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Irishtown Hamilton East 1864-1940

A thesis

**Submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the Degree**

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—

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This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my Father

Roderic T. P. O'Shea.



ABSTRACT

This study offers an alternative historiographical perspective on the Irish in New Zealand. This study found that an Irish enclave existed in Hamilton from 1864-1940. It was fragile and soft-edged, but despite continual pressure for assimilation, it thrived. Unlike previous investigations of other Irish communities in New Zealand, it was found to have had a strong provenance, to have been predominantly Irish and Catholic, and to have expanded without interruption. It displayed exclusive patterns of religious/cultural behaviour and traits documented in overseas studies. It is investigated in three parts, and over three generations. First, the Irish in the founding military settlement are considered. The statistical and demographic evidence for the development of the community over the next two generations is then presented, and finally the experience of life in the community and legacy for the third generation is documented through oral histories. The Irish militiamen were identified from the New Zealand Army records, and Catholic Irish civilian settlers were traced through traditional sources. Some of their direct descendants and others were interviewed. In this way, a composite picture was constructed from the beginning of the enclave forwards, and from the end back. It was found that a core group of Irish militiamen, supplemented by Irish Catholic civilians, facilitated the development of the Catholic Church, around which the community gathered. This thesis is a small contribution to the history of the Irish in New Zealand, about whom little research has been done. It has provided conclusive evidence of at least one Catholic Irish enclave. It is hoped that it will serve as a useful basis for comparison with studies of other similar communities.

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Introduction

Few studies have dealt with the history of the Irish in New Zealand. Neither has a profile of the so-called “multigenerational Diaspora” of Irish in New Zealand been considered. The renowned Irish historian Donald Harman Akenson acknowledges this discrepancy in his definitive statistical overview of the Irish in New Zealand, Half the World from Home. He refers to Richard P. Davis' Irish Issues in New Zealand Politics 1868 – 1922 (1974) as the only significant monograph on the Irish.¹ He goes on to say, “Despite a few fugitive articles, the history of the Irish in New Zealand is where Davis left it”.² There is Patrick O’Farrell’s interesting personal excursion on the Irish in Australia but it only briefly touches on New Zealand.³ Lyndon Fraser’s recent complex postdoctoral study of the Irish in Christchurch, is the first work to assemble an in-depth study of an Irish settlement in a major centre, the Irish in Christchurch. This study investigates the Irish in Hamilton in the period 1864 - 1940, and the implications of the term ‘Irishtown’.⁴

Although these publications do address some aspects of the Irish in New Zealand, at the time of writing Fraser’s has been the only detailed study of the Irish experience at a local or national level. However, an initial comparison with this study perhaps leaves more questions about the Irish in New Zealand than it answers. Hamilton and Christchurch were two different types of settlement, there were two quite different types of selection processes for immigrants. The socio-economic status and denominational characteristics for Irish immigrants also differed, and most significantly, Fraser concludes that the Catholic Irish in Christchurch had a propensity to cluster.⁵ This study concludes that the Hamilton Irish, although a small community, were more than a cluster. Their religious/cultural behaviour and historical continuity

1 Donald Harman Akenson, Half the World from Home (Canada, 1990), p. 38.

2. Akenson, p. 38.

3. O’Farrell, Patrick. Vanished Kingdoms – Irish in Australia and New Zealand (New South Wales University Press, 1990).

4 Gibbons, P.J., Astride the River: A History of Hamilton (Hamilton, 1977), p. 300.

5 Lyndon Fraser, To Tara via Holyhead. Irish Catholic Immigrants in Ninetenth Century Christchurch (Auckland, 1997), p. 117.

over three generations in defiance of pressures to assimilate provided indisputable proof of an Irish community.⁶ This study will offer another perspective on the Irish in New Zealand. There are difficulties finding terminology that adequately describe it. Fraser experiences similar difficulties. He talks about the ‘development of ethnic identification among Irish Catholics as emergent ethnicity’, or the process of ethnicisation.⁷ In this study, the Irish community in Hamilton, which was known as ‘Irishtown’, is described as an enclave. The literal meaning of the word is ‘enclosed territory within foreign territory’. Irishtown was effectively a community within another, with its own religious, cultural and social systems. However, it was not ‘enclosed’ in the sense that its members could not leave, but rather they chose to live in an alternative social reality. The experience which will be described in this study was more than a tendency to cluster, and much less than a ghetto.

Attributes found in overseas studies of Irish communities include evidence of the degree of religious affiliation, the Irish patterns of socialisation, and an internal community structure, including working class insularity. While the traditional New Zealand historical sources have provided some statistical and documentary evidence of the demographics, activities and resources of Irishtown, they provide little information on the traits or characteristics of the enclave. These were elicited from the oral histories of some of its inhabitants. Their recollections contribute information on those aspects of the community not usually accessible through other sources. The narratives include childhood memories, shared family memories, and the cohort’s adult reconstruction of their life experience, or their religious/cultural experience in the case of Irish Catholics.

Donald Harman Akenson explains why the American studies have found that one of these characteristics, the generic term “religious affiliation”, pertains to a pattern of behaviour associated with Irish Catholics exclusively. “The American scholars have suggested a syndrome of characteristics said to have been exhibited by the Catholics

⁶ Donald Harman Akenson, *Half The World From Home: Perspectives on the Irish in New Zealand 1860-1950* (Wellington, 1990), p. 197.

⁷ Fraser, p. 3.

ibid., p. 158.

of Ireland, and that these attributes influenced the migrant's behaviour."⁸ He goes on to say that the literature rarely links such traits to Protestants. This may explain why "Irish American" and "Irish Catholic American" are synonymous in the other studies consulted.⁹ He suggests that; "Although one cannot in New Zealand say that Irish equals Catholic, one can make with confidence the related (but not equivalent) identification – namely, that almost all Catholic were Irish". Akenson goes even further using Catholics as a surrogate "for the Irish and their descendants".¹⁰ Akenson suggests that the word "religion" be used to describe tribal identification for native Irish abroad.¹¹ This study will show that 'tribal' memory in Irishtown helped maintain the church-centric enclave. Author Marjorie Fallows discusses this extension to the successive generations within an 'ethnicity' when she describes religious affiliation as a "persistent ethnic trait".¹² Shared family memories of the Hamilton experience indicate that this is so.

Thus, the Church in Hamilton was the principal focus for the Catholic community both spiritually and demographically. The site of the first Catholic Church provided the basis for the subsequent development of Church buildings and facilities over the following seven decades. The impecunious community of Hamilton also supported Church projects by fundraising, and although Irish clergy were not specifically requested for the parish, their presence from 1901 to 1940 served as a critical affirmation of parishioners' Irish roots. In other words, without them the Irish community in Hamilton may have dissipated with the deaths of the Irish settlers between 1910 and 1920, there not being enough new Irish immigrants to sustain a sense of 'Irishness'. The success of the Irish community in Hamilton up to that time was due neither to numerical dominance nor outside pressure, but to a sense of

8 Donald Harman Akenson, *Small Differences. Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants 1815-1922: International perspectives* (Montreal, 1988), p. 47.

9 Marjorie R Fallows, *Irish Americans: Identity and Assimilation* (New Jersey 1979).

Dale B. Light, 'The role of Irish-American organisations in assimilation and community formation' in *Irish Studies 4, The Irish In America: Emigration, Assimilation and Impact*, edited by P.J. Drudy (Cambridge, 1985).

Ellen Horgan Biddle, 'The American Catholic Irish Family', in *Ethnic Families in America*, edited by Charles H. Mindel and Robert W. Habenstein (New York, 1981).

Hasia R. Diner, *Erin's Daughters In America* (Maryland, 1983).

10 Akenson, *Small Differences*, p. 54.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 129.

solidarity, community stability and the pervasive influence of the Church. The term has conjured different associations for different generations. Ken Arvidson, contemporary poet and a Professor of English at the University of Waikato, recalls a childhood in Hamilton East in a memoir published in 1995. He states that “from the 1870’s to the First World War, Hamilton East was familiarly known as Irishtown”. Yet, for him, the chronological parameters extended beyond that. He was born in 1938, and goes on to list Irish-descended neighbours and friends he grew up with in a community that, he says, “must have been among the nearest approaches to a Little Ireland community anywhere in New Zealand”.¹³ One of the cohort, Rosie Sterritt, who has lived most of her life in Cook Street close to the church, began her interview for this study by saying; “Irishtown, that’s new, never heard of it!”¹⁴ Another, Jack Flynn describes a geographical boundary “From Galloway Street, out to Sillary Street, to Nixon Street back to Dey Street, that was Irishtown, just those houses in that area.”. Although he lived in Flynn Street, outside this area, he considered himself part of the Irish community.¹⁵ The use of the name also had connotations of class, another respondent was disconcerted by the use of the name; “I never heard my mother use the expression, that’s why to me I find it rather offensive when you talk about it, she never referred to herself as being part of Irishtown”.¹⁶ For the purposes of this study, the term will be used to describe the community during the period 1864 - 1940.

Chapter I outlines the military settlement of 1864 and how the presence of a cluster of Irish Catholics facilitated the building of the first church. In Chapter II the statistical and documentary evidence for the development, expansion, and demise of an enclave over the next two generations is presented. The experience of life in such an enclave is explored in the oral histories of Chapter III. In Chapter IV conclusions are drawn, and comparisons are made with Fraser’s work and with the study of the Irish ghetto of Butte Montana.

¹² Fallows, pp. 106-111.

¹³ K.O., Arvidson, “Out of Irishtown”, in *The Source of the Song: New Zealand writers on Catholicism*, edited by Mark Williams (Wellington, 1995).

¹⁴ Rosie Sterritt, 11 December 1983, Tape 10, A 0:30

¹⁵ Jack Flynn, 23 November, 1992, Tape 4, A 28:44.

¹⁶ Zoe Horton, 25 August 1993, Tape 5, A 10:17.

Information on this community was gathered in different ways, hampered by the fact that there have been few studies of Hamilton in the period. Problems included the lack of primary research done either on the Hamilton East military settlement, or on Church history. No history of the Catholic Church in Hamilton has been undertaken, nor of the Catholic schools.¹⁷ It was discovered that there are no extant Catholic school admission registers for Hamilton in the period. Although some surviving documents have been centralised at the Archives of the Catholic Dioceses, others may still be in private possession. For example, the original uncatalogued Parish Accounts Ledger and Minutes Book were found in a box in St. Mary's Presbytery in the process of research for this study, their existence having been previously unknown.

The presence of the Irish in the military settlement was to prove critical to the development of Irishtown, and its records a valuable source for the study of the first Irish in Hamilton. A complete alphabetical and numerical list of the N.Z. Army Department, Nominal and Descriptive Long Roll Book Waikato Militia, [4th Waikato Regiment], was compiled, and cross referenced with the N.Z. Army Department, '4th Waikato Regiment Land Register 1864, and the original 1st survey map of Hamilton East.¹⁸ While this proved to be a time consuming exercise, it provided invaluable information on the continuity of the settlement. Although variations in the spelling of surnames in the nominal and the land rolls were problematic, the different spellings were retained to preserve the accuracy of the records. It is hoped that this will prove to be a resource for other researchers.

The oral histories of descendants of the original Irish settlers have also proved to be valuable for several reasons. Where documentary information was sparse or non-existent, as was often the case, the oral histories have confirmed or supplemented material. Family relationships and community kinships were quickly identified through

¹⁷ There is some jubilee publications of the Notre Dame des Mission Sisters, and Marist Brothers which although comprehensive are confined to the history of their Orders in the Parish.

¹⁸ N.Z. Army Department, *Nominal and Descriptive Long Roll Book Waikato Militia*, (Original register held by the National Archives, Wellington, New Zealand.). [*Held on Microfiche at University of Waikato misfiled under: 'Nominal and Descriptive Roll, 3rd Regiment, Waikato Militia; 4th Regiment' (Auckland, 1863).* See Appendix (D).

the narratives, a process that may have proved too costly to research through birth death or marriage records. In the same way, identifying the locations of families was made possible. The resulting portrait of a community; family life, the role of women and children, and patterns of socialisation, would have been almost impossible to present using traditional sources.

The initial criteria for selection of potential interviewees was that they would be direct descendants of an original Irish settler, civilian or military, and to have lived in the Hamilton parish between 1910 and 1940.¹⁹ The nature of the settlement was an Irish Catholic one. Although the recollections of the Protestant Irish in the community might have provided an interesting perceptual contrast, neither time nor resources made it possible to attempt to trace them, as they did not appear to have organised themselves in any special way after their initial distribution in the military settlement. Alasdair Galbraith alludes to the lack of sources on the Protestant Irish in his recent thesis on the 'hidden' population of Irish Protestants in the North Island of New Zealand.²⁰ Galbraith used ships lists and hospital registers to determine the denomination of the Irish he found. This study has the advantage of the Militia rolls recording such information in the militiamen. Several methods were used for finding candidates. The parish visitor for St. Mary's, Sister Magdalen Ryan has lived in Hamilton most of her life and was able to provide a comprehensive list of 'old identities' whom she knew to be descendants of Irish families. Sr. Magdalen has lived in Hamilton for most of her life. Preliminary telephone interviews yielded other contacts. Over a period of several months over fifty potential candidates were visited or telephoned. Twenty-two of these were interviewed and recorded, and nineteen were used in the study. Most were in their 70s and 80s.²¹ A preliminary interview was undertaken with suitable candidates both on the telephone and in their own homes. Those chosen for interview were then recorded, some over two sessions. The interviews lasted between one and two hours each. The empirical data in each of the transcriptions was cross-linked with both traditional sources and the other oral

¹⁹ See Appendix (A)

²⁰ Alasdair Galbraith, 'New Zealand's 'Invisible' Irish' Irish Protestants in the North Island of New Zealand 1840-1900' (unpublished MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1998).

²¹ *ibid.*,

testimonies. Thus the consistency and reliability of the information was tested, and a social, demographic and cultural profile of the Irish community was compiled.

During the interviews, visual and auditory cueing was employed. A large photograph (1200mm x 1200mm) of Hamilton East was used. Once the dwellings of the cohorts' childhoods were identified, they were then asked to recall relatives' homes, where childhood friends had lived, school routes, and the homes of neighbours with Irish accents. The interviewers' own Irish accent incidentally provided the auditory cue. Photographs, some borrowed from one respondent to show another (family, sports, school, church and work photographs), and others from archival sources, were used to aid the recollection of friends and relatives in the community. Another method of visual cueing included field trips to the area. Elderly residents were driven slowly along every street in Hamilton East by the interviewer, stopping frequently outside homes. An assistant took notes of locations that provoked a memory. This information was later cross-referenced to identify locations where houses had been demolished, and the names of the families that had inhabited them. This method produced very satisfactory results as many original homes of the cohort's childhoods survive. Other field trips to the cemetery with members of the cohort provided valuable undocumented anecdotal information and evoked childhood memories of rites and rituals later used to evoke a response at interview.

Their oral testimony has been a valuable source of data, not only to supplement the gaps in the primary sources, but also to provide the type of information that is not usually documented. In this case, it explores the role of women in the community and the experience of childhood. Information on the parents of those interviewed has also been gathered from the testimony, and some family memories have been evoked that provide information on the first generation of settlers. The nature of the community has inspired the retention of shared memories and the passing of these memories to the present generation. Some anomalies in these stories have been discovered, and myths are shown to have evolved, which have been used to perpetuate the traditions and continuity of the group over the period.

Only a small selection of title searches and Births, Marriages, and Deaths Certificate searches were undertaken, partly for reasons of expense, and partly because these sources do not offer complete information. The original births, deaths, and marriage registers for Hamilton and Auckland were made available and proved to be a reasonable source for identifying the social and geographical nature of the community. Requests elicited manuscripts, rare publications, and photos in private possession. Archives consulted included the Hamilton Public Library, Auckland Public Library, Auckland Regional Office of the National Archives, Library of the Auckland Institute and Museum, The Queen Elizabeth Army Museum Waiouru, the Alexander Turnbull Library, Archives of the Catholic Diocese of Auckland, Archives of Notre Dame de Missions in Lower Hutt, Archives of the Sisters of Mercy, New St., Auckland, the University of Waikato library, the Photographic Archives of the Waikato Museum of Art and History, the Historical Places Trust Hamilton, Lands and Information New Zealand Archives in Hamilton, Land Registry Office, Hamilton, Registrar Births Deaths and Marriages Hamilton, Hamilton City Council Records, Hamilton Public Library, Valuation New Zealand in Hamilton, The Latter Day Saints Genealogy Centre, the Waikato Genealogical Society, New Zealand Aerial Mapping Ltd., Hastings, and Bishop's Office, Chanel Park in Hamilton, and Offices of St. Mary's Parish in Hamilton and the convent of Notre Dame des Missions in Hamilton. In the next chapter, the documentary evidence for the military settlement will be considered.

Chapter One: Military Settlement 1864

The history of the Irish in Hamilton begins in 1864. They were among the military settlers who were to establish the township, now a city that is centrally located in a larger area known as the Waikato. In this chapter, a short history of the foundation of the settlement is outlined so that the beginnings of the Irish community may be understood. The context in which they settled, including the methodology and terms of recruitment for the militia and the type of men recruited, is an important consideration in the development of the Irish community. The initial distribution and denomination of the first and subsequent companies was also to influence the development of the enclave in Hamilton East rather than West. The conditions for settlement were not ideal, and the settlers encountered many difficulties. This was to prove to be a decisive factor in the persistence of the settlers. The role of religion in the community, and the issues of nationalism, the evidence for the placement of the original Catholic Church, and its historical precedence in Hamilton, were all issues critical to the development of the subsequent Irish community.

The history of its foundation begins with the passing of the New Zealand Settlements Act of 1863 when the richest agricultural lands of the Waikato were confiscated from the Maori tribes. Officers of the Imperial Forces chose sites on the Waikato River for three main proposed Military townships, one of which was the deserted Maori village of Kirikiriroa, renamed “Hamilton”, (See Map 1).¹

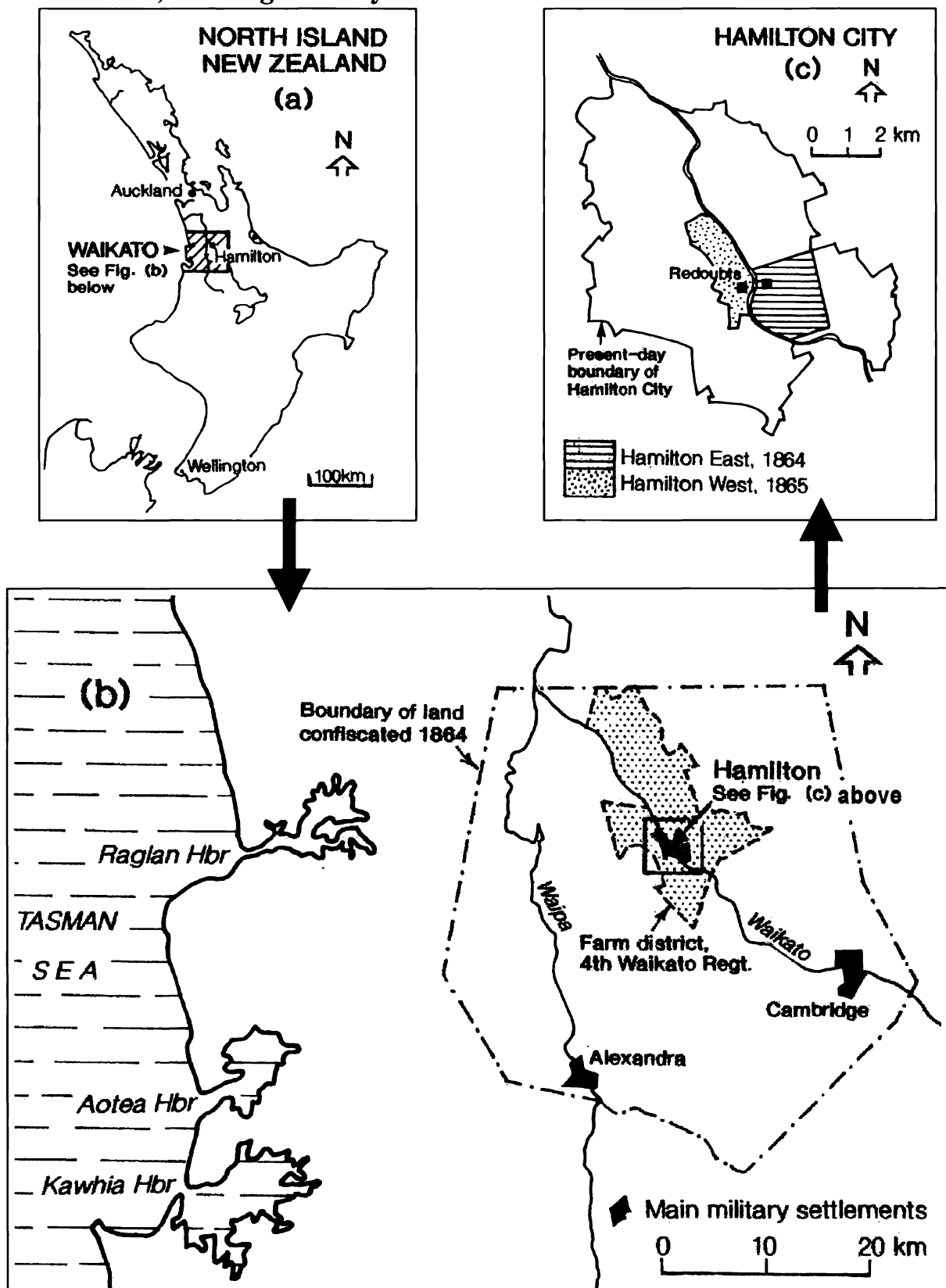
Two sites were chosen for settlement, one on the eastern bank of the Waikato River and one on the West, therefore “Hamilton East” and “Hamilton West”. There was enough land between the two for 500 to 600 men.² On the east wide 387 town acre blocks were surveyed on the east side and 259 on the west.³

¹ P.J. Gibbons, *Astride the River: A History of Hamilton* (Hamilton, 1977), p.35.

² H. C. M. Norris, *Armed Settlers: The story of the Founding of Hamilton. New Zealand 1864-1874* (Sydney, 1956), p.40.

³ P.D.H Allen., ‘Military Settlement in the Middle Waikato Basin’, (MPhil, University of Waikato, Hamilton 1969), p.55.

Map (1) North Island, Waikato District and Hamilton New Zealand, showing Military Settlements 1864/1865.



Source: Compiled from maps in *Astride the River* and cartographers files.

Kirikiroa, along with other designated sites, was to be settled by special Volunteer Corps that had been raised for service in the New Zealand Wars, but the main function of which was to settle men on the land after the rebellion was over. These townships were to replace the Imperial Forces and continue to provide a buffer zone between the North Island Maori people and South Auckland settlers; "A frontier line to the South of Auckland may be taken up and permanently guarded by men capable, with little assistance, of resisting the attacks of troublesome natives beyond it".⁴ Premier Alfred Domett, whose ministry presented the settlement plan to the Governor, believed that the recruits who would combine the aspects of both farming and defence could be found in the gold fields of New Zealand and Australia, where Irishmen formed a large part of the workforce. Men, he said, who were "hardy, self-reliant, accustomed to a bush life and expert in the use of firearms".⁵

The terms of enlistment gazetted in New Zealand on 5 August 1863 included free passage for those not already in the North Island, pay, rations, and a town and farm section according to rank.⁶ By 6 October 1863 the first three of four Regiments were almost formed. The fourth, which was to be settled in Kirikiriroa (Hamilton), had not yet enlisted one recruit by this time.⁷ The recruitment of the fourth regiment differed from that of the others in that there were not quite enough volunteers left in New Zealand. An application was made therefore to the Minister of Defence by Lieutenant William Steele to recruit in Australia. Steele was asked to bring back 'settlers' rather than 'soldiers', who should preferably be married, respectable and of good character, to ensure that they made permanent settlers.⁸ The Irish migrants in Australia would have been attracted to the terms of enrolment, which were; free passage, the promise of land, and no requirement to fight.⁹ The 4th Regiment, therefore, was to have a different composition to the others. There would prove to be more Catholic Irish than Protestant Irish in it, and

⁴ Gibbons, p. 30.

⁵ *ibid.*,

⁶ Norris, *Armed Settlers*, P. 17.

⁷ *ibid.*, p. 19.

⁸ *ibid.*, p.21.

⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

which reflected the profile of the Irish migrants to Australia who were predominately Catholic.

Accordingly, most of the men in the advance party, Captain Steele's No. 4 Company, were Australian recruited.¹⁰ It was not only the greater numbers of Catholic Irish in the advance party that was to be the reason for the establishment of an enclave, they were better equipped for survival than the following militiamen because they had the best selection of available land. Hamilton East had been the first part of Hamilton to be surveyed.¹¹ The evidence shows that No. 4 Company built the Hamilton East Redoubt where the militiamen camped while waiting for their town lot.¹² These men received the first balloted land allocations in Hamilton.¹³ Map (2) shows the distribution of town acres in Hamilton East to the men of the advance party, No. 4 Company, and their nationalities. Of the 113 men in the advance party, the section allocation of 93 can be traced.

The reason for the conglomeration of section allocations around the central part of Hamilton East was that this was where the best land was, with flat building sites and proximity to the landing at the river. Almost all of the section allocations to these men can be traced.¹⁴ Although the literature suggests that all land was balloted, and therefore the distribution was random, the clusters on the map show otherwise. There are distinct clusters of English and Irish. The cluster of English militiamen's sections with road frontage on Clyde Street, Cook Street, Firth Street, and Albert Street are all almost adjacent to each other. Similarly there are three distinct clusters of Irish militiamen's sections. There are in the Clyde Street, Galloway Street and Wellington Street areas. These initial clusters of particular interest to the development of Irishtown.

¹⁰ N.Z. Army Department, Nominal and Descriptive Long Roll Book Waikato Militia. Of 113 men in No. 4 Company, 85 were recruited in Australia.

¹¹ Gibbons, p.61.

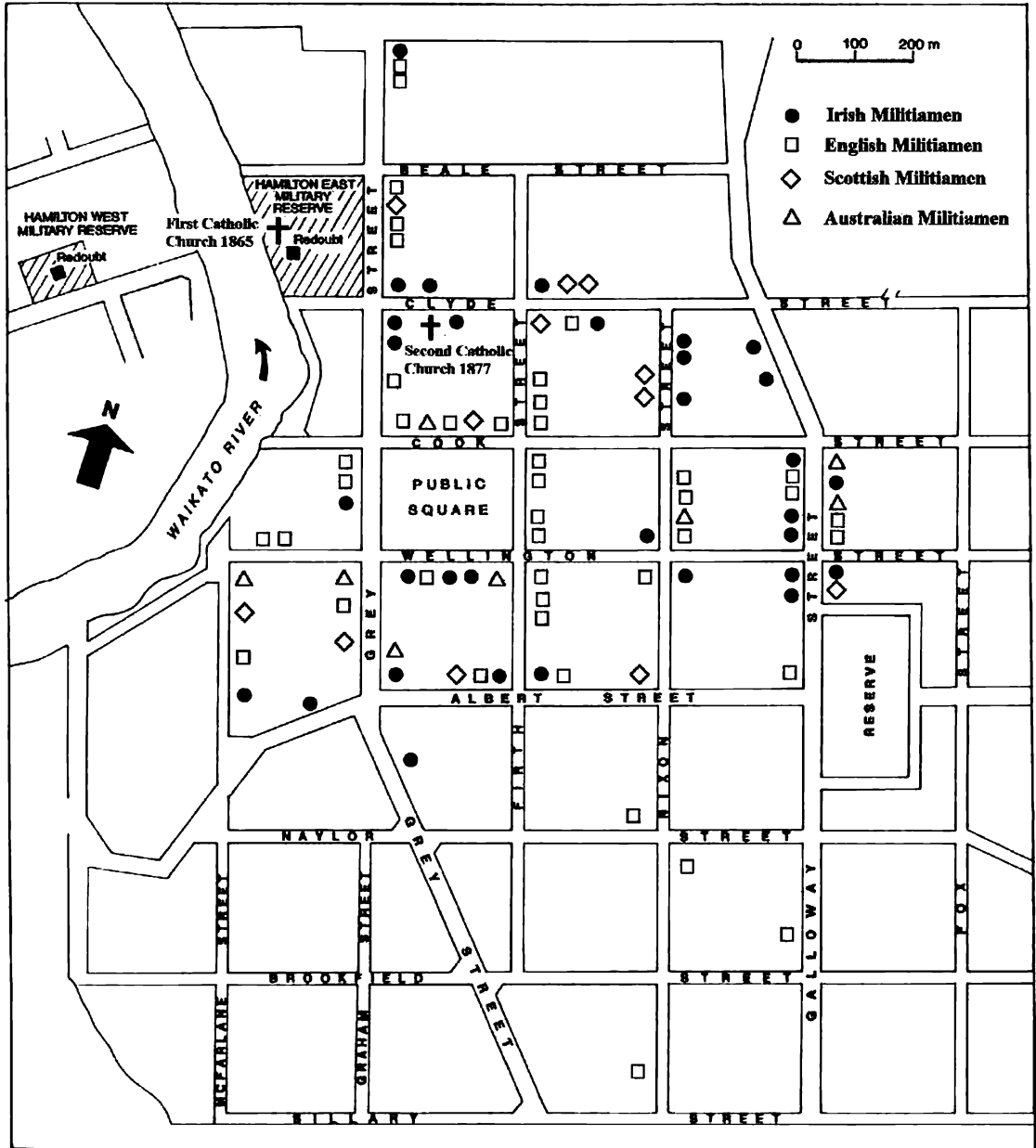
¹² Allen, p.58.

¹³ ibid., p. 61.

Allen, p. 17. The method of distribution was as follows. "Each Officer and man was entitled to one town section, and to farm sections varying in size with rank date of enrolment". Those enlisting before 1 April 1865 were entitled to the following: Field Officers-400 acres, Captains-300 acres, Surgeons-250 acres, Subalterns-200 acres, Sergeants-80 acres, Corporals-60 acres, Privates-50 acres.

¹⁴ See Appendix (E).

Map (2) Hamilton East showing nationality of, and section allocation to, No. 4 Company, 4th Regiment Waikato Militia 1864, and estimated positions of Catholic Churches 1865, and 1877.



Source: Compiled from Graham's 1st survey map of Hamilton East, Militia Land Register, nominal roll, and evidence in Chapter One.

The cluster of Irish in the Clyde Street area may explain why Moule granted the land at the redoubt for the building of the first church. For the same reason the core group of Irish militiamen in the vicinity of the second church may have been the reason that land was later purchased there for its construction. The group on Galloway Street could also be assumed to have been another core group that probably influenced the development of this street into the preferred location for the civilian settlers of the 1870s. The Wellington Street cluster was situated in another area that was to later become densely populated with Irish families. An overall view of the clusters shows that they generally occur in the north-eastern part of the Hamilton East surveyed area, which complements the later evidence that the Irish settlers tended to settle in this area.¹⁵ The proposal is that these were not randomly distributed, but were based on nationality rather than religion. This initial advance party is of interest because they influence the pattern of the development of buildings. It appears that these men had the advantage of being offered the prime town sites available.

Land was better on the East side for two reasons. Land adjacent to the river on the river terraces had the advantage of having already been cultivated by the previous Maori occupants, rendering the task of growing crops easier for these first settlers.¹⁶ The flat land around the redoubt also proved suitable for cropping. The following excerpt supports this, “The best selection of land was around the Hamilton East or Kirikiriroa redoubt, on slight rises; there the land is stiffer and equally fertile in appearance ... a number of town acres on the eastern side will be in a thick and high manuka scrub, where soil is not only rich but is quite still enough for the cultivation of excellent wheat”.¹⁷ The land to the east of the river was also elevated, and the first sections balloted around the redoubt had better drainage and a flat building platform in proximity to the river landing. Closeness to the landing was essential for the short cartage of building supplies.¹⁸ It is known that these sections had good elevation; “...at Kirikiriroa the river flowed 30 to 80

¹⁵ Norris, Armed Settlers, p. 212.

¹⁶ Gibbons, p. 26.

Norris, Armed Settlers, p.44.

¹⁷ Allen, p. 47.

¹⁸ William Graham, Plan of Hamilton East, September 23 1864, S.O. 201, A2 LINZ.

feet below the surface, from the river a series of terraces rose to generally elevated surface".¹⁹ Sections were also planned to surround a public square, which was intended to be the town centre.²⁰ The Hamilton East settlement appeared to have all the requisite components for a successful settlement.

The distribution of sections on the basis of nationality rather than religion raises some questions about the lack of sectarianism in the preliminary settlement. However, before the issue of Irish Catholics and Protestants is addressed, the numbers of distribution of total Irish in the rest of the rest of the 4th Waikato Regiment must be considered.

Over 600 men were recruited before 1871, including the advance party.²¹ After discharges, desertions, deaths, and substitutions are allowed for, 460 men remained of whom 456 are recorded as having received their land grants. They received at least an acre in town and 50 acres in the surrounding farmland. Information on these settlers can be obtained from the Nominal and Descriptive Long Roll of the 4th Regiment Waikato Militia. This includes name, birthplace, date and place of enrolment, age, height, occupation, religion (nominated as 'Catholic', 'Protestant' or 'Presbyterian') and discharge dates.²² 152 of these men were Irish, 89 of them

¹⁹ Allen, p 47.

²⁰ Gibbons, p.46.

²¹ Norris, Armed Settlers, p.24.

The total muster was estimated as numbering 570 men, but the records show that there were 622 recruits including substitutes.

²² N.Z. Army Department, Nominal and Descriptive Roll 4th Regiment Waikato Militia, the process of research for this study, a full list of the militiamen that settled Hamilton Was tabulated for the first time. Appendix (E) details these men, giving their regimental numbers, and where possible surnames and Christian names. The Irish contingent, and the advance party have been listed. It remains for the other details from the rolls to be included, so that other studies of the European founders can be undertaken. Rarely is a source available that offers evidence of birthplace, religious denomination and occupation as well as physical characteristics. A study that follows these militiamen from their arrival in New Zealand to their deaths would provide interesting information on the demographic behaviour of one group of settlers.

Golden, Rev. John, Some Old Waikato Days (New Zealand Tablet Printing and Publishing Company, Dunedin 1922), p. 57. There is evidence that the last substitution was made between 1869 and 1871. Father John Golden records that a Father Stephen Chastagnon had charge of Hamilton for about two years and left in 1871. He says that during Father Chastagnon's tenure a presbytery was built, and while it was being constructed he stayed with an Ensign John Patrick Shanaghan. Norris recorded that Baber was the last man enrolled, and that he was the substitute for Shanaghan. Therefore, he could not have enrolled before 1871 as Shanaghan was still an Ensign in Hamilton until then. Norris, Armed Settlers, p. 24.

Catholic Irish. When this number is added to the other Catholics in the Regiment and using Akenson's assumption that all Catholics were of Irish origin, it can be estimated that over a quarter of the Regiment was Catholic. This is higher than Akenson's estimation that the 'Irish ethnic group in the late Victorian era constituted a little under one-fifth of the New Zealand population'.²³ Therefore there was a larger number than the national average of multigenerational Irish Catholics in the Regiment. This gave the Irish a significant advantage in establishing a community. The high numbers of Irish in the regiment, though not necessarily Catholic, are also important. It has been shown that the early group clustered on the basis of nationality. It is suggested that this is another reason that the Catholics were given land for the first church as there was a cultural camaraderie with the Protestant Irish and there was a reciprocal sympathetic understanding of their denominational needs.²⁴

When the farm allocations around the town had been surveyed it was considered that the men could be self sufficient and they were struck off pay, receiving rations for a further year.²⁵ Often the farms allocated were largely swamp, or were completely under water. Colonel Moule received many complaints, such as the following petition. "More than half the 50 acre lots received...is nothing but swamp ... Men could not find sufficient dry ground to stand on".²⁶ It is presumed that the men in the advance party also received the best of the surrounding country sections. An example of an Irish militiaman who was one of the first 100 to receive arguably better land was John Crosby, of No. 4 Company who supported his family from his farm block.²⁷ His son Patrick, who was born on 8 February 1864 was the first white child born in Hamilton.²⁸ His family lived in a tent at first

²³ Donald Harman Akenson, 'The Irish in New Zealand', in *Familia: Ulster Genealogical Review*, 2, (5), 1989, p. 10.

²⁴ 152 in the Regiment were Irish, there were 8 Australians. The evidence in the introduction shows that more Irish migrated to Australia than New Zealand, therefore it could be assumed that the Australians in the regiment were more likely to be of Irish extraction.

²⁵ H. C. M. Norris, 'Glimpse of Waikato History 1820-1870: The first European settlers in the Waikato', *Auckland-Waikato Historical Journal*, 22, (April, 1973), pp.20-24.

²⁶ Norris, *Armed Settlers*, p.67.

²⁷ N.Z. Army Department, *Nominal and Descriptive Long Roll Book Waikato Militia*. No. 122, John Crosbie.

²⁸ Registrar General, Birth Register, Cambridge, Folio No. 125/1865, Ref. No.81, Entry No. 26. *Waikato Times*, July 1902. 'Death of first white child to be born in city'. Hamilton East Cemetery Records, No. 1566.

while waiting for their town acre to be surveyed. The daughter of Patrick Crosby remembered recalling how John Crosbie (sic) had worked locally whenever work was available, grew vegetables and grain on his farm, kept a cow and poultry, and only just managed to feed his family.²⁹ This gives an indication of the difficulties the other settlers faced. Even men with suitable land had great difficulty accessing it with heavy loads. A board of enquiry decided that if a militiaman's land was more than half swamp, another ballot could be made.

Conditions were harsh. The town blocks were too small to furnish a living, so those with unsuitable farm sections living on their town blocks had to find work in the vicinity in addition to the food they grew on the acre. They had no money to spare.³⁰ Two years after the settlement was established, Rev. J. F. Mandeno's description of Hamilton gives an indication of the severity of the conditions;

"Containing between three and four hundred houses, very straggly, as each house is built on a separate acre and by no means picturesque, except as the river which runs through the middle of it makes it so. Still, after riding three or four hours over the fern, any appearance of civilisation is very welcome. It has not a thriving appearance about it. The people are evidently living there till they can get away from their military duties".³¹

The problems the settlers faced included farm sections that were part swamp with difficult access, and a lack of capital for drainage and cattle. The men were not farmers, most were tradesmen or labourers.³² The market for crops was in Auckland and freight costs by river were too high. When militiamen began to leave after three years, town dwellers were reluctant to leave town for farm sections, many of which were unusable.³³

²⁹ Pat Barnett, 22 October, 1992, Tape No. 7, A 7:00.

³⁰ Norris, 'Glimpse of Waikato History', pp. 23-24.

³¹ A. Drummond, Early Days in the Waikato (Hamilton, 1956), p. 192.

³² N.Z. Army Department, Nominal and Descriptive Long Roll Book Waikato Militia

³³ Allen, p. 109.

Even in town conditions were harsh, the ground was covered with manuka scrub and bracken fern. On the east side a large area of kahikatea bush stood in a swamp.³⁴ There were gullies and streams cutting into the sandy pumice soil, and many lakes and small ponds.³⁵ The forests and scrub areas were wet swamps in winter.³⁶ There were no bricks and the houses had only earthen floors, wooden chimneys, and fireplaces. The walls were unlined and all cooking was done outside.³⁷ Perhaps the conditions were not so unfamiliar to the Irish. The Irish recruits ranged in age from 18 years to 39.³⁸ This meant that they were born in Ireland between 1825 and 1846. In Ireland in 1841 40% of the total dwellings in rural areas were one-roomed cabins made of mud or some other perishable material.³⁹ A bed was often straw and basic furniture was lacking.⁴⁰ This may have given the Irish a cultural advantage and may explain their tenacity. The population of Hamilton had dropped from 1445 in 1865 to an all time low of 250 persons by 1869.⁴¹ By this time, 25 Irish militiamen remained of the 53 that had received land in Hamilton East.⁴² This represents a decrease in the whole population of more than 80%, while the numbers of Irish in Hamilton East had decreased by 50% only. The reasons for this tenacity were possibly because the Irish survived better in the conditions, and the Irish that had received the best land had established a small cultural cluster with which others identified. It is suggested that the multigenerational Irish Catholics in the regiment did cluster but there was also a non-sectarian cultural base between the Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants that provided mutual cultural reinforcement. This is evident in the way in which they received the land for their first church, and the probability that they needed help to construct it.

³⁴ Norris, Armed Settlers, pp.44-45.

³⁵ H.C.M. Norris, 'Early Europeans in the Waikato', in Waikato: Man and his Environment, Edited by. D.H. Goodall, (Hamilton, 1972) p. 33.

³⁶ Gibbons, p.41.

³⁷ Norris, 'Glimpse of Waikato History', pp. 23-24.

³⁸ N.Z. Army Department, Nominal and Descriptive Long Roll Book Waikato Militia.

³⁹ F.S.L. Lyons, Ireland Since the Famine (London, 1971), p. 52.

⁴⁰ Cormac O'Grada, Ireland before and after the Famine (Manchester, 1988), p. 5.

⁴¹ N.Z. Government Gazette (1864), pp. 147-156. 'Population of 4th Regiment 836 Males and 660 Females, total 1,496.

Rates Rolls Auckland Province 1869, pp. 408-410. [Assessment Roll of the Kirikiriroa Highway District for the year 1869].

The Protestant and Presbyterian men had the opportunity to worship. Colonel Moule conducted open-air services for these men in the Hamilton West redoubt on the west side of the river.⁴³ The Catholics in the Regiment did not have such a facility. Because there was a large contingency of Irish and Irish-descended militiamen, Moule decided to give them land to construct their own place of worship. There is further evidence of the supplementing of the Irish-born Catholics with those of Irish descent as provided by a visiting priest's description of the early Catholic community in the following excerpt;

"To this isolated community, 14 hours and nine changes of horse from Auckland, came the beginnings of the establishment of the Catholic Church in Hamilton, in the form of a visiting priest, Father Vinay, stationed at Rangiaowhia, who came to celebrate Mass with the Catholic community between 1863 and 1869. Because of the strong Irish element in the Waikato Militia there was an average attendance of 57 people at Mass".⁴⁴

This shows that there was a definite cluster and further supports the reasons that the Catholics were granted land. Norris describes the location as an, "exceedingly picturesque site for a church on a commanding eminence overhanging the river".⁴⁵ It appears that Moule was recognising the importance of appeasing the Catholics in his Regiment by giving them a quality site. It can be considered that Moule donated a site that was close to the cluster of Irish in No. 4 Company. This evidence concurs with a Hamilton historian H.C.M. Norris who observed that there was a cluster of Irish in this area.⁴⁶ It has long been considered that the first Catholic Church was built in 1877, in fact the evidence shows that it was "in the course of erection" in 1865.⁴⁷ Dr. Peter Gibbons confirms this belief;

⁴³ Norris, *Armed Settlers*, p.80.

⁴⁴ ACDA INT. 1/3-6 [Typescript by Rev. E. Simmons, 'Auckland Parishes, a very small bedraggled township. Hamilton 1869-1966'].

⁴⁵ Norris, *Armed Settlers*, p. 106. In the chapter of *Armed Settlers* relating to 1865, Moule is quoted as presenting the site for the church to the Catholics. Unusually, Norris has not provided the exact reference for the quotation so that the source can be checked for possible further details. In the course of research for his definitive and comprehensive history of Hamilton, *Astride the River*, University of Waikato historian Dr. Peter Gibbons has offered the opinion that he found Norris, who he says was a lawyer, to be a reliable and thorough source, to be a reliable and accurate source.

⁴⁶ Norris, *Armed Settlers*, p. 212.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

“Considering the size of the township and the financial problems, it is remarkable that early in the 1870s three denominations had erected churches... The Roman Catholic church erected their first building soon afterwards”.⁴⁸

In the process of this study it was discovered that not only was the first Catholic church constructed a half a decade earlier than was thought, but that it also appears to have been the first church constructed in Hamilton. There were four main churches in Hamilton in the 1870s but the Catholic Church was the first church to have been started in Hamilton, and possibly the first church built. The Anglicans began building a church in 1866, but it was burnt down in 1867 before it was completed.⁴⁹ The Methodists opened their first church in 1868.⁵⁰ The Presbyterians completed theirs in March 1867.⁵¹

The implications of this discovery are that the Catholic Irish were an important element in the consideration of the foundation of the city of Hamilton. They not only established an ethnic cluster when the indications are that others probably did not, but also an established historical precedence. Of all the denominations in Hamilton, the Catholics have had the longest continuity of church buildings.

The original location of the 1865 building predates Church archival sources. No title exists. Possible sites can be considered through information discovered in the following published and unpublished recollections. For example, Christopher

Waikato Times ‘Hamilton Centenary Issue’, supplement (Monday, August 24, 1964), p. 159.

Golden, p. 36. While perhaps this study may provide material for the ongoing debate on the history and historiography of the Irish in New Zealand, it has also had direct implications for the history of Hamilton. The discovery of the previously undocumented location, and date of construction, of the first Catholic Church in Hamilton, has led to a revision of the date of its founding. It is now considered that the Church in Hamilton began in December 1865, rather than 1877 as had been thought for many years. The location of the site of the first church in Hamilton is also of historical significance as the evidence shows that it was probably the first Church constructed in Hamilton. While the site is presently unmarked, it is hoped that there may be the facility to do so in the future.

⁴⁸ Gibbons, p 48.

⁴⁹ ibid.,

⁵⁰ ibid.,

⁵¹ Waikato Times ‘Hamilton Centenary Issue’, p. 164.

Carthy, an Irish Catholic Militiaman, had a town section in the northern part of Hamilton East.⁵² His son, Pat, has been documented as recalling “wading through the flax and fern in Opoia Flat to get to the old church ‘at the redoubt’ for Midnight Mass”.⁵³ Irene Crosby, one of the oral history cohort, recalls a family memory that her grandfather, Irish militiaman John Crosbie (sic), “got wood to build the first Catholic Church ‘on the redoubt’”.⁵⁴ Amateur historian, Geoffrey Roche, the author of an unpublished script on the Catholic Parish of Saint Mary’s suggested that “it appears to have been in Von Tempsky Street, ‘in part of Moule’s redoubt’”.⁵⁵ The redoubt location is again mentioned in a script compiled circa 1981 by one of the cohort, Zoe Horton.⁵⁶ In his memoirs, Father John Golden, priest in Hamilton from 1874 to 1883, writes of the “30 ft long church” and that “originally it stood ‘at the redoubt’ over the river”.⁵⁷ A photograph of it appears in the Hamilton Convent Jubilee publication of 1935 in its later position on Clyde Street, where it was used as a “school for Primers”.⁵⁸ This evidence suggests that the first church was ‘at the redoubt... in the redoubt...on the redoubt’. What the size or exact site of the redoubt was is not certain, but it is possible that the church was situated somewhere within it, or within the surrounding military reserve, even possibly on Colonel Moule’s own selection which was beside the Military Reserve.(Map 1).

While the precise location has been lost, what is important is that an approximation can now be made. This church was a permanent structure rather than a temporary artifice because there is evidence that a presbytery had been built beside it to house a Father Stephen Chastagnon, who had charge of Hamilton, Cambridge and Ngaruawahia between 1869 and 1871.⁵⁹ Father John Golden notes that after the church was built the visiting priest had stayed with one of the militiamen until “the

⁵² No. 352, Christopher Carthy, No. 4 Company, Section No. E119.

⁵³ Rejoice in Hope: Centenary Sister of Our Lady of the Missions Hamilton 1884–1984, edited by Sister Mary Audrey Hair (Hamilton, 1984), p. 19.

⁵⁴ No.122, John Crosbie, No. 4.Company, Section E 129.

Irene Crosby, 22 October, 1992, Tape 7, A 11:45.

⁵⁵ Geoffrey Roche, ‘Catholic Parish of Saint Mary’s Hamilton’, October 26, 1965. [Unpublished personal memoir held at Waikato Historical Society].

⁵⁶ Zoe Horton, ‘Memoirs of a long association of her family with St. Mary’s Parish, Hamilton East’. [Unpublished personal memoir, circa 1981].

⁵⁷ Rev. John Golden, p. 7.

⁵⁸ Hamilton Convent Jubilee, p. 5.

heads of the little congregation...resolved to secure a permanent residence for the priest and a cottage was purchased".⁶⁰ This is evidence that although there were few early parishioners, they were organised and proactive, which again indicates a cluster, or perhaps a small community. The Catholic diocesan archives confirm that the first presbytery was built in 1870.⁶¹ Both the church and presbytery were sturdy enough to have been moved to the Clyde Street site nine years later.⁶² It is also interesting that Father Golden makes particular reference to a religious characteristic associated with Irish Catholics. Father Golden describes James Shanaghan, presumably son of John Patrick, as "old enough to take part in the removal and re-erection of the first Catholic Church. His family has inherited the spirit of their parents and grandparents".⁶³ In other words, recognisable Irish Catholic traits could be seen in the behavioural patterns of the first generation Irish in Hamilton. This is an important consideration in the life of the enclave. It will be seen that this pattern persisted over three generations.

In conclusion, the Irish settlers had an early historical advantage in establishing a cluster, not only because the earliest arrivals acquire quality land, but their 'strong' presence enabled the construction of the first church in Hamilton. There is also partial evidence for them being the only nationality to cluster, therefore, the Irish Catholics not only had an historical precedence in the 'bricks and mortar' of the community, but also in their cultural foundation. The larger numbers in Irish Catholics and their initial geographical distribution in the in the founding Regiment ensured that such a cluster was a possibility. This would not necessarily indicate, however, that they would be persistent, and yet they were. This was because the type of Irish Catholic settler in the Regiment was hardy, resilient, and stable. They may also have had more familiarity with the harsh conditions than their counterparts. There was no evidence of denominational separatism or sectarianism towards or between the Irish in the Regiment. Instead, they appeared to share a cultural camaraderie. These considerations support the observation that a cluster

⁵⁹ Golden, p. 57.

⁶⁰ *ibid.*, before it was built Father Chastagnon had stayed with John Patrick Shanaghan, quartermaster at the military camp. No. 530, James (sic) Shanaghan.

⁶¹ ACDA INT. 1/3-6.

Weekly News, 18 November 1871. [Bishop Croke's visit to Hamilton].

⁶² Golden, p.7.

of Irish created the foundation for an ensuing enclave. This cluster was shown to have had attributes that indicated a strong potential for the development of an Irish Catholic community, including attributed Irish characteristics and observed religious associations. Most importantly it established the apparatus of the church, and while in this founding generation the church was located in proximity to a cluster of Irish, in the following ones the community located itself in proximity to the church.

Therefore, the development of what came to be known as 'Irishtown' can be directly traced to a combination of the site of the first church, and the behaviour of a small cluster. In the next chapter it will be shown that its site in Hamilton East was very important to the subsequent development of the Catholic Community and associated buildings until it accumulated a total of 14 acres of land in proximity to the first church over the next seven decades.⁶⁴

⁶³ Golden p.58.

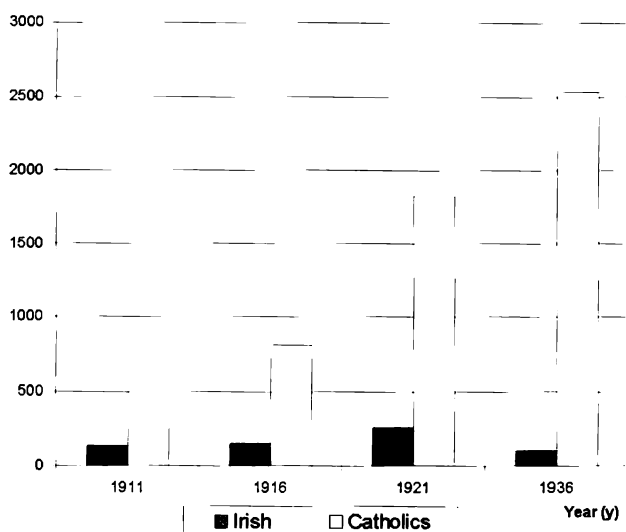
⁶⁴ Waikato Times 'Hamilton Centenary Issue', p. 159.

Chapter Two: 'Bricks and Mortar'

The documentary evidence seems to suggest that not only was there continuous Irish settlement in Hamilton between 1864 and 1940, but a distinct Irish community. The proof of this community is the general clustering effect over the period. An initial cluster has been shown in the evidence for the Irish in the military settlement. In the period after 1870, the Irish militiamen still constituted a core group that was supplemented by civilian settlers. An intensive new clustering of Irish Catholics began. The links between the military and civilian settlers included chain migration, endogamy, and the role of the church. The statistical information shows that the numbers of Catholics increased and that the community continued to thrive and grow and remain Irish. The characteristics that make this community distinctively Irish are explored. The constant pressures for assimilation on the community including the lack of sectarianism, nationalist inclination and the lack of competition for work and yet the community did not begin to dissipate until the 1930s. So why did it survive?

The statistical information provides complete information after 1911 of those Hamilton residents who were born in Ireland, and those who have nominated themselves as 'Catholic' on the census returns. The classification of 'Irish' includes some of those Irish born settlers who arrived in Hamilton with the Militia and civilian settlers, and also new immigrants who may have come directly from Ireland, or moved from other areas of New Zealand. Graph (1) shows that the numbers of Irish-born rose from 1911 until they peaked in 1921 and declined thereafter, while the Catholic population maintained a steady and notable increase through the period.

In the introduction, Akenson's hypothesis was that Catholics as a group can be used as a surrogate for the multigenerational Irish. Those Catholics born in New Zealand can therefore be said to be part of the multigenerational cohort of first and second generation Irish in New Zealand, which was being constantly supplemented by new immigrants. However, Graph (1) shows that the rise in the number of Catholics after 1921 was not dependent on the number of new Irish immigrants, but was being caused by something.

Graph (1) Irish and Catholics in Hamilton 1911-1936.

Source: Population Census, 1911, 1916, 1921, and 1936.

Note: Birthplace omitted from 1926 Census

There are two possible explanations. First, that the immigrants' families were more fertile. The baptismal records which will be considered in this chapter appear to show that immigrant Irish parents had only as many children baptised as first or second generation Irish.¹ However, without more detailed study of the ages of the immigrant women and their patterns of fertility no assumptions can be made on the possibilities of an increase or decrease in the fertility rate of new immigrants. Second, the increase in the Catholic population could be directly attributed to the presence of an Irish enclave in Hamilton. Akenson has concluded from his own research on the population distribution of Catholic and Protestant Irish in New Zealand that there was nothing remarkable about the distribution of Catholics, or Irish. According to his studies, the urban/rural breakdown of the entire population and the Roman Catholic population for the year 1921 was almost identical. That is, more Catholics lived in urban areas, fewer in rural areas, and their percentage distribution would be expected to be the same as the general population. Therefore, he argues, if according to his own hypothesis the Catholics

¹ The untranscribed baptismal registers are a useful source of information on the numbers of parishioners as no other complete records have survived. This scope of this study does not permit ore detailed investigations of the registers, but in this stable population they may yield some information on the fertility rates of Irish and Catholics for comparative analysis.

are a surrogate for the Irish as a group, they “did not bunch”.² Yet, the following evidence shows in Hamilton, they did. The numbers for the Irish born and Catholics in the period are atypical for the general population, showing a relative increase in both. Table (1) shows that while the total numbers of Irish-born in New Zealand decreased between 1916 and 1921, they increased in Hamilton. The national decrease was due either to death or to lower immigration; it is not possible to discern Irish immigration figures for New Zealand.³ The increase in Hamilton must have been caused by Irish migrants coming to Hamilton from other areas, and Catholics either displaying an unusual increase in fertility rates, or moving to Hamilton from other areas also, the latter is more probable.

Table (1) Percentage increase in Irish born in Hamilton and New Zealand 1916 and 1921.

	1916	1921
% Irish born	3.4%	2.8%
New Zealand		
% Irish born	1.3%	2.3%
Hamilton		

Source: From Census years 1916 and 1921

Not only did the numbers of Irish increase relative to the general population but as the following Table (3) shows, there was also a higher concentration of Catholics in Hamilton for all the years shown. A considerable disparity between the Catholics as a percentage of the population of Hamilton, and Catholics as a percentage of the population of New Zealand can be seen.⁴ This evidence adds further weight to the theory that Catholic families were moving to Hamilton. Table (2) shows that as a percentage of the general population in 1921 there were over 2.5% more Catholics in Hamilton than would be expected. The Table also shows that the number of Catholics in Hamilton almost doubled between 1916 and 1921. In comparison, the numbers of Catholics in New Zealand only

² Donald Harman Akenson, Small Differences: Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants. 1815-1922 (Canada, 1988), p. 55.

³ Donald Harman Akenson, ‘The Irish in New Zealand’, p. 1. The figures for Irish migration to New Zealand are included under the general heading Australasia.

⁴ Birthplace omitted from 1926 Census.

increased from 151,606 in 1916 to 164,133 1921. This finding is significant in relation to the pattern for the general population, it can be said that the statistics from 1911 and 1936 show that there was a definite cluster of Irish and Catholics in Hamilton.

Table (2) Numbers of Catholics in Hamilton 1901-1936 relative to the population of Hamilton and the population of New Zealand

<i>Year</i>	<i>Catholics in Hamilton</i>	<i>Catholics as a percentage of Hamilton Population</i>	<i>Catholics as a percentage of New Zealand population</i>
1901	181	14.44	14.21
1906	334	15.53	14.29
1911	495	13.97	13.94
1916	813	----	13.79
1921	1566	16.00	13.47
1926	1865	13.28	12.89
1936	2531	15.76	13.09

Source: Population Census, 1911, 1916, 1921, 1926, and 1936.

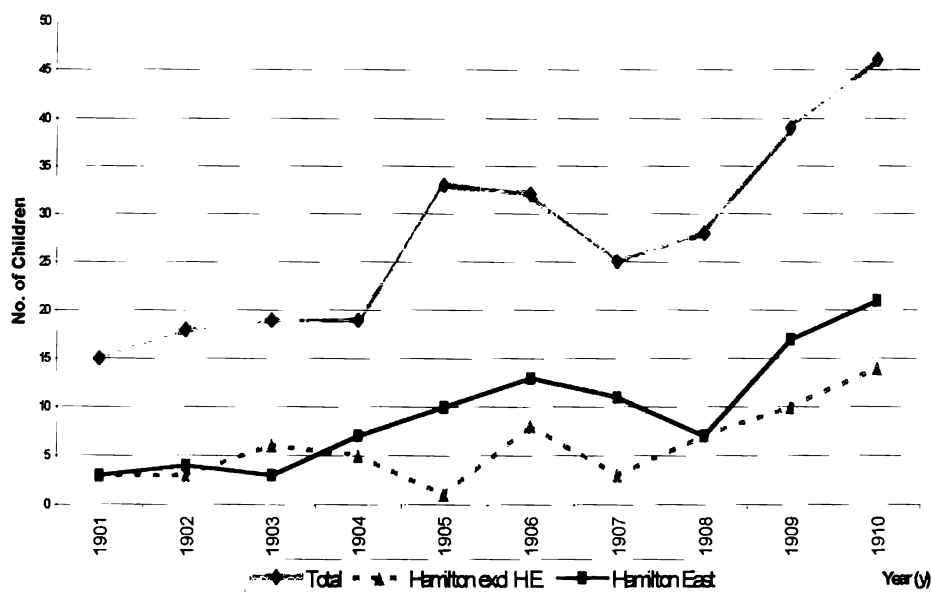
Note: Figures for total population of Hamilton not available for 1916

This is palpable evidence for an Irish community in this period. It is likely that Irish immigrants were attracted to Hamilton because a distinct Irish community existed there. The first and generational Irish that lived there chose to remain for the same reason. The church and educational facilities available in Hamilton also attracted Catholics. Not only did these groups move to Hamilton, but they moved to a specific area, Hamilton East. The Baptismal records after 1901 provide evidence of this and support the previous statistical findings.⁵ They show there was a residential cluster of Catholic families in Hamilton East.

⁵ 'Liber Baptisatorum, in Ecclesea Sanctae Mariae Apud Hamilton New Zealand in Dioecesi Aucopolitani 9.2.1885 – 8.6.1926'. [*Register Baptisms, Church of St. Mary's Hamilton New Zealand in the Diocese of Auckland 9.2.1885-6.1926*]

Graph (2) shows that the numbers of baptisms for 'Hamilton East' are higher than for 'Hamilton' from 1901 to 1910.

Graph (2) Children Baptised at St. Mary's Parish, Hamilton: 1901-1910



*Source: Baptismal Registers 1885 – 1926.*⁶

Note: The Baptismal Registers nominate the residence of children baptised as 'Hamilton' or other areas until 1901, when 'Hamilton' and 'Hamilton East' are used to discern areas of Hamilton.⁷

There were four baptisms at the Church of St. Mary's, Hamilton, and a four-fold increase to 14 in 1906. While the numbers are small, they are significant. They confirm the trend for this period shown in Table (2). Not only had the numbers of Catholics in Hamilton almost doubled, as had the Hamilton population, but the numbers of Catholics in Hamilton had grown 1.8% more than in the general population.⁸ This is evidence for the beginnings of a cluster. The figures in Graph (2) show that within these figures, the increase in Baptisms was more

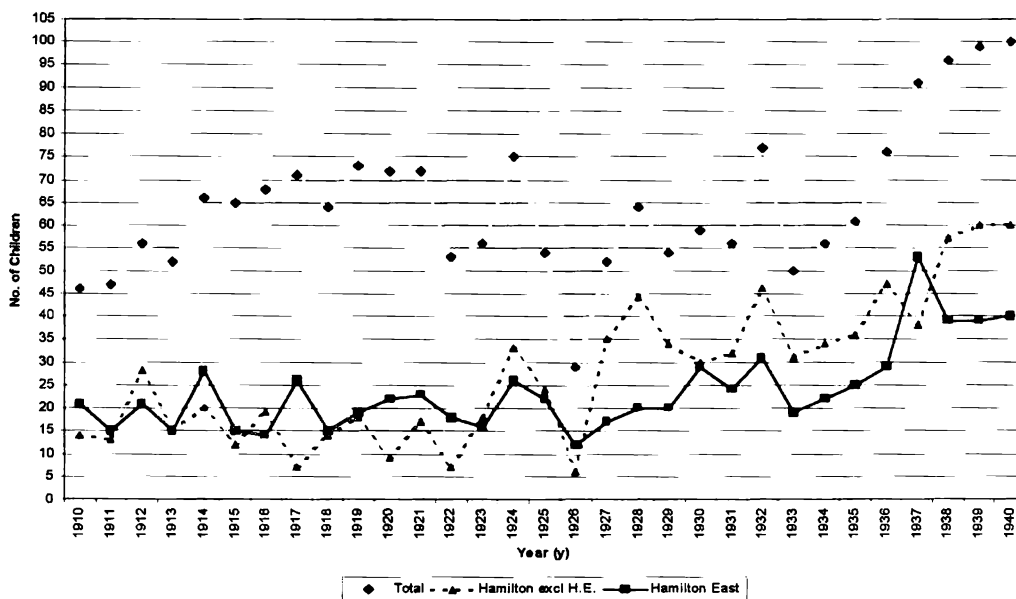
⁶ 'Liber Baptistorum, in Ecclesia Sanctae Mariae Apud Hamilton New Zealand in Dioecesi Aucopolitani 9.2.1885 – 8.6.1926'.

⁷ Gibbons, p. 366. According to Peter Gibbon's map of Hamilton's town boundaries and extensions 'Hamilton' meant the original Hamilton West Central, until the borough of Frankton was included after 1917. 'Hamilton East' was the original Hamilton East Central borough, with the Claudelands extension included after 1912.

⁸ Census 1901, 1906. The Hamilton population was 1,253 in 1901 but had almost doubled to 2,150 by 1906.

significant in Hamilton East up to 1910. The trend continues in Graph (3) until 1923.

Graph (3) Children Baptised at St. Mary's Parish, Hamilton: 1910-1940



Source: *Baptismal Registers 1885 – 1934.*⁹

After that time while the numbers of baptisms for Hamilton East continue to increase at a regular rate, the total numbers of baptisms in Hamilton increase dramatically. One reason for this was that the total Catholic population was increasing in Hamilton, and there was less housing available in Hamilton East for new families. New Irish and Catholic families had little choice but to move to the West side of the river.¹⁰ The boundaries of Irishtown can therefore be said to have expanded after the 1920s, and for the first time to include part of Hamilton West. This fits with the pattern of church-centricity where the community desired to be as close to the church buildings as possible.

⁹ *ibid.*, Liber Baptizatorum, in Ecclesia Sanctae Mariae Apud Hamilton New Zealand in Diocesi Aucopolitani, Mensis Junii Anni 1926-1934. The are also entries for children who have come from other areas: Dargaville, Gordonton, Horatiu, Horsham Downs, Huntly, Kauapa rapa, Komata, Matamata, Matangi, Matapu, Morrinsville, Newstead, Ngaruawahia, Ohaupo, Ohinewai, Okoroire, Papkura, Petone, Pirongia, Pukatuka, Putaruru, Rotorua, Rukuhia, Rukuhia, Tahuna, Taupiri, Tauwhare, Te Awamutu, Te Kowhai, Te Mata, Te Rapa, Te Rore, Te Uku, Tokoroa, Waharoa, Waihou, Waikaremoana, and Waitoa,

¹⁰ Tape No. 11, Sister Mary Hassan, A 8:56. The oral testimony of Sister Mary Hassan offers an explanation. She recalls that her father arrived in Hamilton to settle in 1922 but there was a

For the purpose of this study, the statistical evidence provides a snapshot of Irishtown from 1901 to 1940 and complements the evidence for an enclave before this period. The remaining available statistical evidence on this community has been tabulated in Table (3). It shows all the available data on the numbers of Catholic parishioners, pupils in Catholic schools and pupils in private schools for those years where they are not differentiated. No local school records have survived. What is available comes from the figures for the diocese.

Table (3) Available data on Catholics, and Pupils in Catholic and Private Schools in Hamilton, from 1874 to 1936.

Year	Catholics	Total Pupils Private (P) and Catholic (C) Schools
1884		37C
1885	100	75C
1886		76C
1887		99C
1891		137P
1892		116P
1895		134P
1896		101P
1897		110P
1898		130P
1899		107P
1900		112P
1901	181	119C
1906	334	87C
1911	495	156C
1916	813	-
1921	1832	342C
1926	1856	384C
1936	2531	-

Source: Census and Census Reports. 11

Note: Figures for the Catholic Schools in the period 1891 to 1900 are included in the 'Private' school figures.¹²

shortage of accommodation on the East side near the church. Houses for rent or purchase were scarce.

11 St. Mary's Cathedral, *Australasian Catholic Directory 1901* (Sydney, 1901), pp. 113-14.

St. Mary's Cathedral, *Australasian Catholic Directory 1906* (Sydney, 1906), pp. 125-26.

St. Mary's Cathedral Book Depot, *Australasian Catholic Directory 1911*, (Sydney, 1911), pp.172-5.

St. Mary's Cathedral Book Depot, *Australasian Catholic Directory 1921* (Sydney, 1921), p. 189.

St. Mary's Cathedral Book Depot, *Australasian Catholic Directory 1921* (Sydney, 1921), p. 211.

Figures for the Catholic Schools in the period 1891 to 1900 are included in the private schools figures. The Census reports show that there were three private schools in the years 1891, 1896, 1897, and 1899. There were four private schools in 1890 and 1900.

It is immediately evident that there are large gaps in the historiography of the Catholics/Irish in Hamilton. It is worth noting that the Catholic education system was the first instigated in Hamilton giving it an historical precedence. It shows that for most years the numbers of children steadily increase over the period. These alone are not an indication of the number of families living in Hamilton as children travelled into Hamilton daily by train from outlying areas, but they do show that the numbers were increasing in the schools. This in turn led to the increase in school facilities, which expanded the structures and resources associated with and adjacent to the church buildings.

The documentary sources provide evidence before the latter period and show the evolution of the enclave from the cluster of first Irish settlers to what was to become a thriving Irish community. Two things happened about the same time in the early 1970s to change the profile of the Irish in Hamilton from a small cluster in the militia to a multigenerational enclave, and leave evidence of this transition. First, there was an influx of Irish Catholic civilian settlers. These settlers were to supplement the numbers of Irish Catholic militiamen that remained from the 1864 settlement, and cause the embryonic Irish enclave to expand. Second, In April 1874 Reverend John Golden was sent by the Catholic Vicar General, Father Fynes, to “assume charge of the Waikato” from 1874 to 1880.¹³ His published memoirs Some Old Waikato Days, and some other documents offer invaluable insights into the early workings of the community, as well as lists of names that are the only evidence of the early civilian parishioners.¹⁴

In his memoirs he lists what he describes as the “principal” Catholic families, some of whom have Irish names; “...Pillings, wife of Colonel de Quincy, Mr. De Vere-Hunt, The Burkes, the Clearys, the Crosbys, the Chittys, the Joneses, Sergeant McGovern and wife, the McSweeneys, the Ryans, Roachs, Lees, Cartys, (sic) Murphys, Stokes, Deegans, Delaneys, Hacketts, O’Connells, Cassidys, Kennys, Walshes, Cussens, Wallnutts, Kellys and the McGarrigles.”¹⁵

¹³ Golden, pp. 6-45.

¹⁴ The evidence for the early Catholic families is primarily Golden’s, both in his book Some Old Waikato Days, and in the lists of parish subscriptions and notes now held in the ACDA. While the information these supply is incomplete, his evidence can be considered reliable and first hand rather than anecdotal.

¹⁵ Golden, p. 8.

Another unpublished list in Golden's own handwriting, provides some initials or christian names which confirm that eight of the family names he lists are those of Irish militiamen still living in Hamilton in the 1870s.¹⁶ This information shows that there is still a strong presence of Catholic Irish militiamen, and is further evidence of the cultural base established by the 4th Regiment Waikato Militia, which continued into the 1870s.

The militiamen provided a core and there is evidence in the Marriage Registers to support the probability that relationships developed between the Irish Catholic Militiamen and 'chain migration' civilians. Irish military settler Patrick Hayes married Johanna Shine, who could be a sister of Irish militiaman James Shine.¹⁷ These tentative suggestions of links and relationships have a higher degree of probability in this early period because of the small numbers of civilians and remaining militiamen.

Predominantly Irish Catholic civilian settlers boosted the numbers of militiamen in the early 1870's. Evidence documenting them is sparse. Street indexes do not list many of the Irish ancestors of those interviewed, and other families known to have come to Hamilton. Three of the cohort's families, the Ryans, Roachs, and Kellys apparently come out together on 'The Oxford' in 1874, but they are not listed in the street indexes for the following five years.¹⁸ This may be because

16 ACDA CRO [ke] 3-1, [Croke papers] Hamilton Accounts 1871, (1) pp. 31-33. [minutes of public meeting of the Catholics of Hamilton, chaired by Rev. J. Golden, July 5th 1874, some of those named correspond with those listed in the N.Z. Army Department, Nominal and Descriptive Roll 4th Regiment Waikato Militia, No. 351 Thomas Cassidy, No. 190 Daniel Delaney, No. 127 John Hackett, No. 219 James McCarthy, Sergeant Francis McGovern, No. 399 James Shine/No. 511 Jeremiah Shine].

ACDA INT. II, 1-3, No. 2, pp. 55-67, pp. 110-114. [the named subscriptions on parish accounts 1877-1880, provides some names that correspond with those listed in the N.Z. Army Department Nominal and Descriptive Roll 4th Regiment Waikato Militia, No. 116 Edward Burke, No. 351 Thomas Cassidy, No. 21 Mark Cleary, No. 425 William Coleman, No. 426 Bernard Coleman, No. 353 Thomas Connell, No. 190 Daniel Delaney, No. 486 Patrick Delaney, No. 135 James Dyer ['Dwyer' in parish accounts], No. 194 J. Dunn [Dunne in parish accounts], No. 127, John Hackett, No. 145 Joseph Hinton, No. 587 William Jones, No. 479 John Kenny, No. 53 Thomas Kelly, No. 367 Thomas Lees, No. 169 John McCabe, No. 219 James McCarthy, No. 383 Daniel Ryan, No. 530 James Shanaghan, and Lieutenant Robert Yallop Stokes.

Norris, Armed settlers, p. 77. Norris describes another on the list, Sergeant Francis McGovern, as "once of the Irish Police".

17 Register Marriage St. Mary's Church Hamilton 1887 - 1903 (Held at Parish Office St. Mary's Cathedral, Hamilton).

N.Z. Army Department, Nominal and Descriptive Roll 4th Regiment Waikato Militia, No. 399 James Shine.

18 Tape No. 2, Zoe Horton, A 5:00. "Hugh and Isabella Kelly arrived on 11th June 1874 on the Oxford, and lived on the corner of Brookfield and Galloway Street".

Rejoice in Hope, p. 95.

they lived with other families until they could find a house or land. Many other Irish civilian settlers were similarly unlisted, and a ‘hidden’ population of Irish is unexpectedly revealed in parish records with evidence that they were active members of the Catholic community. For example, Golden recorded other names on parish documents that are not found in the street indexes for 1875 – 1879.¹⁹

Local historian H.C.M. Norris offers some evidence of where they settled. He says, there were “others from the North of Ireland who came to Hamilton and settled together in the eastern portion of Hamilton East”.²⁰ This excerpt confirms Akenson’s hypothesis that more Irish came from the North of Ireland.²¹ It is interesting that in this “small bedraggled township” as it was described in 1874, which had around 666 people, the Irish are the only nationality referred to as a group, probably because they formed a recognisable cluster. The Scottish or English were not.²² Norris also provides a description of the disposition of the Irish which may help to explain their tenacity in early Hamilton, and shows that they exhibited traits associated with other studies early in its development. They were, he says, “brought up in a farming country they had an aptitude for hard toil and contributed a modest and material share to the early development of the district”.²³

Other evidence for the existence of the community includes the migratory phenomenon known as ‘chain migration’ where “patterns of preference clarify the functions of emigration within the family unit”, and which accounts for many of these civilian immigrants.²⁴ Irish Families were reassembled, siblings and friends being the usual settlers to follow, rather than parents. Golden lists names in the parish accounts, which provide one possible example.

19 Including; J. Anderson, M. Casey, Thomas Dalton, John Devitt, James Donovan, Fitzroy-Peacock, J. Fitzgerald, Martin Fitzgerald, J. Flannery, Forde, James Foster, Patrick Kelly, Thomas Lyons, Miss McCann, J. Moore, Michael Mulcahy, Bernard Murray, J. O’Connell, May O’Gara, Patrick O’Toole, M. Power, George Small, P Toole, Christopher Traynor, and W. Walshe.

20 Norris, *Armed Settlers*, p. 212.

21 Akenson, ‘The Irish in New Zealand’, p. 10.

22 Rev. John Golden, *Some Old Waikato Days* (Dunedin, 1922), p. 7.

23 *ibid.*, p.212.

24 David Fitzpatrick, *Irish Emigration 1801-1921* (Ireland, 1984), p. 21.

A Robert J. Harris, whose death certificate states he was from Drogheda in Ireland, is probably related to Irish Ensign Lewis B. Harris, who was also from Drogheda.²⁵ Unfortunately, there were no other contemporary lists of names as extensive as Golden's for the period, and no other extant church minutes or accounts until the 1920s.

Another source of evidence of chain migration are the Baptismal Registers. The roll of godparent was traditionally considered to have serious implications of responsibility, and a close friend or relative would usually undertake it. For example, a Margaret Roach was a sponsor (or godparent) to Roddy and Helena Ryan's child in 1874.²⁶ The oral evidence is that these two families came out on the boat together. The date of the baptism, the same year that Margaret Roach arrived in Hamilton, suggests that the Roachs and Ryans knew each other in Ireland.²⁷ For Margaret Roach's child Michael, born in 1876, a Denis Sheahan and Margaret Power were registered as sponsors, and place of residence given as Hamilton, but their names do not appear on the 1875 directory.²⁸ Because of their Irish names, they could be assumed friends or relatives of the Roachs. This is suggestive of more Irish Catholic unrecorded families. There is also evidence of new settlers having links with the militiamen. Irish militiaman John McCabe and his wife sponsored the illegitimate child of Irish Militiaman Hugh Harkin and Ellen Miller.²⁹ Ellen was possibly a relative of Protestant Robert Millar.³⁰ Another example was Coombes' child, who was sponsored in 1871 by another Coombes, who was not a militiaman, but possibly a brother who had come to live in Hamilton.³¹ More evidence of chain migration and Irish community networks is found in the cohort's family histories. Jose Devitt recalled that her father paid the passage for her mother to migrate to New Zealand, and she stayed with

²⁵ Certificate No.105623, Death Certificate, Registrar General's Office, Which states; 'Robert Harris died Costley Home, Epsom, 22 November 1923, aged 78 years'. Correspondence from Be.ttem Sands-Smith to Dennis C. Hamblin, 12 September 1993, "Lewis Bassiere Harris died at Harrisville in Huntly, on 15 December 1921, aged 88 years".

²⁶ Liber Baptisatorum, 9.2.1885 – 8.6.1926.

²⁷ *ibid.*

²⁸ *ibid.*

Wises New Zealand Street Directory 1875 – 1876.

²⁹ Liber Baptisatorum, 9.2.1885 – 8.6.1926.

³⁰ N.Z. Army Department, Nominal and Descriptive Roll 4th Regiment Waikato Militia, No. 434 Robert Miller.

³¹ Liber Baptisatorum, 9.2.1885 – 8.6.1926.

N.Z. Army Department Nominal and Descriptive Roll 4th Regiment Waikato Militia, No. 20 James Coombes.

neighbours from Ireland, the Farrells, until she married. The Farrells were working on a convent farm in Pukekohe, and through them, the Lynchs heard that a job was available on the Hamilton convent farm.³²

The small population in Hamilton also meant that there were few Catholics from whom partners for marriage could be chosen. Inter-marriage and conversion were not uncommon, and it appears that this also occurred more frequently between non-Catholic men and Catholic women. It is assumed that endogamy was practised where possible, but exogamy does not initially appear to have had a detrimental effect on the growth of the Irish Catholic community. Father John Golden's list names Patrick Bestie, who is probably a brother of Irish Protestant Edward Bestie, and who may have joined the church by converting to marry a Catholic. The same could be said of Protestant Militiamen William Cumming, and J. Dwyer, both listed.³³ The baptismal registers show that Englishman Walter Chitty was baptised in 1874 aged 20 years, in order to marry Catholic Irishwoman, Alicia de Vere Hunt, in the first Catholic church in Hamilton East.³⁴ Another, the Catholic Reville family is recorded as descending from Protestant Irish militiaman Sylvester Maguire.³⁵

The reason for the success of the enclave in spite of exogamy may be the demands made of non-Catholics. An example of the commitment required is seen in the following note found attached to the Marriage Register for 1887 – 1903;

“I the undersigned hereby promise that I will support my husband in the practise of his religious duties, and that I will permit my offspring, should divine providence bless us with such, to be baptised and educated in the Roman Catholic Church”.³⁶

³² Jose Devitt, 19 July 1993, Tape 1, A 0:31. The sisters later employed the Lynches to run their farm ‘Knighton Estate’ which was 48 acres bought between 1917 and 1918 in Hamilton. The University of Waikato and St. John’s College now stand on this land.

³³ N.Z. Army Department, Nominal and Descriptive Roll 4th Regiment Waikato Militia, No. 557 William Cumming, No. 135 J. Dyer. (sic)

³⁴ Liber Baptisatorum, 9.2.1885 – 8.6.1926.

Douglas Chitty, ‘Walter and Alicia Chitty Hamilton Pioneers’, Auckland-Waikato Historical Journal 50 (April 1987) p. 29.

³⁵ N.Z. Army Department, Nominal and Descriptive Roll 4th Regiment Waikato Militia, No. 65 Sylvester Maguire.

Immigration was a continual source of new Irish settlers for Irishtown. Evidence of new immigration in the early 1920s is found in the Marist Brothers Schools Jubilee published in 1972.³⁷ There are many references to Ireland and the Irish families of Irishtown in the recorded memories of ‘old boys’. New Irish immigrant families are named including Hickeys, Horans, and Jordans.³⁸ Old families are also noted and continuity observed with families named as ‘Families of note’ in the publication and with Father Golden’s list, including the Cassidys, Chittys, Crosbys, Carthy’s, Kellys, and Roachs.

By 1935, Convent Records also show that these families and other original settler families continued to dominate parish life.³⁹ A “Who’s Who and Where” lists families that have had special significance in the parish. All except one are third-generation Irish families whose grandparents were named in Father John Golden’s list.⁴⁰ This is remarkable evidence that the focus of the community continued to be Irish, that this focus persisted over three generations, and is indisputable evidence that an enclave existed.

The evidence for outflow, or erosion, of the community is negligible until the first World War. For the generation born after the war, the pressure to assimilate was greater for two reasons. The Irish grandparents of the cohort were dead, and Irish immigration slowed after 1921. Exogamy without commitment to Catholicism occurred, and there is oral evidence that some families ceased communication if this happened.⁴¹ The natural inclination of the third generation to disperse was also exacerbated by employment opportunities outside Hamilton and the lack of external pressure. There was no evidence for sectarianism, nor did there appear to be much interest in Irish nationalism.

The open nature of sectarian relationships is a feature of the Hamilton Irish community. Following the Protestant Irish is more problematic than the Catholic.

³⁶ Register Marriage St. Mary’s Church Hamilton 1887 – 1903 (Held at Parish Office St. Mary’s Cathedral, Hamilton).

³⁷ Golden Jubilee 1922 – 1972: Marist Brothers Schools – Hamilton (Hamilton, 1972).

³⁸ See Appendix (B).

³⁹ There are difficulties in following the progress of these families. Sources of information include the Church registers, the oral histories, private interviews, unpublished church and jubilee documents as well as the writings of Father John Golden.

⁴⁰ Cart[h]y’s, Cassidys, Chittys, Crosbys, Delaneys, Jones, Kellys, McGarrigles, Ryans, Stokes were all Irish, the Wallnutts were not.

The most obvious reason is that Irishtown was Catholic by denomination. Another reason is the lack of documentary evidence other than the militia rolls, and none of their descendants were interviewed for this study.⁴² The statistics have shown that national trends for Protestant and Catholic Irish are contrary to the observations in Hamilton from 1911. However, in this study it was found that the denominational proportions of the founding 4th Regiment Waikato Militia population was also atypical for the other Waikato Regiments, and possibly other New Zealand Regiments. There were more Irish Catholics than Irish Protestants. This is in contrast with the observations of eminent Irish historian David Fitzpatrick, who has suggested that more Protestant Irish than Catholic came to New Zealand in this period.⁴³ An explanation for the difference in the Hamilton demographic is in the methodology of recruiting the Fourth Regiment with its large numbers of Australian-recruited militiamen.⁴⁴ It could be suggested that this in turn influenced the type of civilian settler attracted by chain migration. In other words, The Irish Catholics had an historical advantage of greater numbers in the original settlement and continued to do so from the 1870s. The Irish Catholics formed a soft-edged community that had strong patterns of behaviour that persisted and can be documented over three generations. The association of 'Irish' and 'Catholic' developed in this period and 'Irish' and 'Protestant' did not.

Akenson comments that “we have no surrogate for Irish Protestants that operates the way Catholicism works for Irish Catholics”, but that “the Protestant minority has been too large to be historically ignored”.⁴⁵ There is an intrinsic difficulty with finding evidence for Irish Protestants in Hamilton, and the lack of evidence precludes numerical analysis. What little evidence there is indicates that they did not appear to have organised themselves in any special way. Neither do those

41 Tape 4, Margaret Mills, 14 May 1993, A 11:57.

42 This is not only because, as has been explained in the introduction, the method of finding descendants precluded interviewing Protestant descendants because Irishtown was being researched with its Irish-Catholic connotations.

43 David Fitzpatrick, *Irish Emigration*, p. 11. He states that this was because there were different migration trends for Australia and New Zealand. “The Australian Irish tended to come from south-western and north-midlands counties, while New Zealand, with its strong Scottish tradition, attracted emigrants from Ulster as well”.

44 The method of recruitment, that is most having been recruited in Australia, accounts for the higher number of Catholic Irish, and therefore makes the Hamilton experience atypical for other New Zealand-recruited militia settlements. In other words, the predominance of Irish military settlers was Catholic, not Protestant.

45 Akenson, *Small Differences*, p.39.

Akenson, ‘*The Irish in New Zealand*’, p. 10.

identifiable Protestant Irish seem to have been represented in public office any more or less significantly than their Catholic counterparts in East or West Hamilton. For example, the Webb brothers and J. Martin were the only Irish Protestants members of a Hamilton Town Board.⁴⁶ William Coleman, one of the Coleman brothers of the militia, who owned a butcher shop in Hamilton East, seems to have been the only Irish Catholic. Similarly, only two Irishmen were mayors of Hamilton Borough before 1900. William Jones a wealthy Catholic landowner, was mayor for 3 months in 1889. Protestant Ulsterman John Knox, an auctioneer, was mayor from 1880 to 1883.⁴⁷

Although Jones was Catholic, his mayoralty cannot truly be claimed as representative of Irishtown. He appears to have operated on the periphery of the Catholic system. His children went to the state school in Hamilton West, rather than the Catholic one, despite living on Victoria Street close to the Bridge to the East; and he was married to a non-Catholic.⁴⁸ His presence on the Church committee suggests that it was acceptable that his children did not attend the Catholic school.⁴⁹ He had entree to the Catholic enclave, but he did not exclude himself from the wider community. His partial affiliation was symptomatic of the trend that was to inevitably result in the dissipation of the community.

While there is almost no demographic evidence of the Protestant Irish, their social behaviour is perhaps more in evidence by default. There was no evidence of enmity between the Catholic and Protestant elements in Hamilton. An example was the relationship of ex-militiaman and Protestant Ulsterman John Knox with the Catholic community. Gibbons notes that he, “doubtless had little good to say about the papists, but never publicly attacked them [Catholic community]”.⁵⁰ It appears that on at least one occasion he had an amicable role, conducting an auction at a Catholic bazaar in 1883. He thanked everyone present on behalf of the priest, Fr. O’Gara, and proposed a hearty cheer for the ladies, certainly not the

⁴⁶ Gibbons, p. 316.

N.Z. Army Department, Nominal and Descriptive Roll 4th Regiment Waikato Militia, No. 425 William Coleman, No. 458 James Webb, No. 459, Joseph Webb, No. 274 J. Martin.

⁴⁷ Gibbons, p.317.

⁴⁸ Sr. Anne-Marie Jones, unrecorded interview, 5.November.1994. [grandniece of militiaman William Jones]

⁴⁹ Hamilton Parish Committee Minute Book .

⁵⁰ Gibbons, p. 300.

actions of an anti-papist. In return, he “got a round of applause for his services”.⁵¹ This is even more surprising as he was a “leading spirit” in the Loyal Orange Order No. 9, and a Mason.⁵² This suggests that in the case of Knox and perhaps others there was undoubtedly cultural empathy. This example of socialisation shows that the Protestant Irish were co-nationalists, but not co-religionists.

In contrast with the American experience, for example the Butte, Montana study used for comparison the Chapter IV, there was neither documentary nor oral evidence of Irish nationalism. This surprising new ethnic trait may not be specific to the Hamilton experience. One consideration may be is that the experience of the Irish migrant in New Zealand differed from that of North America. “In contrast to the North American search for political and religious freedom, this was not a common cause of emigration to New Zealand.”⁵³ There is a silence in the testimonies about the period between 1916 and 1922 when the Irish rising and civil war took place, although it is certain that the cohort and their parents would have been aware of it. The news of the Auckland trial of an Irish Bishop for sedition must also have reached Hamilton parishioners. On St. Patrick’s day 1922, The coadjutor for the Auckland diocese, Bishop James Liston, made a speech about the 1916 rebellion, which was considered seditious, and he was unsuccessfully brought to trial on May 15. Surprisingly, discussion of this event did not evoke a response from the cohort. If the judges’ summation was an indication of the prevailing ideology, then it may explain the cohort’s apparent lack of interest in Irish politics.

“The speech was made to Irishmen, and if the jury were to look at these things in a fair, broad and liberal spirit... They might think it is far better in New Zealand where Englishmen and Irishmen dwell together in amity, that the memory of these wrongs or supposed wrongs should fall into oblivion”.⁵⁴

⁵¹ *Observer*, 6 January 1883.

⁵² DNZB Files, No. 33 [1643] (Hamilton Public Library).

⁵³ Jeanine Graham, ‘Settler Society’, in *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, edited by Geoffrey W. Rice (Auckland, 1992), p.116.

⁵⁴ Rev. E.R. Simmons, *In Cruce Salus* (Auckland, 1982), p 226.

On a local level, the lack of nationalism was apparent in the lack of evidence for the Hibernian Australasian Catholic Benefit Society, a type of mutual benefit society. While there was a Hibernian Hall in Hamilton, and the society did appear to exist, no other documentary evidence for the society remains.⁵⁵ Neither in the oral evidence was there a reference to family memory of such an organisation in the oral evidence. The small numbers of Irish Catholics perhaps precluded the management of such an organisation. In other studies the society provided a basis for immigrants who, as David Fitzpatrick says, “chose ethnic solidarity as their strategy for escaping alienation”.⁵⁶ It appears that ‘ethnic solidarity’ in Hamilton was primarily based on religious associations, and not dependent on other affiliations.

As the community was not dependent on Irish-associated organisations, neither was it dependent on a work focus for community and cultural cohesion. Occupational barriers or work related transience in this community were undocumented until the third generation. The occupational base was uniform. Irishtown was working class with few exceptions. The street indexes show that the inhabitants of Irishtown were self-employed carriers on a town acre, small farmers/orchardists on 10 acres or so, or labourers in the 1910 – 1920s period.⁵⁷ A small number were relatively larger landowners.⁵⁸ There were no professionals in this group. Akenson’s table of occupational groups in New Zealand in 1921 shows that the largest group of Irish Catholics were “primary producers – that is, farmers”, and the next largest being “industrial” or unskilled.⁵⁹ Hamilton’s Catholic occupational base was typical of the New Zealand Catholic population.

There was no competition for work, carrying was readily available and the construction of a railway to Hamilton in the seventies was one opportunity for employment, as was labouring or contract work on the farms surrounding Hamilton, and drainage schemes.⁶⁰ This was both conducive to survival and to

⁵⁵ Sister M. Magdalen, unrecorded interview, 10 April 1993.
Rejoice in Hope, p.19.

⁵⁶ David Fitzpatrick, *Irish Emigration*, p. 36.

⁵⁷ *Wises New Zealand Street Directory 1875 – 1876*, p. 29.

⁵⁸ H.C.M Norris, *Settlers in Depression: A History of Hamilton, New Zealand 1875 - 1894*, (Sydney, 1964), pp. 208, 96.

⁵⁹ Akenson, *Small differences*, p. 58.

⁶⁰ Gibbons, p. 57.

persistence, but also ultimately detrimental to the survival of the enclave. The opportunity for work-related transience exerted one of the most intense pressures for assimilation in the later period. The effects of this pressure can be seen in the following example of partial assimilation in a family. Irishman Bartholomew Roach, who arrived in Hamilton with his three children in 1874, worked digging drains in an area known as the Piako Swamp. He walked several miles a day to and from work, as well as cultivating a small section, the produce from which he used to feed his large family.⁶¹ His son Patrick Roache served at Gallipoli, and then returned to Hamilton to work on his smallholding in town much as his father did, again supporting a large family. His grandson Bart Roache, whose experience typifies that of the third generation males, served in World War I but moved away from Hamilton for work in the 1920s, although his sisters remained.⁶² A lack of sectarianism, Irish nationalism, and occupational barriers has been proven. The question then remains: What did sustain the community until the 1920s and 1930s when the pressure for assimilation forced it to dissipate?

It is suggested that it was a combination of factors. First, the physical dimensions and the geographical location of Irishtown and how these were linked with the visual embodiment of shared religion in the church buildings. Second the unusual systems of inheritance that prevailed until the third generation. Third, support for the church and Catholic education system, and the Clergy-parishioner relationship.

The location of the first church on the redoubt was to influence the geographical development of the Catholic community. There is no doubt that it was the catalyst for the construction of other Catholic buildings in the vicinity. This was because parishioners purchased land on Clyde Street, close to the original church built on, or near, the redoubt area as a new church was required to replace the old one. The 1865 church in situ in the redoubt area had been described by Irishman Bishop Thomas William Croke on a visit in 1871; "Church in [Hamilton] fearful,

⁶¹ Norris, *Armed Settlers*, P. 211. Norris goes on to describe Roach saving money until he had fifteen cows and ten acres of land. "His hard work and thrift produced him a competence" *Waikato Times*, 1 9 1915. His age is confirmed in his obituary, he was in his early thirties.

⁶² Tape No. 14, Bart Roache, A 24:19.

disgraceful in fact. Gave Pastor Laurence Vinay a well-merited castigation”.⁶³ It had deteriorated even further by 1874, and was in very poor condition. It was “weather stained almost black, having never been touched with paint or paint-brush”. Golden refers to it and a presbytery being re-sited to Clyde Street.⁶⁴ It took three months for the “dilapidated presbytery” to be made fit for habitation. In the interim, Father Golden stayed at Burke’s Hotel.⁶⁵ It is most likely that the Clyde Street site was chosen because the church had to be moved and it was the closest site available. There is more evidence of the continuity of the placement of church structures when a new church was built on the same site in 1877.⁶⁶

The pattern locating the other church buildings followed the same procedure, with adjacent land being purchased for new buildings. When the new 50ft x 25ft church was opened in June 1877 on Clyde Street, The order of the Sister of Notre Dame des Missions purchased property opposite on which to build a convent.⁶⁷ Later, land adjoining the convent property was then purchased by Father Joseph Croke Darby on which the third church and fourth churches and presbytery were erected.⁶⁸ He supervised the construction of a new church, which had a capacity to accommodate 800, and was opened on 24 November 1912.⁶⁹ The size of the structure was an indication of the confidence in projections for the growth of the Catholic community, as they numbered only 495 in 1911.⁷⁰ A house for the Marist brothers, primary, and secondary schools followed. This initial pattern of parishioners buying land close to the redoubt therefore precipitated other developments and resulted in the establishment of a concentration of Catholic services and clergy foundation in Hamilton over the next five decades.

⁶³ In *Cruce Salus*, P. 110.

⁶⁴ Golden, p. 45.

Rejoice in Hope, p. 13.

⁶⁵ Golden, p. 7.

⁶⁶ Golden, p. 35.

Gibbons, p.61.

Plans to build it were brought forward to 1877 when the train lines reached Hamilton, and with it access to wood from the Auckland Kauri Mills.

⁶⁷ *Rejoice in Hope*, p. 13.

⁶⁸ In *Cruce Salus*, p. 114.

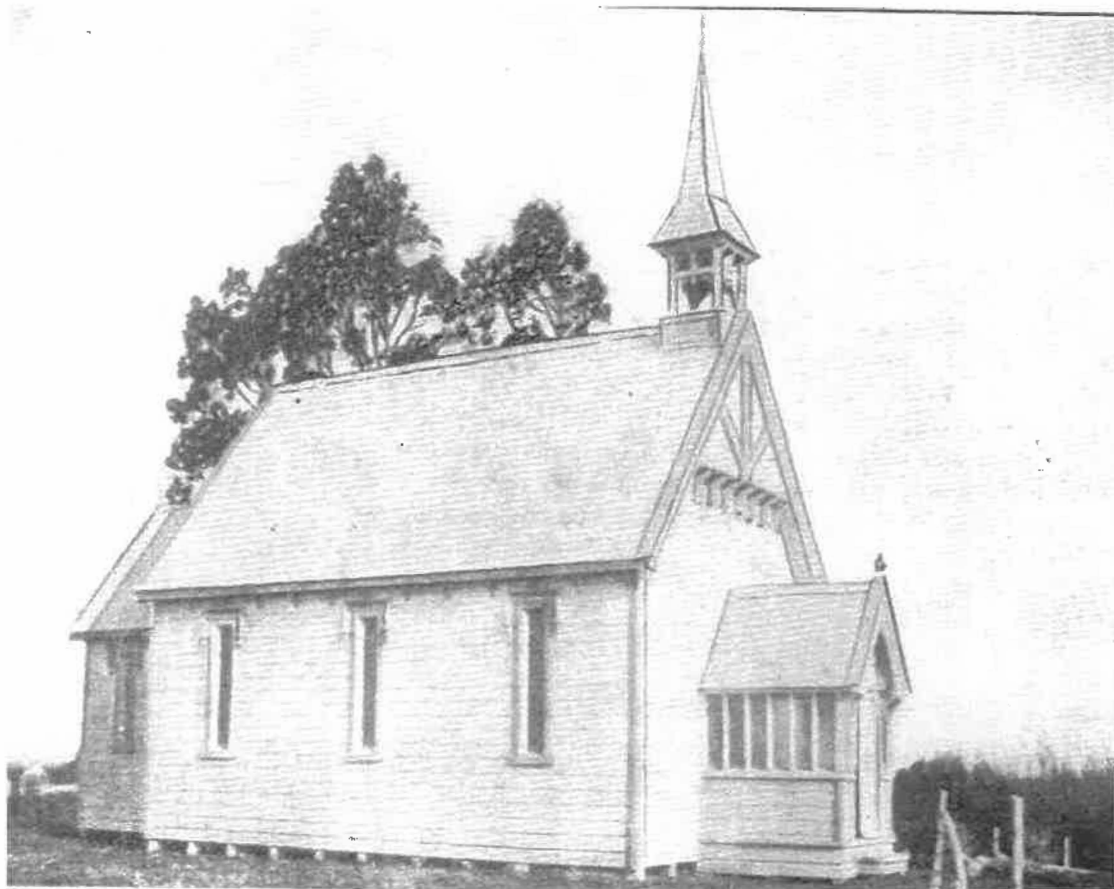
When a Fr. Joseph Darby arrived in Hamilton in 1901 his father Patrick allegedly purchased land on Grey Street adjoining the convent property around the corner on Clyde Street. This is possibly so, as it is recorded that Patrick Darby donated land for a church in Auckland.

Certificate of Title Vol. 153, Folio.68. Transfer No. 123179. This is also supported by a title deed, which shows the transfer of one acre of land on the corner of Clyde Street and Grey Street to ‘Joseph Croke Darby of Hamilton, Roman Catholic Priest’.

⁶⁹ *Waikato Times*, (24 August 1964), p.159.

⁷⁰ *Hamilton Convent Jubilee 1885 – 1935* (Waikato Times), p. 10.

Photograph (1) The first Catholic church built 1865, in second location at Clyde Street .



Source: Hamilton Convent Jubilee 1885 – 1935

Note: This church was originally located in or near the Hamilton East Redoubt.

It was moved to Clyde Street in 1874.

**Photograph (2) Second Catholic Church built 1877, Clyde Street,
Hamilton, circa 1905. ¹**



Source: Waikato Times, 24 August 1964.

Note: This church was constructed on the site of the 1865 church on Clyde Street opposite the Convent where Sacred Heart Girls College now stands. It was incorrectly described as the “First Catholic Church” by the Waikato Times

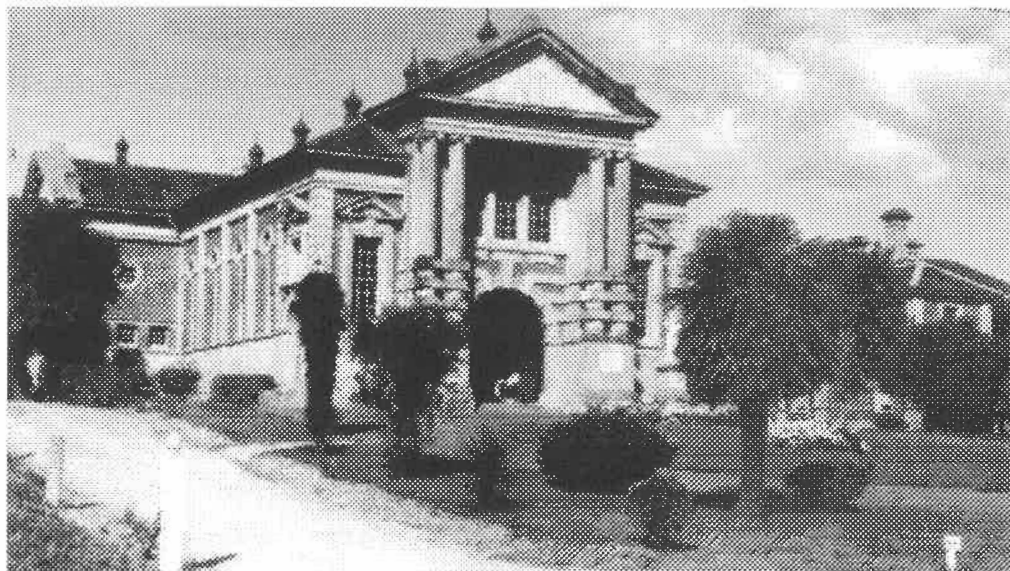
Photograph (3) 1912 at the opening of the new church, showing, from left, Bishop Grimes (Christchurch), Andrew Casey, Bishop Cleary (Auckland), Bishop Verdon (Dunedin) and Father Darby, Parish Priest of Hamilton.



Source: Hamilton Convent Jubilee 1935.

Photograph (4) The Church of Our Lady of the Rosary built

1912 Grey Street, Hamilton, circa 1960.

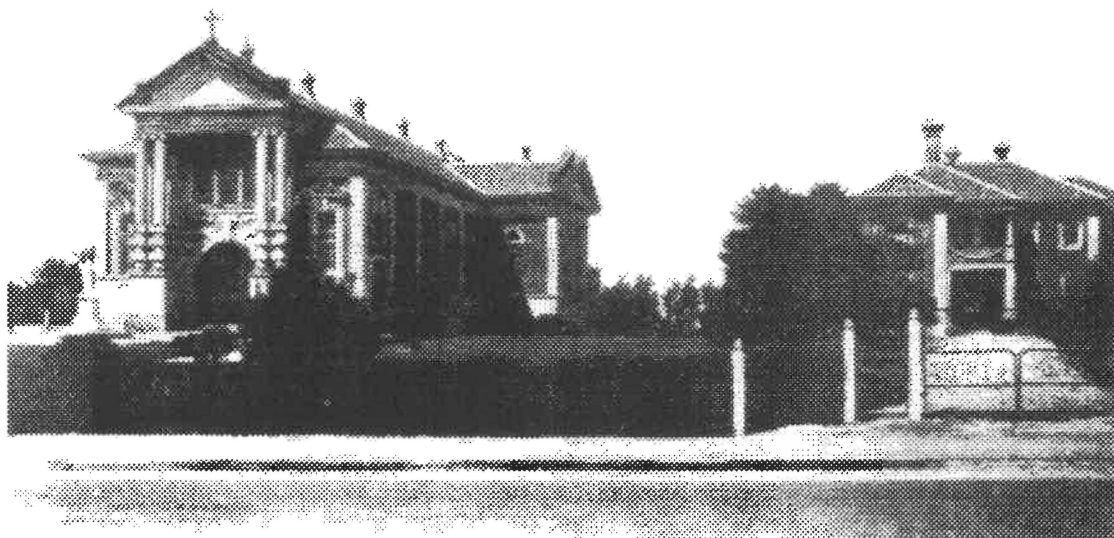


Source: Private Collection

Note: The church was opened by Irishman Rt. Rev. H. W. Cleary, Bishop of Auckland, 24 November 1912. The building was constructed of Melbourne brick with cement facings and was designed in the old Basilica style; four Ionic columns form a portico surmounted by a cross. The roof was of purple slate.²

² *Waikato Times Hamilton Centenary Issue, 24 August, 1964.*

Photograph (5) Church of Our Lady of the Rosary 1912 Grey Street, view from south side showing Presbytery 1912.



Source: Private collection.

Another element that influenced the geographical concentration of the enclave was the unusual method of inheritance that has been documented in this study. From the beginning of the settlement in 1864 to the 1920s, there was a pattern of subdivision of land into small family lots. The practice of ‘multiple inheritance’ had been discontinued in Ireland before the settlers came to New Zealand. The traditional Irish ‘stem family system’ in which one child, usually a male, inherited control over family property, came into being in Ireland after the famine period (1840s) when resources were limited. It was “the essential social institution that motivated and permitted individuals to remain permanently single, or to marry at a relatively late age”.⁷¹ It appears that the remaining militiamen and early settlers regressed to an inheritance system that their grandparents practised. Whether this was a conscious effort to retrieve values associated with their own multigenerational family structures, or whether it was simply a response to the relative isolation of Hamilton at that time is unknown. What is certain is that it was to effect the development of the enclave.

Although access to quality land in Irishtown was as pertinent a difficulty for the militiamen as the situation they had left in Ireland, farmland was readily available in other areas, if not within Hamilton, for the second generation. It seems that this was not a reason for the practice of multiple inheritance. One possibility was that the gifting of land to consecutive generations ensured the family and community stability. Another reason for this pattern in the early period Irishtown could have been the desire to pool labour in an isolated community. In any small community, familial clustering and co-operation can ensure a steady supply of help. This is particularly relevant to Irishtown, which had a labouring occupational base, and subsisted from intensive farming on smallholdings. There may have been a tendency to group to create larger family identities and extended family networks because of the generally small numbers in the enclave. Fitzpatrick has noted a motivation for this type of behaviour. In his recent work on correspondence between Irish immigrants to Australia and their families in Ireland he writes of the strangeness of Australia contrasting with the warmth of contact between Irish emigrants, and the surrogate family networks that evolved.⁷²

⁷¹ Fallows, p.99.

The pattern of subdivision usually emanated from cramped housing conditions. The homeowners usually subdivided the land, or bought an adjacent section to build another house using combined labour in close proximity. The following examples of the cohort's families illustrate some of the different types of multiple inheritance, found in Irishtown. Zoe Horton recalls living in crowded conditions with her grandparents as a child; her brothers slept in the open air on the veranda, until her grandparents built another house. "Grandma and grandfather Kelly's house was on the corner of Brookfield and Galloway Street. They built a new house right on the corner on the section adjoining the old house".⁷³ Molly Skelton, lived with a large extended family and boarders until it became too crowded. She continues to live in the same house her father built when she was five.

"My grandmother, grandfather, Dad's two brother and a couple of boarders all moved [in] with us on the corner of Beale and Grey Street. [Dad] got fed up of [sic] sharing and decided that he would build this present house [on adjoining section]".⁷⁴

Jack Flynn's family brought grandparents from Ireland and built a house for them on family land already shared between two generations. Flynn Road is now adjacent to the land held by the family, and Jack Flynn still lived in a house on that land until recently.⁷⁵ The Crosby family of twin brothers married twin sisters, lived together on land now known as Crosby Road, and still owned by the Crosby family.⁷⁶ The Roach family holdings in Galloway Street over three generations present an interesting extreme of this tendency.⁷⁷ The original settlers, Bartholomew and Margaret Roach, raised nine children in their tiny labourer's cottage on a small holding which they gave to their children to create a family enclave in Galloway Street.

⁷² David Fitzpatrick, *Oceans of Consolation: Personal Accounts of Irish Migration to Australia* (Ireland, 1994), pp. 581-601.

⁷³ Tape No.2, Zoe Horton, A 5:00.

⁷⁴ Tape No. 5, Mollie Skelton, A 00:24.

⁷⁵ Tape No. 4, Jack Flynn, A 28:44, B 18:30.

⁷⁶ Pat Barnett and Irene Crosby, unrecorded interview 9 October 1993.

Photograph (6) Bartholomew and Margaret Roach shown outside their cottage on Galloway Street in the early 1900s.



Source: Roach family.

In all, 11 more dwellings were erected on twelve acres over two generations.⁷⁸ Today, their grandchildren June, Patricia, Emily, Noeline and Mary all live on adjoining sections on the same family land, as does Emily's son Michael. June Wait describes how she and her sisters married, lived together and raised their children together. "There is just the five of us [siblings] left in this what's called Irishtown. My brother Bob was there for a while, now it's just the five. Twenty-three children between us five girls. They all grew up together."⁷⁹ This excerpt shows how essential multiple inheritance was to the perception of 'belonging' to the community, by 'belonging' to the extended family in Irishtown, and is therefore one valid proof reason the enclave survived for so long. It is not clear why the practice of multiple inheritance occurred in this enclave, but what is certain is its effect. A strong structure based on families and kinships developed that created an environment in which the enclave could not only survive, but also thrive.

The family networks created by the system of multiple inheritance made it easier to fundraise for church development, and the small community readily contributed. Although the Catholic community was willing to donate funds towards church buildings, the successful development, and continuity of the Catholic community was not due to financial stability. From the earliest recorded Parish accounts in 1880 to the 1940s, the Catholic Church in Hamilton remained in debt.⁸⁰ Much of the money came directly from the pockets of the Catholic community. In his memoirs, Father John Golden records that two-thirds of the cash for the 1877 church on Clyde Street was raised principally from parishioners. A "zealous and efficient" church committee organised the fundraising in a community "where money was scarce".⁸¹ In the early period, a hand-written note of Father Golden's on the parish accounts in December 1877 shows where the

⁷⁸ Section 254, Section 253 transferred to Bridget Glover 27.11.34, Title deed 25 May 1915, Section 250 transferred to Joseph Roach, Section 252 transferred to Patrick Roach. Family records shows that Bartholomew and Margaret transferred land to their children thus: Joseph Roach in 1893, and Bridget, Francis, Thomas, and Patrick in 1900. Thomas, Patrick, Francis, and Joseph constructed dwellings on the 12 acres held by the family between 1884 and 1900. Patrick's children June, Patricia, Emily, Noeline, Mary, Robert and his nephew Peter all constructed dwellings on six of those acres between 1921 and 1961.

⁷⁹ Tape No. 14, June Wait, 39:45

⁸⁰ Golden, pp.37, 40. Father John Golden cited a liability of fifty pounds in 1880. Hamilton Parish Accounts Ledger 1 January 1926 – 25 July 1948. Parish Priest Rev. Michael Bleakley recorded a liability of three thousand three hundred and seventy one pounds in the parish accounts ledger in 1940.

⁸¹ Golden, pp. 35, 8.

balance came from. “Subscriptions and concerts were the schemes for raising the necessary funds.”⁸²

The structure of the Church was expensive to maintain throughout the period. Table (6) shows that in 1926, there were 1856 parishioners. The school salaries of the ten Notre Dame de Missions Sisters and four Marist brothers were paid by the parish.⁸³ Maintenance on the Marist and convent schools, presbytery, and Marist Brothers’ house was also listed as expenditure. The parish also paid for new classrooms.⁸⁴ This was a considerable burden on a per capita basis. The parish accounts ledger shows that weekly donations were given in the form of a “Penny Fund”, the weekly mass collections contributed, and income from socials, or dances, were contributed. Weekly donations were also recorded for a “Debt Extinction Fund”.⁸⁵ It was a considerable feat that a relatively small community supported such a large contingent of clergy and buildings. If the financial commitment of the parishioners is indicative of the spiritual or cultural commitment to the church, then it helps to explain the how the enclave was successful.

After 1877, there was a separate education system for New Zealand Catholics, which meant that parishioners were supporting schools as well as the church.⁸⁶ A “select” school, primary school, and secondary school were established shortly after this time, and were all located in close proximity to the other church buildings. The order of Notre Dame des Missions brought Catholic education to Hamilton. This is evidence for the support that the sisters had in the community. An early cultural empathy between the community and the sisters can be supposed as four of the original six nuns were Irish.⁸⁷ By August, The sisters began teaching in what was described as the “old Hibernian Hall” on Cook Street.⁸⁸

Photo (7) 1 Cook st

⁸² ACDA INT. II, 1-3, No. 2.
Golden, p. 10.

⁸³ Parish Ledger.

⁸⁴ *ibid.*

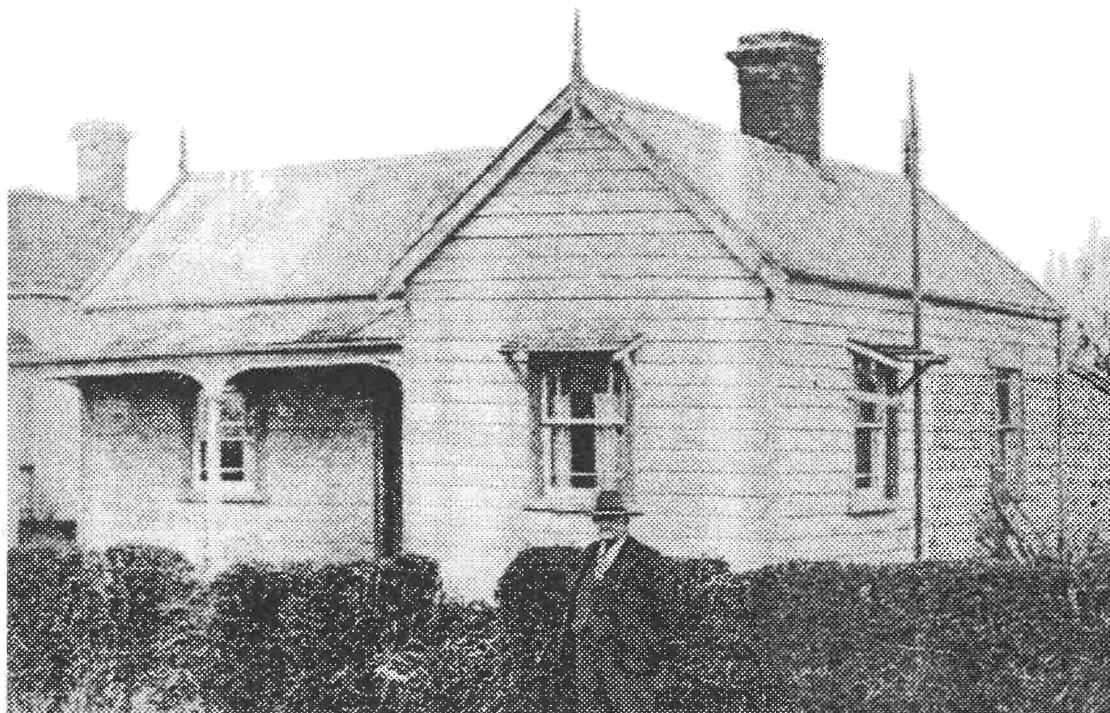
⁸⁵ *ibid.*

⁸⁶ In *Cruce Salus*, pp. 131-33.

⁸⁷ See Appendix (C).

⁸⁸ Sister Magdalen Ryan, unrecorded interview 10 April 1993. The present Hibernian Hall is remembered as being built in 1923, so presumably, it stands on the site of the original one.

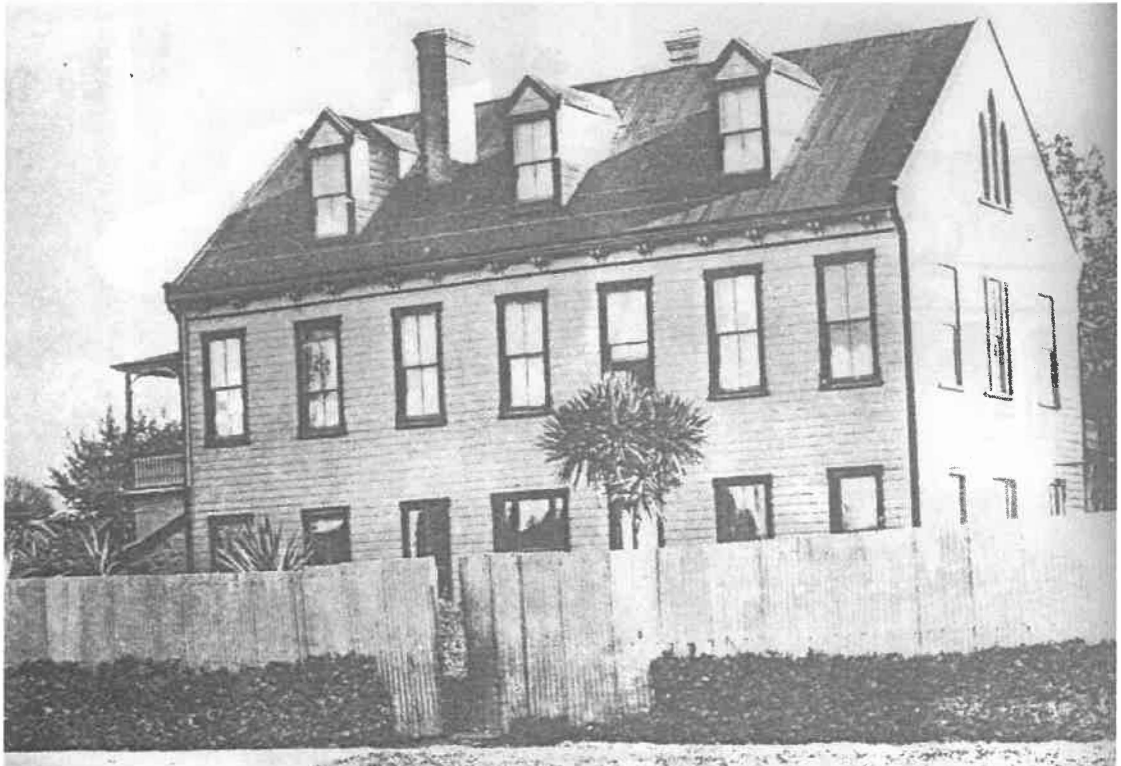
Photograph (7) First convent of the Notre Dame des Missions Sisters, Cook Street, 1884.



Source: Rejoice in Hope.

Note: Bud Cassidy pictured.

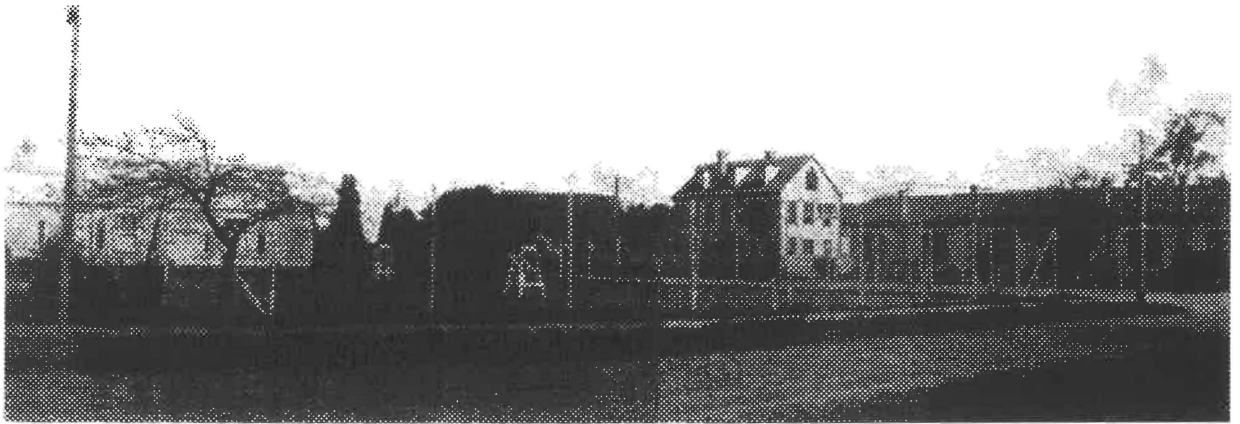
Photograph (8) The second convent of the Sisters of Our Lady of the Missions Clyde Street 1885.



Source: Rejoice in Hope.

Note: The convent was built and designed by a Mr. O'Dea who had previously designed and built a convent for the order in New Plymouth

Photograph (9) 1877 church on Clyde Street (L) with 1885 convent opposite and school buildings (R). Exact date unknown but prior to 1935.



Source: Hamilton Convent Jubilee 1935.

The small numbers of children of primary age on the roll in the first year, thirty, was an indication of the numbers of parishioners.⁸⁹ Evidence of class and the indigence of the early community are seen in the role of a fee paying “select” school about which little is known.⁹⁰ There were only seven pupils in the first year, it has been suggested that that these were the children of the military officers.⁹¹

The historical continuity of the community is evident in the way in which the original church and school buildings and facilities had been established, and recycled. They were shared by different sectors of the clergy over the next two generations. When the Marist brothers arrived in 1922 they established a boy’s primary school in the old 1877 church in Clyde St.⁹² The Catholic community again donated funds. Four thousand pounds was raised from two bazaars to build a house and classrooms for the brothers. A Brother’s residence and two new classrooms were opened on Clyde Street in 1923, and they had 93 boys on their roll by 1924.⁹³ The ‘old parish hall’ was used for a boy’s secondary school and a new secondary classroom added on in 1925.⁹⁴ As the numbers of pupils increased classes were held at the new convent built by the Notre Dame des Missions Order in 1885.⁹⁵ A new parish funded school was built next to the convent in 1889, and the convent was then used to house the select school in 1890 until it became a boarding school in 1915.⁹⁶ A new secondary school, built on Clyde Street in 1937, that became known as Sacred Heart College, and a new convent was built in 1941. The clergy co-operated to ensure that optimum educational facilities were possible. The farm was allegedly purchased from Dean Darby whose father had bought it “as an investment” in the early 1900s.⁹⁷ This land was later sold by the convent to the diocese “at generous terms” in 1960 and St. John’s College, a Catholic boys’ secondary school was built there in 1961.⁹⁸ It now adjoins the University of Waikato on Hillcrest Road. This shows that the autonomous Nuns,

⁸⁹ Hamilton Convent Jubilee, p. 18.

⁹⁰ Rejoice in Hope, p. 13.

⁹¹ Sister Dorothea Lawless, unrecorded interview 23 June 1994.

⁹² Golden Jubilee, pp. 17, 10.

⁹³ Hamilton Convent Jubilee, p. 21.

⁹⁴ Golden Jubilee, P. 10.

⁹⁵ Rejoice in Hope, p.14.

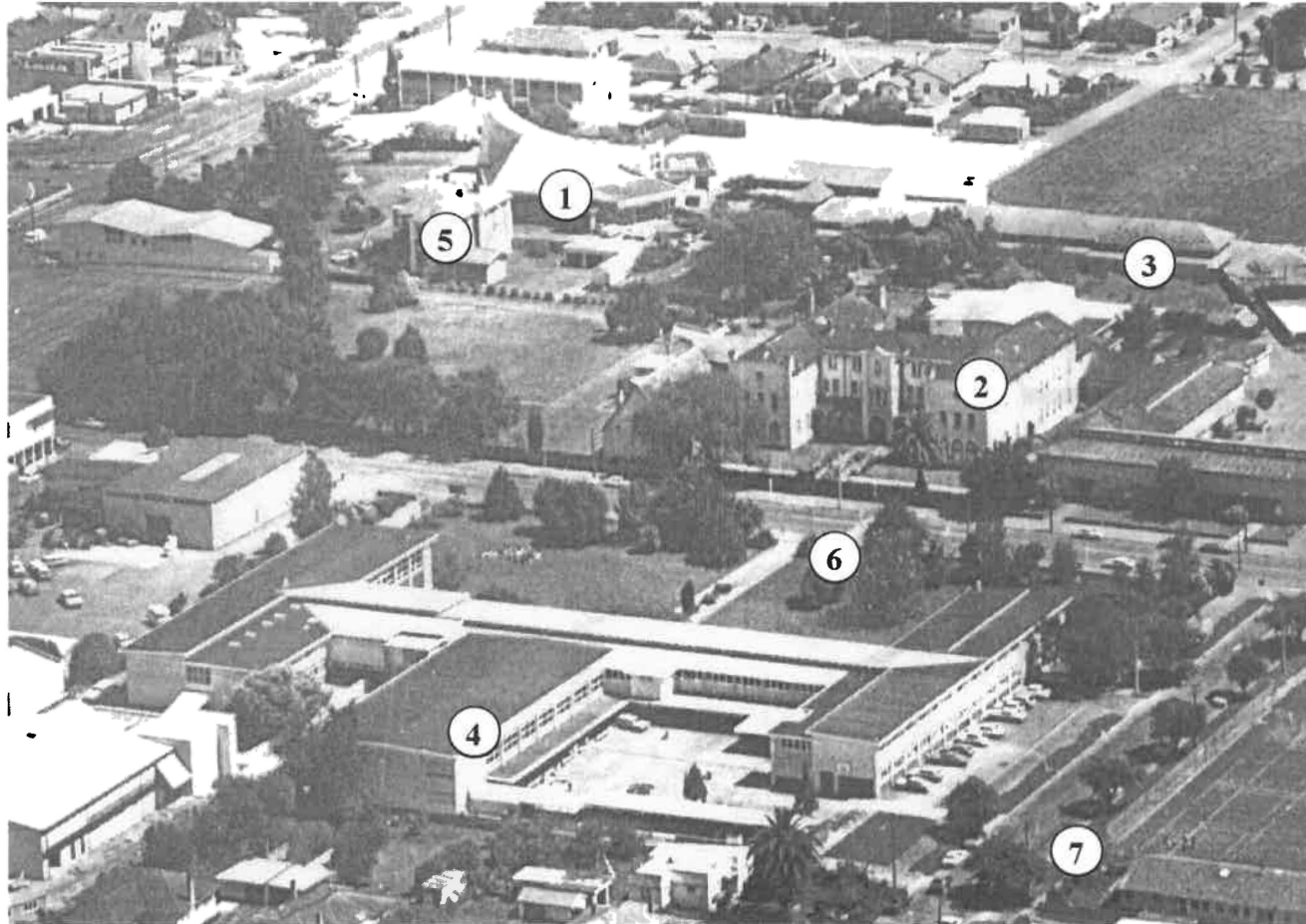
⁹⁶ ibid.

Waikato Times ‘Hamilton Centenary Issue’, p. 159.

⁹⁷ Tape No. 4, Jack Flynn, side 2, 1:00.

⁹⁸ Golden Jubilee, p. 14.

Photograph(10) Aerial photograph of Catholic buildings, Hamilton East, circa 1964.



Source: Rejoice in Hope.

Key: 1. Cathedral 1975. 2. Convent 1941. 3. Marian School 1959.
4. Sacred Heart Girls College 1937. 5. Presbytery 1912. 6. Clyde Street. 7. Firth Street.

Brothers, and Secular Priests worked together for the benefit of the community. This is evidence for a well-developed Catholic structure that has persisted to the present day; the involvement of the sisters in education has continued. Sister Pauline Leonard is the present Principal of Sacred Heart College. A small but committed community funded this tradition originally almost exclusively. The relationship between parishioners and clergy is another reason that this occurred.

A unique relationship between community and clergy was observed on two levels. The presence of Irish clergy was an important factor in the cultural reinforcement of the group, and a remarkable number of vocations to become nuns, priests and brothers came from the families of Irishtown. Twenty-nine of the Nuns have come from Irishtown families, many of them siblings. Some of these had siblings that became Priests or Brothers.⁹⁹ There was, therefore, reinforcement on a family level, as many schoolchildren would have been related to clergy.¹⁰⁰ Six Marist Brothers entered the order from Irishtown families. Of the 36 old boys who became priests or Brothers, 24 were from Irishtown.¹⁰¹ On a cultural level, there were also links. Sixteen of the Nuns who served in Hamilton were Irish.¹⁰² There were also other sources of Irish influence in the clergy. It is suggested that the two Irish priests who served in the parish from 1901 to 1949 had a considerable cultural effect on their parishioners. Parish priest Father (later Dean) Joseph Croke Darby, of Irish parents, was appointed to Hamilton between 1902 and 1921, and Irishman Father Michael Bleakley, was Parish Priest from 1921 to 1949.¹⁰³ Not only were Father Darby's parents Irish, but he appears to have been named after Thomas William Croke, Irish bishop of Auckland, who was described as "the ideal of a patriot priest".¹⁰⁴ His Irish father was a well-known publican, "ruddy old Auckland pioneer 'Pat' Darby, who was landlord of the Thistle".¹⁰⁵

⁹⁹ See Appendix (C).

¹⁰⁰ *Rejoice in Hope*, p. 14. The mutual reinforcing themes of Irish and Catholic is noted again when the sisters brought the Irish manager of the Order's Napier farm to Hamilton to supervise the construction of a convent.

¹⁰¹ Appendix (B). Including the Battersby, Dillon, Dunleavy, Foley, Forsyth, Glynn, Hassan, Hawke, Hore, Horton, Howie, Kennedy, Scott, Smith, Turner, and Waters, families.

¹⁰² See Appendix (D)

¹⁰³ ACDA INT. 1/3-6.

¹⁰⁴ In *Cruce Salus*, pp. 105-06.

¹⁰⁵ *ibid.*, p. 114.

Observer Weekly, 29 April 1905, p.4.

Their presence over the period 1901 to 1949 compounded the association of Catholic and Irish, and they acted in the capacity of a surrogate cultural reference. In their position of influence as parish priests, their 'Irishness' would have had greater effect. It is postulated that their influence extended the 'life' of Irishtown beyond its natural term.

The Irish influence extended beyond Hamilton. Akenson notes that "... in the last quarter of the nineteenth century onwards the New Zealand Church was under Irish-born, Irish-educated or Irish-descended Bishops".¹⁰⁶ The Bishops of the diocese in Father Bleakley's time were the Irish-born Henry William Cleary, and the Irish-educated Coadjutor, Bishop James Michael Liston.¹⁰⁷ The Vicar General from 1925, Monsignor Jeremiah Cahill, was also Irish.¹⁰⁸ These men came from an Ireland that had been theologically reshaped by the reforms of Archbishop Paul Cullen; whose tightening of internal discipline and promotion of dogmatic theology, led to what has been described as a 'devotional revolution' in Ireland. "Cullenism" manifested in New Zealand parishes under the auspices of the Irish bishops, as an enthusiastic drive for increased church attendance, membership of confraternities, conservative theology, and a special interest in education.¹⁰⁹ An example of this influence was the 'Holy Name Society' which was first founded in Auckland in 1928 by Bishop Liston with Monsignor Cahill as director and instigated in Hamilton soon after. Likewise, Bishop Liston promoted the formation of the Catholic Women's League in 1931, and Father Bleakley established the Hamilton Branch in 1939.¹¹⁰ Cleary was an accomplished journalist who founded, owned, and edited the Auckland Catholic periodical 'The Month' which was launched in 1918.¹¹¹ Father Bleakley launched his own publication 'St. Mary's Gazette' in 1926.¹¹² The few surviving copies indicate that the printing was of a high quality, and the eight-page publication included quality photographic reproductions and featured extensive editorials as well as advertising and the usual church notices. It was an ambitious project for a small

¹⁰⁶ Akenson, 'The Irish in New Zealand', p. 12.

¹⁰⁷ *ibid.*, p. 214.

¹⁰⁸ *ibid.*, p. 224.

¹⁰⁹ Akenson, 'The Irish in New Zealand', p. 12.

¹¹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 247.

Zoe Horton, History of the Catholic Women's League: Hamilton Branch 1939 – 1976. Cathedral Branch 1976 – 1989. Fifty Years (Hamilton, 1989) [Unpublished.].

¹¹¹ In Cruce Salus, p. 279.

¹¹² Hamilton Parish Accounts Ledger.

debt-laden parish, and indicative of the support the priest had in the parish, and evidence for his desire to emulate Cleary in this and probably other ways.

The statistical evidence has shown the demographic parameters of Irishtown over the period, and that it was always a small, Irish, working class, impecunious community, but one which not only persisted over three generations, but flourished. From the core of remaining militiamen and early Irish Catholic civilian settlers to their grandchildren a valid Irish enclave existed. The 'bricks and mortar' of the community, the church and school buildings, were the its structural manifestation, initiated by a small group of Irish parishioners and consolidated by the Irish priest Fr. Darby. The demographic behaviour of the community created an environment of family networks that facilitated fundraising for these buildings. These were to provide a focus for the enclave instead of an occupational one, such as mining, with the result that the community was concentrated geographically around them.

The Irish Catholics are shown to have operated a self-sufficient and separate social system. Within it, the traits associated with an Irish enclave included a lack of transience, chain migration, urbanisation and persistence of tenure. This persistence included multiple inheritance and an increase in the numbers of Irish and Catholic, a trend that was exclusive to Hamilton and contrary to the general population. The data available from the Baptismal Registers support the assertion that not only was there a cluster of Irish and Catholics in Hamilton, but that the cluster occurred in Hamilton East. Therefore, the enclave was centred in that part of Hamilton. While there is enough evidence to propose that this cluster existed from 1864 to 1940, the documentary evidence unequivocally supports the existence of an Irish demographic enclave between 1901 to 1921, which offers complete evidence of an enclave in this period. This finding is contrary to the previous discussion of Akenson's proposed and documented evidence of the distribution of the Irish in New Zealand.

The unorthodox system of multiple-inheritance, which has not been previously documented in an Irish enclave, helped to preserve these networks, and therefore community, over the first two generations. It probably assisted the pooling of labour resources, familial support and co-operation, and a sense of 'belonging'.

Other factors that may have contributed to this practice included the isolation and segregation of the community, the desire to create a 'larger' family identity and the desire to retain cultural characteristics within the family.

The characteristic of working class insularity was apparent in the evidence for the occupational base of the community. The Irish were shown to have contributed to the early development of Hamilton. Their propensity for "hard toil" was noted and from this evidence, traits of self-reliance and self-sufficiency can be attributed. These traits were shown critical to the development of the enclave. The community's contribution in labour and financial resources ensured the development of the structures of the church. Funding was shown to have come directly from the parishioners.

Although there were no special work opportunities for the enclave, neither was there competition for available work. In an environment where the community competed neither for labour, resources nor facilities, the church became an alternative focus. 'Church-centricity' not 'occupational-centricity' was a feature of Irishtown. Ethnic solidarity found in the American studies was evident, as were the traits of working class insularity. However, the lack of occupational barriers created constant pressure to assimilate. There was no evidence for sectarianism although the Catholics were a small group as a proportion of the population of Hamilton. Zealous support for church facilities and clergy was a special feature in Hamilton, where a small and impecunious community supported a relatively large contingent of clergy and buildings.

The lack of external pressure meant that the cohesion came from within the community structure. The kinships, family networks, and ethnic solidarity of the enclave combined to effect voluntary segregation. This trait is unusual in a non-hostile environment. It was therefore not a reactive estrangement, but an attempt to preserve the features of the community and to postpone assimilation into the general community for as long as possible. Dispersion was the most profound threat to the enclave. Inevitably, when cultural references ceased to be available, this is what happened.

This soft-edged community constantly threatened to assimilate, and would have done so without the influence of the two Irish priests. At a point when the natural process of dissipation through occupational transience and exogamy might have begun, the arrival of Fr. Bleakley served to revitalise the community, and provide an Irish cultural focus. Under his direction the parishioners' involvement in church life increased and the community's reaction to his 'Irishness' greatly contributed to its unnatural extension, Irishtown continued to exist in a fragile state until he left the parish. In the next chapter, the oral histories will provide evidence of community life in the period of Father Bleakley's tenure. This will be cross-referenced with the statistical and documentary material provided in this one.

Chapter Three: Remembrances of Irishtown 1910-1940

A sense of belonging, the understanding of cultural provenance, conscious, or unconscious, and the assimilation of heritage are other components that characterise an enclave. However, the perceptions of belonging or not belonging to a community cannot be evaluated through traditional sources, or quantified empirically. The narratives help to access these perceptions in a way not otherwise possible.

It was found that the oral evidence not only re-affirms the existence of 'Irishtown', but is also a witness to its dissolution. The period of the recollections can be considered as the third and final phase of the community. The oral histories evoke a community on the verge of dissipation, while providing the most compelling evidence for its existence. The themes that run through the narratives have been disseminated for evidence of the Irish traits and characteristics that may be expected to be found in such a community. There are characteristics of religious affiliation, patterns of socialisation and working class insularity that complement the findings of the previous chapter. Some surprising new traits have also emerged that may be specific to Hamilton.

Several new characteristics of religious affiliation have appeared. With fewer cultural references available in the third generation of Irishtown, the narratives indicate that the religious affiliations of the community became 'ethno-religious'. That is, that there ceased to be any distinction between Catholic and Irish. The previous chapters have shown how the two had become synonymous, to the third generation they were perceived as homogenous. An example was the direct interaction between families and the clergy. This chapter will show that the clergy appear to have transcended traditional roles, and undertaken unexpected duties including informal adoption, and care of the sick. Mythic feats were attributed to them. It seemed that the presence of the priests, more than any other factor, artificially extended the life of Irishtown beyond its natural end. This link has not been found in other studies.

Patterns of socialisation also seem to have become fused with these characteristics of religious affiliation. Church-centricity, and church-based socialisation found in the previous chapter were supported, as was evidence for the sharing of resources, and self-sufficiency, self-reliance, and isolation of the community. Irish cultural activities, beliefs, and celebrations are observed as would also be expected, but poorly associated in the narratives, which was not. The topics of drunkenness, violence, and corporal punishment in family life emerged in the testimonies, although there were silences. The new discovery of traits of non-nationalism in the documentary evidence was also found in the oral testimonies.

Several new patterns of intergenerational behaviour were also found. Terms of cultural self-reference and ethnic-consciousness were discovered to be male-based, while paradoxically it seemed it was women that enabled the social process. The transmission of ethnic identity occurred as expected, but unconsciously. Previously undocumented behaviour relating to the ritualistic care of the dead is shown to have fulfilled both a social and sacramental need. A process of 'pseudo-adoption' to ancestors of the enclave linked new immigrants; and the cemetery became a cultural icon. There is evidence in the narratives of multiple inheritance, with persistence and familial clustering found to be features of the enclave until the third generation matured. The histories also provided affirmation of working class insularity with evidence for two distinct social groups within a small working class community.

The narratives show that the roles and characteristics of the Irish clergy provided a viable substitute for the dwindling cultural resources. It was only the presence of Irish priests that extended the life of Irishtown into a third generation. This trait is unique to Irishtown. No other studies have identified a causal relationship between the success or failure of an Irish enclave and the birthplace of the clergy. There was a pervasive perception of cultural reciprocity between the 'Irishness' of the Parish priests and the cohort.

For example, a respondent only remembers Irish priests in her childhood; “We used to have mainly Irish priests down at St. Mary’s”.¹ Her generation grew up with a strong identification with Irish clergy and their ‘Irishness’ according to this evidence. The previous chapter has defined the numbers, role, and interaction of Catholic clergy with the people of Irishtown from the evidence available. In this, the cohort recall their images of the clergy, the rites and rituals of the church, religion in the home and intergenerational religious influences in family life. In doing so, Irish associated behavioural patterns are demonstrated. Father Joseph Croke Darby was the priest that the cohort remembers from the early part of their childhood:

“Since he has been in charge of the parish at St. Mary’s, Hamilton, with the oversight of the Cambridge Church added, he has done a great deal for the material as well as the spiritual interests of his Church. Believes in the virtue of bazaars and concerts, and of that sort, as adds to the exchequer, and he knows the best time for holding his entertainments, at which by the way he personally assists with a violin, being what is called a virtuoso.”²

The perception that this priest was somehow ‘special’ as a priest is linked with his being Irish. In the following narrative, the respondent echoes this respect with the use of the word “revere”;

“Dean Darby was revered by everyone in Hamilton, not only Catholics. In summer, he would wear a dustcoat of tussore silk and a Panama hat. He always had a pocket full of pennies...and he used to hand out the pennies, not only to the Catholic children.”³

The use of the word ‘revere’ has religious connotations. In this period, reverence for a parish priest by other Catholics is acceptable. However, it is doubtful that the general population felt the same sentiments, but the narrator perceived that this was so. The description of the “pocket full of pennies” places the memory as a

¹ Tape No. 6, Molly Endres, A 1:09.

² Observer, 29 April 1905, p.4.

³ Tape No. 2, Zoe Horton, A 46:37.

childhood one. This childhood hero-worship may have translated for some into an inordinate degree of identification with the priest that transgressed the boundaries of a traditional relationship.

When asked to leave Hamilton in 1921, it appears that Father Darby disobeyed Bishop Cleary and refused to relinquish his position. He was supported in doing so by some of the Catholic community. The official records for the diocese show that he left Hamilton the same year.⁴ However, documentary and oral evidence contradicts this. There is a missing year between 1921 and 1922 and this appears to be the year he spent unofficially in Hamilton. Several respondents recall that he continued to live at a local hotel, the Riverina, for some time. One of these, Sister Mary Hassan remembers,

“Poor old Dean Darby was asked to leave Hamilton by his Bishop, and he did not do so. I understand that he even wrote to Rome to see if he could stay here, several parishioners were much averse to him going as he was very much liked. So he stayed here in Hamilton. I remember as a little child he used to live over in the hotel that is now the Riverina. He used to come over to the church to say mass, sometimes we would ask one of the boys to answer his mass for him, he would give them half a crown as there were a lot of Latin words to learn.”⁵

This invaluable testimony clearly illustrates the respondent’s dilemma between cultural and religious identification; the reason given that the priest had to pay boys to serve at mass is that ‘there were a lot of Latin words to learn’. It is more likely that the priest could only get help by paying the boys, as he was not officially supposed to be saying mass in the parish at all, and therefore had no servers allocated to him. Dean Darby could not have stayed without local support. Some

⁴ ACDA INT. 1/3-6. [Note about Darby, which includes; ‘he was to remain in Hamilton until his retirement in 1921’. However, his obituary shows that he did not retire until 1922.] *Zealandia*, May 14, 1941. Obituary Notice says that Dean Darby ‘gave up active parish work in 1922 and has since lived in retirement in Ponsonby’, but it does not say when he actually left Hamilton. Two weeks before he died he went on a visit to Hamilton, which is testament to his lasting connections there.

⁵ Tape No.11, Sister Mary Hassan, A 2:42.

parishioners could not let him go, even, as the testimony shows, at the risk of disobeying the bishop.

This dilemma appears to have caused a schism in the parish, and some interviewed would not discuss the subject. It was probably an untenable contradiction for most, religious obedience versus cultural identification. Because religious and cultural identity had completely amalgamated in the third generation, the predicament was irresolvable. The result was an unhappy compromise, with some parishioners actively supporting Father Darby, and others dissociating from the situation. There was no evidence of disapproval amongst those that did not partake in maintaining the priest's fundamental duties of saying mass, and hearing confessions. This can be construed as tacit consent. Here is evidence for the beginnings of disaffiliation and dispersion of the community. It seems that those that who feared de-segregation tried to retain the priest as a religious/cultural reference. Others appeared ready to move on, ostensibly at least. In other words, there were those who had an attachment that appeared inappropriate, and this can be understood when viewed in the context of the priest's cultural and religious representation. The defiance of the Bishop's wishes shows that for those, the obligations of the cultural association superseded that of the Catholic. This then forms proof that the religious affiliation was not only ethnic based, but synthesised with cultural belief systems.

The childhood memory of the cohort indicates that if the presence of the Irish-descended Dean Darby consolidated the cultural affiliation of the community, his successor, Father Michael Bleakley, who was Irish, had an even more profound influence. When Father Bleakley left the parish in 1949, another Irish priest did not succeed him. The respondents unanimously recalled their sense of loss, for both the priest and his Irish associations. In terms of their experience with Father Bleakley, the adult process of reconstructing childhood memories of Dean Darby may have made his 'Irishness' seem more intense. As the third generation grew older and began to have their families, Fr. Bleakley acted as a catalyst to revitalise their community for the following twenty years.

The effect he had on the lives and cultural focus of the parishioners is evident in the structures of their remembrances. Many of them had lasting memories of his arrival from Ireland, although, as in the case of the following narrator, inaccurate one. This excerpt shows her strong desire for cultural identification with this priest. She romantically ‘remembers’ that he arrived in the parish on St. Patrick’s Day (17 March) 1919.⁶ He actually arrived in October 1921.⁷ In the narrative, she goes on to transfer desired ethnic attributes that are associated with the Irish priest to herself that are associated with the Irish priest. “He rather loved me. Perhaps I reminded him of someone in Ireland. I had shiny black hair and very blue eyes and Irish colouring. I have still got a prayer book and all the holy pictures he gave me.”⁸ His ‘Irishness’, and the parishioners’ subconscious gratitude for it, is shown in this extract, “We owe a lot to him...he came as a newly ordained priest to Hamilton...very Irish, very tall and dark.”⁹

The formation of Irish associations of mythic proportions, emphasised by the use of mixed chronology, is found in the following excerpt: “He was an Irishman of rare intelligence, above his own age, ahead of his time.”¹⁰ The myth surrounding the priest included the cohort’s perception that he accorded special favours to the Irish enclave. When two respondents report that Father Bleakley celebrated mass in their homes when a parent was dying, they believed that the church did not allow this practice.¹¹ This further adds to the collusive nature of the narrative, and can be linked with the Irish tradition of mass in the home.¹² A respondent maintains that Fr. Bleakley had completed six years of seven in medical school before deciding to become a priest.¹³ There is no evidence to contradict this assertion. If this were so, the combination of a temporal and a physical healer would have been a powerful one. Although his medical actions in the following excerpt were palliative rather than curative, the sense of awe this combination evoked is

⁶ Tape No. 2, Zoe Horton, A 40:46.

⁷ ACDA INT II, 1-3/1, [Bishop Cleary, in his own hand, ‘Missions and Stations in the Waikato in the Seventies’ 1841-1972].

⁸ Tape No. 2, Zoe Horton, A 40:46.

⁹ Tape No. 3, Mavis Coombes, A 9:40.

¹⁰ Tape No. 11, Sister Mary Hassan, A 2:42.

¹¹ Tape No. 11, Sister Mary Hassan, A 3:42.

¹² Fallows, p. 13. This tradition dates from the Penal laws of 1695 which forbade Catholic worship.

¹³ Tape No. 2, Zoe Horton, A 40:46.

apparent: “Remember, he did a bit of medicine? He would give her [narrators’ dying mother] a morphine injection.”¹⁴ Further evidence of the extent to which the myth associated with the priest developed is noted in the recollection of his participation in the St. Patrick’s Day festivities. The newspaper reports of the competition results of the annual event have not supported the statement. “Fr. Bleakley used to go in the single men’s race and win every time, he had legs like a racehorse...He would often catch the greasy pig too.”¹⁵ Another recollection places a heroic emphasis on the priest;

“I have a vivid memory of Fr. Bleakley. A little lame girl, Kathy Skiffington, lined up for her age race. From the start, she was well behind but she struggled valiantly, until Father, in three strides, covered the ground. He reached her, picked her up and then without effort reached the winning post carrying the laughing passenger, who won the prize.”¹⁶

For other children this Irish priest rekindled or provided first hand experience of ‘Irishness’ as a surrogate for their deceased grandparents. His power as a leader also increased the sense of religious affiliation of the community. ‘Irregular’ clerical duties included an example of Father Bleakley and one of the Irish curates acting as a fostering agency;

“One Christmas we ended up with three extra children in our house. A brand new baby...the mother had died when the baby was born. Fr. Kelly arrived with the baby. Another time, the father was not Catholic, but the mother was. She had four children and then a breakdown. The man was desperate and his partner, a builder, said ‘Look, go to the priest [he is] very friendly.’ In desperation he went and we had him at six days old.”¹⁷

This excerpt shows that those outside the enclave acknowledged that there was a well-structured social system operating in Irishtown. There appears to be a lack of consultation, the priest arrived unannounced with the baby. This shows the

¹⁴ Tape No. 11, Sister Mary Hassan, A 3:42.

¹⁵ Tape No. 11, Sister Mary Hassan, B 5:11.

¹⁶ Rejoice in Hope, p. 86.

symbiotic relationship between community and priest, where the normal parameters of behaviour for both are violated. It could be said that this is a strong indication of a functioning enclave with its own internal logic. The remembered effect of religious affiliation on the patterns of socialisation not only included parish-led participation, but active initiation. When the Marist Brothers arrived in Hamilton, a parishioner remembers the women of the parish helping the impecunious brothers.

“My mother got the word that the Brothers were sleeping under sacks and newspapers in the depression. She and other ladies in the Catholic Women’s League went to the Parish Priest, Fr. Bleakley...They bludged [*cajoled*] him until he parted with the keys and they went in and fired everything out...Brother Clements went over to Fr. Bleakley and said that [they had] an order of poverty, and Mum wagged her finger at Brother Clements and said ‘You teach in our schools, we expect you to sleep well to do your job’. That shut the Brothers up”.¹⁸

The narrator wishes to show that her mother, and by association the narrator herself, has a high degree of religious association. There is an exaggerated tone of familiarity, maternal concern and mock-chastisement of both the Parish Priest and the Brothers. “I was very involved with the Marists brothers. From time to time the Marist Brothers house would need fresh curtains or cushions so I would get in touch with a couple of friends and get the money together and get it for them”.¹⁹ It appears that the women’s care of the brothers defined their role as caretakers, and is evidence for their role as facilitators. There is no oral evidence for the men being involved in the Brother’s care, other than contributing in the Sunday collection for the financial support given to them by the Parish. This supports Hasia Diner’s claim of the crossover between women’s patterns of socialisation and religious affiliation. The descriptions of the cohort do not concur, however, with her view that the nuns only provided a community social service.²⁰

¹⁷ Tape No. 6, Molly Endres, A 13:18.

¹⁸ Tape No. 14, Bart Roache, A 15:05.

¹⁹ Tape No. 2, Zoe Horton, A 40:46.

In the narratives, the sisters did not interact with the community in the way that the priests and brothers did, but they did have a special relationship with the children of Irishtown. To observers they constituted an enigmatic section of the clergy. “Nuns were rarely seen in the street, never alone, and seldom seen in a shop.”²¹ According to a respondent, who grew up in Irishtown and has been in the order for more than forty years, there were only two choices for a nun. “In those days, there was no option, you had to go in and teach, or you were relegated to the kitchen.”²² The initiation into interactive religious affiliation began when children attended the Catholic school. Their area of interaction was the responsibility for the spiritual induction of the children. The children’s initiation into religious life began at the age of four as ‘flower girls’ or ‘boys’. One respondent recalls the church procession and the part they played; “We were called flower girls when we started off. We had little pink cords with little pinks baskets in front of us and every so often [we] threw petals out. Four men [held] the canopy [a baldachino, over the priest]. [We were] Children of Mary and wore the blue satin cloaks. Many [girls] wore theirs over the bridal gowns and wore it for the last time on their wedding day.”²³ The sisters organised the younger children who strew petals from baskets.²⁴

Another remembers that following the sacrament of First Holy Communion at the age of seven a new degree of status was conferred, different coloured sashes were worn. “There were gold sashes and gold banners, those were the glorious mysteries, the purple sashes were the sorrowful one and the green was the joyful. After a year or so in the greens, it was great guns when you were in the purple.”²⁵ Mnemonic reinforcement complemented the pageantry. It was one method employed by the sisters at school to condition the children from an early age. A respondent remembers learning a rhyme taught by the nuns at school which was designed to encourage the children to visit the church as often as possible. “Whenever I pass a church, I always make a visit, for fear of when I’m carried in,

²⁰ Diner, p. 120.

²¹ Geoffrey Roche, ‘Catholic Parish of Saint Mary’s, Hamilton’.

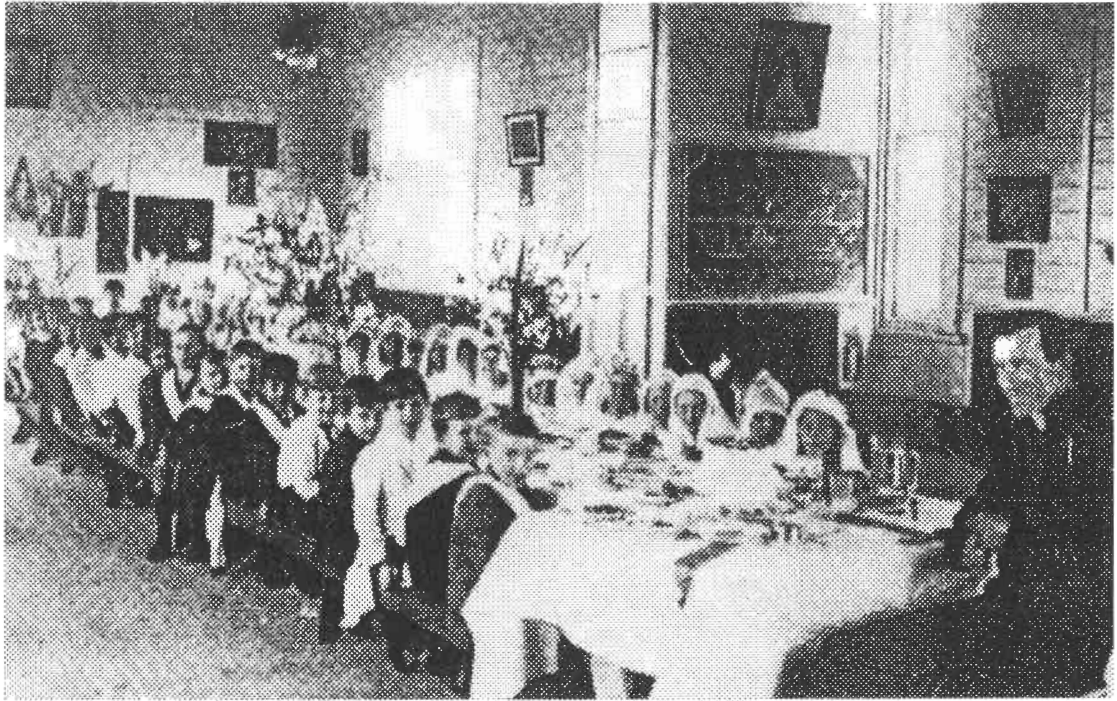
²² Tape No. 11, Sister Mary Hassan, A 25:33.

²³ Tape No. 6, Molly Endres, A 25:20. Tape No. 11. Sister Mary Hassan, A 32:03.

²⁴ Sister Magdalen Ryan, unrecorded interview, 10 April 1993.

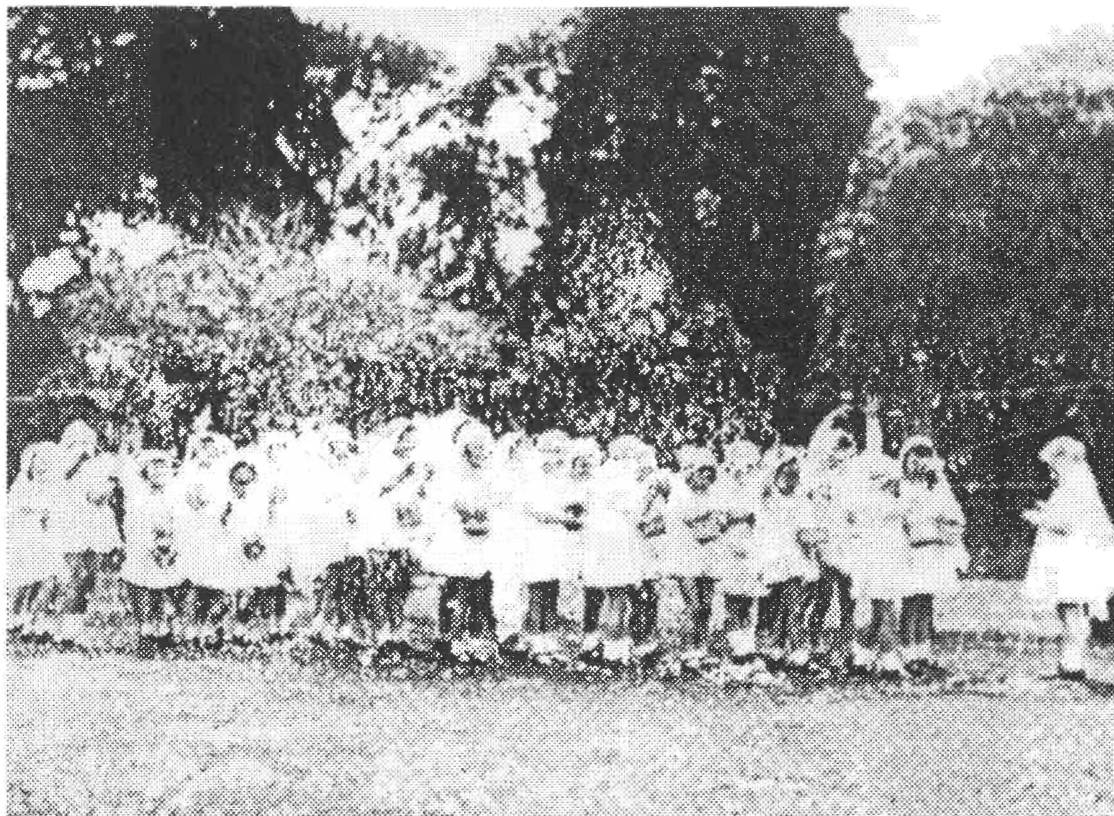
²⁵ *ibid.*

Photograph (11) Father Michael Bleakley at First Communicants breakfast.



Source: Rejoice in Hope.

Photograph (12) Flower girls scattering petals at prompting of bell-ringer (right) in grounds of the convent. Date unknown.



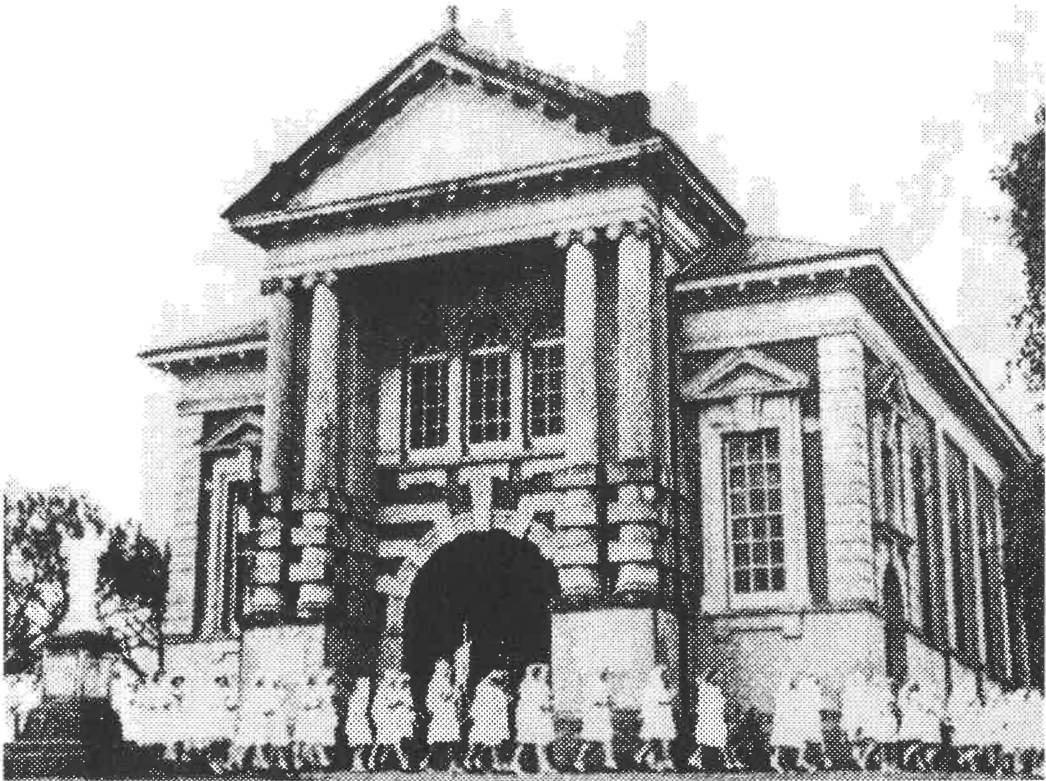
Source: Rejoice in Hope.

Photograph (13) 'Children of Mary' procession in the grounds of the convent. Date unknown.



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Source: Notre Dame des Missions, Hamilton.

Photograph (14) Procession around the perimeter of 1912 church.



Source: Private Collection

the Lord will say, “Who is it?”²⁶ The high numbers of third generation Irishtown women who became nuns is a testament to the influence of the Sisters in the formative period of the children of Irishtown.²⁷

As well as processions, there were other rites and organisations such as fraternities and sodalities that the entire cohort participated in as children. The Catholic year was arranged according to the church calendar. The lives of the community rotated around this calendar. Fallows found that fraternities strengthened the bonds of Irish identity, her description of the American fraternities, such as the “Friendly Sons of St. Patrick” in New York, have an obvious Irish base.²⁸ In Irishtown, the cohort recalls membership of the fraternities ‘Children of Mary’ for girls and women, and ‘Holy Name’ for boys and men. Neither of these has an ostensible Irish connection, yet were linked to religious affiliation which was blended with cultural affiliation.

While the association with the fraternities was seen as an essential part of belonging to the community, the oral testimonies do not show any evidence of membership of Irish or Irish affiliated organisations, even in the 1920s when Ireland became a Free State. Sister Dorothea remembers her father was a member of the Holy Name Society, the Vincent de Paul Society, and the Catholic Hibernian Society, which had Irish connotations in Auckland. In the third, the era of the cohort. There is almost no oral evidence of the Catholic Hibernian Society in Hamilton.²⁹ In the previous chapter, the lack of documentary evidence for Irish organisations was discussed. In an American study Fallows found that by the 1930s “the need for fraternal [Irish] organisations was less intense”, and she goes on to quote an Irish American saying, “Today, the third and fourth generations have already lost their desire to be called ‘Irish’.”³⁰ Fallows shows evidence that there was a natural propensity for the third and fourth generation to disaffiliate. Although this was delayed in Hamilton, it appears that one casualty was the membership of any Irish organisations.

²⁶ Tape No. 6, Molly Endres, A 25:20.

²⁷ Appendix (C).

²⁸ Fallows, p. 53.

²⁹ Sister Dorothea, unrecorded interview, 23 June 1993.

³⁰ Fallows, p. 53.

The cohort remembers the ceremony of the processions. Competition amongst the boys and men of the Holy Name Society to carry the cross at the head of a Church procession was described as ferocious. The following extract encapsulates the process as it describes the respondent's role; "Sr. Gemma's father was the head man to teach the altar boys. As far as carrying the cross was concerned, he would grab it and if he wasn't there, there was a big fight to see who got it. I happened to be on the big side and got it plenty of times."³¹ The dramatic picture of the struggle for the cross could be analogous for the intensity of religious affiliation in the childhood's of the third generation.

Memories of school life also provided evidence of community cohesion within the enclave and early ethnic self-awareness. Children walked to school or hitched a ride if they could. "We went with Dad every morning because Dad took the milk into the convent. Dad would pick up anyone on the road...He had a cart full of children." A respondent's father on convent business helped carry some children to school.³² Those walking arranged to meet on corners and groups got large as they converged on the school. The children from Hamilton East State School met the Catholic school children en route. Some rivalry and conflict occurred with scuffles and name-calling. A Catholic respondent remembers a taunt; "We were always enemies when we went to school, they used to say to us 'Catholic dogs jump like frogs on a Sunday morning, the devil comes and smacks their bums and made them say good morning'."³³ What the Catholic response was is lost. Nevertheless, the following testimonies indicate that the children's bigotry extended to both sides. "When we were growing up, the Catholic children still had that [idea] not to speak to Hamilton East children." This teasing was not exclusive to Hamilton. In his boyhood reflections on Catholicism, The Demanding God, Pat Lawlor, who grew up in Wellington, remembers the exchanges of "Cattle Dogs" and "Proddy dogs" with the State school.³⁴ This excerpt shows that the Catholics were just as adept at teasing; "There was a Seventh Day Adventist across the road. One day we got the boy down on the grass, and made him say he

³¹ Tape No.4, Jack Flynn, B 1:00.

³² Tape No.12, Jose Devitt, A 12:04.

³³ Tape No.9, June Wait, A 20:05.

³⁴ P. Lawlor, The Demanding God (Dunedin, 1972), p 13.

did believe in hell.”³⁵ The evidence for sectarianism is minimal, confined to childhood experience, and as has been noted and not just reserved for Catholic children.

The narratives show that religious affiliation and religious loyalty began at an early age at school. As well as oral testimony for positive childhood experiences of the clergy, there were also negativities. The cohort was unwilling to explore the area of discipline at school, possibly because of family links to the sisters, or because in school life and social life, the Church had the same religious influence, and to criticise the teachers at school was to criticise the church. Only one respondent recalled harsh treatment of the students; “There were some tartars among the nuns. Those were the days when you did use the cane...Some of them used to come down on your hands if you did the wrong thing’.”³⁶

Along with school, the cohort’s earliest memories of religion included religious icons such as fonts and altars in their bedrooms. “They all had little altars, didn’t they? All the children. We had our little statues, Holy pictures and flowers, [a statue of] Our Lady, the Sacred Heart, and St. Anthony.”³⁷ These artefacts were common to all Catholic homes in this period. New Zealand author Pat Lawlor recalls his Catholic childhood in his book *The Demanding God*, “...there were holy water fonts at the door of all our bedrooms...and a tiered altar in the bedroom of my mother and father.”³⁸ Significantly, in their descriptions none of the group describe Irish paraphernalia that might have been expected in second generation Irish homes such as a “St. Brigid’s Cross”, Irish pictures, Irish lace samplers, nationalist banners or flags, publications or perhaps Irish china.³⁹ When questioned, the cohort did not recall any such items in their Irish grandparent’s homes either. This supplements the lack of documentary evidence for associations with para-nationalist organisations or material. However, this does not appear to have been an impediment to the development of a community that could not

³⁵ Tape No. 6, Molly Endres, A 25:20.

³⁶ Tape No. 11, Sister Mary Hassan, A 25:33.

³⁷ Tape No. 9, June Wait, A 24:56.

³⁸ P. Lawlor, p. 10.

³⁹ St. Brigid's Cross: traditional cross woven from rushes, that would usually be hung on a wall, named for the Irish saint who was said to have performed miracles.

survive without cultural reference. Fallows offers an explanation. She observes that the “traits of an ethnic heritage are often unconsciously transmitted in the intimacy of the family”.⁴⁰ This suggests that either the ethnic heritage must have been transmitted unconsciously in Irishtown, or another source of ethnic confirmation was available after the deaths of the generation of Irish grandparents, or both. In Irishtown, it was a combination of both. The priests acted as one source of confirmation; another was the methodology of Irish-associated patterns of religious behaviour.

Through the religious observation in the home cultural identity was unconsciously transmitted. Examining the following testimony where, for example, Zoe Horton recalls that they did not say the rosary every night, helps in understanding the degree of transmission. “We were not daily rosary people, we did a lot of praying at school.”⁴¹ This testimony indicates an understanding of different levels of religious identification, and perhaps the “Irishness” associated with the saying of the rosary, a particularly Irish custom.⁴² There are also connotations of class and a greater degree of religious affiliation. Another respondent echoes this association. She lived in the Galloway Street area but associated with, and related to, families in the higher-class areas, and distances herself from the core working class group with its overt religious affiliation. “[We] did not say the rosary, my family were not as keen as the Roachs.”⁴³ The testimonies have illustrated the perceived link between Irish and Catholic, on one level with the Irish tradition of the rosary, and on another the perceived link between class and the observation of this prayer ritual.

The small numbers and exclusivity of the clergy-laity relationships meant that the degree of religious affiliation of the Irishtown community inevitably interconnected with patterns of socialisation. The evidence in the narratives of socialisation in the home, extended family, and community again shows the unconscious transmission of heritage, and that it was compounded by the presence of the Irish priests. In other words, the intergenerational influences in family life echo those of parish life.

⁴⁰ Fallows, p. 97.

⁴¹ Tape No. 2, Zoe Horton, A 3:20.

⁴² Rt. Rev. MSG. John McMahon, *Scriptural Rosary* (Hong Kong, 1989), p. 9.

This, in turn, influenced the social behaviour of the enclave. Patrick O'Farrell recognises that religious affiliation and identification with working class were a protective mechanism in the perpetuation of an Irish community.⁴⁴ The narratives indicated a homogenous unit where Church and community life was inextricably intertwined, but where men and women had clearly defined roles. The degree of religious affiliation in an American enclave has been attributed to "community cohesion," where "the parish and the church were an inseparable part of the Irish Catholic world."⁴⁵ Another author Hasia R. Diner has noted this tendency in her book, Erin's Daughters in America, when she discusses the effect of religious affiliation on patterns of socialisation on women's lives. She says that it "created a sharp distinction between the roles of the sexes, and provided the nuns as a community social service."⁴⁶ The testimonies of Irishtown show a combination of both.

While the cohort's term of cultural self-reference and ethnic consciousness in the testimonies is male-based, women were considered to have a special role. In the initial interviews to elicit information on the respondents' Irish heritage before recording took place, the cohort all referred to their paternal Irish line first and only when questioned further as to their maternal line. The cohort defined the paternal role as that of the provider, with a strong influence. Many of the respondents commented on their father's education, which they perceived to be linked to class, a measure of which was the extent to which they did or did not read. One from the better area of Grey Street remembers how her father influenced her own learning behaviour; "Father was well educated. He had copper plate handwriting and was educated to Grammar school standard. We were all good readers and interested in books."⁴⁷ Another from Firth Street shows an awareness of Irish reading material in the home, and considers reading to be a valid substitute for education. "Pop used to have Irish magazines, real old Catholic

⁴³ Tape No. 1, Margaret Mills, A 18:37.

⁴⁴ Patrick O'Farrell, The Irish in Australia (New South Wales, 1986) p. 121.

⁴⁵ Emmons, p.34.

⁴⁶ Diner, p 120.

⁴⁷ Tape No. 2, Zoe Horton, A 6:28.

**Photograph (15) Roach children at the Hamilton East Cemetery circa.
1933/1934.**



Source: Roach family collection

Note: .(From left rear), Bob, June, and Pat, front; Noeline, Mary.

books, and a local paper from Magherafelt...Pop was very learned although he didn't go to school."⁴⁸ The link with Catholic and Irish is seen where both are included as a source of reading material, an example of the homogeneity in the period. A respondent from the lower class area of Galloway St recalls "there wasn't a book in the house."⁴⁹

An extreme and unusual example of identification with the male line is shown in the following excerpt from two female first cousins who were given patronymics and seldom used their given christian names. Irene Crosby recalled how her cousin received her name 'Pat'. "They started calling her 'Pat' from her father and they called me 'Tommy' on account of Tom, my father."⁵⁰ Pat's response to this statement shows her support for this evidence of paternalism. In the following excerpt, although now in old age, she still accepts the paternal nomenclature by rejecting her given name; "There are very few now that call me Margaret at all and it sounds so strange. [to be called Margaret instead of Pat]".⁵¹ The respondents did have brothers, so the reason for using their father's names is not a dearth of male children, but appears to be connected with a community-influenced pattern of behaviour. Like the Russian system, the women appear to have been attributed characteristics of male lineage. This could be linked with the practise of multiple inheritance and family clusters.

The desire to retain evidence of family groups, and therefore evidence of the enclave, may have extended to the symbolic reinforcement of the male line. Another possibility is the desire for provenance. The cousins could both trace their Irishtown heritage to their military settler grandfather, John Crosbie. The unconscious transmission of heritage as described by Fallows could also include reference to cultural origin, or in this case, the founding male. Fr. Bleakley and his assisting Irish priests appear as a dominant male influence in the oral narratives, which is more evidence of this trend.

⁴⁸ Tape No. 6, Endres, A 7:16.

⁴⁹ Tape No. 14, Bart Roache, A 7:52.

⁵⁰ Tape No. 7, Irene Crosby, A 3:52.

⁵¹ Tape No. 7, Pat Barnett, A 3:52.

The social process of Irishtown revolved around the family unit. The evidence for religious reinforcement, the familial clustering seen in the previous chapter and the evidence for self-reliance and self-subsistence meant that the women's role as facilitators in the home was critical to the success of the enclave. Evidence of women's work is unavailable in the documentary sources, but the oral histories show that they worked at home as primary caregivers and undertook unpaid and paid work in the parish community. Many of the respondents' mothers sewed for their families. "My grandmother sewed by hand, she was a very clever needlewoman, she made dresses and suits for her sons and daughters, lining the boys' suits with flour bags that had been boiled and dyed."⁵² Few Irishtown families had cars, and those that had were considered relatively well off. The Hortons owned a car, but did not have domestic help. The girls of the family were required to undertake household chores. "My mother had no help, she had four daughters, we all had to help. My parents would go to the 10.30 mass and they would be home just in time for the hot dinner which the four girls would have organised."⁵³ A respondent whose father was the Hamilton marine engineer with a relatively good income recalls mother using her skills to supplement the family income. "Mother had music pupils. She used to teach them for a shilling a lesson. She had 14 or 16 pupils. In those days the mother was pregnant most of the time."⁵⁴ Both of these examples indicate that the perceived "upper class" families of the enclave were not that much 'better off' than the lower class. Another example of a woman who undertook paid employment shows evidence of the link between women's work and the Catholic Irish connection. There is also evidence for an internal economic infrastructure; "I had the business [hairdressing] during the war. While I was there in Hamilton East all those Hamilton East Catholics would come to me to have their hair done. All those from Irishtown."⁵⁵ The link between Irishtown and Hamilton East Catholics is evident.

This link is observed again in Jack Flynn's early memory of his Irish grandparent's. The following testimony supports evidence of an ethno-religious characteristic; "[They] said the rosary every night. You had to kneel down by the fire. When we

⁵² Tape No. 2, Zoe Horton, A 27:00.

⁵³ Tape No. 2, Zoe Horton, A 15:25.

⁵⁴ Tape No.11, Sister Mary Hassan, A 43:00.

used to stay with them, it was down on your benders after tea at night...It was a habit with Irish people just as important as the meal.”⁵⁶ The women’s role of religious reinforcement in the home is seen in Jack’s assertion that his mother was “just as strict with the rosary.”⁵⁷ The association of “Catholic” and “Irish” is also evident in his recollection of a friend’s grandmother. “Old grandma Egan lived with them when I was young, she was very Catholic, she might have come from Ireland but I don’t know.”⁵⁸ His childhood construction that she may have been Irish is supported by his observation that she was not only Catholic but also “very Catholic”. The influence of the first generation women as cultural references for the cohort is evident in Bart Roache’s childhood recollection of his Irish grandmother using an Irish word. He recalls puzzling over her calling one of the Irish curate’s “garsuin”. Now in his seventies, Bart had held on to the phonetic memory of the word without ever knowing its meaning. When the interviewer translated it as the [Irish] Gaelic word for “boy” or “young man”, and suggested that it would have been used in a friendly way, he understood its context. His retention of the accurate pronunciation for such a long time is remarkable, and shows that the aural memory of his grandmother’s Irish accent was a powerful one, and one that is linked with his subconscious desire to retain Irish characteristics. This is evidence for the strength of ethnic association that the Irish grandparents had for the cohort.

It is suggested that there was awareness that with the death of the Irish grandparents, the latter incidences would cease. This is further evidence for the subliminal desire for an ethnic surrogate, and one that was available though the Irish priests. Not only did Fr. Bleakley act as a surrogate Irish influence for the grandparents, but that his leaving was seen as equally detrimental to the cohort maintaining links with their Irish heritage. In this statement, the respondent appears to be discussing the implications of the death of the Irish grandparents. The chronology shows that she is actually unconsciously transferring her association of ‘Irish’ and ‘grandparents’ to ‘Irish’ and ‘priest’. “They stopped having this affiliation with Ireland when the grandparents had all died in the

⁵⁵ Tape No.11, Sister Mary Hassan, A 15:17.

⁵⁶ Tape No. 4, Jack Flynn, A 28:44.

⁵⁷ Tape No. 4, Jack Flynn, A 28:44.

1940s".⁵⁹ The narrator is really referring to Fr. Bleakley leaving in the 1940s. She and her friends' Irish grandparents would all have died by the 1920s. The respondent displays chronological transference. She unconsciously manifests grief for the priest's departure that she is confusing with the deaths of her grandparent's. She grieves for the loss of culture. The significance of this loss is seen in the continued influence of the grandparent's as cultural icons even after their deaths. While the Irish priest left no tangible cultural legacy after his departure, the grandparents' graves proved to be viable cultural icons.

The care of the dead may well have been a feature that was unique to Irishtown, where the enclave used the cemetery to create its own cultural reference and sense of Irish inheritance. The result was a facility and ritual that developed the community's cultural consciousness. Many of the community had Irish grandparents buried in the cemetery. In one case, there were four generations of one family that included a great-grandparent that had migrated from Ireland to join a first generation settler relative. While there would have been others from Hamilton visiting graves, their ritual would not have been the same as the Irish enclaves'. For example, the recitation of the rosary at the graveside: "We used to walk to the cemetery to my grandparents' graves. I can remember scrubbing the graves and putting the flowers [on]. I used to have a little girl's grave I looked after further down in the children's section...We all said rosaries. Pop always had his rosary beads on him."⁶⁰ Without any other form of historical cultural identification, they saw the graves as an important feature of the Irish historiography of the community. The link with the first generation was reinforced weekly by the ritual visitation. The community as a whole undertook this 'formal' activity, while in the 'informal' aspect of the activity the class differentiation is witnessed. One Grey Street respondent asserted that she never went visiting anywhere else after the cemetery trip on a Sunday, while another Galloway Street narrator remembers the trips to the cemetery as the precedent to visiting friends and relatives on the way home. The importance of conforming to this activity in order to 'belong' to the community is seen in the next passage. The respondent's

⁵⁸ Tape No. 2, Zoe Horton, A 5:25.

⁵⁹ Tape No. 11, Sister Mary Hassan, B 7:33.

⁶⁰ Tape No. 6, Molly Endres, A 19:30.

narrative reinforces this idea. It seems that the ritual walks to the cemetery were as important as visiting the graves.

One respondent remembers that her family, new immigrants, did not have any 'claim' to be at the cemetery, as they did not have any relatives buried there. The desire to belong to the community, and conform to the rituals of the enclave resulted in the 'adoption' of a grave. The people buried there were Irish, and, it is implied in the narrative, that because of this their actions were validated. "We went to the cemetery, although we did not have anyone there -- not family -- but we did go for walks. We had dear friends...they were Irish [buried there]." ⁶¹ This unique trait shows a desire to identify with and belong to the ethnic group. It also shows that the small numbers and isolation of the community meant that any cultural reference had to be preserved so that the enclave could survive. In this instance, the graves of the Irish ancestors acted as a cultural icon.

Along with the contemporary adoption of the cemetery as an icon, there were also other Irish traditional considerations. The superstitions the Irish hold about graveyards after dark is well documented and is often referred to in Irish Folklore. This would also have been a legacy of the Irish grandparents, evident in the following testimony. One of the cohort remembers his old Irish neighbour's fear of going back to a dark house at night, perhaps after church or socialisation, "Old Mrs. Ryan [Irish] was very superstitious, and Uncle Frank was the most enlightened. He used to escort Mrs. Ryan down to her house for 3 pennies. [He] made a hell of a noise to get the baddies out of the house". ⁶² The same narrator shows that this superstition has not permeated through to the third generation because of the familiarity the children had with the graveyard, as familiar a part of their territory as any other sphere of their community life. This is further illustrated in this excerpt which shows a role the children played in the care of the dead. "We had uncles who used to bet us three pennies that we wouldn't go up to the

⁶¹ Tape No. 1, Jose Devitt, A 45:25.

⁶² Tape No. 14, Bart Roach, A 18:32.

cemetery at night which we did. I wasn't afraid of the cemetery, we were raised in [it], we helped to dig graves and line them with ferns.”⁶³

The cemetery had become a place of community socialisation, as well as a confirmation of their cultural and familial identity. Patrick O'Farrell offers an explanation when he suggests that the “large body of traditional custom and belief in Ireland centred on holy places” was left behind when the migrants were relocated in Australia.⁶⁴ It is suggested that the evidence shows that this community adopted the cemetery as a surrogate ‘holy place. It appears that the Irish grandparents founded the tradition and customs of this community. The transmission of heritage to the second and third generation necessitated not only the promulgation of Irish patterns of behaviour learned from them, but also the adoption of surrogate cultural references relating to them. This behavioural trait appears to have been neither documented in other enclaves, nor corroborated by any other study consulted.

Patterns of behaviour also included marriage bonds. Fallows describes endogamy within the enclave as an Irish-Catholic characteristic. In the childhoods of the cohort, ‘mixed’ marriages between Catholic and non-Catholic were seen as a threat to the stability of the group. Molly Skelton's testimony confirms the social distance created by her parents ‘mixed’ marriage. Although her mother converted to Catholicism, she and Molly continued to socialise with non-Catholic friends and relatives. When asked about socialisation with Irishtown families she responded that although she went to school with Irishtown children, “I did not go visiting a lot as a child, I was always very much at home.”⁶⁵ “Converts” were seen as a necessary inclusion in the enclave due to the small marriage pool, but not entirely accepted, “[She] was a convert, but she was my godmother and very kind to me.”⁶⁶ The Priests operated as marriage brokers in some instances, and by doing so encouraged marriages to converts; “He was instrumental in my marrying my husband who was a convert. My husband had to persuade me to get married, I

⁶³ *ibid.*

⁶⁴ Patrick O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, p.28.

⁶⁵ Tape No. 5, Molly Skelton, A 11:31.

⁶⁶ Tape No. 2, Zoe Horton, A 15:25.

wasn't very keen and it was Fr. Bleakley who talked to me."⁶⁷ To some non-Catholics married into the community, some extremes of Catholic behaviour seemed to become more acute with the threat of a diminishing enclave. "My aunts used to live in Anglesea Street. They were extremely devout; 'bigoted' would be a better word, Catholics. We always used to say that if somebody murdered somebody and they were a Catholic, they couldn't be guilty. [They were] so astonishingly bigoted."⁶⁸

The inevitable trend of the third generation to disaffiliate is shown by the desire for social mobility. Marriage outside the group was seen to increase it.⁶⁹ "As a family of Irish we were very inward looking. It wasn't until I went to the war and my sisters married non Irish that it did the family a whole lot of good."⁷⁰ The construction of the narrative shows a rejection of Irishness in the transition period of the maturation of the third generation.

The narratives also attribute significance to the Irishness of the priests in the evidence for their patterns of socialisation. The enclave also displays traits of self-sufficiency in the area of entertainment by creating their own. The pervasive influence of the clergy in every area of community life is shown by the informal visits of the Irish priests to the home for evenings of singing and dancing. The following excerpt contrasts vividly with the image of the non-Irish Marist Brother's visits where they usually ate alone at a separate table in the family home;

"We had a piano and everything else, talk about high jinks, talk about Irish dancing...we had a lot of fun. Fr. Bleakley used to come too...we used to have a chook [chicken] for him and a big bottle whiskey, and he would lie down on the bed and say 'this is it!' Fr. Gardener and Fr. Walshe, they all came here."⁷¹

⁶⁷ Tape No. 2, Zoe Horton, A 40:46.

⁶⁸ Tape No. 5, Molly Skelton, A 11:21.

⁶⁹ Fallows, p. 103.

⁷⁰ Tape No. 14, Bart Roache, A 24:19.

⁷¹ Tape No. 10, Rosie Sterritt, A 7:40.

Other forms of entertainment were organised by the church. Jack Flynn remembers always ‘being sent’ to ‘Church do’s’ on Wednesday nights after the benediction.⁷² The parishioners played the card game ‘Euchre’, followed by a dance until midnight. The cultural connection between Irish and music is seen when Mary Endres remembers these ‘do’s’ as “Irish nights at the Marist Hall.”⁷³

On Sunday evenings after the ceremony of Benediction in the church, several respondents recall attending or holding singing and dancing evenings in parishioners’ homes that included ‘Irish jigs and reels’. The Galloway Street respondents recall the Sunday night social get-together as comparatively more vigorous than the recollections of those in the Grey Street area. The contrast is apparent in the following extracts: “We used to have great sing songs on a Sunday night with all these young ones. We would roll up the carpet and she [my mother] taught us all to dance, Irish dancing and other dancing...our house was really an open house.”⁷⁴ The tone of the evening contrasts with the more restrained but similarly Irish setting recalled by this respondent: “Friends used to come in on a Sunday evening. One old gentleman who was Scottish would bring his violin. Dad would pick up the poker and bang on the coal scuttle as a drum and we would all sing.”⁷⁵ In the same way that the second generation welcomed the special socialisation of the Irish priests while acknowledging their general role in the Catholic Church in Hamilton, so too the Irish enclave participated in communal activities that complemented the church schedule while also taking advantage of it also to arrange Irish cultural activities.

The cohort recalls childhood entertainment in and around their homes. Many respondents display a tendency to assert that their homes were the epicentre of such activity. June Wait remembers rounders and cricket on Galloway Street, “There used to be Flynns and cousins, we’d all be playing on the road”, and large groups of children swimming at Hays Paddock.⁷⁶ Another respondent Jose Devitt remembers the Irishtown children visiting her home on Clyde Street. “In the

⁷² A form of Catholic service.

⁷³ Tape No. 6, Molly Endres, A 19:30.

⁷⁴ Tape No. 12, Josie Devitt, A 12:04.

⁷⁵ Tape No. 2, Zoe Horton A 23:55.

⁷⁶ Tape No. 9, June Wait, A 11:58.

depression, the ones from town would all come out to the farm and play cricket.”⁷⁷

The most ostensible display of Irish festivities was St. Patrick’s day. In Hamilton before 1940, the Catholic schools had the day off as a “Holy Day” to celebrate the feast of Ireland’s patron saint;

“St. Patrick’s day was a big thing. You had everyone, and I mean everyone [there]. [After] mass at nine o’ clock, we went to Claudelands show-grounds. [It was a] big sports day...There were a variety of things, obstacle races and chasing the greasy pig. [They were] all Irishmen running it, Kellys, Ryans, O’Briens, Reynolds.”⁷⁸

The ‘Irishmen’ referred to were all second generation, and yet the narrator considers them Irish, which is testament to the perception of belonging to an Irish enclave. The cohort perceives that the fund-raising was an Irish prerogative, and undertaken by those of Irish descent in the church. June Wait remembers her father going door to door with a notebook on his annual collection for the day.⁷⁹ While the parents of the cohort would have been involved in the fundraising, the Church, and donations from the Marists are recorded.⁸⁰ To the cohort, St. Patrick’s day was an Irish affair, a day for the validation of their inheritance

One of the Notre Dame des Missions Sister’s recollection of St. Patrick’s day festivities prior to the 1920’s includes a horse-drawn cortège to one of the Irish parishioner’s farms for a picnic: “The girls wore green sashes. The horse-drawn wagons lined up in front of the church...Blinkers on the horses carried green ribbons and his [the leader’s] whip was adorned with green streamers. It was a musical parade, as the songs of Ireland were lustily rendered by the passengers.”⁸¹ The women are remembered as joining in as heartily as the men did. “Married

⁷⁷ Tape No. 12, Jose Devitt, A 12:04.

⁷⁸ Tape No. 4, Jack Flynn, A 1:00.

⁷⁹ Tape No. 14, Bart Roache, A 13:21.

⁸⁰ Hamilton Parish Committee Minute Book. [Entry 19 March 1933, “Picnic held St. Patrick’s Day, outstanding success. Letter thanking brothers for the assistance. Entry 17 February 1933, “Special collection taken up on Sunday to defray expense of children’s picnic”].

⁸¹ *Rejoice in Hope*, p. 86.

women would hitch up their skirts and race. Some of the children used to come from Newstead and places like that and got off at Claudelands [train station]. Irish jigs and other dances were also part of the activities. Some of them were keen on the Irish dancing.”⁸² Sr. Peggy O’Neill recalls practising for school drills displays and evening concerts held on St. Patrick’s Day. Ailsa and Rowie Rougherty, of Irish extraction, ran an Irish dancing school and they performed at the concert. The children wore green capes for the concert that was held at the Theatre Royal on Victoria St.⁸³

The parish minutes and narrative confirm that as the number of parishioners grew, the day was held at Claudelands showgrounds as early as the mid nineteen-twenties.⁸⁴ “Before his [Father Bleakley’s] day there was always a St. Pat’s day picnic and a concert followed. Originally, the children used to come up here, where St. John’s is, there was the Dean’s farm, and the nun’s farm.”⁸⁵ There are also silences about the festivities in the testimonies. Molly Skelton, born in 1915, whose earlier narrative indicated that she was on the sociological periphery of Irishtown, has a poor association with the day “I vaguely remember St. Patrick’s day.”⁸⁶ It is possible that her family was not involved in the preparations for, or participation in, the activities. Another respondent born in 1923 cannot recall St. Patrick’s day festivities either, although they continued until the 1940s.⁸⁷ Exogamy or disaffiliation may have been the reason. There are silences in the testimonies of those who do remember the day also. The picnic or festivities were not always held. The parish records show that the picnic was cancelled at least three times; 1927, 1931, and 1932, because it could not afford to stage the picnic.⁸⁸ This was not recalled by any of the cohort, although it must have been significant at the time. This is probably because the dominant memory was of an annual festival that was the cultural confirmation of the community. Any negative associations appear to have been marginalised in order to retain the memory of

⁸² Tape No. 2, Zoe Horton, B 2:05.

⁸³ Sister Peggy O’Neill, unrecorded interview, 28 June 1993.

⁸⁴ Hamilton Parish Committee Minute Book.

Tape No. 4, Jack Flynn, A 1:00.

⁸⁵ Tape No. 2, Zoe Horton, A 46:37.

⁸⁶ Tape No. 5, Molly Skelton, A 15:40.

⁸⁷ Tape No. 12, Jose Devitt, A 27:20.

⁸⁸ Hamilton Parish Committee Minutes: 25 February 1927, 15 February 1931, 20 March 1932.

cultural identity. The cohort does not recall their children participating in St. Patrick's day activities, and it appears that with the onset of the war the parades and picnic ceased.

The pooling of resources for events such as St. Patrick's day appears to have been an intrinsic commitment. The testimonies show that there were similar behavioural patterns for other forms of sharing. The degree of caring and sharing among the Catholic Irish has been described as "the traditional part of Irish sociability".⁸⁹ A view reinforced in other studies.⁹⁰

This sharing constituted offered hospitality, sharing of food and care of the sick. The cohort recalls their parents extending hospitality to those who entered the Galloway Street 'domain', including roadworkers. "During the depression with the relief workers, Mum used to go out in the street with a kerosene tin of tea for them, and make scones and everything for the men that worked on the road."⁹¹ This pattern of sharing was passed to the third generation; "[respondent] June Wait is exactly like her mother, never comes empty handed, always ready to help."⁹² This is a common feature in the Galloway Street area. June Wait recalls her father sharing produce grown on his town land with the neighbours; "Dad used to take vegetables around to different ones. Mr. Flynn was off the road for a long time. He could not get any work. I remember Dad going around there with vegetables and [also to] other families. I think most families did that."⁹³ Her recollection that "most families" shared food confirms her own family's class insularity. Jack Flynn's father gave the children of Irishtown milk when they came to the farm.⁹⁴ The Roaches came to the Flynn's after 8 am mass on Sunday to pick apples to take home free.⁹⁵ Socialisation did not extend outside the families' own area. Families

⁸⁹ Emmons, pp. 75-84.

ibid., p.155.

⁹⁰ Patrick J. Blessing 'Irish Emigration To The United States, 1800-1920: An Overview', in *Irish Studies 4, The Irish In America: Emigration, Assimilation and Impact*, edited by P.J. Drudy, (Cambridge, 1985), p 27.

Fallows, pp.81-95.

Biddle, p.97.

⁹¹ Tape No. 9, June Wait, A 26:26.

⁹² Tape No. 12, Jose Devitt, A 27:20.

⁹³ Tape No. 9, June Wait, A 9:11.

⁹⁴ Tape No. 12, Jose Devitt, A 12:04.

⁹⁵ Tape No. 4, Jack Flynn, B 00:17.

in the Galloway Street area produced and shared much of their food of necessity, which the better-off families in Palmerston Street and Grey Street areas did not.⁹⁶

In the area of health, the management of resources is further confirmation of the insularity of the group. When the influenza pandemic struck in 1918, families were confined.⁹⁷ The narratives show that few families seem to have suffered fatalities in Irishtown. Three of the sisters from the convent caught it while nursing the overflow from the Hospital, but none died. This indicates good health management as a community resource and through self-sufficiency the ability to remain isolated for long periods. Again, more evidence of class insularity and self-reliance. The influence of Irish culture is further evident in Jack Flynn's retelling of a family myth set in the period of the pandemic. The narrative is constructed to infer a disregard for authority as an Irish trait attributed to folk medicine. This is based on assumptions of the curative powers of alcohol;

“My father asked the Sergeant of police at Morrinsville, because Maoris weren't allowed liquor at the Pa, if it was okay to take the medicine supply to the Pa, which was the gin. So the Sergeant said yes, and they never lost a Maori at Tauhei Pa, not one. At Gordonton, they lost dozens. They said it was the gin”.⁹⁸

Other traditional Irish associations with alcohol included its abuse. The negative connotations are apparent to the respondent who talks about his uncle's drinking; “Old John Curran was a boozier in the Irish style of booze and trouble. He was a swagger and a bloody nuisance he was too. He used to parade up and down the family veranda and chop down the clothesline.”⁹⁹ The narrator acknowledges this as an Irish trait. When there were problems such as this, the extended family operated a support system;

“My Aunt Mrs. Geary, lived behind Parklands [motel]. Mr. Philip Geary, her husband, used to drink rather too much and when he drank too much

⁹⁶ Tape No. 5, Molly Skelton, A 24:00.

⁹⁷ A. W. Reed, *Two hundred years of New Zealand History* (Wellington, 1979).

⁹⁸ Tape No. 4, Jack Flynn, A 21:50.

he was not allowed in the house. He was sent up to the loft to sleep. My aunt used to get extremely angry with him...it would very nearly come to blows at times and every time that happened my aunt would ring my father and say, "Phil is playing up again, would you come over and sort him out?".¹⁰⁰

This shows how the problems with the abuse of alcohol were dealt with within the family, and how the memory of this system was retained. There appears to have been parental reinforcement in the reiteration of this memory, linked with the consequences of drink and Irish behavioural patterns. For example, in this selection, there are echoes of the multigenerational problems associated with drink in the following excerpt; "In the Royal there was a bar, (father) who wasn't a drinker, left that to his father, who drank far too much."¹⁰¹ Another remembers her father going to the Royal every night.¹⁰² Fallows confirms that Irish connection, quoting a respondent from an Irish enclave; "You must take care, my son. Drinking is a problem we Irish have."¹⁰³

The former narratives show patterns of socialisation and support relating to drinking that were exclusive to the enclave. This testimony illustrates that mediation in cases of alcohol outside the community was considered inappropriate. "[The non-Irish Catholic neighbour] would come home drunk, and he was always giving it to Freddie with the horse whip, or throwing the stool at him, my mother thought it was awful."¹⁰⁴ There is a sense of helplessness, and an insinuation that the narrator's family could not intervene. The same narrator, who lived on the west side, recognises her family position as being part of an Irish Catholic community that had defined parameters in this account of an Irish Curate, Fr. Dore making a parish visits. "Fr. Dore used to come to see us. He went to the wrong [non Catholic] house and said "God bless all in this house", the wife shrieked and

⁹⁹ Tape No. 14, Bart Roache, A 1:00.

¹⁰⁰ Tape No. 5, Molly Skelton, A 34:00.

¹⁰¹ Tape No. 5, Molly Skelton, A 27:30.

¹⁰² Tape No. 6, Molly Endres, A 38:38.

¹⁰³ Fallows, p 52.

¹⁰⁴ Tape No. 11 Sister Mary Hassan, B 00:25.

threw her hands in the air.”¹⁰⁵ The childhood memory of the reaction of a neighbour confirms the perception of isolation of the Irish community, and explains the sense of dependency within the group.

Dependency was also cultivated as a method of extending the nature of the community. The trait of familial clustering in the Irishtown community was so well developed that the general Hamilton community was aware of it. A non-Irish Hamilton developer approached Jack Flynn, whose family owned land on Flynn Road in Hamilton, when he heard that an Irish doctor, Dr. John Keane, needed a surgery. The doctor lived in the Flynn's house while they built him a next door surgery.¹⁰⁶ This shows that the general community was aware of the trait of clustering and system of mutual aid. This must have been recognised as a specifically Irish trait if Irish migrants were referred to the group, and consequently must have been a well-developed trait if it was so acknowledged.

There were also intimations of class in other rituals of socialisation. Visiting relatives and friends, and Sunday trips to the cemetery were regular features of the community. There was less formality in the style of visiting among the poorer families, than that of residents in the better off areas. The Galloway Street area Irish Catholic families had impromptu visits from Irish Catholic neighbours of the same class, and encouraged an ‘open door’ philosophy, one of the cohort from Galloway Street remembers; “if anyone would come there was always the cup of tea, real Irish.”¹⁰⁷ Two respondents from the middle class areas of Beale and Grey Streets remember formal visiting arrangements limited to family and close friends only.¹⁰⁸ This evidence confirms there were two distinct areas and classes within a one essentially working class enclave. Galloway Street area was a lower class area, and the areas around Beale and Grey Street slightly higher, called middle class for the purpose of this study. They were not wealthy, but relatively better off.

¹⁰⁵ Tape No. 11 Sister Mary Hassan, A 1:47.

¹⁰⁶ Tape No. 4, Jack Flynn, A 41:14.

¹⁰⁷ Tape No. 14, Pat Gunn, A 33:15.

¹⁰⁸ Tape No. 3, Molly Skelton, A 14:06.

Tape No 5, Zoe Horton, A 15:25.

Evidence of this middle class comes from the remembered social distinctions of a respondent from the 'lace curtain' areas. Her mother made her underclothes from the more expensive white material, rather than the coloured underclothing worn by children in poorer families who used whatever fabric was available rather than specially purchasing white.¹⁰⁹ It is interesting that the same respondent regarded the term 'Irishtown' as common, implying that where she lived, Grey Street, was not Irishtown. The 'lace curtain' families of Irishtown were not so affluent however that they could afford home help or to pay for a seamstress. One respondent who lived in a 'lace curtain' area on the west side remembers that her mother taught piano to a large number of pupils, although her husband worked as a marine engineer, a well-paid job by the standards of the Irish Catholic community.¹¹⁰

All the families of the respondents lived within walking distance of the Church, gathering around it in the same way as another Irish enclave might gather around the source of work. In Irishtown, the church and enclave were mutually reinforcing. There was a merging of private (Irish) and public (worker) roles amongst the men of Irishtown. While many of the fathers of the cohort were involved in public cartage, the church directly employed some. Jack Flynn's memory of an Irishman shouting at his horses in a thick almost unintelligible Irish accent provides information on the ownership of horses in the community, an indication of relative wealth, and shows the Irishman's pride in owning his own;

"Most of them [Irishtown men] had horses that they had leased. [Mulcahy used to say] 'When I say, 'gee up', to my horses, they are my horses I am talking to. You fellas don't own those things'. He used to skite about owning his horses."¹¹¹

There is some degree of confusion in the narratives as to whether some of the cohort's fathers donated their services to the church, or whether it was paid work. It seems that all of the cohort would appear to prefer to remember that the work

¹⁰⁹ Tape No.3, Mavis Coombes, A 15:35.

¹¹⁰ Tape No. 11, Sister Mary Hassan, A 8:56.

¹¹¹ Tape No. 4, Jack Flynn, A 1:47.

was done free. An element of competitiveness is evident, with respondents claiming that their parent donated the 'freest' labour. This association can be seen to have continued over two generations; "I think church was 'Number One' before the house...a school had to be built, my dad went down and helped, I helped with the new church."¹¹² "My mother and father worked very hard to get the Marist clubrooms going."¹¹³ "Dad used to work very hard...he used to sell all kinds of raffles and everything to try to raise money for the picnic."¹¹⁴ "Granddad got wood to build the first Catholic Church on the redoubt."¹¹⁵ This shows a degree of insularity in the community, claiming labour as an essential claim to belonging to the community.

When looking at the characteristic of working class insularity, the issue of class structure in Irishtown must first be considered. Hamilton's Irishtown has been shown to have comprised two social groups, one better off, but both essentially working class in comparison with Hamilton society overall. In her thesis on the architecture of houses in Hamilton East, Diane Porteous has proposed that there is a direct correlation between the style of a house and the class of its inhabitants.¹¹⁶ The higher and more ornate the stud, the more elevated their social status. Photographs of the original settler home in Chapter Two in which the self-proclaimed working class Roaches lived on Galloway Street, show that the style was small, plain, and utilitarian.

Molly Skelton describes her home in the higher-class area of Beale Street as follows; "I came here when I was five. (It was) a lovely old house with a very high stud, four bedrooms, dining room, sitting room, and a big kitchen."¹¹⁷ The stud height concurs with Porteous's observations. The evidence from other narratives follows this pattern. A resident of River Road who lived in a large house spoke of "those down there in Irishtown" as if they were a separate entity,

¹¹² Tape No. 4, Jack Flynn, A 1:00.

¹¹³ Tape No. 12, Devitt, A 35:30.

¹¹⁴ Tape No. 9, Wait, A 4:51.

¹¹⁵ Tape No. 7, Irene Crosby, A 11:45.

¹¹⁶ D.C. Porteous, 'Hamilton East: Interpretation of House Styles and Infilling the One Acre Sections', (unpublished M.Soc.Sc. thesis, University of Waikato, 1991).

¹¹⁷ Tape No. 5, Molly Skelton, A 4:15.

and that the link of the word “Irishtown” was with working class, although the respondent did identify with the Irish community in Hamilton.¹¹⁸

The perception of the parameters of Irishtown and the cohort’s relationship to it changes with the narrator’s identity with class. An indicator, the social interaction of the Irishtown cohorts’ mothers, provides more evidence. Their socialisation appeared to be exclusive to their own immediate area and class. For example, Julia Roache’s testimony indicates that her family associated with her immediate neighbours in the Galloway Street area. She had minimal social contact with families in the Beale Street, River Road, Grey Street and Palmerston Street areas, excepting occasions that demanded full parish participation such as preparing for gala days.

Fallows uses an oral history project to show how the oral narrative can suggest class levels.¹¹⁹ In the Connecticut project she describes, the interviewer found that: “At the lower social class levels people frequently thought of themselves as Irish and talked about it comfortably. At the professional level...being Irish was not of particular importance to them...”.¹²⁰ This narrative implies that at a professional level being Irish was potentially embarrassing. A respondent from a higher-class area who acknowledges her Irish roots is an example of the dissociation from the class connotations of the word ‘Irishtown’. “I never heard my mother use the expression, that is why I find it rather offensive when you talk about it, she never referred to herself as part of Irishtown.”¹²¹ The following testimony provides evidence that there was a perception that the community was isolated and segregated as a small working class community within the wider Hamilton one;

“I don’t think you would say that there was a common Irish thread because this town of Hamilton was largely run and ordered by people of big connections who were Baptist. The Irish people in Hamilton were very low

¹¹⁸ Sister Dorothea Lawless, unrecorded interview, 23 June 1993.

¹¹⁹ Fallows, p. 76.

¹²⁰ *ibid.*

¹²¹ Tape No. 2, Zoe Horton, A 10:17.

key...they came from persecuted Ireland. I think they believed in a peaceful life as far as possible. They did keep to themselves quite a bit.”¹²²

Although at first the narrator denies the existence of an Irish enclave in Hamilton, she goes on to acknowledge that not only did an immigrant-based community exist, but that it was self-referential and separatist. The conflicting perceptions in this testimony are evidence of the compromises associated with the eventual integration of the community. It appears that there had to be a suppression of cultural identity in order to effect the transition.

The oral narratives have supported the documentary evidence for the traditional Irish traits of religious affiliation, patterns of socialisation and working class insularity and identified new ones. The testimonies also indicate that several myths have evolved. The most pervasive of these was ‘Irishness by association’. The cohort had a desire to associate with the Irish priests and to ‘become’ Irish. Another myth was that they had a special relationship with the Irish priests, who accorded ‘favours’ that were perceived as extracurricular and performed mythic feats. There was also participation in social rituals that were perceived as Irish. The most surprising of these was the regard for the cemetery as a surrogate “Holy Place”. The desire to belong was so intense that new members observed patterns of behaviour already established in the community. An additional feature of this behaviour was that new immigrants also participated in the formation of the myth by ‘adopting’ ancestors. This is an indication that the enclave was dynamic, and continued to adapt in the third generation.

Expected myths that have evolved from the cohort’s Irish heritage include the curative powers of alcohol, and Irish superstitions about the dark. Another myth was that each respondent’s family had the most involvement with community activity, either that their house was the epicentre of socialisation, play, entertainment, or that their parents donated most free labour, time or resources to parish life, and care of the clergy.

¹²² Tape No. 11, Sister Mary Hassan, A 21:29.

The Irish clergy as cultural references, were essential to the continuation of the enclave. The Irish priests unwittingly acted as ethnic surrogates, and there was a correlation between the extension of the life of the enclave and the influence of the Irish priests. The enclave's demographic behaviour was 'church-centric', and in the third generation this meant 'culture-centric' as it also involved the ethnic origin of the Irish priests. When this pattern ceased, so did the enclave. There appears to be no precedent for this in other studies of Irish enclaves.

There was evidence that the community and clergy interacted on every level. Familial and pan-familial relationships were evident; many families were related to clergy and Irishtown women had a pseudo-maternal association with the Brothers. The community had an unconscious ethnic understanding, one which, in the third generation, had become so closely associated with religious affiliation as to have become indistinguishable from it. The oral histories indicate a 'sense' of belonging to the community, without clear discernment. In other words, while there was cognition in the community of cultural provenance, the process of assimilation of heritage was not clearly understood.

The narratives indicate that there was affirmation of the community from other sources. Those outside the enclave acknowledged that there was a well-structured social system operating in Irishtown, which is evidence for its existence. Two distinct social groups emerged in the testimonies, interacting separately on a local level and together for church socialisation. Essentially, sub-strata in a small working class community. Traits of self-sufficiency were seen in the patterns of entertainment, class-specific socialisation, and production of and sharing of resources. Community segregation was evident in the trait of familial clustering. Ethnic-consciousness is observed when the narratives suggest that the wider community recognised this familial grouping. The testimonies show that ethnic-identity was paternalistic, another new trait. All of these traits reinforced the sense of isolation of the community. This community isolation became cultural isolation when the Father Bleakley left the parish. There is confirmation in all the narratives that the community failed to retain enough special characteristics for the next generation to identify with. The oral evidence shows that Irishtown was on the

brink of integration. For the fourth generation, Irishtown had ceased to be an enclave, but had merged with the general community.

Chapter Four: Conclusions and Comparisons

The study has sought to prove the existence and describe the profile of a multi-generational Irish community. The evidence shows that it was the only cultural enclave in Hamilton, and it was centralised on the east side from 1864 to 1940. Following an identifiable beginning as a small Irish cluster in the Fourth Waikato Regiment that founded Hamilton; other Irish immigrants later supplemented it. The combined oral and documentary evidence suggests that it was such a small, fragile, soft-edged cluster that even the term 'Irishtown' had ambiguous connotations for some. Yet, it had a defined social structure with specific patterns of behaviour, and persisted despite the pressures for assimilation and erosion. The statistical evidence confirmed the existence of a cluster, and the documentary and oral evidence described it.

This was not a planned cluster. It began almost accidentally, the result of a relatively inordinate number of Irish Catholics in the militia. This prompted the donation of a site for a church that was to be the catalyst for a sequence of events that culminated in a large centralised religious congregation of clergy, buildings and educational facilities around which the community settled. The enclave was 'church-centric'. From the start, cultural and religious identification was synonymous, and the focus of the community was the church. This was shown by the way that the community developed around it. The lack of external pressure resulted in a subconscious trend to

look inwards. The result was the creation of social rites and rituals, some of which were exclusive to this community.

The geographical layout of the community was favourable to its establishment, with availability of housing and land in proximity to the church. The social and occupational climate also increased the chances of the enclave becoming established. There was neither ethnic nor occupational opposition to the presence of the Irish. The result being that the early community did not experience the effects of ethnic segregation or work-related transience. Strong religious preference and direction limited the effects of exogamy, and the sense of community was enhanced by shared religion. Ultimately, this passive environment was to lead to its disintegration. Assimilation, although temporarily postponed by the effects of the leadership of the Irish priests, inevitably happened. This study has shown that through each phase of the development of the community, there were general traits and characteristics that have been identified with other documented Irish clusters. These broad categorisations, when applied to this small study have yielded local variations, and some traits not previously associated with in any of the American studies consulted, nor in the study of an Irish community.

Two such investigations of Irish communities have provided useful comparisons. David M. Emmons' research of the Irish-American working class community in Butte, Montana, is one of the studies found to have several themes and demographics

that are appropriate to the study of the Irish in Hamilton.¹ There are also similarities and interesting differences in the findings and methodology of Lyndon Fraser's comprehensive and compelling study of the history of the Irish in Christchurch, To Tara via Holyhead.²

An outline of the Irish historiography in Butte reveals useful parallels. Its Irish enclave comprised several parishes. The short histories of both towns are comparable, both having been settled in the 1860's. Butte was a mining camp, also with an ethnic focus, and later expanded into an industrial city. The Catholic Church was the Irish community focus in Hamilton, whereas in Butte the Irish community and social contacts developed around the public workplace, the mines. This was the primary focus of the community. The church offered a secondary one for their 'private' religious affiliations. Work and Church associations combined to provide a social and sacramental framework.

When the Butte mines shut down after World War I and there was no other available work, the Irish community was forced to leave Butte.³ The Hamilton Irish had independent sources of work 'shut down' when the cultural association ceased. Both towns began with relatively small numbers of Irish.⁴ The Irish population climbed rapidly in Butte, and although the numbers of Irish in Hamilton were smaller, they

1 David M. Emmons, The Butte Irish: Class and Ethnicity in an American Mining Town 1875 – 1925 (Chicago, 1989).

2 Lyndon Fraser, (Auckland, 1997).

3 Emmons, p. 408.

4 N.Z. Army Department, Nominal and Descriptive Long Roll Book Waikato Militia .

represented a similar percentage of the total population.⁵ In Butte, the Irish were the dominant ethnic group in the Catholic Church, until 1905 when other Catholic immigrant groups began to arrive.⁶

A synopsis of the relevant themes in the Butte study yields some contrasts for Irishtown, Hamilton. Like the inhabitants of Irishtown, the Butte Irish neither competed nor converged with other ethnic groups. Neither did they have social or ethnic opposition to their presence, but maintained an exceptional solidarity, which has been attributed to a narrow ethnic, national and religious affiliation. In other words, like Hamilton, the community cohesion was not a response to external pressure. There are also comparative differences.

There is compelling evidence that the presence of Irish priests preserved and extended the natural life of Irishtown, while in Butte this was not relevant as there was a dearth of Irish priests. Emmons suggests that the assignment of Irish priests to Irish parishes in Montana would “upset the assimilationist plans of the so-called Americanist Clergy.” He goes on to recount that the Butte Irish actually requested Irish priests in order to preserve “recognisable features of Irish social and sacramental life.”⁷ The recognition by the Butte Irish that Irish clergy were a requisite part of their community life may explain why the Irish priests had such a profound influence in Hamilton. It also helps to support the supposition that the presence of the Irish

⁵ Emmons, p. 63. The Irish were described in Butte as a “scattering” in 1870, while in Hamilton there were 152 Irish pioneers in the 1864 Military settlement.

⁶ Emmons, p. 95.

⁷ *ibid.*

clergy in Hamilton did more to extenuate the viability of the community than any other factor.

Support for the Church and schools are a major feature of both communities. Two parishes made up entirely of working class Irish miners supported their Church by means of small contributions. When the miners were fully employed, parish debts were paid off and buildings completed.⁸ Movement between parishes provided evidence of class structures within the Butte community. When poorer parishes lost parishioners who moved to more affluent adjacent neighbourhoods, often mutually beneficial arrangements were made between the Churches to allow the extension of boundaries and 'floating' between parishes.⁹ This extended network ensured that the Irish did not have to leave the original community, thereby increasing their sense of association, and maintaining the numbers of Irish in the original parish. This is what Emmons aptly describes as a 'boundary maintenance system'.¹⁰ This aspect of the Catholic community was an important factor in fundraising for Church projects, the sense of affiliation, and therefore contributions, did not cease when parishioners moved to another parish. Unlike Butte, where entire parishes were Irish, Hamilton had a single parish until the 1920s.¹¹ In Butte, the threat of exogamy was allayed by a similar apparent willingness of men to convert to Catholicism to marry. Most of the marriages in Catholic churches were between non-Catholic men and Catholic women, as was also the case in Hamilton. A Bishop Brondel of Montana observed that:

⁸ Emmons, p. 97.

⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 97.

¹¹ *Waikato Times* 'Hamilton Centenary Issue', p. 159.

“when the woman is a Catholic, the promises (to raise the children as Catholics) are kept, as a rule, when the woman is non-Catholic...the promises are frequently disregarded.”¹² The small scope of this research precluded making any generalisations about the consequences of exogamy in Irishtown, however the experiences of one of the cohort appear to refute the latter. Molly Skelton’s mother and stepmother were non-Catholic, and her father was Catholic. Both women insisted that Molly, and later her father, a ‘lapsed’ Catholic, went to Mass with them. “My mother was a convert as I see it, she and I went to mass. Ten years after my father married an Anglican, and she made him go to mass.”¹³

In Butte as in Hamilton the working class community was stratified, Butte being larger was more defined in areas of class. Irish working class neighbourhoods called ‘Dublin Gulch’ and ‘Corktown’ had minimal contact with others. They lived in isolation as their own area provided all their social requisites; “their jobs, their church, their companions, their meeting places [and] informal network of mutual aid”. The better off neighbourhoods were known as ‘lace curtain’ areas.¹⁴ The working class areas of Irishtown displayed similar tendencies. Social interactions of the Irishtown cohorts’ mothers appear to have been exclusive to their own immediate area and class. Julia Roach from Galloway Street, which could be compared to Dublin Gulch, associated with her immediate neighbours and with other women in the Irishtown community whose husbands had similar incomes.¹⁵ It has been shown

¹² Emmons, p. 83.

¹³ Tape No. 5, Molly Skelton, A 10:57.

¹⁴ Emmons, p. 77.

¹⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 77-82.

that although there was evidence for class differentiation, the denominator was church and community life. There were comparable social and religious commitments to the church and community regardless of class. David Emmons observes that the shared commitment to social stability meant that Irish social differences did not produce the usual degree of social fragmentation.¹⁶ The same could be said for Hamilton where although two different class levels could be discerned within the enclave, the social differences to the observer were so minimal as to be negligible. At any time in its existence, the survival of Irishtown as an enclave was relatively tenuous. A commitment to social stability was essential for its survival.

Solidarity in the Butte community was attributed to a combination of stability in the workplace and involvement in the Church community. In the workplace, where the Irish represented 90% of the workforce, they secured privileges such as the closing of the mines on the Irish National holiday, St. Patrick's Day.¹⁷ The Ancient Order of Hibernians, who provided also benefits for the care of the dead and widows as well as finding employment for its members, dispensed the need for state or Miner's Union support. Irish and miner became mutually reinforcing roles. The high occupational risk factor of mining left many widows with large families, while single transient men were a large part of the workforce. Emmons comments that; "single, transient men, widows and one-parent children are not the usual elements of a stable social order." However, as Emmons puts it, "given the hazards and uncertainties of Butte...the

¹⁶ Emmons, p 182.

¹⁷ *ibid.*, p. 199.

entire [Irish] community, performed remarkably well.”¹⁸ Hamilton’s Irish community had relatively safer and steadier employment, displayed a lack of transience and although there is no evidence for a functioning Hibernian Association this does not appear to have been an impediment. What appears to be most evident in both studies is the “informal network of mutual aid” ranged from sharing food, to sharing accommodation. In Butte, the sharing of resources was particularly evident in the Dublin Gulch area, with “the poor helping the poor”.¹⁹ There is evidence that the same sharing of food resources and accommodation happened in Irishtown. Irishtown women operated as social facilitators distributing food to the poor clergy. The role of the women of Irishtown parallels that of Butte where “women were a vital part of the social process.”²⁰

As discussed in the Introduction, the most obvious difference between Lyndon Fraser’s study of the Irish in Christchurch and this is the description of the type of Irish settlement. Fraser concludes that the settlement patterns of the Irish did not constitute an enclave, while this study argues that Irishtown did. Fraser prefers to describe the experience of the Irish in Christchurch as essentially a series of clusters created by both a desire for ‘spatial proximity’ and a tendency to be ‘church-centric’.²¹ Perhaps the most important indication of the lack of an Irish enclave is that Fraser does not document the use of the term ‘Irishtown’ or the like.

18. Emmons, p. 168.

19 *ibid* p. 77.

20 *ibid*.

21 Fraser, p. 117.

There are important differences in the methodologies used. Fraser's resources allowed a greater scope of research than this study. His main source was the records of the Registrar-General of Births, Deaths, and Marriages.²² This proved to be very useful. For example, he was able to analyse death certificates for evidence of the effects of transience.²³ An option such as this would have proved cost prohibitive for this study. He also used the Baptismal and Marriage registers, although for only one year.²⁴ This study made more comprehensive use of church registers. Fraser had similar problems with the street indexes as a reference where, in his case, many immigrants were not listed even after some time, in one instance twelve years.²⁵ Some of these 'missing' Irish could be traced through oral recollection of family remembrances and some lists in this study. The comparison provides an interesting illustration of the problems of those areas that are not accessible through traditional sources. Fraser acknowledges that oral testimony is an invaluable resource in following the experiences of migrants but did not conduct an oral study.²⁶ It was found in this study that the oral histories also provided information on family groupings and features experiences everyday life. Perhaps this source would have assisted Fraser in "negotiating the thick territory" of the social world, as he describes it, to penetrate the realm of lived experience, and assist the description of the "network of social relations" that he calls "*interconnectedness*".²⁷ Instead, Fraser has had to recreate these from empirical information by "abstracting general

²² Fraser, p. 10.

²³ *ibid.*, p. 82.

²⁴ *ibid.*, p. 81.

²⁵ *ibid.*, p. 108.

²⁶ *ibid.*, p. 13.

²⁷ *ibid.*, p. 10.

statements about the structural features of the group's everyday life."²⁸ Fraser brought his documentation together by a method he describes as 'record linkage', tracing links and clusters through a combination of probate files, genealogies, and archives.²⁹ Records were similarly combined in this study, but also cross-referenced with oral histories.

There are also differences in the way that the Protestant and Catholic Irish immigrated to the city of Christchurch, and the provincial capital of the South Island province of Canterbury was established earlier than Hamilton, in 1850. The population base was larger, the first settlers a group of "Canterbury Pilgrims" of over 3,500."³⁰ It was a planned civilian, rather than military, settlement and was envisioned as a Church of England one, whereas those that organised the Hamilton settlement had no agenda other than recruiting men who were settlers rather than soldiers.³¹ There is evidence that immigrants from Northeast Ulster were preferred in Christchurch, over half came from Ulster between 1855 and 1876. These were mostly Protestant rather than the Ulster Catholic civilian settlers that came to Hamilton.³² There are interesting parallels with the time of arrival of the Catholic Irish. Few Catholic Irish came before 1859.³³ Most came in two blocks like

Fraser, p 80.

²⁸ Fraser, p. 11.

²⁹ *ibid.*, p. 10.

³⁰ W.J. Gardner, 'A Colonial Economy', in The Oxford History of New Zealand, second edition, edited by Geoffrey W. Rice (Wellington, 1992), p. 62.

³¹ Fraser, p. 33.

³² *ibid.*

ibid., pp. 37-38.

³³ *ibid.*, p. 35.

Hamilton, from 1862 to 1865, and again from 1871 to 1879.³⁴ Like Hamilton, a considerable number of migrants came directly from Australia independent of immigration schemes.³⁵ It could be said that while Fraser's study shows that the Protestant Irish displayed no particular settlement characteristics, neither does it appear that he was looking for any such, other than cursory observations. His study is subtitled "Irish Catholic Immigrants in Nineteenth Century Christchurch", which would clearly indicate that this is the group he wished to study. He says that it was the "Irish Catholics [who] constructed patterns of ethnic collectivism".³⁶

As in Hamilton, the first Catholic settlers tended to be married, and therefore this should have been more conducive to persistence.³⁷ However, Fraser found that Irish Protestants were slightly more persistent with more being 'freeholders' [freehold landowners].³⁸ Presumably, this is an indication of relative wealth, with poorer Catholics being more transient. The Christchurch Catholics were only relatively 'less well off' because, Fraser estimates, the cost of unassisted passage precluded the poor. His inference was that those who were self-funded could not have afforded to travel to Christchurch. He supports this assertion with a study of the 'Socio-economic Background of Irish Catholic Decedents, 1876 – 1918', where four fifths of the sample were born to "middling or landed households".³⁹ However, the experience of the Irish migrants to Hamilton contradicts this, while passage was paid for the

³⁴ *ibid.*, p. 52.

³⁵ Fraser, p. 37.

³⁶ *ibid.*, p. 3.

³⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 40-41.

³⁸ *ibid.*, p. 85.

³⁹ *ibid.*, p. 43.

Hamilton militiamen, the civilian settlers seem to have paid their own passage.⁴⁰

Even those that could pay their passage to Christchurch were dissuaded at some points. When the Canterbury Provincial Council allowed settlers to nominate friends for free passage, the subsequent surge in Southern [Catholic] Irish after the 1850s prompted the provincial council to consider banning Irish immigrants completely, as they were fearful of being overrun by “Southern country Papists”.⁴¹ It was intended that their numbers be restricted and as a result, “One tenth of assisted berths were granted to Irish, while Scots comprised one-quarter... and the English three-fifths”.⁴²

Fraser considers that ethnic identification was reliant on “local opportunity, and chain migration”.⁴³ Perhaps, therefore, there is a case for arguing that it was the settlement schemes rather than the cost of passage that caused different socio-economic groups to migrate to different areas. If, this was so, as appears to be the case, there were inevitably going to be different types of Irish settlement in New Zealand. In other words, there could be acute regional variations in the initial settlements based on the opportunities available, and the presence or lack of planned migration schemes. A planned settlement scheme did not always work, however, and this study has shown that there are many more mitigating factors in the evolution of an enclave than planned assistance.⁴⁴

40 Although questioned on such, there is no evidence in the oral histories that any of the cohort’s relatives were part of an assisted migration scheme.

41 Fraser, p.34.

ibid., p. 38.

42 *ibid.*, p. 46.

43 *ibid.*, p. 159.

Fraser discovered that there were complexities in trying to describe the Irish experience in Christchurch, how it operated, and what ethnic awareness meant. The Irish were located in several areas of Christchurch, and his 'record linkages' provided valuable information on associations with counties in Ireland. He noted small clusters around the area of Addington, which were linked with County Cork, and Waltham with County Galway. He observed that the Irish also preferred to live on the East Side of the city, like Hamilton, and in proximity to a Church, the Church of the Blessed Sacrament on Barbadoes Street. A link was found between 'ethnicity' and space, the cluster also included Catholic businesses and parochial schooling.⁴⁵ The foundation of the schools bears remarkable similarities to Hamilton. Three Sisters from the same order, Our Lady of the Missions, arrived on 8 February 1868 and established a primary and a select school.⁴⁶ St. Bede's secondary boys school was established in 1911 and Sacred Heart High School for boarders and day girls was started in a wing of the new convent built 1882.⁴⁷ Despite the parishioners being slightly better off than those in Hamilton, there was a similar burden of debt on the parish.⁴⁸ A school hall, like the Marist Hall in Hamilton, proved to be useful to the community for social events.⁴⁹ However, Christchurch had more evidence of the Hibernian Society than Hamilton did.⁵⁰

44 N.C. Mitchell, 'Katikati: an Ulster Settlement in New Zealand', *Ulster Folklife*, 15-16 (1970), pp. 203-215.

45 *ibid.*, pp. 109-111.

46 *ibid.*, pp. 92-93.

47 *ibid.*, p. 93.

48 *ibid.*, pp. 93-94.

49 *ibid.*, pp. 94-95.

50 *ibid.*, p. 95.

Fraser chooses to differentiate between 'clusters' and "communal affiliation", or enclaves. He describes the creation of clusters being enabled by the "process of group *ethnicisation*".⁵¹ Although his clusters appear to share many features of the Hamilton Irish including a direct relationship with the church, that 'Irish' and 'Catholic' were synonymous, that religion was an expression of Irish identity, there appears to be the lack of evidence for a generic name.⁵² There was no Irishtown. There are several possible reasons why not. The small, localized cluster in Hamilton appears to have presented as an ethnic-identity within a larger community. It had defined patterns of behaviour rather than just settlement, a centre. Perhaps the Christchurch Irish clusters were so disparate there was no sense of community. It is more likely that the clusters only partially fulfilled the behavioural patterns that would sustain an enclave.

Fraser discusses the effects of displacement from the old to the new world and interprets the clustering of the Catholic Irish as the "formation of a heightened ethnic awareness among the group [which] was a complex phenomenon shaped by the constant interaction of Old World cultural resources and ...colonial settings."⁵³ In the case of Irishtown, this analogy could be taken a step further. The response to the lack of cultural resources led to the transference of 'Old World' cultural values to newly created cultural icons, such as the cemetery. Another way in which this interaction affected both communities was the preferred system of inheritance. When Fraser was considering the wills and the nominations of executors for wills, he

⁵¹ Fraser, p. 3.

⁵² *ibid.*, p. 50.

noticed that the “majority of testators” preferred impartible inheritance with only 18.8 % wanting to divide property equally.⁵⁴ This value was directly transferred from the concurrent Irish system, unlike in Hamilton where the response to the isolation of the colonial setting was revisionist and regressive. He also found that like Hamilton, the isolation of immigrants meant that most testators were reliant on friends and relatives outside first-degree relationships. Sponsors for baptisms were Irish Catholic friends which practice “implies a great deal of trust”.⁵⁵ Fraser deduces that this shows that a wider social system functioned, and that this shows that emigrants were less likely to depart from tradition, and that they “transposed traditional allegiances”.⁵⁶

There were significant differences in the two studies. First, the pressure for assimilation. Fraser intimates that the formation of clusters was reactionary, in response to external discrimination and intra-group conflict”.⁵⁷ He cites evidence of sectarianism when Irish Catholics attacked Protestant Orangemen during a Boxing Day riot in 1879, and says that the “problematic nature of Irish male drinking” was a probable cause.⁵⁸ He discusses the “anti-Irish and anti-Catholic sentiment’ that meant that the experience of the Irish in Christchurch was not without its ‘moments of tension, external discrimination or ambiguity’.⁵⁹ This evidence raises two considerations. How this might have influenced the development of an Irish

⁵³ Fraser, p. 51.

⁵⁴ Fraser, p. 149.

⁵⁵ *ibid.*, p. 56.

⁵⁶ *ibid.*, p 157.

⁵⁷ *ibid.*, 159.

⁵⁸ *ibid.*, p. 61.

community in Christchurch and what might have happened in Hamilton in similar circumstances. Perhaps the sectarianism was an inevitable result of the overt anti-Catholic and anti working-class-Irish sentiment of the Canterbury settlement administrators. Whatever the cause, it would have added further pressure to the clusters where they had little social space to develop, and less confidence to create the social rites and rituals observed in Irishtown. The clusters were perhaps as soft-edged as Hamilton's community, with a similar fragility. The parameters of the community were never tested in Hamilton; an Irishtown may not have developed at all in the face of comparable opposition to its presence.

Although this study cannot compete with the scope of Fraser's, at the very least it offers an alternative investigation of a community of Irish in New Zealand. The fundamental differences between the two are that the Irish Catholics of Hamilton had a strongly defined provenance, continuity, no restrictions on immigration, no evidence of sectarianism, church centric clustering and support, clerical cultural reinforcement, and enclave-specific patterns of behaviour. Christchurch's Irish Catholic did what might have been expected of them, but did not have a centralised community that was well developed enough to withstand the type of traditional opposition to their presence experienced by Irish enclaves in other studies.

The experience of the Irish in Irishtown, Hamilton, lies somewhere between the Irish ghetto in Butte and the 'ethnic-consciousness' of the Irish clusters in Christchurch. There have been attempts to find a generic word to convey it. For example, Father

William Jordan, who grew up in Irishtown used the following description:

“Many of the parents had either come to New Zealand as emigrants from Ireland, or were first generation New Zealanders. Catholics in New Zealand were still living in a sort of ghetto. There were not many well off Catholics in Hamilton.”⁶⁰ The phrase ‘sort of ghetto’, with its American ‘Irish slum’ connotations is not an appropriate description. By his tentative use of the word, it appears that the narrator does not consider it appropriate either, but there is not a word that readily fits. Father Jordan’s excerpt confirms that although he has difficulty in describing it, he felt no ambiguity about his childhood experience. He felt segregated. It is suggested that the word ‘enclave’ may be more acceptable, as the description of an area in foreign territory, but it is still not entirely accurate as this community and Christchurch were soft-edged, and not ‘cut off’. Perhaps an ‘agglomeration’ is closer still as a word with stronger connotations than ‘cluster’, but it still does not convey the historicity, or historical actuality. Whatever term is chosen, and ‘enclave’ has been used throughout this study, Akenson’s description of the Irish experience in New Zealand does not adequately describe Irishtown. He says, “Nor did the Irish huddle together in ghettos...there were interesting small communities with more than average representation of Irish persons...but these were far from being ghettos, or indeed typical”.⁶¹ The comparison of Christchurch and Hamilton has revealed different experiences, and therefore neither can be said to be typical of the Irish experience in New Zealand. Neither can they be described simply as ‘interesting small communities’ because they happen to have slightly more Irish. The Irish community

60. Golden Jubilee, p. 17.

61 Donald Harman Akenson, ‘The Irish in New Zealand’, p. 11.

in Hamilton did 'huddle'. The Christchurch Irish not only clustered, but could be described as an 'incomplete' enclave, having many of the ingredients of a functioning community, but lacking geographical centrality, established religious/cultural patterns of behaviour, historical precedence and intergenerational continuity. Irishtown had more than centralised Catholic facilities that encouraged parishioners to live in proximity, more than a community whose grandparents were Irish settlers, more than a community that had an abnormal representation of Irish and Catholics. It was a dynamic multigenerational entity that had its own internal logic, religious/cultural patterns of behaviour and shared experience that persisted over seven decades, despite the continual threats to its existence. If the Christchurch Irish clusters and Irishtown, Hamilton, can thus be described, Akenson needs revising. In a sense, the Hamilton evidence is more striking than Christchurch. If Christchurch may be more than an interesting community, Hamilton is more so than Christchurch.

The most pertinent implication for this and the Christchurch study, is that the indications are that other such Irish communities have existed in New Zealand. They may share characteristics with these studies, and may provide more conclusive evidence of enclaves. They may even exhibit their own traits, such as those that were found to relate exclusively to this one.

It is hoped that this thesis, with all of its inadequacies, may prompt further investigations of Irish communities in this region at the very least. It also remains for

the Irish experience in other settlements, large and small, to be comprehensively documented in order to clarify what the typical experience may prove to be.

In conclusion, there are three layers in the proof of the existence of Irishtown. Its historical foundation, the statistical evidence for its continuity, and the documentation of the experience of everyday life in the community. These have conspired to create a legacy; which still has special associations for some of the past and present residents. The school system continued to expand and now includes St. John's secondary school, which is built on the site of the old convent farm 'Knighton Estate'. The 1912 church was replaced by St. Mary's Cathedral in 1975, Father David Bennett, the present Parish Priest, grew up in Irishtown. Marian Primary school was extended in 1950, Sacred Heart Girls College was extended and renovated 1964 – 1984.⁶² Michael Barker, a fourth generation member of the Roach family, teaches at Marian primary school and still lives on family land. A new convent was opened in 1941.⁶³ Almost all of the present Sisters grew up in Irishtown. Bill Gallagher and his brother John of the Gallagher Group, a multi-national company and Hamilton's largest industry, proudly trace their Irish ancestry to Hamilton East. Perhaps the last word should go to Professor Ken Arvidson, poet, and author of international renown.⁶⁴ His mother was Irish and he is a direct descendant of militiaman Thomas Cassidy, one of those recorded by Father John Golden in his list of the earliest Catholic families. He still lives in Hamilton East and works close by at University of Waikato. He was born just before World War II into the remnants of a community that had long since dissipated. His perception of its exclusive environment is testament to the enduring ethnic-consciousness of a community that had ceased to function as an enclave but had retained its encompassing 'Irishness':

⁶² Rejoice in Hope, pp. 18 – 19.

⁶³ *ibid.*, p. 16.

⁶⁴ Professor Arvidson is the world authority on the Irish poet Gerard Manley Hopkins,

“The mainly Irish names of friends and acquaintances, together of course with the Murphys and Powells and Cassidys and Moores and Shangahans and Clarkins and McGraths and McKeans and O’Sullivans and others of my mother’s extended family, defined a cultural stratum I was naturally quite unconscious of as such in my childhood. It was typical of a broader Irish Catholic stratum long since dissolved and dissipated in this country by mortality and the other forms of social mobility, and I now rediscover a likeness to its pressures and values only when I am in Ireland itself...When I try to pin down some impressions of what was distinctively Irish in that environment I quickly find how narrow the line is that separates the reality of one’s experience from the popular stereotypes of Irishness. Because the Murphys and Powells and their kin were so numerous the extended family was a virtually self-sufficient world in my first decade of life”.⁶⁵

65 K.O. Arvidson, p. 51.

Appendix (A) Oral History Cohort

Tape No.	Name	Date of Birth	Irish grandparents/ residence
1.	Margaret Mills,	7 October 1926	Ellen and Roderic Ryan/ Galloway Street.
2.	Zoe Horton *	30 June 1912	Isabella McDermott Hugh Kelly/ Grey Street
3.	Mavis Coombes * <i>*Siblings</i>	24 February 1908	
4.	Jack Flynn	12 September 1911	John Flynn Nora Scanlon Peter and Mary O'Malley/ Flynn Road.
5.	Skelton, Molly	17 September 1915	Margaret Plunkett Sylvester Maguire/ Beale Street.
6.	Endres Molly	7 February 1937	O'Neills/ Firth Street.

- | | | | |
|-----|--|-------------------|--|
| 7. | Pat Barnett** | 16 April 1909 | John Crosby/
Crosby Road. |
| 8. | Irene Crosby**
<i>**Double First Cousins</i> | 23 December 1913 | Crosby Road |
| 9. | June Wait*** | 1 June 1921 | Bartholemew Roach
Margaret Curran
Galloway Street. |
| 10. | Rosie Sterritt | 31 August 1908 | Ormsby/
Cook Street. |
| 11. | Sister Mary Hassan | 2 February 1916 | Palmerston Street |
| 12. | Jose Devitt | 31 December 1923 | Margaret Downey/
Knighton Estate |
| 13. | Sister Zita Hair | 14 September 1893 | Grey Street |
| 14. | Bart Roache***
June Wait***
Emily Barker***
Mary Cummings***
Pat Gunn***
Noeleen***
<i>Siblings***</i> | | Bartholomew Roach
Margaret Curran/
Galloway Street |

Appendix (B) Priests and Marist Brothers who were descended from Irishtown families.

Rev. Fathers	Year of Enrolment at Marist Brothers School	Connection with Irishtown
William Jordan*	1922	Lived Palmerston Street.
Gregory Jordan S.J*. *Siblings	1940	
Joseph Foley*	1933	Lived in Clyde Street.
Casimir Foley* *Siblings	1934	
Lawrence Hickey	1922	Lived in Frankton.
Peter Battersby	1934	Lived Hamilton East.
Douglas Forsyth* S.M.	1925	Mother Irish, lived in Albert Street.
*Brother of Sister M. Margeurite		
Joseph Hassan *	1925	Lived in Manning Street.
*Brother of Sister Mary Hassan, one of cohort.		
Bernard Hawke	1929	Lived in Peachgrove Road.

Hilary Turner O.F.M* 1934

*Nephew of Father Michael Bleakley, Parish Priest 1921 – 1943

Francis Scott 1935 Lived in Frankton.

Frank Roache 1940 Son of Frank Roache
Lived in Galloway Street.

Bevan Smith 1942 Lived in Hamilton East,
two siblings Nuns.

Denis Horton 1952 Son of Zoe Horton,
one of cohort.

David Bennett 1957 Lived in Hamilton East.
Present Parish Priest St.
Mary's Parish, Hamilton.

Rev. Brothers	Year of Enrolment at Marist Brothers School	Connection with Irishtown
Clarent Glynn	1925	Lived Frankton.
Desmond Dillon	1930	Lived Nixon Street.
Giles Waters	1939	Lived corner of Firth and Cooks Streets.
Richard Dunleavy	1942	Lived Palmerston Street.
Kevin Hore	1952	Lived Beale Street.
Peter Kennedy	1961	Son of Cecilia Roache, lived in Galloway Street.

Source: Golden Jubilee 1922 – 1972: Marist Brothers Schools – Hamilton.

Information on Irishtown connection supplied by Sister M. Magdalen, and cohort.

Appendix (C) Sisters from Irishtown families¹

Religious Name	Family Name	Irishtown Connection ²
Sister M. Adrienne	Pat Forsyth*	Irish parent.
Sister M Margeurite	Marjory Forsyth*	Lived Hamilton East.
	<i>*Siblings</i>	
Sister M. Candide	Blanche Jones*	Daughters of William Jones.*
Sister M. Eutropie	Monica Jones*	Lived in Victoria Street.
Sister M. Linus	Muriel Jones*	
	<i>*Siblings</i>	
Sister M. Veronica	Anne-Marie Jones	Niece of William Jones.
Sister M. Christina	Maureen Roache*	Daughters of Joe Roache.*
Sister M. Marcella	Peggy Roache*	Lived Galloway Street.
	<i>*Half-sisters</i>	
Sister M. Vianney	Nancy Lawless*	Lived in Palmerston Street.*
Sister M. Dorothea	Jean Lawless*	
	<i>*Siblings</i>	

¹ Rejoice in Hope. Centenary. Sister of Our Lady of the Missions: Hamilton 1884 – 1984, edited by Sister Mary Audrey Hair, (Hamilton, 1984).

¹ Information on Irishtown connection supplied by Sister M. Magdalen, and cohort.

Sister M. Georgina	Jacqueline Snelgar*	Lived in Frankton.
Sister M. Damian	Rita Snelgar*	
	<i>*Siblings</i>	
Sister Mary	Mary Hassan*	Lived Palmerston Street.
Sister Rita-Marie	Rita Hassan*	
	<i>*Siblings</i>	
Sister M. Moninia	Kathleen Bourke*	Lived Beale Street.
Sister M. _	Colette Bourke*	Lived Beale Street.
	<i>*Siblings</i>	
Sister John Theophane	Kathleen Carroll*	Lived Hamilton East.
Sister M. Michael	Mary Carroll*	
	<i>*Siblings.</i>	
Sister M Audrey	Zita Hair	Lived in Grey Street.
Sister M. Catherine	Maureen Currie	Family lived at convent .

Sister Peggy	Peggy O'Neill –	Sister of Molly Endres, One of the cohort.
Sister Ursula Mary	Ursula Devitt	Sister-in law Josie Devitt, One of the cohort.
Sister M Laurence	Sheila O'Toole	Lived Frankton.
Sister M. Magdalen	Moira Ryan	Lived Walton.
Sister M. Margeurite	Raewyn Hogan	Lived Cambridge Road.
Sister M. Pancratius	Mary Farrell	Lived Hamilton East.
Sister M. Patrick	May Sweeney	Lived Hamilton East.
Sister M. Rose	Shirley Malone	Lived Hamilton East.
Sister M. Hubert	Margaret Crosby	Sister of Irene Crosby, one of the cohort.

Appendix (D) Irish-born sisters who worked in Hamilton³

Religious Name and birthplace	Family name	Years in Hamilton
Sister M. St. Francis of Assisi (County Monaghan, Ireland)	Mary Brennan *	1884 – 1897
Sister M. St. Francis Xavier (County Monaghan, Ireland)	Kate Brennan*	1889 – 1894
<i>*Siblings</i>		
Sister M.St. Anastasia (County Tyrone, Ireland)	Margaret McSwiggan	1884 – 1894 ⁴
Sister M. St. Martina (Shinrove, Ireland)	Annie Taylor	1866 – 1893
Sister M. St. Christina (Sounty Sligo, Ireland)	Maria Walls	1895 – 1903
Sister M. of Nazareth (Tennolaevern, Ireland)	Mary Power	1904
Sister M.St. Sebastian (Ireland)	Annie O'Donoghue	1905 – 1909
Sister M.St. Stephanie (Ireland)	Cecilia Tracey	1905 – 1909

³ Information supplied by Sister Lucia Nobbs, R.N.D.M., Archivist, Sisters of Our Lady of The Missions Archives, 35, Britannia Street, Petone

Sister M. St. James (Hillana Ireland)	Annie Doyle	1907 – 1908
Sister M. St. Catherine of Sienna (County Antrim, Ireland)	Monica O’Boyle	1912 – 1920
Sister M. Placidus (Achill Island, Ireland)	Mary Duffy	1916 – 1920
Sister M. St. Delphine (Ireland)	Mary McNamee	1931
Sister M. St. Kevin of S.H. (Cork, Ireland)	Eileen O’Neill	1932 – 1933
Sister M. Joseph Aubert (Killowen, Ireland)	Margaret McGivern	1937
Sister M. St. Luke (Killworth, Ireland)	Margaret McCarthy	1940 – 1945 ⁵
Sister M. Charles (Dublin)	Constance Hurley	1944-1951 ⁶

⁴ Grandaughter of Irishman O’Hanlon who managed Order’s farm in Napier and oversaw building of Hamilton convent 1885. Rejoice in Hope p. 14.

⁵ Buried in Hamilton East Cemetery.

⁶ Became Principal Sacred Heart Girls College Hamilton.

Appendix (E) Alphabetical table of Militiamen 4th Regiment Waikato Militia, showing Religion, Nationality, Company and Section ownership in the years 1869, 1875-76, 1878-79, 1880-81.

Key:	HE	Town section Hamilton East.
	HW:	Town section Hamilton West.
	W:	Farm section west side of the river.
	E:	Farm section east side of the river.
	H:	Farm section , east side or west side not specified.
	'200'	No. of acres allocated to Officers.
	'50'	No. of acres allocated to Privates.

Note: Where spelling varies between the N.Z. Army Department, Nominal and Descriptive Long Roll Book Waikato Militia, and the N.Z. Army Department, 4th Waikato Regiment Land Register 1864, both versions are shown. Where only parts of names are legible, this is also shown. In some cases, there are initials only on the registers. The denominations of all the Irish in the Regiment, and the English, Scottish and Australian men of No. 4 Company, are shown.

Source: Rates Rolls Auckland Province 1869 (Assessment Roll of the Kirikiriroa Highway District for the year 1869), pp. 408-410.

Wises New Zealand Street Directory 1875-1876 (Hamilton, Hamilton East, Hamilton West), p. 29.

Wises New Zealand Street Directory 1878-1879 (Hamilton, West, A., Hamilton, East, A), p. 138.

Wises New Zealand Post Office Directory 1880-1881 (Hamilton, Auckland Province) pp.136-137.

N.Z. Army Department, Nominal and Descriptive Long Roll Book Waikato Militia.

N.Z. Army Department, 4th Waikato Regiment Land Register 1864.

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Alphabetical table of Militiamen, 4th Regiment, Waikato Militia.

Regimental Number	Surname	Christian Name	Religion	Nationality	Dwelling/ Section Number	Company	1869	1875-76	1878-79	1880-81
566	Adams	James	Protestant		E					W
499	Addison	William								
2	Adern	Joseph	Protestant		W					
3	Aikinson	Joseph	Protestant		W					
337	Aitkin	Thomas					200			
251	Aldridge	Thomas	Protestant		E					
5	Alexander	William	Protestant		W			HW	HW	W
165	Allen	William			E		50			E
174	Allen	Benjamin	Protestant		E					
344	Allen	George	Protestant	Irish	E 22	No 4	50	HE	HE	E
345	Allen	Henry	Protestant							
4	Andrews	William	Protestant		W					
175	Andrews	James	Protestant	English	E 166	No 4				
113	Armitage	George	Protestant	Irish	W 127					
253	Ascoll	Harry			W					
252	Atkinson	John	Protestant		W					W
589	Baber	Richard			E					
467	Backhouse	J.E.			E					
346	Bacon	Charles	Protestant	English	E 150	No 4	5			
441	Baker	John	Protestant	Irish	E 216		50			
15	Bardsley	S	Protestant		W					
Ensign	Barnes	F.B.								
16	Baskerville	Andrew	Protestant		W					
531	Bass	Antonio	Catholic							
176	Bastable	James	Protestant	Irish	E 49	No 4		HE	HE	E
124	Bauer	Jacob	Protestant		W			H	HW	W
Asst. Surg.	Beale	Charles			E			HE	HE	E
501	Becker	William								
325	Beckman	Frederick								
Capt.	Beere	Gerald Butler			W			HW	HW	W
9	Bees	Edward	Protestant							
464	Berens	John			E		50			

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Alphabetical table of Militiamen, 4th Regiment, Waikato Militia.

Regimental Number	Surname	Christian Name	Religion	Nationality	Dwelling/ Section Number	Company	1869	1875-76	1878-79	1880-81
13	Bestie	Edward	Protestant	Irish	W 254					
177	Bevan	William	Protestant	English	E 75	No 4				
182	Birdwood	James			E					
580	Blackman	William			E					
470	Blackmore	John			W					
Ensign	Blackmore	H.J.			E		200	H	HW	
178	Blanchitt	Uriah	Protestant	English	E 264	No 4	50	H		
572	Blencoe	Richard			W					
497	Bloomfield	John	Catholic	Irish						
563	Bloomfield	John	Catholic		W					
12	Boanas	Thomas	Protestant		W			H		
476	Bolland	Joseph								
6	Bourke	James	Catholic	Irish						
8	Bourke	James	Catholic	Irish	W 257					
11	Bourke	John	Catholic	Irish	W 208					
7	Bowden	William	Protestant							
493	Bowden	William			E					
179	Boyle	Connell	Catholic	Irish	E 168	No 4				
568	Bracken	John F	Catholic		E 237		50			
14	Breen	Michael	Catholic	Irish	W 151					
433	Brennan	Kyron	Catholic	Irish	E 347					
180	Brothers	Edward			E 166	No 4				
17	Brown	Samuel	Protestant		W					
181	Brown	John			E					
254	Brown	William			W					
498	Brown	William			E					
Capt.	Brown	D.M.			W					
Capt.	Brown	Duncan			W					
437	Bruce	Alfred	Protestant		E					
347	Buchanan	Alexander	Protestant		E	No 4				
348	Buchanan	Neil	Protestant		E	No 4	50			
116	Burke	Edward	Catholic	Irish						

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Alphabetical table of Militiamen, 4th Regiment, Waikato Militia.

Regimental Number	Surname	Christian Name	Religion	Nationality	Dwelling/ Section Number	Company	1869	1875-76	1878-79	1880-81
255	Burne	William			W					
10	Burnes	John	Protestant							
438	Burney	John	Catholic	Irish	E 47					
504	Byrne	Frederick	Catholic	Irish	E 168	No 4				
349	Cahill	John	Catholic	Irish	E 120	No 4				
258	Calderwood	James	Protestant		W					W
545	Caldwell	William	Protestant		E					
564	Callagher	Francis	Catholic	Irish	E 41					
463	Campbell	Charles								
567	Campbell	Angus				50				W
27	Canton	Adam	Protestant	Irish	W 6					
18	Canty	Patrick	Catholic	Irish	W 154					
25	Carbey	James	Protestant	Irish	W 174					
Surgeon	Carey	John			W					W
183	Carley	James	Protestant	Irish	E 76	No 4	50			
350	Carlisle	John	Protestant	English	E 141	No 4				
484	Carmody	James	Catholic	Irish	E 327					
19	Carr	Mathew	Catholic	Irish	W 15					
24	Carroll	Peter	Catholic	Irish	W					
184	Carson	Edward	Protestant							
430	Carson	John	Protestant							
522	Carter	H.C.								
578	Carter	Arthur			W					
Ensign	Carter	Harcourt								
352	Carthy	Christopher	Catholic	Irish	E 119	No 4	50	H	HW	E
256	Cartledge	Joseph			W					
351	Cassidy	Thomas	Catholic	Irish	E 54	No 4	50	HE	HE	
465	Caulfield	Edward	Catholic	Irish						
186	Christie	Charles	Protestant	English	E 43	No 4	50			
410	Clarke				E		50	H		
420	Clemour	Robert	Protestant	English	E 25	No 4	50			
21	Clery	Mark	Catholic	Irish	W 160					

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Alphabetical table of Militiamen, 4th Regiment, Waikato Militia.

Regimental Number	Surname	Christian Name	Religion	Nationality	Dwelling/ Section Number	Company	1869	1875-76	1878-79	1880-81
445	Davies	James			E					
29	Davis	Chas	Protestant							
188	Davis	John	Protestant	English	E 44	No 4	50	H	HW	W
189	Davis	William	Protestant	Irish						
259	Davis	William		Irish	W					
260	Davis	William	Protestant		W					
404	Davis	William		Irish						
452	Davis	Thomas								
190	Delaney	Daniel	Catholic	Irish				HE		
486	Delaney	Patrick	Catholic	Irish	E 3		80		HE	E
112	Dent	Mark	Protestant					HW	HW	W
439	Deverix	Timothy	Catholic							
261	Diggles	William	Protestant		W					
429	Diots	Christian	Protestant							
191	Dixon	W.B.	Protestant	Australian	E 109	No 4				
436	Dodd	William	Protestant		E		50			
262	Donchaise	Walter	Protestant							
31	Donlan	William	Catholic	Irish						
492	Donnelly	James	Catholic	Irish	W					
125	Doody	John	Catholic		W					
30	Downs	David	Protestant		W					
355	Drennan	James	Catholic		E	No 4	50			
193	Drew	William	Protestant	Australian	E 125	No 4				
192	Driscoll		Protestant							
130	Drury	George	Protestant		W					
164	Duan	Joseph	Catholic							
32	Duke	John	Protestant							
455	Dulan/Deelan	James	Catholic	Irish						
28	Dunn	William	Catholic	Irish	W 252					
194	Dunn	John								
541	Dunn	Henry	Catholic	Irish	E 288		50	H		
408	Dunne	George	Protestant	Irish						

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Alphabetical table of Militiamen, 4th Regiment, Waikato Militia.

Regimental Number	Surname	Christian Name	Religion	Nationality	Dwelling/ Section Number	Company	1869	1875-76	1878-79	1880-81
135	Dyer	James	P		W					
154	Eager	William	Protestant		W					
Capt & Adjt.	East	A.W.			W					
328	Edgar	James								
488	Edminton	John								
117	Eglins	John	Protestant		W					
264	Elliott	Henry	Protestant	Irish						
195	Ellory		Protestant							
196	Elmslie	Alexander								
129	Emmerson	Thomas	Protestant		W					
263	Emmett	Watson	Protestant		W					
327	Eyers	James			E		80			
265	Fagan	Charles	Protestant		W					
158	Faulkner	John	Protestant		W					
197	Feehan	Thomas	Protestant	Irish	E 172	No 4				
35	Fiddes	George	Protestant							
198	Finlayson	John	Protestant	Scottish	E 20	No 4				
34	Fisher	James	Protestant							
405	Fletcher	Conrad			E 307	No 4	50			
33	Flower	John	Protestant							
266	Foster	Peter			W					
357	Foster	Joshua	Protestant	Irish	E 58	No 4	50	HE	HE	
36	Foulsham	Samuel	Protestant		W			H	HW	W
37	Fraser	James	Protestant		W					
131	French	Charles	Protestant		W					
356	Furlong	William	Protestant	Scottish	E 2	No 4				
39	Gane	Edward	Protestant		W					
340	Gatland	R.E.	Protestant	Irish	E 14	No 4				
565	Gauden	Frederick	Protestant		E			H	HW	W
38	Gellie	William	Protestant		W					
435	Gerrard	William	Protestant		E		50	HE		
496	Gibbon	J.			E		50			

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Alphabetical table of Militiamen, 4th Regiment, Waikato Militia.

Regimental Number	Surname	Christian Name	Religion	Nationality	Dwelling/ Section Number	Company	1869	1875-76	1878-79	1880-81
546	Gibson	Thomas	Catholic		E					
267	Gilmore	Henry	Protestant	Irish	W					
121	Golden	Wm	Protestant	Irish	W					
201	Golden	Thomas	Catholic	Irish						
269	Goldsmith	James	Protestant		W					
329	Goode	Richard								
485	Goodrum	Hi			W					
268	Gostidge	John	Protestant		W					
358	Graham	John	Protestant	Scottish	E 33	No 4				E
588	Graham	Samuel			E					E
146	Greaves	Benjamin			W					
199	Green	Cleveland	Protestant	English	E 34	No 4				
324	Green	George			E					
359	Green	George	Protestant	English	E 9	No 4	50			E
411	Green	Thomas								
200	Greenaway	George	Protestant	Irish	E 126	No 4				
360	Griffiths	William	Protestant							
202	Guilfoyle	Peter	Protestant	Irish	E 153	No 4				
127	Hackett	John	Catholic	Irish	W 104			HW	HW	
167	Hackett	James	Catholic	Irish	E 259					
462	Haldane	Richard								
42	Hall	George	Protestant	Irish	W 182		50			
43	Hand	John	Catholic	Irish	W 172			H		
416	Handley	C.H.			E					
203	Handson	William								
44	Hankins	Charles	Protestant		W					
527	Harken	John	Catholic	Irish	E 47	No4				
Ensign	Harris	L.B.	Catholic**	Irish**	W		50			
361	Hart	George	Protestant	Irish	E 3	No 4				
489	Hart	George								
558	Hart	George			W					
579	Hartney	Edward	Catholic	Irish						

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Alphabetical table of Militiamen, 4th Regiment, Waikato Militia.

Regimental Number	Surname	Christian Name	Religion	Nationality	Dwelling/ Section Number	Company	1869	1875-76	1878-79	1880-81
204	Hayes	Patrick	Catholic	Irish	E 35	No 4				
205	Hayes	Charles	Protestant							
213	Healy	John	Catholic	Irish	E 21	No 4				
449	Helmericks	George								
474	Henry	Robert	Protestant		E 6	No 4	50			
208	Hinchcliffe	Edwin	Protestant	Australian	E 167	No 4				
270	Hindman									
145	Hinton	Joseph			W			H	HW	W
362	Hinton	Henry	Protestant	English	E 55	No 4	50	H	HW	W
406	Hogan	Thomas								
40	Hogg	Robert	Protestant		w					
206	Hone	William								
Ensign	Horne	J.R.								
575	Howard	Frederick					50			
509	Howes	Robert			E					
207	Hoy	Joseph	Catholic							
41	Hunter	Hugh	Protestant		W			H		W
271	Hyde	Daniel	Protestant		W					
45	Ibbetson	Henry	Protestant		W					
209	Ingram	William	Protestant	Irish						
47	Irlam	William	Protestant		W					
Ensign	Irwin	Owen			E	No 4				
132	Jackson	Thomas	Protestant		W					
156	Jackson	Alfred	Protestant		E					
210	Jackson	Thomas	Protestant	Scottish	E 138	No 4				
363	Jackson	Thomas			E 8	No 4				
211	Jamieson	Robert	Protestant							
48	Jeffries	John	Protestant		W					
544	John	William			W					
49	Johnstone	James	Protestant		W			H		
Lieut.	Johnstone	William			E	No 4	200	H/HE		W
553	Jones	James			W					

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Regimental Number	Surname	Christian Name	Religion	Nationality	Dwelling/ Section Number	Company	1869	1875-76	1878-79	1880-81
587	Jones	William	Catholic	Irish	W 119			H	HW	W
397	Joyce	Philip								
395	Kairns	Timothy	Catholic	Irish						
443	Kean	James			E					W
Maj.	Keddell	Jackson			E					
53	Kelly	Thomas	Catholic		E 341					
128	Kelly	Robert	Protestant		W					
212	Kelly	Thomas		English	E 316					
365	Kelly	Samuel								
398	Kelly	John	Catholic		E					E
500	Kelly	William	Protestant	Irish			50	H	HW	E
559	Kelly	Thomas	Catholic		E	No 4				
479	Kenny	John	Catholic	Irish	E 133	No 4	50	HE	HE	E
364	Kerby	Henry			E 7	No 4	50			
52	Kettlewell		Protestant							
215	Kiddle	James	Protestant	English	E 5	No 4	100	H	HW	
214	Kiernan	Edward	Protestant							
161	Kingsley	H	Protestant					HW		W
548	Kirkwood	William			W					
111	Knight	James	Catholic		W					
366	Knight	Edward			E 13	No 4				
51	Knobbs	John	Protestant		W					
153	Knox	John	Protestant	Irish	W 42/43			H	HW	W
339	Knox	James/John	Protestant	Irish	E 302	No 4	80			
50	Kylie	James	Protestant		W					
540	Land	Henry	Protestant		W					
216	Lands	Edward	Protestant	Irish	E 57	No 4				
556	Lands	Richard	Protestant		E		100			W
59	Landy	Peter	Protestant		W					
537	Lane	Richard	Protestant					H	HW	
577	Lane	George			W					W
60	Larrit	Philip	Protestant							

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Regimental Number	Surname	Christian Name	Religion	Nationality	Dwelling/ Section Number	Company	1869	1875-76	1878-79	1880-81
54	Lavery	Thomas	Catholic	Irish						
115	Lawless	Thomas	Protestant		W					
58	Leech	Isaac	Protestant							
367	Lees	Thomas	Catholic	English	E 134	No 4	50			
413	Lennon	James								
56	Leonard	James	Catholic	Irish	W 120					
123	L'Estrange	Guy	Protestant	Irish	E					
272	Lever	Henry	Protestant		W					
46	Levine	William	Protestant		W					
150	Lewis	Jesse								
393	Lewis	Edward			E					
569	Livingstone	Archibald	Protestant	Scottish	E 28	No 4				
273	Logan	James	Protestant		W					
526	Long	Walker					50			
55	Lucy	Thomas	Protestant	Irish	E 290		100			
217	Lutton	Edward		Irish						
442	Lyall	Alexander								
368	Lyes	John	Protestant	English	E 42	No 4				
57	Lynch	John	Catholic	Irish	W 188					
61	Lyons	Thomas	Catholic	Irish	W 152					
72	Mack	Peter	Catholic	Irish	E 341					
440	Mackie	James	Protestant							
Ensign	Maclean	A.H.			W					
65	Maguire	Sylvester	Protestant	Irish	W 23					
69	Mahon	John						HW	HW	
172	Malcolm	Edward					456	H		
281	Mandell	John	Protestant		W					
74	Mangan	Timothy	Catholic	Irish	W 193					
218	Marriott	James			E 111	No 4				
276	Marshall	Joseph	Protestant					HE		
280	Marshall	Samuel	Protestant		W		80			
143	Martin	Henry			W					

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Alphabetical table of Militiamen, 4th Regiment, Waikato Militia.

Regimental Number	Surname	Christian Name	Religion	Nationality	Dwelling/ Section Number	Company	1869	1875-76	1878-79	1880-81
274	Martin	James	Protestant		W			H	HW	W
275	Martin	Samuel	Protestant	Irish	W 300					
370	Martin	George	Protestant	English	E 11	No 4				
543	Martin	William								
141	Marion	William	Protestant		W					
114	Mason	Thomas	Protestant	Irish	W 268					
576	Mathews	John	Catholic	Irish	E 212/W 290					
137	Matier	Arthur	Protestant							
148	Maxwell	Frank								
285	Mayes	George	Protestant		W			H	HW	
149	McCabe	Thomas	Catholic				50			
169	McCabe	John			E		50			
514	McCallum	Samuel								
219	McCarthy	James								
278	McCord	Richard	Protestant		E					
77	McCowen	Henry	Protestant	Irish						
138	McCulloch	James	Catholic	Irish	W 301					
79	McDermott	Richard	Protestant		W					
220	McDonald	Daniel	Protestant							
482	McDowell	Thomas	Protestant	Irish						
118	McGrigor	William	Protestant							
221	McGuffin	Thomas	Protestant	Irish	E 46	No 4				
341	McGuinness	John	Catholic	Irish	E					
288	McIntyre	Duncan	Protestant		W			H	HW	W
78	McKay	James	Protestant		W					
423	McKenzie	Charles	Protestant	Scottish	E 19	No 4				E
448	McKenzie	George								
369	McKinlay	John	Protestant	Australian	E 112	No 4				
279	McKnight	John	Protestant	Irish	W 83		50			
287	McLarty	Duncan	Protestant		W					
286	McManamy	Edward	Catholic	Irish	W 86					
284	McPherson	Henry	Protestant		W					

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Alphabetical table of Militiamen, 4th Regiment, Waikato Militia.

Regimental Number	Surname	Christian Name	Religion	Nationality	Dwelling/ Section Number	Company	1869	1875-76	1878-79	1880-81
510	McPherson	James					50	H	HW	E
Capt.	McPherson	James			E		300			W
226	McRae	Hector	Protestant	Scottish	E 127	No4	50			
560	McWha	William	Protestant	Irish	E 318		50			
Capt.	Mellish	George								
283	Membray	John	Protestant							
427	Meyers	Frederick	Protestant							
277	Middleton	Alexander	Protestant							
67	Miller	John	Protestant		W					
330	Miller	Ebenezer			E					
434	Miller	Robert	Protestant		E		50			
71	Milligan	John								
68	Molloy	James								
73	Monaghan	Frank	Catholic	Irish	W 181					
528	Moody	Samuel	Protestant	Irish	W 191					
223	Moon	Robert	Protestant	English	E 73	No 4				
536	Moore	Albert	Protestant		E					
62	Moran	Patrick	Catholic	Irish	W 37					
133	Morgan	William	Protestant		W					
222	Morgan	John	Protestant	English	E 23	No 4				
371	Mornison	Alexander								
76	Morrie	Peter	Catholic							
555	Morris	T.H.W.						H	HW	
573	Morton	James	Protestant	Irish			50			
282	Moss	Samuel	Protestant		W					
Lt.Col	Moule	William			W					
64	Moyes	James	Protestant		W					
444	Moyle	Edward								
432	Mulholland	William	Protestant							
331	Mullet	Frederick								
66	Mulligan	John	Catholic	Irish	W 158					
473	Mullin/Mallin	William	Protestant	Irish						

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Alphabetical table of Militiamen, 4th Regiment, Waikato Militia.

Regimental Number	Surname	Christian Name	Religion	Nationality	Dwelling/ Section Number	Company	1869	1875-76	1878-79	1880-81
224	Mullions	Harry	Protestant	English	E 56	No 4	50	H	HW	
225	Mullions	Joseph	Protestant	English	E 79	No 4	50	H	HW	E
70	Munroe	Philip						H	HW	W
419	Munroe	James	Protestant	Scottish	E 116	No 4				E
227	Murch	William			E		50	HE		
75	Murliss	William	Protestant		W			H	HW	W
412	Murray	Michael								
63	Murtagh	Gerald	Catholic	Irish	W 32/34					E
494	Myers	Philip			E		50			
168	Nagle	John	Catholic	Irish						
372	Nairn	Walter	Protestant							
342	Neilson	William	Protestant				60	HE	HE	
456	Nettle	George								
228	Nick son	Felix	Protestant	English	E 59	No 4				
570	Nicol	Richard			E	No 4				
373	Nicolls	Laurence	Protestant	Scottish	E 154	No 4				
80	Nixon	Robert	Protestant		W					
468	Nixon	Robert			W					
289	Norman	Henry			W					
374	Norris	George	Protestant	English	E 107	No 4	50			
290	Norton	George								
518	O'Brien	William	Protestant	Irish						
81	O'Connor	Garret	Catholic	Irish	W 186					
83	Odlum	John	Catholic	Irish	W			HW	HW	W
554	O'Gorman	Timothy	Catholic	Irish	W 279					
82	O'Loughlin	John	Catholic	Irish	W 164					
142	O'Meara	William	Protestant	Irish						
375	O'Neill	Edward	Protestant	Irish	E 53	No 4				E
159	Osborne	William	Protestant							
515	Osborne	William								
229	Oswell	William	Protestant	English	E 128	No 4		H	HW	
513	Palmer	William			E		50	HE	HE	E

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Regimental Number	Surname	Christian Name	Religion	Nationality	Dwelling/ Section Number	Company	1869	1875-76	1878-79	1880-81
163	Palmerson									
542	Park	Adolphus	Protestant	Scottish	E 39	No 4		HE		
332	Parker	Richard			E		50			
415	Parker	James		Irish						
85	Partington	Nathan	Protestant		W					
582	Patterson	William	Catholic	Irish	W 121					
495	Peacocke	William	Protestant	Irish	E 16			HE	HE	E
585	Peacocke	William		Irish						E
Lieut.	Peacocke	John F.			E					
84	Pearson	John	Protestant					HE	HE	
376	Pearson	Edward	Protestant	English	E 62	No 4	50	H	HW	E
297	Peploe	George	Protestant		W					
1	Petty	Dominic	Protestant	Irish	W					
87	Phillips	Alexander	Protestant		W					
89	Phillips	Alexander	Protestant		W					
294	Phillips	Andrew	Protestant		E					
551	Phillips	Thomas	Protestant		E		50			
296	Pierce	Henry	Protestant							
333	Pierson	James	Protestant	English	E 235	No.4	50			
483	Pithero	William			W					
Lieut.	Pogue	A.G.			E					
550	Porrer	Maurice	Catholic	Irish	E 239					
91	Porteous	William	Protestant							
292	Portnam/Poynham	Joseph	Catholic	Irish	W 98					
298	Pottlewaite	John	Protestant		W					
86	Powell	Richard	Protestant		W					
230	Powell	William	Protestant	Irish	E 122	No 4				
377	Powell	William	Protestant	English	E 72	No 4	50			
231	Pratt	John								
90	Preston	James	Protestant		W		50			
293	Preston	James			W					
291	Prior	Benjamin			W					

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Regimental Number	Surname	Christian Name	Religion	Nationality	Dwelling/ Section Number	Company	1869	1875-76	1878-79	1880-81
517	Salt	James			W					
305	Sampson	Henry	Protestant		W			H		
233	Saunders	William	Protestant	English	E 61	No 4	100			
103	Saville	William	Protestant		W					
102	Sayer	Joel	Protestant		W					
99	Scholes	John	Protestant		W					
235	Scott	James	Protestant	Scottish	E 170	No 4				
533	Scott	James	Protestant	Irish	E 15	No4				
308	Scott	William	Protestant		W		100			
101	Scotton	William	Protestant		W					
409	Shadbolt	George								
521	Shanaghan	Owen	Catholic	Irish	E 274			H		
530	Shanaghan	James	Catholic	Irish	E 320					
Ensign Qtr.	Shanaghan	J.	Catholic*		E			H		
584	Shane	A.W.			W					
304	Shannon	James	Protestant		W					
234	Shepherd	James	Protestant	Scottish	E 40	No 4				
310	Shiels	James	Catholic							
Lieut.	Shilson	Edward			E					
460	Shimmon	William								
399	Shine	James	Catholic	Irish	E 285		50	H	HW	E
511	Shine	Jeremiah	Catholic	Irish	E 286					
306	Simmonds	Edward	Protestant		W					
384	Simms	Henry	Protestant	English	E 29	No 4				
574	Simpson	William								
309	Skudder	George	Protestant		W					
335	Small	Henry			E		50	HE		
387	Smart	Albert	Catholic	English	E 12	No 4				
173	Smerdon	John	Protestant	English	E 74	No 4				
307	Smiley	Charles	Protestant		W					
95	Smith	Robert	Protestant		W					
144	Smith	Alfred			W					

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Alphabetical table of Militiamen, 4th Regiment, Waikato Militia.

Regimental Number	Surname	Christian Name	Religion	Nationality	Dwelling/ Section Number	Company	1869	1875-76	1878-79	1880-81
240	Smith	Alexander	Protestant	Irish	E 196		50	HE	HE	E
385	Smith	George	Protestant	English	E 132	No 4		H/HE	HE	
386	Smith	Henry	Protestant	English	E 70	No 4	50	H		
478	Smith	Thomas								
480	Smith	William								
571	Smith	Joseph	Catholic	Irish	E 272					
424	Spelman	John	Catholic	Irish	E 155	No 4				
508	Spence	Arthur			E					
400	Stacey	Walter	Protestant	Irish						
236	Stafford	John	Protestant							
311	Staggells	Horace	Protestant		W					
97	Stapleton	Richard	Protestant	Irish	W 260					
237	Starmer	William			E					
100	Starter	John	Protestant							
Capt.	Steele	William			E	No 4	1980	H	HW	E
94	Stephens	James	Protestant		W					
96	Stephens	James	Catholic	Irish	W 113					
238	Stephens	Thomas								
239	Stephens	John			E					
451	Stephens	John								
336	Stevens	John			E					
414	Stevens	Richard	Catholic	Irish						
312	Steward	Charles	Protestant		E					
Capt.	Stewart	Alan								
Lieut.	Stokes	Robert			W			H	HW	W
450	Stow	Samuel								
Ensign	Styak	William			W					
241	Sugden	John								
98	Sullivan	Patrick	Catholic	Irish						
401	Sullivan	Michael	Catholic	Irish						
586	Sydney									
140	Syne	John	Protestant							

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Regimental Number	Surname	Christian Name	Religion	Nationality	Dwelling/ Section Number	Company	1869	1875-76	1878-79	1880-81
246	Watson	Robert								
247	Watson	William	Protestant		E					
457	Watt	William								
152	Watts	William	Protestant							
120	Webb	Joseph	Protestant	Irish	W 22/19					
458	Webb	Joseph	Protestant	Irish	W 77			HW		
459	Webb	James	Protestant	Irish	W 76					
109	Webber	Henry						H		
446	Weber	Charles			E					
110	Webley	John	Protestant							
506	Webley	John								
322	Weeneck	Gerrick	Protestant		E					
323	Wetton	Edwin	Protestant		E					
391	Wheeler	Philip	Protestant	English	E 165	No 4		HE		
136	Whelan	Patrick	Catholic	Irish	W 339					
532	Whiseman	Walter	Protestant		E					
343	White	William	Protestant	English	E 110	No 4	50			
403	White	Henry								
475	White	James			E 63	No 4		HE		
490	White	William	Protestant	English	E 69	No 4	50			
491	White	Alfred								
538	White	David	Protestant	English	E 283	No 4				
162	Whittington	George	Protestant							
523	Wiesbaden	Wilhelm	Catholic							
126	Williams	James	Protestant		W					
469	Williams	Charles								
147	Williamson	Frederick	Protestant		W					
487	Wilton	Henry			W					
396	Winder	Adam	Catholic	Irish						
320	Winslow	Robert	Protestant	Irish				HE		
507	Wintle	John								
157	Wood	Robert	Protestant							

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List of Abbreviations

LINZ: Land Information New Zealand
NZ: New Zealand
ACDA: Auckland Catholic Diocesan Archives

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- Patty Stokes, 11 December 1993, Tape 7.
- Bart Roach, 26 March 1994, Tape 8.
- Emily Barker, 26 March 1994, Tape 8.
- June Waite, 26 March 1994, Tape 8.
- Pat Gunn, 26 March 1994, Tape 8.
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