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'Sneers, Jeers . . . and Red Rantings' Bob Lowry's Early Printing at Auckland University College

PETER HUGHES

'Our typographical naissance did not take place till the early thirties. . . . The credit must go to R. W. Lowry' remarked Denis Glover in his review of New Zealand printing history.[1] While Glover has remained in our eyes a key figure in printing, Lowry is now remembered more for his lifestyle, but not as a printer of note. Yet Glover was right. Lowry's example, notably with his Auckland University College publications, and his influence, were critical to the emerging fine printing scene. A reappraisal of his early efforts and achievements is timely. Glover's statement is, in fact, public acknowledgement of his own debt to an old friend. As surviving correspondence proves, Lowry strongly influenced Glover's own typographical education.[2] The correspondence shows too that Lowry's enthusiasm for, and dedication to, printing laid the basis for a unique contribution to the New Zealand typographic scene.

Lowry was introduced to printing at Auckland Grammar School in 1928. There, under the guidance of two teachers, Peter Stein and Gerry Lee, Lowry 'composed and printed in all parts of the city' *La Verite* while in the fifth form.[3] There too, he met Glover, and their friendship blossomed. Glover soon moved to Christchurch, but the two kept in touch. In the following year Lowry's experiments continued. He printed *Opuscule*, 'an indiscriminate mixture of newspaper and magazine' (Plate I), and was about to launch *Zip* when he was told to stop. *Zip* went no further than a prospectus as it was considered libellous by one of the teachers, and the project was 'eradicated' by his headmaster. Suitably chastised, Lowry confined his experiments in printing to broadsheets and advertisements for firms from his hometown, Paeroa, as well as helping out with the 1929 school magazine *The Chronicle*.[4] These early examples reveal his growing interest in type-setting and the craft of printing. Lowry had purchased his first press in April or May 1929, a small Golding hand-platen that, together with 'a font of 9 pt Hadlow [?] Roman oldface medium newspaper type, cost £2-10-0'.

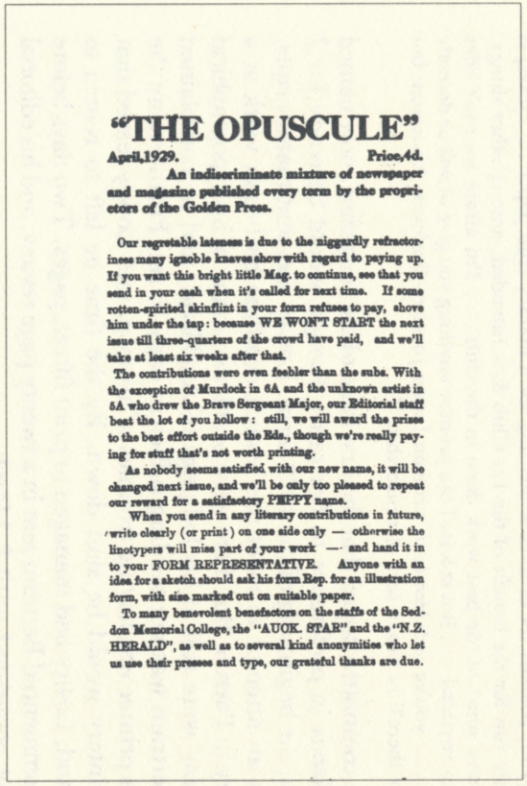
The writer would like to acknowledge the financial assistance of the Sir Douglas Robb Memorial Fund

He immediately enlisted help: 'The Head of the *Herald* Jobbing Dept is immensely tickled and is going to do a lot of magnanimous and benevolent things for us'.[5] Perhaps this benevolent printer showed Lowry the rudiments of Linotype which by July, he claimed was 'as easy as playing trains to work off'. He was helped too with the *Zip* prospectus: 'The eight heaviest lines were loaned by the *Sun*, and I pinched the initial W from Tech'.[6]

In 1931, when he was eighteen, Lowry enrolled in History, English, French and Philosophy at Auckland University College.[7] He had been awarded a Lissie Rathbone scholarship for excellence in English and History, which provided £50 a year for three years and, as his headmaster reminded him, 'you now have the opportunity of taking up a university course under favourable circumstances. I trust that you will concentrate on your work and not allow undue time to be taken up by hobbies and amateur journalistic distractions'.[8] Lowry was self-confident, opinionated, and seemed assured of success. He was soon involved in the life of the College and joined both the Debating Society—winning the Freshers Cup—and the Dramatic Club, and was part of the 1931 Carnival Committee. At the same time though, Lowry mulled over the possibilities of printing, and he toyed with the idea of teaming up with Glover in Christchurch to establish 'a decent publishing business'. He seemed all set to head south in August, but then got cold feet:

> I should stay in Auckland because my parents say so, because I'll probably have a better chance of doing well academically, because I have no plausible reason for asking the Chancellor for a transfer, because I have recently met the most wonderful maiden in God's wide world, and because I am rapidly blossoming forth into Varsity's big fresher pea . . . . I have just been elected Secretary of next year's Carnival Committee . . . I understand that I am to be elected to the Lit. Club Committee next week, and the Lit Club want me to get out a mag for them right at the beginning of next year.[9]

As early as May 1931, Lowry had offered to print Literary Club material, in particular, a 'magazine' which would contain critical articles about papers read before the Club as well as other 'minor papers'.[10] This offer was made formal at the Annual General Meeting of the Dramatic Club in September when the Committee agreed to Lowry's plan 'whereby a small printing press might be put at the service of the Club and a Literary Club publication of some sort be produced.'[11] At the same meeting too, Lowry succeeded Blackwood Paul as Treasurer of the Dramatic Club, and as he wryly commented to Glover, 'I find myself as publisher, asking myself, as Treasurer, whether I can really permit the Literary Club to accede to my modest request'.[12] Lowry was tongue in cheek, but the situation was far from clear. Even at the time there was confusion about the authority of the Dramatic Club and the groups that devolved under it. A literary committee had earlier



"THE OPUSCULE"

April,1929. Price,4d.

An indiscriminate mixture of newspaper and magazine published every term by the proprietors of the Golden Press.

Our regretable lateness is due to the niggardly refractoriness many ignoble knaves show with regard to paying up. If you want this bright little Mag. to continue, see that you send in your cash when it's called for next time. If some rotten-spirited skinflint in your form refuses to pay, shove him under the tap: because WE WON'T START the next issue till three-quarters of the crowd have paid, and we'll take at least six weeks after that.

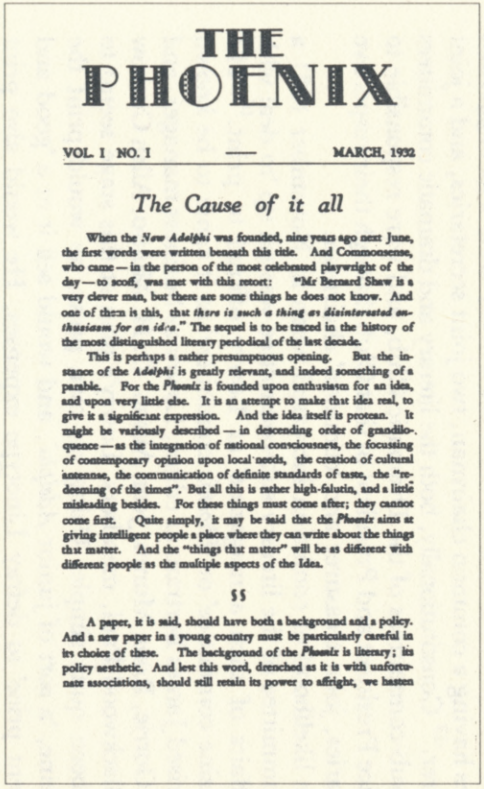
The contributions were even feebler than the subs. With the exception of Murdock in 6A and the unknown artist in 5A who drew the Brave Sergeant Major, our Editorial staff beat the lot of you hollow: still, we will award the prizes to the best effort outside the Eds., though we're really paying for stuff that's not worth printing.

As nobody seems satisfied with our new name, it will be changed next issue, and we'll be only too pleased to repeat our reward for a satisfactory PEPPY name.

When you send in any literary contributions in future, write clearly (or print) on one side only — otherwise the linotypers will miss part of your work — and hand it in to your FORM REPRESENTATIVE. Anyone with an idea for a sketch should ask his form Rep. for an illustration form, with size marked out on suitable paper.

To many benevolent benefactors on the staffs of the Seddon Memorial College, the "AUCK. STAR" and the "N.Z. HERALD", as well as to several kind anonymities who let us use their presses and type, our grateful thanks are due.

Plate I. Printed by Lowry at Auckland Grammar School.



THE PHOENIX

VOL. I NO. I —— MARCH, 1932

The Cause of it all

When the *New Adelphi* was founded, nine years ago next June, the first words were written beneath this title. And Commonsense, who came — in the person of the most celebrated playwright of the day — to scoff, was met with this retort: "Mr Bernard Shaw is a very clever man, but there are some things he does not know. And one of them is this, that *there is such a thing as disinterested enthusiasm for an idea*." The sequel is to be traced in the history of the most distinguished literary periodical of the last decade.

This is perhaps a rather presumptuous opening. But the instance of the *Adelphi* is greatly relevant, and indeed something of a parable. For the *Phoenix* is founded upon enthusiasm for an idea, and upon very little else. It is an attempt to make that idea real, to give it a significant expression. And the idea itself is protean. It might be variously described — in descending order of grandiloquence — as the integration of national consciousness, the focussing of contemporary opinion upon local needs, the creation of cultural antennae, the communication of definite standards of taste, the "redeeming of the times". But all this is rather high-falutin, and a little misleading besides. For these things must come after; they cannot come first. Quite simply, it may be said that the *Phoenix* aims at giving intelligent people a place where they can write about the things that matter. And the "things that matter" will be as different with different people as the multiple aspects of the Idea.

§§

A paper, it is said, should have both a background and a policy. And a new paper in a young country must be particularly careful in its choice of these. The background of the *Phoenix* is literary; its policy aesthetic. And lest this word, drenched as it is with unfortunate associations, should still retain its power to affright, we hasten

Plate II. An unsettling array of headings and text faces.

been formed, with a dramatic committee, at the Annual General Meeting of the Dramatic Club in 1930: 'one to control the dramatic side of our activities, and the other the literary side. The suggestion implies having a common chairman, two joint secretaries, and a joint treasurer.'[13] Constitutionally, both the literary and dramatic committees were sub-committees of the Dramatic Club, and were responsible to the Vice President and President of that Club through their respective secretaries, joint treasurer and 'common' chairman.

The likelihood of confusion increased when in November 1931 a sub-committee of the literary sub-committee was set up 'to deal with the affairs of such a magazine' as Lowry offered to print.[14] The 'magazine committee' or '*Phoenix* committee' as it came to be known comprised James Bertram as editor, Lowry as business manager, and Rilda Gorrie, Rona Munro, Jean Alison, D. H. Monro, Allen Curnow and Blackwood Paul, members. Lowry's plan at this stage seems to have been quite simple. Using his own press, he would print the magazine, 'a sort of junior *Adelphi*', and would sell it at a 'good and sufficient price' to defray Linotype expenses. He would also print material for other College clubs.[15] At the end of the 1931 College year Lowry, printer and business manager to the magazine, and treasurer of the Dramatic Club, returned home to his parents at Paeroa. Editor Bertram was on holiday in the South Island with Charles Brasch, while Ian Milner solicited contributions and wrote for the as yet unnamed magazine. In a letter to R. A. K. Mason, Bertram gave an indication of its editorial direction:

> Could [you] possibly let us have something for a literary club paper . . . [that] is ostensibly run for the benefit of the Lit Club & is intended, among other things, to preserve some of the best work done in the club . . . I'm afraid we can't offer to pay for anything . . . But at least I can promise anything you give us will be decently printed . . . you've *carte blanche* to write on James Joyce or Professor Anderson; but I expect there'll be some sort of censorship.[16]

The committee hoped that the first issue of the magazine, now named *The Phoenix* in preference to Bertram's *Farrago*, would be ready for 7 March, the beginning of the 1932 term. Lowry was sent manuscripts, and in an attempt to meet the March deadline he began work at a printery in Paeroa. But there were problems: many of his typographical 'etceteras' were still at his lodgings in Auckland, and he complained that Bertram was not sending sufficient copy to set. Furthermore the Paeroa printer was having troubles of his own, and Lowry feared that the printery would be shut down. By the time he left to return to Auckland, Lowry had managed to print fifteen pages. Two days before term commenced Bertram sent in a twenty page review, and his editorial was not completed until 8 March.

So the deadline passed, but this was hardly Lowry's fault. At the start of the term he still had some thirty-five pages to set, which, he

estimated, would take a further fortnight. To cheer him up though, '15 lbs of brand-new modern book-face' that he had ordered, arrived: 'it's wonderful stuff, and there's heaps of it'.[17] Lowry had to diss his type 'after each [page] . . . since there wasn't enough type to set more than one page at a time'. But by late March the printing was completed: 'the fifty-odd pages were laid in separate piles on a table in a ground floor room of the Student's Association; I remember the excitement and seriousness with which our *Phoenix* committee filed around the table, gathering pages into sections . . . for stapling and binding.'[18]

It was, says Keith Sinclair, 'a miraculous moment' in 'the intellectual and literary history of the College'.[19] Typographically, *The Phoenix* fell far short of Lowry's own expectations, and a note inserted at his request commented on its 'somewhat bedraggled appearance', while the editorial itself mentioned 'typographical flaws and inconsistencies'. In Paeroa Lowry had been forced to use Century Expanded for text, Cheltenham italics for poetry and Artcraft italics for headings. They are all uninspiring faces. Once in Auckland, he put the £2 worth of 10 pt Garamond Roman and small caps to good use, but he still had to shop around for italics and bold headings. The result is an unsettling array of headings and text faces; 24 pt and 36 pt ATF Modernistic Titling caps; 16 pt Artcraft small caps, and 24 pt Italics; 10 pt Garamond; 10 pt Cheltenham italics and 10 pt Caslon Old Face italics (Plate II). The title-page too is undistinguished; the 36 pt Goudy Old Style Titling caps and 12 pt Garamond caps avoid each other at the top and bottom of the page, while a Phoenix block, in orange, lies stranded in between (Plate III). Some poems are crammed two to a page amidst ornaments while others languish in a sea of white. It is small wonder that the editorial promised that the next issue would 'have its own type; the format will be standardised and the layout improved and made uniform'. Again Lowry cannot be blamed. The erratic supply of copy meant effective layout was impossible. Indeed, that the issue appeared at all is testimony to Lowry's perseverence. As editors James Bertram, and later R. A. K. Mason declared, without Lowry there would have been no *Phoenix* at all.[20]

Lowry had aspirations beyond the printery. Like others at the time, he coveted the editorship of *Phoenix*. In fact, he felt that Bertram had 'snatched' it from him, and believed he would become editor once Bertram took up his Rhodes scholarship in 1933. In the meantime, however, and with the first *Phoenix* issue behind him, Lowry worked on promoting himself as the potential College printer. In May 1932 he tried to interest the Students' Executive in a scheme to buy a better press. He lobbied for a 'brand new flat bed rotary' which, without motor, would have cost £285. The money was to come from the Literary Club, Social Club, College Office, and the Carnival Committee which organised, among other things an annual play. In return, Lowry would

print carnival programmes, *Kiwi*,[21] *Craccum*,[22] 'tickets, notepaper and invitations' as well as the annual College calendar. But as he confided to Glover: 'What's bothering Stud Ass is this . . . what happens to the press when I leave (in three years time) . . . . This is my suggestion: that when I leave I take the press from them at its then value and pay them for it in extended payments (10 yrs).'[23]

Lowry provided what he thought was an impressive list of the savings he believed he could bring about: 'The estimates', he said, 'have of course allowed for wholly linotyped jobs down town. I've gone into this pretty thoroughly and it's sound'.[24] The Executive was not convinced, and one Committee member moved that Lowry's offer 'be rejected owing to the risk involved'. But this motion lapsed for want of a seconder, and Bertram, now wearing his hat as Executive Secretary, moved that Lowry's proposal be adopted: 'The . . . press to be placed at his disposal on condition that he satisfactorily print and publish the magazines detailed in the scheme submitted . . . subject to the drawing up of conditions satisfactory to the President, Secretary and Business Manager.'[25]

The Executive, naturally enough, was anxious that the project was financially viable, and so passed over the £285 press in favour of a second-hand treadle platen which, together with an electric motor cost £54-10-0. They also wanted a watertight agreement with Lowry, and the June minutes recorded that 'Messrs Hill and Postlewaite' would draft an 'agreement in legal form'.[26] Unfortunately this agreement has been lost, but Lowry provided his account of it to Glover and, balancing this, Postlewaite's *Report* which was written for the Student Executive some eighteen months later has also survived. According to Lowry he was to get 25% of profits, 'the remainder going into a special fund which I can call upon at any time for further supplies of type and other materials'.[27] Postlewaite's *Report* was more thorough, stating that Lowry was to receive 45% of the net profit and the Executive guaranteed 'monetary losses' should they occur. He 'was not permitted to do outside printing', and it laid down that Lowry's 'wages' would be used to 'liquidate the cost of the press'. If this later *Report* is to be believed, the Executive was somewhat reluctantly drawn into a deal with Lowry 'after a great deal of agitation' from *Phoenix* supporters.[28]

Lowry too, now found himself tied; to a Business Manager, to accountability with auditors, and to a dreary yet very strenuous programme of printing student publications. The omens were not good. But at the time, Lowry was ecstatic. He had an adequate press, a 'comprehensive supply of good type and falldedals to play around with'. He had also set up a printery in a basement room of the Science Building which faced Symonds Street. It was, says Elsie Locke, 'a little, tiny box, absolutely cluttered and filled with notices . . . [where] he

Plate III. The title page too is undistinguished.

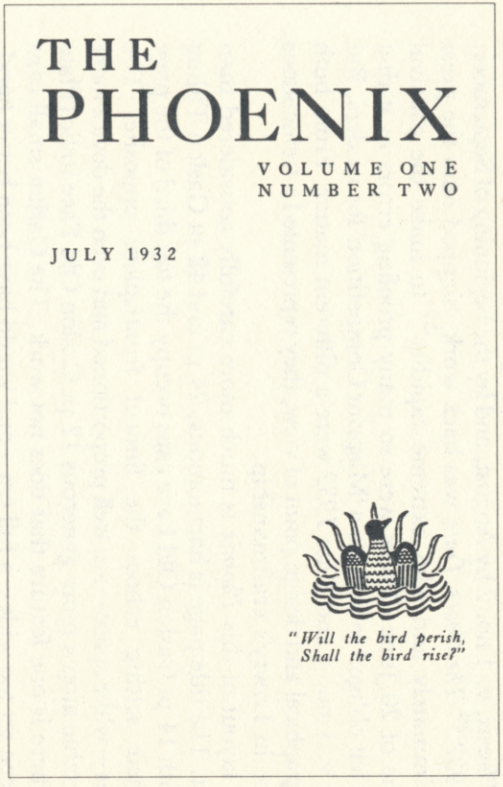


Plate IV. A tremendous advance in craftsmanship.

would just work and work and work until the small hours of the morning'.[29]

From it he turned out the carnival programme, *The Goat's Train* in June; *Phoenix*, v. 1 no. 2 by August, and by the beginning of September, *Kiwi 1932*.[30] *The Goat's Train* was hack work, 'slapped onto the press indiscriminately and with extreme rapidity'[31] to make the carnival deadline of 20 June. There were so many proofing errors in it that Lowry felt obliged to include a 'Misprint Competition' for readers. But *Phoenix* v. 1 no. 2 and *Kiwi 1932* were a different matter. From both a typographical and design point of view, they represented a tremendous advance in Lowry's craftmanship.

The layout of this *Phoenix* is much more carefully considered than the first. The title page is harmonious; 24 pt and 42 pt Caslon Titling caps with 14 pt Caslon Old Face caps occupy the top third of the page and their setting echoes the linocut frontispiece opposite. The margins—white space—are well proportioned and even the device looks comfortable atop a more generous 12 pt Caslon Old Face italic (Plate IV). There is one feature that does not work. The Caslon small caps have been set too wide—a full em—and would have been better hand-justified so that there visual values were equalised. The text and contents pages too, show an increasing confidence. The latter employs initial letters in Caslon Roman with the balance of each line in Italic, while the text pages, set in 12 pt Caslon Old Face have Goudy Bold headings above a thick rule. As a variant on running heads, the foot of each left hand page has the appropriate article title, while 'The Phoenix' is on every right hand page. Lowry concentrated on using one family with some interesting exceptions—the verso of the contents page, for example, was handset in Lowry's own Garamond. To round off the issue, Lowry printed a colophon, 'Auckland . . . at the University Press'.

The improvements between issues one and two are so great that Lowry must have had considerable advice. Ron Holloway, who worked alongside Lowry at this time, largely credits the improvements to Len Morrison, an architectural student 'who was a good draughtsman . . . and who advised on layout and special type'. Holloway also mentions 'a professional printer' whose name was Markham.[32] 'Pip' Arden and J. C. Beaglehole, both on the College staff in 1932, were also interested in typography. According to Holloway, Beaglehole had a Christmas card with one of his poems printed at the press.

T. V. Gulliver was also a commanding presence in Auckland. He 'designed what was probably the first well-printed book of poetry done in New Zealand'.[33] Gulliver was a true enthusiast. In the late twenties he gave talks to interested people on the principles of typography. His library included works such as Joseph Thorp's influential and practical *Printing for Business; A Manual of Printing Practice in Non-technical Idiom*,[34] but most important, his ideas carried through to a sense of typographical

design that was very sound. Programme designs that are almost certainly his are notable for their adherence to 'classic' symmetrical typography, to their use of the 'new' typefaces and the restrained use of colour in titling (Plate V). Such typographical flair was rare in New Zealand, and Lowry must have been impressed. A number of Gulliver's programmes, each signed by Gulliver, survive in Lowry's own collection.[35]

There were also the influences from England and the United States, particularly those coming from the master typographer Stanley Morison. In 1922 Morison had been appointed as typographic adviser to the Monotype Corporation, and he initiated and supervised the recutting of many of the 'classic' typefaces. A necessary ally in this project was 'a printer of high quality to do credit to the types produced' and, from 1925, 'the Cambridge University Press under Walter Lewis' fulfilled this role 'in a campaign which was to cause so profound a change in the appearance of books all over the world'.[36]

Morison and the Monotype Corporation certainly provided the materials for enthusiasts to use. And Lowry was one. He would have seen the Monotype advertisements in *The Adelphi*, which the Literary Club received from 1931. Earlier, he had 'perused and rhapshodised [sic]' over the famous 1928 *Times Printing Supplement* which Morison had written.[37] Morison's influence was evident also in *The Fleuron, a Journal of Typography* published between 1923 and 1930, and available in the Auckland Public Library. This had printed Morison's 'First Principles of Typography', an important series which was later published in book form. Lowry thought *The Fleuron* 'A marvellous piece of work'. He also knew other similar journals — *The British Printer* and the *Inland Printer*.

So the ideas and ideals of this typographical 'renaissance' could be tapped. But what of the materials, the typographical 'etceteras'? Most local trade printers used Linotype machines but Monotype too was available. As Lowry informed Glover:

> Try Whitcombes for Monotype (especially in sizes above 12 pt). It's much cheaper than typefounders stuff, and in the larger sizes anyhow, every bit as good. You might also try Morrison and Morrison for Monotype . . . you couldn't go wrong by sticking to the Garamond faces in all sizes, Roman and Italic and Small Caps. It's highly legible, very beautiful in Italic and has a sound tradition behind it for classic printing.[38]

The second *Phoenix* then, shows an emerging typographical discipline and the lessons that Lowry learned he carried over to *Kiwi 1932*, with the exception of the title-page. This uses many styles of Caslon to parody the title-pages of seventeenth century books and as a result sits uncomfortably against the text of the magazine (plate VI).

This was a happy time for Lowry. At the Annual General Meeting of the Literary Club he had been elected 'typographical adviser' amidst

considerable ribbing. Pseudonymously, he clarified the difference between 'adviser' and 'printer' in *Craccum*.

> A printer, as defined by the Royal College of Surgeons, is a person whose consumption of liquor is so large that his eyes fail to line up by two ems and a non-pareil. His conversation is always in 72 points heavy face, set solid, with a shriek four picas away in the other direction.
>
> A typographer, in terms of the Orchards Inspection Act of 09, is a spindle-shanked son of a gun with long hair, long fingernails and a long bill at the tobacconists. His nose is the same shade as blue laid ledger, quad crowned seventy, his top margin is a little thin and his gutters all to glory, but otherwise he dummies out to perfection.[39]

With the 'astonished' success of *Kiwi 1932* under his belt, Lowry again went angling for a better press—as well as fulltime employment—this time to the Professorial Board of the College. '[E]gged on by three of the most authoritative [profs]' Lowry wrote to their Chairman, and proposed the purchase of a 'small new cylinder printing press', the very one the Students' Association Executive had previously vetoed, to establish an Auckland University College Press. Lowry ran through the merits of the scheme and concluded:

> I would therefore very gladly undertake the operation of this Press as my permanent occupation. . . . It is my intention to proceed to the degree of M.A., so that the post of College printer shall lack nothing of the academic dignity attaching to such posts in older countries. I propose also to make a close study of typography and bibliography with a view to possible College courses in either or both in more favourable times; and had thoughts of trying later to proceed Home for experience with the University Presses there if possible.[40]

It was an exciting prospect, and Lowry was optimistic: 'Life is running very sweetly for me . . . my lines are nearly laid in *Academia Auckland reusu*.'[41] The Chairman of the Professorial Board, according to the *Auckland Star*, 'considered the project worthy of serious investigation and consideration', and Sir George Fowlds, President of the College, added 'Quite an interesting development was taking place in the College. Printing work had been done by the students, and done well'.[42] The proposal was referred from the Professorial Board to the Finance Committee, whereupon Lowry canvassed them: 'The proposal is to purchase a machine to do the actual printing, and to have the binding done and most of the type set outside the College. Working on that system, the Students' Association managed in a single term, under extremely disorganised conditions, to effect a saving of over £60.'[43] He backed up these claims with a list of savings he thought possible in the printing of the College calendar, the prospectus for the School of Architecture, and the College *Bulletin* series. But the enthusiasm and appeals came to nothing. On 22 November, a brief letter informed Lowry that 'the Council regrets that it cannot see its way to taking any action in this matter'.[44] Perhaps Lowry had been overly optimistic,

THE CHERRY ORCHARD

ANTON TCHEHOV

Played by
The Workers' Educational Association
in the Old Grammar School
Symonds St., Auckland

Thursday, Friday and Saturday
September 15, 16 and 17
1932

PROGRAMME THREEPENCE

Plate V. Theatre programme, probably designed by T. V. Gulliver.

K I VV I:

Being the Iovrnal of the Avckland Vniverſitie Colledge

VVherein are contayn^{d} ſundrie Noble *Poetic Pieces* by *Ron^{ld} Maſon E^{ſqr}* Gent., *Maſter Allen Cvrnow* & Diuers Other Ingeniovs Poets together with ſome Romanticall Narrations in Proſe by *I^{no} Dumble* of VVeſte Felde E^{ſqr}. Alchemyſte & other VVitts, & VVerkes in the *Dramatick Style* & alſo Some Animaduerſions touching Fredome of Speche

The whole edited by *H^{Cr} Monro* & *Black^{wd} Paul E^{ſqrs}* Bachelors of *Arts* in the *Vniverſitie of Kew Zelande*

Age, ſis, ſine pennis vola—Plaut.
Narrabant . . . et inavditas volvcres—Tac.

AVCKLAND

Printed by expreſs order from the VVitts of the Vniverſitie by *Maſter Rob^{t} VVill^{m} Lowry* at his Preſſe which is below the Colledge of Sciences in *Symonds Streete*

& are to be ſold by &c.

MDCCCCXXXII

Plate VI. The title page uses many styles of Caslon to parody the title pages of seventeenth century books.

but the response was a real blow and he was thoroughly depressed over it.

So 1932 ended on a low note, and Lowry went home to Hikutaia to recuperate: 'I got pretty sick of life towards the end of this year but this vacation I'm more or less at rest internally.'[45] For as well as the physical demands of printing—he claimed he was working sometimes fourteen hours a day, six days a week—Lowry had to cope with other pressures at College. He had failed terms in Political Science, and only passed having sat 'an exhaustive exam *viva voce*'. And his debts began. By his own account he owed the Students' Executive £42. The printing contract too was beginning to cause headaches. Lowry was supposed to have presented the contract at the Executive meeting in December, but it was not ready. Eric Blow, who had been allocated the Publications portfolio came to his rescue and moved that Lowry 'be authorised to act as if Contract had been ratified'.[46] While this gave Lowry breathing space over the Christmas holidays, the pressure was still there. As well, Lowry had been deeply involved in the freedom of speech controversy which erupted at the College during 1932. At the heart of it was J. C. Beaglehole, Lowry's History lecturer at College, who, depending on the point of view was 'sacked' from his post for defending academic freedom of speech and denouncing anti-Communist 'hysteria', or was not reappointed because of the financial stringencies facing the College.[47] Lowry sided firmly with Beaglehole, and was one of six History Department delegates to place a set of resolutions before the Students' Executive on 9 September demanding that their 'emphatic protest' be backed by the Executive.[48]

Lowry's involvement was indicative of his growing political maturity. Until then his political views had been quite simple. He compared communist Russia unfavourably with capitalist England. If England did not 'wake soon out of [its] heavy-handed daydreaming', it would 'be little better than a Bolshevik parade ground'. He was, at this time, influenced by what he called Bergson's 'emotional-intellectual' philosophy:

> 'Back to nature' is the thing: 'the simple life' every time . . . the whole botchy economical and financial organisation of civilisation is crumbling in ruins. . . . While all the while, Nature is howling . . . trying persistently and pertinaciously in every way to point out . . . that she is the only thing that never goes wrong in the balance. . . . The solution is fairly obvious. I do not advocate naktkultur or pagan licentiousness, but a decent classical simplicity. . . . An experimental society of young, enthusiastic city dwellers of the intelligent type to form a model rustic arcadia is very much needed.

His method for attaining social justice involved forming and working through youth movements: 'Dunedin and Auckland are unmistakably veering towards one. The thing will obviously fail . . . because there are not enough intelligent young people in New Zealand even to change

a single byelaw [sic].'[49] Lowry's philosophy typified what Mason later called 'revolutionary romanticism and left-wing lyricism', which he felt hindered any real political change. 'The whole militant proletarian movement in N.Z. was too unreal, too much in the nature of a dream in which oratory played the part of dream-fulfilment'.[50] It was an elitist attitude, which even the Queen Street riots in mid-April failed to dent. Lowry's only comment to Glover about these was 'I too an SPC [Special Police Constable?] in the days of the late civil riots and commotion, with similar emotions, sentiments and experiences to yours'.[51] Any 'real row' he advocated, and the one he thought 'badly overdue', was with the College authorities:

> I've been cogitating somewhat lately [about] the completely futile servility of New Zealand undergraduates to the completely futile senility of the N.Z. Univ. College authorities. N.Z. University won't be worth a tin of stale fish till it ceases to be a combination night-school and kindergarten. Furthermore, the spirit is afoot to change it. The time is ripe; the 'Zeitgeist' is all for it. Let's start something.[52]

The freedom of speech issue then, seems to have been a crucial event for Lowry, and it was an issue that was to have disastrous effects for him during the next two years.

In January 1933 Lowry returned to Auckland to set and print *Phoenix* v. 2 no. 1, whose new editor R. A. K. Mason, Lowry thought a 'live-wire'.[53] In February Glover visited from Christchurch: 'Bring a large notebook and receptive mind' advised Lowry, '[and] garner in a week the hard-won harvest of five years blood and sweat.' He promised Glover 'an earful' about the 'aesthetic principles of typography', having absorbed Morison and Eric Gill whose *An Essay in Typography* first appeared in 1931.[54] Glover and friend came and went 'leaving behind them a quantity of empty bottles [and] several broken (or at least cracked) hearts'.[55] Printing for the third *Phoenix* was finished by late March, but then as Mason recounted 'while the intended issue was in page form, Martin [Sullivan, President of the Students' Association Executive] went into the Printery, read the proofs and demanded that work be stopped.'[56] The offending article was Eric Cook's 'Groundswell', a 'rhapsodic piece which might be taken to advocate free love'.[57] Sullivan called a special meeting of the Executive which fired off a letter to Lowry as 'the Executive's official printer': 'the said article is not fit for publication in a student body. My Executive has therefore resolved that unless the said article is removed from the impending issue of *Phoenix*, you will be instructed to refuse delivery of the magazine to the committee in charge of the publication thereof.' A further special meeting of the Executive on 5 April voted on a motion put by John Mulgan that, 'the article be deleted or the whole publication suppressed'.[58] Mason protested 'vehemently' but agreed to settle for the right to insert a note explaining the deletion. As Mason had hoped, such an insertion '"made" the issue, so keen was the interest in banning at the time. We also,

as a culmination, made quite a bit extra by running off copies of "Groundswell" and selling them separately.'[59]

For Lowry the consequences were unfortunate as the Executive now looked more closely at what he was doing and, in particular, his business practices. They re-examined the printing contract and added to it a clause which specified that he prepare quarterly estimates. Furthermore he would 'be paid such sum in advance as the Business Manager deem fit'.[60] From the Executive's point of view the move was logical. As the press was presumably being repaid by regular instalments, the outgoings for paper, inks, the Monotype founts and the Linotype bills for type which Lowry had bought, could all be estimated and set off against 'monies received'. But the move upset Lowry, and he probably continued to ignore such directives while smarting at the Executive's interference. He was also exhausted and at Easter took himself home to Hikutaia:

> I was as tired as Hell of mucking around up here: and I reckon I saved myself from a nervous breakdown. Economy in time, money and sleep . . . I suddenly woke up and things are going with a bang . . . something has to be done about this bloody narrow-minded sex-twisted censorial attitude in the colleges.[61]

By May though, the Executive was more emphatic. It demanded better business practices:

> All orders for printing from A.U.C. Societies are to be made through the Business Manager [to] ensure that the volume of work is reasonable. . . . You are requested to furnish a schedule identifying the type held, its cost, and the purpose for which it was bought. Until this is done, no request for further financial assistance can be considered.[62]

Compounding the Executive's dissatisfaction was Lowry's performance in printing *Craccum* within budget. Lowry had agreed in March to print five issues for £4-10-0 an issue but by June the Executive was threatening to end the contract 'unless the [impending] issue is printed at the price you quoted'.[63] Lowry's response was 'A late, slippy edition' in mid-June.

Once again *Truth* took the College to task. Under the front page banner 'N.Z. Universities Hotbeds of Revolution. Red hot gospels of highbrows' *Truth* fulminated:

> These facts are clearly revealed in the student publications which pour out the puerile propaganda of superior, self-satisfied schoolboys—and schoolgirls . . . *The Phoenix* [and *Oriflamme*] are packed with the most rabid revolutionary ravings. Page after page is devoted to furthering the destruction of everything the community has and holds today, and to loud and long praises of everything that happens in the Soviet republic . . . *The Phoenix* brands critics as 'morons' . . . if they utter a protest against the sneers, jeers, bellicose blasphemies, red rantings and sex-saturated sophistries of young men and women who are graduating to become the leaders of the community tomorrow.[64]

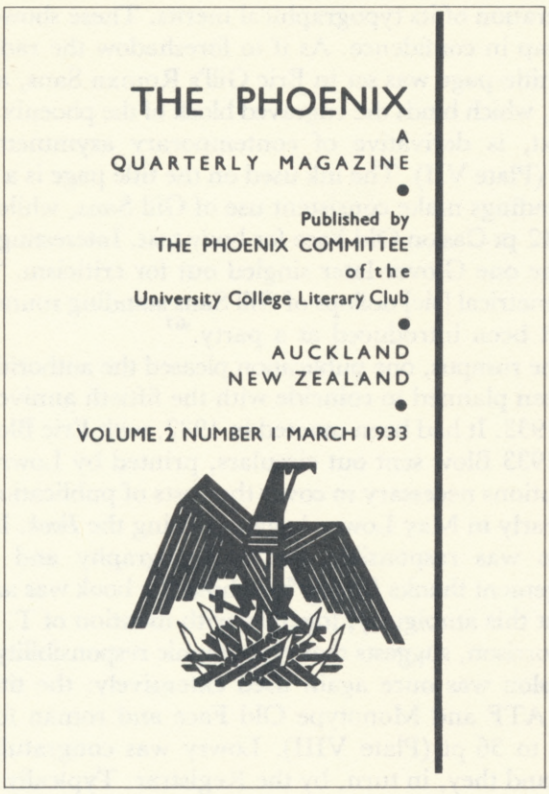


Plate VII. The title page is derivative of contemporary asymmetric German typography.

Rock O'Shea, the College Registrar and power of the day, had already graced the front page during the Beaglehole incident. He was most likely aghast at more adverse publicity focussing on the College and he just may have leaned on Martin Sullivan, Executive President, to quieten things down, for as Sullivan later remarked: 'He [O'Shea] would frequently alert me to controversial issues which might be likely to arise between the governing body and the students, and at times we could settle them between us by adopting an agreed policy and trying to steer our respective constituencies in the right direction.'[65] Many students too, had been alienated by the tone of *The Phoenix*. A correspondent to *Craccum* noted that *The Phoenix* contributors were 'aggressively conscious of being the chosen people; but then that is the privilege of evangelists the world over. And it is surprising that they should have been given a pulpit by the literary club, which has, after all, other work to do.'[66]

Certainly the reception of the content of *The Phoenix* overshadowed any consideration of its typographical merits. These showed a further quantum leap in confidence. As if to foreshadow the radical content within, the title-page was set in Eric Gill's Roman Sans, and the bold vertical rule, which binds the engraved block of the phoenix to the right-justified text, is derivative of contemporary asymmetric German typography (Plate VII). The ink used on the title page is a rust brown. The text headings make consistent use of Gill Sans, while Lowry still adhered to 12 pt Caslon Old Face for body text. Interestingly, this title-page was the one Glover later singled out for criticism. '[It] consists of three asymetrical [sic] dollops of Gill Sans standing round like people who haven't been introduced at a party.'[67]

Amidst the rumpus, one publication pleased the authorities. A *Jubilee Book* had been planned to coincide with the fiftieth anniversary of the College in 1933. It had been mooted in 1932, with Eric Blow as editor. In March 1933 Blow sent out circulars, printed by Lowry, soliciting the contributions necessary to cover the costs of publication. This was done, and early in May Lowry began printing the *Book*. It is now not known who was responsible for its typography and layout. An acknowledgement thanks Lowry 'by whom the book was arranged and printed', but this ambiguity, together with mention of T. V. Gulliver and Len Morrison, suggests that typographic responsibility was at best shared. Caslon was once again used extensively: the title-page is a mixture of ATF and Monotype Old Face and roman fonts in sizes from 18 pt to 36 pt (Plate VIII). Lowry was congratulated by the Executive, and they, in turn, by the Registrar. Typically though, the *Book* was late. It appeared a month after the Jubilee celebrations had ended and many remained unsold.[68]

In retrospect, this period can be seen as the turning point in the Student authorities' attitude to Lowry and the press. From May 1933 they slowly reasserted control over the delinquent *Phoenix* and its ebullient printer. This reassertion of control took two forms; the Executive wrestled with the tortuous constitutions of the Literary and Dramatic Club, and the *Phoenix* Committee; and it heard alternative proposals for publishing *Phoenix* that Mason put forward.

The clubs were told to submit their constitutions. 'Apparently there is some irregularity which will require action on [our] part'.[69] The Literary and Dramatic Club responded unsatisfactorily, for the Executive at its June 9 meeting asked to see 'a full copy' of their rules. These were quickly forwarded to the mid-June meeting where it was agreed that they be 'entirely amended'.[70] With this, the Club took fright, and a combined meeting reconstructed the 'lost' clauses of the constitution, and discussed 'the whole of that portion of the constitution referring to *Phoenix*'.[71] Minutes of the mid-June Executive meeting state baldly a request by Sullivan that 'the special meeting held on Wednesday

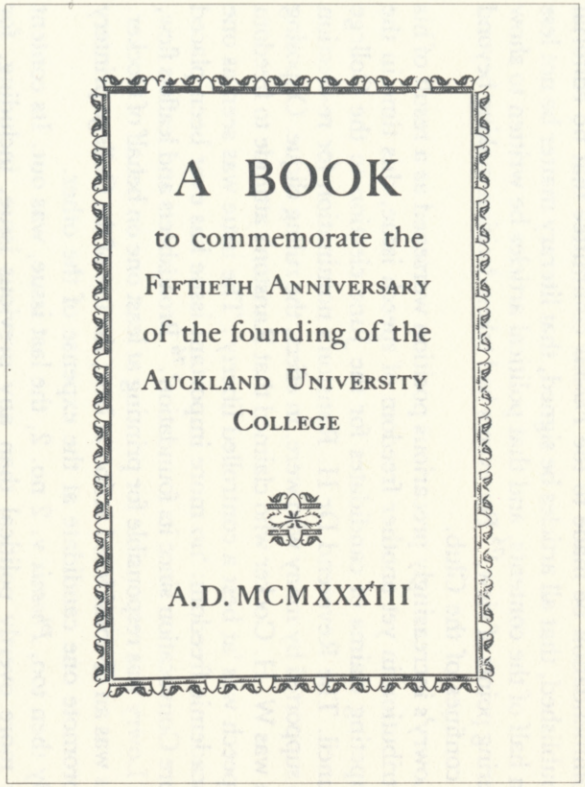


Plate VIII. Caslon was once again used extensively.

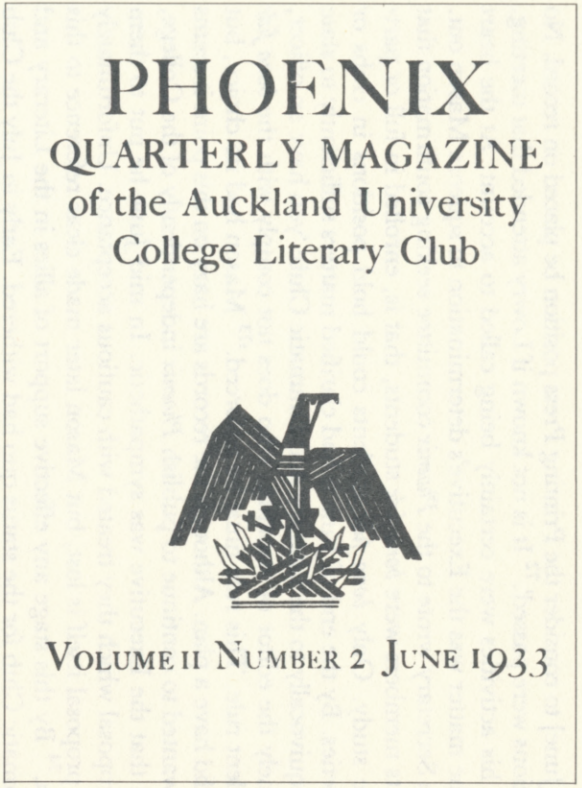


Plate IX. Dust cover of the last Phoenix. *Typographically this issue was Lowry's best effort.*

[14 June] to consider the Printing Press position be placed on record. No motions were passed'.[72] It is not known if Lowry attended that meeting, but his activities were certainly being called to account. At the heart of the matter was the Executive's determination to squeeze Mason out. The Secretary wrote to the *Phoenix* committee seeking confirmation that all its members were *bona fide* students, that is, enrolled in full or part-time study. Only *bona fide* students could hold positions in clubs or societies. By the end of June it had clarified matters sufficiently to state unequivocally to the Literary and Dramatic Club: 'you have an officer, namely the editor of PHOENIX, who does not comply with the *bona fide* student rule. This rule must be enforced.'[73] Mason had no choice, but he did have a plan. Although the records are hazy on this point it seems he wanted to continue to publish *Phoenix* independently of the College, and that the Executive was sympathetic. In mid-June he put to them a proposal which they treated with cautious acceptance. Unfortunately the proposal itself is lost, but Mason later made clear reference to this idea.[74] By this stage any effective support of allies in the Literary and Dramatic Club for the status quo had withered. Early in July the Club met to discuss 'policy in the matter of *Phoenix*'. Sullivan moved:

> That it is the opinion of the Club that the *Phoenix* is not carrying out the policy or wishes of the Club, and that, in view of this fact, the Club cease to publish the *Phoenix*, and that recommendation be made that the magazine be published by the formation of an affiliated society.

While this motion was defeated, the alternatives put forward by Mulgan and Lowry, and carried, made little real difference: 'that a recommendation be made to the *Phoenix* committee that no editorial be published, that all articles be signed, that literary matter be not less than half of the contents, and that political articles be written to show differing points of view.'[75] For events had taken decision-making beyond the confines of the Club.

Lowry's increasingly precarious position worsened as a result of his contribution in yet another freedom of speech issue, this time in the competing claims of candidates for the June election to the College Council. The Reverend Dr H. Ranston's nomination for re-election was supported by many who were, in effect, the ruling clique. Opposing him was W. H. Cocker who claimed that Ranston's attitude to freedom of speech was 'at best a controlled liberty'. The issue was seen as one of academic freedom: 'no more important issue has ever been placed before Convocation since its foundation'.[76] Broadsheets and leaflets flew, and Lowry was responsible for printing at least one on behalf of Cocker. This was an ill-considered action at best; the use of the College printery to promote one candidate at the expense of the other.

By then too, *Phoenix* v. 2 no. 2, the last issue, was out. Its content was more overtly political than any previous issue, including, for

example, a review by N. M. Richmond, the radical WEA organiser, of John Strachey's influential *The Coming Struggle For Power*: 'these 400 pages bring a . . . feeling . . . that we are living on the verge of new ways of thinking and acting in the political and economic sphere.' Lowry himself reviewed *The Student Vanguard*, an English universities magazine with contributions by students who 'actually know something about conditions in Russia and spend their vacations investigating them further. . . . [It] is a darned good little student communist paper'.[77]

Typographically, the last *Phoenix* was Lowry's best effort. While less exuberant than the previous issue, it is tighter, more assured. The title-page is divided by a point. Above it, ranged in three corners and justified on opposite margins, are the title and colophon all set in Gill Sans, from 18 pt roman to 36 pt caps. Below the point, white space. Within, text pages are 12 pt Caslon Old Face and 18 pt Gill Sans medium title. The dust cover is quite striking. On brick coloured paper the title and subtitle and publication details are in Caslon titling, with the phoenix device in between (Plate IX).

Lowry was now in a real dilemma. The Executive, prodded by Registrar O'Shea on the one hand, and Mason on the other, had clearly determined what the 'rightful printing' of a College Literary Club should be. This was not palatable to Lowry. Even though his aspirations still lay with the idea of a College printing press, his sympathies and, increasingly, his loyalties, lay elsewhere. He then printed an item which in its content and method of production, sealed his fate. Sometime in August Lowry designed and printed a ten page booklet by Sid Scott *Douglasism or Communism*? (Plate X). Its content was radical:

> We are witnessing world-preparations for a final grand assault upon the working classes. The Soviet Union is itself in imminent danger of attack. The issue deepens, the rumble of war chariots becomes louder. Social strata are crystallising. Labourism, currency reform, Douglas credit. Soon these must gravitate to one side or the other. Those who are not with us are against us. Fascism or Communism? There is no middle path.[78]

Lowry's role must have seemed unacceptably provocative to the already alienated Executive and College authorities. For the College the issues were clear; where, and at whose expense, had Lowry printed the booklet? The colophon states 'Printed by R. W. Lowry, 743 Manukau Road, Auckland', but Lowry had no printing press at his home address and it is probable that his critics now had sufficient ammunition to use against him. Indeed, evidence later furnished by O'Shea in November makes clear that the critics were right; not only had Lowry charged the job to the Students' Association, but the type 'was delivered by Mr Connelly [of Printers' Linotype Service] to the College'.[79]

August and early September then must have been a miserable time for Lowry. He had broken too many rules, and action by the authorities was inevitable. Nonetheless, he continued to print. Mason was still

gathering material for a fifth issue of *Phoenix*; 'I like stuff written in the most vigorous praise or blame-black be black, white white, and above all, red red'.[80] Someone, probably Lowry, had galleys of these contributions made, including a review of *Douglasism or Communism*?: 'a remarkable little pamphlet'.[81] The printing of the first volume of poetry was begun: Allen Curnow's *Valley of Decision*, promised since June, was being machined by September (Plate XI).

The inevitable action came. Late in September O'Shea 'confirmed' with the Executive that:

> absolutely no printing will be done on, or with Student Association press, equipment, or material except for, or for the purposes of, college administration, or the Students' Association, including any of its affiliated Clubs or Societies . . . it is understood that this decision will be very definitely impressed upon the printer.[82]

At the same time, Lowry sent a letter to the Executive which they took to be his resignation as their printer: 'the Executive has decided that you be asked for official confirmation of your decision to terminate the contract. . . . An early intimation will oblige'.[83] Their request went unanswered until November, for Lowry had fled. Leaving Ron Holloway in the middle of the Curnow job, Lowry hitch-hiked south with Elsie Farrelly, en route to Glover in Christchurch:

> Auckland has got too much for me and I'm coming South. Overwork has taken my nerves so badly that I can't think straight to clear up the mess, and I'm cutting my losses. If there's any chance of a job for me in Christchurch at even a quid a week let's know and I'll come. Here's your big chance for us to get together as advocated . . . I'll be reduced to extreme shabbiness & £4 when I hit Wellington.[84]

Auckland did not of course turn a blind eye to Lowry, and the disciplinary procedures began. In October, his application for exemption from Terms examinations was turned down; his scholarship revoked; and worst of all, the Professorial Board of the College resolved to suspend him 'sine die, and report the matter to the New Zealand University'.[85] Lowry had been proscribed.

In November the financial mess of the press under Lowry was revealed. O'Shea received a letter from a receiver appointed to Queen City Press, Lowry's chief supplier of metal, stating that £19.17.6 was outstanding. This was the tip of the iceberg. In a *Report* to the Students' Association Executive, Postlewaite stated that Lowry's actions and departure left the Students' Association itself in financial difficulties.

> Debts and liabilities contracted in connection with the printing press [amount] to £342.18.7. It can be definitely established that this amount represents £70.19.2 for Mr Lowry's own private debts, £35.5.8 due to *Phoenix* magazine creditors, and £185.8.10 is a charge against the Students' Association. The balance, £51.4.11, is for metal against which credit notes have been received.[86]

On hearing this, the Executive denied responsibility for the *Phoenix*

DOUGLASISM

OR COMMUNISM?

S. W. SCOTT [Diploma of Social Science]

•

"The ruling class
will do everything for the workers
except get off their backs"

•

Issued by the N.Z. Communist Party

Printed by R.W. Lowry, 743 Manukau Rd, Auckland S.E.3

Plate X. The content and method of production of this booklet sealed Lowry's fate.

VALLEY OF DECISION

Poems by Allen Curnow

Auckland University College Students' Association Press September 1933

Plate XI. This volume of Curnow's poetry was being printed when Lowry fled Auckland in 1933.

committee debts; agreed to seek legal advice if need be; and suspended Lowry from membership of the Association.

Lowry, meantime had teamed up with Glover, and over Christmas they produced the undistinguished *Little Plays for Maori Legends* under the most appalling conditions. Because Lowry was proscribed from Auckland University College, he was also banned from the Canterbury campus. As Glover recalled, 'I, who was *persona grata*, would be machining busily in the basement [under the law students' lecture room], while Lowry, who had established himself in a 5s a week hutment down the road, would there set up the type and bring it down to me'.[87] At some stage though Lowry decided to face the music, and early in 1934 he returned to Auckland:

> This is the position. When I got home I found that the Photo Engravers had me in Court and I had to buy myself out to save bankruptcy and all chance of ever getting back to Varsity. . . . Debts of one sort and another up to just over £100 have been reduced to about £54 by getting discounts and selling my type to Postlewaite and Co. And an extremely philanthropic ex-member of the *Phoenix* Committee has paid off the rest on long term loan. So I'm just out of the woods.[88]

Lowry desperately wanted to return to University and throughout February and March lobbied both the Students' Executive, for readmittance to the Association, and the College authorities, for the lifting of his suspension. By the middle of March Lowry had convinced the Executive of his intentions, and he was readmitted. But there was no reciprocal move by the College authorities, and one professor, Horace Belshaw, accused O'Shea of victimising Lowry, citing 'undue influence' over the business dealings with the Executive. The matter came before the April Professorial Board meeting, where Belshaw was outgunned and O'Shea fully vindicated: 'The Registrar . . . was invited to comment . . . he pointed out that his system of keeping a diary made it easy to refute such charges as had been made; he suggested that Professors if confronted with similar charges, might not be in such a favourable positon'.[89] The meeting also upheld the suspension until the year's end. Belshaw's amendment, that Lowry be readmitted, but fined, was lost. Lowry was devastated by the news: 'I've been bloody aimless most of the time since Xmas & down in the mouth occasionally. It's those bloody Black-handed swine of the College Conservative clique. They've suspended me till the end of the year'.[90]

This suspension in effect closed the first chapter in Lowry's involvement in printing, as he was now forced to move outside the orbit of the College. Nevertheless, his endeavours continued. In May he established his first independent press, The Unicorn, and he worked alongside Mason who had set up The Spearhead Publishers. Indeed, Mason's own collection, *No New Thing: Poems 1924-1929*, was the first book Lowry printed when out on his own.[91] His work on behalf of radical causes also continued with the printing of various broadsheets

for the freedom of speech rallies held during 1934[92].

For Lowry then, 1931-1933, were tumultuous and formative years, that left an indelible mark on him. With hindsight his actions and reactions during this period foreshadowed what later became his *modi operandi*. He began a love-hate relationship with the University that was to last until his death in 1963; he constantly schemed for bigger and better ventures, yet struggled to meet whatever commitments he had undertaken. But perhaps most important of all, he experimented time and time again with new and better ways of typographical expression.

REFERENCES

1 Denis Glover in *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, edited by A. H. McLintock (Wellington, 1966), v.2, p. 872. Glover was rewriting his own text. Twenty years earlier, in 'Bob Lowry's Books', *Book* VIII (August 1946) [31] he had written, 'If typography is a word that some of us now understand, the credit is Bob Lowry's. That we have not only a more general interest in the appearance of printed matter, not only a few critics of typography but several zealous practitioners, is almost entirely due to the impetus provided by Lowry in the early thirties'.

2 The letters form part of the Glover papers in the Alexander Turnbull Library. See Denis Glover. Papers, 1928-1970. MS Papers 418. Alexander Turnbull Library. (Hereafter Glover Papers).

3 Lowry made this claim in a dodger for the 'Sixth-form magazine' that he printed and circulated in 1929. Glover Papers, Folder 1. Denis Glover's story differs; *La Verite* was 'an unofficial form magazine laboriously pencilled out . . . there was only one copy and that went the rounds'. Denis Glover, *Hot Water Sailor* (Wellington, 1962), p. 46.

4 Lowry to Glover, 21 July 1929, 25 February 1932. Glover Papers. Folder 2. It is likely that the Lowry family moved from Paeroa back to their farm at Hikutaia in June 1932.

5 Lowry to Glover, 2 May 1929. Glover Papers, Folder 1.

6 Lowry to Glover, 6 July 1929, 13 July 1929. Glover Papers. Folder 2. The initial 'W' is Dominus, and this face is also used extensively throughout *Opuscule*.

7 Lowry enrolled in Political Science, but this choice was 'declined' by Anderson, Professor of Philosophy, and he took Philosophy in its place. Lowry to Glover, 12 March 1931. Folder 4.

8 H. Mahon. Headmaster, quoted in a letter, Lowry to Glover, 8 February 1930. Glover Papers. Folder 3. It was a phrase that Lowry loved.

9 Lowry to Glover, 4 July 1931, 9 September 1931. Glover Papers. Folder 4.

10 Lowry to Glover, 3 May 1931. Glover Papers. Folder 4.

11 Auckland University College, Literary Club. Minutebook, [n.d.] University of Auckland Library. MSS & Archives E-5, pp. 56-58.

12 Lowry to Glover, 29 September 1931. Glover Papers. Folder 4.

13 Auckland University College. Dramatic Club. Minutebook, September 1930. University of Auckland Library, MSS & Archives E-22, pp. 51-52.

14 Auckland University College. Literary Club. Minutebook, 20 November 1931. University of Auckland Library, MSS & Archives E-5.

15 Lowry to Glover, 29 September 1931, 3 May 1931. Glover Papers. Folder 4.
16 R. A. K. Mason. Papers, 592E, 1 January 1932. Hocken Library, University of Otago. Professor Anderson was Vice-President of the Dramatic Club.
17 Lowry to Glover, 9 March 1932. Glover Papers. Folder 5.
18 Allen Curnow, 'Robert William Lowry 1912-1963', in *Experiments in New Zealand Bibliography* by W. J. Cameron, Olive Johnson and Patricia Berguist (Lowry Room, Mount Pleasant Press, University of Auckland, 1964), n.p.
19 Keith Sinclair, *A History of the University of Auckland* (Auckland, 1983), p. 166.
20 R. A. K. Mason. Papers M.1 592B. Hocken Library, University of Otago. James Bertram made this statement in conversation with Keith Sinclair, tape transcript, 23 August 1977. I would like to thank Professor Sinclair for access to transcripts of taped interviews he conducted while researching the history of the University of Auckland.
21 *Kiwi*, an annual, was first published in 1905 as 'the official organ of the Students' Association'. It aimed to record College events and encourage literary talent.
22 *Craccum*, begun in 1927 as Auckland University College's 'fortnightly scrapbook', was in financial trouble by the end of 1930. It was saved only by 'a most generous offer from a friendly printer' [Dawson Printing Company] and by adopting a new, tabloid format.
23 Lowry to Glover, 1 April 1932. Glover Papers. Folder 5.
24 Lowry to Glover, 1 April 1932. Glover Papers. Folder 5.
25 Auckland University College. Students' Executive. Minutebook, 6 May 1932, p. 243. The magazines presumably included *Craccum* and *Kiwi*. This meeting, incidentally, was Bertram's last as Secretary before he left for Oxford.
26 Auckland University College. Students' Executive. Minutebook, 10 June 1932, p. 253.
27 Lowry to Glover, 26 June 1932. Glover Papers. Folder 1. (misfiled).
28 A. P. Postlewaite, *Report of the Student Printing Press [to] the President and Executive Committee, Auckland University College Students' Association*, [November 1933]. The typescript Report is in the 1933 Correspondence files (H-Z) of the Registrar, Auckland University College. Postlewaite was Business Manager of the Students' Association.
29 Elsie Locke to author, tape transcript, August 1979.
30 The printing of *Phoenix* was probably finished by the end of July (see Lowry to Glover, 24 July 1932. Glover Papers. Folder 5), while *Kiwi 1932* took 'three whole weeks of vacation' i.e. until early September. Lowry to Glover, 13 September 1932. Glover Papers. Folder 5.
31 Lowry to Glover, 26 June 1932. Glover Papers. Folder 1. (misfiled).
32 Ron Holloway to Jean Bartlett, tape transcript, October 1976. The tape transcript is owned by Professor Sinclair.
33 Holloway, tape transcript. This was R. A. Singer's *The Years Go Round* (Auckland, 1928), which was printed by Whitcombe & Tombs.
34 See A. Johnston, *T. V. Gulliver; A Catalogue of his Graphic Art* (unpublished M.A. thesis for Art History, University of Auckland, 1979). Thorp's book was first published in 1919 and reprinted in 1928. Beatrice Warde said 'It was a turning point in my life—that book'. Beatrice Warde, 'Some Notes on the British Typographic Reformation, 1919-1939', in her *Crystal Goblet: Sixteen Essays on Typography* (London, 1959), p. 189.
35 R. W. Lowry. Papers, 1920-1963. University of Auckland Library, MSS & Archives A-194.
36 Brooke Crutchley in Stanley Morison, *A Tally of Types* (Cambridge, 1973), p. 7.
37 Lowry to Glover, 21 February 1931. Glover Papers. Folder 4.
38 Lowry to Glover, 18 October 1932, [October?] filed with 18 October 1932. Glover Papers. Folder 5.

39 *Craccum*, 6, no. 5 (22 September 1932), 8. Lowry signed himself 'Garamond'. See also Auckland University College. Literary Club. Minutebook, 8 September 1932. University of Auckland Library, MSS & Archives E-5.
40 Lowry to the Chairman of the Professorial Board, 12 September 1932, in Auckland University College. Registrar's Correspondence, 1932, A-D.
41 Lowry to Glover, 13 September 1932. Glover Papers. Folder 5.
42 Clippings from the *Auckland Star*, 13 September 1932, 18 October 1932, in Auckland University College. Scrapbooks of newspaper clippings . . . 1929-1952. University of Auckland Library, MSS & Archives E-3.
43 Lowry to the Chairman of the Finance Committee, 14 November 1932, in Auckland University College. Registrar's Correspondence, 1932, A-D.
44 Acting Registrar, Auckland University College, to Lowry, 22 November 1932, in Auckland University College. Registrar's Correspondence, 1932, A-P.
45 Lowry to Glover, 28 December 1932. Glover Papers. Folder 5.
46 Auckland University College. Students' Executive. Minutebook, 23 December 1932, p. 284.
47 Said *Truth*, '[S]eldom indeed have the University dovecotes fluttered to such effect, rarely has a matter created such a sensation or provoked such heated controversy, turning the University into something very nearly akin to a Democratic Convention during an American presidential election'. *N.Z. Truth* 5 October 1932, p. 1.
48 See Auckland University College. Students' Executive. Minutebook, 9 September 1932, p. 271. The controversy itself was well-documented at the time by F. de la Mare in *Academic Freedom in New Zealand 1932-1934* (Auckland, 1934). De la Mare states that on 15 August the resolutions were put to Sir George Fowlds, President, by the student delegates themselves.
49 Lowry to Glover, 23 October 1931, 12 November 1931. Glover Papers. Folder 4.
50 R. A. K. Mason to [?] Watson, circa 7 July 1933. R. A. K. Mason. Papers. M.1 592B. Hocken Library, University of Otago.
51 Lowry to Glover, 26 June 1932. Glover Papers. Folder 1. (misfiled).
52 Lowry to Glover, 24 July 1932. Glover Papers. Folder 5.
53 Lowry to Glover, 13 September 1932. Glover Papers. Folder 5.
54 Lowry to Glover, 10 February 1933. Glover Papers. Folder 5. By March 1933 Lowry was commenting on Gill as well as Daniel Updike's two-volumed *Printing Types; Their History, Forms and Uses* (Cambridge, U.S.A., 1922). Lowry to Glover, 12 March 1933. Glover Papers. Folder 5.
55 *Craccum*, 11 May 1933, p. 3.
56 'Papers relating to *Phoenix*'. R. A. K. Mason. Papers M.1 592B, p. 3., Hocken Library, University of Otago. Mason mistakenly calls this the 'fifth issue'. Glover had similar problems in Christchurch. *Oriflamme; A Spasmodical*, which he printed under the colophon of the Caxton Club had, by April, earned the wrath of the Students' Executive there. It 'contained matter of an objectionable nature' and Glover was told to move his press from the College premises. Glover to Lowry, 3 May 1933. Glover Papers. Folder 12.
57 Barry Faville, 'On *Phoenix*' in *Kiwi 1958*, p. 27.
58 E. P. Haslam to Lowry, 3 April 1933, 5 April 1933. Auckland University College. Students' Executive. Correspondence file, 1933.
59 R. A. K. Mason. Papers M.1 592B.
60 Auckland University College. Students' Executive. Minutebook, 3 March 1933, p. 285.
61 Lowry to Glover, 14 May 1933. Glover Papers. Folder 5.
62 Haslam to Lowry, 13 May 1933.
63 See Auckland University College. Students' Executive. Minutebook, 17 March 1933, 9 June 1933; and Haslam to Lowry, 8 June 1933.

64 *N.Z. Truth*, 31 May 1933, p. 1.
65 Martin Sullivan, *Watch How You Go* (London, 1975), p. 48.
66 'D.H.M' [D. H. Munro?] in *Craccum*, 7, no. 1 (11 May 1933), 5. A later article claimed 'that the ravings of two per cent. of our students in *Phoenix* do not represent the opinion of the great mass of students'. *Craccum*, 7, no. 2 (19 June 1933), 1.
67 Denis Glover, 'Bob Lowry's Books', *Book* VIII (August 1946) [32].
68 Secretary, Auckland University College to Lowry, 17 June 1933, in Auckland University College. Students' Executive. Correspondence file, 1933. Registrar to Secretary, Auckland University College Students' Executive, 21 June 1933, in Auckland University College. Registrar's Correspondence, 1933, H-Z. See also *Craccum*, 7, no. 4 (7 August 1933), 2.
69 Secretary to Secretary of the Literary and Dramatic Clubs, 13 May 1933. Auckland University College. Students' Executive. Correspondence file, 1933.
70 Auckland University College. Students' Executive. Minutebook, 16 June 1933, p. 25.
71 Auckland University College. Literary Club. Minutebook, 22 June 1933. University of Auckland Library, MSS & Archives E-5, [n.p.]
72 Auckland University College. Students' Executive, Minutebook, 16 June 1933, p. 25.
73 Auckland University College. Students' Executive. Correspondence file, 30 June 1933. Mason enrolled, variously, in a B.A. and Diploma of Social Science between 1926 and 1931. He was not enrolled in 1933.
74 'Papers relating to *Phoenix*'. R. A. K. Mason. Papers. M.1 592B.
75 Auckland University College. Literary Club. Minutebook, 5 July 1933. Meeting of the Combined Literary and Dramatic Sub-Committees. University of Auckland Library, MSS & Archives E-5.
76 Broadsheet, *To the Members of the Auckland District Court of Convocation*, in Auckland University College. Scrapbooks of newspaper clippings . . . 1929-1952. University of Auckland Library, MSS & Archives E-3.
77 *Phoenix*, 2, no. 2 (June 1933), 31, 61. The exact date of this *Phoenix* appearing cannot be determined but it was most likely in the first week of July. It was reviewed in *Craccum* 7, no. 3 (12 July 1933), 4-5, and a letter to Mason, congratulating him on the 'June *Phoenix*', is also dated 12 July. Alfred Katz to R. A. K. Mason, 12 July 1933. R. A. K. Mason. Papers.
78 Sidney Scott, *Douglasism or Communism?* (Auckland, 1933), p. 10.
79 Attachments to letter, J. A. Gentiles, Receiver, to O'Shea, 1 November 1933. Auckland University College. Registrar's Correspondence, 1933, H-Z.
80 R. A. K. Mason to Alfred Katz, 7 August 1933. R. A. K. Mason. Papers. 592F.
81 See R. A. K. Mason. Papers. M.1 592B. There are three galleys for the intended issue, together with comments by Mason.
82 O'Shea to Secretary, Auckland University College Students' Executive, 20 September 1933. Auckland University College. Students' Executive. Correspondence file, 1933.
83 Secretary, Auckland University College Students' Executive, to Lowry, 23 September 1933. Auckland University College. Students' Executive. Correspondence file, 1933.
84 Lowry to Glover, 22 September 1933. Glover Papers. Folder 5. Elsie Farrelly (later Elsie Locke) states 'Why did [Bob] "cut and run"? It was a favourite phrase of his. He had often threatened to do it when work and worries pressed down on him too hard. Literature, politics, formal studies, gregarious habits and the women in his life left him no leeway, so he threw the whole lot off his shoulders and grasped his freedom. Throughout that hitchhike he acted like a small boy released from after-school detention.' Elsie Locke, *Student At The Gates* (Whitcoulls, 1981), p. 180. R. A. K. Mason confirms this impression: 'He came to me and

said, rather shamedly, that he was leaving . . . he said he could not face up to things'. R. A. K. Mason. Papers. M.1 592B [p. 2] Hocken Library, University of Otago.

85 Auckland University College. Professorial Board. Minutebook, 25 October 1933, p. 82.

86 A. P. Postlewaite, *Report of the Student Printing Press [to] the President and Executive Committee, Auckland University College Students' Association* [November 1933], pp. 2-3.

87 Denis Glover, *Hot Water Sailor* (Wellington, 1962), p. 101.

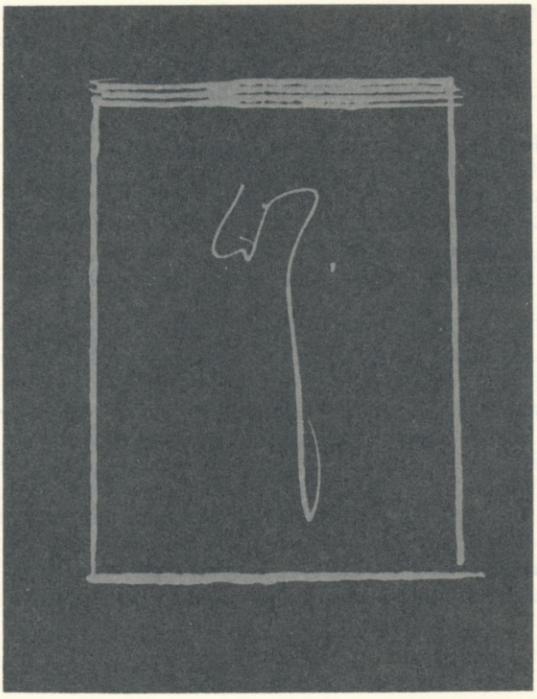
88 Lowry to Glover, n.d. [February 1934?]. Glover Papers. Folder 2 (misfiled). The philanthropic friend was Blackwood Paul.

89 Auckland University College. Professorial Board. Minutes, 9 April 1934, pp. 108-9.

90 Lowry to Glover, 20 May 1934. Glover Papers. Folder 2 (misfiled).

91 Glover complimented Lowry's solution to hand-setting Mason's verse in *No New Thing*: 'there is a vivid use of large bold lower-case roman numerals at the head of each numbered poem, and the same number is used as a folio in square brackets at the tail. Mason's verse, always hard to set changing as it does from the ultra short to full measure lines, is ranged most happily on the vertical axis thus provided'. Denis Glover, 'Bob Lowry's Books', *Book* VIII (August 1946).

92 Lowry was arrested with Sid Scott at one of these Auckland rallies, and on 28 July, was convicted of 'inciting disorder'. He was put on probation for two years with the conditions that 'he be not found out at night after 7 p.m. [. . . and that] his amusements and recreations be approved by the Probation Officer'.



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Horeke or Kohukohu? Charles Heaphy's *View of the Kahu-Kahu Hokianga River 1839*

MAUREEN LANDER

In 1916 Alexander Turnbull purchased a watercolour by Charles Heaphy from the New Zealand Company. Despite Heaphy's unequivocal caption *View of the Kahu-Kahu Hokianga River 1839* some researchers have maintained that the scene depicted is Horeke, a settlement a few miles upriver from Kohukohu. The most recent description of the painting, which accompanied its exhibition in Auckland in 1985, stated it is 'Thomas McDonnell's ship-building establishment at Horeke'.[1] This article examines and questions the information given by historians about the painting over a number of years.

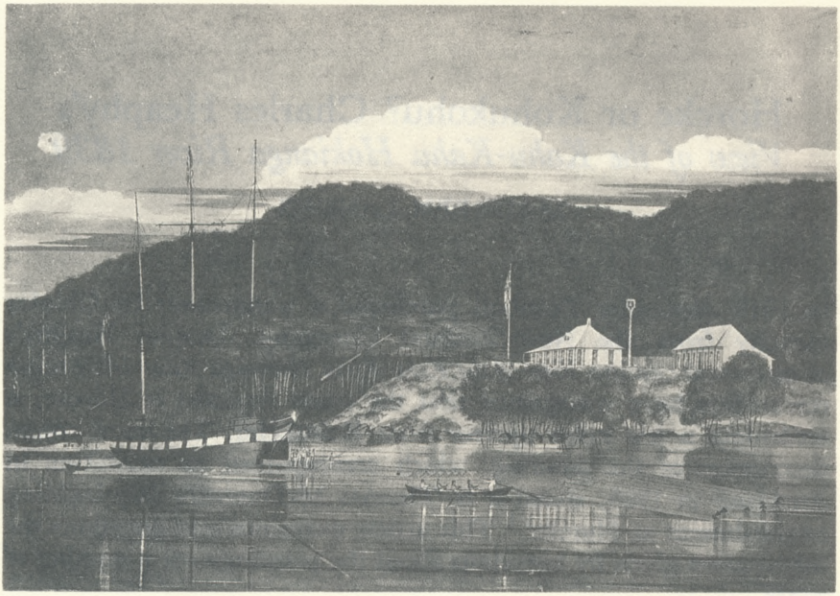
In 1955 Ruth Ross wrote *Early Traders*, a booklet for the School Publications Branch. In it she included reproductions of Heaphy's watercolour, and of an 1828 work by Augustus Earle, *The E.O. Racky or Deptford Dockyard, on the E.O. Keangha River, N. Zealand, 1828*. Their presentation on facing pages and the accompanying captions, which both give the location as Te Horeke, demonstrate that Ross assumed the paintings show the same place.

In 1968, she outlined a theory that Heaphy's watercolour was a composite representation of both Horeke and Kohukohu.[2] She initially quotes Jerningham Wakefield who, with Heaphy, travelled to the Hokianga on board the *Tory*.

> It would appear from E. J. Wakefield's brief description that at the time of the *Tory's* visit . . . [G. F.] Russell was already doing a thriving business; 'Two or three miles above the Narrows, and twenty-six miles from the river's mouth, we anchored close to two other barques which were loading kauri timber for New South Wales. On the bank to our left was the house and store of a timber-dealer and general store-keeper.' Timber loading was also in progress at Horeke—'About two miles above Mangungu, we found the establishment of Lieutenant Macdonnell. . . . A brig was loading kauri spars at the river-side. A nice wooden house, belonging to Lieutenant Macdonnell, stood on a terrace about fifty yards back from the river. Mr Mariner had a comfortable cottage on the bank below, buried in the midst of flourishing gardens.'[3]

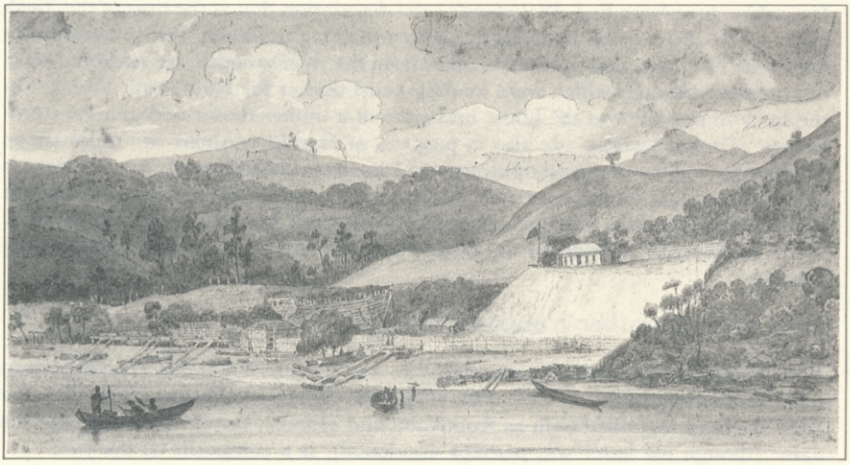
Ross then states her composite theory:

> Thus Wakefield provides the identification key to one of Charles Heaphy's most celebrated watercolours. . . . His *View of the Hahu-Hahu* [sic], *Hokianga River, December 1839* has been identified both as Kohukohu and Horeke, but the painting, like the name (though the latter was perhaps accidental), is a composite of the two.



Charles Heaphy, 'View of the Kahu-Kahu Hokianga River. 1839', ink and watercolour, 30.7 × 41 cm. Alexander Turnbull Library.

Augustus Earle, 'The E. O. Racky [i.e. Horeke] *or Deptford Dockyard, on the E. O. Keangha* [i.e. Hokianga] *River, N. Zealand 1828', watercolour, 25.1 × 47.5 cm. Rex Nan Kivell Collection, (N.K. 12/138), National Library of Australia, Canberra.*



She substantiates her idea by referring to Wakefield's description, to a Land Court plan of Kohukohu, and to a later sketch of the township by Moreton Jones.

He [Heaphy] shows two barques loading timber—as described by Wakefield at Kohukohu—and shows two buildings on the bank—as the Land Court Plan shows was right for Kohukohu. But the terrace on which the buildings stand is unmistakably Horeke. Both house and store appear rather too palatial for either Kohukohu or Horeke at that time, yet in design the house more nearly approaches the Horeke dwelling . . . than that at Kohukohu . . . while the situation of the store is incorrect for Horeke but more or less right for Kohukohu. The hills behind more closely resemble the outline of Karewakirunga pa upriver from Horeke than that of the hills at the back of Kohukohu. Both stations sported a flagpole and a pair of cannon . . . but the bell shown by Heaphy was probably his own introduction, inspired by that at Mangungu.[4]

T. Moreton Jones, 'Te Kohu-Kohu, Hokianga River. (The Residence of Mr Russell)', pencil and watercolour, 17.4 × 25.7 cm. Auckland City Art Gallery, presented by Hon. E. Mitchelson, 1918.

To accept this argument it becomes necessary to assume that the artist draughtsman, Heaphy, allowed himself considerable artistic licence in recording the topography of a particular place by including details from various places along the way, with the innovation of a bell as a finishing touch. Such a practice appears to be at variance with Heaphy's subsequent recording of places he visited.

Like Ruth Ross, Anthony Murray-Oliver also claimed that Heaphy's

watercolour was of Horeke. In *A Folio of Watercolours by Charles Heaphy* he states:

> On 2 December the ship anchored about twenty-six miles up the Hokianga Harbour at Kohukohu where, Jerningham wrote in his book, two other barques 'were loading kauri timber for New South Wales'. Heaphy has included these ships in his view of Lt. Thomas McDonnell's ship-building establishment at Horeke, a few miles further inland and on the opposite side of the harbour. Augustus Earle had made watercolours of the same scene as early as 1827 and 1828, which provide a useful comparison.[5]

Murray-Oliver has attempted to solve the problem of Heaphy's title by stating that Horeke is on the Kohukohu Reach of the Hokianga Harbour. Horeke is, in fact, situated on the south side of the river after it branches upstream from Kohukohu; whereas Kohukohu has always referred to a specific area on the northern bank. As with the Wakefield description, both Ross and Murray-Oliver sought to corroborate their evidence by reference to Augustus Earle's painting of Horeke. This 1828 watercolour is undoubtedly at the root of the confusion, because of its marked similarities to Heaphy's work.

A close examination of the two paintings reveals some significant differences. Heaphy's house has a chimney, a dormer window, a different roof-line, a greater number of windows along the front and an extended verandah supported by wooden posts. It is set back further from the edge of the bluff than the Earle house. Heaphy's hills, although recorded later, are still bush covered, whereas Earle shows cleared hills. The shoreline is directly at the base of the hill in the Heaphy, with a row of mature looking trees growing below the house. There is no sign of the wide strip of foreshore, the shipyard or the cottage below the house which are evident in Earle's painting.

While changes might be expected to have taken place in the eleven years between the paintings, written accounts of Horeke during the 1830s do not indicate these particular changes. Wakefield's description of Horeke, quoted earlier, confirms that there was at least still one cottage below McDonnell's house on the terrace, amidst flourishing gardens. His continued account, which Ross did not quote, mentions the growth of 'fig and prickly pear' and 'a vineyard with three hundred and fifty vines of different sorts'.[6] The Reverend James Buller, writing about the late 1830s, states that McDonnell had a battery of several cannon in front of his house, not just two as shown by Heaphy.[7]

A sketch of Horeke by the Reverend Richard Taylor, drawn two months after Heaphy's visit, provides more graphic evidence. Taylor's viewpoint is from McDonnell's house and shows a number of cannon in front of it, with cottages directly below on a wide strip of land between the base of the hill and the shoreline.

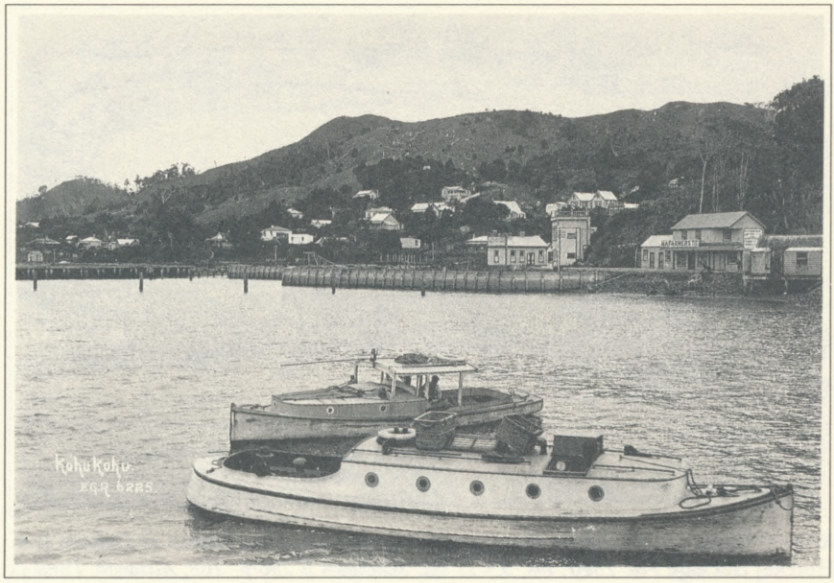
In the light of this evidence of what Horeke actually looked like at the time Heaphy visited there, the question must be asked—why would he have chosen to ignore such a vast amount of detail if he had indeed

Richard Taylor, 'A View of the Feast given by the Governor to the Natives at Huaraki [i.e. Horeke] *Hokianga Feb. 1840', ink, 9×17 cm. Sketchbook E 296/p. 169, Alexander Turnbull Library.*

been painting Horeke? The answer must be that he was not painting Horeke at all or even a composite scene that included Horeke, as there is so little in his painting that corresponds with the Horeke of 1839. Yet it still remains necessary to show that the painting could instead have been an accurate view of Kohukohu at the time Heaphy visited on board the *Tory*. Wakefield's description of Kohukohu is consistent with the content of Heaphy's watercolour. The position of Russell's house and store on the promontory at Kohukohu can be verified, as Ross pointed out, by an early plan of Kohukohu in the Old Land Claim files.

Although Ross and Murray-Oliver had accepted that the two barques loading timber were from the Kohukohu scene, they continued to maintain that the house was McDonnell's at Horeke, rather than Russell's at Kohukohu. They also asserted that the hills behind the house more closely resembled those at Horeke than those behind Kohukohu.[8] In this instance they have not taken into account Wakefield's further description of Horeke: 'Some cattle belonging to Mr Macdonnell were running on the tops of the hills, and one of these, which we bought for the ship, was very fair meat.'[9] Certainly not the bush-clad hills depicted by Heaphy!

A photograph of Kohukohu taken in 1920 shows the outline of the hills behind the township to be essentially the same as in Heaphy's watercolour. By this time, the Kohukohu hills had also been cleared. The photographer's viewpoint is from slightly downstream of Heaphy's



Kohukohu c.1920, photograph, Radcliffe Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library.

Old Yarborough house, Kohukohu, c.1919, photograph from George Andrewes' negative. Private Collection.

so that the base of the promontory is to the right and the house on the hill is out of the picture. Ross also argued that the house was closer in design to the one in the Earle painting than to Russell's house at Kohukohu as painted by Moreton Jones in 1851. It may be a moot point but having already noted the number of differences between the Heaphy and the Earle, there seem to be an equal number of similarities between the Heaphy and the Jones. The style of the house is similar with the same roof-line, dormer window, chimney, wide verandah and number of windows along the front; the two cannon and flagpole occupy a similar position on the lawn in front of the house; the background hills are bush-covered in both; the position of the house on the promontory with the shore-line directly at the base of the hill and the point of the promontory to the left below the house corresponds in both.

Furthermore, an entry in Moreton Jones's 'Journal' is of interest in that he mentions the bell, a detail Heaphy included in his sketch: 'It is an extremely pretty place, the house substantial and roomy in the middle of a well-kept lawn. All the offices and out-houses are well built and in good order . . . . A bell summoning the workmen at regular hours.'[10]

Photographs provide further evidence that the house in the Heaphy painting was Russell's. One taken by George Andrewes about 1919 shows the same roof-line and the single dormer window as in Heaphy's watercolour.[11] Some alterations have obviously been made over the years. The verandah has been extended and blocked in at the ends and there is an extra chimney.

The evidence is conclusive. Heaphy was not painting Horeke or a composite picture of any sort. Quite simply he recorded the scene as he had observed it from the *Tory's* anchorage at Kohukohu.

REFERENCES

1 *Sea and Shore*, exhibition brochure, Auckland City Art Gallery, March 1985. Text by Roger Blackley.

2 Ruth M. Ross, 'Te Kohukohu; some notes on its European History, 1968'. Unpublished typescript.

3 Ross, pp. 2-3. Quotations are from Edward Jerningham Wakefield's *Adventure in New Zealand from 1839 to 1844* (London, 1845), pp. 149-50, 153. George Frederick Russell was formerly McDonnell's manager at Horeke. He bought a property at Kohukohu in June 1839, and built a house and other buildings on it. There is evidence for this in the Old Land Claims Commission files. Land Claims Commission, OLC 1/971. National Archives of New Zealand.

4 Ross, p. 3.

5 Anthony Murray-Oliver, *A Folio of Watercolours by Charles Heaphy* (Christchurch, 1981), [p. 9]. Quotation from Wakefield's *Adventure*, p. 149.

6 Wakefield, p. 154.

7 James Buller, *Forty Years in New Zealand* (London, 1878), p. 28.

8 '[Murray-Oliver] . . . is still inclined to believe that the view is of Horeke. The T. M[oreton] Jones view of Captain Russell's house at Kohukohu shows a steep hill directly behind the house and Mr Murray-Oliver feels that the topography of the Heaphy corresponds more closely to that of the Earle painting of Horeke'. Correspondence, 12 August 1986, with the Assistant Curator, Drawings and Prints Section, Alexander Turnbull Library.

9 Wakefield, p. 154.

10 T. Moreton Jones, 'Journal', p. 65. Mitchell Library, Sydney. Moreton Jones was an officer on the survey ship *Pandora*, which was in the Hokianga River in 1851.

11 Russell died in 1855. The house and timber business passed to his son-in-law, John Webster, who lived there until the property was bought by Alfred C. Yarborough in 1875. George Andrewes was Yarborough's son-in-law. Ruth Ross, 'Te Kohukohu', p. 4, noted that the house about 'the turn of the century appears to bear some resemblance to that painted by Moreton Jones fifty years earlier', but remained convinced that the Heaphy house was McDonnell's and that the terrace on which it stood was 'unmistakably Horeke'.

The Diaries and Letters of Lt Col W. G. Malone August 1914-August 1915

E. P. MALONE

In December 1936 the British Official Historian of the Gallipoli campaign, Brigadier Aspinall-Oglander wrote to W. B. 'Barney' Malone, a son of Lt Col W. G. Malone:

> I am deeply indebted to you for the opportunity [to read the diaries of your father]. It is really a wonderful document and cannot but inspire anyone who knows the circumstances . . . with the utmost admiration for the writer. The whole story bears the stamp of absolute truth, and the man stands out convincingly as not only a great strategist, a great tactician, and a great leader of men, but as an extraordinarily loveable character (as indeed any leader of men must be), his sternness offset by an extraordinary knowledge of human nature, deep sympathy for his men, a sensitive appreciation of their difficulties, and a determination never to set them a task which he would not and could not do himself. . . . But I am so very distressed that I did not see this diary 10 years ago, when I first started writing the Official History. It would have saved me many pitfalls.[1]

The Library has had a typescript of the diary for some time, and has now received the original and many of Malone's letters written in the same period.

Aspinall-Oglander's comments amply testify to the importance of the diaries to military historians, and the letters although essentially private contain many references to military concerns which reinforce those in the diary. It is astonishing in retrospect to note that no other use was made of them until 1964, when Robert Rhodes James made extensive use of them in his definitive account of the Gallipoli campaign, listing them in his bibliography as a major collection.[2]

New Zealand historians became aware of the existence of copies of the diary in the early 1980s and Michael King made use of them in *New Zealanders at War*;[3] but the first historian to see and use extensively the originals of both diary and letters was Christopher Pugsley in his *Gallipoli: The New Zealand Story*.[4] Jock Phillips also used the diary in his *A Man's Country*,[5] and substantial extracts from diaries and letters appear in *The Great Adventure*,[6] a collection of New Zealand soldiers' writings on the First World War.

The value of the papers to military historians is principally to clarify what happened in actions at Anzac, where Malone was a participant and eyewitness, and responsible through his decisions and action in determining the outcome of those actions. His battalion did not land at Anzac until late on the day of the landing of 25 April 1915, and were first engaged in an effort to reinforce and hold the gains made

immediately after the landing. Through his efforts the situation was stabilised in spite of heavy casualties and the left flank of the ANZAC foothold made secure. On the night of the first landing, he noted, there had been talk of re-embarkation; 'Personally', he wrote, 'I see nothing to require it',[7] and there was no further talk of abandoning Anzac. Of this action Aspinall-Oglander wrote:

> [The diary] . . . particularly made me regret something which I wrote about the first few days at Anzac. Naturally, as Official Historian, I was not a free agent, and I could not say exactly what I liked. Many happenings had to be omitted altogether and many (as I thought) fair criticisms were deleted by the official blue pencil. But I was at least allowed to use my own discretion in allotting praise, and it distresses me acutely to find now that, in one particular case, where I went out of my way to eulogise what . . . seemed to be indisputably a piece of extremely fine leadership by a certain officer, I should apparently to have backed the wrong horse! Anyhow, your father's diary now makes me think that, for he definitely states that the other man I praised so highly was in fact a public danger![8]

The New Zealand Infantry Brigade then went to the Cape Helles front, where they took part in the failed attack on the whole Turkish line. The New Zealanders' objective in the attack was the village of Krithia, but they were brought to a halt, with severe casualties very far short of their goal. Malone describes this battle, and the general situation at Cape Helles.[9]

On his return to Anzac Malone was after a while made commander in succession of two vital posts in the Anzac front line; first at Courtney's Post and then Quinn's. It was at Quinn's where he brought about his most notable success, and earned the praise of the high command. These posts were parts of the line where the Allied grip was most tenuous. When Malone took them over they were a chaotic jumble of trenches and dugouts on the edge of precipitous slopes only a few yards from the Turkish line. The Australians and New Zealanders were in constant danger of being pushed or blown off their perch by the Turks, who were, moreover, able to fire in enfilade upon their trenches from both sides. Malone noted that Courtney's Post was 'a very higgledy-piggledy show. People all over the place';[10] but after eight days in which he had transformed the situation, he was transferred to Quinn's.

His account of what followed is preceded by a typical criticism of Australians. They were responsible in his opinion for the dangerous condition of Courtney's and Quinn's:

> In the early stages [when further attacks would have succeeded in pushing the Turks back] The Australians seemingly just sat down and waited and waited and did nothing. That seems to be their character. Dash forward like mad things and then instead of working and making good, sit down and loaf and then get 'scary'.[11]

Taking over Quinn's he wrote, 'Such a dirty, dilapidated, unorganised post. Still I like work and will revel in straightening things up . . . gave orders that every rifle shot and bomb from the Turks was to be

promptly returned at least twofold. We can and will beat them at their own game.'[12] After a week or two he was able to claim that

> The men are inspired with the conviction that they have superiority over the Turk and are getting a fair run for their lives. . . . A Turk deserter told our Headquarters that the Turks had found the mining and fighting so hazardous opposite Quinn's Post . . . that they had to call for volunteers to man the trenches opposite it and that every such volunteer was promoted to corporal. That the shooting of the soldiers in Quinn's Post was so deadly that they [the Turks] had closed up all their loopholes and men were forbidden to use them. They had lost such a number of men shot through the loopholes in the head and killed. . . . The place has been scraped and cleaned and repaired and put in order. We have been congratulated by [Generals] Birdwood, Godley and Lotbiniere and their anxiety is at an end.[13]

Malone's diary ends on 5 August shortly before he moved with his battalion to take part in the plan to break the Gallipoli stalemate. In three days he was dead, killed by a British shell after a desperate and bloody defence of the highest point reached in the campaign, Chunuk Bair. His last diary entries reveal his misgivings about the venture, and accurately predict what happened:

> I wouldn't be surprised if the Wellington Battalion gets up alone and has to dig in and stick it out as at Walker's Ridge and Krithia. I am feeling very fit and the prospect of action is inspiriting. But I do feel that the preparation, as regards our Brigade anyway, is not thorough. The Brigadier will not get down to bedrock. He seems to think that night attack and the taking of entrenched position is like 'kissing one's hand'. Yesterday he burst forth, 'If there's any hitch I shall go right up and take the place myself'. He is an extraordinary man. If it were not so serious it would be laughable. So far as I am concerned the men, my brave gallant men, shall have the best fighting chance I can give them or that can be got. No airy plunging or disregard of the rules and chances.[14]

The reference to the Brigadier [F. E. Johnstone],[15] was the last entry of many in his letters as well as the diary, about his disagreements and difficulties with Johnstone and with the Brigade Major, A. C. Temperley.[16] The difficulties were both professional and personal. Malone believed that a major weakness of many officers was their failure to challenge or question their superiors. Malone himself would rarely take no for an answer. This was something that Johnstone and Temperley, both Imperial officers, were not used to, although Johnstone was New Zealand-born. Malone's frequent questioning of decisions came to be regarded as insubordination. Malone wrote to a friend on one occasion,

> When the present job is finished I think I shall have to try to get me out of the Brigade. I don't seem to be able to get on with Colonel Johnstone. My last communication with him he dubbed 'Extremely insubordinate'. He had refused a request for a working party and I asked him to refer the matter to Divisional Headquarters for a ruling.[17]

His difficulties with Temperley were in some respects more serious, as Temperley was the 'go-between' and was thought by Malone to be 'a poisoner, a sneak' who carried false tales to Johnstone.[18] The latter

was often unfit for duty. There was a belief on Gallipoli that he was an alcoholic,[19] and it seems that Temperley was at times almost the de facto commander of the Brigade.[20] Malone's assessment was probably justified. Temperley thought that Malone was a stubborn colonial with a few rigidly held ideas. After Malone was killed Temperley wrote a report in which Malone was blamed for the failure of the August offensive because of errors of judgment on Chunuk Bair.[21] This view was repeated by John North,[22] but has been amply demolished by James and Pugsley.[23]

Malone's difficulties with Johnstone and Temperley caused him to come to the conclusion that in future all senior positions in the New Zealand forces, at least up to the rank of Brigadier should be held by New Zealanders. He reveals what New Zealand soldiers commonly recorded in their letters and diaries; a low opinion of the Imperial officers and troops and a corresponding belief in the superiority of the New Zealander over practically every other nationality. In this and other ways, their growing sense of a distinctive New Zealand nationality was revealed. Malone's letters and diaries are a fruitful source of observations and comparisons with other nationalities.

Before he left Wellington he was interested to observe Japanese officers from the cruiser *Ibuki*, part of the escort of the New Zealand troopships, in Whitcombe and Tombs.

> Maps! were their quest. Always out for intelligence. I suppose we shall be at war with them under ten years. I like the look of the officers and have always admired the Japanese people. They appear to me to be patriotic, abstemious, industrious, brave and clean. They worship their ancestors and their children. They would I believe make A1 Christians.[24]

He confesses to a prejudice against Australians, which he cannot explain. He noted that he must try to be fair, but criticisms of the Australians are encountered regularly in his writings. In Egpyt his comments were typical of many New Zealanders:

> They look a loose beery lot . . . our New Zealand men are very different and do look like soldiers. The shirt blouse worn by the Australians gives them a Garibaldean, boy scout, scally wag look and I am afraid helps demoralise them. They knock about Cairo, officers and men, at all hours and seem to be at the bottom of all the rows and disturbances that happen. I am a great believer in the moral effect of clothes and uniform, though I know I am not very keen on smart clothes for myself.[25]

His comments on junior British officers were rather uncomplimentary:

> The officers seem a sort of their own. Show not well done and not somehow or another altogether soldierly. I couldn't help thinking of the Punch Volunteer Officer . . . I suppose it is that they are fish out of water. Our Colonial officers in most cases are practical men and more or less take readily to soldiering. The English chaps don't appear to do so.

As for the British other ranks, he made what was a common observation

by New Zealand troops, 'The shortness of them is most striking. Our men seem like giants alongside them.'[26]

Later, at Mudros waiting for the Gallipoli landings, Malone saw troops of many nationalities, and was able to make further comparisons. At a street cafe,

> I sat in state and reviewed the passers, a motley crowd sailors and soldiers of the different races. English French, Australian, NZ, Russian, Algerian, Senegalese, Greeks . . . . Saw the biggest part of a battalion of the Lancashire Fusiliers. Regulars. Long service . . . . I had a real good look at them and didn't like their looks. Their faces are not good. They look very young, boys many of them; they are small men. Nothing smart about them; good stuff, no doubt; but if they are, as they have been called, the flower of the British Army then I understand General Godley's statement that the NZ Division should be the best in the Army . . . our men on the whole look like gentlemen and the Tommies don't. As for the French—they look very slack and soft.[27]

* * *

Malone was born in England in 1859, his father being of a family which had left Ireland in the late eighteenth century, and, in spite of the handicap of being Catholic had prospered. 'Willie', as he was known to the family, was educated in England and France at Catholic schools. He became fluent in French, and was said to have heard the guns during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71. At the age of twenty he voyaged to New Zealand, served in the Armed Constabulary and in 1883 took up land with his brother Austen near Stratford. He was a successful farmer, land agent, local body official and office holder, studied law and in 1895 was admitted to the bar.[28] By 1906 his law firm had branches in a number of Taranaki towns and was sharing in the prosperity brought about by the rapid growth of land settlement and the dairy industry.[29]

A former friend and colleague wrote that Malone 'was successful in everything he undertook.'[30] The exception to this was his two attempts to be elected to Parliament in 1907 and 1908. This failure was due in part to his belief that 'the only sound rule in life is Right, not Expediency', for when he was approached to stand as an official Liberal candidate, he insisted that he would vote according to his conscience, and was dropped. His subsequent stand as an Independent Liberal was impressive but fatally split the Liberal vote.[31]

But his most absorbing interest was in military affairs and for most of his adult life he had been a part-time soldier. When compulsory military training was introduced in New Zealand in 1909, he played an important part in the formation of the Territorial forces, becoming commander of the XI Taranaki Rifles and although he was fifty-five years of age in 1914 volunteered immediately when war was declared and was made commander of the Wellington Infantry Battalion. As the commander of the 1st New Zealand Expeditionary Force, General

Godley was to write of Malone after his death, 'Soldiering was not only his hobby. It was in his bones and I believe he foresaw that he and others like him would be proved in the furnace of war.'[32]

Malone was an ardent Imperialist. He believed that the British Empire was threatened by the growth of German power, and had decided, probably before 1905, that war with Germany was inevitable. This was of course a commonly held opinion, created to some extent by the flood of fiction and other writing which had been flowing since the 1860s and had achieved an enormous volume by 1910.[33] Malone believed, encouraged by the writings of that popular philosopher Ruskin, that war could have a beneficial effect on the participants. He was fond of quoting Ruskin and had given General Godley before the war a copy of Ruskin's *Crown of Wild Olives* — according to Godley 'One of my most treasured possessions'[34] — in which Malone had marked the following passage:

> I found, in brief, that all great nations learned their truth of word, and strength of word and strength of thought in war; that they were nourished in war, and wasted by peace; trained by war, and betrayed by peace: in a word, that they were born in war, and expired in peace.

The coming of the war was therefore an occasion for excitement and pleasure at the prospect of adventure in the great world outside New Zealand. Malone did not hesitate. In his own words, he left a lucrative practice, a comfortable home and a loving family but had no doubt that it was the right thing to do. It was his duty, as he saw it, and nothing could have prevented him doing it. He contrasted his new life with his thirty-four years in Taranaki, and confessed that after the first pioneering years, he had not really had a joy in life. 'Stodging [sic] away money making was no man's game'[35] and

> This life suits me, mind and body. It is a man's life. I wonder if I shall come back or leave my bones in Europe but I am content. I am in God's hands and no death could be better. But I do not feel anxious and look forward to coming back to my dear wife and children.[36]

At Aden, on the voyage to Egypt, these sentiments were reinforced by the sight of so many ships laden with troops hastening to Britain's aid from the Empire.

> This war is the redemption of England and will leave the Empire better and greater in every sense. I think that Norman Angell wrote a book to prove that man was so degenerate that he would allow the dollar to rule the world and man's actions. I always scorned the notion and hadn't the patience to read the book. The author does not understand human nature. Thank God he has proven wrong. There will be much individual suffering and loss but the world and the Empire will gain tremendously.[37]

Malone's stern sense of duty and devotion to Kitchener's motto 'Thorough' and his typically Victorian seriousness and rather puritanical cast of mind made him rather unpopular at first with some of his officers

and men. He set out to get perfection and so earned a martinet's reputation. Leaving Wellington Harbour the battalion band struck up, on the adjutant's orders:

> Then of a sudden the band struck up! Too cheap for anything. Most unharmonious . . . I called [my officers] together and told them that the spirit of the Regiment was to be a doing of its work grimly and quietly without any beating of its chest or banging of drums! That to any right thinking soldier the striking up of our band with [a] tune, I think 'Everybody's Doing It' or some such blatant air was shocking. I am afraid that they didn't all agree with me, but they will learn.[38]

On another occasion he noted regarding a Sunday concert,

> I didn't go. I don't think the average soldier's comic song should be encouraged on Sunday. It is generally a bit risque. Sunday with its three or four Divine Services to wind up [in] the evening with double entendre canticles is wrong.[39]

And just three days later,

> I am sorry to find that the sports people have put on an event called a 'Bun and Treacle' race. One of those more or less degrading things that the world still thinks is good fun. I hate scrambles etc. They sort of teach the competitors to act like brute animals.[40]

On reaching Colombo Malone was thrilled with the colour, the bustle and excitement:

> Tremendous movement and life. We are in the world now right enough. After my thirty years in Taranaki I am now seeing the world and taking part in its affairs. . . . Took my batman Okey to carry my haversack. . . . Colombo is white, brown, red and green, most beautifully green in the rainy season. The streets full of natives, rickshaw men, pony phaetons motor cars and bullock carts. The native dresses in all colours, whites, purples, reds, browns, blues, greens, yellows, khakis. . . . One has seen all the sights in pictures etc but one has not realised before. It was most fascinating to watch the crowds. The streets are streaming with people and vehicles. . . . All shades of whitey brown faces. Mixture of Portugese, Dutch, Tamil, Sinhalese, Indians, Malays, no negro apparently and British. . . . I stalked around and had a good look at the natives. A small hump backed boy about one and a half feet high came up behind me and gave me a little pluck and held out his hand. I couldn't resist giving him half a rupee. Then of course plenty of wee brown mites, some quite naked, flocked along and plucked or touched me so gently and held out their hands; not a word. I soon got rid of my small coins. Quite sinful I suppose, but I couldn't help it.[41]

It is difficult to tell from Malone's diary alone whether the subsequent Gallipoli experience had diminished his excitement and his ardour for the Empire's cause. His letters are more intimate and revealing and one finds in them some of the strain and weariness that is evident in writings and recollections of other New Zealanders on Gallipoli. Before Chunuk Bair, he was aware of the exhaustion of the troops, and if he had been able to, would have gained them a spell of rest. He wrote to his wife: 'The men are run down; three months fighting and work, big nerve strain, heavy casualties, not much rest bring the best of men to a point dangerously near that of breaking.' His loyalty to his men

would have prevented him from seeking rest for himself, and he claimed he did not need it; but there is a certain note of resignation in his letters which does not appear in the diaries. He expresses his longing to be with his wife: 'Yes, I do want you. I long and long and am beginning to lose my enjoyment of this life, as it entails separation from you. You are in all my spare time in my thoughts and I so look forward to our reunion'.[42] Malone was killed on Chunuk Bair on 8 August 1915.

A recent commentator has suggested that Malone's views on the nuclear weapons question would not be difficult to deduce, implying I think that they would have been conservative.[43] I have often wondered what he would have made of the useless slaughter of men in France, or of the atrocity of 'area' bombing in the Second World War and conclude that his compassion would have prevailed. It is not merely family loyalty that makes me say that; I think the evidence is in what he wrote. One of the most striking features of the diary has been its power to project Malone's personality and gain the admiration and even affection of his readers, even when they have read him in the pursuit of impartial research; they become his 'fans'. The letters have not been available before, except to Pugsley, and I suggest now that one should not be read without the other. They have a contribution to make beyond military history; in my admittedly partial opinion they deserve a place in a our literature.

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Seddon's South Seas Censorship
A Bibliographic Curio

K. R. HOWE

From May to June 1900 Richard Seddon visited Tonga, Fiji, Niue and the Cook Islands on the government vessel *Tutanekai*. In part, his trip was to enable him to rest after a bout of ill health attributed to overwork. But more importantly he wanted to push New Zealand's imperial claims to some Pacific territory. Samoa had recently been divided between Germany and the United States. Seddon was keen to increase New Zealand's commercial and political influence in Fiji, which was a British crown colony; in Tonga, which was a British protectorate; and in particular to annex the Cook Islands, which were also a British protectorate.

Seddon took with him his wife and some of their children, his niece Maud Hennah, together with a number of family friends including Mr and Mrs Trask and Mr and Mrs Dyer. As well Seddon had two private secretaries, a photographer, doctor, and reporter. He also took along Edward Tregear, a noted Polynesian scholar and Secretary of the Department of Labour, who had never been to the islands before. Tregear's task was to act as some sort of cultural tour guide and, given his extreme productivity with pen, to write an account of the voyage for popular consumption.

On returning to New Zealand, Tregear rapidly produced a book of 445 pages, profusely illustrated with photographs, and with appendices containing Seddon's key speeches to island leaders and various 'official' correspondence.

Tregear's account of the party's travels and experiences is entertainingly written, often in a heavily disguised ironic tone. Yet it is invariably flattering about Seddon. The travelogue is frequently interspersed with Tregear's observations on island customs, history and mythology, and with wonderfully florid scenic descriptions.

Seddon apparently saw and approved of the text, except that he made Tregear remove the initials 'E.T.' from his short concluding poem of farewell[1] to 'feathered shadows of the palm . . . scented thickets, airs of balm | Islets of coral ringed with calm'. It was a portent of things to come.

There was one other technical correction made after printing: the photograph 'Street Scene, Suva: Perambulators' page 173, appeared with the caption the right way but the photograph upside down. The offending page was slit from the text, reprinted with the photograph correctly positioned and glued back into the text.

The book's cover title was *A Premier's Voyage to the South Sea Islands in Search of Health*. Within, the title page repeated this title and named Edward Tregear as the author (Plate I).

As soon as Seddon saw it, after only a few copies had been released, he had it immediately recalled. He left the text unchanged but insisted that the book be recovered and retitled, that Tregear's name as author be deleted, and that many of the photographs be removed.

The new version was eventually released in 1901. The cover now read simply, *Rt. Hon R. J. Seddon's Visit to the South Sea Islands*. The book's altered title page gave no reference to the author (Plate II).

That Seddon should want to change the original title is not surprising. Presumably any reference to his ill health belied his robust image. But his insistence that Tregear not be acknowledged as author hints at Seddon's more personal quirks. As Tregear wrote:

> By the fiat of 'One who must be obeyed' my name has been erased . . . . You know how the *kauri* grows? Nothing but lowly grass fill the acres of its shadow. I have learnt some unwilling lessons lately and paraphrase an old saying. 'No Premier is a hero to his Under-Secretary'.[2]

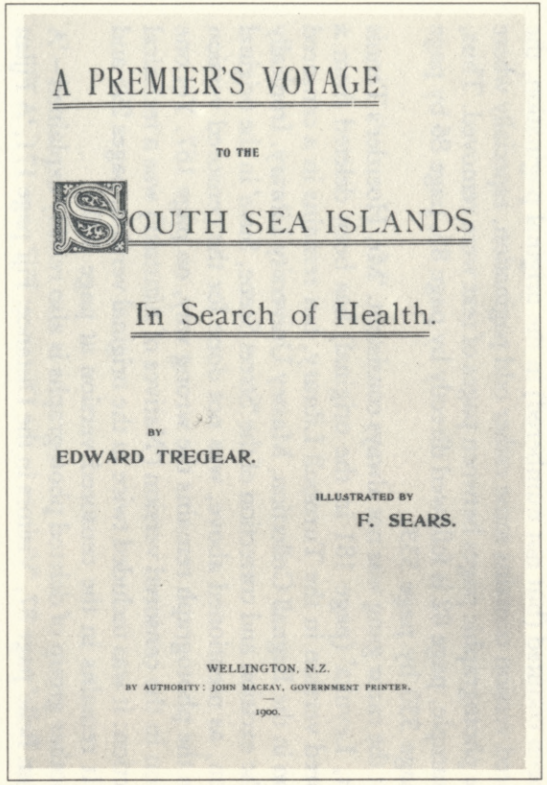
Tregear's wife, Bessie, explained to their daughter that Tregear's name was omitted because of 'something to do with his being "a civil servant"'.[3]

Seddon's censorship was not generally known, and apparently very few original copies were in circulation. Tregear must have kept uncharacteristically quiet about the matter. Neither the original nor the censored version appeared in Hocken's bibliography of 1909. Johnstone's 1927 supplement to Hocken's bibliography listed the censored version in his 1900 section under 'Seddon' in a manner which suggested that Seddon was the author.[4] Johannes Andersen, who knew Tregear well and shared similar interests in Polynesian culture, and who became Librarian of the Alexander Turnbull Library in 1918, was apparently unaware of the censored book's troubled history or even that Tregear had written it. In 1936 Tregear's daughter Vera Robinson informed Andersen, still the Turnbull Librarian, of the existence of the suppressed version written by her father, a copy of which she and her mother each possessed. She wrote a card formally claiming Tregear's authorship of the anonymous version:

> I hereby certify that the book of travels, called "The Visit of Hon. R. J. Seddon to the South Sea Islands", was written and edited by my Father, the late Mr. Edward Tregear.
>
> Signed, Vera Robinson.
> (Daughter.)[5]

Andersen was delighted with this information:

> There's a rarity in this official publication where you would never look for rarity! . . . There are two copies extant at least; but as they [Tregear's wife and daughter]



A PREMIER'S VOYAGE

TO THE

SOUTH SEA ISLANDS

In Search of Health.

BY

EDWARD TREGEAR.

ILLUSTRATED BY

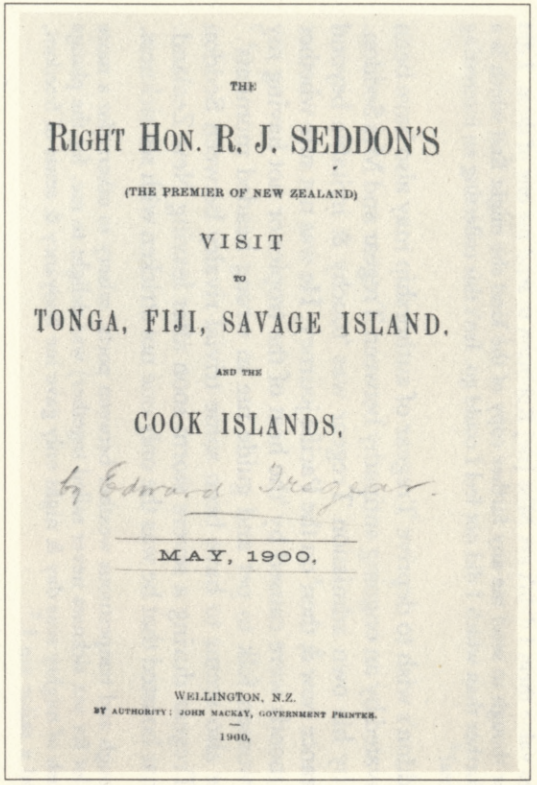
F. SEARS.

WELLINGTON, N.Z.

BY AUTHORITY: JOHN MACKAY, GOVERNMENT PRINTER.

1900.

Plate I. The original edition. Photo neg. C6719, Alexander Turnbull Library.



THE

RIGHT HON. R. J. SEDDON'S

(THE PREMIER OF NEW ZEALAND)

VISIT

TO

TONGA, FIJI, SAVAGE ISLAND,

AND THE

COOK ISLANDS,

by Edward Tregear.

MAY, 1900.

WELLINGTON, N.Z.

BY AUTHORITY: JOHN MACKAY, GOVERNMENT PRINTER.

1900.

Plate II. The censored version. Photo neg. C6720, Alexander Turnbull Library.

seem to value them I didn't ask Miss [sic] Robinson to send me one of them. I did ask her though to send me any further copy of the kind she might find which is a hint, further than which I did not feel I could go. Isn't this collecting an interesting business?[6]

Seddon's wish to deprive Tregear of authorship may also have been aggravated by an ongoing antipathy between Tregear and Mrs Seddon. And by his own admission Tregear was 'touchy & irritable beyond endurance now & then' on the Pacific journey. He was not sure whether such moods were caused by 'the heat of the tropics or not having my own women folk to pet and guide me in wrong headed moments'.[7] There also seems to have been some trivial rivalry between Seddon and Tregear during a severe storm soon after leaving New Zealand. Tregear boasted that he was the only one not stricken with sea sickness.

The rough and tempestuous weather between ports, misery to others (for a more awful lot for sea sickness never sailed together) was delight to me, for the plunge and rush of mighty seas day & night only gave me buoyancy & sense of freedom, so good a sailor am I.[8]

Seddon's son later claimed that Seddon was the only one not to succumb to the 'pitiless tossing, heaving and rolling'.[9]

Apart from the new title page, the other addition to the book was placed directly opposite the title page—a signed photograph of Seddon. He is seated at a desk with papers and books, impeccably groomed and resplendent in suit with large buttonhole, pen poised, looking most learned. Unsuspecting readers might be excused for thinking that he was the author.

The original binding of the text was left untouched in the censored version. But twenty four photographs, each occupying a separate leaf, were cut out, leaving only thin butts. Since the photographic pages had been counted (but not numbered) in the original pagination, the censored version contains some rather odd pagination, especially where all the photographic pages between pages of text were removed. Thus, for example, page 82 is followed directly by page 85, page 86 by page 89, page 330 by page 333.

But the razor gang was not always consistent. 'Mr. Hoerder's Tennis Court, Levuka' (page 181 in the original) has been deleted from a censored version in the Turnbull Library, but remains in a censored version in the Bagnall Collection, Massey University Library. Ironically too, the excision and correction of the 'Street Scene, Suva' in the original version, as mentioned above, was not done for the censored version where the photograph remains the wrong way, on page 167. Yet one deletion in the censored version ('Natives of Aitutaki') was a technical correction: it was included twice in the original version, pages 295 and 303. It remains in the censored version at page 303.

Another group of deleted photographs is also readily explained—'A Tongan Belle' page 87, 'Visitors in the Distance: Fiji' page 171, 'A Fijian

Plate III. 'A Fijian Maiden'. Photo neg. C6948, Alexander Turnbull Library.

Beauty' page 199, 'A Fijian Beauty' page 409, 'A Fijian Maiden' page 411 (Plate III), are with one exception pictures of women with large naked breasts. The exception, page 409, is a woman with large covered breasts. One can imagine Tregear incorporating such pictures with tongue in cheek. He was ever out to challenge the prudery of the times.

There was some censorship of partial male nudity too with the excision of two photographs of the same Fijian warrior—'"This never missed Fire": Fiji' page 169, and 'Enraged: "Say it again!" Fiji' page 393. The angry looking warrior carries a club, wears a grass skirt and his midriff is covered, though his legs, thighs and breasts are exposed. Perhaps the thighs caused offence, since a photograph of a similarly clad 'A Fijian Warrior' page 167, but with a knee-length white lavalava under his grass skirt, was left alone; it is on page 165 of the censored version. A bare breasted 'A Fijian chief' page 373 (in both original and censored versions) also remains, though he is visible only from the waist up.

Other categories of excised photographs are less easy to explain. The

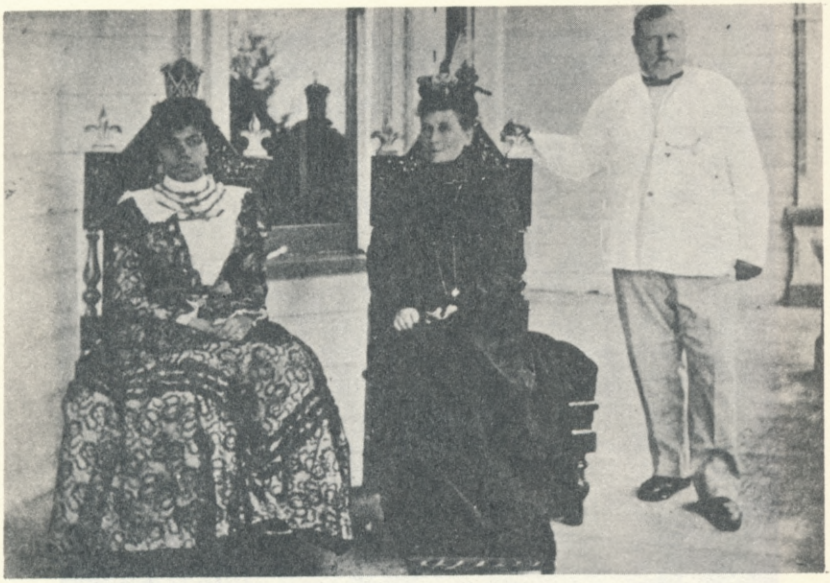


Plate IV. 'The Queen of Tonga, Mrs Seddon, and Mr Seddon'. Photo neg. C6721, Alexander Turnbull Library.

deleted 'Tennis in the Tropics, Suva' page 159, and 'Mr. Hoerder's Tennis Court, Levuka' page 181 both feature Seddon's party at play. Yet the photograph of them all on the 'Tennis Court, Suva' page 143 remains. Were three tennis photographs too many?

Hoerder's tennis court may also have been deleted because of the German connection. Three other photographs of German presence were deleted by Seddon—'German Consul's Residence, Levuka' page 407, 'Hoerder and Co.'s Store, Levuka' page 375, and 'An Industry at Levuka' (Hoerder & Co Viola Soap & Oil Works) page 391. Yet there remains in the censored version the photograph 'German Consul and Family, Levuka' page 181 (page 187 in the original version).

Tregear's theory that Seddon demanded the stage for himself is supported by the excision of a series of photographs of Seddon's accompanying family friends—'Mr. and Mrs. Dyer at Rarotonga' page 247, and 'Nelson in the Tropics (Mr. and Mrs. Trask)' page 387. Also cut out was a portrait of 'Captain Post, s.s. "Tutanekai" page 343, who was 'an old family friend',[10] and a group photograph of 'The Officers, s.s. "Tutanekai" ' page 347 who were also 'well known' to the Seddons.[11] A portrait of a splendidly attired 'Mr. R. Garner-Jones, Levuka' page 383 was also removed.

Overall, the only individual portrait of a European in the censored book is of Seddon himself. Everyone else is more distant in group photographs. Three photographs of Seddon's own family members were deleted—'The Queen of Tonga, Mrs. Seddon, and Mr. Seddon' page

103 (Plate IV), 'Mrs. Seddon and the Queen of Niue' page 225, and 'Miss Seddon and Miss Hennah' (her cousin), page 331. There seems no immediate explanation for these excisions since photographs including these three appear elsewhere in the censored version.

Finally there are three miscellaneous photographs that have been excluded—'King George returning from opening of Parliament' page 83, 'Domestic Pleasures: Rarotonga' page 255, and 'Miss Large's School, Rarotonga' page 341. All three seem quite unexceptional, and elsewhere there is a photograph of the Tongan King going to the Parliament, and of Miss Large's school.

Seddon's censorship created not just a bibliographic curio, but one which in microcosm gives some inkling as to his ego, his public prudery, the social perceptions of his family, and to his imperial politics.

REFERENCES

1 Tregear to W. P. Reeves, 7 January 1901. Reeves, William Pember. 'Letters Written . . . by Men of Mark in New Zealand'. Micro MS 182. Alexander Turnbull Library.

2 Tregear to W. P. Reeves, 7 January 1901.

3 Extract from a letter by Johannes C. Andersen to an unspecified person, 19 February 1936. Typescript, slipped inside censored version of Tregear's book, accession number 115,707, Alexander Turnbull Library. I am grateful to Diane Woods of the Library for drawing my attention to this letter.

4 A. H. Johnstone's entry is: 'SEDDON, Right Hon. R. J. Visit to Tonga . . .', *Supplement to Hocken's Bibliography of New Zealand Literature* (Auckland, 1927), p. 39.

5 Card attached to censored version of Tregear's book, accession number 8926, Alexander Turnbull Library. It is quoted by Andersen in the typescript extract from his letter, 19 February 1936.

6 Typescript extract from Andersen's letter, 19 February 1936. The subsequent bibliographic history of the original version of the book is also slightly less than satisfactory. Bagnall's *New Zealand National Bibliography*, Volume IV (Wellington, 1975), p. 317, lists both versions of the book under Tregear's authorship and correctly notes the recall of the original version, the deletion of Tregear's name as author, and the removal of the photographs. Yet Bagnall adds the curious comment that the original version was 'Allegedly written by Eugene McCarthy'. No record of the reason for his statement has been found. Perhaps confusion arose because McCarthy was the official reporter on the Parliamentary trip to the Cook Islands in 1903 (*Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives*, 1903, A-3B, p. 2). He was not a member of Seddon's party in 1900. I am grateful to Diane Woods for this information on McCarthy.

7 Tregear to W. P. Reeves, 14 July 1900, 'Letters Written by . . . Men of Mark'.

8 Tregear to W. P. Reeves, 14 July 1900.

9 T. E. Y. Seddon, *The Seddons: An Autobiography* (Auckland, 1968), p. 115.

10 Seddon, p. 115.

11 Seddon, p. 115.

Research Notes

The Turnbull is planning to publish, in association with the Polynesian Society, the text of Songs 301-393 of Sir Apirana Ngata's *Nga Moteatea*. The first three parts, up to song 300, were published between 1928 and 1972, and have latterly been issued by the Polynesian Society. Sir Apirana Ngata planned four parts and prepared typescripts and notes for all four. The fourth part has only recently been identified by Turnbull staff among the papers of the Maori Purposes Fund Board which were transferred to the custody of the Library in the early 1980s. *Nga Moteatea* is the single most important source of Maori waiata and poetry and the publication of part four will be a major contribution to Maori studies. Publication is planned for 1990.

Margaret Scott has been awarded the National Library Research Fellowship for 1989, for a joint project with Gillian Boddy to produce a new edition of Katherine Mansfield's notebooks. The originals of the notebooks, covering the period 1904 to 1922, were purchased by the Turnbull in 1957 at Sotheby's auction, as part of the literary estate of John Middleton Murry. A selection from the notebooks was edited by Murry and published in 1954 as the *Journal of Katherine Mansfield*.

Dr J. E. Byrne has been awarded the Fulbright Research Fellowship for 1989, to undertake a comparative study of the development of newspapers in New Zealand and the United States in the period 1840-1890. Dr Byrne worked in journalism prior to joining the staff of the United States National Archives, and has just retired as editor of the *Federal Register*. His doctoral thesis was on the newspaper treatment of John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry in 1859. Dr Byrne arrived in New Zealand late in February.

'Mrs Hobson's Album' was a gift to the wife of Governor Hobson from the people of New Zealand. Compiled in the early 1840s by her friends in Auckland, it has been in the Turnbull's collections since the descendants of William Hobson sent the volume back to New Zealand at the time of the centennial celebrations in 1940. It is a delightful early Victorian compilation of sketches, verses and prose, mostly contributed by Maori and Pakeha from the Auckland area.

For well over ten years the Library has been seeking ways of publishing the album to make its treasures available to a wider audience, and to relieve pressure on the original which is now showing signs of its age and its attraction as a pictorial source. Negotiations are well advanced for the Auckland University Press to publish the album in 1990 as a sesquicentennial project, with a descriptive text by Janet Paul and Elsie Locke. A special grant has been made by the 1990 Commission to assist publication.

We are delighted that the Hobson family's generous action in 1940 in allowing this gem from the early settlement period to come back home is, fifty years later, being carried one step further by issuing the album in published form for all to enjoy.

Jacob Gruber, the 1984 Fulbright Research Scholar at the Turnbull, has published another article based on his research in New Zealand. 'From Myth to Reality: the Case of the Moa' was published in the *Archives of Natural History*, 14, no. 3 (1987), 339-52. The first fruits of his research were published, appropriately, in the *Turnbull Library Record* for October 1987.

'Hearts and Minds: Six Stories by Katherine Mansfield' was an exhibition of materials from the Alexander Turnbull Library in the National Library Gallery. It ran from 29 September 1988 to 21 January 1989, with an average attendance of 237 visitors per day. The opening saw the curators Jim and Mary Barr, and Sara Knox of Turnbull Reference, being treated to smoked salmon canapes, while in the Library foyer the *Evening Post* Onslow Brass Band struck up a rousing tune to greet the guests. Fiona Kidman opened the exhibition, showing in her speech her understanding of the conceptual framework within which the exhibition described Katherine Mansfield.

'Hearts and Minds' explored six of Mansfield's stories, extracting themes expressive of the tensions, contradictions and constraints experienced by her and her characters. A significant feature of the exhibition was commissioned work by six women artists—Marie Shannon, Megan Jenkinson, Cathryn Shine, Merylyn Tweedie, Joanna Paul and Mary-Louise Browne. Reviews of the exhibition appeared in the *Evening Post* 20 October 1988, and *Art New Zealand*, 49 (Summer 1988/89).

Bruce Ralston, Reference Section, attended the First International Congress on Family History, held in Sydney during October 1988. The five day congress was attended by 1100 genealogists and family historians. The trip also included a study tour of Australian libraries, to observe the nature and level of family history services. Libraries similar to the Turnbull face the same demand for information needed for studying a family's history. The Australian Bicentenary has created a greater interest in peoples' origins, as well as an increased need for the reproduction of resources for study in this area.

Since mid 1987 the Turnbull Library has been involved in indexing for INNZ, the database index which is the National Library's successor to *Index to New Zealand Periodicals*. The index provides access to New Zealand journal articles in the arts, humanities and social sciences. The main advantage of automated indexing is that a wider range of material is now available and can be accessed in many libraries throughout the country. Readers using the Reference Section of the Library in person, should note that journals being indexed for INNZ no longer have card entries filed into the Biographies, Reference or Shipping indexes.

In late 1988 SeTo Publishing Ltd, Auckland, produced facsimile and trade editions of *Aurora Australis*, bringing to a successful conclusion five years of work involving the company and the Library. *Aurora Australis*, edited by Ernest Shackleton, was published at the winter quarters of the British Antarctic Expedition of 1907-09. It was the first book published in the polar regions. The copy used for the reproductions was gifted to the Turnbull in 1936 by Sir Joseph Kinsey, who was a close friend of Alexander Turnbull, as well as a friend and attorney to Shackleton. The copy is one of two held by the Library. It is thought fewer than ninety were printed by Shackleton and his team.

The Library has recently completed a comprehensive card index to *Akaroa and Banks Peninsula* (Akaroa, 1940), compiled by W. E. M. Jacobson. The book is a major local history about the inhabitants of the peninsula. As well as biographical entries, the index contains references to early settlement, places and organisations. The Library is investigating ways of making the index more widely available.

As from November 1988 all cartographic materials acquired by the Turnbull have been catalogued onto the New Zealand Bibliographic Network (NZBN). Records of cartographic materials will therefore once again appear in the National Bibliography. The sixth and final acquisitions list for cartographic materials to be issued since the suspension of section three of the National Bibliography at the end of 1985, was published in December 1988. It records all new publications received, mainly under the provisions of Legal Deposit, by the Cartographic Collection. Copies of this, and previous lists, can be obtained from the Curator, Cartographic Collection.

A generous additional grant from the Lilburn Trust has enabled the Archive of New Zealand Music to purchase an Ultra Imagineering Computer, a printer and INMAGIC software. The latter has excellent search and retrieval facilities, which will be particularly useful for handling manuscript music scores.

Mr Brian Salkeld has donated his fine collection of New Zealand sound recordings, built up over many years and widely used in broadcasts.

In August 1988 Nicola Frean, the Newspaper Librarian, attended the IFLA/LAA Conference in Sydney. She went on to visit several newspaper collections in Australian institutions, gathering useful information on policies and practices in the areas of microfilming, indexing and reference services for newspapers.

Due to financial constraints the Newspaper Collection will no longer automatically receive copies of all newspapers microfilmed by the National Library's Microfilm Production Unit. A list of all microfilm produced will be available instead, and orders for requested films will be available within 48 hours at the Newspaper Research Room.

Sten Aminoff, the Swedish Ambassador to New Zealand in the late 1970s, spent many hours in the Turnbull tracing the histories of Swedes who settled in New Zealand. He worked closely with Turnbull staff in acquiring manuscript and pictorial material on Swedish settlers for the collections. The results of his research have now been published as *Svenskarna i Nya Zeeland* (The Swedes in New Zealand: the Swedish Emigration to New Zealand until 1940) published by Tryckericentralen in Växjö. The introductory text of some 100 pages is in Swedish, but the listings of 3,290 Swedes is in English. Details given include full names, date of birth, parish and country, date of arrival, date of naturalisation, date of death, whether married, the number of children, profession, and additional notes. Mr Aminoff's meticulous research will provide immediate information for family historians, and the basic statistical information on Swedish migration and the Swedish contribution to New Zealand.

Information collected in 'life history' interviews, and of value to researchers, has too easily in the past been buried in sound recordings, with no indication on the title or subject summary of the collection. Detailed oral history abstracts have until now provided the best type of finding aid to locate such information, but are limited by the lack of an effective indexing system. More sophisticated ways of searching within the finding aids has long been needed. Such a development is the new Oral History Database on Kiwinet. The Manuscripts and Archives Section is putting onto the database all documentation of oral history collections held, including abstracts, and shelf locations of the tapes. This will enable researchers not only within the Library, but those in other parts of the country to search Turnbull oral history holdings. It is hoped that other institutions will add their holdings to the database and create a nationwide treasury of information.

The National Library is reducing its number of staff positions by 15 per cent over the next two years as part of the government's drive to reduce expenditure in the public sector. This is an overall reduction of 78 staff positions. The Turnbull is to reduce its staffing by 15 per cent, a total of 8 staff, by the end of June 1990. This reduction in staff at a time of increased public demand on the Library's services is likely to create delays in the Library's public service areas and an increase in the backlogs of unprocessed materials.

Margaret Calder took up her position as Assistant Chief Librarian, Alexander Turnbull Library, on 10 February 1988. Margaret in fact began her career as a librarian in the Turnbull when she was sent in 1965 by the State Services Commission to see Michael Hitchings, then Acting Chief Librarian whom, the Commission said, wanted 'someone with N.Z. History in their degree'. She remained at Turnbull until 1967, working in the Manuscripts Section, the Reference Room, and was acting Acquisitions Officer while Darea Sherratt was on leave.

In Sydney in 1968 she worked briefly in Fisher Library, University of Sydney, before moving to the Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW, where she worked initially in the Maps Section, then in the Pictures Section, and assisted with public service in the Reading Room, before leaving in 1973 to travel overseas. While in London she was employed as a consultant bibliographer for the Property Services Agency Library in the Department of the Environment, and had her first experience of computerised data banks—European and American as well as British. She returned briefly to Wellington in 1976 during which time she was employed at the General Assembly Library (now the Parliamentary Library) as the Copyright Officer. Returning to Sydney she was again employed at the Mitchell as Pictures Librarian, a position she retained until 1987, except for a period during 1986 when she acted as Mitchell Librarian.

Margaret holds a B.A.(Hons) from Victoria University of Wellington; Diploma in Librarianship from the University of New South Wales; and, pursuing her particular interest in Australian history, completed a Diploma of Social Science from the University of New England.

Returning to Wellington has been an interesting experience; the warmth of the welcome from Turnbull and National Library staff was truly encouraging and almost overcame the shock of the horizontal rain and

amazingly low temperatures. 'Work at the Turnbull is always interesting; the staff are as hard working, enthusiastic, and innovative now as they were twenty years ago. The changes in New Zealand society and government are very quickly reflected in the Library, and the need to be on one's toes to meet the challenges and problems of the eighties, and perhaps the nineties, makes the job stimulating as well.'

Notable Acquisitions

The Special Printed Collections Librarian reports the arrival of three new microform collections, providing important source material for the study of the history of the book.

Records of the Stationers' Company, 1554-1920.
Probably the single most important source for the history of the English book-trade. 115 reels of microfilm (Micro MS Coll 22)

The Publishers' Circular, 1837-1900.
Microfiche edition of the first national journal produced by British publishers to advertise their trade. Useful for notices of books relating to New Zealand published in the United Kingdom.

The Nineteenth Century: Primary Printed Sources in English.
Microfiche publication of important source materials for nineteenth century studies. The Library is subscribing to one section only: 'Publishing, the Booktrade and the Diffusion of Knowledge'. Five hundred titles will be published annually for the next thirty years.

Notable Events

Women's Words: A Guide to Manuscripts and Archives in the Alexander Turnbull Library Relating to Women in the Nineteenth Century, compiled by Diana Meads, Philip Rainer and Kay Sanderson (Wellington, 1988), was launched in the Library on 22 November 1988. The guest speaker was Raewyn Dalziel, Associate Professor of History, University of Auckland. The following is an edited version of her speech.

Women's Words publishes for the first time a listing of all the catalogued manuscripts and archives relating to women in the nineteenth century that are held by the Alexander Turnbull Library. The publication of this book is a further recognition by the Turnbull of the importance of documenting women's past. Earlier steps have been the active collection of material relating to women; the creation of a card catalogue covering this material; Patricia Sargison's listing of published material, *Victoria's Furthest Daughters*; and a special issue of the *Turnbull Library Record* on women's history.

My own interest in women's history was late in developing. Although when I did my degree at Victoria University I did some papers in social history,

women's history as such was unheard of. Even when I was a post-graduate student in London in 1970-1971 there was little discussion of women's history. However, I had scarcely arrived at the British Museum on a short research trip in 1973 when I ran into Anna Davin, whom I had met two years before. She didn't say 'Nice to see you back' or 'Where have you been?' or any of the things you might expect. Instead her first words were 'What are you doing about women's history in New Zealand?'. As far as I knew very little was being done. Pat Grimshaw's book on the suffrage had been published in 1972 but I knew of no one currently working on what might be called women's history.

Soon after I returned to New Zealand, however, I was asked to give a winter lecture at Auckland University. 1975 was to be the beginning of the United Nations decade for women and the lecture series was to be on women in New Zealand. My contribution was to be on the history of women. In 1974 I began reading women's manuscripts in the Turnbull.

One of the major difficulties was access. The way things were catalogued often concealed where women's manuscripts were located. Much of this information was stored in the minds of librarians—not the most convenient place for such information to be kept. One of my major informants was June Starke who would frequently ask me if I knew such and such a source or tell me about a particular collection. Access has continued to be difficult. In 1983 I decided to go through the papers of Donald McLean, knowing that he had a number of women correspondents. I didn't dream of finding a marvellous series of letters between McLean and Susan Strang, his future wife. These unfolded a tragic story of their meeting, courtship, brief marriage, Susan's pregnancy, confinement and death. I have since often wondered how the course of New Zealand history might have been different if Susan had lived and McLean had become a bush farmer as he planned. I might add that Susan wasn't too keen on becoming the wife of a bush farmer.

The letters, diaries and records of nineteenth century women open a window on an intensely personal and domestic world. Some argue that we are not justified in using this window as it opens on to a private life. I don't agree with this view. Far too much has been made of the nineteenth century dichotomy between private and public. Personal and domestic concerns were not necessarily, nor even usually, private in the nineteenth century. The boundaries between the domestic world and the world of business, politics and the market were very fuzzy indeed. Domestic life was directly and indirectly affected by legislation, the economy and politics. In turn domestic life affected these other areas. One only needs to think of the impact of changing fertility to realise how true this was. Women were an integral part of the community; what they did and how they did it is crucial to an understanding of the past. The records of women tell very human and often very moving stories. The women of the nineteenth century may have lived in a world technologically less sophisticated than ours but their emotional and mental world was equally complex.

I have found old favourites and new names. One old favourite is Martha Adams, a Nelson settler of the 1850s. Martha recorded in her diary visiting Mary Griffiths. Mary had divorced her husband in England on grounds of his cruelty, although I think there are some doubts as to whether the divorce

had actually taken place. Martha wrote 'As we conversed she had occasion to say "as I have no husband to please I can suit my own convenience,"' a reasonable point of view one might suppose. However, Martha continued 'I looked at her to see how she could say such words, expecting to see the tell-tale feeling on her face that could not be suppressed: but she was calm and unmoved! Alas! at that moment my heart ached for her! How must the fountains of love have been broken up, to render her capable of uttering unmoved *such words*!' Mary, in fact, later remarried and, as Mary Muller, wrote the first articles calling for New Zealand women to be given the vote.

Other old favourites are Grace Hirst, the New Plymouth entrepreneur, and Mary Swainson, who as a young girl wrote the family letters home to England. A new name which looks interesting is that of Lizzie Ovenden, a young widow who came to New Zealand in 1867 to carry out an arranged marriage, was widowed again within two years and passes out of sight in 1874. Another is Flo Derry, with her spirited defence of New Zealand girlhood and her preference for 'rowdy colonials' over English youth.

One of the strengths of the publication is that it goes beyond listing, in itself a huge task, to provide details of the lives of those who appear. There are some surprises here. I did not, for instance, know that Adeline Absolon was probably the lover of Dillon Bell before becoming the wife of Dr Thomas Renwick.

Women's Words shows the extraordinary range of the Turnbull's collection. There are entries for Queen Victoria (her instructions to the Governor in 1840, so not particularly revealing about her life), Lady Grey with her morbid dislike of Auckland, the music-hall singer Fanny Clifton, and the alcoholic Martha Browne. There are a number of entries relating to Maori women, especially letters from Maori women within collections. There is material relating to England, the United States, the Pacific, Australia and doubtless to other countries as well.

It is instructive to note that it was the interest of an American scholar that prompted the Turnbull to undertake the compilation and publication of this guide to its collection. This raises the question of whether research scholars in New Zealand are demanding enough of their scholar librarians. The Turnbull librarians have shown that they can do it—we should ask for more. I hope that *Women's Words* leads to an increased interest in the collections and further research into the history of the nineteenth century. Such work will help us understand the dynamics of living in New Zealand as experienced by all people.

Notes on Manuscript and Archive Accessions

A SELECTIVE LIST OF ACQUISITIONS, APRIL 1988 TO NOVEMBER 1988

Acquisitions of manuscripts and archives are listed selectively in the *Turnbull Library Record* to alert scholars to newly acquired material judged to be of research value. For items marked 'Access subject to sorting' or 'Restricted' the Library would welcome notification that access will be sought, preferably with an indication of a likely date. This will help staff in establishing priorities for sorting collections. The following list updates the Notes in the *Record* for October 1988. Material produced by the Pacific Manuscripts Bureau and the Australian Joint Copying Project is not listed except for items copied under the latter's Miscellaneous series. New accessions for the Archive of New Zealand Music are listed in *Crescendo*, the bulletin of the International Association of Music Libraries (New Zealand Branch).

ALLEY, RODERICK. *Papers, 1937-1977.* 9 folders. DONATION.
Further papers of Rewi Alley including copies of the *Gung Ho News; Indusco Bulletins*; correspondence and photographs.

ANCIENT ORDER OF FORESTERS, WELLINGTON DISTRICT. *Records, 1872-1983.* 60cm. DONATION.
Includes annual minutes; district executive meetings minutes; *Friendly Society Journal* and medical and dispensary reports.

ARMSTRONG, SHEILA. *Correspondence, 1947-1949.* 4 folders. DONATION.
Letters written by a new immigrant to her relatives in the United Kingdom describing post-war conditions in New Zealand.

BAGNALL, AUSTIN GRAHAM, 1912-1986. *Papers, 1840s-1980s.* 3m. DONATION: Mrs D. Bagnall, Mahina Bay, Wellington.
Collection consists of six manuscript volumes of William Colenso's 'Bush Journals, October 1847-March 1851', as well as research papers on the Wairarapa and the National Library.
Access subject to sorting.

BLAND, PETER. *Papers, ca. 1960s-1980s.* 4 folders. PURCHASE.
Includes correspondence, poems, a speech, articles and a typescript of working notes.

CAIRNS, KEITH RAYMOND, 1925-1987. *Papers.* 7.3m. DONATION: Estate.
Collection concerns Wairarapa history, archaeology and place names.
Access subject to sorting.

ENGLAND, RONALD WILLIAM. *Papers, 1950-1983.* 60cm. DONATION.
Collection of papers relating to the New Zealand Social Credit Political League.

EX-LIBRIS SOCIETY. *Records, 1931-ca. 1979.* 60cm. DONATION.
Comprises accounts; minutes; bulletins and correspondence. The Society is now defunct.

FEDERATED FARMERS OF NEW ZEALAND WOMENS DIVISION. *Records, ca. 1925-1983.* 15m. DONATION.
Records comprise branch minutes; accounts and correspondence; Dominion Executive minutes; correspondence; subject files and annual reports.

GIRL GUIDES ASSOCIATION OF NEW ZEALAND. *Records, 1910-1985.* 15m. DONATION.
Includes correspondence; subject files; minutes of National Executive; Annual General Meetings; committees; oral history tapes; photograph albums and scrapbooks.
Restricted.

HENRY HUGHES LTD. *Patent Registers, 1874-1979.* 3m. DONATION.
Henry Hughes established the first trade mark and patent company in New Zealand. The company is still extant.

HOFMANN, FRANK. *Helen Shaw's collection relating to Walter D'Arcy Cresswell.* 1m. DONATION.
Research material collected by the late Helen Shaw for a projected biography of D'Arcy Cresswell.
Restricted.

HUGHES, ALAN W. *Diaries and correspondence, 1917-1919.* 1 folder. DONATION.
Typescripts of diaries and correspondence used in the preparation of 'The Great Adventure: The Diaries and Correspondence of Private James McKenzie, 1917-1919.'
Restricted.

KEMP, PETER. *Papers of George Thomas Kemp, 1889-1926.* 3 folders. DONATION.
Kemp was an engineer in Nelson and Christchurch. Includes correspondence, clippings, photographs and diagrams of wireless telegraphy.

LOVELOCK, JACK (JOHN EDWARD), 1910-1949. *Diary, 1936.* 1v. DONATION: Timaru High School Board.
Microfilm copy.

MALONE, WILLIAM GEORGE, 1859-1915. *Diaries and letterbooks, 1914-1915.* 15v. and 1 folder. DONATION: Mr E. P. Malone, Masterton.
Lieutenant-Colonel Malone commanded the 1st Wellington Battalion of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force. He saw action with the Battalion at Suez and Gallipoli, and was killed in action at Chunuk Bair in August 1915. The Library already holds typescripts of the Malone diaries.

MARTIN, H.D. *Papers, 1941-1944.* 3m. DONATION.
Papers relate to the Communist Party of New Zealand, 1941-1944.

NEW ZEALAND FEDERATION OF LABOUR. *Records, 1937-1988.* 32m. DONATION.
Material includes correspondence; subject files; minutes; conference papers; photographs; sound tapes; videos and ephemera.
Restricted.

NEW ZEALAND WORKERS' UNION. *Records, 1901-1970.* 60cm. DONATION.
Collection includes conference reports; minute books; membership rolls; scrapbooks; rulebooks and membership tickets.
Restricted.

O'CONNOR, IRMA MIRIAM, b. 1891. *Papers, ca. 1820s-1860s.* 5 folders. DONATION: Miss I. Wakefield, Auckland.
Collection includes correspondence from William Wakefield to his daughter Emily; photographs; a diary and other family material.

O'REILLY, RONALD NORRIS, 1914-1982. *Papers, ca. 1965-ca. 1982.* 30cm. DONATION.
Material relating to Maori art.

PETHERBRIDGE, GERTIE. *Diary, 1906-1907.* 1 folder. DONATION: Mrs S. R. Pook, Kumeu.
Typescript of a diary written aboard the *Athenic* travelling from Plymouth to New Plymouth.

POTTS, GEOFFREY. *Papers, 1917-1919.* 9 folders. DONATION: J. B. Nixon, Wanganui.
Correspondence, photographs and a biography of Potts relating to his military service during World War I.

SALKELD, BRIAN. *Papers, ca. 1940s-1980s.* 3.3m. DONATION.
Papers relating to the writer's career in radio broadcasting.

SEDDON, MARY STUART. *Seddon family scrapbooks and letters, ca. 1874-1918.* 7v. and 50cm. DONATION: Mrs Helen Hitchings, Wellington.
Collection includes typescripts of some of Richard Seddon's speeches; telegrams of condolence following the death of Captain R. J. S. Seddon in 1918; scrapbooks ca. 1891, 1896-1897, 1904-1905; and correspondence to Mary Seddon.

SOMERVILLE, ROSALIE. *Papers, ca. 1970-1987.* 1m. DONATION.
Papers relating to adult literacy in New Zealand.

TRIPE, MATHEWS AND FEIST. *Records, 1870-1945.* 30cm. DONATION.
Legal records and some correspondence pertaining to Bishop Octavius Hadfield, his family and descendants.

TURBOTT, DR HAROLD BERTRUM, 1899-1988. *Papers, ca. 1943-ca. 1988.* 1.5m. DONATION: Estate.
Includes some of the scripts for his radio programme 'The Radio Doctor', as well as research notes and publications on health matters.

VARNHAM, FREDERICK STUART, 1888-1963. *Diaries, 1915-1919.* 2 folders. DONATION: Mrs Nancy Croad, Auckland.
Varnham was an officer serving with the New Zealand forces in the Middle East during World War I.

Notes on Photographic Archive Accessions

A SELECTIVE LIST OF ACQUISITIONS, JANUARY 1987 TO DECEMBER 1988

This is the first list to be published and covers material acquired since the establishment of the Photographic Archive as a separate section in January 1987. Acquisitions of photographs are listed selectively in the *Turnbull Library Record* to alert scholars to newly acquired material judged to be of research value. For items marked 'Access subject to sorting' the Library would welcome notification that access will be sought, preferably with an indication of a likely date.

CHUN FAMILY. *[Photograph album]* LOAN: Mrs R. Young, Palmerston North.
Chun family album, 1930s-1940s. A comprehensive record of a Chinese family in New Zealand. Copy negatives of images from the album have been retained by the Archive.

CODY, WELLINGTON THOMAS GORDON. *[Negatives]* DONATION: Mrs Patricia Fry, Wellington.
200 negatives taken by W. T. G. Cody during the 1920s and 1930s in Ohakune, Wanganui and Wellington.

DENNISTON, G. G. *[Photograph Albums]* LOAN: Mrs G. Denniston, Masterton.
Two albums of photographs showing Gallipoli and the Western front, World War One, compiled by G. G. Denniston, Canterbury Mounted Rifles. Copy negatives of images from the albums have been retained by the Archive.

DESTE, EILEEN. *[Negatives]* PURCHASE.
Glass and film negatives by Eileen Deste, a commercial photographer in Wellington during the 1930s, mostly showing the New Zealand Centennial Exhibition, 1939-1940.

DORE, J. B. C. *[Negatives]* DONATION: Mrs Yvonne Chamberlain, Masterton.
Ca. 100 glass negatives of the Manapouri, Te Anau, Mossburn district, taken between the 1900s and the 1930s by J. B. C. Dore, a hotel keeper, launch operator and pioneer of tourism in Fiordland.
Access subject to sorting.

FEARNLEY, CHARLES. *[Negatives]* PURCHASE.
Ca. 6000 negatives of architectural subjects taken throughout New Zealand between the 1950s and the 1980s by Mr Charles Fearnley, a prominent architectural historian.
Access subject to sorting.

FELL, CHARLES Y. *[Photograph album]* DONATION: Mrs B. Hector, Eastbourne.
Album of photographs compiled by C. Y. Fell, in the 1890s and 1900s, showing the Atkinson family at Eastbourne, Wellington and Nelson. This complements a similar album already held by the Archive (PA Series 1:q:Fell).

KOZERA, STEFANIA. *[Photograph albums]* DONATION: Mr G. Philpott, Johnsonville.
Two albums of photographs compiled by Mrs Stefania Kozera, who arrived as a refugee from Poland with her children in 1944. They depict life in the Pahiatua refugee camp, 1944-1947.

PAETZ, ALFRED ROSS. *[Negatives]* DONATION: Mrs Edris Schenk, Queensland, Australia.
1013 quarter-plate negatives, on glass and film; showing Birkenhead, Wanganui, Rotorua and Australia. In the main this is a record of Mr Paetz's family, but it also covers the cities in which they lived. A very lively collection, strong on social activities in the 1920s.

TRAVERS, WILLIAM THOMAS LOCKE. *[Negatives]* DONATION: Mr Peter Maplesdon, Nelson.
Six 10″ ×8″ wet collodion negatives showing the Evans Bay Patent Slip in the 1880s.

WELLS, ROBERT E. *[Negatives and prints]* DONATION.
Mr Wells has made regular donations to bring up to date a collection of 222 prints and more than 1000 negatives, taken while a country teacher at schools through the North Island from the 1920s until the 1950s. The collection includes strong coverage of the Mokau River district in the late 1920s.

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