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A running race staged for a campaign by Dormer-Beck Advertising Ltd, 1973. Photograph by K. E. Niven & Co. (ATL ref. 1/2-241030-F)

Turnbull Library Record 2013

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Contributions that have not been previously published are welcomed and, before acceptance, will be independently refereed. The Editorial Board reserves the right to decline to publish an article, whether solicited or unsolicited.

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Mr C. Stewart poised to start a sack race. He was the winner of a sack race held in Wakefield, c. 1910–48.
Photographer: Frederick Nelson Jones (ATL ref. 1/2-026177-G)

Introduction

CHARLOTTE MACDONALD

Looking for the body in the library might sound like work for Agatha Christie's Monsieur Poirot rather than for historians and other scholars. But it is just that job that the contributors to this issue of the *Turnbull Library Record* have undertaken. Seven-stone (49-kg) Catherine Wiltshire competing in a 100-mile walking race in 1876, burly axemen standing to their blocks in 1905, the well-clothed Dora de Beer and her climbing companions in south-west China in 1938, the cartoon figures of Māori and Pākehā rugby spectators in 1956, and the perennially popular politicians facing off as boxing opponents in the cartoonist's sketchbook all feature in this issue devoted to New Zealand's sporting life and culture.

Each of the articles opens up a world that is a delight in and of itself. In a society that often prides – or bemoans – itself as 'sport-mad', there are further reasons for a national research library to include sport in its *Record*. For all the space sport has occupied in town and country sports grounds, and in newspaper columns, there is a surprisingly slight critical tradition in scholarship addressing this aspect of our cultural and social life. Greg Ryan and David Colquhoun, two of the contributors here, are among the relatively small number working in a field that flourishes more robustly elsewhere. Ramachandra Guha's *A Corner of a Foreign Field* (2002), Barbara Keys' *Globalising Sport* (2006), Tony Collins and Wray Vamplew's *Mud, Sweat and Beers* (2002) are just some recent works which suggest the scope for thinking about history at large from the playing field as well as from the workplace, the battlefield or the political stage.[1]

In the broader themes of New Zealand history we might look to sport for fresh angles on the tensions between egalitarian beliefs and individualistic inclinations, and how competition operates to feed or undermine these two forces. Sport as a meeting ground of merit and equality for Māori and Pākehā is a much vaunted part of New Zealand's history. Yet it has also been a place of deep and violent contention; and as Paul Diamond suggests, an arena that can mask a different story. Much less easily assimilated into a story of sport as a leveller is its place in the history of men and women (but this issue contains stories that might surprise). Sport fits less easily into conventional histories of the state in New Zealand life,

being regarded more as a matter of local and voluntary endeavour than of state organisation or support. Yet that too is a story that deserves revisiting. In this issue it is touched on briefly, but valuably, in relation to the early twentieth-century regulation of betting (Ryan), and in the experience of Māori as voters (Diamond).

Sport has been a major generator of records in the form of press reports, game programmes and results, manuscripts, memoirs, travel and tour diaries, photographs, paintings, sketches, cartoons, radio commentary, film and television footage, webcams – an array of private and public records, though its inherently ephemeral nature has militated against a strong archival residue. Sport is often, in fact, at the forefront of new technologies of communication, and their associated commercial vehicles (popular weekly papers, commercial radio and cable television are just some examples). In this regard it carries enormous potential for studies of changing habits of reading, viewing and popular consumption. The sources drawn on in these five articles alone illustrate the breadth of materials generated by sports and sports culture.

From at least the eighteenth century, politicians have been depicted as combatants in the boxing ring, runners in galloping horse races, wrestlers struggling for ascendancy, and opponents in tugs of war. Ian F. Grant's widely ranging discussion of political cartoons provides an insight into just how extensive a tradition sport provides as visual metaphor. Linguistic riches are also hinted at, along with their histories; the neo-liberalism's 'level playing field' of the 1980s is just one of many. In spite of – or perhaps because of – their typically un-sporting physiques, political leaders provide cartoonists with splendid fodder. Thinking across New Zealand's twentieth-century leaders – Bill Massey, Joseph Ward, Michael Savage, Peter Fraser, Sid Holland, Keith Holyoake, Norm Kirk, Robert Muldoon, David Lange – it is easy to see the possibilities (perhaps it is only the bulky Dick Seddon or hill-climbing Helen Clark who remotely resemble sporting figures).

If Grant's article tells us something of the long span and variety of sporting imagery, Paul Diamond's discussion takes us to a particular moment. In two cartoons, one by Neil Lonsdale a month before the Springboks versus Māori match played as part of the famous Springbok rugby team's tour of New Zealand in 1956, and one published the Monday following the disappointing 37-0 loss by the local team, drawn by Harry Dansey, Diamond shows the potential of a close examination of the cartoonists' craft. His analysis shows how cartoons provide a way to access a particular contemporary mode of thinking and being, that 'feel of the time' that is so quickly obscured by the roll of subsequent events. Lonsdale gives us caricature Māori, Dansey a modern and variable figure. The 1956 that is peeled back may show some of the conformist complacency associated with the mid-1950s, but Diamond's study tells us more about the nature of the quietude. In doing so, it provides us with a stronger base from which to explain the disturbance

that came soon after in the 1959–60 campaign against the non-selection of Māori players for the 1960 All Black tour to South Africa (a campaign orchestrated by the Citizens' All Black Tour Association) and the post-1969 battles fought over all forms of sporting contact with South Africa.

Grant and Diamond illustrate the way in which sport provides a language with which to talk about things off the field: about winning and losing, right and wrong behaviour, strength and weakness. In turn, sport's innocent status provides a place where 'loaded' subjects – race, class divisions, physical attributes – can be discussed in an apparently 'unloaded' apolitical environment.

Sport as a reason for travel, and travel as an occasion for making a record (keeping a diary, writing reports for the press, taking photographs, making movies) is a pattern recurring through these articles and the collections from which they are drawn. This feature is most obvious in Walter Cook's discussion of the little known expedition made by Dora de Beer and her companions in 1938. De Beer, the Australian-born, London-resident granddaughter of Bendix and Mary Hallenstein, travelled to the Yulong Xue Shan mountains in Yunnan, south-west China, in 1938 with the goal of attempting unclimbed Mt Sansato. The party included several other women and men mountaineers whose experience had been gained in New Zealand's Southern Alps. De Beer's expedition, while remarkable, can be seen in the context of intense western interest in China in the 1930s and of an international mountaineering community with strong imperial contours.

New Zealanders Robin Hyde and James Bertram were among those who travelled to China in the 1930s (rather than taking the more well-worn route of political travellers to Spain). Missionaries, YMCA and YWCA workers, and civil and military administrators in the British colonial service were already part of a well established network across India and many parts of Asia – part of the formal and informal 'webs' of British and other European empires still firmly intact at this time.[2] De Beer and her party approached their mountains via Burma. Their paths trod ground familiar to readers of Orwell and more recently, James C. Scott's highly original study of the upland south-east Asia region he names 'Zomia'. In *The Art of Not Being Governed* Scott describes this zone as one of the last and largest places where people evaded incorporation into, and government by, nation states.[3] De Beer's expedition provides a contemporary view into such a place, and the construction of it in the record made for consumption in 'the West'. Cook's discussion is a reminder not only of the inextricable links between personal travel accounts and sporting endeavours, but also of the strong imperial texture to New Zealand's sporting culture.[4]

In Colquhoun and Ryan's articles two very contrasting realms of sporting activity come to the fore. In the exploits of Catherine Wiltshire, it is the theatrical world of sporting performance of the mid-1870s. Wiltshire, a 23-year-old assisted

immigrant from London, became the acclaimed 'greatest pedestrienne in the world' following her 100-mile walk within 24 hours, a record-breaking achievement performed in Auckland in 1876. Wiltshire and husband Thomas, a 30-year-old plate layer and fellow migrant on the *Pleiades*, took on the risky, but opportunist, venture of sports as entertainment within a year of arriving in the colony and marrying. In the settler townships and districts of 1870s, New Zealand people were eager to get on by working hard – but they also had an appetite for diversion and entertainment; an interest in a bit of light relief on Saturday night. The Wiltshires' enterprise came at a time of worldwide enthusiasm for 'pedestrianism': walking and running events performed inside as well as outside, against the clock as often as against other competitors. Colquhoun's article brings the Wiltshires to attention for the first time. And it is through fragments retrieved via the searching powers opened up by *Papers Past* (http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz), the digital collection of newspapers, that Colquhoun and Ryan piece together what were highly local, fragmentary, sparsely recorded, and thus, ephemeral contemporary events and characters.

Catherine Wiltshire's specially designed 'walking costume' (revealing bare arms, bare legs, and worn with free-flowing hair), and the worldwide reporting of her feats, are among the many gems Colquhoun unearths. The contrast between Wiltshire and the costumes worn by Ryan's axemen, and their physiques, could hardly be greater. Described as the 'Hercules' of the bush, the axemen who gathered from the 1890s into the early twentieth century during the heyday of professional competitive axe chopping were burly, muscular, and stepped up to their blocks wearing slightly tidier versions of work clothes – woollen trousers and singlets. Yet far from opening up a view of disorderly frontier masculinity, axe competitions were highly organised and formal affairs with rules, conventions, routines, ethics and significant prize monies. One of the many illuminating features to emerge from Ryan and Colquhoun's discussions are the social geographies. In the axe-chopping world of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the townships of Eltham, Tuatapere and Raetihi were capitals of highest endeavour, the centres of competition and seats of governing power in the sport.

David Colquhoun and Greg Ryan's discussions take us to the colourful, always changing and highly competitive world of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century sport. Physical prowess mixed with a robust sociability. Drinking, gambling, the excitement of a spectacle and meeting-up were all part of the scene. Set notions about amateurism and the rule of regional or national associations were yet to come. Always lurking at the edges was the taint of disorder, sleaze and compromised respectability. Catherine Wiltshire's decorum was preserved by her status as a married woman, and by her speed. The axemen voluntarily policed betting at competitions when the anti-gambling lobby became vocal. But not far

away were the dens of smoke, unrestrained betting, grog-saturated entertainments, hoteliers on the make, scanty clothing and sweaty bodies, dodgy entrepreneurs: the Wiltshires were not the only ones who found they had to leave town in a hurry. Imagining such a world casts modern sports bonanzas as sanitised Sunday picnics by comparison. Colquhoun and Ryan's discussion very nicely brings into view the longer-term cycles of professional and 'amateur' sports. The longer continuities in kinds of professionalism proves the enduring pattern; the mid-twentieth-century strict demarcation between 'amateur' and 'professional' emerges as the aberration.

All five articles provide a taste of the riches in the Turnbull Library collections, and of the questions and pursuits researchers bring to those collections. For all that the 'national sports' of rugby, cricket and netball hog the limelight, this issue of the *Turnbull Library Record* demonstrates the much larger and more mixed ecology of leisure, of competition and sports, of spectators, gamblers and participants of many kinds. It also tells us something of the ways sport provides a language and a place for discussions that are not about games, but are about who we are and what we think is right.

ENDNOTES

1 Ramachandra Guha, *A Corner of a Foreign Field: The Indian History of a British Sport* (London: Picador, 2002); Barbara J. Keys, *Globalizing Sport: National Rivalry and International Community in the 1930s* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2006); Tony Collins and Wray Vamplew, *Mud, Sweat and Beers: A Cultural History of Sport and Alcohol* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2002).

2 Tony Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire: Locating New Zealand's Colonial Past* (Wellington: Bridget Williams, 2012).

3 James C. Scott, *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009).

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MRS. J. L. WILTSHIRE, THE NEW ZEALAND PEDESTRIAN.—(See "*By-the-Bye.*")

Catherine Wiltshire in 1876. This English illustration was copied from a (now lost) photograph taken in Auckland at the time of her famous 100-mile 24-hour walk. *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 22 July 1876, p. 416. Image provided by the State Library of Victoria.

The Remarkable Mrs Wiltshire:
'Greatest Female Pedestrienne in the World!'

DAVID COLQUHOUN

On a Friday evening in 1876, a crowd gathered at the City Hall on Auckland's Queen Street for an entertainment rather different from the usual night at the theatre. Mrs Wiltshire, pedestrienne, was about to attempt a walk of 100 miles in 24 hours. The hall had been carefully measured that morning. The inside circumference was 62 yards. That meant 2,833 circuits before her scheduled finish time on Saturday night.[1]

There had been considerable interest beforehand. It was, said the *Auckland Star*, 'A feat which has never before been attempted by any female inhabitant of our planet'.[2] At that time the barrier of 100 miles in 24 hours had something of the mystique of the four-minute mile many decades later. Some of the best long-distance male walkers had only recently achieved it. Just a month earlier, an Englishman had extended the record to 109.5 miles.[3]

Mrs Wiltshire's abilities were already known in the city. Two weeks before, her pedestrian husband had completed a walk of 250 miles in 100 hours, and Mrs Wiltshire had accompanied him each evening, doing several timed miles with piano accompaniment – her best was a fast 7 minutes 57 seconds.[4] There was no doubt, concluded the *Daily Southern Cross*, that she was 'the fastest female walker against time that has ever appeared in the colonies'.[5]

Some wondered if a woman, especially one so petite – she weighed just seven stone (44 kg) – could possibly manage 100 miles. 'Her physique does not give token of much power of endurance', commented a *New Zealand Herald* reporter.[6] Well-known Queen Street merchant F. H. Lewisson was a keen supporter though. He advertised his willingness to bet on her success. In response, the publican of the Occidental Hotel put up £25 that she would fail.[7] Her good looks added to the interest. 'She is both graceful and pleasing, and of good figure', said the *New Zealand Herald* reporter, just one of many such comments throughout her walking career.[8] It all added to the anticipation that Friday night.

At 8.30 Mrs Wiltshire was introduced on the stage by her husband. She was

in her walking costume, described on another occasion as like that 'usually worn by trapeze performers'.[9] As she stepped onto the floor the Artillery Band began to play, and she began her circuits around the seated audience. They soon began to melt away for there was not much to see yet. As with all such long-distance pedestrian events, most entertainment came nearer the finishing time.

Through the early morning hours Queen Street revelry inevitably intruded. For several hours a tipsy sailor walked along in the lead, carrying a flag, singing and chatting to whoever would listen.[10] It is unlikely Mrs Wiltshire was amused. By then she was struggling with ankle pain and lack of sleep. She was grateful though for the arm and respectable company of Mrs Dennes, the wife of another prominent Queen Street businessman, who walked with her for 20 miles through Saturday morning.[11]

By the afternoon she was recovering. At 6.30 p.m., with just 2.5 miles to go, she took a break, getting ready for a strong finish. By 7.30 the hall was full. The Artillery Band struck up and she stepped up the pace. Her backer, Mr Lewisson, had advertised that he would join her for the last miles, but he could not keep up – 'he had to make short runs to avoid being distanced altogether', reported the *Daily Southern Cross*, and had to 'divest himself of his coat, collar and necktie ... the perspiration streamed from his face'. Meanwhile, the paper went on to say,

> the constant clapping of hands and waving of hats and handkerchiefs as Mrs Wiltshire successively appeared at each corner, culminated at the last few rounds into a perfect furore of excitement. The band had struck up 'See the conquering hero comes', and Mrs Wiltshire retired to the last notes of that appropriate air amid deafening applause from the audience.[12]

It was her greatest pedestrian moment. Perhaps she really now was what her advertising had already claimed – 'The Greatest Female Pedestrienne in the World!'[13] Reports of her success were published throughout Australasia.[14] Lewisson sent a photograph of her in her walking costume to the popular British weekly *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, which published a drawing copied from it (along with Lewisson's statement that she was 'the best bit of pluck that ever wore petticoats').[15] It is the only image so far found of Mrs Wiltshire at the height of her fame.

The following is an account of the remarkable, and forgotten, pedestrian careers of Mrs Wiltshire and her husband, and discuss their unusual place in the history of early New Zealand sport and entertainment.

Pedestrianism was the name given to foot-racing (both running and walking) in the early and middle decades of the nineteenth century. It had become a very popular sport in parts of England, the United States, and the eastern colonies of Australia.[16] By the early 1870s that pedestrian enthusiasm had spread to New Zealand. When the English runners Frank Hewitt and A. E. Bird, along with Australian J. G. Harris, arrived in Auckland in 1871 for a national tour, for example, a local paper reported 'a perfect mania for pedestrianism has affected our fellow citizens and for weeks past running matches have been of almost daily occurrence'.[17]

Foot-racing had always been part of the Anniversary Day fêtes and other holiday festivities from the early 1840s. From the 1860s, Caledonian games and other community sports days became a popular part of the sporting summer in most New Zealand towns, with foot-racing always one of the core events.[18] Over time prize money increased, competition became more intense, times were kept, distances measured, and the best pedestrians began to acquire national reputations. Through the 1870s and 1880s the best-known pedestrians also relied on contests organised between themselves, or by publicans and other entrepreneurs, often for stakes provided by gambler backers.[19] As in Britain, the respectable middle classes also began to take an interest in foot-racing. They formed New Zealand's first amateur athletic clubs, and tried to segregate themselves from the professional taint of working-class pedestrianism, although it was many more years before their competitions had wide popular appeal.[20]

For most spectators and participants pedestrianism involved races ranging from sprints to walking or running races over several miles, usually outdoors, on a suitable paddock. However, walking extremely long distances, usually around very small indoor courses, was also part of the sport, with a long history. The most famous pedestrian of all in the 1870s was still Captain Barclay Allardice, whose best-known feat was his 1,000-mile walk in 1,000 hours at Newmarket, near London, in 1809. What made that particularly challenging was not the actual distance, given he had almost six weeks to do it, but the commitment to one mile every hour, without fail. That meant walking one mile at the end of an hour and one at the beginning of the next hour, allowing a 1.5-or-so hour break between each session. Few had thought it possible, and he won £16,000 in wagers.[21]

Barclay's walks entered pedestrian folklore. Many years later others still sought to emulate him, including two Australian women in 1859 and 1860. One of them, Mrs Douglas, went on to do it three times.[22] By the 1870s New Zealand newspapers were reporting on new long-distance walking exploits such as the epic trans-Atlantic match-ups between the Americans Edward Weston and Daniel O'Leary, and the Englishman William Perkins.[23] No-one had attempted such long-distance walking in New Zealand, though, before the arrival of the Wiltshires.

The Wiltshires met on the voyage to New Zealand, on the immigrant ship *Pleiades*, in late 1872. Joseph Lewis Wiltshire was a 30-year old railways plate layer from Berkshire. Catherine Sara Rider was 19, described in official documents variously as a servant or a dressmaker. She was from St Pancras in London, daughter of a private in the British Army. Four months after their arrival they were married in Christchurch.[24]

Joseph had been a long-distance pedestrian in England and was soon planning to impress his new country with something never before seen in New Zealand – a solo 1,000-mile walk in 1,000 hours, following the same strict one-mile-in-every-hour regime as Captain Barclay. It took place on a paddock near the Christchurch railway station, where he built a paling fence enclosure, 135 yards in circumference, with a roof over the track, lights so that he could be seen at night, and an internal room for his rest breaks. Newspaper advertisements and posters were paid for, two timekeepers were hired, and someone to look after the gate – all a very big undertaking for a wage labourer. He hoped that admission charges (1 shilling, or a season ticket of £1), and wagers against him succeeding, would make him a profit. At least £150 was bet on the event, although it is not known if he received any of it.[25]

Those who paid their shilling got to see what the *Press* described as 'a man of middle size, powerfully built' (he was regarded as good looking), with 'a fresh springy style of getting over the ground'.[26] At a time when most people walked everywhere the walking itself was hardly unusual, although if there was a crowd he would often demonstrate his speed. It was the endurance aspect that was the novelty. Attendance increased as he struggled to the end of his 41.5 days and nights of walking.[27]

Overall, though, there was not the public interest he had hoped for. As a *Press* humorist put it:

> I can get up a decent amount of interest over ordinary pedestrian business, such as the annual hurdle race at the pedestrian sports, where one-half of the competitors are expected by the audience to fall into the water-jump, but to see a man walk a mile, even it be the 999th, excites no thrillment in my mind.[28]

Nevertheless, Joseph declared his willingness to do it all again 'for an adequate consideration'. One of the best-known pedestrians of the time, 'Young' Austin, offered to take him on for £500-a-side. But nothing came of it, possibly because Joseph could not find a backer willing to put up the money.[29]

Catherine's debut came a year later, in Dunedin. Joseph was attempting his second 1,000-miler, this time inside a marquee beside the Princess Theatre in High Street. Catherine set about walking 500 miles, a half-mile every hour, during her husband's rest breaks. The novelty of a woman pedestrian meant much more public interest, and the newspaper coverage provides some insight into what the spectators saw. She 'was dressed in a very neat walking costume', reported the *Otago Daily Times*, 'and occasionally shook her beautiful jet black curls as she advanced on her journey'. Other little details add to the picture, such as the 'knobby little stick' she carried, 'which she occasionally makes good use of by knocking the heads of little boys who endeavour to peep through the canvas'.[30]

It was, those visiting the marquee were told, 'the greatest pedestrian feat ever performed in the southern hemisphere', but in the end they both failed to finish. After 630 miles Joseph fell sick, 'becoming very dizzy, and ... going into several fits'. He recovered, although at times 'his unsteady gait ... was proof he could only be partly conscious'. Catherine was struggling too – 'on one occasion there was a difficulty in rousing her – she having to be carried into the ring and roughly handled'.[31] Around about this time a local doctor volunteered to give his services free, because of 'his scientific view of the subject'.[32] Many spectators shared his fascination, although the *Otago Witness* columnist failed to see the point of it all. 'Mrs W. may faint, Mr W. may get dizzy', he wrote, but the doctor was the only one to gain as 'he will be able to inform the public in a neatly got up pamphlet how many miles and half-miles it takes to kill a man and a woman in a given time'.[33]

At around the three-quarter mark Catherine gave up.[34] Without the main attraction Joseph soon withdrew too, even though he had done 800 miles and was walking well again. He was penniless, he explained to the press, and had he continued 'others would have reaped the benefit'.[35] By then there were court charges against him for the non-payment of printers' bills.[36] Most likely costs were outrunning gate takings once Catherine succumbed.

This disappointment did not dissuade the Wiltshires. They turned instead to shorter pedestrian performances, more suited to the professional theatre and music hall circuit. Quite likely inspiration came from the benefit concert organised for them after their Dunedin failure by sympathetic local thespians. The Wiltshires took part, each walking a timed mile for the audience's entertainment.[37] The next month Joseph organised a similar two-night variety show at the Masonic Hall in Oamaru, their home town. He headed the bill, doing a three-quarter mile in 6.25 minutes, with support acts of singers, comedians and dancers. On the second night Mrs Wiltshire, 'in a suit of tartan', joined in with a five-minute half mile. The local paper gave it a very mixed review, but it was the start of the Wiltshires' unique brand of theatrical pedestrianism.[38]

There was a lull in their performing careers in 1875. Catherine had their first

child, Charles, who sadly died at the end of the year, aged just four months.[39] They were living in Oamaru, and Joseph was making a living doing contract manual work, regularly advertising for 'excavating, fencing, well-sinking etc'.[40] Both, though, maintained their passion for pedestrian performance. In August Joseph completed a 250-miler, in 100 hours, two-and-a-half miles each hour, in the Oamaru Volunteer Hall, starting on a Tuesday and finishing on Saturday night. It was a great success, for pedestrianism was very popular in Oamaru just then. At the local cricket ground the previous weekend William Edwards, an Australian pedestrian well known throughout New Zealand, had defeated the Oamaru favourite in front of a large crowd.[41] The following Saturday afternoon another well-known pedestrian, 'Young' Delaney, demonstrated his abilities.[42] That evening the locals crowded the Volunteer Hall to cheer on one of their own. After Joseph's fast last mile, proud speeches were made and, the local paper reported, 'the couch on which Mr Wiltshire was reclining was then carried shoulder high to his residence, headed by the band playing, and followed by hundreds of people'.[43]

A few months later Catherine also had a successful solo debut in Milton, with an attempt to walk 12 miles in two hours. 'There was a very large attendance', reported the *Clutha Leader*. Backed by the Milton Brass Band, who 'played several first class selections and gallops', she finished with a 'splendid spurt' over the last mile, which carried her home with one minute to spare.[44]

In early 1876, after the death of Charles, the couple commenced their most intensive period of pedestrianism. Their new act combined the two walking feats they had separately trialled in Oamaru and Milton – Joseph would do his 250 miles in 100 hours, with Catherine joining him in the evenings to demonstrate her speed, usually with some kind of musical accompaniment. The first performance was in Timaru, followed by Christchurch, Wellington, Napier and Auckland. It was after their Auckland 250-miler, in April, that Catherine did her best-known walk, the 100 miles in 24 hours described in the opening to this article.

Catherine's speed aroused considerable interest among the followers of foot-racing. Some wondered how fast she really was compared with the best male race walkers. In Wellington, that led to a unique challenge – a walking competition between her and William Edwards – a rare example of a man-against-woman match-up in early New Zealand sport. It took place in the Oddfellows Hall on Lambton Quay, watched by a big and noisy Saturday night crowd (which would have pleased the Wiltshires, for they received the gate takings). Catherine was to walk six miles to Edwards's seven. She went first and did a fast 57 minutes 40 seconds, but Edwards managed to do his seven miles 15 seconds quicker. Nevertheless, pedestrian enthusiasts were impressed. Despite her 'somewhat slender' appearance, commented a reporter, there was 'an air of determination about her which showed she was capable of great things'.[45]

The Odd Fellows Hall on Lambton Quay, Wellington. A big crowd gathered there on a late-summer Saturday night in 1876 to see Catherine Wiltshire compete against William Edwards, one of Australasia's best pedestrians. She walked six miles around the inside of the hall, then Edwards walked seven. He just managed to beat her time, by 15 seconds. Photographer unknown (ATL ref. PAColl-4558-1-34)

After the 100-mile walk in the Auckland City Hall theatre there was another male challenge, this time from J. Mahon, a local walker of lesser ability than Edwards, for £20-a-side, over six miles. Over 600 people crowded into a small Lorne Street hall to watch. Mahon went first, starting fast and finishing in 65 minutes. Catherine started more slowly and was soon behind schedule, but then increased the pace. There was 'quite a furore', wrote the *Auckland Star*, with "her sprightly tripping in the last two miles', but she finished three minutes outside Mahon's time. A reporter commented that she would have done better if she had waited another week to recover from her 100-mile effort.[46] Catherine must have agreed because she challenged Mahon to compete over the same distance again, this time for £100-a-side, but he refused.[47]

The Wiltshires' final Auckland engagement was much less successful. The promoter of the Ellerslie Gardens track, the main venue for professional foot-racing in Auckland at that time, hired her to do a demonstration walk. Catherine was backed £20 to walk a mile in seven-and-a-half minutes, and £30 to do two miles in 16.5 minutes.[48] Those were times she could have done on a hard hall floor, but she had never race-walked on an outdoor course before, or worn the spiked shoes necessary for the rough and damp surface. Her mile took a disappointing 12 minutes. Most of the small crowd had left before the two-mile attempt began.[49]

By then, though, the Wiltshires had already launched a new act – Wiltshire's United Pedestrian and Comedian Troupe – an improved version of the variety show put on in Oamaru two years earlier. They opened in Thames in late May 1876. Along with the Wiltshire's timed walks, an Irish comedian, vocalists and dancers, was the 'first appearance of the Little Wonder', which seems to have been a dramatic piece featuring Catherine's singing debut.[50]

No doubt the plan was to hone the act in smaller towns before offering it to city theatre promoters. It was not to be. From Thames they went to New Plymouth for a three-night season, where the local paper gave a positive if slightly bemused review.[51] That was as good as it got. At Waitara the crowd was enthusiastic but very small. By then debts were outrunning income and the troupe attempted a quick getaway by local schooner. Unfortunately for them, reported the *Taranaki News*, 'Nemesis ... who is said to avenge unpaid washerwomen on cheating sailors, maintained the defence of unpaid printers and others by driving the fugitives back to the Waitara.'[52] Presumably the bills were paid, and the troupe disbanded.

It was not quite the end of the Wiltshires' pedestrian careers. They were in Greytown, just the two of them, the following month, offering a show at the Town Hall, to be followed by a quadrille ball. The local paper urged attendance – 'Mrs Wiltshire's pedestrian powers are really splendid and require to be seen to be believed' – but it was a very small house. The following day there was a two-mile match between two local walkers. Afterwards the loser walked against Catherine, and the local paper reported that he 'as a matter of course, permitted the lady to win.'[53] We will never know if he was being gallant, or if Catherine was just too fast.

The final act took place back in Wellington, where Joseph commenced one last 1,000-miler, following his usual 'Captain Barclay' regime of one mile every hour. This time his walking circuit was inside a timber enclosure adjoining the Waterloo Hotel at Kaiwharawhara.[54] He added to the interest by organising running races, every Saturday afternoon, during one of his rest breaks. They proved popular, despite the tiny size of the track.[55] Soon, though, Wellington's winter southerlies proved too much and he moved to the Victoria Grounds on Abel Smith Street.[56] He managed to finish, despite his exhaustion over the last few hundred miles.

Catherine did no walking this time. Possibly she was pregnant again. She was there, though, supporting her husband when, about halfway through his walk, he was charged in court with assault with a revolver. Still walking, Joseph counter-charged the complainant with threatening language. Eventually the charges were withdrawn, but not before Catherine had appeared for him in court and created some alarm by waving the revolver around in a way, wrote one reporter, 'which suggested the painful thought that it might go off and kill somebody'.[57]

After his 1,000 miles Joseph told a local reporter of new pedestrian plans,

LORNE-STREET HALL.

TO-NIGHT! TO-NIGHT!

THE GREAT WALKING MATCH!!!

FOR £20 A SIDE, BETWEEN

MRS. WILTSHIRE AND MR. J. MAHON,

TO-NIGHT, AT 8 O'CLOCK.

Admission: 2s. and 1s. Reserved Seats for Ladies.
Doors open at 7.30.

LORNE-STREET HALL.

SPORTS! SPORTS! SPORTS!

MR. AND MRS. WILTSHIRE

will commence their Great Feats on

TUESDAY EVENING, 18TH APRIL, 1876.

Go and see the Great 1,000-mile Walking Match, accompanied by the Greatest Female Pedestrienne in the World.
Doors open day and night. See bills.

1000 MILES IN 1000 HOURS

MR J. LOUIS WILTCHIRE'S GREAT WALKING MATCH,

First time attempted in New Zealand, to Walk one mile in every hour until 1000 miles are completed.

Time :—

5 WEEKS, 6 DAYS, and 16 HOURS.

MR. J. LOUIS WILTCHIRE, STARTED on WEDNESDAY EVENING the 14th of MAY, at 8 o'clock, at the Paddock of Mr Wilson, Madras street, opposite Barrett's Hotel, near the Railway.

Mr WILTCHIRE starts EACH DAY at a quarter to 12, and again one minute past 12, and so on through the alternate hours.

Admission to the grounds, 1s; Tickets for the Season, £1. 5-7 3405

ODD FELLOWS' HALL.

SATURDAY AND MONDAY,

JUNE 3rd and 5th.

WILTSHIRE GREAT VARIETY TROUPE!

MRS. WILTSHIRE,

In her Great Feats;

THE GREATEST LADY PEDESTRIAN IN THE WORLD!

MR. J. L. WILTSHIRE,

THE

GREAT 1,000 MILE PEDESTRIAN!

MISS NELLY HARPER,

The Charming Songstress.

MR. E. ALEXANDER,

Irish and Scotch Comedian,

IN SONGS, DUETS, AND COMIC SKETCHES.

MISS KATE RYDER,

In her Sentimental and Comic Songs.

GO AND SEE THE LITTLE WONDER!

ADMISSION: 3s., 2s., and 1s.

Doors open at half-past 7, to commence at 8 o'clock. 446

Some of the newspaper advertisements for the Wiltshire performances. Much of their advertising was done through posters, but no examples have survived. Clockwise from bottom left: *Press*, 30 May 1873 p. 4; *New Zealand Herald*, 14 April 1876, p. 1; *New Zealand Herald*, 15 May 1876, p. 1; *Taranaki News*, 3 June 1876, p. 3.

including a 1,500-mile walk in Melbourne. But perhaps Catherine had had enough. Instead the couple moved to Marton. The following year they opened a new hotel there. Later they moved to Palmerston North, where Joseph established a small advertising agency for visiting theatre acts. His name appears regularly in newspaper reports about local affairs, but very little is known of Catherine's later life. She raised a large family and, according to family accounts, was a renowned singer and active in her church.[58]

When Joseph died in 1906 an obituary in the local paper mentioned his early walking achievements, but not those of Catherine.[59] She outlived another husband, and married a third. After her death in 1925, though, she was reunited with Joseph in the Terrace End cemetery in Palmerston North. There was no obituary.

The Wiltshires gave up long-distance pedestrianism at a time when international interest in it was reaching new levels of excitement. That interest had faded away again by the late 1880s in favour of professional and amateur track racing that much more closely resembled modern athletics. Before then, though, British and American gamblers and spectators flocked to smoky halls to cheer on their favourites in 24-hour, 100-mile, six-day and other variants of the long-distance walking race. In America, women also took up long-distance pedestrianism. One study suggests that the public reaction to such women performers was initially relatively positive, but became much less so as the events became more competitive, and distances more extreme.[60]

In New Zealand, too, interest in long-distance walking increased, although such events were inevitably more low-key than in the big overseas cities. The local hero was Joseph Scott who, in 1875, at just 15, walked 100 miles in a faster time than Edwards had done the previous month. During the next few years he won nearly everything he competed in, including victories in Australia, before finishing his career with a 'world championship' title in a 12-hour-a-day, six-day race in London in 1888.[61]

These new pedestrian match-ups were rather different to the pedestrianism of the Wiltshires. Joseph always preferred the 'Barclay' style, of one person walking to achieve a distance or time target, and throughout his New Zealand walking career seems never to have competed in a long-distance event against an opponent. He often advertised his willingness to do so, but it is likely that he actually preferred to perform solo or with Catherine, in venues organised by himself, on his own terms.

For Catherine the options were more limited. There were no other pedestriennes in New Zealand to compete against. Her experiment of competing against male walkers was not likely to be lucrative if she was always destined to lose. More importantly, it ran the risk of besmirching her reputation. The professional male version of her long-distance pedestrianism was a sometimes disreputable activity, seen by some as too closely associated with public houses, betting and male rowdiness.[62]

Instead she and her husband turned to the world of theatre, where woman performers were accepted. One popular writer has recently written, in regard to the American pedestriennes, that there was 'something sleazy and daring about it: pedestriennes weren't much better than actresses',[63] but the Wiltshires were aiming for a higher tone than that. Their first variety show, in Oamaru in 1874, had been criticised for some unseemliness, but they quickly toned down the offending act for the second night.[64] Later reviews and accounts of their various performances suggest that their shows were seen as a more respectable entertainment, suitable for ladies, compared with the arenas of male pedestrianism. Their performances were even seen as morally improving. The *Herald* review of the opening night of the Auckland 250-miler, for example, praised the Wiltshires for:

> their endeavours to direct the attention of all to the desirability of improving the mental as well as the physical powers. We would much rather have our young men animated by a desire to emulate and excel in this way, than to see them lounging about the bars and billiard halls of public houses.[65]

Even Catherine's sometimes daring performance attire escaped censure. The English *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News* could not resist commenting that the costume shown in their illustration reminded them of Byron's line, 'half naked, loving, natural and Greek'. No doubt it was because of the balmy Auckland climate, suggested the writer.[66] She did not always appear in such revealing costume, but throughout her career there was no such innuendo in New Zealand newspapers.[67] Her attire was accepted as necessary for such physical feats. Her good looks were an attraction but her status as a married woman, always appearing with her husband, helped maintain propriety.

Theatre performances, though, were not the way of the future for pedestrianism. No doubt the Wiltshires in full flight would have been worth seeing – circling the audience, to stirring music, a good-looking couple clad in daringly modern sportswear, moving very fast. But those who enjoyed foot-racing would have missed the excitement, gambling opportunities, and unpredictability of competitive sport. For theatregoers, on the other hand, solo pedestrianism was inevitably rather dull, lacking the appeal of song, dance and the artful words of other theatrical entertainments. Ultimately, the Wiltshire brand of pedestrianism was never going to succeed.

Nevertheless, the Wiltshires' remarkable pedestrian exploits deserve to be remembered. Catherine, in particular, has a unique place in the history of New Zealand sport. She is arguably New Zealand's first nationally-known sportswoman, certainly a very fast walker, and a forgotten pioneer of modern athletics.

ENDNOTES

1 *Auckland Star*, 5 May 1876, p. 3.

2 *Auckland Star*, 3 May 1876, p. 2.

3 P. S. Marshall, *King of the Peds* (Milton Keynes: AuthorHouse, 2008), pp. 55; 102–3. At almost exactly the same time as Mrs Wiltshire was completing her walk, English pedestrian Henry Vaughan 'hobbled and staggered' his way to a new mark of 120 miles (p. 103). In New Zealand, visiting Australian pedestrian William Edwards and Dunedin's Joseph Scott had both done the 100 miles in 24 hours in 1874.

4 *New Zealand Herald*, 21 April 1876, p. 2. On other occasions she was said to have done 7.5 minutes for a timed mile. For those interested in modern-day comparisons the winner of the women's 20,000-metre (just over 12-mile) race walk at the 2012 Olympic Games did each mile in under seven minutes.

5 *Daily Southern Cross*, 1 May 1876, p. 2.

6 *New Zealand Herald*, 6 May 1876, p. 5.

7 *Auckland Star*, 5 May 1876 p. 3; 6 May 1876, p. 3.

8 *New Zealand Herald*, 20 April 1876, p. 2.

9 *Thames Herald*, 7 June 1876, p. 2.

10 *Auckland Star*, 8 May 1876, p. 3.

11 *New Zealand Herald*, 8 May 1876, p. 2.

12 *Daily Southern Cross*, 8 May 1876, p. 3.

13 *Auckland Star*, 18 April 1876, p. 3.

14 See, for example, *Argus*, 24 May 1876, p. 7; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 May 1876, p. 3.

15 *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 22 July 1876, pp. 414; 416.

16 For a historical summary of early English pedestrianism and athletics, see Peter Lovesay, *The Official Centenary History of the Amateur Athletic Association* (London: Guinness Superlatives, 1979), pp. 14–23. For America, see John Cumming, *Runners and Walkers: A Nineteenth Century Sports Chronicle* (Chicago: Regnery Gateway, 1981). For Australia, see Percy Mason, *Professional Athletics in Australia* (Adelaide: Rigby, 1985), pp. 1–15.

17 *Auckland Star*, 23 March 1871, p. 2.

18 For an insight into this strand of pedestrianism see G. T. Vincent, '"Stupid, Uninteresting and Inhuman": Pedestrianism in Canterbury, 1860–1885'. *Sporting Traditions* (November 2001): 47 and Alison Grant's unpublished Doctoral thesis, *Feasts and Fasts: Holidays, Religion and Ethnicity in Nineteenth-Century Otago*, University of Otago, 2003, pp. 138–154.

19 See G. T. Vincent, '"Stupid, Uninteresting and Inhuman", pp. 43–55; David Grant, *On a Roll: A History of Gambling and Lotteries in New Zealand* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1994), pp. 38–47.

20 G. T. Vincent, '"Impossibly Elitist and Snobbish": Amateurism in Canterbury, 1850–1880: The Examples of Aquatics and Athletics'. *ASSH Bulletin* (December 1999): 5–12. The history of nineteenth-century New Zealand pedestrianism and athletics is still fragmentary. For a very brief overview see David Colquhoun, 'Athletics', *Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, http://www.teara.govt.nz (forthcoming 2013).

21 For the impressive Captain Barclay, see Peter Radford, *The Celebrated Captain Barclay: Sport, Money and Fame in Regency Britain* (London: Headline, 2001); Thor Gotass, *Running: A Global History* (London: Reaktion, 2011), pp. 93–97.

22 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 April 1859, p. 6; 25 October 1859, p. 3; 11 February 1865, p, 7; *Melbourne Argus*, 22 September 1859, p. 5.

23 For a summary of Weston's career, see Cumming, *Runners and Walkers*, pp. 77–128. For an example of New Zealand news reports on such events in the 1870s, see *Grey River Argus*, 4 August 1870, p. 4; *New Zealand Herald*, 13 May 1876, p. 1.

24 *Pleiades* passenger list, Im 15/28, Archives NZ; Intention to marry register, BDM 201/18, p. 597/2899, Archives NZ.

25 *Star*, 15 May 1873, p. 2; *Press* 15 May 1873, p. 2. It is not known if Joseph had a backer, or paid for the set-up costs himself.

26 *Press*, ibid.

27 *Press*, 9 June 1873, p. 2.

28 *Press*, 2 July 1873, p. 3.

29 *Lyttelton Times*, 7 July 1873, p. 2.

30 *Otago Daily Times*, 11 July 1874, p. 2.

31 *Otago Daily Times*, 7 August 1874, p. 2.

32 *Otago Daily Times*, 5 August 1874, p. 2.

33 *Otago Witness*, 15 August 1874, p. 20.

34 *Otago Daily Times*, 13 August 1874, p. 2.

35 *Otago Daily Times*, 19 August 1874, p. 2.

36 *Otago Daily Times*, 18 August 1874, p. 3.

37 *Otago Daily Times*, 25 August 1874, p. 3 ; 26 August 1874, p. 2.

38 *North Otago Times*, 8 September 1874, p. 3; 15 September 1874, pp. 2, 3; *Bruce Herald*, 25 September 1874, p. 6.

39 *Timaru Herald*, 14 January 1876, p. 3.

40 For example, *North Otago Times*, 29 May 1875, p. 1.

41 *Otago Daily Times*, 20 July 1875, p. 3.

42 *West Coast Times*, 27 July 1875, p. 2.

43 *North Otago Times*, 27 July 1875, p. 3.

44 *Clutha Leader*, 14 October 1875, p. 5.

45 *Evening Post* , 9 March 1876 p. 2; 13 March 1876, p. 2.

46 *Auckland Star*, 15 May 1876, p. 3; *Daily Southern Cross*, 15 May 1876, p. 2.

47 *Auckland Star*, 15 May 1876, p. 3; *Daily Southern Cross*, 23 May 1876, p. 3.

48 *New Zealand Herald*, 19 May 1876, p. 1.

49 *New Zealand Herald*, 29 May 1876, p. 3.

50 *Thames Advertiser*, 19 May 1876, p. 2.

51 *Taranaki Herald*, 7 June 1876, p. 2.

52 *Taranaki News*, 17 June 1876, p. 7.

53 *Wairarapa Standard*, 18 July 1876, p. 2; 22 July 1876, p. 2.

54 *Evening Post*, 25 August 1876, p. 2.

55 *Evening Post*, 4 September 1876, p. 2; 11 September 1876, p. 2.

56 *Evening Post*, 15 September 1876, p. 2.

57 *Auckland Star*, 26 September 1876, p. 2.

58 Email communication with Laurell Ardern, September 2012.

59 *Manawatu Standard*, 10 May 1906, p. 5.

60 Dahn Shaulis, 'Pedestriennes: Newsworthy but Controversial Women in Sporting Entertainment'. *Journal of Sport History 26*, no. 1 (Spring 1999): 29–50.

61 *Marshall, King of the Peds*, pp. 657–78; Jane Thomson, 'Scott, Joseph – Biography', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2s8/1. Accessed 12 December 2012. There is some uncertainty over Scott's age. Some have claimed he was even younger when he beat Edwards.

62 See G. T. Vincent, *Sporting Traditions*, p. 53.

63 Geoff Nicholson, *The Lost Art of Walking* (New York: Riverhead, 2008), p. 76.

64 *North Otago Times*, 15 September 1874, p. 2.

65 *New Zealand Herald*, 19 April 1876, p. 3.

66 *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, p. 314. The piece was later quoted in the *Auckland Star*, 13 September 1876, p. 2.

67 A journalist reporting on a performance in Wellington just two months earlier, for example, had commented that the 'cumbersome dress she wears much impedes her progress'. *New Zealand Times*, 1 March 1876, p. 2.

Dora de Beer and Marjorie Edgar Jones sitting in their sleeping bags, on an eight-day trip down into the gorges where the Yangtze Kiang cuts through the Yulan Chan, about 20 November 1938.
Photographer unknown (ATL ref. 1/4-083252-F)

New Zealand's First Mountaineering Expedition Abroad: *The Dora de Beer Collection*

WALTER COOK

Work at the Alexander Turnbull Library is full of surprises. For most of my time working here I have been involved with photographs, a medium of infinite variety, which has required me to engage with all sorts of subjects, most of them outside my personal interests and experience. The Dora de Beer collection is one such case. It is made up of 372 film negatives dating from 1938. They arrived in New Zealand via the High Commission in London, and originally included reels of movie film. At first they were sent to Te Papa, who passed them to the New Zealand Film Archive. The archive retained the movie film and gave the negatives to the Turnbull Library. These arrived in the Photograph Archive in 1997 and were shelved to await housing and cataloguing.

For two years the collection was judged to be of low priority. Of what pressing interest was a record of somebody's holiday in China in the 1930s? China was a long way from the South Pacific and the bounds of the Turnbull Library's collecting policies. Nevertheless, collections like this are retained because those policies also require a record, in the widest sense, of 'the New Zealand experience'; this includes sample records of trips abroad made by New Zealanders.

One day my manager looked at a small group of collections which had been lingering for some time on a shelf, and directed me to clear them. I took down the negatives of the trip to China and began a process of discovery – they turned out to be a record of New Zealand's first mountaineering expedition overseas, and what really grabbed my interest was that the trip had been organised by three women mountaineers.

The Photograph Archive's extensive mountaineering collections hardly feature women at all – unless you count May Kinsey's decorative presence in camp in the 1890s, while her father and his male companions pose in full regalia ready to embark on the real thing. It's not until you get to the tramping clubs of the 1920s and 1930s that women appear in any great number among the peaks and

forests of the New Zealand landscape.

The instigator of the China expedition was an Australian, Marie Beuzeville Byles (1900–1979). She was of British Huguenot descent and had arrived in Australia with her family in 1911. Encouraged by her father and suffragette mother, who instilled in their daughter the belief that women could do anything they set their minds to and should have a profession, she became the first woman to qualify as a lawyer in the state of New South Wales. She was also an adventurous traveller, and in 1927 began a two-year world tour, leaving Sydney on a Norwegian cargo boat and returning on a Swedish one. The trip included climbing mountains in Britain, Norway and Canada, and gave her material for her book, *By Cargo Boat and Mountain* (1931). From 1929, following the example of her friend and client, Freda du Faur, Marie did a lot of climbing in the Southern Alps, including on Aoraki/Mt Cook with guide Alf Brustad on her first visit to New Zealand. In the 1930s she made first ascents of several peaks in the Mahitahi Valley, Westland. She became a member of the New Zealand Alpine Club in 1935. The Chinese expedition she planned for 1938 was to the Yulong Xue Shan (jade dragon snowy mountain) range, about 16 kilometres north of the city of Lijiang, in north-western Yunnan. Her objective was to climb the highest of the range's 13 peaks, the 6,096-metre Mt Sansato (the fan), at that time unconquered.[1]

It is perhaps not surprising that Australian mountaineering historian Will Steffen claims, in *Himalayan Dreaming*, that Marie Byles' expedition to China was the first Australian climbing trip to a big Asian mountain.[2] Although he mentions that she travelled with colleagues, he omits their names and nationalities. In the light of this view, the expedition could perhaps be more accurately called Australasia's first mountaineering trip to China, and thus include all protagonists and overcome conflicting claims as to whose national event it really was. As well as Marie, the party included four New Zealanders and one other Australian. All, except the other Australian and a Swiss-born guide, had gained their formative climbing experiences in the Southern Alps.

Before the 1900s few women had ventured into the mountains as climbers, and fewer still had attempted high alpine climbs.[3] Society's attitude towards the limitations of women in relation to such a 'masculine' activity proved a formidable barrier to those willing to make the effort. On a practical level it was considered improper that women should be alone with male guides to whom they were not related, and that they wear trousers for ease of movement and safety. The guides themselves could be much more supportive in encouraging women to climb, and mountaineering historian Graham Langton records that by 1908 Peter and Alec Graham at the Hermitage and Waiho Gorge expected that women could and should be energetic in the mountains. Guides packed trousers for the trip, so that women clients could change into them when they were out of sight of the great

encompassing cloud of disapproving witnesses.

By 1908, women were about to tackle high climbing in the New Zealand mountains, and the Australians led the way. The stimulus came from the Government Tourist Department's exhibit at the New Zealand International Exhibition in Christchurch in 1906–7. The two Australian women who responded to it were Annette Lindon and Freda du Faur. Of the two, Freda became the more famous and was the first woman to climb high in New Zealand, in 1909–10, at the age of 27. Her most famous achievement was the first grand traverse of Aoraki/Mt Cook in 1913 in the company of guides Peter Graham and Darby Thompson.

The activities of Freda du Faur initiated an era of guided mountaineering for women, and following her achievements New Zealand women began to take up the sport. By 1920, women made up about half of client climbers in the Aoraki/Mt Cook area. Langton generalises that most of them were wealthy single women, 'not in the first flush of energetic youth'. He also states that 'none of these guided women climbers were in the forefront of climbing progress in New Zealand as Freda du Faur had been. Yet from the later 1920s they did some pioneering'. Marie Byles and her two female companions on the Yunnan trip had emerged as mountaineers in the mid- to late 1920s. Their Yunnan expedition can be seen as a culminating event, a grand tour in the annals of guided mountaineering in New Zealand, where the women funded the project and the guides were both paid servants and expedition leaders.

In putting her team together, Marie Byles turned to the people she knew from her climbing experiences in New Zealand. To lead the expedition she chose Kurt Suter, who had emigrated from Switzerland in 1930 and worked as a guide mainly at the Hermitage. Marie asked him to select a second guide for the expedition, and he invited his colleague Mick Bowie, after his first choice, Jack Cox, decided he was unable to go. After the Second World War Bowie was to become head guide at the Hermitage and one of the most respected New Zealand mountain guides of his generation. Marie invited two women mountaineers who Colin Monteath calls 'the most experienced women climbers that the Southern Alps had yet produced'.[4] They were Marjorie Edgar Jones and Dora de Beer.

Marjorie's father, Edgar Jones, was born in England but by the 1900s was part of the Canterbury landed gentry, and from 1900 to 1913 the family home and farm was Mt Nessing Station near Aldbury, South Canterbury. In 1913 the family moved to England, where they lived for two years but again moved, this time to Los Angeles, finally returning to New Zealand in 1916. The Jones family bought Otiritiri, a large country house near Timaru, and continued in their role as members of the South Canterbury social elite. In the 1920s Edgar Jones's children adopted his first name as part of their surname. Marjorie began climbing in the Southern Alps in 1926, and this interest involved her until

1938. Marie Byles' expedition to Yunnan was Marjorie Edgar Jones's last major mountaineering endeavour.

Dora de Beer, by contrast, was a city girl, whose family's wealth came from business enterprise. She was the granddaughter of Bendix Hallenstein, famed for his Dunedin clothing factory, which opened in 1873, and for the well-known menswear outfitters Hallenstein Brothers. In 1884 he also founded the DIC department-store chain. In Dora's time the family were established in Dunedin, and though Dora had been born in Melbourne during her parents' brief soujourn there, they had returned to Dunedin in 1893, where her father, Isadore de Beer, entered the family firm to eventually become a director.

Although Dora began serious mountaineering in the Southern Alps in 1920,[5] she left New Zealand after her mother's death in 1931 to join her sister Mary and historian brother Esmond in London, where she lived until the end of her life. There, Dora had the opportunity to climb in the European Alps and communicate with experienced Himalayan climbers and alpine specialists such as Eric Shipton and Robert Lawrie. These contacts were of great help to her in her task of sourcing and selecting the best equipment for the expedition to Yunnan.

How do the three women in the expedition stack up to Langton's observation that most of the women mountaineers of this time were single, wealthy, and not in the first flush of youth? All three were single. Marjorie and Dora were blessed with private incomes, while Marie earned a good salary as a lawyer. In 1938, the year of the expedition to Yunnan, Marie was 38, Marjorie 41 and Dora 47. They fit Langton's model pretty well.

The final member of the team, the other Australian, was a young man, Fraser Radcliff, who according to Dora, 'had done little climbing but was keen and eager to see and do as much as possible'.[6] I have been unable to find out anything about Fraser, how he came to join the expedition, or what his relationship was to Marie Byles.

The travellers planned to reach Yunnan by way of Burma, which at that time was part of the British Empire and a relatively easy way into south-western China. This route also avoided those parts of China where the Sino-Japanese war was in progress. Even so, in late September during their second week in Lijiang, Japanese planes bombed Kunming, the regional capital of Yunnan, about 350 kilometres to the south-east.

When most of the party arrived in Rangoon on 2 August 1938 they found the city tense as a result of riots between the Burmese and Indian populations. It was hot, and armed police patrolled the streets. After three days of hectic shopping and receiving advice from the commissioner of police and his wife about treatments for snake bites, scorpion stings, malaria and dysentery, the party caught the train for Myitkyina, a town in north-eastern Burma not far from the Chinese border,

and the northern terminus for the railway at that time. Kurt Suter had already been in Myitkyina hiring servants and mules.

The journey to Lijiang properly begins at Myitkyina. This was definitely an experience of a different kind from that of modern tourists. When the caravan left there on 8 August it consisted of the six Europeans, 14 mules and their drivers, four riding ponies, two servants, a cook and an interpreter. They needed to be prepared. While in British-ruled Burma they had access to well-maintained Public Works Department bungalows, police commissioners and other administrative officials for advice and support. Their route into China was by the Kambaiti Pass along ancient trade tracks through mountains linking Burma to China and Tibet. Because the monsoons were late that year, the climbers were damp or wet for a lot of the time. Their accommodation would be in village inns or temples which provided shelter but not much more, and everyone would often share the same space. They were also travelling through bandit-infested country, and at one point armed soldiers were hired to guard the caravan's passage. In the event, they met with no working bandits but were advised to keep their guns handy, as 'two Catholic priests had recently been skinned alive'.[7] However, there were Europeans

Marie Byles typing at a Public Works Department bungalow, Sadon, Burma, on 12 August 1938. Sadon is east of Myitkyina, toward the Burma–China border. Photographer: Dora de Beer (ATL ref. 1/4-083446-F)

The market at Tengyueh, China. August 1938. Photographer: Dora de Beer (ATL ref. 1/4-083501-F)

present in the larger centres in Yunnan who were ready to give the expedition members help, and in one case join in some of their adventures. These people were Christian missionaries, allowed into China as a concession wrung out of the Chinese government by Britain and France in 1860 as a result of the Second Opium War.

According to Dora de Beer the distance from Myitkyina to Lijiang was over 400 miles (643 km), a bit more than the distance between Wellington and Auckland. It took the party 42 days to cover this, though only 29 were travelling days. The journey took them over some of the great rivers of Asia, beginning with the Irrawady in Burma, which they crossed in dugout canoes. In China the route crossed the Salween, Mekong, and Yangtze Kiang rivers. The China they encountered in Yunnan in 1938 was still medieval in appearance and reality. The walled cities, village inns, stone bridges, rural temples and passing caravans were probably not much different in the time of Marco Polo. A premonition of a possible future came into view when they reached the new Burma Road, the first part of a project that came to be associated with violent change and suffering.

Their first goal in Yunnan was the ancient town of Tengyueh (also called Tengchong) just across the border where there was a British consul. Most of the baggage had been sent on to Tengyueh via Bhamo and the Taping Valley, a route that avoided customs duties at the Chinese boarder which could not have been done by way of the Kambaiti Pass. The caravan not only saved on custom dues, but also missed the much worse weather and flooding on the Taping Valley route that delayed the arrival of the baggage. This part of the journey also brought out problems with the mules and the servants. The mules were in bad condition and the servants did not seem willing to live up to their profession. They were dismissed at Tengyueh, which caused the remaining servants to resign in solidarity. With the help of the consul a new team of mules and servants was put together, and when the party left the town with the extra baggage in tow the caravan consisted of about 30 mules.

The expedition's objective over the next 10 days was to travel from Tengyueh to Hsia-kwan at the junction of the road to Dali. They stopped for two nights in the walled city of Baoshan (Yungchang), where they were hosted by James Outram Fraser and his wife Roxie. Fraser had been with the Chinese Inland Mission in Yunnan since 1910, working with a Tibeto-Burmese minority people called the Lisu. As well as converting thousands of them to Christianity over the years he had made a name for himself as a scholar, creating a written language for the Lisu and a written musical notation for transcribing their oral history songs. Sadly, Dora records, a few weeks after the expedition's visit, James Fraser died of cerebral malaria (on 25 September 1938).

As the caravan approached the causeway across the plain giving access to

Baoshan, the expedition had their first view of the new Burma Road. They left Baoshan on 4 September, travelling for the first four days through villages and hilly countryside. On 8 September they reached a completed section of the Burma Road, and after hearing news that robbers had attacked a small caravan on the mule track, decided to continue along the relative safety of the road which would take them to Hsia-kwan and Dali. This included crossing a range of mountains over 2,400 metres high dividing the Mekong River from the Yang-Pi and the village of the same name. The Burma Road descends to Yang-Pi in big zig-zags and the caravan began this descent in thick cloud and falling rain. After leaving Yang-Pi they continued on to the town of Hsia-kwan, situated at the southern end of Lake Erhai, where they met a young Chinese doctor who could speak English. He alarmed the expedition by telling them that Germany had declared war on France, Russia, Czechoslovakia and England, but they decided, wisely, not to panic until they reached Dali where they could find out the truth of this from the English missionaries stationed there. This was a short journey of 16 kilometres. The three women walked the distance but the three men rode in chairs carried by bearers, while the mule caravan trailed behind.

Muleteers in the courtyard of an inn at Lashiba village, about three mule caravan hours south of Lijiang. Mule pack-saddles can be seen in the left foreground. 19 September 1938.
Photographer: Dora de Beer (ATL ref. 1/4-083472-F)

Dali, on the shores of Lake Erhai, was another ancient walled city and dated from the eighth century. It had been the capital of two successive medieval kingdoms between the eighth and thirteenth centuries and was rich in antiquities, of which the most conspicuous were the three pagodas attached to the Chong Shen Temple and built between the ninth and twelfth centuries. The expedition was met by Chinese Inland Missionaries, who reassured them they were not at war with Germany. Mrs Allan, the wife of the head of the mission station (who was absent), invited them to stay. They spent two nights in the city and during that time visited Charles Patrick Fitzgerald, a notable historian of China at that time engaged on a study of the Bai ethnic minority (also known as the Min Chia). Fitzgerald was able to give news of Mt Sansato. The year before, Professor Ivor Richards of Cambridge University and his wife Dorothy had explored the mountain and climbed one of its peaks, but judged the main peak too difficult to attempt without help.

They left Dali for Lijiang on Wednesday 14 September, having hired a military escort on the advice of Mr Allan. The two soldiers making up this escort caused some concern, as they were raggedly dressed and, as Dora observed, 'armed with umbrellas and rifles. They wore two cartridge belts that held a few odd cartridges. ... I thought it a trifle unorthodox to have the muzzles of their rifles plugged with paper. It is only fair to say that we met other soldiers within the next few days who were very neat and much better equipped'. These well-turned-out soldiers were on their way to relieve the town of Atuntzu, north of Lijiang, which was being attacked by a gang of Tibetan bandits. News from a travelling missionary that 15 robbers had been beheaded within the last few days further encouraged the party to keep their military escort, and no doubt their own guns, at the ready.

On 18 September the caravan reached Lijiang. Help had arrived in the form of three Chinese men sent by their contact, a Mr Andrews (probably Rev. James Andrews) of the Pentecostal Mission. Ominously for the expedition, the Yulong Xue Shan mountain range was hidden in cloud and rain.

The expedition members found the climate of Lijiang, situated 2,238 metres above sea level, cool. Unlike Baoshan and Dali, Lijiang was a city without walls. Another feature was and still is its ancient water supply. This comes from three sources, each with a specified use – one for human consumption, one for washing clothes, and one for washing vegetables. Water is reticulated throughout the city in canals and culverts, and Dora describes how the 'rapid little streams [that] rush in channels through the streets' give a special character to the town. Of the several ethnic minorities in the area, in Lijiang the Naxi are the largest, and the city is very much a centre of Naxi culture.

Dora confesses that in Lijiang the expedition members 'were perhaps too comfortable'. They stayed with the Andrews in the mission house, 'a rambling

Naxi women washing laundry in the public water supply near the market square, Lijiang, September 1938.
Photographer: Dora de Beer (ATL ref. 1/4-083409-F)

place built in Chinese style, with several courtyards and staircases'. It also housed three cows, two ponies, chickens and a vegetable garden, 'and even a bath, possibly the only one in Lijiang ...[and] one privy in the garden'.

In Lijiang the expedition members began preparations for climbing Mt Sansato. The servants who had been hired in Tengyueh were paid off and replaced by locals who knew the countryside and the mountains. Stores were bought and packed, and Dora and Marjorie had a tailor make them wool-lined jackets. They also spent time sightseeing in the town, and Dora particularly liked the streets where the coppersmiths worked. In her opinion the Lijiang copper pots, kettles, and trays were well made and very artistic, but not as well finished as metalware from Tibet. At that time Lijiang and its surrounding area had no tourist trade to speak of, so that all the artisans in the city produced for local consumption or traditional trade purposes. Dora found that it was impossible to buy silk in Lijiang as there was no local demand for it and no tourists to make importing it worthwhile.

The late monsoon rains had dogged the expedition from the beginning of the journey in Burma. Now the weather was to slow down the progress of reaching their goal by mid-November. On 28 September Mr Andrews, Mick and Kurt made the first trip to the mountain, to find a suitable site to set up a base camp when the weather settled. The job of the guides would then be to establish higher camps and plan the strategy of assault. On 5 October the climbing party followed five mules and their drivers, who had gone ahead carrying tents and baggage for the base camp, the set-up of which was quite luxurious. Situated about 3,300 metres, it was still among vegetation of firs, bamboos, crab apples, deciduous trees and peonies. A nearby spring was piped into wooden troughs made of hollowed-out tree trunks, probably made for the use of cattle, but on at least one occasion used as a hot-water bath. Two charcoal braziers supplied by Mr Andrews heated their living quarters. The supplies brought from Australia and Britain were supplemented by fresh food sent up from Lijiang using one of the porters, who couriered the shopping lists to Mrs Andrews, who did the shopping. Keeping meat fresh was a problem as by the time it arrived at the camp it was three days old and beginning to smell. To solve this they bought live sheep from a nearby village and did their own killing. They ate well, and Dora records that 'the Lijiang provisions included plenty of pumpkins, cabbages, potatoes, oranges, and pears, all very good'.

Two other camps were established higher up the mountain, one at 4,724 metres and the highest on a glacier below the summit, at 5,182 metres. By the time they were set up Mick Bowie and Kurt Suter had climbed to above 5,480 metres, but fog and rain kept them from attempting the summit; in fact, the party waited for a break in the weather from 5 to 25 October. On the 26th Marie and Marjory left for the high camp to join Kurt Suter and Mick Bowie for their first

attempt to the summit. Further delayed by the weather, they endured extreme cold and high winds at the first high camp where they stayed in an attempt to acclimatise to the altitude.

The second high camp was set up on 29 October, and on the 31st the team of Marie, Marjory, Kurt and Mick attempted to climb Tent Peak at the top of the glacier adjacent to the high peak of Mt Sansato. But high winds and extreme cold at around 6,000 metres forced them to retreat. They returned to the first high camp and decided to try a new approach a little to the north.

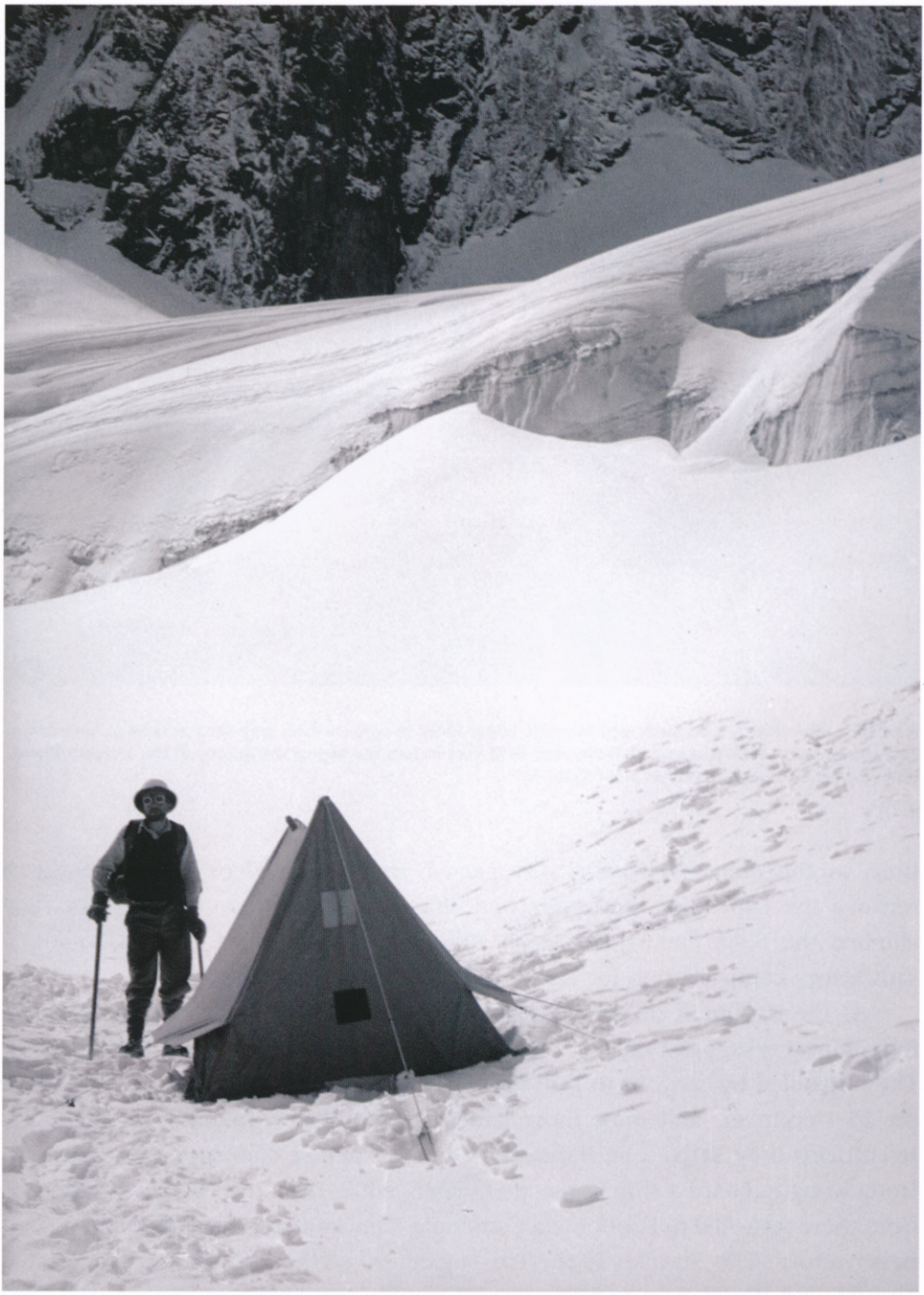
On 1 November Mick, Fraser and Dora went up to the second high camp to collect the tents. When the thick mist dispersed they decided to go on, and after two hours reached a position at 5,500 metres. For the first time they were able to get a good overview of the Yulan Xue Shan looking north, as well as the neighbouring peak of Mt Gyi-na-lo-gko standing at just over 5,900 metres. Dora commented, 'we were still rather in the dark about the geography of the massif and it was exciting to arrive at any point high enough to give a fresh view'.

The second approach to the mountain was by way of the narrow, steep-sided valley of the Peh Shui (black water) stream, north of the base camp. Three more camps were established, including Dora's preferred 'camp in the pines'. During this part of the journey most of the expedition members suffered dysentery and other illnesses which again slowed them down. The weather, especially heavy snow and wind, continued to be a challenge. On Thursday 10 November Dora and the three men went to the highest camp to move it to a more sheltered site 300 metres lower down. According to Kurt Suter in 1988, it was during this operation that they reached 5,900 metres, 'managing the only really hard climbing on the whole trip',[8] but Dora fails to mention any of this in her 1971 account of the same event.

On 15 November the expedition members decided they should evacuate base camp as it was now too late in the season to be worth staying on. The expedition split.[9] Possibly personality clashes also played a part. Marie Byles, along with enthusiastic mountaineering muleteer Wong, wanted to survey and map the area. Dora and the others decided to descend into the Yangtze Gorge and circumnavigate the Yulong Xue Shan. This was achieved between 18 and 25 November with a party consisting of five expedition members, three missionaries, the cook, a Tibetan servant, two muleteers, five baggage mules and three riding ponies – quite a challenge for the lightly built ferries that crossed the Yangtze Kiang.

Returning to Lijiang, the expedition members stayed again in the Pentecostal mission house. Marie Byles was expected back at any time as she, Marjorie and Mick had to leave for home. Colin Monteath reports that they travelled back to New Zealand by way of Kunming, Haiphong and Hong Kong as Chinese troops moved through these areas.[10] In Dora's account they had to board a ship in Hanoi.

Dora, Kurt and Fraser decided to stay for a few more weeks, during which



Fraser Radcliff and a small Everest tent at glacier camp, 1 November 1938. This was the second high camp on the glacier below the summit of Sansato. Everest tents were developed by mountaineer and mountain-equipment manufacturer Robert Burns for British Himalayan expeditions in the 1930s.
Photographer: Dora de Beer (ATL ref. 1/4-083350-F)

From left: Mick Bowie, Kurt Suter and Marjorie Edgar Jones in conversation with Mr Andrews at base camp. This conversation took place on 18 November 1938, just before the trip to the gorges of the Yangtze Kiang.
Photographer: Dora de Beer (ATL ref. 1/4-083295-F)

time, as the monsoons had finally passed, they returned to the mountain to retrieve the expedition gear they had abandoned there. On 2 December they climbed the 5,900-metre Mt Geena Nkoo (Dora calls it Mt Gyi-na-lo-gko), a satisfactory compensation for failing to reach the summit of Sansato.

At the invitation of Mr Andrews, Fraser Radcliff remained in Lijiang for a few more weeks, but Dora and Kurt prepared to leave the city on 10 December. They travelled by caravan to Dali then by bus to Kunming, which they reached on 25 December, and once more came into contact with modern plumbing. Eventually they arrived at Hanoi, where they parted company. Kurt went to Hong Kong to board a ship home via Europe, while Dora travelled to Saigon and from there returned to London via Cambodia, Thailand, Malaya and Ceylon. Dora never returned to Yunnan as she had hoped, 'to see the flowers in springtime'. The Second World War and the rise of communist China prevented that. But her detailed and accomplished photographs of the trip in 1938 leave us with a fascinating record of the mountain and the climbs, and a view of a remote part of China before it succumbed to the advances of the modern world.

On the trip to the gorges of the Yangtze Kiang, 20 November 1938. This is the first Yangtze ferry, with a load of pack mules. Photographer: Dora de Beer (ATL ref. 1/4-083263-F)

For decades the Yulong Xue Shan was beyond the reach of Western mountaineers and travellers. It was not until 1987 that Phil Peralta-Ramos and Eric Perlman, members of an American expedition, became the first recorded Western climbers to reach the highest point on the Yulong Xue Shan. Though it is not the highest mountain in Asia, it must be a difficult nut to crack. The successful American expedition of 1987 was preceded by three unsuccessful attempts, two by Americans in 1986 and 1985, and one by Japanese in 1984. Eric Perlman notes that 'the Jade Dragon's usual horrific weather' held off just long enough in 1987 for the climbers to complete their ascent, but under constant threat from avalanches.[11] It seems that Marie Byles had not chosen an easy Asian mountain as the expedition's goal.

The reputation of the 1938 Sansato expedition probably suffered because the climbers did not reach the summit: we only take 'winners' seriously. For the earnest, steely eyed, goal-driven mountaineers of later generations, the trip may have at times seemed like rich people on holiday. Twice in her account Dora makes it clear that for her, the trip counted most and reaching the summit was secondary. Marie Byles, however, was very disappointed the expedition failed to reach the summit of Sansato. She subsequently gave up mountaineering, became a Buddhist, a bush-walker, and a force in conservation in Australia, battling for, among other things, human-free wilderness areas in Kosciuszko National Park. What little that has been said about the expedition is merely an honorable mention rather than investigative detail. Colin Monteath has written: 'Although the Sansato expedition did not do a great deal of really hard climbing, even by the standards of the day, it remains a memorable one for it involved both professional guides as well as three women who had learned their mountaineering skills in New Zealand. New Zealand women would not begin climbing overseas regularly until the late 1960s and guides would not take clients away from the Southern Alps until the late 1970s'.[12] To me this statement, combined with Will Steffen's identification of the expedition as Australia's first climbing trip to a big Asian mountain, suggests that it was a significant pioneering event. That women were the instigators and organisers, I think, reinforces this judgement – they made the first attempt, so good on them!

On the cover of the 1989 issue of *Adventure* magazine, in which a 50th-anniversary article on the Sansato expedition appears, is a photograph of mountaineer Lydia Brady. Young, blonde, of the huntress Diana type, she strides along in her brightly coloured mountaineering gear. At the time she was embroiled in controversy: had she actually climbed Mt Everest alone and without the aid of supplementary oxygen? It was subsequently proved that she had, and was the first woman mountaineer to do so. All this had to start somewhere, and perhaps for New Zealand and Australian women mountaineers and their engagement with the mountains of Asia, the Sansato expedition of 1938 was the inspirational beginning.

ENDNOTES

1 Terminology around the Yulong Xue Shan is confusing. It is described as a massif or a small range of mountains. Dora de Beer labelled her photographs 'Sansato' in 1938, and that is the spelling used by Colin Monteath in his 1989 article. In Dora's 1971 account it is spelled Sanseto, and she also states that this name can refer to the whole massif as well as a single peak. The Getty Museum, in cataloguing photographs of the Yulong Xue Shan, uses the spelling Satseto. There is another confusion. In Dora's account the highest point (Mt Sansato) is said to be 20,000 feet (6,096 metres) high. In various recent internet articles, the highest peak on the Yulong Xue Shan is called Shanzidau, and this is only 5,596 metres high. These sources also record that Shanzidou has only been climbed once and that was in 1987. On the other hand the *Lonely Planet Guide to South Western China* (1986) claims that the summit of Sansato was first reached by a Chinese research team from Beijing in 1963.

2 See Will Steffen, *Himalayan Dreaming: Australian Mountaineering in the Great Ranges of Asia, 1922–1990*, ANU epress, retrieved 20 September 2012.

3 The information on early women climbers in this part of the article is taken from Graham Langton, 'Early Women Climbers in New Zealand', in *New Zealand Alpine Journal* (1993): 99–105.

4 Colin Monteath, 'New Zealand's First Overseas Climbing Expedition'. *Adventure* (January/February 1989): 64–65.

5 Langton, in 'Early Women Climbers in New Zealand', puts the date Dora began climbing at 1925; however, I have used Scott Russell's date of 1920 from his obituary of Dora in the *Alpine Journal* 1982, p. 134, on the basis that he knew her personally.

6 Dora de Beer, *Yunnan 1938* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 3. All quotes attributed to Dora are taken from this book.

7 Monteath, 'New Zealand's First Overseas Climbing Expedition', p. 64.

8 Monteath, 'New Zealand's First Overseas Climbing Expedition', p. 65.

9 In Langton's obituary for Marjorie Edgar-Jones, in *New Zealand Alpine Journal* (1994): 119, he comments that during the Sansato expedition, 'Personality clashes did not make the party a cohesive one'. In Dora's account this is the only hint of dissention in the team.

10 Monteath, 'New Zealand's First Overseas Climbing Expedition', p. 65.

11 Eric S. Perlman, 'Yulong Shan'. *American Alpine Journal* (1988): 265.

12 Monteath, 'New Zealand's First Overseas Climbing Expedition', p. 64.

Near the peak of Mt Sansato, Yunnan, China, in early December 1938.
Photographer: Dora de Beer (ATL ref. 1/4-083214-F)

Programme cover for the Auckland Industrial, Agricultural and Mining Exhibition (1913–14), Axemen's Carnival, World's and New Zealand 1914 Championships.
Designer: R[?] Tannahill (ATL ref. Eph-A-EXHIBITION-1914-01-cover)

'The Axe is the Pioneer of Civilisation': Competitive Wood Chopping and New Zealand Sporting Culture, 1890–1914

GREG RYAN

On Boxing Day 1905, as the All Blacks neared the end of their first tour of Britain with an unconvincing 10–8 victory over the Cardiff Club in front of a crowd of 50,000, an estimated 4,000 spectators attended the Axemen's Carnival at Eltham in Taranaki. They witnessed West Coaster Con Casey secure the 18-inch underhand title at the first world championship wood chopping event to be contested in New Zealand. Casey received £5 ($790 in 2012) and a gold medal worth £10. As the gathering came to an end, the local Hawera & Normanby Star remarked that while Eugene Sandow, the father of modern body-building, had described the All Blacks as the finest band of athletes he had seen, if he had visited Eltham on carnival days, 'he would have seen men of better muscular development than our footballers'.[1] Over the next decade, New Zealand axemen were to excel in Australasian and world championships and to figure prominently in an extensive network of semi-professional or 'cash' athletics throughout New Zealand and Australia. But it is scarcely surprising that the achievement of the All Blacks in losing only one, still disputed, match to Wales during their tour of Britain became etched in the national consciousness in a way that wood chopping did not. Rugby was not only a game bound to the ideals of the middle-class leaders of the Victorian and Edwardian sporting revolution, but also the first game at which New Zealand was seen to succeed on the all-important British stage. As the All Blacks continued to win the majority of their games during the twentieth century, their first British tour inevitably became a creation myth that helped to explain all that followed, and to link rugby with conceptions of emergent New Zealand manhood.[2] With periodic exceptions, other sports soon fell under the domineering presence of rugby.

However, this elevation of the 1905 All Blacks owes a good deal to hindsight and nostalgia. No one who read the voluminous sporting press in New Zealand in the decade prior to the Great War could be in any doubt that theirs was

a complicated and contested sporting world. The All Blacks were far from universally admired in 1905, and New Zealand rugby would soon be locked in an internal crisis that risked it being cut adrift by the guardians of the game in Britain.[3] In turn, this crisis highlights more fundamental questions about the extent to which the day-to-day thinking of the wider New Zealand sporting public was shaped by the higher sporting ideals so beloved of articulate middle-class sporting administrators, educators, journalists and politicians, and especially the apparently rigorous binary opposition between amateurs, who pursued sport for pleasure and intrinsic moral lessons, and professionals, who pursued it for money. A range of New Zealand historians have been rather preoccupied with the rhetoric and legislative successes of the 'wowsers' during what James Belich has characterised as the 'Great Tightening'.[4] Writing on the development of New Zealand sport has been largely preoccupied with the creation of the 'pyramid' of participation, which funnelled increasing numbers of players from schools to clubs to provincial, and later national teams in a few of the most popular, largely team and almost exclusively amateur, sports dominated by the four main cities.[5] But this emphasis on the quest for order and formalisation within clubs, provincial and national administrative bodies has largely neglected the exploits of any number of popularly acclaimed professional champions, the sustained efforts of professional sports to enforce their own codes of morality and respectability, and the reality that relations between amateurs and professionals in pre-1914 New Zealand were frequently co-operative rather than diametrically opposed. While many middle-class sporting administrators scorned working-class professionalism and tried to keep such barbarian influences far from the gates of amateur purity, others were more pragmatic in their response.[6]

This paper is an exploration of such themes through an examination of the emergence and acceptance of competitive wood chopping and its association with a network of professional sports during the quarter-century prior to the Great War. In origin, wood chopping was a sport of the tough, male-dominated colonial frontier, replete with cash prizes and bookmakers. Yet it came to be highly regulated, to eschew gambling, and to be welcomed at the showpiece events of an emerging New Zealand society.

What follows is an endorsement of the transformative powers of the Papers Past website.[7] The history of wood chopping, and the wider sporting world in which it existed, must be pieced together from brief news items, advertisements, and only a few lengthy articles. These are easily assembled in the digital age, but would be almost impossible to capture by traditional archival research. Of particular importance is the Hawera & Normanby Star for its coverage of the wood chopping stronghold of Eltham. Even so, there appears to be a great deal that went unreported either as a consequence of the prerogative of editors to define

what was of interest to the community, or the lesser inclination of many working people in particular to chronicle their activities.

Money changed hands from the earliest days of organised sport in European New Zealand in the 1840s. Anniversary and other sports gatherings were frequently sponsored by publicans wishing to attract custom, and spectators gambled sometimes considerable sums on the sidelines. On the goldfields, especially in the 1860s, many miners endeavoured to supplement their income as professional athletes, moving between regular sports meetings and frequently having agents, trainers and sponsors to manage their affairs. But this was also a world of corrupt practices, not the least of them being the 'ringing-in' of talented athletes under assumed names, and under the guidance of bookmakers, to win races at long odds against unsuspecting local competitors.[8]

From the mid-nineteenth century an emerging generation of middle-class, public-school-educated sportsmen in Britain responded to the growing popular interest in recently codified sports by establishing various rules designed to regulate participation and ideally separate the classes. At its most straightforward this was a distinction between amateurs who played for pleasure and professionals who derived monetary reward, on the basis that the latter, unencumbered by the need to earn a living by other means, possessed more time for training and practice and therefore an unfair physical advantage over those compelled to pursue sport amid other responsibilities. Excessive training and practice also undermined the 'natural' game and the moral importance of sport as character training for the greater struggle of life. The professional was believed to represent the threat of winning becoming more important than taking part. If sport was a livelihood, the rules would be undermined by whatever conduct was necessary in order to win 'at all costs'. But in reality, amateurism was a scarcely disguised means to sustain the entrenched class divisions of British society and limit the extent to which gentlemen had to mix on or off the field with their social inferiors. Cricket and soccer, the sports with the greatest working-class presence, enacted tightly regulated forms of player payment and control. Rowing and rugby created progressively inflexible definitions of amateurism that effectively squeezed out any working-class participants who were unable to spare time away from work to play sport without some form of monetary compensation. Athletics, as one of the few sports with a significant tradition of class mixing, as foot races had always been a regular part of town and village holiday festivities, fell between these two extremes.[9] Although New Zealand was geographically far removed from the rapid transformations of nineteenth-century British sport, new migrants ensured that it was not immune to the crucial debates of the period. Elite athletics and rowing clubs in particular introduced restrictive definitions of amateurism during the 1870s and 1880s, and the New Zealand rugby union, if not always its provincial affiliates

and their clubs, was determined to follow the same course. These bodies also took a determined stand against gambling among spectators and more particularly against players who were tempted to perform according to the whims of bookmakers.[10]

But transferring amateur principles shaped by the British class system to the formative environment of New Zealand or any other colony was always problematic. While relative population growth enabled some colonial sporting administrators to pursue an exclusive stance, they ultimately did so at their peril as playing numbers were only a fraction of those in Britain. It is also likely that a more commercially minded colonial middle class, dominated by men involved in the management of small-scale enterprises that allowed more common ground between employer and worker, perhaps possessed a greater tolerance towards elements of working-class culture and were therefore less bound to amateurism as a mechanism for exclusion. Nor was there a substantial revenue-producing spectatorship to sustain a fully professional sporting structure against which amateurs needed to define themselves.[11] Against this background, rather than the over emphasis on amateur hegemony, the emergence of wood chopping and the response to it can be better understood.

Large-scale clearance of bush was essential to the ethos of progress and the opening up of good arable land in both New Zealand and Australia throughout the last third of the nineteenth century. While clearance by burning was common, there was also a high demand for timber for housing, fencing and railways. Although it is difficult to assess the extent and rate of deforestation, an estimate of 9 million acres (3642170 hectares) for New Zealand during the 1890s is probably accurate. By 1907, when milling was already past its peak, output in the lower North Island was 432m superfeet from 411 mills, and more than 7,000 men were working in the timber industry.[12]

In Australia, and especially Tasmania, from the early 1870s sawyers began to extend their work into competitive sport, although initially with tests of endurance rather than speed. With the development of the Tasmanian axe to deal with the hard woods of Australasia, and the emergence of steam-powered mills which diminished the importance of sawyers during the 1880s, the competitive emphasis shifted to axemen.[13] From the outset competitions were the focus for significant wagers between competitors and among spectators, and appeared alongside other more traditional sporting events such as athletics and wrestling, but also older, 'folk' sports such as cock-fighting, bare-knuckle fighting, and possum against bull terrier fights. The atmosphere was also likely to be charged by drinking.[14]

As the scale of competitions increased, steps were taken towards uniformity. The United Australasian Axemen's Association was formed in Latrobe, northern Tasmania, in June 1891 with a grand statement of ecological imperialism to justify its sporting inclinations. It aimed:

> To demonstrate the great skill to which the settlers of all the heavily timbered parts of Australasia have attained during their fights with the dense bush with saw, axe, splitting knife and other tools, a dexterity and skill which, when combined with true British pluck, has enabled these "heroes of the bush" to hew out for themselves homes, and to effectually rescue and bring into cultivation some of the richest soils in the Southern Hemisphere.

In addition to cash prizes for a range of chopping and sawing events covering different log sizes, the Association offered a trophy donated by the Hon. Thomas Reibey, Speaker of the Tasmanian House of Assembly.[15]

Within weeks, the Association's secretary H. A. Nichols tried to make arrangements with the Union Steam Ship Company to enable New Zealanders to compete at events in Tasmania. Any non-winners would be subsidised £3 ($550) towards travel expenses. In December 1892 a team of four from Southland competed without success at the world championships in Tasmania. The following year the Association authorised T. Reeves to 'chop any man in New Zealand for £25 [$4500] and upwards a side' in Tasmania. New Zealand timber would be used, although the cost of getting this to Tasmania had to be borne by the New Zealand challenger unless other arrangements could be made.[16] In 1896, having evidently failed to attract further interest from New Zealand, Nichols made another overture to anyone willing to cross the Tasman. 'Our next grand competition for the bushmen of the colonies is to be held in Deloraine on November 25 and 26. The prizes are rich, and as the association is run on behalf of the axemen of Australasia, we strive to place all axemen on a level, and men from your colony, having greater travelling expenses, are allowed free entry'.[17]

Chopping and sawing contests were part of New Year sports gatherings under the auspices of the Caledonian Society at Woodlands in Southland from at least 1888, while a contest with a first prize of £3 10s ($640) was held in Waikawa, an important sawmilling area of the Catlins, on 26 August 1893. In Taranaki the Eltham and Kaponga Caledonian societies included various sawing and chopping contests at their sports meetings from at least 1894.[18] By October 1896 the Otago Witness felt compelled to defend the credentials of the new sport:

> Chopping wood is sometimes derisively referred to by writers of the American school as an avocation only suitable for those who betray a deficiency in intellectual capacity, but in Tasmania the practice of it is elevated to an art ... Chopping wood is as honourable as any other employment, and proficiency in it is as commendable as that in any other handicraft – such as, for instance, ploughing. Indeed, we should be disposed to believe that a chopping contest is likely to evoke even

> higher qualities of mind, and certainly a higher degree of muscular efficiency, than ploughing. It is impossible to withhold admiration from the spectacle of a muscular and well-trained man deftly plying the axe and displaying in the exhibition a degree of dexterity which would surprise those not familiar with it.[19]

There was a significant increase in popularity on the West Coast in the late 1890s, with all of the mills in the Grey Valley regularly entering their 'favourites' for chopping and sawing events in Greymouth. As the Grey River Argus noted: 'The timber industry is of great advantage to the business people of the Coast, and these contests have a beneficial effect as to the most suitable tools and methods to be employed in the daily work of the men. Therefore these sports are really deserving of public support'.[20]

Although the sport initially seemed to have deeper roots in the South Island rather than Taranaki, it was Eltham residents who took the lead in forming a New Zealand Axemen's Association, as a joint-stock company on 30 March 1901. Its first Axemen's Carnival was staged on 9 November 1901, expanding quickly from 128 entries in 1902 to 243 in 1903. It was soon regarded as the official New Zealand championship, with local and international manufacturers and traders contributing significant cash and equipment prizes. With financial backing from the Axemen's Association, West Coasters Con Casey and Charlie Hutton won world championship titles in Tasmania in 1903 and 1904, an Australian team toured New Zealand in 1904–5, and world championship events were held in Eltham in December 1905, and regularly from 1908 until 1914. By 1907 the Association had at least 35 affiliated clubs, mostly in the North Island, and required all competitive axemen to be licensed.[21]

From the outset, accounts of the Eltham carnival and other major chopping and sawing contests were at pains to emphasise the athleticism of the participants and the respectability of proceedings. A report of an axemen's carnival in Southland in March 1902 referred to the 'New Zealand champion chopper, J. More of Orepuke ... a man of splendid physique. A Hercules in build, with a good face and a pleasant smile, no wonder his wins were popular'.[22] When explaining why a 1904 event was being staged over two days, the Otago Witness referred to the 'great strain to which the axemen are subjected in competition events during the one day'. Competitors, after going to considerable expense in coming to town from the backblocks, wished to enter all of the events on the programme in order to recoup expenses and make a few pounds extra. 'The strain is ever so much greater than in ordinary athletic events, and unless a competitor has gone through a systematic course of training then he is rendered physically unfit for days after'.[23] In 1908 the Hawera & Normanby Star praised the 'veritable Sandow's

as regards muscular development' who came from remote districts to compete at Eltham. '[T]here is probably no other branch of sport in which competitors are set such severe tests, and it is therefore imperative that the axemen should be of sound constitution and physically adapted to the task.' Success was attributable not merely to strength and power but to 'science'.[24] As the same source described the competition at Eltham in 1910:

> There are no doubt many reasons for the deep interest evinced in this two days' carnival by the public, chief among which may be the purity of the sport. The prizes given by the Axemen's Association run into several hundred pounds, and are such as to attract practically every first-class exponent of the axe and the saw in Australasia. There is no more exhilarating sight in the arena of athletics than honest competition between highly skilled, straight-going muscular giants. And assured of all branches of athletics there is none that numbers among its exponents so high a percentage of the finest specimens of manhood.[25]

By this stage, once rather disorderly gatherings at which the excited public frequently encroached on the competition arena had been superseded by strictly run programmes with impartial judges.[26]

The strongest endorsement for such claims to respectability came in January 1907 with the inclusion of an axemen's carnival with total prizes of £150 ($23,000) at the New Zealand International Exhibition in Christchurch. The Exhibition featured not only the best of colonial industry and progress, but a conscious effort to portray the qualities of colonial manhood in a similar context to the praise accorded New Zealand troops during the South African War and the carefully orchestrated, if sometimes ham-fisted, effort by Premier Richard Seddon to link the success of the 1905 All Blacks to the apparently superior New Zealand environment and social order. There was a strong martial emphasis, with events including the trooping of the colour, a full military parade by volunteers, 5,000 school cadets encamped at the Exhibition, and extensive displays of armaments. A proposal for a rugby tournament was eventually deemed inappropriate at the height of summer.[27] It was therefore determined that the axemen's carnival was the best embodiment of both the athletic prowess of colonial sportsmen and the pioneering endeavour that was gradually taming the country. As The Press enthused of the competitors:

> They wore no fancy costume, only the garb in which many of them had fought with nature in her solitudes. Their easy ways and careless costume told at once of the country, and the axes which they wielded

> were the visible sign and instrument of its development. Surely there could be no manlier sport, and none more full of meaning than this which drew out the same strength as that which had been exerted to clear the wilderness. The axe is the pioneer of civilisation.[28]

By this definition wood chopping was a productive and progressive sport rather than a merely recreational one, and was therefore perhaps better able to navigate around any middle-class reservations over its open professionalism. The Governor, Lord Plunket, had no hesitation in lending his patronage to an Exhibition that featured axemen competing professionally for substantial prizes, and he ultimately became patron of the Axemen's Association.[29] The amateur sporting ideals beloved of many middle-class propagandists were clearly not all encompassing, and New Zealand had within it a range of sporting heroes and measures of sporting success much wider than those most often represented.

Simultaneously with its recognition in Christchurch, the Axemen's Association was involved in a concerted effort to regulate professional sport. In late 1905 the New Zealand Athletic Union was organised in Invercargill with the aim of bringing uniformity to a wide range of 'cash' and professional sports. Among other things it established an elected council, divided New Zealand into administrative centres, and sought to standardise types of events, registration procedures, handicapping and rules against misconduct and corruption throughout the country and extending to visiting competitors from Australia. There were to be no 'confederacies' or other forms of 'fixing' the results of events, and there would be disqualification for entry of athletes under false names or attempts to bribe officials. In athletics a strong stand was also taken against athletes competing as 'maiden' runners or running 'stiff' in order to lengthen the odds at subsequent meetings. By 1909 the Athletic Union claimed to cover 'all events requiring skill or science', including athletics, numerous types of wrestling, quoit throwing, throwing the cricket ball, hammer throwing and various musical and dancing events associated with Highland games. Although the latter soon went their separate way under the jurisdiction of Caledonian societies, professional cycling was firmly in the administrative fold by 1914 as part of an extensive and buoyant circuit of seasonal sports days and agricultural and pastoral shows at which sport played a prominent role and sustained a number of fully professional athletes.[30]

Such was the success of the Athletic Union in enhancing the image of professional sport, that the generally conservative New Zealand Amateur Athletic Association (NZAAA) was willing to enter discussions to establish 'reciprocity' in the management of events.[31] The NZAAA recognised that while it was possible to run separate competitions for amateurs and professionals in centres of larger population, it was clear that the survival of 'amateur' athletics in many smaller

centres was dependant on co-operation with professional bodies to create combined programmes[32]. Further, both amateur and professional governing bodies had a common enemy in 'private speculators' who organised events on their own terms and outside the authority of recognised governing bodies. In November 1907 a New Zealand Sports Federation was established, with representatives from a wide variety of amateur and professional sports including athletics, boxing, cycling, hockey, rowing, rugby, swimming and tennis. Its objectives were 'the protection and conservation of the interests of each affiliated body, and the maintenance of the existing rights and privileges of such; the mutual recognition by each of each body's suspensions, disqualifications, registrations etc'.[33] In short, the defining issue was not about a conventionally understood cleavage between amateurs and professionals, but about regulated or unregulated sport more generally.

The New Zealand Axemen's Association initially remained at arm's length from these developments. When Southland axemen aligned themselves with the Athletic Union in early 1906, the association threatened to have the Southland Easter Carnival declared an unsanctioned event unless appropriate registration fees were forwarded to Eltham. Through the Athletic Union the Southlanders replied that the Axemen's Association, as a joint-stock company, was 'exhibiting an improper penchant in the direction of money-making' and was not a legitimate national governing body unless it took immediate steps to organise across the colony. If it did not do so, the Athletic Union would endeavour to bring chopping and sawing contests under its own control.[34] These claims were strongly refuted by F. E. Hardy, secretary of the Axemen's Association, who insisted that the registration as a joint-stock company was merely for administrative purposes and pointed out that contests under the jurisdiction of the Axemen's Association had paid out £2067 ($320,000) in prize money in 1906–7 compared with only £78 10s ($12,000) for events organised by cash athletics clubs in Otago and Southland.[35] Eventually, in April 1907, it was agreed that the Association and Union would remain separate but have a reciprocal arrangement to disqualify any competitor breaking the rules of the other.[36] But in 1908 and 1909 the Athletic Union refused to support the entry of the Axemen's Association to the New Zealand Sports Federation as the sport was still effectively governed by a company rather than an elected representative structure across the whole country. What followed in these convoluted negotiations is far from clear, although it seems that by late 1910 the Eltham Axemen's carnival had the official sanction of the Athletic Union.[37] That the two bodies were embroiled in such protracted arguments about the regulation of athletes and the extent to which they were rewarded for their achievements certainly runs counter to a contemporary amateur insistence that those associated with the finances of professional sport were unscrupulous in their dealings.

The final element in the quest for respectability for wood chopping

revolved around its long-standing association with bookmakers and gambling. From the beginning in Australia side bets between competitors and the presence of bookmakers among the spectators were considered a legitimate part of any competition. In 1894 the Tasmanian parliament legalised use of the totalisator at axemen's championships,[38] while rule 29 of the Royal Woodchopping, Sawing and Axemen's Association of New South Wales was typical of many in stating that: 'Any registered competitor making a private match for any sum of money or trophy shall acquaint the Secretary of the Association of the fact, and shall forward him full particulars of the result, within seven days after the match, or be liable to disqualification or fine'.[39] In New Zealand, although the 1881 Gambling and Lotteries Act had banned gambling on sport between individuals, this prohibition was honoured only in the breach as gambling continued wherever there was public interest in an event.[40] Within the limits of the law the Axemen's Association permitted licensed bookmakers at the Eltham carnival on payment of a fee of £5 ($790) for the two days, and there is ample evidence that they were licensed at other gatherings.[41] But by 1906 the tide was turning as forces mustered, particularly under the influence of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, that would eventually see bookmakers declared illegal in 1910.[42] As the Hokitika Axemen's Carnival approached, the West Coast Times cautioned against one aspect of the considerable popularity of the sport:

> There is but one danger, which has had a baneful effect on many forms of sport, which is likely to affect the popularity of chopping and sawing contests, and that is if unlicensed gambling is permitted in connection with these contests unchecked. It is, we know, a difficult matter to control, but the backing of competitors for large sums is bound to degenerate the sport, and should be repressed by all possible means when discovered.[43]

This was less an attack on gambling per se than on unregulated gambling. But the Axemen's Association evidently read the mood for more comprehensive change and banned bookmakers altogether before its 1908 carnival. The move seemed to have no detrimental impact on proceedings, with more spectators and entries than before. The Hawera & Normanby Star remarked that: 'The absence of bookmakers certainly frees the sport from any application of crooked dealings, and the additional patronage accorded the Association is certainly proof that the general public appreciate clean sport'.[44]

In the years leading to the outbreak of the First World War, wood chopping consolidated its position within the New Zealand sporting calendar. In February 1914 the Auckland Industrial, Agricultural and Mining Exhibition featured an

Contestants at the first woodchopping contest in Upper Hutt, in 1911. They are Francis Whiteman (no. 1), Fred Whiteman (2). Judge Wright is in the background to the left. Photographer: J. M. Keneally (ATL ref. 1/2-107658-F)

axemen's carnival spread over three days which drew the best competitors from throughout Australasia and included prizes as high as £150 ($22,000) for each of the most important events.[45] The last of the great Eltham axemen's carnivals was held in December 1915, after which the demands of the Great War stifled this and much other sport. During the 15 years of carnivals, 20 world titles were decided at Eltham as well as five Australasian and 23 New Zealand titles. When peace returned, wood chopping again emerged as a popular feature of the A & P Show circuit and other local sports gatherings, and significant axemen's carnivals developed at Tuatapere and Raetihi. But its scale and prominence was a thing of the past, and the prizes were not as substantial. The New Zealand Athletic Union finally took control of wood chopping from a somewhat fragmented Axemen's Association in 1920.[46] No doubt the sharp decline of the timber industry in the 1920s, as bush clearance slowed dramatically and a 'timber famine' emerged, had a role to play.[47] There was equally a more general decline in professional athletics of all kinds other than perhaps cycling. Amateur sport thrived during the inter-war years as its administrators consciously linked its moral and physical qualities to the same qualities of manhood that had prevailed during the Great

War. The NZAAA and other amateur sporting bodies introduced relatively liberal reinstatement policies for former professionals on the basis that those who had fought for their country ought not to be discriminated against.[48] But a more comprehensive examination of the retreat of professional athletics is needed, although it will have to wait until the Papers Past repertoire for the inter-war period is as full as for earlier times. Without this the fragments of professional sporting activities on the margins of a dominant amateur narrative will be difficult to assemble.

ENDNOTES

1 *Hawera & Normanby Star*, 30 December 1905, p. 5.

2 Greg Ryan, *The Contest for Rugby Supremacy: Accounting for the 1905 All Blacks* (Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 2005); Jock Phillips, *A Man's Country: The Image of the Pakeha Male, a History* (Auckland: Penguin, 1987), pp. 81–130.

3 Greg Ryan, *Contest for Rugby Supremacy*, esp. pp. 85–117; Caroline Daley, 'The Invention of 1905', in *Tackling Rugby Myths: Rugby and New Zealand Society, 1854–2004*, ed. by Greg Ryan (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2005), pp. 69–87; Geoffrey T. Vincent & Toby Harfield, 'Repression and Reform: Responses Within New Zealand Rugby to the Arrival of the "Northern Game", 1907–8'. *New Zealand Journal of History* 31, no. 2 (1997): 234–40.

4 James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the Year 2000* (Auckland: Penguin, 2001), pp. 158–73.

5 This point is certainly reinforced by the disproportionate amount of writing on amateur rugby union as opposed to nominally professional rugby league in New Zealand. An exception, in that it covers a number of aspects of early professional sport, is David Grant, *On a Roll: A History of Gambling and Lotteries in New Zealand* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1994), esp. pp. 38–47; 68–72.

6 Geoffrey Vincent has gone some way to exploring these themes in New Zealand rugby during this period. See Vincent & Harfield, above, and Geoffrey T. Vincent, '"A Tendency to Roughness": Anti-Heroic Representations of New Zealand Rugby 1890–1914'. *Sporting Traditions* 14, no. 1 (1997).

7 *Papers Past* is at http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz.

8 David Grant, *On a Roll*, pp. 38–47; 68–72.

9 On the evolution of amateurism, see Richard Holt, *Sport and the British: A Modern History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 96–99, 104–5, 116–17; John Lowerson, *Sport and the English Middle Classes, 1870–1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), pp. 155–86.

10 For an interpretation of the contradictions of amateurism in nineteenth-century New Zealand, see Geoffrey T. Vincent & Greg Ryan, '"A Small Knot of Muscular Friends": Class and Athletic clubs in Colonial Canterbury, 1870–1890'. *Journal of New Zealand Studies* 8 (2009): 121–44. See also Martin Crotty, '"Purely and Simply for the Pleasure and Love of the Good Old Sport": The Amateur Question in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand Rowing', *History Now* 2, no.1 (1997): 10–11; Arthur C. Swan, *The New Zealand Rugby Football Union, 1892–1967* (Wellington: A. H. & A. W. Reed, 1967), pp. 16–21.

11 Geoffrey T. Vincent, '"A Tendency to Roughness"', pp. 93–97.

12 A. H. Grey, *Aotearoa and New Zealand: A Historical Geography* (Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 1994), pp. 383–4; Malcolm McKinnon (ed.), *Bateman New Zealand Historical Atlas: Visualising New Zealand* (Auckland: David Bateman, 1997), plate 47.

13 Richard Beckett, *Axemen, Stand by your Logs!* (Sydney: Lansdowne, 1983), p. 65.

14 Ibid., p. 66.

15 *Southland Times*, 9 September 1891, p. 2.

16 *Otago Daily Times*, 8 September 1891, p. 2; *Southland Times*, 7 December 1892, p. 2; *Taranaki Herald*, 20 July 1893, p. 2.

17 *Otago Witness*, 10 September 1896, p. 30.

18 *Southland Times*, 20 December 1888, p. 2; 26 December 1889, p. 2; 29 December 1891, p. 2; 7 August 1893, p. 2; *Mataura Ensign*, 14 October 1892, p. 4; *Hawera & Normanby Star*, 24 December 1898, p. 2. See also Eric Warner, 'Early History of the Sport in New Zealand". *New Zealand Axemen's News* (October 1971): 20; September 1972, pp. 16–17; September 1973, p.16; October 1980, pp. 11–12; October 1981, p. 12; October 1982, pp. 13–14.

19 *Otago Witness*, 1 October 1896, p. 14.

20 *Grey River Argus*, 12 July 1898, p. 2; 1 December 1898, p. 3.

21 *Wanganui Herald*, 21 April 1903,p. 4; *The Press*, 18 January 1907, p. 8.

22 *Otago Witness*, 9 April 1902, p. 44.

23 *Otago Witness*, 23 March 1904, p. 43.

24 *Hawera & Normanby Star*, 31 December 1908, p. 5.

25 *Hawera & Normanby Star*, 6 December 1910, p. 5.

26 *Grey River Argus*, 1 December 1898, p. 3; *Otago Witness*, 9 April 1902, p. 44.

27 Jock Phillips, 'Exhibiting Ourselves: The Exhibition and National Identity', in F*arewell Colonialism: The New Zealand International Exhibition, Christchurch, 1906–07*, ed. by John Mansfield Thomson (Palmerston North: Dunmore, 1998), p. 23.

28 *The Press*, 18 January 1907, p. 8.

29 *Hawera & Normanby Star*, 16 July 1907, p. 5.

30 *Otago Witness*, 4 April 1906, p. 58; *Constitution and Rules & Regulations of the New Zealand Athletic Union Inc.* (Dunedin: The Union, [1909]); *Constitution and Bye-Laws & Regulations of the New Zealand Athletic & Cycling Union Inc.* (Timaru: New Zealand Athletic & Cycling Union, [1914]).

31 *The Press*, 26 January 1907, p. 11.

32 For example, *Otago Witness*, 16 May 1906, p. 58; *The Press*, 27 August 1907, p. 9.

33 *The Press*, 7 November 1907, p. 8.

34 *Otago Witness*, 21 March 1906, p. 53; *Bay Of Plenty Times*, 25 October 1907, p. 3.

35 *Star*, 13 April 1907, p. 5.

36 *Otago Witness*, 20 March 1907, p. 63; *Hawera & Normanby Star*, 18 April 1907, p. 8.

37 *The Press*, 28 February 1908, p. 8; *Otago Witness*, 3 March 1909, p. 63; *Hawera & Normanby Star*, 30 November 1910, p. 5.

38 *Wanganui Herald*, 29 September 1894, p. 2.

39 Richard Beckett, *Axemen, Stand by your Logs!*, pp. 69, 72–73

40 David Grant, *On a Roll*, pp. 68–72.

41 *Hawera & Normanby Star*, 29 November 1904, p. 3.

42 David Grant, *On a Roll*, pp. 84–85; 89–92.

43 *West Coast Times*, 23 October 1906, p. 2.

44 *Hawera & Normanby Star*, 31 December 1908, p. 5.

45 *Auckland Star*, 27 February 1914, p. 6; 28 February 1914, p. 10. See also, *Auckland Industrial Agricultural and Mining Exhibition: Official Catalogue and Guide* (Auckland: Goldfinch System, [1913]).

46 *Hawera & Normanby Star*, 8 December 1920, p. 7; 8 July 1922, p. 4; 15 September 1922, p. 5.

47 A. H. Grey, *Aotearoa and New Zealand*, pp.383-4

48 For example, *Evening Post*, 3 March 1920, p. 2; 22 November 1924, p. 18; 4 October 1928, p. 6.

One of the earliest examples of sporting metaphors in New Zealand, published in a supplement to Wellington's *Daily Advertiser* in 1882. It shows Sir George Grey, second right, 'squaring up' to another MP over land tenure issues. Cartoonist: William Hutchison (ATL ref. A-095-020)

Fancy Footwork:
The Sporting Metaphor in New Zealand Political Cartoons

IAN F. GRANT

The principal purpose of political or editorial cartoonists – and the best do it in exemplary fashion – is to make an often complex point or insightful observation as incisively as possible. Sir John Marshall, former New Zealand prime minister, described a good cartoon as 'instant enlightenment'.[1]

Consequently, symbols, stereotypes and metaphors are very much the cartoonist's stock-in-trade. Symbols like the British lion and Britannia, Uncle Sam, the US stock market's bulls and bears, and our very own kiwi are instantly recognisable. Earlier, the moa and a rather ethereal Zealandia symbolised New Zealand; it was cartoonist Trevor Lloyd, also a prominent natural history artist, who popularised the kiwi symbol before and during the First World War. New Zealand cartoonists also developed stereotypes that, over time, clearly showed the move away from more egalitarian roots. In early cartoons the worker was a cheerful, sleeves-rolled-up sort of chap, and the capitalist a podgy, top-hatted, bejewelled 'Mr Fat'. But by 1951, the year of the lengthy waterfront dispute, the worker was, to the mild-mannered Gordon Minhinnick and his cartooning colleagues, a menacing, snarling thug.

The metaphor is possibly the most important weapon in the cartoonist's armoury. As Elisabeth El Refaie has written, a visual metaphor in a political cartoon is 'sometimes able to convey a complex message in a much more immediate and condensed fashion than language'.[2]

Very simply, metaphors draw likenesses between objects, ideas or events. They are associations of ideas. Tried and true metaphors are an instant and universally understood shorthand. Cartoonists have a stockpile of such metaphors at their disposal. Some are specific to a cartoon's subject or situation. One well-documented example is the portrayal in cartoons of Richard Nixon as Pinocchio during his years as US president. Pinocchio, the wooden puppet with a very long nose, told lies which made his nose grow longer; Nixon's long nose was a

particular feature of cartoons; he had a 'wooden' personality and was seen as a 'tricky' politician with scant regard for the truth.[3]

David Low, New Zealand's greatest cartoonist, used sporting metaphors to good effect and warned about the overuse of old chestnuts. He wrote about the 'cartoonese' of some of his colleagues, who used 'traditional symbols and well-worn analogies, expressed in familiar cliches of draughtsmanship – the passage of events appearing to them as a sequence of visions of precipices marked "Crisis", of octopuses marked "Protection", of Prime Ministers walking on tight-ropes marked "Majority", and that kind of thing'.[4]

The linked reasons sporting metaphors work so well, particularly during the last 60 or so years, are because of the immense popularity of sport, its universality, and the way it transcends class and locality. Sport has so much in common with politics.

Nicholas Garland, the long-time London *Daily Telegraph* cartoonist who spent his teenage years in New Zealand, says: 'There are innumerable situations that lend themselves to the use of sporting metaphors because politicians are forever confronting and competing with each other'.[5] George Orwell saw sport as 'an unfailing cause of ill will'.[6] Sport is invariably a contest, one individual or team striving to defeat the other. It is often aggressive and violent, it has tension and excitement, it arouses passion. These are all characteristics shared with politics at the local, national and international level. Both are about winning – often at any cost.

Although a sporting metaphor was used in an English cartoon as early as 1769, with a depiction of the Brentford election as a horse race,[7] the famous British caricaturists of the eighteenth century, like Hogarth, Rowlandson and Cruikshank, were more concerned with social issues than with politics. It was James Gilray, later that century, who regularly produced the first pointedly political cartoon prints.

Political cartooning was given greater permanence when *Punch* first appeared in 1841. *The London Charivari* 's cartoons were soon sprinkling occasional sporting metaphors among the then more popular literary allusions, analogies and stereotypes. Although early American cartoonists routinely produced pallid copies of their trans-Atlantic contemporaries, they were, nevertheless, early adopters of sporting metaphors.

While nothing has previously been written about the use of metaphor in New Zealand cartoons, sporting or otherwise, there is a considerable literature relating to their use in United States election campaigns over a lengthy period until the present day. It was the Americans who began talking about candidates 'running' for office – this replacing the traditional English 'standing' for election. As historians Stephen Hess and Milton Kaplan have written: 'About as predictable

as the cartoonists' puns were the sports motifs that they dusted off every fourth year. Any Presidential election from 1832 to 1864 was sure to be presented as a horse or foot race, a boxing match, a game of brag (an early version of poker), pool or bagatelle, a cock fight, hunting, fishing, a bull fight, or (by 1860) a baseball game'.[7]

Thomas MacKenzie became prime minister in March 1912, but his three-month minority government collapsed when four members of his Liberal Party defected to William Massey.
Cartoonist: Jack Gilmour (*Canterbury Times*, 1912)

The first political cartoons in New Zealand were in slim copycat *Punch* magazines. Look through the New Zealand *Punch* magazines, which had short but colourful lives for several decades from the 1860s, and the cartoons draw heavily on classical or literary allusions with more than a nod to Greek myths, Milton's poetry and Shakespeare's plays. British cartoonists, the models for many New Zealand colleagues, persevered with the more literary metaphors well into the twentieth century, particularly in the broadsheet 'qualities'. Today, and for some decades back, such metaphors have probably produced more glazed incomprehension than 'instant enlightenment'.

In New Zealand and elsewhere sporting metaphors assumed increasing importance in political cartoons in the decades following the Second World War. There is a strong link between the language of politics, particularly as practised by journalists, and the use of sporting metaphors in cartoons. Since the early 1960s, in tandem with the explosive growth of television, journalists have increasingly used sporting terms and language in their reporting and analysis of political events. In part, of course, this is because democratic political systems are strongly focused on the competition for power among opposing 'teams' with different philosophies and programmes. The language of many sports fits perfectly with the confrontational, win-lose rhythms of the political process. The attraction of sports metaphors is also because television's 'manufactured' sporting extravaganzas, geared to build audiences and advertising revenue, now cover the globe. With the exponential growth in the number of armchair spectators there has developed an almost universal understanding of sporting analogies. This can be observed most clearly in the media coverage of, and cartoons about, election campaigns.

It is instructive to look at the sports most often used as metaphors for events and personalities on the political stage. High levels of confrontation and the win-lose equation are clearly critical, and individual versus team sports are more appropriate in different political situations. Interestingly, the widespread use of language from a particular sport in journalism, and in cartoons, is not necessarily a reflection of its current popularity. In 2008, prominent American journalist Frank Mankiewicz wrote: 'Boxing is a sport hated and shunned by almost half the population, reduced to scant notice in the sports pages, and yet it remains by far the source of more idioms and catch phrases in our language than any other sport'.[8] Mankiewicz had counted at least 50 boxing expressions regularly used in political reports. Expressions so commonly used few readers would stop to think of their origins include 'knocked down but not counted out', 'on the ropes', 'taking off the gloves', 'saved by the bell', 'counter-punch', 'leading with the chin', 'haymaker', 'fancy footwork', and 'low blows'. Most of these have their visual equivalents in political cartoons, and there is some evidence to suggest that boxing wins over other sporting metaphors in political cartoons as well.

International cartoon research centres and libraries like the British Cartoon Archive at the University of Kent in England have catalogued 7,023 cartoons with sporting themes; in 4,895 of them the sport is boxing. Soccer (2,009) and cricket (1,140) trail well behind.[9] The New Zealand Cartoon Archive at the Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington contains a large number of cartoons which use sporting metaphors to make political points, although among those digitised to date, boxing is predictably less popular among cartoonists than rugby. Nevertheless, boxing has featured in this country's political cartoons from the 1870s – and continues to do so. One of the earliest examples, featuring Sir George Grey, appeared in 1882.

The boxing metaphor is particularly suited to cartoons that pit political personalities against one another. From the early days of political cartooning in New Zealand there was a strong emphasis on party leaders who personified policies and political philosophies, particularly during election campaigns. For example, Jack Gilmour had a hulking Thomas MacKenzie seemingly dominating a diminutive William Massey in 1912.[10] In 1919 Trevor Lloyd's much more robust Massey was too much for Sir Joseph Ward to handle.[11] Gordon Minhinnick, during his long career at the *New Zealand Herald*, had Michael Savage knocking out National's Adam Hamilton in 1938[12] and Robert Muldoon engaged in some vigorous shadow boxing prior to the 1972 election.[13] More recently Bob Brockie,

Robert Muldoon's unilateral decision to call a snap election in 1984 had very little support from colleagues or party officials. Cartoonist: Malcolm Walker (ATL ref. B-095-009)

Anthony Ellison, Malcolm Evans, Trace Hodgson, Jim Hubbard, Nevil Lodge, Tom Scott, Ashley Smith, Garrick Tremain, Malcolm Walker and Murray Webb have all used boxing metaphors in different ways.

More than most sports, boxing has stressed muscular masculinity, again in line with the male domination of politics. But between 1997 and 2001 two women, Jenny Shipley and Helen Clark, were, in turn, prime minister and leader of the opposition: it was a Western world first and, clearly, boxing was not a metaphorical option. Tom Scott found an effective substitute – mud wrestling.

Not surprisingly, the more aggressive team sports predominate in sporting metaphors. Football in its several guises is popular. Rugby is the clear favourite in New Zealand, as is soccer – after boxing – in Britain and among African cartoonists. In North America ice hockey and gridiron provide a suitable degree of violent confrontation to provide the necessary metaphoric ingredients for cartoonists. The *Listener*'s Chris Slane writes: 'Physical action in sport is useful when I want to visualise some political manoeuvre in a dramatic visual way. Games like rugby are good for showing opponents and other team members. Violent action is more fun to draw than a quiet chat between grey-suited men in an office'.[14]

Most important, of course, is that cartoonists use sports familiar to their readers.

It was not an equal contest. Jenny Shipley's poor performance against Helen Clark in the House was one of the reasons colleagues replaced her later in the year. Cartoonist: Tom Scott (*Evening Post*, 2001, ATL ref. H-648-037)

Nicholas Garland wryly observes: 'That might rule out lacrosse for instance or that weird form of polo played on horseback by certain tribes in, I think Afghanistan, in which the internationally known small wooden polo ball is replaced by the severed head of a goat'.[15]

Although very different from other sports, horse-racing, with its history back to the earliest days of European settlement in New Zealand, has contributed a number of commonly used expressions to political journalism – 'neck-to-neck', 'every post a winning post', 'odds on favourite', 'the home straight', 'back in the saddle', 'jockeying for position' – which have translated into effective visual metaphors for cartoonists as well.

Major sporting events – particularly the Olympics – bring a flurry of associated sporting metaphors to the political cartoons of the time. As Alan Moir, *Sydney Morning Herald's* principal cartoonist and expatriate New Zealander notes: 'Recently I've used the Tour de France and the sprinkled tacks to ridicule the Opposition Leader, and the Olympics always feature when they're on, providing endless satirical variations, especially crunch events that feature the USA, Russia and/or China'. 'The advantages of using sport is that the metaphor is usually very visual', he says. 'The image is usually easily expressed and understood, especially if it is following a particular happening like, for example, an Olympics relay baton drop'.[16]

Rugby, though, is New Zealand's undisputed sporting metaphor champion.

TEST MATCH TACTICS.

Rugby metaphors are standard fare in cartoons during elections. In this 1949 *Evening Post* cartoon, National opposition leader Sid Holland is arguing for private enterprise against Labour PM Peter Fraser's commitment to state control. Cartoonist: Neville Colvin (ATL ref. E-549-q-01-024)

The game tied most closely to the national psyche, rugby has other distinct advantages beyond the almost universal understanding of its basic rules. It provides the necessary levels of sometimes violent confrontation – among both individuals and teams – and an array of competitive situations that work much more effectively visually than they do in written political commentary. While a few expressions like 'kicking for touch' have found their way into political reportage, the rugby field has given cartoonists a particularly rich source of visual metaphors. These have included such graphic possibilities as: 'scoring under the posts', 'taking the high ball', 'missing the tackle', 'crash tackle', 'winning the lineout', 'the yellow card', 'high tackle', 'dropped pass', 'diving for the line', 'forced out in the corner', 'feeding the scrum', 'the front row', 'the tight five', 'kicking a goal', 'coming off the bench' and 'dotting the ball down'.

Apart from the surfeit of cartoons purely and simply about rugby that few New Zealand political cartoonists can resist, particularly during World Cup and Bledisloe Cup clashes, there is a sub-category of rugby metaphor cartoons relating to race. These have ranged from Neil Lonsdale's 1969 cartoon with Eruera Tirikatene trying to pass the 'racial issue' ball to a reluctant Walter Nash;[17] to

Two days after the 1978 election, Minhinnick's *New Zealand Herald* cartoon had Muldoon crashing over under the posts in the desperate tackle of Labour's Bill Rowling and Social Credit's Bruce Beetham. Rowling had not conceded on election night as the final result in several seats could have tipped the result Labour's way. Cartoonist: Gordon Minhinnick (ATL ref. A-311-1-047)

Ben Couch, in Bob Brockie's 1981 cartoon, booting the apartheid ball in the opposite direction from his National colleagues;[18] or Trace Hodgson's 1985 cartoon of All Blacks 'rucking' over the top of South African blacks.[19] Ironically perhaps, these cartoons, and many more in the same vein, reflect the game's long and inextricably entwined role in the controversy about keeping politics out of sport.

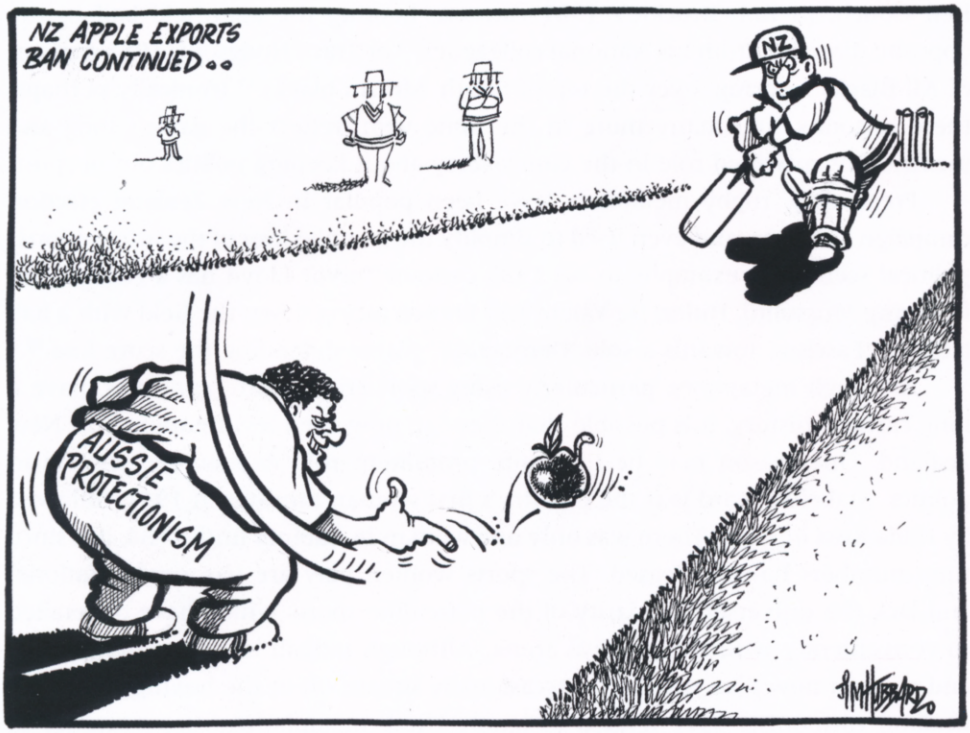
Predictably, rugby metaphors have been popular in New Zealand election campaign cartoons, and even used to simplify the complexities of the international political scene. For example, in his 1933 cartoon Trevor Lloyd has a rugby team featuring Mussolini, Hitler, De Valera and Franco racing down the field with a ball labelled 'Fascism' towards a sole 'Democracy' player defending the score line.[20]

Although metaphors, particularly using sport and warfare analogies, have a long cartoon history, it is possible that they are now used less frequently in New Zealand. One reason may be the more prominent role women are playing in politics. Mabel Howard was the country's first woman minister in 1947, followed by Hilda Ross in 1954. There was only one woman in Cabinet until 1984, but since then numbers have increased. The sports women play are less confrontational and lack the universal popularity of the masculine sports which have dovetailed so conveniently with the political arena. Although netball is increasingly robust and women now play rugby and occasionally square off in the boxing ring, New Zealand cartoonists have tended to ignore these metaphorical opportunities in their political cartooning.

However, this does not seem to have inhibited cartoonists in the United States. As Joan Conners writes: 'The competitive nature of the campaign, the horserace, is a frequent image of Obama and Clinton in 2008 presidential primary cartoons'.[21] And other observers have noted: 'The language of war and sports, two of the most traditionally masculine domains in American society, is so prevalent in our political discourse that it is even used by those who wish to increase women's political involvement'.[22]

Malcolm Evans, who has cartooned for a number of this country's leading newspapers, also suggests the metaphor may have lost some of its gloss. 'The use of metaphor generally seems to have been more common among the cartoonists I grew up with – Minhinnick and later Lonsdale', he notes. 'But with the move away from the comparative gentility of those days, today's political cartoons seem, to me at least, to be more gritty and to reflect a cutting irony and acid wit, a trend probably pioneered here by Tom Scott and Trace Hodgson'.[23]

It may also be a matter of pride for cartoonists. A last word from Evans: 'The use of metaphor has probably tended to become more and more a "strategy of last resort" – where you go when a deadline is looming and nothing better has emerged from the swamp of your musings. Put simply, metaphor is easy'.[24]



This *Hawke's Bay Today* cartoon (2000) linked the efforts of Australia to exclude New Zealand apples with the equally devious and notorious 'underarm' bowling incident in a New Zealand-Australia cricket international in 1981. Cartoonist: Jim Hubbard (ATL ref. A-350-099)

ENDNOTES

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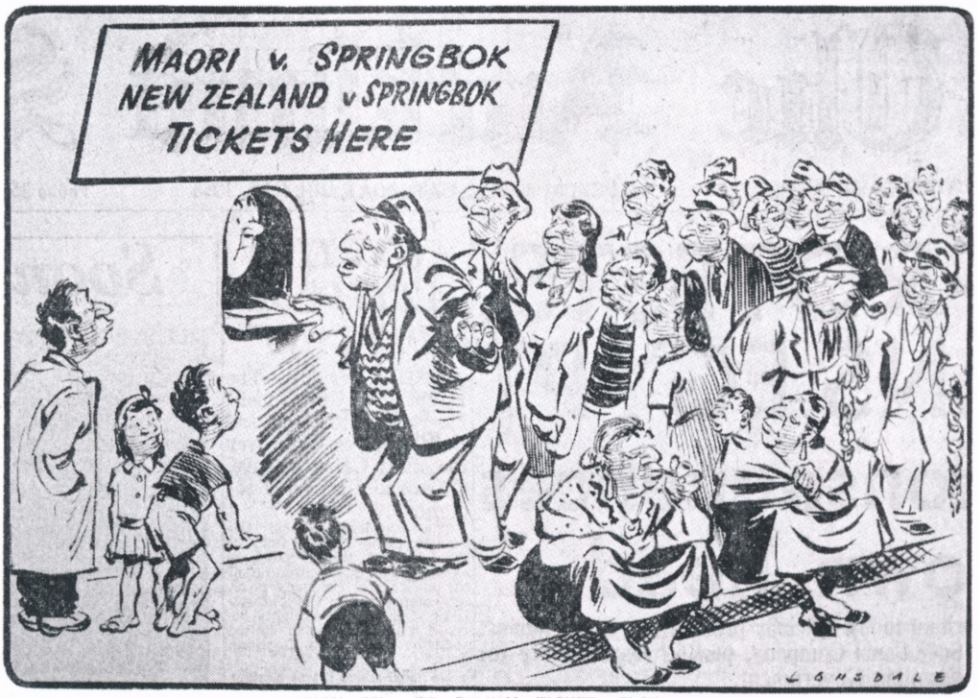

"YOU SELL TE FAMILY TICKET, EH?"

'You sell te family ticket, eh?', published in the *Auckland Star* on 28 July 1956.
Reproduced with the permission of Chris Lonsdale. Cartoonist: Neil Lonsdale (ATL ref. A-316-4-004)

A Window into Race Relations c. 1956: *Using Cartoons as a Historical Source*[1]

PAUL DIAMOND

In the 1950s there was a popular belief that New Zealand had the best race relations in the world. However, as the Human Rights Commission has noted, while routinely expressed, this was based more on good faith than on deep analysis.[2] Contemporary accounts are largely silent, but analysis and insight can be found in two very different editorial cartoons produced in response to a rugby game between the Springboks and a New Zealand Māori side on 25 August 1956.

The 1956 South African rugby tour is a turning point, marking the moment when playing rugby with South Africa became recognised as a political concern and the game itself began to lose its hold over the country.[3] Before 1956 race had been an issue in rugby contests between New Zealand and South Africa but it was rarely acknowledged, in part due to the overwhelming belief in the positive race relations in New Zealand, seen as a process of two races rapidly becoming one harmonious people. The two cartoons highlighted in this essay challenge this narrative.

The first of these, by Neil Lonsdale, appeared in the *Auckland Star* a month before the game – an indication of the keen anticipation surrounding what was to be the first New Zealand Māori–Springbok clash in 35 years. It shows a Māori man at a ticket counter for the game, surrounded by 23 family members of different ages. Gesturing to his assembled whānau, the man asks the ticket seller, 'You sell te family ticket, eh?'

In some cartoons Māori identity is indicated by traditional clothing (for example, korowai, piupiu, tīpare) and weaponry. In Lonsdale's portrayal, the Māori figures wear European clothing; it is their dark skin that denotes difference, making them distinct from the man in the ticket booth. Two men lean on carved tokotoko (walking sticks); two older women are seated on the footpath, one smoking a pipe and the other wearing a blanket over her shoulders with an infant wrapped inside – visual references to earlier popular stereotypical representations of Māori by Gottfried Lindauer, Frances Hodgkins and other artists.

The second cartoon appeared the Monday after the New Zealand Māori–Springbok game, in the *Taranaki Daily News*, one of the few provincial papers with a tradition of editorial cartoons.[4] It was drawn by the paper's resident cartoonist, Harry Dansey – one of the few Māori to have worked as an editorial cartoonist. He depicts two Māori men leaving the game following the 37–0 loss by the NZ Māori side, with one of them commenting, 'I think I'll take my name off the Maori roll!' The other departing spectators are stern-faced, with heads bowed and chins set as they leave the stadium. A smaller figure in the lower corner, weeping and holding a handkerchief to his face, is dressed as a Māori warrior in piupiu and tipare, and with a kete. This is Tom Tiki, Dansey's 'Māori leprechaun', who recurred frequently in his editorial cartoons and starred in a comic strip in the paper. While the strip was purely humorous, Tom Tiki's presence in the editorial cartoons would often reinforce their main themes.[5]

Like other cartoons from the period, Māori in these two cartoons are caricatured,[6] but Dansey's figures bear closer resemblance to real-life Māori than the grotesque characters drawn by Lonsdale. Gentler, more benign depictions such as these are a hallmark of Dansey's cartoons, irrespective of the subject. According to journalist Noel Holmes, Dansey 'could draw elegantly', but was not a great cartoonist since 'he lacked the cruel sense necessary'.[7]

Thomas Kemnitz divides cartoons into two categories: joke cartoons and cartoons of opinion.[8] Lonsdale and Dansey's cartoons have elements of each category: both use humour to make serious points about New Zealand race relations.

Lonsdale and Dansey's cartoons focus on the spectators rather than the players (or rugby administrators and politicians, who would later dominate cartoons concerning Māori rugby and South Africa). This focus is consistent with accounts in, for example, Jock Phillips's memoir of the third test[9] and Warwick Roger's *Old Heroes*,[10] which point out that although players and games were significant, also prominent in the historical record is the overwhelming and unprecedented impact of the tour on the country. More than a third of the population (then just over two million) attended the games; the NZ Māori–Springbok game at Eden Park attracted a record crowd of 59,800.

Its popularity is one reason why the 1956 tour achieved mythic status in rugby folklore.[11] The tour was also New Zealand's first ever test series victory over South Africa, at a time when the traditional rivals were the world's most rugby-obsessed nations. The visiting Springbok team was the first South African side in 60 years to lose a test series. Following a crushing New Zealand defeat in the 1949 All Blacks' tour to South Africa, revenge was on the minds of New Zealanders. One writer described the atmosphere of the 1956 tour as near hysterical.[12] The 23 matches and events associated with the bitterly fought tour were minutely

"I think I'll take my name off the Maori roll!"

'I think I'll take my name off the Maori roll!', published in the *Taranaki Daily News* on 27 August 1956. Reproduced with the permission of the Dansey family. Cartoonist: Harry Dansey (ATL ref. J-065-068)

examined in the extensive publicity and many accounts, some appearing more than 30 years later. Less evident in published material was the preceding period of tension and bitter conflict surrounding the role of Māori in rugby contact with South Africa.

In 1921 the first South African team to tour New Zealand played a Māori side, narrowly defeating them. The team turned their backs on a group of poi dancers before kick-off and refused to shake the hands of their opponents.[13] There was controversy the next day, when a Post Office worker leaked a telegram sent to South Africa by a journalist accompanying the team:

Bad enough having play team officially designated New Zealand Natives. Spectacle thousands Europeans frantically cheering on band of colored men to defeat members of own race was too much for Springboks, who frankly disgusted.[14]

In 1928 the All Blacks made their first tour to South Africa. The organisers acquiesced to South African demands and excluded Māori from the team, including outstanding players such as George Nepia and Jimmy Mill. This triggered protest among Māori and Pākehā. Nepia wrote that 'the whole of New Zealand is indignant'.[15]

On their next tour of New Zealand, in 1937, the South Africans refused to play a Māori side, but Māori were in the All Blacks team. Tai Mitchell, Chair of Te Arawa Trust Board and member of the Māori Advisory Board to the New Zealand Rugby Football Union (NZRFU), led a call for Māori to boycott the tour.[16]

In 1948 the NZRFU accepted an invitation from the South African rugby union to tour in 1949, again with an all-white team. This time, protests were stronger and more widespread. RSA President and war hero Major-General Sir Howard Kippenberger's comments against the tour gained Māori support. The MP for Southern Māori, Eruera Tirikatene, suggested that the team should be known as a New Zealand European team rather than as All Blacks.[17] Yet there is no doubt that the team was seen as representing New Zealand. At the state farewell at Parliament Buildings, the Acting Leader of the Opposition, Keith Holyoake, described the team as 'ambassadors and emissaries of New Zealand. The honour and prestige of the whole of New Zealand are in the team's hands'.[18]

The political controversy preceding the South African team's 1956 tour of New Zealand wasn't publicly acknowledged. Opposition was minimal – the Māori Women's Welfare League was the only group to speak out. Even the New Zealand Communist Party supported the tour.[19] In contrast to the silence at home, criticism of the game was reflected in the South African press. Warwick Roger has noted Dana Niehaus's comments in *Die Transvaaler*: 'The match should not have been arranged … In most circles the inclusion of such a match was treated with a little bit of suspicion, especially since the coloured section of New Zealand was playing against the representatives of a land where the dividing line is very sharp and definite.' Although the Springboks wouldn't look for trouble, said Niehaus, 'if their ire is roused, then the fur will fly'.[20]

There was no trouble, however, perhaps because of contested events that saw the match later dubbed the 'game of shame'.[21] Richard Thompson has argued that some officials in New Zealand were afraid of racial conflict: 'the Māori players were warned so severely in advance that they took the field so cowed that they were thoroughly defeated'.[22] This remarkable allegation apparently lay hidden until 2010. In a media interview, former Māori fullback Muru Walters (now Bishop Muru Walters) said that the Minister of Māori Affairs, Ernest Corbett, had visited the team and told them if they won, the All Blacks would never be invited back to South Africa. Walters' account was contested: Tiny Hill denied that Corbett visited; Heitia Hiha couldn't remember the visit but did recall the team 'being told to "tone it down" by the NZRU'.[23] While these allegations remain disputed, it is clear that race was an issue in 1956, even if this was not acknowledged in accounts at the time. Historian Michael Pearson has reflected on this 'curious silence,' given the prominence of the later protests and the subsequent acknowledgement of the links between politics and sport. Why, he asks, were the Springboks greeted in 1956 in

a purely sporting, apolitical, way?[24] Among the reasons, he suggests, is the central role of rugby in New Zealand society and national identity, together with the latent racism in this country at the time. The cartoons by Lonsdale and Dansey coincide with this argument, and challenge the official line on race relations in the 1950s.

That line was expressed by the government in its 1956 publication, *The Maori of Today*. Writing in the introduction, Minister of Māori Affairs Ernest Corbett claimed: 'Two ways of life are becoming one'.[25] The booklet went on to argue that:

Maoris and Europeans today are a homogeneous people united in the common purpose of individual welfare and national stability. This unity has its roots in the respect and admiration each has for the other; it is fostered by the friendships formed at school, at work, and on the playing fields against a background of social and economic equality.[26]

Critiques of this would later become common,[27] but one made closer to the time created huge controversy.

David Ausubel was an American sociologist who spent a year in New Zealand on a Fulbright scholarship over 1957/8. His book, *The Fern and the Tiki* appeared in 1960 and has been described by Jock Phillips as 'a wholehearted attack on the New Zealand character and social values'.[28] Ausubel was particularly critical of New Zealand's race relations and the refusal of New Zealanders to accept there was a problem. As long as this national self-delusion remained, he argued, 'the only realistic prospect for the future is the emergence of a brown proletariat segregated in the urban slums and living in a state of chronic tension with their white neighbours'.[29]

Lonsdale and Dansey's cartoons are rare examples of contemporaneous sources supporting Ausubel's argument. Despite the presence of books about the history of cartoons and cartooning, with rare exceptions cartoons tend to be used as illustrations in published histories, rather than as historical sources.[30] If, as Kemnitz maintains, the value of cartoons to historians 'lies in what they reveal about the societies that produced and circulated them',[31] what do these cartoons tell us about the New Zealand of 1956?

Lonsdale's cartoon tells us about Pākehā attitudes to Māori. A key point he makes is that Māori are clannish in a different manner to Pākehā, maintaining obligations across a wide family network. Underlying Lonsdale's humour is a note of disapproval of the difference between Māori and Pākehā families. There's an echo, too, of the criticism by the first Minister of Native Affairs, Christopher William Richmond, of the 'beastly' Communism of the natives.[32] Lonsdale is also expressing the 'resentful envy' Ausubel identified among his Pākehā informants, who objected to Māori apparently getting something for nothing.[33]

The Māori in Lonsdale's cartoon are drawn as brutal, crude caricatures, and the accentuation of their dark skin gives them a sinister, menacing presence. Māori

in other Lonsdale cartoons around this period are drawn more sympathetically: two show Māori in traditional dress, perhaps delineating them as harmless and benign; another depicts Eruera Tirikatene who, unlike Walter Nash in this picture, is named, indicating the unfamiliarity of Māori public figures.[34] Why did Lonsdale draw the Māori figures so differently in the Springbok tour cartoon? In the build-up to the NZ Māori game, media reports focused on the large numbers of Māori from around the country expected to converge on Eden Park, including haka teams 3,000 strong. The official programme included the 'words of the "Kamate" haka and of various favourite native songs',[35] but a haka failed to eventuate; the crowd, like the players, were unexpectedly subdued.[36] Several weeks out from the game Lonsdale seems to be expressing the mood of anticipation and using it as a springboard to make a point about racial difference.

The central character in Lonsdale's cartoon speaks in pidgin Māori, like some of the characters drawn much earlier by cartoonist Trevor Lloyd. The representations of Māori are also reminiscent of Lloyd's figures, described by Peter Shaw in 1983 as grinning Māori savages, epitomising a 'Hey boy' humour regarded by later generations as racially insulting.[37] Matthew Basso argues that Lloyd revealed 'the complex racial ideology of Europeans in the first decades of the twentieth century'.[38] Lonsdale's cartoon suggests that the racism identified by Ian Grant in cartoons up to the 1930s may have had a longer presence.[39]

Collectively, the different aspects employed by Lonsdale reflect the 'deep-seated belief in the inherent inferiority' of Māori that Ausubel and others argued underlay patronising attitudes towards Māori in the 1950s. In contrast, Dansey's cartoon illustrates how Māori saw themselves. His two central figures, while recognisably Māori, are 1950s Kiwi Everymen. One has the regulation short-back-and-sides haircut, while the other sports the standard-issue hat worn by many men in the 1950s. Unlike Lonsdale's figures, Dansey's men blend into the rest of the crowd, who appear to be a mix of Māori and Pākehā. And Dansey's men speak New Zealand English, not the pidgin slang of Lonsdale's man. Unlike Lonsdale, Dansey does not see Māori as a people apart.

The comment made by Dansey's character – 'I think I'll take my name off the Maori roll!' – alludes to the sorrow and shame felt by Māori when the NZ Māori team lost by such a large margin to the Springboks. By referring to the Māori roll, Dansey also draws attention to the lot of people with mixed Māori and Pākehā ancestry (like himself), who were then known as 'half-castes'. To understand this, it is necessary to know how the Māori electoral system worked, and how in 1956 it was racially segregated.

The separate Māori electoral system had been established in 1867, creating four seats for which Māori (including half-castes, but initially only men over 21) could vote. Originally this was a temporary measure to circumvent the requirement that

voters own property (then uncommon among Māori), but it ended up becoming a separate system of representation.

For many years the Māori electoral system was neglected and did not share the key elements of the main electoral system. For example, an electoral roll for Māori seats was not created until 1948, and it became compulsory only in 1956 for eligible Māori voters to enrol (compared with 1924 for the European roll). In 1956 only voters who were half-castes (like Dansey) could switch between the Māori and European rolls. From 1893 until 1975, people of more than half Māori descent could not vote in a European electorate, and people who were less than half Māori descent weren't eligible to vote in a Māori electorate and had to vote in a European electorate. This meant that between 1893 and 1975 only those who were exactly half Māori could choose whether to vote in a Māori or European electorate. The difficulty of establishing exact blood quantum suggests that in practice the right to switch rolls would have been determined by the common definition of half-caste (having one Māori and one Pākehā parent).

The separate Māori electoral system highlights the very different way that race and ethnicity were conceptualised at the time Dansey was making cartoons. The same definition of ethnicity also applied to the New Zealand Māori rugby team. Prior to 1956, some Māori were excluded from the team because they weren't Māori enough.[40]

Dansey is remembered for having pride in his dual heritage. He wrote about the issues facing people with mixed ancestry, which he saw as a continuum. Regardless of the quantum of Māori heritage, he believed all Māori faced a common dilemma: 'Maoris, be they of full blood or part, are a minority people who must accept the fact that they live with the spotlight of public opinion blazing down on them'. Being 'the heirs of both races' meant that 'by our very birth we have inherited that which is both heavy burden and inestimable privilege'.[41]

Dansey went on to become New Zealand's second Race Relations Conciliator (1975–79), with a goal 'to affirm and promote racial harmony and equality in New Zealand'.[42] His ideal for racial harmony was summarised in the last part of his 1970 poem, 'The Divided Heart':

We would not choose to tell apart
The things we love by race or clime
For they are one within the heart;
And equal joy in them we take
That in this place by chance are set
Tall kauri of Waitākere
Or oak and elm of Somerset.

By drawing attention to mixed-race individuals such as himself, Dansey anticipates, in his cartoon, views on race relations that he would continue to be linked with publicly. Although recognising Māori had a separate status in the electoral system (and in other areas of life such as rugby), Dansey also makes a case for the inevitable acknowledgement of intermarriage and its consequences.

Sarah Murray has argued that historical investigation of cartoons represents an original method of exploring the preoccupations of a particular era.[43] She has used cartoons to gain insights into the experiences of New Zealanders during the Great War, and to achieve a greater understanding of common attitudes at the time. This essay draws on just two cartoons from the collection of more than 60,000 in the New Zealand Cartoon Archive at the Alexander Turnbull Library, as part of research for a forthcoming monograph. The two cartoons examined here are not held up as representative of a whole era, but they are windows into race relations, yielding insights into how Māori were seen by Pākehā and how they saw themselves. These are contemporary statements about race relations and add critical commentary to histories and accounts from the period. They also illustrate two responses to questions that continue to challenge New Zealanders: what does it mean to be Māori, and what is the place of Māori in New Zealand society?

ENDNOTES

1 I gratefully acknowledge the comments made by Malcolm Mulholland, Massey University; Fiona Oliver, Alexander Turnbull Library; and an anonymous peer reviewer, on drafts of this article.

2 Human Rights Commission, 'Race Relations Law Marks 40th Anniversary', http://www.hrc.co.nz/2012/race-relations-law-marks-40th-anniversary. Accessed 12 November 2012.

3 For example, see F. Macdonald, *The Game of Our Lives* (Auckland: Viking, 1996), pp. 71–74; 82–87.

4 Ian Grant, *The Unauthorized Version* (Auckland: David Bateman/Fraser, 1987), p. 134.

5 Recurring figures feature in other editorial cartoons. They include the small Māori man ('Little Maori Mandate') drawn by G. Minhinnick (see ATL refs H-705-008 and B-056-105). For a discussion, see G. G. Vince MacDonald's unpublished Master's thesis, *The Evolution of Social-Political Cartoon Satire in the New Zealand Press During the 19th and Early 20th Centuries*, online at http://ir.canterbury.ac.nz/handle/10092/6838. See also Tom Brooking, *The History of New Zealand* (Westport, Conn.; Oxford: Harcourt Education, 2004), p. 134. For a more recent example see the figure featured in Malcolm Evans's cartoons (e.g. ATL refs DCDL-0020144 and DCDL-0020174). Unlike Tom Tiki and the Little Maori Mandate, Evans's figure is not mute.

6 See, for example, cartoons by Neville Colvin (ATL ref. C-132-868 and B-184-026); Nevile Lodge in *Lodge Laughs at the Springbok Tour* (Wellington, A. H. & A. W. Reed, 1956); Francis Edmond Choate (ATL ref. J-065-059) and G. Minhinnick (ATL ref. H-705-008).

7 H. R. Dansey and Te Rina Dawn Dansey, 'Dansey, Harry Delamere Barter' in the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/5d3/1. Accessed 12 November 2012.

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9 Jock Phillips, *A Man's Country? (Auckland: Penguin, 1987), pp. 82–85.*

10 Warwick Roger, *Old Heroes: The 1956 Springbok Tour & the Lives Beyond* (Auckland: Hodder Moa, 2006).

11 See, for example, K. Quin & J. Romanos, *Outrageous Rugby Moments: Stories of Controversy, Humour, Scandal and Disgrace* (Auckland, Hodder Moa Beckett, 2001), p. 60.

12 A. C. Parker, *Now is the Hour: The 1965 'Boks in Australia and New Zealand* (Whitcombe & Tombs, Christchurch, 1965).

13 *Herald on Sunday*, 18 April 2010, p. 81.

14 *NZ Truth*, 17 September 1921, p. 6. See article at www.paperspast.natlib.govt.nz.

15 Cited in T. Richards, *Dancing on Our Bones* (Wellington, Bridget Williams, 1999), pp. 12; 153.

16 M. Mulholland, *Beneath the Māori Moon: An Illustrated History of Māori Rugby,* (Wellington, Huia, 2009), pp. 81–82; Greg Ryan, 'Anthropological Football: Maori and the 1937 Springbok Rugby Tour of New Zealand', *New Zealand Journal of History* 34, 1 (2000): 60–79.

17 R. Thompson, *Retreat From Apartheid*, p. 16.

18 R. Thompson, *Retreat From Apartheid*, p. 18.

19 T. Richards, *Dancing on Our Bones*, p. 19.

20 W. Roger, *Old Heroes*, pp. 117–18. Note that the threat of violence was mentioned in accounts of the game published at the time in New Zealand. For example, T. P. McLean, *The Battle for the Rugby Crown* (Wellington: Reed, 1956), p. 215; M. Price, *Springboks at Bay* (London: Longmans Green, 1956), p. 170.

21 *NZ Herald, 17 April 2010.*

22 R. Thompson, *Retreat From Apartheid*, p. 18.

23 *NZ Herald*, 17 April 2010.

24 Michael Pearson, 'Heads in the Sand: The 1956 Springbok Tour to New Zealand in Perspective', in *Sport in History*, pp. 272–92, ed. by R. Cashman and M. McKernan (Brisbane, University of Queensland Press, 1979), p. 277.

25 *The Maori Today* (Wellington: Dept. of Maori Affairs, 1956), p. 1.

26 *The Maori Today*, p. 4.

27 For example, Michael L. Drake, *Māori Culture in a Christian Worldview* (Auckland: Wycliffe Christian Schools, 2005), pp. 9–10.

28 Jock Phillips, 'Visitors' Opinions about New Zealand – 20th- and 21st-century travellers', *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/visitors-opinions-about-new-zealand/4. Accessed 12 November 2012.

29 D. Ausubel, *The Fern and the Tiki: An American View of New Zealand* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1960), p. 215.

30 For a listing of examples of the ways in which New Zealand historians have employed cartoons as illustrations rather than historical sources, see Note 4 in the Introduction to Sarah Murray, *A Cartoon War: The Cartoons of the New Zealand Freelance and New Zealand Observer as Historical Sources, August 1914–November 1918* (Wellington, New Zealand Cartoon Archive, 2012).

31 Thomas M. Kemnitz, 'The Cartoon as a Historical Source': 82.

32 http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/turanga-i-te-hapori-status-in-maori-society/1

33 D. Ausubel, *The Fern and the Tiki,* p. 164.

34 See image of Eruera Tirikatene (ATL ref A-316-4-006); Māori couple welcoming American tourists (ATL ref E-549-q-10-041); and cartoon of Māori man in traditional dress with a weapon behind his back and a Springbok, published in *The Auckland Star*, 23 August 1956.

35 T. P. McLean, *The Battle for the Rugby Crown*, p. 211.

36 As McLean notes, 'there were no hakas, no poi dances, no songs, no cavortings'. *The Battle for the Rugby Crown*, p. 212.

37 Peter Shaw, 'Trevor Lloyd, Warts and All'. *Metro* (29 Nov 1983): 164–65.

38 Matthew Basso, 'Trevor Lloyd, Native Land, and the Contest over the European Racial Imagination in Aotearoa New Zealand'. *Turnbull Library Record* 37 (2004): 70.

39 See Ian Grant, *The Unauthorized Version*, p. 4.

40 For example, Vince Bevan was not eligible for the Māori team that toured Fiji in 1954 because he had too little Māori blood (Richards, p. 17; Quinn, p. 122). For commentary about separate Māori teams for rugby and other sports, see 'Playing for the Same Team?'. *North & South* (August 2003): 39; 'Matching Mana with Mana'. *Planet* 13 (Winter 1994): 34. Note that following the end of apartheid in South Africa, New Zealand faced criticism for having a racially selected team whose eligibility to play in post-Apartheid South Africa was questioned (for example, 'Boot's on the Other Foot', *Dominion Post* 23 February 2009, p. B4).

41 *Te Ao Hou* 28 (September 1959), http://teaohou.natlib.govt.nz/journals/teaohou/image/Mao28TeA/Mao28TeA006.html. Accessed 12 November 2012.

42 H. R. Dansey and Te Rina Dawn Dansey, 'Dansey, Harry Delamere Barter – Biography', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand.*

43 Sarah Murray, *A Cartoon War*, p. 99.

Studio portrait of two young men, one in running clothes, and the other, possibly his coach, seated beside him, about 1910. It is one of the 160,000 photographs digitised and made available through the Library's Pictures Online project. Photographer: James McAllister (ATL ref. 1/1-007997-G)

The Year in Review:
Turnbull 2012

This was a year of change and transition for the Alexander Turnbull Library, as staff and collections returned to the refurbished building in Molesworth St after more than two years in temporary and reduced circumstances. The year commenced with the implementation of the Library's new staffing structure, which saw approximately two-thirds of staff either new to the Turnbull or appointed to new or changed positions. The Turnbull continued to deliver credible results, with a number of significant highlights. Several of these are described in this report, with data provided for the period July 2011 to June 2012.

Preserving the Collections

The Collection Care Team entered a new phase under the leadership of Peter Whitehead. In addition to preservation and conservation activities, this team now has responsibility for collection movement (including reading-room retrievals) and repository management. Major achievements included the integration of the serials collection, the re-housing of several thousand photographic negatives undertaken as part of the Pictures Online project, and the conclusion of the Audio Retro Preservation Project.

The Audio Retro Preservation Project's objective was to digitise over 2,000 at-risk audio items. The project was extended to March 2012, with nearly 2,500 items deposited into the National Digital Heritage Archive (NDHA). Content included oral histories relating to the First World War, the Bay of Plenty and Murchison earthquakes, the *Wahine* disaster, and the 1918 influenza epidemic.

National Preservation Office

The activities of the National Preservation Office (NPO) were managed by the Field Conservator. The position is held by Vicki-Anne Heikell, and is part of the Library's Outreach Team.

The NPO received 159 enquiries, including 93 written enquiries on subjects as diverse as the long-term care of overhead transparencies, disaster salvage guidelines for a public library, the display and storage of textiles, and the management

of college archives. Of these enquiries, 60% were from organisations, the GLAM (**G**alleries, **L**ibraries, **A**rchives, **M**useums) sector, iwi and hapū. Individual enquiries were primarily one-off questions. At least six of the organisational enquiries resulted in ongoing NPO advice, support and/or training.

The NPO completed five site visits with written assessments. These advisory projects covered government, iwi and non-government organisations.

The NPO represented the Library in discussions across the cultural heritage sector to gauge the level of support for New Zealand to set up a National Committee of the Blue Shield (NZBS). Blue Shield is a UNESCO initiative and an international organisation working to protect the world's cultural heritage by co-ordinating ways to meet and respond to emergency situations.

Four preservation workshops/training courses were delivered. Three were delivered with partner organisations Te Papa National Services Te Paerangi and Archives New Zealand Community Archives. Two of the four workshops were hapū focused.

The revised Preservation landing page on the National Library website attracted 1,424 views, with a further 3,263 visits accessing the associated Preservation Guides. Content for a new print and online publication, *Digitisation of Heritage Audio Collections*, to be delivered in English and Māori, was prepared and the publication, *Caring for Taonga – Photographs*, was revised in preparation for reprinting.

The NPO delivered three preservation-focused undergraduate papers within Te Wānanga o Raukawa's Puna Maumahara Diploma and Bachelor programmes, and two lectures as part of the University of Auckland Anthropology Department Stage 3 paper, *Heritage Conservation in Aotearoa*. Both these institutions met the cost of travel and accommodation. The NPO also delivered presentations at the NZ Salvation Army Heritage conference, the 'After the Earthquake' symposium, and an ARANZ seminar on Māori archives and record-keeping.

Protecting the Collections

By June 2012 most of the Turnbull Library collections had been moved to their proper locations following the completion of the expanded and upgraded Molesworth St collection storage facilities. A number of individuals deserve recognition for successfully achieving this major logistical exercise, including the construction site liaison officer, Pam Harris, and the collection move manager, Lisa Rutherford. The Library's Collection Care team and Crown Removals did a superb job in supporting and undertaking the move.

All of the Turnbull Library collections located in the National Library building are now housed in atmosphere-controlled environments.

Developing the Collections

Just over 68,000 items were received into the Turnbull collections for the year. As always, most were published material received through Legal Deposit provisions. This is less than the total for 2010/2011 (94,000 items); however, that year was considered unusual, with the receipt of a large number of electronic monographs.

Highlights from the unpublished acquisitions included the records of the New Zealand Merchant Services Guild Industrial Services Union of Workers. This is a large collection spanning 1900–1990, and includes minutes, correspondence and subject files. The records complement the strong collection of maritime trade union records already held by the Library.

The Turnbull was pleased to conclude negotiations for the purchase of a significant collection of Katherine Mansfield papers held in private hands in the UK. Manuscripts Curator David Colquhoun deserves mention for his persistence in acquiring this material. More detail on this acquisition and its arrangement and description will be included in next year's annual report.

There were a number of milestones within the Library's 'born-digital' collecting activities. The Digital Collection Strategy Team, led by Mark Crookston, developed the capability to archive online video as well as Twitter and Gmail-based email accounts. Web harvesting activities continued with the ingest of websites and blogs, including those covering major events such as the Canterbury earthquakes, the Rena container-ship incident, the Rugby World Cup and the general election.

In the wake of the Canterbury earthquakes, the Library commissioned Ross Becker to undertake a series of monthly photographic assignments documenting the damage, demolition and ongoing changes to the built environment. By June 2012, the Library had received approximately 8,000 digital images. These have been made freely available on the internet.

Making the Collections Accessible

Reading room services

The Research Enquiry Team spent much of the year preparing for the return to the Molesworth St building and implementing the new research services model. This included reviewing reading room reference collections, refining floor layouts, updating operational policies and procedures, and developing staff training plans.

Over 32,000 visits were made to reading rooms located at Thorndon Quay and Archives New Zealand. The service fielded approximately 22,000 enquiries.

Online catalogue records

Creating online catalogue records for the Rare Books and Fine Print collection was practically completed during the year, with the addition of nearly 4,000 titles. This work is done for the Turnbull by the National Library's Content Services directorate, working closely with the Curator, Rare Books & Fine Printing, Ruth Lightbourne.

Arrangement and description

An Arrangement and Description Team was established in July 2011 under the leadership of Nicola Frean. The Team is responsible for arranging and describing unpublished items across all formats. All team members received some training across formats, while maintaining the core business of processing new accessions and enhancing collection records. Over 22,000 new records were created for unpublished collection items.

Turnbull Library staff gathered in the refurbished foyer of the National Library building.
Photographer: Llewelyn Jones

Digitisation

The Turnbull Library's Imaging Services Team, led by David Adams, produced some excellent results with the in-house digitisation programmes. Some 2,436 items were digitised during the year across all collection paper and painting formats, yielding a total of 37,766 images/pages. This represents a 61% increase in images/pages on the previous year.

Papers of the Selwyn family were among the items digitised. Purchased in England in 2010, their export clearance was granted on the condition that they be digitised as soon as possible and made available online. The papers include letters, diaries and other documents of Bishop George Augustus Selwyn and his wife Sara, as well as papers of their son, John Richardson Selwyn, Bishop of Melanesia.

Following on from the Selwyn papers, the Library undertook a project to digitise selected manuscripts. These included 50 Elsdon Best notebooks, comprising his carefully compiled notes on Māori history and traditions, much of which never found its way into his publications.

A number of James Cowan notebooks were also digitised, some of which contain notes made as part of his oral history research into the New Zealand wars.

The Library's mass-digitisation programme, Pictures Online, came to an end in June 2012. Over the course of the project more than 160,000 images were digitised. The focus for 2011/2012 was to ingest the material into the Library's digital preservation system, the NDHA and provide online records for each image. At the project's conclusion, just over 4,000 images remained to be catalogued. These will be dealt with over the coming year as part of usual business.

Collection loans

Loans to other exhibiting institutions were again low, as expected, as the majority of the collections were still in closed storage during the year. A small number were accommodated. These included the loan of a Katherine Mansfield letter to the Katherine Mansfield Birthplace, the diary of Mita Karaka to Te Papa Taongarewa for the *Tai Timu, Tai Pari Tainui* exhibition, four items to the Ian Potter Centre in Victoria, Australia, for a Eugène von Guérard exhibition, and one item to the State Library of New South Wales and National Library of Australia for the touring exhibition, *Lewin: Wild Art.*

An existing loan of two paintings to the Auckland Art Gallery was extended.[1]

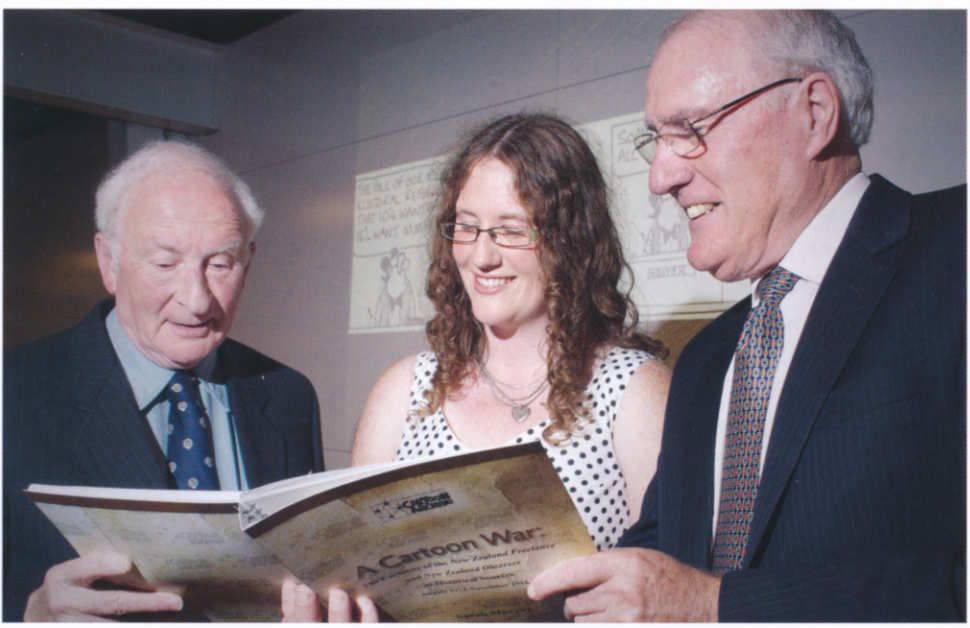
Other Activities and Highlights

The training activities of the Oral History Centre became a core service of the Library's newly established Outreach Team, led by Joan McCracken. Oral history training was offered through 11 workshops held in Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, Gisborne and Masterton.

The position of Heritage Programme Adviser, Māori, was created within the Outreach Team, and is based at the National Library's centre in Auckland. The position is expected to promote the Turnbull's collections and services to Māori, and develop relationships with iwi and Māori in the northern region. Mereana Taungapeau was appointed to the role in January 2012.

The Library's Oral History Adviser, Māori, Taina McGregor, was seconded to the Ministry for Culture and Heritage for one month over May/June 2012 to work on the 28th Māori Battalion website. Her work focused on translating the unit's war diaries of March 1941 and May 1942.

In January 2012, to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the New Zealand Cartoon Archive, former Prime Minister Sir Geoffrey Palmer launched the monograph, *A Cartoon War*, by Sarah Murray. This was the first in a programme of events celebrating the Archive's anniversary year. Another was the Turnbull Founder Lecture delivered in June 2012 by Ian F. Grant, the founder of the Archive.



From left, Ian F. Grant, Sarah Murray and Sir Geoffrey Palmer, at the launch of *A Cartoon War*.
Photographer: Mark Beatty

Organisational Changes

The Turnbull Library's new staffing structure came into effect in July 2011. Existing leadership team members Ruth MacEachern, Associate Chief Librarian, Research Access, and Ann O'Rorke, Assistant Chief Librarian, were joined by the following new appointees: Peter Whitehead, Leader Collection Care; John Sullivan, Leader Curatorial Services; Nicola Frean, Leader Arrangement & Description; Mark Crookston, Leader Digital Collection Strategy; Glenda Gale, Leader Reading Room Services; Amy Watling, Leader Online Services; David Adams, Leader Imaging Services; and Joan McCracken, Leader Outreach Services.

Tracy Puklowski joined the Turnbull in February 2012 as Associate Chief Librarian, Research Collections.

Newly appointed curators were Fiona Oliver (New Zealand & Pacific Publications), Shay Turnbull (Cartographic Collection), Natalie Marshall (Photographic Archive), Roger Flury (Music) and Paul Diamond (Māori).

The Chief Librarian's team, from left, Tracy Puklowski, Ann O'Rorke, Ruth MacEachern and Chris Szekely.
Photographer: Mark Beatty.

Concluding Comments

The 2011/2012 year was a time of adjustment, transition, planning and development, underpinned by physical and organisational change. Much of the year's successes are attributable to the ongoing dedication and effort of Turnbull staff, supported by colleagues from across the National Library along with new colleagues in a wider departmental context. Thanks are also due to the Friends of the Turnbull Library for their continuing encouragement and support.

CHRIS SZEKELY
Chief Librarian
Alexander Turnbull Library

ENDNOTES

1 *The Rev Thomas Kendall and the Maori Chiefs Hongi and Waikato*, 1820 by James Barry, and *Meeting of the Artist and Hongi at the Bay of Islands*, 1827 by Augustus Earle. The paintings are part of an exhibition of historical New Zealand art marking the reopening of the Auckland Art Gallery.

Notable Acquisitions
July 2011–June 2012

A selection of notable acquisitions covering all the collections is listed in the *Turnbull Library Record* to alert researchers to newly acquired material judged to be of significant research value. Additions to existing collections are not usually listed, except where they add substantially to what is already held.

Records can also be accessed electronically on the National Library of New Zealand's website (www.natlib.govt.nz). Records of the unpublished collections appear on the TAPUHI database, and the published collections through the National Library of New Zealand catalogue.

CARTOGRAPHIC COLLECTION

Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives collection of early maps. Donation.

Early maps, mainly of New Zealand, including surveys, topographic mapping and town plans from the collections of Te Papa Tongarewa. About 150 maps. Donation.

Land District of Taranaki (Wellington: Lands & Survey Dept., 1928). Topographic map with hand-coloured boundaries shown. Purchase.

New Zealand Forest Service conservancy maps, 1906–1944. Include manuscript additions. 32 maps. Purchase.

Plan of the Heatherlea Estate, Late J. R. McDonald's, Levin, surveyed by Thomas Ward of Ward & Salmon, surveyors & civil engineers (Wellington: C. M. Banks, 1919). Includes manuscript annotations and a list of owners of some of the sections. Donation.

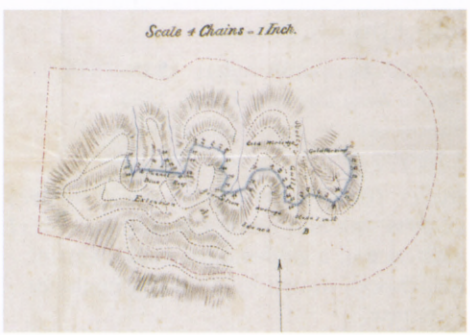
Province of Otago survey plans and triangulations, early 1860s. Purchase.

Solomon Islands, 1942–45. Shows Japanese and American sea and air bases during the latter half of the Second World War. Purchase.

Subdivision Plan of Kai Iwi Property, Wall, Bogle & Payne, registered surveyors Wanganui (Wanganui: [Murray, Roberts & Co., 1953]). Purchase.

A Visitor's Guide to Dubious, Dodgy & Dangerous Destinations, South Island, New Zealand (Nelson: Craig Potton, [2006]). Legal Deposit.

Waimea Water Race: Plan Shewing Extension of Branch B (Public Works Department, 1874). Purchase.



Plan for the Waimea water race (detail).
Cartographer: Public Works Dept.
(ATL ref. MapColl 834.4ghhd/1874/Acc.53897)

Waimea, on the West Coast, was one of the most promising of New Zealand's early goldfields, and settlers flocked to it. However, by the late 1860s many mines were sunk and there was inadequate water for sluicing. The high price charged for water meant it was not always economically viable to work the mines. The government was petitioned to build a water race to service the area, but the expense meant that the debate in Parliament dragged on. Newspapers recorded many disputes over water rights, including unauthorized diversions and illegal dams. Work on the water race eventually began in 1874, and was completed at an estimated cost of £106,000.

DRAWINGS, PAINTINGS AND PRINTS

Artists unknown. [*Nelson, 1841, after Charles Heaphy; Kororareka, 1827, after Augustus Earle; Views of Bay of Plenty and thermal regions, 1868, by an unknown artist*]. 14 watercolours, 6 photographs in album. The work of a military artist, including a Tauranga memorial to soldiers killed at Gate Pa, and views of Auckland and the Pink and White Terraces. Accompanied by 2 works in another hand, copied from well-known early New Zealand views. Purchase.

Alington family. [*Collection of watercolours and drawings, c. 1833–1961*]. 38 watercolours, 11 drawings, 2 sketchbooks. Includes the 19th-century Canterbury watercolours of William Herbert Alington, landscapes and portraits. Donation.

Bennett, Beverly Shore. [*Designs for stained glass windows, 1977–2001*]. 33 watercolours. Designs for windows and dossal hangings, along with manuscript records of Bennett's work. For a wide range of North Island churches, and churches at Scargill and Lawrence, Napier Cathedral, and three school chapels. Donation.

Branfill, Benjamin Aylett, 1828–1899. *After a Long Day on the Run. 1884.* Oil on canvas. Rare interior view of a Nelson settler's cottage. Purchase.

Butler, (E?). *View of New Road to Owen Reefs ... 1886.* Ink and wash. Record of the brief existence of a gold-mining camp west of Murchison, drawn by a mining engineer. Purchase.

Buxton. Trevor Sidney, 1901–1948. [*Landscape design plans of fine gardens, North Island, 1832–1948*]. 96 drawings by a well-known family of garden designers. Donation.

Ellis, Frederick Vincent, 1892–1961. [*Designs for leadlight church windows, c. 1925–1961*]. 21 watercolours. The work of a pioneering leadlight window designer and teacher with suggested designs for churches and schools around New Zealand. Donation.

Evans, Frederick John Owen, 1815–1885. *Bluff, New Zealand, H M S Acheron, 1849 ... Showing Surveying Work with Tent.* Watercolour. Evans was First Officer aboard the British hydrographic survey ship *Acheron*, in New Zealand waters 1849–1851. Shows surveying on land on the Mataura Plain, near Bluff. Purchase.

Gold, Charles Emilius, 1809–1871. *Winings, Wairau, N Z, 1851.* Watercolour. Purchase.

Gully, John, 1819–1888. [*Bush scene*] *1875.* Watercolour. The original for a chromolithograph published in Gully's New Zealand scenery (Dunedin, 1877). Purchase.

Hodgkins, William Mathew, 1833–1898. *Near Peel Forest, South Canterbury, 1882; Waihola, 1 Jan 1882; A Shelter Hut, Lower Hollyford Valley [c. 1875 and 1880?]; At Glenfalloch Pier, 11 May 1895; The Mitre, Milford Sound [c. 1890].* 5 watercolours. Purchases.

Meryon, Charles. *Assassinat de Marion Dufrène, Dessiné d'après Meryon ... par V. Focillon.* [*Paris, 1883*]. Etching and photogravure. A late 19th-century version of the Library's large drawing showing the death of Marion du Fresne in the Bay of Islands in 1772.

Mitchell, Leonard Victor William, 1925–1980. [*Portrait of Stuart Perry, Esq*] *1955.* Oil on canvas. A seated portrait of the Wellington City Librarian. Donation.

Mundy, Godfrey Charles, 1804–1860. *Auckland from the Harbour [Dec. 1847], 1865].* Watercolour. View of Parnell from Waitematā Harbour, accompanied by a similar lithograph published in 1852. Purchase.

Oliver, Richard Aldworth, 1811–1889. *Nene Tomati Waki* [*1849?*]. Watercolour. Seated portrait of Tamati Waka Nene, probably painted during the artist's visit to the Bay of Islands in 1849. Purchase.

***Winings, Wairau, N Z, 1851* (detail).** Artist: Charles Emilius Gold (ATL ref. A-447-002)

Winings, Wairau, N Z, 1851. Artist: Charles Emilius Gold (ATL ref. A-447-002)

Mr Wining and his Māori wife sit in their simple cottage in the Wairau valley, Marlborough. This view is unusual in its domestic detail, and in its busy effects with so many dead birds and fish awaiting the pot. Colonel Gold was neither a competent soldier nor artist, but his naïve drawings often tell us a great deal about life at the time of early settlement.

Pellion, Alphonse, 1796–1868. Etui-Déni. Piro. Etu. Hand-coloured engraving. Portraits of six Māori men, the three upper figures representing men met in Sydney in 1819 by French explorer Louis de Freycinet; the three lower heads are mokomokai, purchased in Sydney. Donation.

Sawtell, E. Rosa, 1865–1940. *Corner of Studio, Artists' Club, Wellington, 1919.* Pencil drawing. View of the interior of a busy studio in Bowen Street. Purchase.

Tilbury, Henry. *The Grange, Highland Park, Wellington, New Zealand. The Residence of W B Rhodes Esq, J P. 1869.* Oil on card. Shows the Wadestown house and garden of colonist William Barnard Rhodes. Purchase.

Various artists. [*Cook portrait collection, 1759–1925*]. 13 engravings, 1 etching, lithograph, aquatint, stevengraph, mezzotint. Previously unrecorded portraits of James Cook, along with views of his death. Includes a portrait purportedly of the young Cook in 1759, a decade before his first Pacific voyage. Purchase.

Various artists. [*Magic lantern slides of missionary activities among Maori. London, W. E. & F. Newton, c. 1855*]. 4 hand-painted glass slides. Redrawn and coloured versions of engravings in missionary publications from the 1840s. Purchase.

Willis, A. D. *[Sample album of postcards and greeting cards, c. 1885].* 62 watercolours, 48 chromolithographs in album. Additions to an existing smaller collection of early New Zealand postcards. Published in Whanganui. Includes many watercolours of native birds.

EPHEMERA

[*Ephemera and programmes relating to the Diamond Jubilee of the reign of Queen Elizabeth II, London, 3–5 June 2012*]. Donation.

[*Ephemera collected by Ann O'Rorke at the Vintage Car Club of New Zealand Rally, Wanganui, 16–27 January 2012*]. Donation.

Goethe-Institut (Wellington, N.Z.). [*Collection of 108 posters, 1990s–2012*]. Donation.

H. E. Shacklock. *Designs for Verandah Ironwork and Tomb Railing*, [1890s]. Purchase.

New Zealand Junior Red Cross. [*Four health and safety posters, 1950s*] Purchase.

New Zealand. Legation (Washington, D.C.). *New Zealand Fights in Pacific Skies* [1940s]. Purchase.

Parker Bros Inc. *Admiral Byrd's South Pole Game, 'Little America'* [1934]. Purchase.

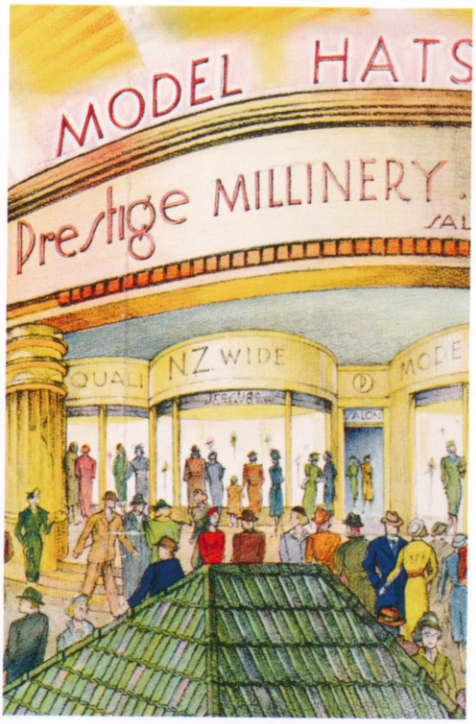
Peter Downes [*Music and theatre programmes, 1910–1950s*]. Donation.

[*Programmes and posters relating to wood chopping and sports, 1915–1980s*]. Donation.

Tasman Empire Airways Ltd. [*Three TEAL posters for Samoa, Fiji, Tahiti flights, 1950s*]. Purchase.

Thomson, Lewis & Co. Ltd. *Sold Here – "Camroc" dry ginger ale. There is no substitute. Corrective for sea sickness; buy a carton of six bottles* [c. 1929–1933]. Purchase.

Walker & Muston, architects. *The New Zealand Centennial Exhibition, Wellington, N.Z. November 1939 to April 1940* / Muston delt. '38; drawn by Walker & Muston, architects. N.Z. Herald offset, Auckland [1938–39]. Donation.



***New Zealand Centennial Exhibition, Wellington, N.Z. November 1939 to April 1940* (detail).**
Image reproduced with permission of Walker Group Architects Ltd. Designer: Walker & Muston
(ATL ref. Eph-E-EXHIBITION-1939-03)

New Zealand Centennial Exhibition, Wellington, N.Z. November 1939 to April 1940. Image reproduced with permission of Walker Group Architects Ltd. Designer: Walker & Muston (ATL ref. Eph-E-EXHIBITION-1939-03)

In late 2011 the Ephemera Collection received a welcome donation from the Bank of New Zealand Archives. The poster promotes the New Zealand Centennial Exhibition, and shows art deco influence in a concept drawing of a large open courtyard at the Exhibition by architect Ron Muston. Although the Second World War was underway, there is a wonderful optimism in the sculptures and the golden sky of concentric bands with the date '1940' shining over all. However, this courtyard was not realised in the final Exhibition building.

The poster shows displays by individual manufacturers – there were over 300 in the various Exhibition courts. On 14 October 1939, at a private dance at the Centennial Exhibition Cabaret, the guests admired the modern lighting and the charming interior decorations. The mayor, Mr Hislop, thanked the builders and architects for their contributions, and praised private exhibitors for their achievements despite 'the uncertainty engendered by the war, acute financial problems, and, many other adverse conditions' (*Evening Post,* 1 November 1939).

MANUSCRIPTS COLLECTION

Alington family. *Papers of the Alington and Broadhead Family, 1801–2009.* 2.5 m. Wide-ranging, reflecting the family's involvement in many aspects of New Zealand life. Donation.

Agender New Zealand Inc., *Records, c. 1975–2005.* 3 m. Records of the group advocating for the rights of transgender people. Donation.

Barraud family. *Letters, 1875–1885.* 1 folder. Letters from the family of the artist Charles Barraud, written on their travels through Britain. Donation.

Bassett, Michael Edward Rainton, 1938–. *Further Papers, c. 1951–2010.* 12 m. Include Bassett's detailed caucus and Cabinet notes from the fourth Labour government, research material relating to various biographies, papers from his term on the Waitangi Tribunal. Donation.

Beale, Gilbert Marsden, 1897–1972. *Journal of his Experiences at the Featherston Japanese POW Camp, 1943–1945.* 1 vol. Detailed account from a tailor in the camp who became increasingly interested in the world view of the Japanese prisoners. Purchase.

Brunning, Bernhard, d. 1874. *Diary of Travels, 1866–1874.* 1 vol. Diary and logbook of a German sailor. His many voyages include several months in the south Pacific in 1872. Purchase.

Buss, William. *Letters from George Vinery, 1870.* 3 letters. Written from Mahurangi, with very pessimistic accounts of prospects in New Zealand. Donation.

Cave, Roderick, 1935–. *Papers Relating to Geoffrey Potocki de Montalk, 1962–1985.* 3 folders. Papers relating to Cave's research on de Montalk, and their correspondence. Donation.

Crook, Gordon, 1921–2011. *Papers, 1948–2011.* 4 m. Extensive correspondence, art teaching notes, workbooks and literary manuscripts including part of a draft memoir. Donation.

Douglas, Roger Owen (Sir), 1937–. *Further Papers, c. 1980–2011.* 2.5 m. Mostly relate to Douglas's last term in Parliament and include speech notes, media releases and correspondence. Donation.

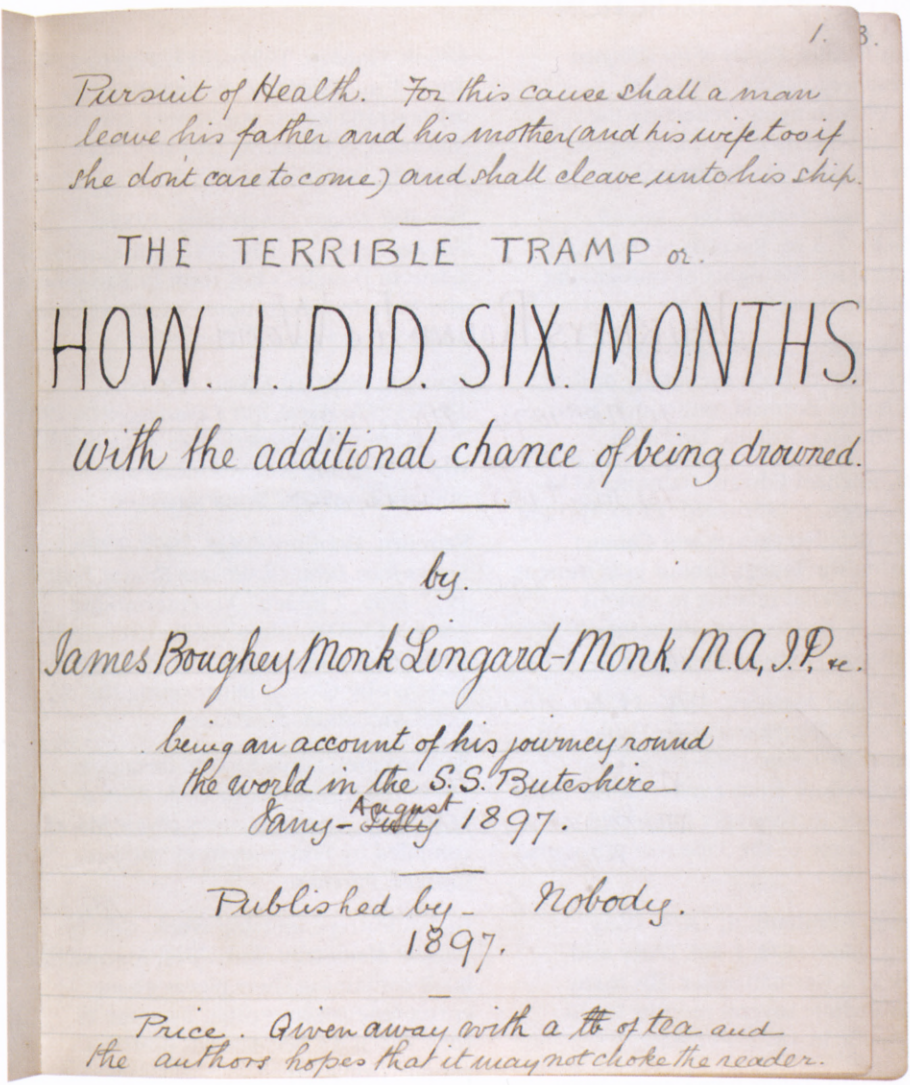
Dowling, Richard Egbert Compere, 1898-1979. *World War I Diaries, 1915–1916.* 2 vols. Describe experiences at Gallipoli, where Dowling was wounded and in military hospitals. Donation.

Fairburn, Geoffrey Earle, 1905–1999. *Letters from Denis Glover and Related Papers, 1957–1980.* 7 folders. An entertaining group of letters, often wildly irreverent. Included are several crayon and pencil sketches by Glover, lampooning the art of Colin McCahon. Purchase.

de Freycinet, Louis Claude Desaulces, 1779–1842. *Sauvages Nouvelle Zélande, 1819.* 4 pp. Contains notes about Māori compiled by Freycinet from various sources. Purchase.

Global Entrepeneurship week. *Gifts of Wisdom Manuscript Book, 2011.* Manuscript book containing short pieces about entrepreneurship written by some of New Zealand's best-known business people. Donation.

Hitchcock family. *Papers, 1856–2011.* 72 cm. A varied collection documenting several generations of family experience in Australia and New Zealand. Includes a shipboard diary from 1874 and letters from World War I. Donation.



1. 3.

Pursuit of Health. For this cause shall a man leave his father and his mother (and his wife too if she don't care to come) and shall cleave unto his ship.

THE TERRIBLE TRAMP or.

HOW. I. DID. SIX. MONTHS.

with the additional chance of being drowned.

by.

James Boughey Monk Lingard-Monk. M.A, J.P. &c.

being an account of his journey round the world in the S.S. Buteshire Jany - ~~July~~ August 1897.

Published by - Nobody. 1897.

Price. Given away with a ℔ of tea and the authors hopes that it may not choke the reader.

Title page from 'The Terrible Tramp' by James Lingard-Monk. (ATL ref. MSX-8888)

James Lingard-Monk was an Englishman who worked as a magistrate, the High Sheriff of Donegal. He was also an inveterate world traveller, venturing forth on his second voyage to New Zealand in January 1897.

'The Terrible Tramp' is the third of three travel diaries kept by Lingard-Monk, together called 'Journeys Round the World'. Aboard the *Buteshire* he recounts in jocular fashion his interactions and reflections over a seven-month sojourn. The author was particularly keen on the oysters at Bluff. Disappointed to find that he would not be leaving Bluff for Wellington, he composed 'A Valedictory Address to the Union Shipping Company of New Zealand by a Long Suffering Passenger' in retribution. Lingard-Monk was an avid stamp collector and many of his meetings and visits on shore are to fellow philatelists to view their collections. He also provides an accurate account of daily weather conditions and navigation positions.

The journal is an entertaining and detailed view of shipboard life and the activities of the crew. Also notable is that the vessel is a cargo ship; most diaries of this type recall voyages on passenger ships.

Kedgley, Sue, 1948–. *Political Papers, c. 1999–2011.* 1 m; 8,234 electronic documents. Papers from Kedgley's Parliament office, particularly relating to her Green Party activism in the areas of health, transport, animal welfare and food safety. Donation.

Locke, Keith, 1944–. *Political Papers, c. 1923–2011.* 4.5 m; 5,515 electronic documents. Papers from Locke's Parliament office, particularly of Green Party work relating to international affairs, security service, police and immigration. Also includes Green Party caucus minutes, 2000–2011. Donation.

Kitson family. *Papers Relating to World War I, 1914–17; 1992.* 4 folders. Comprises the war diaries and extensive letters home of Henry Kitson, with a typed transcript. Donation.

Logan family. *Letter from 'Arthur' Describing the 1931 Earthquake.* 6 pp. Detailed letter by an unidentified radio operator on the New Zealand Navy ship *Taranaki*, describing the earthquake and its aftermath. Donation.

McGregor, William, 1887–1964. *War Diaries, 1914–1918.* 4 vols. Detailed diaries describing experiences at Gallipoli and in France. Includes his paybook. Purchase.

Mackay, Alexander, 1833–1899. *Annotated Copy of 'Compendium of Official Documents Relating Native Affairs in the South Island', 1871–1872.* 2 vols. Mackay's pre-publication copy of his 1873 compendium. Heavily annotated, with additional insertions. Purchase.

McQueen, Priscilla Muriel (Cilla), 1949–. *Poet Laureate Papers, 2009–2011.* 30 cm. Created during McQueen's term as New Zealand's Poet Laureate. Includes literary drafts, correspondence, and ephemera relating to her activities. Donation.

Mackrell, Brent. *Collected Papers Relating to War and Other Topics, 1914–c. 2000.* 2.5 m. Includes Mackrell's own research notes on New Zealand's military history as well as collected diaries and letters from participants in the South African, First and Second world wars. Purchase.

Menzies, Ada, 1918–2000. *Papers, 1931–2000.* 12 cm. Personal papers mainly relating to Menzies life in Wellington during World War II. Included are letters from United States servicemen. Donation.

Lingard-Monk, James Boughy, 1853–1905. *The Terrible Tramp, 1897.* 1 vol. Lively travel diary by a Donegal magistrate describing his world tour as passenger on a cargo ship. Included are descriptions of his visits to Bluff and Christchurch. Purchase.

New Zealand Association of Women in Aviation. *Records, 1954–2012.* 70 cm. Include minute books, scrapbooks and correspondence, including two letters from Jean Batten agreeing to be the patron of the Association. Donation.

New Zealand Merchant Service Guild Industrial Union of Workers. *Records, 1890–1988.* 8 m. Comprise minutes, cuttings books, membership lists, circulars and a large number of files relating to various disputes and negotiations. Donation

New Zealand Naturist Federation. *Records, 1930–2012.* 8 m. Include minutes, newsletters, scrapbooks and correspondence, as well as papers relating to other naturist groups. Donation.

New Zealand Port Employers Association. *Records, 1904–1979.* 12 m. Incomplete run of minutes, circulars and subject files. Also includes papers relating to the Waterfront Industries Tribunal and records of the Wellington branch of the Association. Donation.

New Zealand Press Association. *Further Records, 1879–2000.* 12.5 m. Various minutes, reports, general manager's correspondence, and papers relating to the Association's centennial. Donation.

Newspaper Publishers Association. *Further Records, 1898–2001.* 11 m. Includes Board of Control papers, bulletins, circulars and subject files Donation.

Pompallier, Jean-Baptiste (Bishop), 1801–1871. *Letters, 1837.* Two letters written to the Bishop of Nancy during his voyage to the Pacific to take up the Oceania mission. Purchase.

Smith, David Stanley (Sir), 1888-1983. *Further Papers, c. 1912–1980.* 2 m. Smith was a prominent lawyer, judge and educationalist. This accession includes correspondence with colleagues and family members, as well as files on legal matters. Also includes his war diary from 1918. Donation.

Strombom, Simon, 1971–. *Diaries Relating to Military Service in Sinai and Afghanistan, 2004–2008.* Detailed diaries of a professional New Zealand soldier. An extensive body of photographs is in the Photographic Archive. Donation.

Warner, Eric Ross, 1933–2010. *Papers Relating to Competitive Wood Chopping and Other Rural Sports, 1888–2010.* 6 m. An extensive collection relating to the sport of wood chopping, including papers relating to local clubs, competitions and individual sports people. There are also research notes for a history of the Waimarino area. Warner's rich collection of sports posters and programmes are now held in the Ephemera Collection. Donation.

NEW ZEALAND AND PACIFIC PUBLISHED COLLECTIONS

An Armenian *Cup of Tea*.
(ATL ref. Mansfld P 823.2 MAN 1978)

The Turnbull Library collects all published works by and about Katherine Mansfield. That includes works in translation, such as this Armenian edition of the short story collection, *A Cup of Tea*. The donor of the book had found it in a street market in Armenia while on holiday. Acquiring it was somewhat tricky, as neither the buyer nor the seller were able to speak the other's language. Our donor managed to ask the stallholder if he had anything by Mansfield, at which he replied, Would she like a cup of tea? Our donor felt a little alarmed by such a forward suggestion, until she realised he was referring to the book's title. We were very grateful to receive this hard-to-find addition to the collection.

Amundsen, Roald, *The South Pole Expedition, 1910–1912*, ed. by Geir O. Kløver (Oslo: Fram Museum, 2010). First English translation of Roald Amundsen's diaries. Purchase.

Auckland Free Press 1, nos. 1–34 (11 May–18 June 1868). Complete run except for no. 8. Appears to have ceased publication on 18 June. Purchase.

Correspondence with the Government of New Zealand Relating to Chinese Labour in Samoa: Presented to Parliament by Command of His Majesty, August 1920 (London: H.M.S.O., 1920). Cmd 919. Purchase.

Domestic Scenes in New Zealand (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1851). Bagnall 5234. Purchase.

Jaeger, Karel, *Pinook* (London: Putnam, c. 1960). Antarctic setting and content. Juvenile literature. Purchase.

Maoriland Pictures (Dunedin: Joseph Braithwaite; Mills, Dick & Co. Art Printers, [c. 1910]). Bagnall B1319. Recommended for digitisation. Purchase.

Martin, William (Sir) [Octavius Hadfield?], *Notes on the Maori Version of the New Testament No. 1* (Auckland: Cathedral Press, 1864). Purchase.

Mensfild, Ketrin [Katherine Mansfield], *Mi Gavat Tey: Patmvatskner* [*A Cup of Tea*], translated from the Albanian by Sona Seferyane (Erevan: Sovetakan grogh, 1978). Donation.

Naess, Erling D., *Antarctic Journey, 1934–1935* (London: E. D. Naess, 1936). Detailed daily log kept on a 2-month whaling voyage of the Rasmussen Whaling Co. ship *Vikingen*, which travelled from Capetown to the Enderby Land. Illustrated with photographs, diagrams and map. Purchase.

Wilberforce, Samuel, *The Calling of Abram: A Sermon Preached in the Abbey Church of St Peter, Westminster, before the Canterbury Colonists, Sunday, May 4, 1851, by Samuel, Lord Bishop of Oxford* (London: John W. Parker, 1851). Bagnall 6062. Purchase.

ORAL HISTORY CENTRE

Christchurch City Stand Up, 2011–12. 6 interviews by Erolia Ifopo with Samoan Cantabrians about their experiences of the Canterbury earthquakes which began in September 2010. Photographs by Sarah Hunter. Received an Award in Oral History. Donation.

Guy Ngan Oral History Project, 2012. Life history interview with artist Guy Ngan by Pip Oldham. Commissioned by Liz Ngan. Donation.

Māori and Pacific Island Men who have Influenced the Development of Contemporary Dance in Aotearoa Oral History Project, 2011–12. 5 interviews by Lyne Pringle with influential dancers from the 1980s. Commissioned by the National Dance Archive of New Zealand. Received an Award in Oral History. Donation.

Māori who Served in the Vietnam War Oral History Project, 2006–11. 10 interviews by Paul Diamond. Received an Award in Oral History. Donation.

Poet Laureate Diary Oral History Project: Life History and Diary Interviews with Cilla McQueen, 2010–11. Life history and 15 diary interviews by Helen Frizzell with Cilla McQueen during her term as Poet Laureate. Commissioned by the Alexander Turnbull Library.

Reflections from Funeral Directors who have Worked in New Zealand and Australia, 2010–11. 11 interviews by Penny Brander with funeral directors and embalmers working from the 1950s to 2011; six from New Zealand and six from Australia. Received an Award in Oral History. Donation.

Selling Sex: The New Zealand Sex Industry Oral History Project, 2009–12. 10 interviews by Caren Wilton with people who have been associated with the sex industry in New Zealand, before and after the Prostitution Law Reform Act 2003. Two stages of this ongoing project received an Award in Oral History. Donation.

Tararua Tramping Club Oral history project, 2010–11. 6 video interviews by Howard Taylor with long-term club members who joined from the 1930s. Commissioned by the Tararua Tramping Club. Donation.

Wanaka Station Oral History Project, 2011. Life history interview by Helen Frizzell with Jill Blennerhassett, with a focus on Wanaka Station, purchased by Blennerhassett's grandparents Sir Percy and Lady Lucy Sargood in 1912. Commissioned by the Sargood Bequest. Donation.

PHOTOGRAPHIC ARCHIVE

BeckerFraserPhotos. *The 2010 and 2011 Canterbury earthquakes*. Views of the city, including the Red Zone. 3,742 digital photographs. Commission.

Brooke-White, Julia, fl.1960s–2011. *New Zealand women and their kitchens, 1999–2000*. Photographed for the publication, *Every Kitchen tells a Story*. Includes Helen Clark and Kim Hill, refugees, and women living alternative lifestyles. 2 boxes photographic prints and negatives. Purchase.

Butcher, Charles Henry, 1887–1957. *New Zealand and Australia*. Includes the 1906–7 New Zealand and South Seas Exhibition in Christchurch. 118 lantern slides. Donation.

Christie, John Hellard, 1897–1985. *New Zealand scenes and mountaineering, c. 1920s–1940s*. 245 original glass negatives, spreadsheet listing and digital scans. Donation.

Condon, David, fl. 2011. *Irish rugby team in New Zealand for the Rugby World Cup 2011*, 25 digital photographs taken on a Sony-Ericsson smartphone. Donation.

Creator unknown. *Royal Flying Corps and Australian Flying Corps in Mesopotamia and India in the First World War*. 1 album with 47 prints. Purchase.

Crowd gathered in central Wellington for the Rugby World Cup 2011 victory parade, 26 October 2011.
Photographer: Dylan Owen (ATL ref. PADL-000716)

In the era of digital photography it is becoming increasingly common for the Library to acquire photographs shortly after they were taken. Since October 2012, for instance, the Photographic Archive acquired three collections relating to the Rugby World Cup 2011. One of these was donated by Wellington photographer and librarian Dylan Owen, who has been gifting digital photographs since 2003. Donations also came from the Cup's organising body, Rugby New Zealand 2011 Ltd, and from Irish rugby fan David Condon. These two are currently the only photographic collections in the Library to have been taken on a mobile phone. It is expected that shortly it will no longer be unusual to be offered photographs of this type.

Crook, Jim, 1932–. *Tangiwai rail disaster, 27 or 28 December 1953*. 15 black-and-white photographic prints. Donation.

Fox, H. K., fl. 1920s. *New Zealand women's rugby team in Gloucester, England, c. 1926*. 1 photographic print. Purchase.

Gale, Len, 1926–. *Crew on board the British minesweeper Columbia during World War I*. The photographer was a deck hand. 15 black-and-white photographic prints. Donation.

Holman, Dinah, 1938–. *Historic buildings, 1990s*. Photographed as part of heritage surveys conducted for local bodies in the North Island. 8 boxes photographic prints and negative strips. Donation.

Lewis, Lorrie Lionel, 1917–2001. *State houses being constructed in Naenae, Lower Hutt, 1947*. 4 album pages with 62 photographic prints. Donation.

McIvor, Aldous Roderick, 1934–. *Study and capture of Auckland Island goats, 1987*. Album, transparencies, photographic prints, negative. Donation.

Morris, Raymond, fl. 1955–2011. *New Zealand scenes, 1955–1974*. Includes the 1974 Commonwealth Games and Morris's overseas experience (OE). 760 transparency slides. Donation.

Owen, Dylan, 1958–. *Protests, festivals, fairs, buildings, and street scenes, c. 2000–12*. Includes photographs of Occupy Wellington, Rimutaka pig hunting competition, snow and hail in Wellington, and the Rugby World Cup 2011. 1,169 digital photographs. Donation.

Pablecheque, Kath, fl. 1999–2011. *Funeral procession, Wellington, 1909*. Held for those who lost their lives in the wrecking of the *Penguin*. 1 postcard. Donation.

Rugby New Zealand 2011 Ltd. *Rugby World Cup 2011*. Includes Rugby New Zealand 2011 Ltd's organisational events and functions, media conferences, sponsor launches, volunteers and board members, and stadiums. 1,306 digital photographs. Donation.

Thornton, Geoffrey Garth, 1922–. *Historic buildings and structures*. 7 boxes of slides and associated notebooks. Donation.

Wilson, Joseph Lowthian, 1846–1926. *Canterbury region, particularly Kaiapoi, c. 1870s–1910s*. Wilson was a reporter and agent for the *Christchurch Press* from 1864–1913. 11 photograph albums. Purchase.

RARE BOOKS AND FINE PRINTING

Nouus Orbis Regionum ac Insularum Veteribus Incognitarum (Basileae: Apud Io. Heruagium, mense Martio, anno M.D.XXXII [1532]). Collection of voyages and travels both east and west, including Marco Polo, Varthema, Cadamosto, Columbus, Vespucci, Pinzón and Cabral. Purchase.

Bonnaterre, abbé (Pierre Joseph). *Tableau Encyclopédique et Méthodique des Trois Regnes de la Nature ... Ornithologie.* (À Padoue: [s.n.] M.DCC.XCII. [1792]). Contains engravings of New Zealand birds. Purchase.

Mourning the destruction of Jerusalem and the Holy Temple, 6th century BC, from *The Lamentations of Jeremiah* (1933).
(ATL ref. fRPr GREG Lame 1933)

The Lamenations of Jeremiah, produced in an edition of 250 copies by the Gregynog Press in 1933. The Press was founded in 1922 by two sisters, Gwendoline and Margaret Davies. It was unique in that everything was created under one roof: design, typography, illustration, printing and binding. Its fine printing owed much to the incomparable skill of Herbert John Hodgson, pressman from 1927 to 1936, and his successor, Idris Jones. From 1930–33, William MacCance and Blair Hughes-Stanton took the Press to new heights with their wood-engraved illustrations; but their activities were curtailed by economic recession. The Press closed in 1940 when male staff were called to active service. It had printed 42 books, three for private circulation, and well over 200 pieces of ephemera. The Turnbull Rare Book Collection holds 10 titles dating from 1924 to 1936.

William MacCance, Herbert John Hodgson, and J. Hugh Jones were all involved with the printing of the *Lamentations.* Blair Hughes-Stanton designed and engraved the initial letters and illustrations. This was the last book produced by MacCance and Hughes-Stanton, and is considered to be one of the most spectacular to have come from Greynog Press.

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Linda Evans, BA (HONS), NZLS CERT: *Curator, Oral History & Sound*

Roger Flury, BA, NZLS CERT, ANZLA: *Curator, Music*

Keith McEwing, BMUS, MA: *Assistant Curator, Music*
Ruth Lightbourne, PHD, MA, MLIS, PGDA, BMUS: *Curator, Rare Books & Fine Printing, Curator, Turnbull General Collection and Formed Collections*
Barbara Lyon, MA (HONS), DIP NZLS: *Curator, Ephemera*
Natalie Marshall, BRP (HONS), DIP MUSEUM STUDIES: *Curator, Photographs*
Kirsty Willis, BFA, DIP LIBR: *Assistant Curator, Photographs*
Marian Minson, MA (HONS), DIP NZLS: *Curator, Drawings, Paintings & Prints*
Denise Roughan, BA, MA (LIS): *Assistant Curator, Drawings, Paintings & Prints*
Fiona Oliver, PHD, BA (HONS), LTCL: *Curator, New Zealand & Pacific Publications*
Graeme Shaw, BA, DIP LIBR, RLIANZA: *Assistant Curator, Newspapers & Serials*
Rose-Marie Tonk, MA (HONS), DIP LIBR: *Collections Librarian*
Christine Petrie: *Librarian*
Michela (Shay) Turnbull, BCA, DIP LIBR: *Curator, Cartographic*

DIGITAL COLLECTION STRATEGY

Mark Crookston, BA, MLIS: *Digital Collection Strategy Leader*
Leigh Rosin, BA: *Digital Archivist*
Gillian Lee, BA, DIP LIBR, RLIANZA: *E-Publications Librarian*
Sholto Duncan, BA, MLIS; Susanna Joe, BA, DIP LIBR: *E-Publications Librarians/Selectors*

FIELD LIBRARIAN

Diane Woods, BA, DIP LIBR

IMAGING SERVICES

David Adams, DIP B ADMIN, CERT PHOTOGRAPHY: *Images Services Leader*
Claire Viskovic, DIP TEXTILE DESIGN: *Senior Imaging Technician*
Mark Beatty, BA (HONS): Alicia Tolley, BMA; Llewelyn Jones, BA, CERT WEB DESIGN, CERT COMPUTER NETWORK ADMIN: *Imaging Technicians*
Heather Mathie, NZLS CERT, RLIANZA: *Copying Coordinator*
Michaela Warwick; Steve Donaldson BA, DIP TCHG: *Library Assistants*

EXECUTIVE SUPPORT

Eva Weber, BSC (HONS): *Personal Assistant to Chief Librarian*
Katrina Hatherly, BA: *Administration Assistant*

OUTREACH SERVICES

Joan McCracken, NZLA CERT, RLIANZA: *Outreach Services Leader*
Cellia Joe, BA: *Heritage Advice Co-ordinator*
Vicki-Anne Heikell, BA, BAPP SCI: *Field Conservator*
Lynette Shum, MA: *Oral History Adviser*
Taina McGregor, MA: *Oral History Adviser, Māori*
Mereana Taungapeau, BSC, BA (HONS): *Heritage Programme Adviser, Māori*

RESEARCH ENQUIRY SERVICES

Glenda Gale, NZLA CERT, DIP TCHG, RLIANZA: *Reading Room Services Leader*
Amy Watling, BA, MLIS: *Online Research Services Leader*
Jay Buzenberg, BA, MLIS: *Online Content Co-ordinator*
Christopher Anderson, DIP OP ART: *Co-ordinator, Music Access*
Margaret Hurst, MA (HONS), DIP TCHG, NZLS CERT: *Research Librarian, Family History*
Linda McGregor, DIP ILS: *Research Librarian, Research Access*
Trish Beamsley, BA, MLIS: *Research Librarian, Māori*
Roger Swanson, NZLS CERT, *Research Librarian, Pacific*
Jenni Chrisstoffels, BA, NZLS CERT, RLIANZA: *Research Librarian, Pictorial*
Gillian Headifen, BA (HONS), MLIS: *Research Librarian, Oral History*
Jocelyn Chalmers, BA (HONS), DIP LIBR: *Research Librarian, Manuscripts*
Mary Skarott, BA, DIP LIB INFO, DIP CH LIT, RLIANZA: *Research Librarian, Children's Literature*
Matt Steindl, BA, MLIS: *Research Librarian, Music*
Rita C.A.Havell, BA, NZLS CERT, RLIANZA; Amalaratna, BA (HONS), NZLS CERT, RLIANZA; Helen Smith, BA (HONS), MLIS; Jill Goodwin, BA, NZLS CERT; Cecilia Ng, BA, DIP HUM, DIP TCHG, NZLS CERT, RLIANZA: *Research Librarians*
Diana McRae, BA; Fiona Gray, BFA, DIP TCHG, PGD, MLIS; Peter Attwell, MPHIST, BA (HONS), DIP ILS; Corrina Gordon, BA, MLIS; Shaun McGuire, MA, MLIS: *Librarians*

LESBIAN AND GAY ARCHIVES OF NEW ZEALAND

Linda Evans, BA (HONS), NZLS CERT: *Honorary Curator*
Roger Swanson, NZLS CERT, RLIANZA: *Trustee*

Guardians/Kaitiaki of the Alexander Turnbull Library

Chairperson: Helen Tait
Prof. Raewyn Dalziel, Robyn Kamira, Prof. Paul Tapsell, Helen Walker

The Guardians/Kaitiaki of the Alexander Turnbull Library are a Ministerial advisory body established under the National Library of New Zealand Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa Act 2003.

The purpose of the Guardians/Kaitiaki is to provide assurance to the people of New Zealand that:

(a) the collections of the Alexander Turnbull Library are held in perpetuity; and

(b) those collections are

- (i) provided with separate and suitable accommodation; and
- (ii) preserved, protected, developed, and made accessible for all the people of New Zealand in a manner consistent with their status as documentary heritage and taonga; and

(c) the character of the services distinguishing the Alexander Turnbull Library as a research library is maintained.

Officers of the National Library of New Zealand

National Librarian: Bill McNaught, CBE, MA, DIP LIBR, MCLIP, RLIANZA

Chief Librarian, Alexander Turnbull Library: Chris Szekely, BA, DIP LIBR, FLIANZA

The Alexander Turnbull Library Endowment Trust

The Alexander Turnbull Library Endowment Trust supports the Library's work of collecting, preserving and improving the dissemination of knowledge of New Zealand's heritage, which includes the Pacific collection and rare books.

Financial gifts and bequests are welcomed and acknowledged by the Endowment Trust. Contributions are tax deductable.

Alexander Turnbull Library Endowment Trust Board

Chairperson: David Underwood
Graham Fortune, Judith Fyfe, Prof. Erik Olssen, Dr Brian Opie

For further information, please contact David Underwood, Chairman, Endowment Trust Board, at the Alexander Turnbull Library, PO Box 12349, Wellington, New Zealand. Email: atl@dia.govt.nz

The Friends of the Turnbull Library

The Friends of the Turnbull Library is an incorporated society, established in 1939 to support the work of the Alexander Turnbull Library.

Its objectives are to:

- promote public interest in the Alexander Turnbull Library, and support its activities
- assist in the acquisition of materials
- encourage research and use of Library materials
- conduct activities and programmes about the specialised interests of the Library
- maintain communication with users of the Library and with government
- maintain a strong national membership.

The Alexander Turnbull Library is a guardian of our heritage.
The Friends help to:

- safeguard the Library's precious collections
- develop and expand the Library's collections
- encourage the development of new knowledge about New Zealand's culture and heritage
- support the work of the Alexander Turnbull Library now and in the future.

We welcome new members. As a Friend you receive:

- the Friends of the Turnbull Library newsletter
- the *Turnbull Library Record*, an annual scholarly journal, and *Off the Record*, an annual magazine
- invitations to attend lectures and special events
- the satisfaction of supporting a priceless heritage of library material, begun by Alexander Turnbull's bequest.

Membership costs $55 double, $40 for waged individuals, $30 for non-waged individuals, $65 institutional (NZ) and $150 corporate. Overseas membership is NZ$55 for individuals and NZ$80 for institutions.

Back Issues of the *Turnbull Library Record* from 1994 are available for $15 (incl. p&p). Earlier issues are $5 (incl. p&p).

Please make cheques payable to The Friends of the Turnbull Library and send to the Secretary, Friends of the Turnbull Library, PO Box 12186, Wellington 6144, New Zealand.

Committee of the Friends of the Turnbull Library

Preserving the past to enlighten the future.

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Hon. Secretary: Angela Hill
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Hours: Monday to Saturday, 10am–5pm

Please contact the Alexander Turnbull Library for information about services.

Two men are nearing the finish line in an egg-and-spoon race, probably in the Taranaki region, c. 1927.
Photographer: John Reginald Wall (ATL ref. 1/2-017774-G)

Alexander Turnbull's first bookplate, designed for him by English illustrator Walter Crane in 1891.
(ATL ref. A-136-001)