Copyright Statement

The digital copy of this thesis is protected by the Copyright Act 1994 (New Zealand). This thesis may be consulted by you, provided you comply with the provisions of the Act and the following conditions of use:

- Any use you make of these documents or images must be for research or private study purposes only, and you may not make them available to any other person.
- Authors control the copyright of their thesis. You will recognise the author's right to be identified as the author of this thesis, and due acknowledgement will be made to the author where appropriate.
- You will obtain the author's permission before publishing any material from their thesis.

To request permissions please use the Feedback form on our webpage. http://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz/feedback

General copyright and disclaimer

In addition to the above conditions, authors give their consent for the digital copy of their work to be used subject to the conditions specified on the Library Thesis Consent Form

CHURCHMAN

A STUDY OF JAMES MICHAEL LISTON

Bishop of Auckland 1920-70

Nicholas Evan Reid

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History, University of Auckland 2004

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the life of James Michael Liston (1881-1976), ordained priest 1904, rector of Holy Cross College, Mosgiel 1910-20, Coadjutor-Bishop of Auckland 1920-29, Bishop of Auckland 1929-70, Archbishop from 1954. While Liston was never metropolitan of the Catholic Church in New Zealand, his longevity and the initiatives he took made him for many years the church's most visible spokesman. As mentor and teacher of most of the hierarchy, he was widely regarded as the country's Catholic "patriarch".

The thesis explores Liston's personal and cultural inheritance as the New Zealand-born son of expatriate Irish parents. His involvement in Irish-related controversies is examined, including his trial for sedition in 1922. However it is a major contention of this thesis that Liston's primary focus was always the welfare of the Catholic Church in New Zealand and in the diocese of Auckland. 'Romanita' and loyalty to the Vatican were more important than residual Irishness. For each phase of Liston's priesthood and episcopate, the thesis examines Liston's relationship with diocesan clergy, religious orders, Catholic laity and the general public.

Some aspects of Liston's behaviour and management style are open to criticism. His rejection by Dunedin clergy (1918-20) and his conflict with Bishop Cleary (1923-29) suggest limitations to his character. His differences with younger clergy in the 1960s suggest that old age affected his judgement. Nevertheless, for most of his career, Liston was an effective and compassionate church leader at a time when the diocese of Auckland became the largest diocese in the country. Necessarily, much detail is given to the administrative processes by which the diocese was developed.

James Michael Liston operated on the hierarchical assumptions that were then the episcopal norm. He was essentially a Churchman.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my gratitude for the personal encouragement given to me by many people through their interest, advice and support.

Special thanks are due to my supervisors. Associate-Professor Hugh Laracy was always available for consultation, was acute in pointing out any stylistic infelicities in drafts, and was a mine of information on church lore. Associate-Professor Linda Bryder offered a different and very helpful perspective on church matters and steered me away from any temptations to hagiography.

I was assisted by the professionalism of many archivists and librarians. Fr.Bruce Bolland and Marian Nee of the Auckland Catholic Diocesan Archives spent many months finding files for me and answering my queries. I received similarly efficient help from Sister de Porres of the Wellington Catholic Archdiocesan Archives: the staff of the Christchurch Diocesan Catholic Archives: Father John Harrison and Pauline Lee of the Dunedin Catholic Diocesan Archives; the curator of the Marist Archives, Wellington; Fr.Damian McNeice and David Sheehy of the Dublin Archdiocesan Archives; Fr.Peter Murphy of the Vatican's Australia and New Zealand desk; Mgr.Liam Bergin (rector) and Fr.Albert McDonnell (vice-rector) of the Irish College, Rome; Cardinal Crezenzio Sepe and Guiseppe Laria of Propaganda Fide (Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples) and Collegio Urbano, Rome; Philip Doyle of Irish National Archives, Dublin; Mary Kelly, librarian of Holy Cross seminary, Ponsonby; Fr.Tom O'Brien of the Missionary Society of St.Joseph, Mill Hill, London: Norelle Scolay of Archives New Zealand: Iain Sharp of Auckland Public Library; the staff of the Auckland University Library microfilm room; and Claudia Orange and the staff of the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography.

Researching this thesis necessitated considerable travel. I thank the following people for offering me hospitality when I was researching in archives outside Auckland - Francis, Vincent and Gemma Reid (England), Fr.Matt Gaffney and the Rosminian priests (Dublin), the staff of the Irish College (Rome), Christopher and Bernardine Reid (Wellington) and the Christian Brothers (Christchurch and Dunedin).

I thank all those people (listed in the Bibliography) who agreed to be interviewed formally, or who answered more informal queries. At various times, helpful advice and opinions were offered by Judith Bassett, Peter Gibbons, Michael King, Judith Leydon, Basil Minihane, Peter Norris, Michael O'Meeghan, Russell Stone, Rory Sweetman, Ian Thompson and Kevin Walsh.

Bishop Patrick Dunn was generous in allowing me such prolonged and wide access to his diocesan archives. Bishop Dunn and Dame Sister Pauline

Engel also undertook to read earlier drafts of most chapters and offered many valuable comments.

This thesis could not have been written without the financial support of the Catholic diocese of Auckland and of a Top Achiever Doctoral Scholarship. I thank the Bishop of Auckland for the former, and the administrators of the Foundation for Research, Science and Technology for awarding me the latter. I also thank the History Department of the University of Auckland for enabling me to supplement my income by tutoring during three years of research.

Finally I thank my wife Gabrielle and our children, whose positive attitudes offset my innate pessimism.

		iv.	
	TABLE OF CONTENTS		
Αl	bstract	i.	
A	cknowledgements	ii.	
Li	st of Abbreviations	viii.	
I	THE POSTHUMOUS REPUTATION OF JAMES MICHAEL LISTON	1	
II	YOUNG LISTON 1881-1904	16	
	Parents, Ancestry and Irish Heritage	16	
	Dunedin Diocese and Its Leaders	27	
	Education, seminaries and Priestly Formation	33	
	The Making of Father Liston	46	
Ш	FATHER LISTON 1904-20	50	
	Liston as Teacher at Mosgiel	54	
	Rector of Mosgiel	62	
	The Sectarian Setting	72	
	The Conscription Controversy	80	
	The Making of Bishop Liston	87	
IV	COADJUTOR AT WORK 1920-29	104	
	Auckland and Its Welcome	104	
	Episcopal Secretary, Parish Priest and Coadjutor	110	

		V.
	Liston's Initiatives	118
	Publicist for Catholic Causes	124
	The Discipline of the Clergy	127
	Cooperation of the Bishops	138
۷٦	THE LESSER TRIAL 1922	143
	Liston's Trial for Sedition	143
	The Trial and the Times	154
VI T	THE GREATER TRIAL 1923-29	166
	Bishops in Conflict	166
	Significance of Cleary's Indictment	191
	Bishop Cleary Dies	202
VII	BISHOP LISTON 1930-54 - CHURCHMAN AT WORK	208
	The Bishop and his Diocese	208
	The Bishop in Health and Travel	217
	The Bishop and the Hierarchy	223
	The Bishop and his Clergy	239
	The Maori Mission	252
VIII	BISHOP LISTON 1930-54 - THE PUBLIC FIGURE	263
	The Bishop and the Laity	263
	The Rishon's Public Profile	277

	vi.
The Bishop's Politics - The Labour Connection	287
The Bishop's Politics - The Anti-Communist Crusade	294
The Bishop's Politics - Overtones of Fascism	301
James Michael Liston and John Alexander Lee	305
The Making of an Archbishop	312
IX BEFORE VATICAN II - ARCHBISHOP LISTON 1954-62	317
The Last Ad Limina	317
The Archbishop and his Diocese	321
The Archbishop and his Clergy	325
The Archbishop and the Laity	333
The Archbishop's Public Profile	340
Age, III Health, and the Appointment of an Auxiliary	345
X THE CRISIS OF AUTHORITY - ARCHBISHOP LISTON 1962-70	350
The Impact of Vatican II	350
An Oversized Diocese?	360
The Changing Laity	363
The Question of Cultures	366
The Old Archbishop and his Clergy	369
The Old Archbishop and the Press	377
Grand Old Man	384
The Archbishop Retires	388

	vii.
XI IN RETIREMENT 1970-76	394
CONCLUSION	404
NOTE ON SOURCES	
BIBLIOGRAPHY	

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AJHR Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives

ANZ Archives New Zealand

ACDA Auckland Catholic Diocesan Archives

APL Auckland Public Library

AS Auckland Star

CCDA Christchurch Catholic Diocesan Archives

CWL Catholic Women's League

DAA Dublin (Catholic) Archdiocesan Archives

DCDA Dunedin Catholic Diocesan Archives

DNZB Dictionary of New Zealand Biography

ICR Irish College, Rome

MAW Marist Archives, Wellington

MHAL Mill Hill Archives, London

NZH New Zealand Herald

NZJH New Zealand Journal of History

NZLJ New Zealand Law Journal

ODT Otago Daily Times

O.P. Order of Preachers (Dominicans)

PPA Protestant Political Association

S.M. Society of Mary (Marists)

WCAA Wellington Catholic Archdiocesan Archives.