

Literature in the Irish Diaspora: The New Zealand Case, 1873-1918

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In surveying the cultural history of the Irish in New Zealand it is apparent that from the beginnings of their settlement in this country the Irish sought social, cultural and political self-definition through a range of Irish literatures – literatures from their land of origin, and literatures from the greater nineteenth-century Irish diaspora in North America, Australia, England, Scotland, New Zealand and Argentina.¹ This literature generally came in two formats, printed volumes of history, fiction, poetry, oratory, music and songs, and the Irish or Irish-Catholic newspaper that, more often than not, carried its own range of history, fiction, poetry, oratory and music as part-and-parcel of its regular social and political journalism.

In 1875, two years after the *New Zealand Tablet* was established, the paper ran a story on the international newspaper press, identifying the names, origin, and dates established of ninety-five current Irish papers in America and Canada alone.² What was important in this article, and others of a similar ilk, is the representation of a comprehensive network, an enterprise in which all Irish, no matter where they were situated, were participants.³ For the Irish in this post-Great Famine period, the latter half of the nineteenth-century was the age of cultural affirmation and rebuilding. Like many pre-twentieth-century programmes, this cultural rebuilding started as a communication strategy, essentially a newspaper-led programme that branched into the book trade.⁴ In America, where the newspaper had, by the end of the nineteenth century, assumed almost mythic status as a form of indigenous literature, it created an unprecedented cultural homogeneity, and when this was combined with literature from local Irish-American publishing houses the growth, coherence and bonding of Irish communities there and around the Pacific and Atlantic trading routes was ensured.⁵

In Ireland this cultural and political revival was led by writers and newspaper journalists Thomas Davis, John Mitchel and Alexander Sullivan, scholars such as John O'Donovan and Eugene O'Curry, cultural critics and writers Samuel Ferguson and (later) W.B. Yeats, and political and social leaders Michael Davitt, Charles Stewart Parnell and John Redmond. Figures like the liberal British Prime Minister William Gladstone supported it

in its Home Rule aspect fervently, while at the other extreme it became coupled to a Catholic devotional revolution in Ireland and an Irish Catholic internationalism promulgated by a powerful Catholic Church *politburo* led from Rome and then Dublin by Cardinal Paul Cullen and his many clerical followers.⁶ This latter aspect, one that placed more emphasis on the ‘destiny’ of the Irish and their Catholic Church, saw the spread of an international English language devotional, historical and theological literature, that, from the mid-1850s to the mid-1870s, began to assume a powerful presence in the book lists published in papers like the Sydney *Freeman’s Journal* and the *New Zealand Tablet*. Therefore, in addition to a cultural and ethnic definition provided by secular literatures, the Irish also sought definition through a variety of religious literatures in English. Generally these were imported in tandem with secular literatures, and were often produced by the same publishing companies.⁷ The impact and influence of nineteenth-century religious literatures upon Irish immigrants constitutes a major component in an overall understanding of ethnic formation. This process has not been investigated in a New Zealand-Irish context, and though it will be touched upon in the following pages, it is beyond the scope of the present study.⁸

This paper will survey a number of issues arising from the importation of a literature by and for an ethnic minority in New Zealand. It will suggest definitions of that literature, probe what was being imported, consider the debate surrounding the need for an Irish and Catholic literature in New Zealand, and include observations on the works of those Irish and Irish-American writers that were popular with this ethnic clientele. From preliminary research it appears that a number of key primary sources for such a study – business records, the printed annual shop catalogues and registered company records – are no longer extant.⁹ Some additional information has been garnered from publishing records in the United States, Australia, England and Ireland, the sources from which the New Zealand booksellers imported.¹⁰ For example, a small number of nineteenth-century catalogues have been identified and utilised. Nevertheless, it appears many other records have, over the decades, been neglected or discarded. Others have shared the fate of the Ward, Lock and Co. business records that perished in the London Blitz of 1940.¹¹

Print historian Wallace Kirsop has noted the primary role newspapers play in the study of book history, due largely to the non-survival of many primary records from the print culture industry.¹² This certainly has been the case when attempting to reconstruct the business of importing and selling Irish literature in New Zealand. Data for this paper is based on author and title lists gleaned from the *New Zealand Tablet* over the period 1873-1918.¹³ Other newspapers were checked for similar advertisements, but the inconsistency of advertising, or the short-lived nature of many newspapers, yielded

limited results. By and large, other newspaper advertising confirmed the popularity of works listed in the *New Zealand Tablet* and suggested similar titles.¹⁴ Usefully, the *New Zealand Tablet* was a national medium, taking in advertisements from centres as far afield as Auckland and Dunedin, and later Sydney and Melbourne. Its national coverage can therefore be taken as representative of market-place trends in Irish book retailing for the period under consideration. Other newspapers nevertheless add substantial information to the study of serialised Irish fiction in New Zealand. Deserving of an in-depth study in its own right, this topic is also beyond the scope of the present paper.

The literature categories for data analysis employed in this paper are based on those used in surviving nineteenth-century book catalogues and terms found in contemporary New Zealand book list advertisements. For example, standard nineteenth-century subject descriptors used by retailers when advertising in the *New Zealand Tablet* include 'History', 'Poetry', 'Travel', 'Oratory', 'Music', 'Memoir' and 'Biography'. The term fiction is not employed though the word 'Tale' is. For the purposes of this study fiction covers both tales and folk tales. Other categories, for example 'Criticism', have been imposed on the data as the most convenient way of grouping that genre, always bearing in mind that in the late nineteenth century the art of critical analysis and evaluation was itself a defined genre, and that there were review magazines, for example the *Dublin University Review*, *Quarterly Review* and *Edinburgh Review*.¹⁵ The titles used in this study are those extrapolated from advertisements placed by Irish or Catholic booksellers in Dunedin, Christchurch, Wellington and Auckland, over the fifty-year period 1870-1920.¹⁶ These are author/title listed in the Appendix, by genre. Attempting to correlate the importation and retailing of titles for some genres with political or cultural activity in Ireland is a necessary aspect of any study of this kind. It therefore takes into account the significance of the impact of political and social events, such as the rise of Parnell and the Irish Parliamentary Party, or social and class preferences in the sale of literature. For example, based on nineteenth-century Irish New York publishing precedent, it has been suggested that certain nineteenth-century Irish titles appealed to the agricultural and manual labouring classes more than others. This paper will explore whether this can be substantiated for the New Zealand-Irish experience.¹⁷

As nearly all of the literature focused upon by this study is in the English language, it is important to be clear just what is being discussed, and the titles and genres that have been identified. Like all English-language literatures, definitions are fraught, and allegiances fluid. This was not seen as a major problem until the late nineteenth century, when the rise in scholarly Irish language textual criticism queried the nature of Irish literature

written in English, and its definition according to an over-simplified Irish subject matter, non-Irish subject matter dichotomy.¹⁸ Cultural critic and poet William Butler Yeats addressed this issue in some detail, although there is no evidence of his essays finding their way into the pages of the *New Zealand Tablet*.¹⁹ However, later definitions of Irish literature have become more inclusive, and are not necessarily Irish subject matter dependent, accepting that fifteen hundred years of literature written in Irish, one thousand years in Latin, four hundred of English, and several hundred in Hiberno-Norman and Hiberno-English, can be considered part-and-parcel of a singular, contiguous, Irish cultural experience.²⁰ From evidence in the Irish-Catholic newspapers in New Zealand, diaspora literature – American, Canadian, Australian, English – was seen as both inclusively Irish (i.e. not exclusively subject driven), and Catholic (but not exclusively so). The definition of writing is in keeping with parameters set by Stephen J. Brown's annotated bibliography of seventeen hundred works, *Ireland in Fiction* (1919), in which his stated aim was to include 'all works of fiction published in volume form, and dealing with Ireland or with the Irish abroad'.²¹

The interchangeable labels for Irish literature in the nineteenth century, Irish fiction being subsumed in some advertisements under 'Catholic Tales', have been addressed by a number of critics. In post-Famine Ireland, after the ethnic definition provided by the Irish language rapidly broke down, Irish and Catholic increasingly become synonymous – you are Irish not because you speak Irish but because you are Catholic. The cultural and ethnic mechanisms promoting this are beyond the scope of the present paper, but the result was the marginalisation of many other components of the Irish cultural experience, including the Anglo-Irish, Ulster Presbyterian, secular and left-wing anti-clerical elements in Irish life.²² What became the 'Irish Ireland' philosophy, promulgated by individuals such as journalist and newspaper proprietor D.P. Moran, was 'increasingly prepared to view the Anglo-Irish Protestant world as simply the alien culture of a garrison society . . . [and] insisted that Ireland's authentic cultural nationalist identity was unquestionably as a Gaelic and Catholic nation, in which the Anglo-Irish, English-speaking Protestant could have no part'.²³ There were many unfortunate consequences of the political promotion of the 'Irish-Ireland' idea which, though tangential to the present study, includes the filtering out, for New Zealand Irish-Catholic audiences, of Irish literature deemed to transgress posited cultural, social and religious mores. Thus the apparent exclusion of works like Emily Lawless' *Hurriah: A Study* (1886), and Gerald O'Donovan's *Father Ralph* (1913), excellent period novels displaying the Irish in a very unflattering light.²⁴ Similarly, Irish histories by writers like J.A. Froude, or works by cultural critics like Michael McCarthy, for instance his *Priests and People of Ireland*, were also proscribed.²⁵ In New

Zealand Thomas Bracken, throughout his public-speaking career promoting Irish literature, consistently challenged the 'Irish-Ireland' philosophy, endeavouring to present Protestant and Catholic Ireland, and their literatures, as essential dual components of a single cultural nation.²⁶

As previously noted, given the dearth of surviving business records, this study focuses on book-title and author-list advertisements placed by booksellers specialising in Irish and Catholic goods. Advertisements were systematically scanned for new titles, new shipments, or any alteration in style. In most cases bookshop advertisements ran for months, only changing when new shipments arrived, or new titles became available. It must be stressed that this study is based on title and author frequency, not bookshop advertisement frequency. The aim has been to ascertain what was being imported, in what years, and then to plot any significant changes detected. Over the fifty-year period, approximately 491 Irish and diaspora Irish listings have been identified. For data collection purposes these have been recorded by year of first appearance, and by subsequent yearly appearances. For statistical convenience this data has been grouped in five-year ranges, enabling the figures to be graphed over the 1870-1920 period.

Occasionally substantially different editions of similar works have been encountered, and, while not numerous, these have been registered as separate entries. For example, there were many and varied editions of the works of Thomas Moore and the speeches of Daniel O'Connell, including cheap and gilt cloth well-bound editions. Variations in price and quality are significant, often indicating quite new editions of an author's work from an Irish, American or British publishing house.²⁷ In addition, many advertisements fail to supply a particular title, simply stating, for example, 'works by Mitchel', or 'works by M'Gee'. These have been registered as a single entry, under history if by historians, or fiction if fiction writers. Speeches by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century politicians also present problems, often being listed simply as 'speeches by Curran', 'speeches by Shiel', with no further editor or publisher identification. These too have been registered as single title entries. Typographical errors were numerous, occasionally resulting in completely erroneous titles. Further, there was a penchant for changing titles, or listing by the titles by which works were popularly referred, or by secondary titles. Much nineteenth-century fiction had extended titles and these were often abbreviated. For example, the *Black Pedlar of Galway*, published by Michael Kavanagh in 1867, is always referred to as the *Black Pedlar*, never by its correct title *Shemus Dhu; the Black Pedlar of Galway*.²⁸ Where possible, all titles have been checked against a variety of literary, bibliographic and database sources.²⁹

From the title and author lists, the 491 identified works fall into a number of recognisable genres: history, fiction, biography, language, music, oratory,

poetry, memoir, criticism and a miscellaneous other category. The percentage breakdown (Fig.1) is based on the number of first-advertised individual titles, identified by genre in bookshop advertisements between 1873 and 1918. The statistics indicate that the bulk of new Irish works imported fall into the fiction and history categories, 31 per cent and 29 per cent respectively, followed next by biography at 9 per cent, music 7 per cent, and then poetry at 6 per cent, language 5 per cent and oratory 3 per cent. The category for ‘other’ literature covers a broad spectrum, including autobiography, almanacs, directories, hagiography, geography, reference, pictorial, photographic works and travel. While the subject and genre headings below have been taken from standard nineteenth-century advertisements describing types of books imported, the category for ‘other’ literature is a delimitation I have imposed on literature not otherwise easily identified by subject in the newspaper advertisements.

Literature by Genre, *New Zealand Tablet* 1873-1918

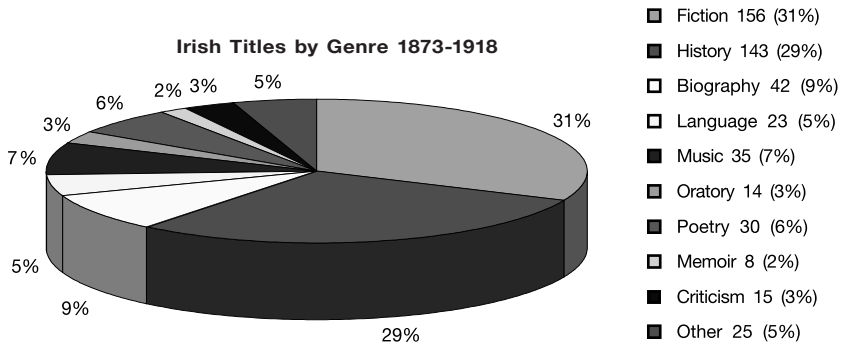


Figure 1 – Percentage breakdown over the period under consideration based on the identification of individual titles (N = 491), and grouped by genre.

In terms of nineteenth-century British subject publishing, what do these figures suggest? In essence, the figures represent both new titles advertised in the retail market and current titles advertised over a number of years. Subject publishing figures in Britain for the same years, extracted from the *Bibliotheca Londinensis* and *Publishers’ Circulars*, demonstrate the rise in popularity of fiction from the 1850s, together with the decline in religious works as the predominant subject category.³⁰ Between 1890-1910 secular literature commanded over 30 per cent of the *Circular’s* listing. The New Zealand figures collected for Irish literature tend to confirm the rise in demand for fiction, the increasing percentage of advertising space given over to new fiction titles, and the popularity of on-going fiction titles in its niche market.

Fig.2 records the initial and subsequent advertisements for identified titles by percentage. Some differences are apparent. For example, while individual titles for oratory are low (14), advertising for this small number of titles is comparatively very high, indicating enduring popularity and consistent availability over subsequent decades. This is further evidenced in Fig.3, which directly compares title and advertising, according to number and genre. In terms of advertising numbers, it should be noted that the figures largely mirror the popular genre categories. However, while British figures for the decades indicate a decline in the combined history, geography, travel and biography market, collected statistics from the *New Zealand Tablet* indicate that historical titles retained around a 30 per cent share of the New Zealand-Irish advertising market. This feature of the Irish market, the continuing interest in historical titles, requires some explanation, being closely linked to cultural trends in nineteenth-century England. Cultural critic George Watson maintains that in the Victorian era, of which Ireland and New Zealand are tangentially part, there was no clear demarcation, in terms of shared social knowledge, between books on history *per se* and novels.³¹ This has obvious implications when assessing the large number of Irish historical works retailed or run as serials in the various New Zealand Irish-Catholic newspapers.

Initial and Subsequent Title Advertisements 1873-1918

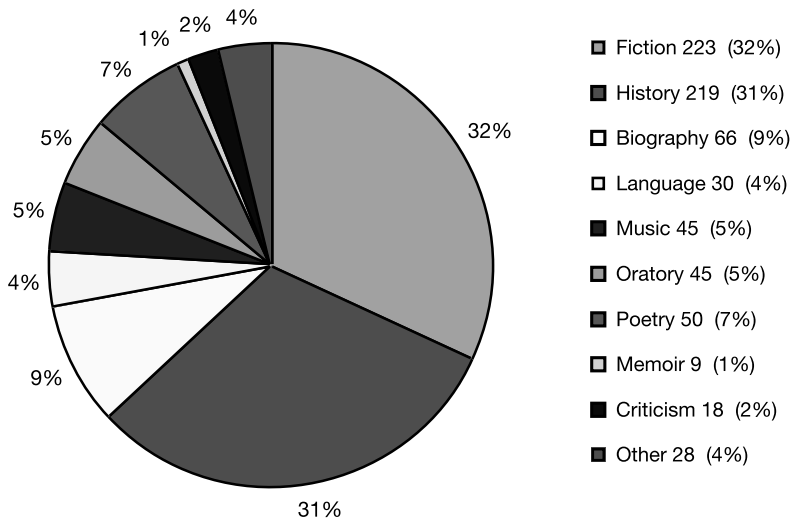


Figure 2 – Advertised titles by genre, 1873-1918 period.

Of the 1700 Irish works of fiction annotated by Stephen J. Brown for the period c.1700-1919, 12 per cent were estimated to be historical novels. Cahalan, using a narrower definition, estimates 7 per cent.³² This trend in Irish and Irish diaspora writing has also been noted by Charles Fanning, and is evident in the serialised fiction in the *New Zealand Tablet* and the *New Zealand Freeman's Journal*, examples being stories of the 1798 Irish Rebellion, and the wars by the O'Neills of Ulster.³³

Title and Advertising Numbers 1873-1918

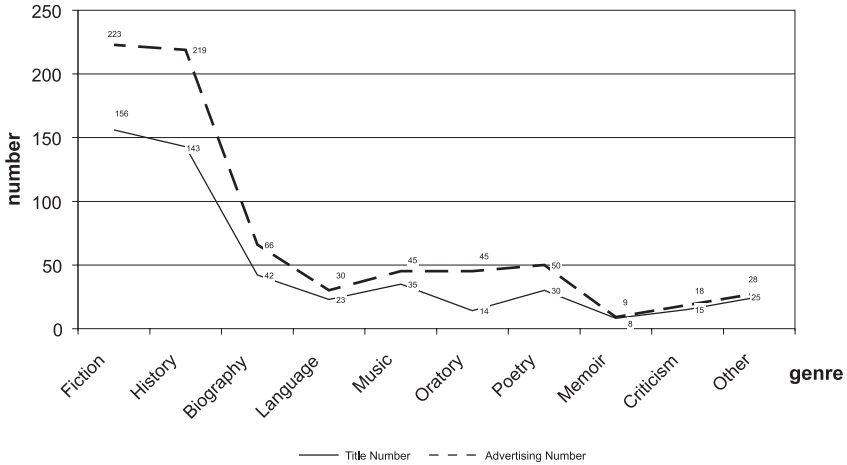


Figure 3 – New titles (bottom), and on-going title advertising (top), based on the first appearance of individual titles, and subsequent appearance in advertisements 1873-1918.

Much of the writing produced by the American-Irish world was tailored to the post-Famine generation of Irish immigrants. Fanning describes this literature as:

didactic and utilitarian . . . with three main purposes: Catholic-tract fiction to exhort the immigrants to keep the faith on alien soil, immigrant-guidebook fiction to instruct the newly arrived on how to get along in America, and nationalist-political fiction to aid the cause of freedom from British rule . . . in Ireland. Often the three aims were addressed by a single author, and occasionally within a single novel.³⁴

The prevalence of the historical-novel and historical works as popular consumer items for the nineteenth-century Irish population in New Zealand is in keeping with the promotion of a political-cultural nationalism among the Irish. Given the persistence of Irish-American content in the *New Zealand*

Tablet, plus commentary on events and personalities in Irish-American communities, this should not surprise.³⁵ Specific examples of historical-political works include books by John Boyce, such as *The Spaewife; or, the Queen's Secret. A Story of the Reign of Elizabeth* (1853), David Power Conyngham's, *Rose Parnell, or the Flower of Avondale: A Tale of the Rebellion of '98* (1883) and *The O'Mahony, Chief of the Comeraghs: A Tale of the Rebellion of '98* (1879), Charles Halpine's, *The Patriot Brothers, A Tale of '98* (c.1875), and Mary Anne Sadlier *The Confederate Chieftains* (1859) and *The Fate of Father Sheehy* (1845). Distant historical events, fictionalised, became or were used as rallying points for both politicising immigrants and giving them a sense of historical pride. The latter was all too absent in the grim realities not only of pre-Famine Ireland but also the post-Famine world of the 1850s and beyond. Poverty, emigration and violence remained vivid realities for many nineteenth-century Irish immigrants in New Zealand. From its inception in 1873 the *New Zealand Tablet* ran frequent articles relating to evictions, emigration, and the role of the British army in policing by force the Irish countryside.³⁶ In general, the *New Zealand Tablet* derived its serialised fiction from a wide range of overseas printed sources, including Irish, American and English newspapers and journals such as *Ave Maria* (US), New York's *Freeman's Journal*, Dublin's *Freeman's Journal*, the *Leinster Leader* (Ireland), the *Boston Pilot* and the *Pall Mall Budget* (London). There is no clear evidence at this stage that the Irish-Catholic papers in New Zealand or Australia were using pre-printed circulating story pages for insertion in their newspapers.³⁷

It appears that the role of biography, oratory and history was both didactic and political. The large number of eighteenth-century Irish orator-politicians retailed testifies not only to their popularity in Ireland but also throughout the Irish diaspora. The speeches of Grattan, Burke and Curran, and later O'Connell and Sheil, were available throughout the period under consideration, and it is easy to understand why. The oratory of the late eighteenth-century Irish parliament, before its demise, was renowned – articulate, positive, inspiring and nationalistic. Edmund Burke (1729-97), and Richard Lalor Sheil (1791-1851), made significant though very different political contributions to pre-and post-Famine Ireland, while O'Connell, besides being a fine orator, was the politician who pulled the country back from the brink of revolution in 1843-44. Perhaps for this reason – his political rejection of violence as a last resort – but also because he was a religious man, he was adopted as a model of the ideal Irish politician type in the columns of the *New Zealand Tablet*.³⁸

The availability of popular biographies of the chief players in Irish history, and general histories of Ireland by narrative historians like McGee, Mitchel and Alexander Sullivan, all contributed to the national-cultural rebuilding

that was under way through the latter half of the nineteenth century. In fact, the reading habits of the New Zealand-Irish appear not to greatly differ, except in the taste for fiction and its accessibility, from those of the Irish at home. The lengthy article by John Pope-Hennessy on the reading habits of the Irish in country towns, first published in the British periodical *Nineteenth Century*, and later reproduced in the *New Zealand Tablet*, confirmed an insatiable appetite for historical and political works. Pope-Hennessy (or his informant) had visited reading rooms in villages along the Cork and Waterford borders, initially set up by the Repeal movement and later run by the National League, and he gave a candid assessment of the literature he found there: histories by McGee, Duffy, Sullivan, McCarthy, O'Callaghan, Macaulay, Hallam, Froude, and Lecky; biographies of Tone, Grattan, Fitzgerald and the other United Irishmen. With the exception of the histories by Lecky and Froude, all these works were also available through the Irish-Catholic bookshops in New Zealand.³⁹

It should be noted that the listing of literature in newspapers is a feature of the nineteenth-century journalistic world. The fashion altered after 1900, large book lists being no longer in evidence. In the years leading up to the First World War book title advertising further diminished, most advertisements being more discrete and giving notice of three or four new titles only. The early twentieth century is also the period when newspaper formatting changed from the densely packed eight- or ten-point type column inches to much larger script on a well-spaced page. Advertising style also altered, from text-based to the more spacious graphic-based advertisements. The consequence of these changes, combined with the general accessibility of catalogues, is that the collecting of data does not have the same cultural resonance after 1914 as before. In addition, although book reviews increase, there is little indication as to which bookseller may have submitted the title for review.

While the collecting of book titles up to the 1918 remains valid, the decreasing number of titles is not a true reflection of market-place activity. Nevertheless, in book trade 'archaeology', title collection is immensely valuable in terms of establishing what was being imported, and consumed, over what period, even if the ascertaining of numbers becomes less certain. For example, Figs. 1, 2 and 3 plot titles advertised in the *New Zealand Tablet* in five-year sequences over the decades of the greatest title advertising. Title advertising (Fig.4), suggests that considerable resources were utilised importing and advertising over key periods in late nineteenth-century Irish cultural and political history, specifically during the land wars (1879-82), the rise of the Irish Parliamentary Party under Parnell (1885-1891), with a further peak between 1900 and 1910 as the nationalist party (Irish parliamentary party) was rebuilt under John Redmond and Home Rule

appeared to be imminent.⁴⁰ Conversely, the data reveals the marked decrease in the advertising of Irish works after the fall of Parnell (1891). This possibly reflects the disillusionment of many colonial Irish with Irish national party faction-fighting, and, post 1910, the commitment by Redmond to a British war against Germany.⁴¹

Peak title advertising in the *New Zealand Tablet*

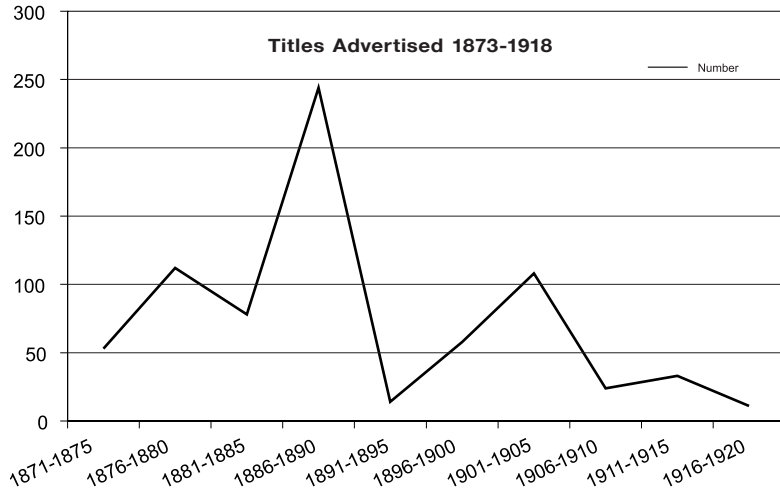


Figure 4 – Peak title advertising over the period 1873-1918

The apparent lack of demand for Irish literature in the early twentieth century may also be related to the evolving ethnic and demographic landscape in New Zealand and the natural process of acculturation, immigrant generations getting older and a younger generation of New Zealand Irish not inured to literature from an increasingly remote country. Articles in the *Tablet* at the turn of the century note two major issues: firstly, that too little was known of the works of Irish writers such as Goldsmith, Davis, Moore and O’Connell; and, secondly, the urgent need to foster an interest in Irish literature amongst the New Zealand-born Irish.⁴²

It appears from comments in connection with the establishment of an Irish Literary Club in New Zealand that the Catholic Literary Societies were not engaging with Irish literature to any great degree, although individual members on occasion presented papers on Irish writers.⁴³ When the *New Zealand Tablet* published an editorial calling for the establishing of a local Irish literary society it received at least one letter claiming there was a general lack of knowledge of the works of many of the Irish authors mentioned by the editorial writer. However, this seems at odds with what

was being openly advertised in the *Tablet*, and what was available through the principal Irish booksellers. The call for an Irish literary society in the four main centres of New Zealand was arguably spurred by the realisation that a new generation was growing up in ignorance of the literature of Ireland. The writer called for a 'regular, systematic and critical study for the masterpieces of Irish literature' as an ongoing feature of the cultural life of the Irish in New Zealand.⁴⁴ He acknowledged the work of the Catholic Literary Societies in fostering some interest in Irish writers, but, in almost apologetic tones, admitted their knowledge of the subject was not adequate to this specialist task.

In hindsight, this nation-wide call for the study of the literature of a specific ethnic group would be one that today would be directed at tertiary level educational institutions. It marks a degree of cultural maturity, although masked in a language of patriotism and the memory of an older generation of Irish immigrants of the national life of Ireland. Unfortunately, there is no indication that such a club or literary society was ever established in New Zealand, although the *Tablet* endeavoured to sustain through its columns a high level of interest in Irish literature, both in the English and Irish languages. It reproduced the latest articles debating aspects of the literature of Ireland, even those questioning whether a national Irish literature written in English was really possible.⁴⁵ In the 1890s, at the request of one of its readers, the paper also introduced a 'Gaelic Notes' section.⁴⁶

What then does the collected data reveal about the reading habits of the Irish in New Zealand over the fifty years under consideration? Certainly the book-title data adds substance to the extensive cultural discourse found in the New Zealand Irish-Catholic newspapers. As the Sydney *Freeman's Journal* had in the mid-1850s, the first editorial of the *New Zealand Tablet* in May 1873 tackled the problem of literature, the lack of suitable books, and the difficulty of procuring them in 'remote' New Zealand for an Irish and Catholic audience.⁴⁷ The issue of literature, and its availability for Irish-Catholic immigrants, became one that was constantly debated. The *Tablet* saw a healthy Irish-Catholic presence amongst the fourth estate as both publicly and culturally filling a gap for a large section of the New Zealand community. It also viewed the newspaper as offsetting the lack of a suitable literature for the Irish community, presumably by engaging in those areas that would have traditionally been filled by a range of Irish-Catholic periodicals, newspapers and books.⁴⁸

This intertwining of literature and the newspaper press, Irish ethnicity and Catholicism, began early in New Zealand Irish history, as a *New Zealand Tablet* editorial of 1876 makes clear:

In these colonies, most Catholics are either Irishmen or the children of Irish parents, and therefore the credit of the Irish name is, or ought to

be, of importance to themThe Journals that openly inveigh against the Church inveigh as openly against the Irish race; and the journals that more meanly hint objections against the Church, with like meanness contrive at least to ridicule the people of IrelandThe Catholic press alone is the friend of the Irishman. In its columns only does he meet with justice and due appreciation, and here alone does he find his nation fitly estimated, its trials considered, and its interests advocated.⁴⁹

To further the social and cultural programme implicit in this statement, the paper introduced informed debate on a range of issues, including a critique of Irish literature. This ranged from reviews of the poetry of James Clarence Mangan and others, either taken from papers like the Boston *Pilot* or written specifically for the *Tablet*, detailed accounts of public lectures on Irish writers such as Samuel Lover and Charles Lever, the printing of articles on a national literature, and analysis and evaluation of the various historians of Ireland.⁵⁰ What is not present, however, is a tradition of reviewing new authors. For example, there do not appear to have been any book reviews of the works of Mary Anne Sadlier or Rosa Mulholland, or biographical profiles on these and other contemporary Irish and Irish-American writers. Possibly the readership knew the backgrounds of these authors, or gathered that information from other papers or articles in readily available sources like the American journal *Catholic Home Annual*.⁵¹

In tandem with its social and cultural programme, and reinforcing this agenda, the *New Zealand Tablet* from the early 1880s and the rise of Parnell carried and utilised the urgent national imperative tied to the programme of Home Rule. The language used set up binary oppositions that bound the ‘Irish people at home and abroad’, as the following address to the Irish people from the Irish National Land League, reprinted in the *Tablet* in 1881, makes clear, with its good versus evil, Irish versus English, the tillers of the soil with their families and dependents versus a privileged class supported by an English government:

Fellow-countrymen and friends – at a crisis of tremendous importance to our country, we confidently address ourselves to you. The British Government of Ireland, obeying the dictation of a privileged order of person, a cruel and selfish class, for centuries past the burden and curse of our land and people, have cast to the winds the tradition and principles of that liberalism to which they profess to be devoted, and have set in motion the legal power of the State and availed themselves of the resources at their command in the public revenue, to arraign at a criminal bar the chief man of the Irish race, and with him others of the most active and distinguished labourers in the cause of Ireland’s social regeneration We therefore appeal to you⁵²

The imprisonment of Parnell and rise of the Land League and Irish Parliamentary Party lent great impetus to book buying in New Zealand, if the number of titles advertised over the 1880-1895 period is any reliable indication.⁵³ Nevertheless, despite the apparent availability of Irish writing through New Zealand Irish-Catholic outlets, and the critical discourse surrounding the available literature, the reality in some places appears to have been quite different. For example, the former premier of Victoria, Charles Gavan Duffy, after retiring to France from Australia, lamented the lack of Irish books both in Ireland and around the world: 'we want to have reproduced works which have disappeared out of circulation. The hundred best Irish books have been skilfully discussed in the newspapers, but the young student soon discovers that half of the hundred are out of print, or locked up from him in costly editions. Fifty pounds would not purchase the volumes recommended.'⁵⁴ This had obvious implications in nineteenth-century New Zealand, where the purchase of a well-bound book required the outlay of a substantial portion of the average weekly wage.⁵⁵ Duffy goes on to discuss the book canvassing business in America, which brought books to the most remote farms, and the role of Irish booksellers in America and Australia, alluding to their facilitation of book distribution and how similar structures must be put in place in Ireland and expanded to other parts of the Irish immigrant world.⁵⁶

Duffy's concerns echo those expressed five years earlier by P.E. Hurley in a discussion of the Irish in New Zealand in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*: 'The rising generation of this Colony is a reading people. There is hardly a district here corresponding in extent to an ordinary parish at home, that has not its two or three public libraries supplied with a variety of the current literature of the day'. Hurley lamented the lack of suitable Catholic literature in public libraries, and the extent of the anti-Catholic free-thinking literature generally available to all. He ended with an observation that runs through many of the discussions on literature: 'when they forget the land of their fathers the faith of their fathers vanishes too. When they cease to remember that they are descendants of heroes they begin to forget that they are the children of martyrs also . . . Let the Irish emigrant be warned of this, and let him be exhorted never to forget in a foreign land the home where his youth was nursed.'⁵⁷

Such rhetoric, though emotionally provocative, could be seen as simply a literary trope of the times. There is certainly considerable rhetorical posturing in the later nineteenth century by those in the Church hierarchy endeavouring to link the 'call to arms' in politics with that in religion, and harnessing it all to an Irish-Catholic internationalism. However, although the *New Zealand Tablet* published a number of key strictures on 'literature' in its columns, many relate solely to Ireland and are demonstrably tangential

to the New Zealand situation. Knowledge of what exists in the market also varies. Gavan Duffy's call for access to cheap readily available editions of Irish literature seems at odds with the type of literature being produced by Irish and Irish-American publishers, editions widely available in New Zealand and Australia. While the provenance of some library editions is still unclear, certainly the relatively inexpensive Irish National Library series, produced by the publishing house of James Duffy & Company, was imported extensively into New Zealand from the early 1870s up to around 1900. After that date the Irish library series 'Denver's Monthly Irish Library' and 'Ousley's Irish Library' were retailed in New Zealand through the Australian Irish and Catholic booksellers William P. Linehan and Louis Gille. It is unclear at this stage just what percentage of Irish and Irish diaspora literature being imported into Australia was being on-sold to New Zealand.⁵⁸ Duffy's observations as to availability and cost require further investigation. What is evident is that all the above identified series of Irish works were retailed as relatively cheap discounted editions. In 1911 the ten-volume *Irish Literature* series was finally produced, its editor-in-chief being Justin McCarthy.⁵⁹ It went at least some way towards alleviating the concerns identified by Duffy.

In an overview of the literature retailed and sold to Irish immigrants in New Zealand, the literature, as a consumer item, requires some analysis to determine exactly where it fits in the psycho-social drama of the life of the immigrant in the colonial world. Though it is difficult to accurately estimate the volume of Irish books imported into New Zealand over the 50 years studied, it is possible, from the data presented, to identify a significant number of retailed writers and titles according to title advertising numbers. In the case of fiction writers, examples include the works of William Carleton, Rosa Mulholland, and Mary Anne Sadlier; in respect of music and poetry, Thomas Moore; and for Irish history Alexander Sullivan, John Mitchel and Thomas D'Arcy McGee. While detailed critique of these writers, and an assessment of the importance of their works for the nineteenth-century Irish immigrant, is beyond the scope of the present study, some tentative observations as to how they contributed to the cultural *milieu* of the Irish in nineteenth-century New Zealand are possible.

In post-Famine Irish-American fiction a relatively small number of writers both dominate the scene and are representative of a generation of immigrants evolving and adapting in a new world environment. These include John Boyce and Hugh Quigley (both priests), Charles Halpine and David Power Conyngham (ex-Irish-American Civil War soldiers), Maurice Francis Egan (a university teacher of English), Finley Peter Dunne (journalist and newspaper proprietor), and Mary Anne Sadlier, also known as Mrs Sadlier (translator, publisher, journalist and newspaper editor).⁶⁰ Of the above, the works of

Boyce, Conyngham, Halpine, Egan and Sadlier were readily available in the Irish-Catholic bookshops throughout New Zealand.⁶¹ An additional Irish-American novelist, poet and journalist Patrick Sarsfield Cassidy, founder of the New York Press Club, arrived in New Zealand in the 1890s, and was for some years manager of the *New Zealand Times and Mail* Publishing Company. Reviews of his work are occasionally found in the *New Zealand Tablet*.⁶²

It was Irish emigrant Mary Anne Sadlier (nee Madden) who specialised in works on how to get on in the new world. Sadlier landed in Montreal in 1844, working as a domestic servant, and occasional writer, before marrying Catholic publisher James Sadlier in 1846. She initially managed the Montreal branch of the company before moving to New York.⁶³ Kilroy has noted that Sadlier's work is of some interest as 'an indicator of what the unlearned, homesick Irishman (and Irish woman) was reading during the latter half of the nineteenth century'.⁶⁴ However, the texture and sociological impact of Sadlier's fiction is more complex than this observation suggests. Eleven of Sadlier's novels were imported into New Zealand and retailed over the period 1876-1896. These include *The Fate of Father Sheehy* (1845), *Alice Riordan, the Blind Man's Daughter* (1851), *The Blakes and Flanagans* (1855), *The Confederate Chieftains* (1859), *Bessy Conway; or the Irish Girl in America* (1861), *The Hermit of the Rock* (1863), *Con O'Regan; or, Emigrant Life in the New World* (1864), *Simon Kerrigan; or Confessions of an Apostate, or Leaves from a Troubled Life* (1864), *Aunt Honors's Keepsake* (1865), *Elinor Preston; or, Scenes at Home and Abroad* (1866), and *Marueen Dhu, the Admiral's Daughter* (1870).

Sadlier began her public career as a newspaper storywriter with the serialisation of two of her major novels by Patrick Donoghue's *Boston Pilot* in 1850.⁶⁵ Many of her works were written for newspaper serialisation, and with the setting up of the *New York Tablet* by D. & J. Sadlier and Company in 1857 she gained a ready outlet for her writing. Mary Anne Sadlier eventually became sole editor of the *New York Tablet*, for some years providing much of its copy.⁶⁶ Sadlier's corpus of work conveys a range of quite complex messages. For instance, *Bessy Conway*, *The Blakes and the Flanagans* and *Con O'Regan* cover the lives of immigrants in the new world, with *Con O'Regan* considered by Fanning to be a major anti-emigration novel.⁶⁷ A second group covers the historical nationalist themes, including works that range from the dark eighteenth-century patriotic novel *The Fate of Father Sheehy*, to the romantic and patriotic seventeenth-century novel, *The Confederate Chieftains*, dealing with the Irish leader Owen Roe O'Neill and the Gaelic Aristocracy. This novel appears to be the first by Sadlier to be serialised by a New Zealand newspaper, running in the *New Zealand Freeman's Journal* throughout 1880-81. It was still being recommended to New Zealand Irish readers by the *Tablet* in 1915.⁶⁸

Sadlier's novels cover romantic, patriotic, national-cultural and religious themes, but also question much that is taken for granted. As Fanning has noted, while *The Blakes and the Flanagans*, a book encompassing lower middle-class Irish families in New York, highlights the importance of the Catholic education issue for Irish immigrants, it is also powerfully anti-assimilationist. Sadlier's Irish, Catholic and conservative views were plainly at odds with the American (and presumably colonial) experience.⁶⁹ Similar themes are also present in the novel *Con O'Regan*. Sadlier's work has ultimately been characterised as providing 'survival guides for displaced immigrants in an often hostile environment', trying to take the best of both worlds, the Irish past and the new American future.⁷⁰ As an Irish and Catholic literature of the new world, her works were an antidote to the romantic and often anti-Catholic literature of the time, a literature that both secular literate Catholics and the Church hierarchy were encouraging North American Irish writers to directly challenge. That Sadlier's work should have been popular with a New Zealand-Irish audience facing similar challenges, and with many of the same occupational demographics, is not at all unusual.⁷¹ For example, Fraser states that the number of Irish female domestic servants in towns like Christchurch was substantial, the domestic servant being considered a major occupational class, while Charlotte Macdonald has noted that single women 'were consistently the most rapidly absorbed section of the migrant population', and rarely lasted more than a week at immigration barracks such was the demand for domestic servants.⁷² While there is no direct evidence New Zealand-Irish domestic servants read *Bessy Conway*, it was a novel specifically written for this particular group of Irish female immigrants.

When looking at the works and popularity of William Carleton, several things set him apart from the generations of writers around him. Carleton is noted as being the first Irish novelist to write exclusively for an Irish audience, through the papers, penny journals and later the *Dublin University Review*. Unlike Maria Edgeworth, Charles Lever or Samuel Lover, such a favourite of New Zealand poet Thomas Bracken, Carleton was writing for an Irish and not an English audience. Hence the portraits of fiddlers and priests, drinkers, misers, faction fights, secret societies, poverty, starvation and famine. Carleton's dismissal of another Anglo-Irish novelist, Anna Hall, applies to many of the writers before him: 'did she ever live with the people as I did? Did she ever dance and fight with them as I did? Did she ever get drunk with them as I did?'⁷³ Carleton moved from the Irish-speaking world of Co. Tyrone to the largely English speaking culture of Dublin, changing his language, his religion and anglicising his name. One of fourteen children born to Irish peasants, he wrote only of the Irish peasant world he knew before he left it, and wrote only in English. Given Greene's comments

relating to Carleton's appeal in the North American context to lower working class Irish immigrant, the popularity of his works to the colonial New Zealand Irish obviously merits a more detailed critical treatment.⁷⁴ Research might include the examination of surviving lending library catalogues from locations such as the mining districts of Central Otago.⁷⁵ The grim Irish peasant life portrayed by Carleton, although not without its comic elements, was radically different to the rollicking, humorous Irish type sketched by the Anglo-Irish writers Lover and Lever and promoted so assiduously in New Zealand by Thomas Bracken.⁷⁶ Carleton's writings were also included in the General Assembly Library's 1899 catalogue of works, and additional nineteenth-century editions have found their way into the national collection.⁷⁷

The New Zealand taste for Irish literature was, however, in keeping with other colonial trends. Thomas Moore appears to have appealed to a wide spectrum of the English-speaking population, not just to the Irish. As Fanning has noted, in America alone there were over twenty different editions of his work, and a title analysis of what was retailed by the Irish-Catholic booksellers in New Zealand clearly indicates both his popularity among the New Zealand Irish and a great variety of editions, ranging from the most expensive gilt-edged volumes to the most inexpensive wrapper (paperback) versions. Moore's appeal in the nineteenth century seems to have cut across ethnic and social divides, and may in some part be due to the setting of many of his works to music, drawing-room songs being popular in the nineteenth-century world. Any future analysis of Moore's popularity in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century New Zealand must take account of the advent of the upright parlour piano in colonial society.

The didactic nature of nineteenth-century Irish fiction has been noted in the writing of Sadlier and other Irish-American writers, and, while Carleton stands somewhat outside this literary tradition, it features prominently in works by Rosa Mulholland. Described as an intensely Catholic and nationalist writer, Mulholland began her career with a good deal of encouragement from Charles Dickens, an admirer of her work.⁷⁸ Hogan acknowledges that she had some 'real knowledge of the peasantry' of the West of Ireland, but is of the view that that her work was overly romantic and religious, while Welch notes her standard Victorian version of Catholicism, and in later works her promotion of a Catholic gentry to solve the Irish land crises.⁷⁹ In New Zealand Mulholland was endorsed by booksellers like Christchurch's Edward O'Connor as a standard Catholic writer, as was her English Catholic literary contemporary Georgiana Charlotte Fullerton, and both appear to have been retailed very successfully. There were nine Mulholland volumes available in New Zealand between 1886 and 1896, with editions by such

publishers as Burns and Oats (London), M.H. Gill (Dublin) and Benziger Brothers (New York).⁸⁰ That her works found their way into a recommended Catholic Library list before the First World War indicates perhaps the enduring Catholic quality of her work for a New Zealand audience, rather than its Irish subject matter.⁸¹

Conclusion

A number of features relating to the literature imported and made available in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century New Zealand through booksellers specialising in the retailing of Irish works have been identified. That the retailing of Irish literature in New Zealand was part of an international retail trade is without doubt. By-and-large it appears the New Zealand Irish drew their literature from Irish and Irish diaspora sources, marketing that literature through both newspaper and catalogue advertising. In terms of literary tastes, the New Zealand-Irish market conformed to both an international English-speaking trend that witnessed an increasing preference for fiction, and an Irish preference for history and historical fiction. In New Zealand this is evidenced by the high retailing of works by historians Alexander Sullivan and John Mitchel, the enduring popularity of the speeches of political leader Daniel O'Connell and the eighteenth-century Irish Parliamentary orators, and the ongoing demand for fiction by Carleton, Mulholland, Sadlier and later Sheehan, amongst others.⁸²

That the Irish, from the early stages of settlement, wished to 'develop' their own colonial identity, to maintain and disseminate their own literature, should be no surprise. As Fraser noted, 'ethnic identity . . . is a culturally constructed set of usages adopted by people in their day-to-day relationships with one another and the society around them . . . it is a contested choice, defined by people as they live their own history'.⁸³ For Fraser, ethnicity and its apparel is not a given, it evolves from particular circumstances. Put another way, the Irish did not arrive in New Zealand armed with books.

In the cultural history of the Irish in New Zealand, the importation of the literature of Ireland, and the Irish diaspora, was both a choice made – to maintain contact with their land of origin, and reinforce shared cultural bonds amongst themselves and other displaced Irish communities – and the contested action of an ethnic minority living and culturally evolving in proximity to a numerically dominant 'other' culture, one with value systems, tastes and political and social allegiances quite often antithetical to the Irish and their community.⁸⁴

Conducting a profitable importing and retailing business over decades requires a degree of business acumen, a product in demand, easy access to that product, sophisticated retail outlets, ready clientele, a good advertising medium, an efficient postal service, and, in the nineteenth century, regular

trade routes for shipping. Available evidence suggests that booksellers operating in the Irish trade in New Zealand were able to rely on all of the above in marketing their specialised product. The fact that an Irish book trade sprang up over a relatively short period – with bookshops established, and importation and distribution trading patterns organised – suggests a certain flexibility in cultural movement and identity. The Irish in New Zealand easily assumed a cultural set of usages – the literature of their homeland and the Irish diaspora, and its existing networks, for self-definition – and just as easily left it as their history in New Zealand moved on.⁸⁵ By the early decades of the twentieth century this group, what Gillespie-Needham has termed a subculture, had, in one aspect of its identity (literary taste), achieved a certain degree of homogeneity with the dominant culture (acculturation), retailing and reading far less Irish literature, as their tastes and literary predilections largely merged with those of the New Zealand Anglo-Saxon majority.⁸⁶

The preceding analysis has attempted to determine the literary demands of the Irish in New Zealand and the social, cultural and political implications of those demands. The Irish-Catholic newspaper, the primary archival source available, is by-and-large a closed information system. The general needs of the immigrant population are not registered there in any representative, individualistic manner. The clerical representatives of the population endeavour to articulate some of their needs, but only in a mediated fashion. In short, there is never a clear immigrant voice. They are not interviewed by newspaper journalists at the docks upon arrival; nor coming out of the bookshops with their purchases. The booksellers themselves barely find a voice, except through their advertisements. There are no interviews or journal pieces like that in an 1859 issue of the *Sydney Freeman's Journal* reporting a lengthy conversation concerning literature between the editor of the *Freeman's Journal* and Mr E.F. Flanagan, an Irish bookshop owner.⁸⁷ In addition, there are few published letters to the editor of the *New Zealand Tablet* in the early decades of the paper. Ultimately, the literary tastes of the clientele are currently known only from the tantalising inferences obtained from the preceding data. From that data it is clear that substantial numbers of Irish books were imported from Ireland, England, the United States and Australia, that the trade extended over decades, and that local and international networks were established to maintain the trade.

This paper has mapped out some of the complexities of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Irish print history in New Zealand. The following Appendix is the start of a possible reconstruction of a catalogue of the books available to Irish and Catholic readers of secular literature. Additional research, such as an economic analysis of the book retailing figures, compared to the average weekly wage for identifiable occupational

groups, and linked to a nineteenth-century consumer price index for New Zealand (CPI), would help in determining which particular income groups in New Zealand were capable of buying what books.⁸⁸ This would also go some way towards tackling the currently impenetrable literacy figures for the Irish in nineteenth-century New Zealand.⁸⁹ While the present study has largely used the example of fiction as an area of the possible impact by print culture on the intellectual and social life of the Irish immigrant, with equal facility the role and impact of historical works, music, and religious literature could well be undertaken. From the list of works in the Appendix it is clear the range of Irish literatures imported and available in New Zealand for the immigrant Catholic Irish adds a complex hue to notions of Irish literacy, cultural development and intellectual curiosity.

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- 1 An estimated 40-45,000 Irish settled in Argentina over the nineteenth century. In addition to the well known Irish newspaper, *The Southern Cross*, established in Buenos Aires in 1875, perhaps the most notable work produced in English by Irish Argentinians is William Bulfin's *Tales of the Pampas* (1900); see Edmundo Murray, 'How the Irish Became *Gauchos Ingleses*. Diasporic Models in Irish-Argentine Literature', http://www.irishargentine.org/ia_last.htm. [Accessed October 2004]. For literature on the Irish in South America see Brian McGinn, 'The Irish in South America. A Bibliography', <http://www.brad.ac.uk/acad/diaspora/guides/samerica.shtml>. [Accessed April 2003].
 - 2 'The Newspaper Press', *New Zealand Tablet*, 13 February 1875, pp.9-10. The *New Zealand Tablet* hereafter also referred to as *NZT*.
 - 3 For example, J. Pope Hennessy, 'What Do the Irish Read?', in *NZT*, 22 August 1884, pp.29-31, 29 August 1884, pp.25-27. This article was reproduced from the journal *Nineteenth Century*.
 - 4 The newspaper played a formative role in the pre- and post-famine cultural and political development of Ireland and was discussed extensively by nineteenth-century Irish historians like William Lecky in his *Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland*, London, 1871, p.xii, and is mentioned most recently by cultural historian Declan Kiberd in *Irish Classics*, London, 2000, p.464. Kiberd maintains that it was the willingness of Irish modernists to engage with newspapers, based on nineteenth-century precedent, that distinguishes them from their Continental colleagues.
 - 5 For a discussion of the Pacific aspects of these networks see Malcolm Campbell, 'Ireland's Furthest Shores: Irish Settlement in Nineteenth-Century California and Eastern Australia', in *Pacific Historical Review*, vol.71, no.1, 2002, pp.59-90. Campbell states that 'California and eastern Australia, together with New Zealand, were, for much of the later nineteenth century, part of a Pacific Irish emigrant world – locations separated by the vast distances of the Pacific Ocean but unified by complex exchanges of peoples, information, and goods', p.62.
 - 6 Donald Harman Akenson, *Half the World from Home. Perspectives on the Irish in New Zealand 1860-1950*, Wellington, 1990, pp.162-165. For a biographical study of Cullen and his influence on post-Famine Ireland see Desmond Bowen, *Paul Cullen and the Shaping of Modern Irish Catholicism*, Dublin, 1983; also Patrick O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community. An Australian History*, Sydney, 1985. The term 'devotional revolution' was first used by American Irish historian Emmet Larkin to describe the complete change in peasant devotional practices in Ireland in the post-famine period (1850-1875), brought

- about by standardised, imported Catholic practices; see his 'The Devotional Revolution in Ireland 1850-1875', in *American History Review*, vol.77, 1972.
- 7 Publishers D. & J. Sadlier and Co. (New York and Montreal), Benziger Brothers (New York), P.J. Kenedy (New York), Ward, Lock and Co. (London, and Melbourne from 1884), James Duffy and Co. and M.H. Gill (Dublin), all produced Irish and English secular fiction plus Catholic religious works. In addition there were Australian booksellers like Louis Gille & Co. and W. P. Linehan who advertised imported religious and Irish works extensively in the *New Zealand Tablet* from the late 1890s. It should be noted that theological and pietistic works have not been included in the list of books provided in the Appendix, although books on Irish religious history and archaeology have.
 - 8 Akenson's observations should be noted; see 'No Petty People. Pakeha History and the Historiography of the Irish Diaspora' in Lyndon Fraser, *A Distant Shore. Irish Migration and New Zealand Settlement*, Dunedin, 2000, pp.19-20. Catalogues are available for English language religious works from selected publishers, for example Benziger Brothers, *Catalogue of all Catholic Books in English. Wholesale Catalogue for the Reverend Clergy and Religious Libraries, and the Trade*, New York and Cincinnati, c.1912.
 - 9 Checks have been made at the Alexander Turnbull Library, Archives New Zealand, the Hocken Library, Auckland Public Library and libraries in Christchurch.
 - 10 For the United States a number of key New York publishers of cheap popular editions that were regularly imported into New Zealand are identified by David H Greene in 'Literary Interactions', *The Irish Times*, Literary Supplement, 15 March 1976. In addition, before the establishment of Whitaker Brothers' bookshop in Lambton Quay, the Catholic Archbishop of Wellington, Francis Redwood, was importing books directly for his own library from an Irish publisher in New York, Lawrence Kehoe, and from Burns and Oates, Paternoster Row, London; see Wellington Catholic Archdiocese Archive, Archbishop Redwood, *Letterbook. Book One, 10 February 1875 - 23 August 1883*, pp.291, 319, 320, 321.
 - 11 Catalogues used include James Duffy & Co., *James Duffy & Co.'s Catalogue of Standard Works of History Amusement and Instruction*, Dublin, 1880, 1885, 1890, currently held by the Early Printed Books Library, Trinity College Dublin. An early publisher's catalogue for 1851 also exists, *A Catalogue of Standard Catholic Works, and Books Relating to Ireland*; Edward Living, *Adventure in Publishing: The House of Ward Lock, 1854-1954*, London, 1954, Introduction.
 - 12 Wallace Kirsop, *Books for Colonial Readers – The Nineteenth-Century Australian Experience*, Melbourne, 1995, p.4.
 - 13 Considering the newspaper as part of diaspora literature as well as a principal archival source requires some caution, and an awareness of the nature of the nineteenth-century print culture, advertising regimes, and newspaper business practice.
 - 14 For example, Flynn & O'Reilly's, and later J. O'Reilly's advertisements in the *New Zealand Freeman's Journal (NZFJ)* contain the same range of titles found in adverts in the *Tablet* by O'Connor, Whitaker and Macedo, *NZFJ*, 21 December 1883, p.1; 21 November 1884, p.1; 12 June 1885, p.1. Other New Zealand Irish papers consulted include *New Zealand Celt* (1867-1868) and *The Catholic Times* (1888-1894).
 - 15 For an analysis of the role of the Reviews, see J.R. Tye, 'Literary Periodicals of the Eighteen Nineties: A Survey of The Monthly and Quarterly Magazines and Reviews', D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1970, p.5.
 - 16 Booksellers used in this study include J.A. Macedo, who operated from Princes Street, Dunedin from approximately 1866-1897, retailing literature as a Catholic Bookseller from 1872; Edward O'Connor, whose Catholic Book Depot operated in Barbados Street, Christchurch, from 1880-c.1950s; Bernard and George Whitaker, operating as

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- Whitaker Brothers, from Lambton Quay, Wellington from 1877-1917, and Cuba Street Wellington, managed by their sister Mary Gibbs, from c.1895-1900, with an additional branch in Boundary Street, Greymouth, operated by George from 1887. In Auckland, J.W. Dickson's 'Catholic Repository' operated from the late 1880s, and was preceded by James Flynn, Flynn and O'Reilly, and then just O'Reilly, from 1882-1885.
- 17 This observation was made by Greene; see D.H. Greene, 'Literary Interactions', *Irish Times* Supplement, 15 March 1976.
 - 18 John MacNeill, 'What Ireland has Lost', in *NZT*, 11 June 1897, p.25. John MacNeill was editor of the Gaelic League's *Gaelic Journal*. This article raised some pertinent cultural issues that are still being debated over a century later.
 - 19 See his extended essay on the Irish literary societies and other matters, 'Ireland after Parnell', in W.B. Yeats, *Autobiographies*, London, 1980, pp.199-250.
 - 20 The five-volume *Field Day Anthology of Irish Literature* has become the compendium of Irish literatures – Irish, Latin, Hiberno-Norman, Hiberno-English, and English – and covers all genres on the cultural, social and political literary spectrum.
 - 21 Stephen J. Brown, *Ireland in Fiction: A Guide to Irish Novels, Tales, Romances and Folklore*, Dublin, 1919, p.ix, 1915 Preface. Brown does list and comment upon works by Irish authors that are not specifically Irish subject-matter driven.
 - 22 See John Hutchinson, *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism. The Gaelic Revival and the Creation of the Irish Nation State*, London and Boston, 1987. This subject is also mentioned by the author in, 'Victorian, 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*, Wellington, 2002.
 - 23 Terence Brown, 'Cultural Nationalism 1880-1930', in Seamus Deane (ed.), *The Field Day Anthology of Irish Literature*, vol.2, Derry, 1991, p.517. D.P. Moran's most important essay expounding this view is titled 'The Battle of Two Civilisations'.
 - 24 Writing in 1919 of the Anglo-Irish writer Lawless and her novel *Hurrish*, Stephen Brown described it in the following terms: 'the "scene" is a wild and poverty-stricken district in Clare. A view of the bad days of the 'eighties by one to whom the Land League stands for "lawlessness and crime". The people are depicted as half-savage. The story is a gloomy one, full of assassinations and the other dark doings of the Land League. The picture it gives of an Irish mother will jar harshly on the feelings of most Irishmen. The Irish dialect is all but a caricature'. *Father Ralph* on the other hand is the story of a defrocked priest who sets out to find his personal religion. The book is described as 'anti-clerical and modernist It may fairly be said that there is scarcely a page of this book that does not appeal in one form or another to non-Catholic prejudice'; see Brown, *Ireland in Fiction*, pp.162, 238. Neither work appeared in *NZT* advertised book lists, though they did appear in English Colonial Edition lists, so would have been readily available in New Zealand; see Johanson, *A Study of Colonial Editions in Australia, 1843-1972*, Wellington, 2000, pp.290-306. It should be noted that by 1915 *Hurrish* does appear in a recommended reading list of Irish books for Public Libraries, in *NZT*, 22 April 1915, p.43.
 - 25 For some of the debate surrounding this work, and the questioning of McCarthy's Irishness because of this publication, see Heather McNamara, 'The Sole Organ of the Irish Race in New Zealand? A Social and Cultural history of the *New Zealand Tablet* and its Readers, 1898-1923', MA thesis, University of Auckland, 2002, p.53. It should be noted however that replies to McCarthy, by Cardinal Moran, and to Froude by Burke, are to be found in the book lists; see Appendix.
 - 26 For example, see Bracken's lecture in Christchurch, August 1889, in which he discusses the common heritage of the Irish regardless of religious or political affiliations, *NZT*,

- 8 August 1889, p.5. Bracken lectured extensively over the late nineteenth century, principally on the Irish novelists Samuel Lover and Charles Lever.
- 27 While this data has been collected, due to space considerations it has not been included in the Appendix. Price structure seems to have varied considerably, according to publishing house and the quality of the retailed product, with many different prices for the same volume. A more complex graph analysis plotting these changes according to the average New Zealand wage, over corresponding periods, is needed to bring out fully the importance of price and buying capacity of the client base. This is beyond the scope of the present work.
- 28 Browne, *Ireland in Fiction*, p.150.
- 29 Library of Congress Online Catalogue, <http://catalog.loc.gov>. [Accessed Jan-April 2003]; Trinity College Dublin Main Library and Early Printed Books Catalogues, <http://opac.lib.tcd.ie>. [Accessed Dec. 2002-April 2003]; the online British Library Public Catalogue, <http://blpc.bl.uk> [Accessed Nov-Dec. 2003]; State Library of Victoria Catalogue, <http://catalogue.slv.vic.gov.au> [Accessed Jan-April 2003]; National Library of Australia Catalogue, <http://ilms.nla.gov.au>. [Accessed Jan-April 2003]; Princess Grace Irish Library Datasets, Monaco, <http://www.pgil-eirdata.org>. [Accessed Dec 2002-April 2003]; National Library of New Zealand Catalogues, <http://nlzcat.natlib.govt.nz>. [Accessed Dec 2002-April 2003]; Stephen J. Brown, *Ireland in Fiction*, Dublin, 1919; Robert Hogan (ed.), *Dictionary of Irish Literature A-L, M-Z*, London, Connecticut, Westport, 1996; OCLC FirstSearch [Accessed 2003-04].
- 30 Simon Eliot, 'Some Trends in British Book Production, 1800-1919', in John O. Jordan and Robert L. Patten (eds), *Literature in the Marketplace. Nineteenth-Century British Publishing and Reading Practices*, Cambridge, 1995, pp.36-38.
- 31 George Watson, *The English Ideology. Studies in the Language of Victorian Politics*, London, 1973, pp.3, 159.
- 32 James M. Cahalan, *Great Hatred, Little Room, The Irish Historical Novel*, Cincinnati, 1983, p.xii. Cahalan opts for a collective psycho-social model of unresolved historical circumstances and tensions that fosters the rise and perpetuation of the nineteenth-century historical novel in Ireland (and Scotland), with the novel form used to explore 'current polarities' existing in society. See his chapter 'The Mythos of Modern Irish History', pp.17-42.
- 33 See especially the chapter 'The Famine Generation', passim, in Charles Fanning, *The Irish Voice in America: Irish-American Fiction From the 1760s to the 1980s*, Lexington, 1990.
- 34 Fanning, *The Irish Voice in America*, pp.75-76.
- 35 A selective content analysis of specifically American news or commentary is beyond the scope of the present exercise, but could provide some interesting data.
- 36 For example the appalling but obviously commonplace eviction described in graphic detail in 1881, 'An Extraordinary Eviction in County Louth', in *NZT*, 12 August 1881, p.11.
- 37 A perusal of any nineteenth-century year will find stories in most issues sourced to other newspapers. However, some of the larger novels are not sourced. This may indicate that a stereo-plating system may have been in operation, with the papers printing the stories from the pre-manufactured moulded plates. More research needs to be done on this topic. For an explanation of the technique see Elizabeth Morrison, 'Serial Fiction in Australian Colonial Newspapers', in John Jordan and Robert Patten (eds), *Literature in the Marketplace. Nineteenth-century British Publishing and Reading Practices*, Cambridge, 1995, pp.306-324; Ross Harvey, "'If sufficient encouragement": Where New Zealand Newspapers got their Copy', unpublished paper presented to the Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand Conference (BSANZ), 2002, pp.1-12.

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- 38 O'Connell is used as a touchstone for moderate nationalism in many articles over the years, as well as appearing in specific stories. See for example the lecture delivered at the Auckland Catholic Literary Society by J. A. Tole, 'Life and Times of Daniel O'Connell', in *NZT*, 12 August 1892, pp.12ff. & 19 August 1892, pp.21ff; or the extensive review of a new biography of O'Connell, in *NZT*, 7 July 1904, pp.5-6.
- 39 The Reading Rooms, Land League and National League rooms can be considered local initiatives, precursors to the public library system established much later. See James H. Murphy, *Catholic Fiction and Social Reality in Ireland 1873-1922*, Westport, 1997, p.2, passim. Unfortunately, Pope-Hennessy does not mention fiction; 'Ireland's Favourite Reading', *NZT*, 25 July 1884, pp.3, 22, and *NZT*, 29 August 1884, pp.25-29. Despite the fact that Froude and Lecky, the two pre-eminent nineteenth-century writers on Irish history, were cited frequently in the *New Zealand Tablet* from 1873-1903, none of their works appears in book lists advertised in the paper. Regarding their use by the paper, see Molloy, 'Victorians, Historians and Irish History', passim. op. cit., and Heather McNamara, 'The Sole Organ of the Irish Race in New Zealand? A Social and Cultural History of the *New Zealand Tablet* and its Readers, 1898-1923', MA thesis, University of Auckland, 2002, pp.54-55.
- 40 The peaks and troughs of 'nationalist' activity can also be plotted in the editorial leader articles and general articles on news from Ireland, especially in the periods of greatest political activity and the expectation of Home Rule.
- 41 A New Zealand Irish attitude on the infighting of the Irish National Party can be found in the columns of *NZT*. The Wellington produced *Catholic Times (CT)*, after the fall of Parnell, recommended a group silence on such issues, stating the Irish should not discuss divisive events in public in New Zealand, *CT* 1 May 1891, p.8; see also B. McLeod, 'The *New Zealand Tablet*: the Moran Years', MA. thesis, Otago University, 1997, p.78. Dunedin's Bishop Moran's attitude was to stand aloof from the internal political dissension in Ireland, 'lest' it caused 'acrimonious divisions' amongst the New Zealand Irish.
- 42 Editorial, 'Wanted, An Irish Literary Club', in *NZT*, 2 April 1897, p.17, and Letter to the Editor, *NZ Tablet* 'The Proposed Irish Literary Club', in *NZT*, 9 April 1897, p.19.
- 43 Auckland Catholic Literary Society, 'The Life and Times of Daniell O'Connell', *NZT*, op. cit., and '[Charles Kickham] A Chapter of Irish History', paper read to the Dunedin Branch of the Catholic Literary Society on August 17 1892, *NZT*, 7 October 1892, pp.25-27, and *NZT*, 14 October, pp.25-27.
- 44 Editorial, 'Wanted, an Irish Literary Club', in *NZT*, 2 April 1897, p.17.
- 45 For example, that by John MacNeill, editor of the *Gaelic Journal*, 'What Ireland has Lost', *NZT*, 11 June 1897, p.25; [From the *Boston Pilot*] 'Irish Language and Literature', in *NZT*, 4 May 1894, p.7-8; and, on the scholarly revival of Celtic Studies, 'The Value of Celtic Study', in *NZT*, 22 May 1896, p.3.
- 46 For example, 'Gaelic Notes', in *NZT*, 5 April 1895, p.9.
- 47 'Our objects and principles', in *NZT*, 3 May 1873, p.8. For the Sydney *Freeman's Journal* see 'The *Freeman's Journal*. Its Past and Future', 3 November 1855, p.7.
- 48 *NZT*, *ibid.*, p.8.
- 49 Editorial, 'Catholic Newspapers', in *NZT*, 25 August 1876, pp.10-11.
- 50 'An Evening with Samuel Lover', in *NZT*, 26 June 1875, pp.13-14 & 'A Chapter of Irish History', in *NZT*, 7 October 1882, pp.25-26, & 14 October 1882, pp.25-26; J.S.P.[?]; 'Review. The Poets and Poetry of Munster, in *NZT*, 4 July 1884, pp.14-15; and 'Review. The Parnell Movement, by T.P. O'Connor', in *NZT*, 18 May 1888, pp.18-19; 'A National Literature', in *NZT*, 18 November 1884, pp.26-27. For the historians see Molloy, 'Victorians, Historians and Irish History', pp.162-66, and McNamara, 'The Sole Organ of the Irish Race in New Zealand?', pp.54-55.

- 51 The *Catholic Home Annual* was published in New York by Benziger Brothers from 1884-1915. It included illustrations, coloured plates, short stories, almanac entries and journalistic pieces. While the works of Irish-American writers like Sadlier, Boyce, Halpine and Conyngnam were available in New Zealand, and some of these writers had their stories serialised in New Zealand Irish-Catholic papers, their impact outside the Irish-American world it is still unclear. However, there is considerable evidence that Irish-American writers like Sadlier were regularly reprinted by publishers in Dublin and Scotland; for example, an edition of *The Blakes and the Flanaghans* (sic.) was printed in Dublin by Duffy & Co., possibly as early as 1855, and a European edition of Sadlier's *The Confederate Chieftains* was being printed by Dunn and Wright of Glasgow for Cameron and Ferguson in Scotland and England in 1880. In addition, M.H. Gill in Dublin also reprinted works by Sadlier, see M.H. Gill, 'Publication Expense Book Two', *Alice Riordan*, p.72, Trinity College Dublin, Department of Early Printed Books. Additional information on some of these editions has been gleaned from antiquarian bookseller lists like those at 'abebooks.com', <http://www.abebooks.com>. [Accessed 6 December 2003].
- 52 'Address to the Irish People at Home and Abroad', in *NZT*, 11 February 1881, p.5.
- 53 Akenson also notes that the years 1867-1886 saw the Irish in New Zealand reach their largest proportion of the overall society, and the biggest proportion of the foreign born in New Zealand, see *Half the World From Home. Perspectives on the Irish in New Zealand, 1860-1950*, pp.40-41.
- 54 'The Publication of Irish Books: An Address by Sir Charles Gavan Duffy (from the Dublin Freeman)', in *NZT*, 23 September 1892, pp.5-6. Although reprinted by the Dublin *Freeman's Journal*, the address was delivered to the Irish Literary Society in London. Duffy is of course alluding to the controversy that took place, over many months, in the columns of the Dublin *Freeman's Journal* of 1886. The whole debate was reprinted as a sixty-page pamphlet by the *Freeman's Journal* in 1887; see, *The Best Hundred Irish Books. Introductory and Closing Essays by "Historicus," and Letters*, Dublin, 1887. Duffy's address in 1892 largely reiterates his comments in the *Best Hundred Irish Books* debate.
- 55 For the average weekly wage see the published *New Zealand Statistics* for the period under consideration.
- 56 *NZT*, 23 September 1892, p.7. Duffy served as first president of the Irish Literary Society, established in London in 1892 by William Butler Yeats, T.W. Rolleston and Duffy. Yeats established the National Literary Society in Dublin, also in 1892, with Douglas Hyde as first president.
- 57 Rev. P.E. Hurley, 'Some Reasons Why Catholics Lose the Faith in New Zealand', from the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, *NZT*, 15 July 1887, pp.5-6. The first instalment was published in *NZT*, on July 8 1887, pp.5-7.
- 58 The exact provenance of the Ousley and Denver series has yet to be determined.
- 59 [Advertisement] 'Irish Literature', in *NZT*, 23 November 1911, p.2381. A list of editors is given in this advertisement, as well as a list of the latest Irish writers (W.B. Yeats, Lady Gregory and Douglas Hyde).
- 60 The definitive work on Irish-American fiction is Charles Fanning, *The Irish Voice in America*. Lexington, 1999. Fanning's work is on fiction only. He does not deal with the extensive body of Irish-American poetry or drama. For Irish-American drama Fanning cites the work of Joyce Flynn, *Ethnicity after Sea-Change: The Irish Tradition in Nineteenth-Century American Drama*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1985.
- 61 See Appendix. For biographical details of the above, consult entries in Brown, *Ireland in Fiction*; the on-line *Catholic Encyclopaedia* (1913), <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen>.

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- [Accessed Dec. 2002-Jan. 2003]; Robert Welch, *Oxford Concise Companion to Irish Literature*; Robert Hogan (ed), *Dictionary of Irish Literature*; Fanning, *The Irish Voice in America*; the on-line *Princess Grace Irish Library* datasets (Monaco) <http://www.pgil-eirdata.org>. [Accessed Dec. 2002-April 2003]; and the on-line *Mary Anne Sadlier Archive*, <http://www.people.virginia.edu/~eas5e/Sadlier.html>. [Accessed 21 January 2003].
- 62 However, there is no evidence they were stocked in New Zealand bookshops. For information on Cassidy see D.F. McKenzie and K.A. Coleridge (compilers), *Printing, Bookselling & Their Allied Trades in New Zealand circa 1900. Extracts from the Cyclopaedia of New Zealand*, Wellington, 1980. Cassidy's novels include *Glenveagh; or the Victims of Vengeance* (1870) which was serialised by the *New Zealand Freeman's Journal* in 1885; for example, see *NZFI*, 25 September 1885, p.3.
- 63 Liz Szabo, 'Sadlier's Biography', the *Mary Anne Sadlier Archive*, <http://www.people.virginia.edu>, op. cit.
- 64 James Kilroy, 'Sadlier, Mary Anne', in Robert Hogan (ed.), *Dictionary of Irish Literature*, p.1079.
- 65 *The Red Hand of Ulster* (1850) and *Willie Burke, or the Last Orphan in America* (1850); see Fanning *The Irish Voice in America*, p.362.
- 66 William D. Kelly, 'A Benefactress of Her Race', in *Ave Maria*, 4 April 1891, p.322, reprinted in the *Mary Anne Sadlier Archive*. A number of other individuals also edited the paper while it was in the hands of the Sadliers.
- 67 Fanning, *The Irish Voice in America*, p.127.
- 68 Nicholas Evan Reid, *The Bishop's Paper. A History of the Catholic Press of the Diocese of Auckland*, Orewa, 2000, pp.9, 21; See also 'Irish Books for Public Libraries', in *NZT*, 22 April 1915, p.43.
- 69 Fanning, *The Irish Voice in America*, p.127.
- 70 Liz Szabo, "'My Heart Bleeds to Tell it': Women, Domesticity and the American Ideal in Mary Anne Sadlier's 'Romance of Irish Immigration'", University of Virginia, 1995, p.2, in *Mary Anne Sadlier Archive*: <http://www.people.virginia.edu>. [Accessed 21 January 2003].
- 71 For example, labourers and domestic servants, living in ethnic enclaves like Barbados Street and the Catholic Cathedral environs of Christchurch, Green Island in Dunedin, and towards the end of the century working class Newtown in Wellington; see, Fraser, *To Tara Via Holyhead*, op. cit.; Thomas Bracken, in a lecture on Samuel Lover, cites Green Island in Dunedin as the home of many stereotypical Irish characters; Bernard Leslie Molloy, unpublished paper, 'Growing up in Newtown in the 1930s', typescript, in possession of the author.
- 72 Fraser, *To Tara Via Holyhead*, pp.55-56. Fraser also draws on data in Charlotte Macdonald, 'Single Women as Immigrant Settlers in NZ, 1853-1971', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Auckland, 1986; Charlotte Macdonald, *A Woman of Good Character. Single Women as Immigrant Settlers in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand*, Wellington, 1990, pp.106-107 & passim. There is no mention of Sadlier's works in Macdonald.
- 73 Cited in James M. Cahalan, *The Irish Novel*, Boston, 1988, p.57.
- 74 See Greene, 'Literary Interactions', *Irish Times* Supplement, 15 March 1976.
- 75 Some work has been done in this area by Gillespie-Needham, see Dulcie N. Gillespie-Needham, 'The Colonial and his Books. A Study of Reading in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand', PhD Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1971. Heather McNamara, in 'The Sole Organ of the Irish Race in New Zealand?', also notes that miners did constitute a major component in the shareholder lists. For the shareholder lists see 'In the matter of the Companies Act, 1882 . . .', *The New Zealand Tablet Printing & Publishing Co.*

- Ltd., Companies Office Dunedin File., Archives New Zealand, Dunedin Regional Office DAAB, D94/1/2961.
- 76 For example, Carleton's story 'Wildgoose Lodge', on the midnight burning to death of a family of thirteen, by an oath-bound secret society.
- 77 See Basil E. Seymour Stocker et al. (eds), *Catalogue of the General Assembly Library of New Zealand*, Wellington, 1897. This two-volume work and supplement lists novels by Lover, Lever, William Carleton, speeches by Daniel O'Connell, and many other Irish works.
- 78 Brown, *Ireland in Fiction*, p.221.
- 79 Hogan, *Dictionary of Irish Literature, M-Z*, pp.479-80; Robert Welch, *The Oxford Concise Companion to Irish Literature*, p.247.
- 80 Lady Georgiana Charlotte Fullerton was born in England, grew up in Paris and married Anglo-Irishman Alexander Fullerton. In 1843 Alexander Fullerton converted to Roman Catholicism, and in 1846 Georgiana Fullerton likewise converted. Fullerton wrote numerous novels that were serialised by the *New Zealand Tablet*. Further details are available in her entry in the on-line *Catholic Encyclopaedia* (1913), <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen>.
- 81 'Catholics and Public Libraries. A Suggested Reading List', in *NZT*, 5 February 1914, p.23.
- 82 As regards the Irish-American influence in New Zealand imports, the sudden demise in popularity of Irish-American fiction in New Zealand at the turn of the century needs further analysis, as more robust and accomplished Irish-American writers continued the Irish-American genre throughout the twentieth century. It is unclear whether this tail-off was due to a change in ethnicity, consumer preference, a result of international markets and pricing, or a change in business practices. The war years obviously had a major impact on the book trade and Irish emigration to New Zealand.
- 83 Fraser, *To Tara via Holyhead. Irish Catholic Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century Christchurch*, p.3.
- 84 For definitions of the Irish diaspora, see Donald Harman Akenson, *The Irish Diaspora: A Primer*, Toronto, 1993.
- 85 The networks include the well-established trans-Atlantic and trans-Pacific trading and communication patterns for the people of the Irish diaspora, and the literatures that maintained the communication, whether newspapers, fiction, religious or political works.
- 86 Dulcie N. Gillespie-Needham, 'The Colonial and His books: A Study of Reading in Nineteenth Century New Zealand', Foreword & passim. This idea of literary homogeneity forms the basis of Gillespie-Needham's thesis.
- 87 *Freeman's Journal* (Sydney), 21 September 1859, p.1. Flanagan was a well-known Irish Catholic bookseller with premises in Market Street, Sydney.
- 88 For example, it should be noted that the Irish National Library (Library of Ireland) series, produced by Dublin publisher James Duffy & Co., was specifically begun in the 1840s to place affordable Irish national literature in the hands of those with very low incomes. It was a series readily available in New Zealand over the 1870-1900 period, and had many additional titles added over those decades.
- 89 For example, as McNamara notes in 'Sole Organ of the Irish Race', p.24, the literacy/illiteracy figures used by Akenson in *Half the World from Home* rely on marriage register signatures only. Single persons do not form part of the analysis.

Appendix

Import and advertising data by author, title and first advertisement date

The following author, title and first advertisement items have been extracted from bookshop advertisements in the *New Zealand Tablet* over the period 1873, the first year of the paper's publication, to 1918, the end of the World War One, and a time when the first generation of Irish immigrants to New Zealand (the gold rush and Vogel immigrants) would have been either in their old age or deceased. The bookshops include two Australian outlets that advertised extensively in the first decades of the twentieth century. A letter representing the particular bookseller advertising a work follows each first-advertisement date entry. Advertisements from the following booksellers have been used for this study:

- (b) Braithwaite, Joseph, The Arcade, Dunedin
- (d) Dunne, James & E.W., George Street, Dunedin
- (h) Hamilton, J.R., Book Importer, Edinburgh House, George Street, Dunedin
- (L) Linehan, W.P., Wholesale and Retail Bookseller, 309 Little Collins Street, Melbourne
- (G) Louis Gille & Co., Catholic Booksellers & Church Furnishers, 586 George St & 75 Liverpool Street, Sydney, and 302 Lonsdale Street, Melbourne
- (m) Macedo, J.A., Catholic Bookseller, Princess Street, Dunedin
- (o) O'Connor, E., Catholic Book Depot, Barbadoes Street, Christchurch
- (Tb) Tablet Printing Company Limited, The Octagon, Dunedin
- (W) Whitaker Brothers, Lambton Quay and Cuba Street, Wellington, Boundary Street Greymouth

The following is by no means an exhaustive bibliographical listing of all nineteenth- and early twentieth-century works, from many different publishing houses in the Irish diaspora, mentioned or listed in the *New Zealand Tablet*.

The Appendix excludes book reviews, theological and pietistic literature, church music and serialised stories, though includes Irish Church history, and, in keeping with the tenets of late-nineteenth-century Irish cultural nationalism, the works on some Irish Saints. Non-Irish or Irish diaspora works, when not identified as having Irish authors, have been excluded.

For reasons of clarity the numerous variant editions, noted in my data sets, have been excluded. In addition, general author entries, for example those simply listed in the *New Zealand Tablet* as ‘works by . . .’, have also been excluded, except where there are no other entries by the author.

IRISH WORKS BY GENRE, NEW ZEALAND TABLET 1873-1918

No	Author	Title	1st Adv
Fiction			
1	Anonymous [Joyce, Robert Dwyer]	Galloping O'Hogan, or the Raparee Captains [and Other Tales]	1875 (m)
2	Anonymous, [source S.J. Browne]	Annie Reilly, The Irish Girl	1886 (w)
3	Anonymous, [source S.J. Browne]	Irish Pleasantry and Fun [short stories, includes Carleton, Lover, Lever . . .]	1896 (w)
4	Anonymous, [source S.J. Browne]	The Robber Chieftain, a Tale of Dublin Castle	1879 (m)
5	Antiquary [psued.]	The Mistletoe and The Shamrock, or the Chief of the North. A National Tale of the Fifth Century	1904 (G)
6	Banim, John	The Bit O'Writing and the Ace of Clubs	1886 (w)
7	Banim, John	The Denounced	1882 (o)
8	Banim, John	The Fetches	1904 (G)
9	Banim, John	The Boyne Water	1882 (o)
10	Banim, John/Michael	O'Hara Family: Peep-o-Day	1876 (m)
11	Banim, Michael	O'Hara Family: Crohoore of the Billook	1876 (m)
12	Banim, Michael	O'Hara Family: Croppy: A Tale of '98	1876 (m)
13	Barrington, F. Clinton	Fitz-Hern; or the Irish Patriot Chief [or the Rover of the Irish Seas]	1875 (m)
14	Bearne, David	Sheer Pluck and Other Stories	1908 (w)
15	Benziger Brothers, NY., (Publishers)	Catholic Home Annual	1900 (G)
16	Bertholds, W.M., Mrs	Connor D'Arcy's Struggles	1896 (w)
17	Blackburne, E	Irish Tales and Sketches [A Bunch of Shamrocks. Being a Collection of Irish Tales and Sketches]	1886 (w)
18	Bowles, Emily	Irish Diamonds	1877 (m)
19	Boyce, John	Mary Lee, or the Yankee in Ireland	1885 (w)
20	Boyce, John	Shandy Maguire; or Tricks on Travellers. Being a Story of the North of Ireland	1886 (w)
21	Boyce, John	The Spaewife; or, the Queen's Secret. A Story of the Reign of Elizabeth	1885 (w)
22	Buchanan, Robert	The Peep O'Day Boy: A Romance of '98	1882 (o)
23	Caddell, Cecilia Mary	Nellie Netterville or One of the Transplanted, an Irish Catholic Tale	1877 (m)
24	Caddell, Cecilia Mary	Wild Times, a Tale of the Times of Queen Elizabeth	1879 (w)
25	Campion, J.T., Dr	Irish Tales	1875 (m)
26	Campion, J.T., Dr	Last Struggles of the Irish Sea Smugglers, The	1875 (m)
27	Campion, J.T., Dr	Michael Dwyer, the Insurgent Captain	1887 (w)

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28	Carleton, William	Paddy Go-Easy and his Wife Nancy	1882 (o)
29	Carleton, William	Redmond O'Hanlon	1875 (m)
30	Carleton, William	Rody the Rover	1882 (o)
31	Carleton, William	The Evil Eye, or the Black Spectre	1879 (m)
32	Carleton, William	The Irish Agent	1879 (m)
33	Carleton, William	The Poor Scholar, and other Irish Tales	1875 (m)
34	Carleton, William	Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry	1875 (m)
35	Carleton, William	Tubber Derg; or the Red Webb	1875 (m)
36	Carleton, William	Valentine McClutchy, the Irish Agent	1887 (o)
37	Carleton, William	Willy Reilly and his Dear Colleen Bawn	1878 (m)
38	Casey, James	Paddy Blake's Sojourn among the Soupers	1887 (w)
39	Catholic Publication Society N.Y.	The Home Rule Candidate, and Other Stories	1886 (w)
40	Conyngham, David Power	Rose Parnell, or the Flower of Avondale: A Tale of the Rebellion of '98	1885 (w)
41	Conyngham, David Power	The O'Mahony, Chief of the Comeraghs: A Tale of the Rebellion of '98	1885 (w)
42	Conyngham, David Power	The O'Donnells of Glen Cottage	1878 (w)
43	Corkery, Daniel	Munster Twilight	1918 (G)
44	Curtis, Robert	Rory of the Hills	1886 (w)
45	Cusack, M.F.	Ned Rusheen, or Who Fired the First Shot?	1886 (w)
46	Donnelly, Eleanor (ed.)	A Round Table of the Representative American Catholic Novelists, at which Is Served a Feast of Excellent Stories	1900 (G)
47	Doyle, M. [M.E.T.]	Exiled from Erin	1886 (w)
48	Egan, Maurice Francis	How They Worked Their Way and Other Tales	1896 (w)
49	Egan, Maurice Francis	The Flower of the Flock and the Badgers of Belmont	1896 (w)
50	Finn, Francis James	Claude Lightfoot, or How the Problem was Solved	1896 (w)
51	Finn, Francis James	Harry Dee	1896 (w)
52	Finn, Francis James	Percy Wynn	1896 (w)
53	Fitzgerald, F.S.A.	Josephine's Troubles	1907 (G)
54	Fitzgerald, Percy	Never Forgotten	1886 (w)
55	Goldsmith, Oliver	The Vicar of Wakefield	1886 (w)
56	Griffin, Gerald	Card Drawing and the Half-Sir (second series of Tales of the Munster Festivals)	1904 (G)
57	Griffin, Gerald	The Invasion	1875 (m)
58	Guinan, J., Rev	Island Parish	1908 (w)
59	Guinan, J., Rev	The Soggarth Aroon	1906 (G)
60	Hall, E	Munster Firesides; or, The Barrys of Beigh	1889 (w)
61	Halpine, Charles G.	The Patriot Brothers, A Tale of '98	1875 (m)
62	Halpine, Charles G.	The Shamrock in Italy; or, Mountcashel's Brigade	1875 (m)
63	Hickey, Emily	Lois	1908 (w)
64	Hickey, P., Rev	Innisfail	1907 (G)
65	Holland, Denis	Donal Dun O'Byrne, a Tale of the Rising in Wexford in 1798	1875 (m)
66	Holland, Denis	Ulick O'Donnell, An Irish Peasant's Progress	1878 (m)
67	Hughes, Mary, Mrs	Julia Ormond, or the New Settlement	1877 (m)
68	Jennings, John A.	Readings from Irish Authors, [Humorous and Pathetic]	1884 (d)

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69	Joyce, P.W.	Old Celtic Romances	1903 (o)
70	Kavanagh, M.	[Sheamus Dhu] The Black Pedlar of Galway, or a Tale of the Penal Times	1886 (w)
71	Kickham, Charles J.	Knocknagow, or the Homes of Tipperary	1887 (w)
72	Kickham, Charles J.	Sally Cavanagh	1886 (w)
73	Lenihan, D.M.	The Red Spy: A Story of the Land League Days	1915 (o)
74	Lover, Samuel	Handy Andy	1877 (m)
75	Lover, Samuel	Rory O'More	1879 (m)
76	MacKenzie, R. Shelton	Bits of Blarney	1886 (w)
77	Maher, Mrs	The Irish Emigrant's Orphan	1902 (L)
78	Mapother, Mary J [?]	The Donalds [an Irish Story]	1887 (w)
79	Matthew, Arnold Harris (revised by W.A. Sutton, S.J., Limerick)	The Catholic Scholar's Introduction to English Literature. A Text Book for the use of Catholic Schools (with an Appendix on Irish Authors)	1905 (G)
80	McCarthy, Justin	Maurice Tyrone (the American ed. of A Fair Saxon)	1886 (w)
81	McGee, James Edward	Half Hours with Irish Authors	1887 (w)
82	McGee, James Edward	Irish Wit and Humour: Anecdote Biography of Swift, Curran, O'Leary and O'Connell	1886 (w)
83	McHenry, [James?]	Irish Tales	1887 (w)
84	McHenry, James	Hearts of Steel, [or the Celt and the Saxon]	1875 (m)
85	McSparran, Archibald	Legend of McDonnell, and the Norman De Borgos	1875 (m)
86	Mulholland, Clara	Kathleen Mavourneen	1903 (o)
87	Mulholland, Clara	The Miser of King's Court	1887 (w)
88	Mulholland, Rosa (Lady Gilbert)	A Mother of Immigrants	1902 (L)
89	Mulholland, Rosa (Lady Gilbert)	Among the Violets	1902 (L)
90	Mulholland, Rosa (Lady Gilbert)	Gems for the Young	1886 (w)
91	Mulholland, Rosa (Lady Gilbert)	Marcella Grace	1900 (G)
92	Mulholland, Rosa (Lady Gilbert)	Mrs Blake's Next-of-Kin	1902 (L)
93	Mulholland, Rosa (Lady Gilbert)	The Ghost of the Rath	1902 (L)
94	Mulholland, Rosa (Lady Gilbert)	The Marigold Series of Tales	1902 (L)
95	Mulholland, Rosa (Lady Gilbert)	The Wild Birds of Killeevy	1886 (w)
96	Mulholland, Rosa (Lady Gilbert)	Banshee Castle	1896 (w)
97	Murphy, James	Convict No.25: or the Clearances of Westmeath	1915 (o)
98	Newman, M.W.	Alice Harmon, and the Mother and her Dying Boy, by an exile of Erin	1879 (w)
99	O'Brien, Richard Baptist (Mgr, Dean of Limerick)	Ailey Moore, A Tale of the Times	1882 (o)
100	O'Brien, Richard Baptist (Mgr, Dean of Limerick)	Jack Hazlitt, A.M.	1886 (w)
101	O'Brien, W., Mrs	Rosette, a Tale of Paris and Dublin	1908 (G)
102	O'Grady, Standish	The Flight of the Eagle	1908 (w)
103	O'Mara, Kathleen	Aline	1902 (L)

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104	O'Sullivan, Seamus (James Starkey)	Mud and Purple	1918 (G)
105	O'Toole, John Esq	The O'Toole's of Ferasmalan	1878 (m)
106	Reynolds, James	Moses Finegan [The Adventures of Mr Moses Finegan, an Irish Pervert]	1875 (m)
107	Roche, Kathleen	Willie's Revenge	1902 (L)
108	Rooney, Teresa J. "Elbana"	The Last Monarch of Tara, a Tale of Ireland in the Sixth Century	1887 (w)
109	Russell, T. O'Neill [Reginald Tierney]	Dick Massey, a Tale of the Irish Evictions	1875 (m)
110	Sadlier, Mary Anne	The Confederate Chieftains	1886 (w)
111	Sadlier, Mary Anne	Alice Riordan, the Blind Man's Daughter	1896 (w)
112	Sadlier, Mary Anne	Aunt Honor's Keepsake, A Chapter from Life	1886 (w)
113	Sadlier, Mary Anne	Bessy Conway; or, The Irish Girl in America	1886 (w)
114	Sadlier, Mary Anne	Con O'Regan; or, Emigrant life in the New World	1886 (w)
115	Sadlier, Mary Anne	Elinor Preston; or, Scenes at Home and Abroad	1886 (w)
116	Sadlier, Mary Anne	Fate of Father Sheehy: A Tale of Tipperary Eighty Years Ago	1876 (m)
117	Sadlier, Mary Anne	Maureen Dhu, The Admiral's Daughter: A Tale of the Claddagh	1886 (w)
118	Sadlier, Mary Anne	Simon Kerrigan; or Confessions of an Apostate; or, Leaves from a Troubled Life	1886 (w)
119	Sadlier, Mary Anne	The Blakes and Flanagans, A Tale Illustrative of Irish Life in the United States	1878 (w)
120	Sadlier, Mary Anne	The Hermit of the Rock: A Tale of Tipperary [Cashel]	1885 (w)
121	Sheehan, Patrick A.	Glenanaar	1907 (o)
122	Sheehan, Patrick A.	How the Angel Became Happy	1902 (L)
123	Sheehan, Patrick A.	Luke Delmege	1907 (o)
124	Sheehan, Patrick A.	My New Curate	1901 (w)
125	Sheehan, Patrick A.	Rita, the Street-Singer	1902 (L)
126	Sheehan, Patrick A.	Short Stories	1908 (G)
127	Sheehan, Patrick A.	The Graves of Kilmorna. A Story of '67	1915 (o)
128	Sheehan, Patrick A.	The Intellectuals	1911 (G)
129	Smyth, P.G.	The Wild Rose of Lough Gill	1887 (w)
130	Starr, S.	Katty the Flash, a Mould of Dublin Mud	1887 (w)
131	Tynan, Katherine	Story of Cecelia	1914 (o)
132		A Round Table of English and Irish Catholic Novelists	1900 (G)
133		Ernest Ross, or a Leaf out of the Life of an Irishman	1887 (w)
134		Fitzalwyn, the First Lord Mayor and the Queen's Knights	1879 (m)
135		Five O'Clock Stories	1896 (w)
136		Irish Tales	1875 (m)
137		The Green and the Red, or Historical Tales and Legends of Ireland	1875 (m)
138		The Smuggler's Revenge; or the Lost Child of Lanemarken [Dublin, Tr. From the German]	1886 (w)
139		Three Irish Stories for Fireside	1875 (m)

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History

140	Burke, Thomas Nicholas	Father Burke's Lectures	1882 (o)
141	Burke, Thomas Nicholas	Men and Women of Far-off Times	1886 (w)
142	Burke, W.P.	Irish Priests in the Penal Times, 1660-1760	1915 (G)
143	Cleary, Henry, W., Rev	An Impeached Nation, being A Study of Irish Outrages	1909 (Tb)
144	Cleary, Henry, W., Rev	The Orange Society	1897 (G)
145	Collins, James	Life in Old Dublin [Historical Associations of Cook Street. Three Centuries of Dublin Printing. Reminiscences of a Great Tribune]	1914 (o)
146	Conyngham, David Power	The Irish Brigade and Its Campaigns in the Great American War	1875 (m)
147	Conyngham, David Power	The Irish-American Brigade and Its Campaigns	1887 (w)
148	Corcoran, T., Rev	The Story of Clongowes Wood	1902 (L)
149	Crilly, Daniel	The Story of '98	1911 (L)
150	Crilly, F.L.	The Fenian Movement: Story of the Manchester Martyrs	1911 (L)
151	Cullen, John B.	Muckross Abbey and Innisfallen Island (with illustrations)	1902 (L)
152	Cullen, John B.	The "Santa Croce of Ireland", or Holy Cross Abbey (with illustrations)	1902 (L)
153	Cullen, John B.	The Boyne Valley: Its Antiquities and Ecclesiastical Remains (with Illustrations)	1902 (L)
154	Cullen, John B.	The Rock and Ruins of Cashel (with Illustratons)	1902 (L)
155	Cullen, John B.	The Shannon and Its Shrines (with illustrations)	1902 (L)
156	Cullen, L.M.	The High Crosses of Ireland and the Book of Kells (with illustrations)	1902 (L)
157	Cusack, M.F.	A Patriot's History of Ireland	1878 (m)
158	Cusack, M.F.	Life of St Patrick	1879 (w)
159	Cusack, M.F.	The Liberator [The Speeches and Public Letters of the Liberator . . . with Historical Notes]	1886 (w)
160	Cusack, M.F.	The Present Case of Ireland Plainly Stated	1881 (w)
161	D'Alton, E.A., Rev	The Irish Church in the Seventh and Eighth Century	1902 (L)
162	D'Alton, E.A., Rev	The Irish Church in the Sixth Century	1902 (L)
163	Daly, John Bowles	Ireland in the Days of Dean Swift	1890 (w)
164	Davitt, Michael	Works	1887 (d)
165	Donard, Slieve	The Curse of Cromwell	1911 (L)
166	Donnelly, Dr, Rev	The Growth of the Parish System in the Church	1902 (L)
167	Donnelly, Dr, Rev	The Irish College at Rome	1902 (L)
168	Dubois, Paul	Contemporary Ireland. With an introduction by T.M. Kettle	1913 (L)
169	Duffy, Sir Charles Gavan	Birds-eye View of Irish History	1899 (d)
170	Duffy, Sir Charles Gavan	Thomas Davis: Memoirs of an Irish Patriot	1890 (w)
171	Duffy, Sir Charles Gavan	Four Years of Irish History 1846-1849 (Australian Edition)	1883 (m)
172	Duffy, Sir Charles Gavan	Young Ireland: a Fragment of Irish History, 1840-1850 (Australian edition)	1881 (w)
173	Ferguson, Mary Catherine (Lady)	The Story of the Irish Before the Conquest	1890 (w)

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174	Fitzpatrick, W.J.	Life, Times, and Correspondence of the Right Rev. Dr. Doyle, 2 vols.	1887 (w)
175	Fitzpatrick, William John	Ireland Before the Union with extracts from the unpublished diary of John Scott LLD of Clonmel, First Chief Justice of the King's Bench 1774-1798	1882 (o)
176	Flanagan, Roderick	The Aborigines of Australia	1905 (G)
177	French, Nicholas, Dr	Historical Works of Dr French, 2 vols.	1878 (m)
178	George, Henry	The Land Question	1899 (d)
179	Glynn, J.A.	The Irish Brigade	1902 (L)
180	Gregg, William Stephenson (pseud.)	Irish History for English Readers [. . . from the Earliest Times to the Close of the Year 1885]	1899 (d)
181	Haverty, Martin	History of Ireland Ancient and Modern	1873 (m)
182	Healy, Dr, Rev	Maynooth College	1902 (L)
183	Healy, Dr, Rev	The Four Masters	1902 (L)
184	Healy, Dr, Rev	The Round Towers and the Holy Wells of Ireland	1902 (L)
185	Healy, Dr, Rev	Some Irish Graves in Rome	1902 (L)
186	Healy, Dr, Rev	Tara, Pagan and Christian	1902 (L)
187	Heinrich, Hugh	The Irish in England and Scotland	1911 (L)
188	Higgins, Dr, Rev	The Catholic Church in Ireland in the Nineteenth Century	1902 (L)
189	Hogan, James Francis	The Irish in Australia	1899 (d)
190	Hopkins, Tighe	Kilmainham Memoirs (illustrated)	1899 (d)
191	Hull, Eleanor	Pagan Ireland	1909 (G)
192	Keating, Geoffrey	History of Ireland	1873 (m)
193	Kelly, M., Rev, DD	Dissertation on Irish History	1878 (m)
194	Kelly, R.J.	The Arran Isles	1902 (L)
195	Kelly, Rev	An Abbeytown of Ireland	1902 (L)
196	Lenihan, Maurice	Limerick, its History and Antiquities, Ecclesiastical, Civil and Military, from the Earliest Ages	1887 (w)
197	Lingard, John	History of England (abridged)	1881 (o)
198	Lingard, John	History of England 10 vols. [revised & enlarged, covering Ireland]	1877 (m)
199	MacDonagh, Michael	The Irish on the Somme	1918 (G)
200	MacDonald, John	The Diary of the Parnell Commission [Revised from the <i>Daily News</i>]	1890 (o)
201	MacGee, James E.	The Men of '48, W.S. O'Brien, Charles G. Duffy, Thomas Davis, John Mitchel, and their Co-patriots [The Men of '48. Being a Brief History of the Repeal Association and the Irish Confederation]	1886 (w)
202	MacNeill, J.G.S.	The Irish Parliament, What it was, and what it did	1887 (w)
203	MacNevin, Thomas	The Confiscation of Ulster	1878 (m)
204	Madden, Richard Robert Dr	Literary Remains of the United Irishmen of 1798	1887 (o)
205	Maguire, John Francis	The Irish in America	1911 (L)
206	Malone, Sylvester	Irish Church History [Church History of Ireland]	1876 (m)
207	McCarthy, John G.	Henry Grattan, A Historical Study	1886 (w)
208	McCarthy, Justin	History of Our Own Times, 2 vols.	1881 (o)
209	McCarthy, Justin	Ireland Among the Nations	1886 (w)
210	McCarthy, Justin	Irish History	1899 (d)

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211	McCarthy, Justin	The Stirring Incidents of Irish History	1887 (w)
212	McCarthy, Justin H.	Outline of Irish History, by Justin H. McCarthy (son of Justin McCarthy, MP)	1884 (d)
213	McGee, James Edward	Celebrated Sons of Irishmen [Lives of Irishmen's Sons and their Descendents]	1886 (w)
214	McGee, James Edward	Sketches of Irish Soldiers in Every Land	1886 (w)
215	McGee, Thomas D'Arcy	History of Ireland	
216	McKenna, J.E., Rev, MRIA.	Lough Derg; Ireland's National Pilgrimage (Illustrated)	1902 (L)
217	McMahon, Ella, Mrs (Trans.)	Irish Faith in America, Recollections of a Missionary Translated from the French by Mrs Ella MaMahon	1887 (w)
218	Meehan, Charles Patrick, MRIA.	Rory O'Donnell, Earl of Tryconnell (enlarged edition with notes)	1876 (m)
219	Meehan, Charles Patrick, MRIA.	The Fate and Fortunes of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone (enlarged ed. with notes)	1876 (m)
220	Meehan, Charles Patrick, MRIA.	The Rise and Fall of the Irish Franciscan Monasteries, and Memoirs of the Irish Hierarchy in the Seventeenth Century	1887 (o)
221	Meehan, Charles Patrick, MRIA.	History of the Geraldines [The Geraldines, Earls of Desmond, and the Persecution of the Irish Catholics]	1896 (w)
222	Mitchel, John	History of Ireland	1886 (w)
223	Mitchel, John	Ireland Since '98	1875 (m)
224	Mitchel, John	Jail Journal	1876 (m)
225	Mitchel, John	The Last Conquest of Ireland, Perhaps	1886 (w)
226	Moran, Patrick Rev Dr	The Civilisation of Ireland before the Anglo-Norman Invasion	1902 (L)
227	Moran, Patrick Rev Dr	Essays on the Early Irish Church	1878 (m)
228	Moran, Patrick Rev Dr	The Priests and People of Ireland – A Vindication	1905 (L)
229	Murphy, Denis, Rev S.J.	Cromwell in Ireland, with Maps, Plans and Illustrations	1887 (w)
230	O'Byrne, M.L.	Art MacMurrough O'Kavanagh, Prince of Leinster	1887 (w)
231	O'Callaghan, James Cornelius	History of the Irish Brigades in the Service of France	1875 (m)
232	O'Connell, Daniel	Memoir on Ireland, Native and Saxon	1875 (m)
233	O'Connor, T.P.	The Parnell Movement	1890 (o)
234	O'Connor, T.P., Mrs	Herself Ireland	1918 (G)
235	O'Doherty, Dr, Rev.	The Convention of Drom Ceat. Parts 1 & 2	1902 (L)
236	O'Doherty, J.K., Rev.	Aileach of the Kings	1902 (L)
237	O'Donnell, J.F.	Memoirs of the Irish Franciscans	1878 (m)
238	O'Hanagan, J.R.	The Munster Circuit, Tales, Trials, and Traditions	1887 (w)
239	O'Laverty, J., Rev. MRIA	The Irish Harp	1911 (L)
240	O'Neill Daunt, W.J., Esq	Catechism of the History of Ireland	1878 (m)
241	O'Neill Daunt, W.J., Esq	History of Ireland	1882 (o)
242	O'Rourke, John Rev	History of the Great Irish Famine of 1847, with notices of earlier Famines	1882 (o)
243	Peraud, Adolphe Louis	Ireland Under English Rule	1877 (m)
244	Redmond, John	Through the New Commonwealth	1907 (G)
245	Reynolds, John J.	Footprints of Emmet (Illustrated)	1903 (o)

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246	Rutherford, John	The Fenian Conspiracy [The Secret History of the Fenian Conspiracy: Its Origin, Objects, and Ramifications]	1886 (d)
247	Sheil, Richard Lalor	Sketches of the Irish Bar	1886 (w)
248	Spalding, Bishop	Religious Mission of the Irish People and Catholic Colonisation	1887 (w)
249	Sullivan, A.M.	The New Ireland	1883 (w)
250	Sullivan, A.M. & T.D.	Irish Readings	1903 (o)
251	Sullivan, A.M., MP.	The Story of Ireland (illustrated)	1877 (m)
252	Sullivan, T.D.	Irish Penny Readings vols. 1, 2, 3.	1886 (d)
253	Sullivan, T.D.	The Story of England	1875 (m)
254	Teeling, C.H.	History of the Irish Rebellion, 1798	1886 (w)
255	Thebaud, Augustine J.	The Irish Race in the Past and in the Present	1886 (w)
256	Walsh, E., Rev.	Ireland and the Isle of Man (revised & enlarged by Rev. Dr. Donnelly)	1902 (L)
257	Wright, Thomas	The History of Ireland: From the Earliest Period of Irish Annals to the Present Time	1873 (m)

Biography

258	Anonymous, A Priest	Life of John Murphy, Priest and Patriot	1883 (w)
259	Bannon, John	John Mitchel	1911 (L)
260	Bourke, Ulick J.	The Life and Times of the Most Rev. John MacHale	1904 (o)
261	Burke, John	Life of Robert Emmet	1903 (o)
262	Cashman, D.B.	Life of Michael Davitt	1904 (G)
263	Cashman, D.B.	Life of Michael Davitt (with speeches)	1896 (d)
264	Curry, J., Rev	O'Connell	1902 (L)
265	Cusack, M.F. (Nun of Kenmare)	The Liberator; Memoir of Daniel O'Connell (illustrated)	1880 (w)
266	Cusack, M.F. (Nun of Kenmare)	The Life of Daniel O'Connell, the Liberator. His Times – Political, Social and Religious (Art volume with 32 full page steel engravings of portraits...)	1900 (G)
267	Cusack, M.F. (Nun of Kenmare)	The Life of Father Mathew, the People's Soggarth Aroon	1879 (w)
268	Donard, Slieve	Daniel O'Connell	1911 (L)
269	Emmet, Thomas Addis	Memoir of Thomas Addis and Robert Emmet, 2 vols.	1915 (G)
270	Fitzpatrick, W.J.	Life and Times of Lord Cloncurry	1876 (m)
271	Fitzpatrick, W.J.	Life of Father Tom Burke, 2 vols.	1886 (w)
272	Hand, John	Sarsfield	1911 (L)
273	Kelly, J.F.	Illustrious Irish Exiles	1878 (m)
274	Luby, Thomas Clarke	Life and Times of Daniel O'Connell [Daniel O'Connell and His Day]	1876 (m)
275	Lyon, Captain	The Life of Thomas Francis Meagher	1875 (m)
276	MacDevitt, John	Father Hand: His Work for Ireland's Exiles	1902 (L)
277	MacDonagh, Michael	Life of Daniel O'Connell	1904 (w)
278	Madden, Richard	Life and Times of Robert Emmet	1911 (L)
279	Maguire, John Francis	Father Mathew: His Life and Work	1902 (L)
280	McGee, James Edward	The Glories of Ireland: Lives, Works and Achievements of Ireland's greatest Priests, Poets, Patriots, Statesmen, Wits and Soldiers, illustrated	1887 (w)
281	Mitchel, John	Life and Times of Hugh O'Neill	1875 (m)

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282	Moore, Thomas	Life and Times of Lord Edward Fitzgerald [Life and Death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald]	1887 (w)
283	Moran, Patrick	History of the Catholic Archbishops of Dublin since the Reformation	1876 (m)
284	Moran, Patrick	The Life of the Most Rev. Oliver Plunket [Memoirs of the Most Rev.]	1887 (w)
285	O'Brien, Richard Barry	The Life of Charles Stewart Parnell	1904 (G)
286	O'Connor, Thomas Power	The Life of Charles Stewart Parnell [The Parnell Movement with a Sketch of Irish Parties, from 1843]	1905 (G)
287	O'Rourke, John Rev	Life of O'Connell	1878 (m)
288	Ryan, W.P.	John Boyle O'Reilly	1911 (L)
289	Ryan, W.P.	Thomas Davis	1911 (L)
290	Stewart, Agnes	The Life and Letters of Sir Thomas More (illustrated)	1886 (w)
291	Taylor, Ida	Life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald	1885 (d)
292	Tone, W.T.W. (ed.)	Life and Adventures of Theobald Wolfe Tone	1899 (d)
293	[Atkinson, Mrs?]	St. Brigid, Abbess of Kildare, and other Essays	1907 (G)

Language

294	Bourke, Ulick J. Canon	Easy Lessons in Irish [Easy Lessons: or, Self Instruction in Irish]	1883 (w)
295	Dowling, [E. & B. ?]	Dowling's Irish and English Catechism	1885 (w)
296	Hayden, William	Introduction to the Study of the Irish Language [Based upon the Preface to Dunlevy's Catechism]	1905 (G)
297	Joyce, P. W.	Irish Grammer	1905 (G)
298	Joyce, P. W.	Irish Music and Song (set to music)	1905 (G)
299	Nolan, John Rev	Irish Grammar Rules, in Prose and Verse	1883 (w)
300	O'Daly, John	Self-Instruction in Irish, with Easy Lessons for Beginners	1883 (w)
301	O'Growney, Eugene	Simple Lessons in Irish. Parts 1 & 2 [Giving Pronunciation of Each Word]	1905 (G)
302	O'Growney, Eugene	Simple Lessons in Irish. Parts 3, 4, 5 [Giving Pronunciation of Each Word]	1905 (G)
303	O'Reilly, Edward	Irish-English Dictionary (sic.) [Containing Upwards of Twenty-thousand Words . . . Irish Grammar]	1905 (G)
304	Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language	First Irish Book	1885 (w)
305	Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language	Second Irish Book	1885 (w)
306	Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language	Third Irish Book	1886 (w)
307		Irish Copy Book	1885 (w)
308		Irish Grammar Rules	1885 (w)
308		Moore's Melodies (In Irish)	1905 (G)

Music

310	Barry, M.J. Esq	The Songs of Ireland	1875 (m)
311	Dollard, J.B., Rev	Irish Lyrics and Ballads	1918 (G)
312	Ellis, Hercules	The Songs of Ireland	1876 (m)

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313	Fahy, T.A.	Irish Songs and Poems	1889 (w)
314	Glover, Prof (ed.)	Moore's Irish Melodies with symphonies and accompaniments by Sir John Stevenson, edited by Professor Glover and set to music by him (gilt bound)	1876 (m)
315	Hays, Edward	The Ballads of Ireland (2 vols., illustrated)	1882 (o)
316	McCarthy, Denis F.	The Book of Irish Ballads	1875 (m)
317	Molloy, James Lynam [?]	Songs of Ireland	1889 (w)
318	Moore, Thomas	Irish Melodies (with music) /gilt cloth	1873 (m)
319	Moore, Thomas	Irish Melodies, with the accompaniment of Sir John Stevenson and Sir Henry Bishop (handsomely bound)	1890 (w)
320	Moore, Thomas	Moore's Irish Melodies	1886 (w)
321	Moore, Thomas	Moore's Irish Melodies, with Piano Accompaniment	1883 (w)
322	Rooney, Hubert E.	The Well-known Songs of Ireland (comprising forty popular Irish songs with full music score and words)	1905 (G)
323	Sullivan, T.D.	National Songs (4 nos.)	1889 (w)
324		Ballads, Popular Poetry, and Household Songs of Ireland	1887 (w)
325		Cruiskeen Song Book	1889 (w)
326		Cushla Machree Song Book	1889 (w)
327		Davitt Song Book	1889 (w)
328		Dermot Asthore Song Book	1889 (w)
329		Emerald Isle Song Book	1889 (w)
330		Exile of Erin, Song Book	1875 (m)
331		Garryowen Song Book	1889 (w)
332		Glengariff Song Book	1889 (w)
333		Green Flag of Erin, Song Book	1875 (m)
334		Irish National Song Book	1887 (w)
335		National and Historical Ballads of Ireland	1887 (w)
336		Parnell Song Book	1889 (w)
337		Savoureen Deelish Song Book	1889 (w)
338		Soggarth Aroon Song Book	1889 (w)
339		Songs of Sweet Ireland	1875 (m)
340		The Spirit of the Nation, Ballads and Songs, arranged for the Voice and Pianoforte	1887 (w)

Oratory

341	[Anonymous]	Sunburst of Ireland Reciter [. . . A Selection of the Most Celebrated Addresses Delivered by Irish Orators and Patriots at the Bar]	1875 (m)
342	Burke, J. (ed.)	Burke's Speeches	1873 (m)
343	Davis, Thomas (ed.)	Curran's Speeches	1873 (m)
344	Hoey, J.C. (ed.)	Plunkett's Speeches	1873 (m)
345	MacNevin, T. (ed.)	Sheil's Speeches	1873 (m)
346	Madden, Daniel Owen (ed.)	Grattan's Speeches	1873 (m)
347	O'Connell, John (ed.)	O'Connell's Speeches (2 vols.)	1873 (m)
348	Sullivan, A.M., MP.	Speech of A.M. Sullivan, MP, in Defence of Patrick Egan, Treasurer to the Land League	1881 (w)
349	Sullivan, T.D.	[Guilty or Not Guilty] Speeches from the Dock, or Protests of Irish Patriotism.	1899 (d)

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Poetry

350	Bracken, Thomas	Behind the Tomb and Other Poems	1873 (b)
351	Davis, Thomas	National Ballads, Songs and Poems	1875 (m)
352	Davis, Thomas (ed.)	The Spirit of the Nation	1875 (m)
353	Duffy, Sir Charles Gavan (ed.)	The Ballad Poetry of Ireland	1875 (m)
354	Ferguson, Samuel	The Poetry of Sir Samuel Ferguson	1887 (o)
355	Fitzscharly, J.C.	The Bridal of Drimna and other Poems	1887 (w)
356	Flanagan, Roderick	Australian and Other Poems	1905 (G)
357	Godler, F., Rev	St. Columba and other Poems	1887 (w)
358	Griffin, Gerald	Poems	1886 (w)
359	Hogan, Michael	Lays and Legends of Thomond	1889 (w)
360	Keegan, John	Legends and Poems	1908 (w)
361	Lover, Samuel	Poems of Ireland	1890 (o)
362	Mangan, James Clarence	Poems	1886 (w)
363	McCarthy, Denis Florence	Poems	1887 (w)
364	Meehan, C.P. Rev, MRIA	The Poets and Poetry of Munster. A Selection of Irish Songs in the Original Irish Language, with Poetical Translations, into English by James Clarence Mangan, and Biographical Sketches	1883 (d)
365	Mitchel, John (ed.)	Poems, by James Clarence Mangan, with Biographical Introduction by John Mitchel	1887 (w)
366	Moore, Thomas	Lalla Rookh	1886 (w)
367	Moore, Thomas	Poetical Works (assorted bindings)	1896 (d)
368	O'Connor, Ruth	Wild Flowers	1886 (w)
369	O'Rielly, John Boyle	In Bohemia, Poems by John Boyle O'Rielly	1886 (w)
370	O'Rielly, John Boyle	The Statues in the Block and Other Poems	1887 (w)
371	Russell, Matthew, Rev	Rose Kavanagh and Her Verses	1910 (Tb)
372	Speranza [Mrs Jane Francesca Wilde]	Poems	1877 (m)
373	Sullivan, A.M.	Poems	1875 (m)
374	Sullivan, T.D.	Green Leaves, A Volume of Irish Verses	1889 (w)
375	Sullivan, T.D.	Poems	1877 (m)
376	Sullivan, T.D.	Prison Poems, or Lays of Tullamore	1889 (w)
377	Tynan, Katherine	Rhymed Life of St. Patrick	1907 (G)
378	Upton, W.C.	Cuchulain, the Story of His Combats at the Ford, a Dramatic Poem	1890 (w)

Memoir

379	[A Country Curate]	Sketches in an Irish Parish	1902 (L)
380	Barrington, Jonah	The Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation	1887 (o)
381	Brophy, Michael	Sketches of the Royal Irish Constabulary	1887 (w)
382	O'Brien, Barry	Irish Memories	1905 (L)
383	O'Brien, Sophie, Mrs	Under Croagh Patrick	1905 (L)
384	O'Reilly, John Boyle	Watchwords from John Boyle O'Reilly (with a Critical and Biographical Preface by Katherine E. Conway)	1896 (w)
385	Sullivan, A.M.	Memoirs	1899 (d)
386	Walsh, John Edward	Ireland Ninety Years Ago	1904 (G)

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Criticism

387	Black, Chauncey F.	Essays and Speeches of Jeremiah (John) Sullivan Black (Judge), with a Biographical Sketch by Chauncey F. Black	1887 (w)
388	Burke, Edmund	On Irish Affairs	1886 (w)
389	Burke, Thomas Nicholas	[Lectures on] Faith and Fatherland	1903 (o)
390	Burke, Thomas Nicholas	Refutation of Froude	1875 (m)
391	Callaghan, J.C.	The Irish at Home and Abroad	1875 (m)
392	Cusack, M.F.	Advice to Irish Girls in America	1886 (w)
393	Davis, Thomas	Essays and Ballads	1889 (w)
394	Davitt, Michael	Ireland's Appeal to America	1911 (L)
395	Eglinton, John	Anglo-Irish Essays	1918 (G)
396	Esmonde, Thomas	Around the World with Irish Delegates	1899 (d)
397	Healy, Dr	Irish Essays	1909 (G)
398	Mangan, James Clarence	Essays [in Prose and Verse]	1886 (w)
399	O'Neill Daunt, W.J., Esq	Essays on Ireland	1887 (w)
400	<i>Weekly Freeman's Journal</i>	Triumph of Law and Order in Ireland (illustrated) [Scenes from the Triumph of 'Law and Order' in Ireland under the Last and Worst Coercion Act as Administered by 'the brave Mr. Balfour.'	1890 (o)
401		Irish Priests and Poets	1886 (w)
402		Trinity College No Place for Catholics	1902 (L)

Other

403	Bracken, Thomas	Paddy Murphy's Budget. A Humourous Epitome of Political Events for the Past Five Years	1880 (all stores)
404	Butler, Alban	Butler's Lives of the Saints	1904 (o)
405	Coffey, P., Rev	St. Columb-Kille: His Life and Labours	1902 (L)
406	Donavan, Daniel	Sketches in Carbery, Co. Cork, Its Antiquities, History, Legends and Topography	1887 (w)
407	Finnerty, John F.	Ireland in Pictures [Ireland in Pictures: A Grand Collection of over 400 Magnificent Photographs of the Green Isle . . . with Historical and Descriptive Sketches by the Hon. John F. Finnerty of Chicago]	1911 (L)
408	Gladstone, W.E.	Handbook of Home Rule	1899 (d)
408	Kettle, T. M.	The Open Secret of Ireland, with an introduction by John Redmond, MP.	1912 (L)
410	Leahy, E.	St Grellan (an Irish Saint), Patron of Hy-Maine	1902 (L)
411	Mair, James Allan	The Book of Irish Readings in Prose and Verse: From the Works of Popular Irish Authors	1883 (w)
412	McNeill, J.G.S.	English Interference with Irish Industries	1887 (w)
413	Melusine pseud. Emily Skeffington Thompson	The Irish Birthday Book (bound in Irish linen) [. . . Selections from the Speeches and Writings of Irish Men and Women . . . Arranged by Melusine]	1887 (w)
414	Miller, James	Reference Book of Ireland, containing Complete List of Places and Populations, Provinces, Counties, Baronies . . . Compiled from the Latest Statistics by James Miller	1886 (w)

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415	Moore, Thomas	Travels in Search of a Religion (with notes and illustrations, by Thomas Moore)	1878 (m)
416	<i>Nation</i> Newspaper, The	A Record of Traitorism (reprinted from the <i>Nation</i>)	1899 (d)
417	O'Doherty, Dr, Rev	St. Eugene of Ardstraw	1902 (L)
418	O'Doherty, Dr, Rev	The Martyred Bishop of Derry	1902 (L)
419	O'Mahoney, Michael	St. Columbcille	1911 (L)
420	O'Riordan, M., Rev	St. Finian of Moville	1902 (L)
421	Savage, John, LLD	Picturesque Ireland, A Literary and Artistic Delineation of the Natural Scenery, Remarkable Places, Historical Antiquities, Public Buildings, Ancient Abbeys, Ruins, Towers, Castles, and other Romantic and Attractive Features of Ireland...	1878 (m)
422	Shorsa, May	Love Letters of a Fenian	1903 (o)
423	Wilkinson, H. Spencer	The Eve of Home Rule	1886 (w)
424	Winter, S.V. [publisher, Melbourne]	Irish Australian Almanac and Directory	1875 (m)
425		Irish Architecture and Antiquities	1911 (L)
426		Scenery of Ireland	1878 (h)
427	[Anonymous]	St. Patrick and the Saints of Ireland, [from authorative sources]	1911 (L)