8; 12 May 1921, p.18; 6 April 1922, p.18; 26 June 1924, p.19; 7 April 1926, p.33; 4 January 1928, p.33; 13 June 1928, p.6; 26 December 1928, p.3; 1 July 1931, p.3; 29 August 1934, p.7; 10 May 1939, pp.25-26; 19 July 1939, p.5; *Month*, 15 March 1920, p.6; *Zealandia*, 4 June 1936, p.4; 6 July 1939, p.4.
- 66 C.J. van der Krogt, 'Good Catholics and Good Citizens', in B. Gilling (ed), *Godly Schools: Some Approaches to Christian Education in New Zealand*, Hamilton, 1993, pp.24-25.
- 67 Van der Krogt, 'Imitating the Holy Family', p.17.
- 68 Watson, 'Were Catholics Over-represented . . .', p.31.
- 69 *Ibid.*, pp.32-33
- 70 *NZT*, 28 October 1920, p.35; 18 November 1920, p.14; 24 February 1921, p.39; 22 February 1923, p.25; 22 March 1923, p.18; 12 April 1923, p.26; *Month*, 16 October 1922, p.3; *NZPD*, 1920, vol.189, p.623 (W. Jennings).
- 71 *NZT*, 12 September 1934, p.11 (Lawlor); 3 July 1935, p.24 ('Pippa').
- 72 Akenson, *Half the World from Home*, p.77.