BACK STORY 7

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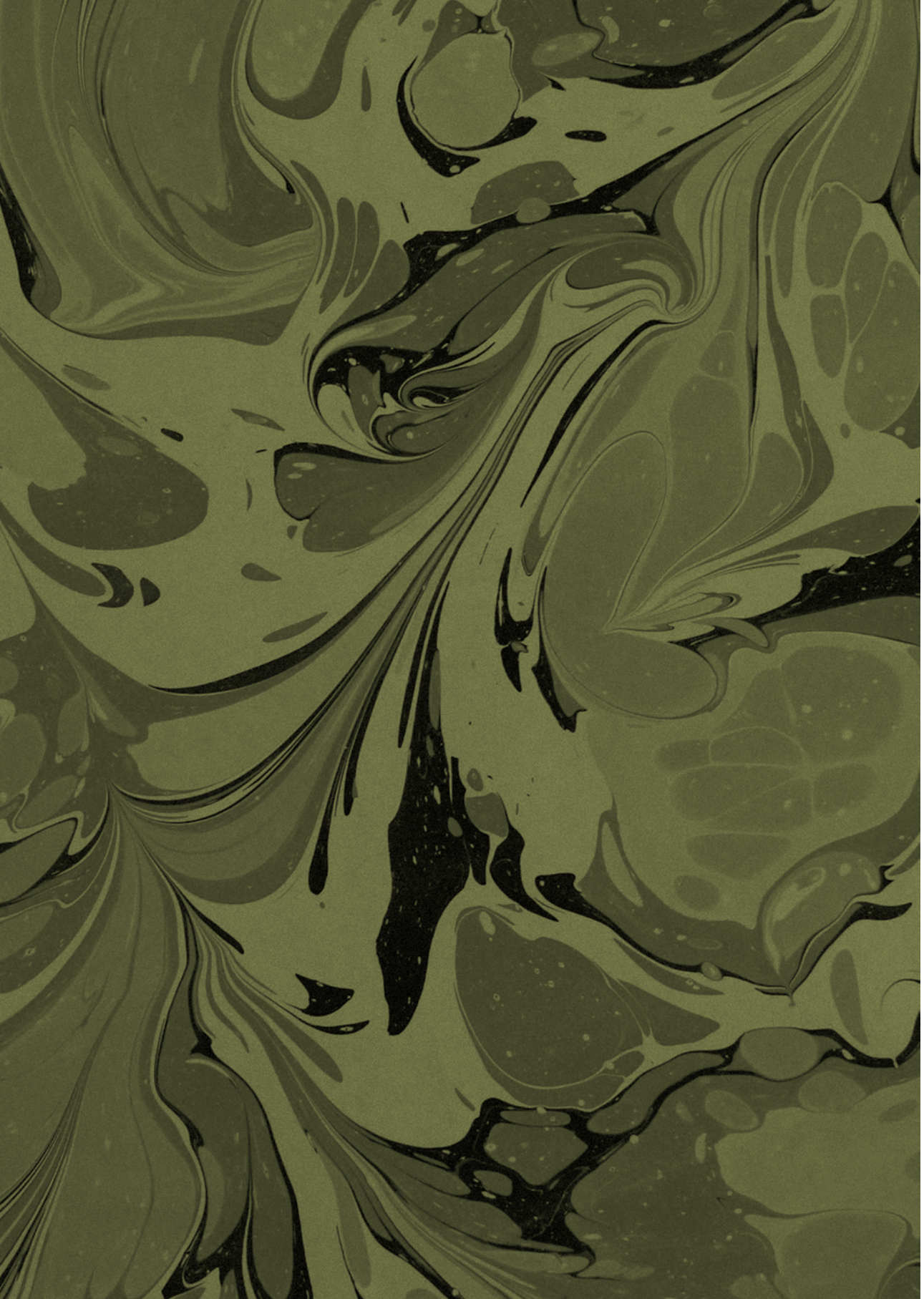

BACK STORY

7

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Editorial

There can be a tension within any journal that aims at audiences both within and outside the university. Academic journals serving the needs of specialized subject areas pitched at tertiary teachers and students can descend into a closed world with their own language and concepts that often seem impenetrable to those who are not part of that world. We have been clear from Issue 1 that our aim with BackStory is to reach out to those outside of academia with an interest in New Zealand's cultural history.

It appears that the public's fascination with our past is growing at a time when the academic study of history is in decline. Arts and Humanities faculties at New Zealand universities are suffering from falling student numbers. According to government statistics (educationcounts.govt.nz), there were 1,000 fewer Humanities students enrolled in 2017 than in 2008, despite an increase of almost 40,000 students across all degrees and subjects. It is further reported that over the past decade students taking History have declined by 16 percent and Art History student numbers have halved.

In an age where misinformation can spread like a virus through social media and factual reporting can be airily dismissed as 'fake news', the decline in the teaching of history is deeply troubling. Historical literacy and an attendant scepticism that accompanies it give us the tools to discern truth from fiction. And as Thomas Carlyle argued "what is all knowledge too but recorded experience, and a product of history".

BackStory aims to present stories about our art, design and media histories that contribute to an understanding of our cultural past without being obscured by any enveloping academic fog. Michael Jackson writing about his friend Les Cleveland in this issue reflects that "he shared with Les a contempt for the more abstract and pontifical excesses of academic discourse, and struggled to keep thought grounded in the experiences and exigencies of everyday life".

As a journalist, political science lecturer focusing on politics and the media in New Zealand and a recognized photographer, Les Cleveland could be approached by a journal on our media and art history from a number of perspectives. Michael Jackson focuses on Cleveland's experiences of growing up in the Great Depression and serving as an infantryman in the Second World War as the backstories he believes are important to understanding Les Cleveland's life.

Cleveland's photography of his country and its people sought

to capture aspects of a perceived 'New Zealandness'. This was also the motivation of early Christmas card publishers in this country as they sought to negotiate the colonial experience of a summer Christmas. Peter Gilderdale writes in 'Messages of Love from Maoriland' that this overlooked chapter in commercial art production in New Zealand "provides useful evidence of the murky interplay between the local, national and transnational identities that marked New Zealand cultural production when artists and designers sought to capture the public's Yuletide sentiments".

In another field of late nineteenth century cultural production, photographers in often remote communities sought to capture the changing landscape, the interaction and occasional clash between settler and Maori and the character of European settlement. Keith Giles looks at the photography of Hokianga photographer Charles Peet Dawes drawing on the collection of over 2100 of his photographs now held by Auckland Libraries' Sir George Grey Special Collections. They form an "invaluable and important record" of this part of New Zealand and give a "remarkable insight" into the photographer's life and work.

In her examination of the 'agony aunt' columns of the New Zealand Woman's Weekly in 1950, Rosemary Brewer argues that the columns can provide insights into "significant beliefs, attitudes and values of the communities which produced them". Her focus is examining the attitudes to infidelity found in the advice given to women by the agony aunt columnist Lou Lockheart. The attitudes expressed in the Lockheart columns "provide a point of reference to show how far typical attitudes have changed in New Zealand since that time".

Our final commentary in this issue complements this look at the influence of the New Zealand Woman's Weekly, in the 1960s the most-read women's magazine in the world per head of population. Gavin Ellis has gained access to reports on international study tours written by the long-serving editor of the NZWW, Jean Wishart, to her magazine's owners. Ellis states that the reports show that Wishart selectively borrowed from similar magazines overseas while "skillfully (managing) to avoid alienating what she regarded as a loyal audience." It can be argued that Wishart shaped a cultural product that was distinctly of New Zealand and became an iconic example of "New Zealandness".

Alan Cocker

Remembering Les Cleveland

A Profile by Michael Jackson

As Michael Jackson notes in this profile, Les (Francis Leslie) Cleveland (1921-2014) was a man of many parts. As a New Zealand journalist, political scientist specializing in the media and a photographer, Cleveland is clearly a person of interest for a journal looking at New Zealand's media and art history. An account of Cleveland's life could alight on any one of a number of aspects but in this profile the author focuses on his early experiences in the Great Depression and the Second World War as the backstories central to understanding Les Cleveland.

Recalling his High School years in the 1930s, Les Cleveland described himself as irritated by the jingoism of those in authority, and drawn to independently minded individuals, no matter how heretical, cranky and subversive they were. Even as a teenager, Les cultivated a persona that blended the trickster and the handyman. As he put it, 'A cross between Charlie Chaplin and Bob Semple.' A self-taught builder, welder, motor mechanic, and electrician. A poet, songwriter and singer, journalist and political scientist. A mountaineer, master photographer and self-styled literary blacksmith.

Almost every published account of Les Cleveland cites his eclectic talents and multiple identities. Rarely, however, is his experience of growing up during the Great Depression and serving as an infantryman in the Second World War explored in any depth. It is these backstories I am concerned with in this essay, for I am convinced that almost everything Les became known for, including his photographs of old buildings and abandoned mines, his DIY attitude, and his skills in scavenging, salvaging, and surviving were born of his early experiences.

His book *Dark Laughter*[3] recounts the ways in which soldiers use gallows-humor, letters home, subversive stories, ribald songs, wild escapades, and drinking bouts to ritualistically overcome the soul-destroying effects of mechanical routine and violent combat. 'Military folklore,' Les observes, is 'an expression of resistance to the idea of powerlessness. It provides strategies for trying to get one's experiences into some manageable framework, something that will make sense of it. Otherwise, I think you'd have to admit that it was chaos and you were being blown about in it like a leaf in a storm.'[4] Though written as a general account of soldiers' experiences, *Dark Laughter* is also an oblique commentary on its author's struggle with traumatic loss. 'I've always tended to look back' Les once wrote. 'I've always been interested in leftovers and survivals.'[5] His photographs of ghost towns, his archive of old newspapers, his collection of machine parts, and the house he built in Brooklyn to withstand earthquakes, are all of a piece – evidence of a battle to which we can all relate, against amnesia and vulnerability.

I first met Les at a party on Oriental Parade in 1965. Our girlfriends hit it off, and Les and I were thereby brought together. I was a relief teacher in the Wairarapa at the time, and spent only my weekends in Wellington, so it wasn't until late in the year that Les and I became better acquainted. Having rented a house in Featherston, Pauline and I invited Les and Mary, together with mutual friends, Vincent O'Sullivan and his wife, Tui, to spend a week with us.

Thirty years later, these idyllic days were vividly brought back to mind when I was staying with Les and Mary while researching the life and times of Joseph Pawelka.[6] One evening, Les dug out a reel of film he'd shot in the southern Wairarapa 1965. He'd never developed it, but now decided to see if the images had survived.

The photos that emerged from his darkroom were grainy, gray and scratched. This only increased their power. It was like opening up a grave and finding no evidence of decay. The shock of seeing these snapshots overwhelmed me. They were windows into a time I had reworked in memory. But now a faithful likeness of Pauline, who died in 1983, had reappeared, and it was like a door opened for a moment onto a field of light.

Here we are, sitting outside the Lake Ferry hotel in the sun, except for Mary, who must have taken the photo. In another photo we are in the bar holding glasses of beer and peering at Mary behind the camera.

From left to right – Pauline Harris, Tui O'Sullivan, Vincent O'Sullivan, Les Cleveland, Michael Jackson. Photo credit: Mary Cleveland. Photo from the author's collection.

During my years abroad, I revisited Wellington annually, always calling on Les and Mary to hear news of their trips to Washington D.C. and Las Vegas, or their summers in south Westland. One of the last times I saw Les was in 2009. After travelling around the South Island, researching a book on the theme of firstness,[7] I crossed Cook Strait in stormy weather and drove directly from the ferry terminal to Brooklyn where I found

Les and Mary finishing a late lunch. The walls were covered with Les's photographs of ruined boarding houses in Arizona, abandoned diggings in Nevada and Westland, and wooden buildings whose original use could only be guessed at. Postcards from Las Vegas. The pot-bellied stove. Almost the first thing I said was that no time seemed to have passed since I was last there.

Ever the realist, Les declared that none of us was getting any younger, and he described how, a couple of months ago, he had been lugging an armful of logs up from below the house when he lost his footing and fell. 'It's a fifteen-foot flight of concrete steps,' Les said. 'On the top step I forgot to shift my weight forward enough and began falling backward. Something in me took over, as it invariably does in a crisis, so that I somehow turned completely, before landing face down with one arm clutching at the wall for support. I did not do this; my instincts did. Unfortunately, it wasn't enough to save me from a broken wrist and skull fracture.'

'I thought he was dead,' Mary said. 'That's what my instincts told me.' And she related how Les was hospitalized only to discharge himself two days later, preferring to take care of himself and recover at home.

'It was a reprieve,' Les said. 'We both thought, this is it. But there was no magic moment, my life replayed in a split second. No tunnel of light, any of that stuff. But in the days that followed, I kept thinking of a bizarre incident during the war when I almost lost my life.

'We were dug in around, as well as occupying, a large house. Under cover of darkness, the Germans brought up a fixed gun, and its first shell scored a direct hit on the house. I would normally have been with Podge Hoskins at a machine-gun post at an upper floor window, but I'd been detailed to the kitchen and was frying up tinned bacon and egg powder when the shell hit. There was an ear-splitting explosion, splinters of wood, debris, dust. But in the midst of this maelstrom and the screams from the front room, I covered the frying pan with a tea towel and placed it carefully under the table. Only then did I go to the aid of the men in the other room. I had to kick down the door to get in. Almost everyone had been torn apart. Some were dead, others dying. The scene was as gruesome as any I had witnessed. Podge upstairs had been killed instantly. Yet I survived. And afterwards, what I could not get over was that moment with the frying pan. How I could go on as though nothing had happened. Was it denial of a reality I could not deal with? Was it my military training?'

Mary suggested we move to the front room where the rain-

streaked windows overlooked a sodden sports field and the distant Orongorongos.

I felt a little like the main character in John Mulgan's Man Alone, who encounters Johnson in a Breton fishing village and repairs with him to a local café where they eat prawns, drink cheap red wine and get to talking about the war.

> 'You were in the Great War,' I said. 'Tell me about that.'
> 'I've been in all the wars,' Johnson said, 'but I couldn't tell you anything about it.'
> 'You won't talk about it?'
> 'I couldn't tell you anything even if I did. It wasn't anything. You wouldn't understand it unless you saw it. If you did see it, you wouldn't understand it.'
> It was very hot and stifling in the café, though as we sat there it began to grow quieter, and the smell of fish and cooking-oil was mixed with tobacco smoke.
> 'I couldn't tell you about the war,' Johnson said. 'It wasn't a lot different from anything else. I could tell you worse things about the peace.'
> 'What was the peace?'
> 'That was the bit in between.'
> 'Worse things?'
> 'Truer things.'
> And so I said to him, not wanting to move and quite ready to listen: 'Tell me about the peace then.'[8]

In 1974, when Pauline and I were living in the Manawatu, Les and Mary were frequent visitors. Though Les seldom drank alcohol, his Mark Twain-like skill in puncturing pretension, his spirited recitals of Beowulf in the Anglo-Saxon, or the alacrity with which he would break into singing unprintable soldiers' songs, was as entertaining as it was enviable. But like the peace of which Mulgan speaks, the shadows of war were ever present. For dinner one night, I prepared a spaghetti Bolognese only for Les to confess he couldn't eat it. He had an aversion to garlic. I gave the incident little thought, but sometime later Mary confided to Pauline that the New Zealanders in Italy were often so far ahead of their supply lines that they were driven to scavenge for food and shelter. Desperation sometimes drove them to steal food at gunpoint from the tables of Italian peasants, and to pillage wooden altar pieces in local chapels to use as firewood on winter nights.

Unsettling memories were revived by the smell of garlic, and like many traumatized soldiers Les had his fair share of things he avoided talking about. Although I never pressed him on such matters, it was not long before I realized that his writings were increasingly about them.

In his Introduction to *The Iron Hand* (1979),[9] a compilation of New Zealand soldiers' poems from World War Two, Les mentions a close friend, Ted Scherer, who died of shrapnel wounds during the last offensive of the Italian campaign. Scherer was only inches away from Les when he was hit.

> Shrapnel-ripped and lifeless on the Santerno
> Helmet tilted back into the lacerated earth,
> Face twisted up for one last
> Regretful look at the murderous sky

It was April 10th 1945. That morning, Ted Scherer had looked north and told Les, 'When it's over we'll celebrate – we'll climb the highest point in the Alps.' After recovering in hospital from his own wounds, Les went into training in the Dolomites by doing some rock climbing.

> 'But I could not persuade anyone in the battalion to accompany me on an expedition to Mont Blanc. By this time, we were in bivouacs at Lake Trasimeno, near Rome. I set out from there on a goods train which took me to Milan, and I travelled by a variety of means through the mountains to Courmeyeur where I was able to persuade a young Italian refugee to join me in the ascent. It was late in the season and the climb was arduous, particularly as our equipment was improvised and we suffered a good deal from inadequate food as well as from cold, exposure and exhaustion.'[10]

Every step of the way, Les was thinking of his friend and all the mountains they might have climbed together, 'and all the other friends of friends, shuffling, legions of them, in long, suffering lines across the mortuary of Europe.' What good being alive, when those who meant the world to you were dead? "Kaput", said the young refugee, who had found 'sympathy and courage enough to march in a dead man's steps.' "Guerra kaput! Jawhol", the survivor mumbled, "Guerra kaput!"

Six hours up an icefall on the south face, Les and his companion encountered a line of fresh tracks that drew them across the mountain's shoulder to a high-altitude, unlined metal hut. Inside,

they found a party of German-speaking Swiss, laughing and talking over their experiences on the tourist route from Chamonix. The amiable holidaymakers were casually helping themselves to food from their rucksacks, 'innocent of the terror gnawing at their frontiers.' In broken German, Les enlightened them.

> We are climbers, British soldiers.
> They look disbelievingly at our improvised gear –
> Wehrmacht rucksacks, Alpini boots, Kaiapoi woolen
> Jerseys, caps comforter, and old army socks for gloves.
> What sort of army is this? Probably deserters
> Or escaped prisoners; maybe dangerous too.
> Offer them nothing.
> So I pull the Luger on the fattest of the bunch –
> No Alpine-fucking-club outing this,
> Ich haben grossen hunger!
> We grab a loaf of their bread and some fruit
> And drain a bottle of wine.
> Nobody speaks: only the autumn wind
> Snickers and squirms in the doorway.
> Before trying the peak I pick over their parkas
> And trade the best one for my military gas cape,
> Then we buckle on crampons, adjust the rope
> And start up the summit ridge.

After the war the Scherer family got in touch with Les and in 2008 he received a letter from Ted Scherer's daughter asking if he would write down for her everything he could remember of her father. 'It's a bit of a struggle,' Les told me. 'It isn't easy to write about war without including the gory details. The sort of things no one would want to hear about or read about if they were going to have a positive memory of their loved one. It raises questions about life and death I cannot answer, though I have pondered them for years.'

Les was 88. He had been returning to the war for sixty years, though mostly to the experiences of others, including most recently a translation of the notebook of Helmut Metzner, a soldier in Rommel's Afrika Korps that contained occasional critiques of the Nazi regime and a crude poem in which he imagined himself having sex with Lili Marleen. When Les mentioned this project to me, he said, 'I would very much like a chat with Helmut but we know for certain he is very kaput, kaput, kaput! Still, he lives on in my files along with Charles Smith and

others.' I was struck by this reference to files, because the real place the past lived on was in Les's memory, and I wondered whether the vital difference between Les's forays into the past and the obsessive compulsive replaying of harrowing experience that we call PTSD, was Les's ability to make his own experiences secondary to those of others, putting them first, sacrificing his story in order that theirs be told.

For traumatized New Zealand veterans, the inhibition against recounting their experiences came from without and within. A psychology of denial had its counterpart in a social conspiracy of silence that reflected a characteristically Anglo-New Zealand ethos of reticence and self-control. More pointedly, however, it reveals a reluctance to burden loved ones with harrowing stories. As Les put it, mindful of his own two sons, 'How the hell can you explain to them what's bugging you? They are in a state of innocence. It's quite difficult, I think, to expound terror and one's admission of fear to people who have not experienced any of those aspects of the world. It seems monstrous to attempt such a thing ... so you shut up about it.' Though old anxieties - of being too afraid to fight, of being a POW unable to find enough food – 'burst out in dreams and in odd behavior,' the code of the warrior keeps one's lips sealed. 'It's a deficiency to be showing a weakness. A warrior doesn't behave unheroically, he grits his teeth and puts up with various dangerous and murderous activities like Germans trying to kill him all the time. He somehow manages to control himself and keep a stern face on things.'[11]

'After the war,' Les writes, recalling his ascent of Mont Blanc, 'I would make many more difficult and dangerous journeys in our own mountains, but never under such emotionally disturbed and isolated circumstances. The Mont Blanc affair was a therapeutic venture into self-recovery and a wild leap into a new world of changed personal relationships; it also meant that a sense of bereavement and brooding anxiety could be thrown off in the exuberance of physical achievement.'[12]

Nevertheless, Les admitted to having been 'neurotic' when he returned to Christchurch in 1945 and tried to settle back into civilian life. 'Fourteenth platoon suffered forty percent losses, almost as high as the Māori Battalion's, and every soldier felt the burden of this. In Christchurch I would obsessively stare at the shoes of people walking in front of me, waiting for a mine to detonate. Any loud percussive noise and I would immediately be looking for somewhere to take cover. I had to leave the city and work in the Westland bush where the only sounds were tuis and falling water. It took me three years before I felt ready to return to city life.'[13]

I was always impressed by Les's sense of proportion and practicality, and in talking with Sierra Leoneans in the aftermath of their war it was constantly brought home to me that recovery depends more on one's ability to throw oneself into the tasks of everyday life – caring for a child, making a farm, putting food on the table, sharing with those in greater need – than in one's success in seeking revenge or compensation, or wringing some meaning out of the arbitrary events that changed your life forever. Intellectual reflection has a place in our lives, to be sure, but unless it is connected to the imperatives of life in the here and now it risks becoming morbid and dissociated. In this respect, I shared with Les a contempt for the more abstract and pontifical excesses of academic discourse, and struggled to keep thought grounded in the experiences and exigencies of everyday life.

Les's intolerance of academic and political bombast also explains his steadfast refusal to participate in the writing of official history or to attend postwar ceremonies that extolled the heroic sacrifice of the fallen. A sober pragmatism informed everything he wrote on soldier's songs, poems and popular culture. 'If I were to attempt an epic of our military experiences that tried faithfully to evoke the consciousness of the ordinary soldier, I would probably relegate the formal historical details to a chronology at the back of the work in order to concentrate on things that really matter, like a concern with food, cookhouses, liquor, sex, clothing, the weather, rates of pay, equipment, loot, amusements, recreation, morale, the techniques of deviancy, how to maintain one's precious individuality and, above all, how to avoid becoming a grim statistic on one of our grisly war memorials.'[14]

In Les's view, combat soldiers share with civilian workers in hazardous occupations a sense of powerlessness that can only be countermanded by organizing collectively, fostering a sense of solidarity, and having recourse to mockery and dark laughter.[15] You may not be able to buck authority, disobey orders, go on strike, or escape the nightmare of knowing that an organized army is bent on killing you, but you can preserve your sense of connectedness to a world where your individuality has some value and your actions matter by writing letters home, keeping a diary, or joining forces with your mates in ridiculing the situation in which you find yourself. Mutiny or deserting are out of the question, but mocking the powers that be, protesting one's lot, turning to sexual fantasy, and venting one's frustrations in obscene songs can sometimes transform one's sense of being a victim into a sense of being able in some small measure to experience one's situation on one's own terms. To dwell on a tragedy is to risk drowning in it.

To turn it into farce is to remain afloat, treading water as it were, even though you may be simply deferring the moment when, exhausted, you sink beneath the waves.

'This was what happened to many men,' Les said. 'The psychological casualties who returned home, haunted by what they had seen and done, hoping that silence, time and compulsive routines would heal the hidden wounds. It simply isn't possible to come home as if nothing's happened and step back into the role of Mr. Normal from Ashburton. There remains a part of you that is continuously preoccupied with questions like;, how can I stop thinking about the bloke that got killed instead of me? Where is tomorrow's food coming from? Such sinister, unrelenting calculations. I visited a bloke on a farm in Taumarunui once. He had about a year's supply of baked beans, tinned vegetable stew and other stuff under the floorboards of his house, not to mention a vast quantity of wine. He'd been a prisoner of war and was determined he wasn't going to run out of food ever again. I looked on in amazement when he said, I'll just get a couple of bottles of wine, and proceeded to pull up the floorboards. He had cases of the stuff down there. But he was still living inside that cocoon of deprivation and fear and had to come to terms with it by doing things around the farm. He was always supplying. He had some troubles with the local hardware people. So he bought a sawmill and set it up on the property and milled his own timber. Instead of bringing in a contractor to root up tree stumps and do a bit of earth moving, he bought two bulldozers and had them sitting there in the shed. He was prepared for a siege. That's an extreme example of the POW mentality, but I think he had successfully coped with his experiences, even if his behavior was a bit odd.'[16]

Of all the soldiers' poems Les collected in the postwar years, perhaps the most moving is by Charles Smith, who was among the New Zealanders ordered to hold a pass near Katerini, northwest of Mt Olympus, in order to gain time for the rest of 2NZEF, retreating from the rapidly advancing Germans. Smith's poem first appeared in the *NZEF Times* in August 1942. It is simply called *Greece*. It is about the bonds that were formed between the New Zealanders and Greek villagers during the tragic campaign of April-May 1941, in which the New Zealand force sustained 2,504 casualties before withdrawing to Crete where, in the course of its continuing retreat, 3,853 out of a total strength of 7,702 were killed.

Out of the soil comes greatness of soul ...

These, shaped by old knowledge of their jealous sod
Take on unswerving courage. They belong
To trees and fields, and mountains; so to God.

So first we saw: and never bread so sweet
Nor gift so free, nor welcome waking so;
Kindness so laughing, quick and garlanded,
Nor carnival of fortitude so gay
As heart of Greece in spring, on Freedom's day.

So near the shadow!
Yet in dark retreat
Came dusty envy that they still could cry
'Kalimera, English!' and 'Goodbye!'
Hold fleeting friendship past the threat of death,
Give food and shelter: even understand
Our last desertion.
Do they know
How heart-remembered all their faces go?

These things are deathless, memory's cornerstone,
That rivulet that feeds the golden stream ...

Is Ag Demetrios still a mountain dream?
Storks on the roof and cobbles on the street,
White from Olympus faerying the pines
Where bitter snow and spring of promise meet
Thyme and wild daphne.

Does Kathrina wear
A soldier's badge still braided in her hair?

Some years ago, Les read this poem in the course of a radio talk. He mentioned that, despite his best efforts, he had been unable to trace the author and presumed him dead. Within a week, Les received an indignant letter from Charles Smith saying he was not dead. He was a farmer near Whangarei, with a family, and very much alive.

We are often surprised by what survives from the past, and what does not. And how something we carry forward into the present can become so transformed that it ceases to possess what drew us to it in the first place, what persuaded us it was worth keeping.

When Les recounted his visit to the Taumaranui farmer, he went on to say that there were many such men who could not tolerate confinement or bear to be shut up in a small space. 'Who get out on their farms and go for long walks and talk to dead companions or to God. Some carry a lot of grievances, but they keep these to themselves'.

I could not help but think of Les's own retreat in South Westland, as remote from the madding crowd as one could wish for, and close to the mountains and bush that had always been his very present help in trouble. But why do earth, stone, trees and the sea have this power to bring us calm in troubled times?

In the *Tao-te Ching* (XVI), stillness is identified with one's roots, one's infancy and with the nothingness from which the teeming and myriad forms of both life and thought emerge, and to which in time they return. This original nature may be compared to a rough and unpolished stone. To contemplate it is to be returned to the pre-phenomenal ground of all being. But the manifold and changing forms of things are also worthy of contemplation, and I find it difficult to accept the fetishization of firstness or the idea that foundations are necessarily more real than anything we built on them. This is why stone implies, for me, not absolute constancy, but an *image* of constancy that helps one endure the vicissitudes of life, in which everything is sooner or later shattered, worn away, or reshaped by the elements with which we have to contend. From this observation arises the question of art, and of what we make of life, for while it is important to remember one's beginnings, to bear in mind from whence one came and to whom one owes one's life, it is, I think, foolish to do so at the expense of recognizing the importance of new departures in which the original material is refashioned, as it were, in one's mind's eye or in one's own hands.

On the wooden terrace of his Wellington house, Les kept, for many years, numerous river stones and boulders that he had found on his excursions into the wilds of Westland. These stones not only caught his eye; they had, in a sense, possessed him - some because of a curious blemish that he could not reconcile with processes of natural erosion, some, like greenstone, because of their geological rarity, and some because of their uncanny similarity to the contours of the human body. Les would lug these boulders down mountain gorges and through heavy bush, sometimes for days on end and often in a rucksack emptied of his personal supplies, before bringing his booty home to be burnished by rain, commented upon by friends or made the occasion for a story. When I left Wellington to pursue my Ph.D. studies at Cambridge, I would often think of Les's collection of stones and it was with considerable dismay that I discovered, on my return to New Zealand after four years abroad, that Les had enlarged the living room of his house and built, in the middle of it, a massive fireplace whose chimney consisted of these beautiful stones cemented together into something resembling a cairn. But now, having known Les for so long and sat in front of his fireplace countless times, deep in conversation about our various travels or current projects, I no longer think that the stones properly belong to the contexts from whence they came. They belong where they are. And at Harvard, I would discover in the course of long talks on early Chinese traditions with my friend Michael Puett[17] that my thinking was not inconsistent with a Taoist view that sees the world as essentially (and demonically) chaotic, so that our human endeavors to create spaces of order are always transitory, and Les's river stones are destined to be once again a natural shambles on a hillside where no vestiges of his house or handiwork remain.

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2 Bob Semple was Minister of Works during World War II. He advocated making military equipment from whatever materials came to hand, building a tank from corrugated iron on a tractor base.

3 Les Cleveland, *Dark Laughter: War in Song and Popular Culture* (Praeger: Westport, Conn., 1994).

4 Les Cleveland in taped conversation with Michael Jackson, Wellington March 1999.

5 Cited in Athol McCredie, 'The Social Landscape,' in *Witness to Change: Life in New Zealand, Photographs by John Pascoe, Les Cleveland, and Ans Westra*. (Wellington: *PhotoForum* 1985), 52.

6 My research into the early twentieth century New Zealand fugitive was published as *The Blind Impress* (Palmerston North: The Dunmore Press, 1997).

7 Michael Jackson, *Road Markings: An Anthropologist in the Antipodes* (Dunedin: Rosa Mira, 2012).

8 John Mulgan's *Man Alone* (Auckland: Longman Paul, 1972).

9 Les Cleveland, *The Iron Hand: New Zealand Soldiers' Poems from World War Two*) Wellington: Wai-te-Ata Press, 1979).

10 *The Iron Hand,* 11-12. In his poem, *The Long Way Back*, Les Cleveland writes of the same moment: 'A week ago the other survivors/ Carousing rowdily in Rome/Declined to join this excursion', *The Iron Hand*, 51.

11 Taped conversation with Michael Jackson, March 1999.

12 *The Iron Hand*, 12.

13 Les Cleveland, personal communication, 2009.

14 Les Cleveland, 'An Assiduous Industry,' *New Zealand Books*, June 1997, 15.

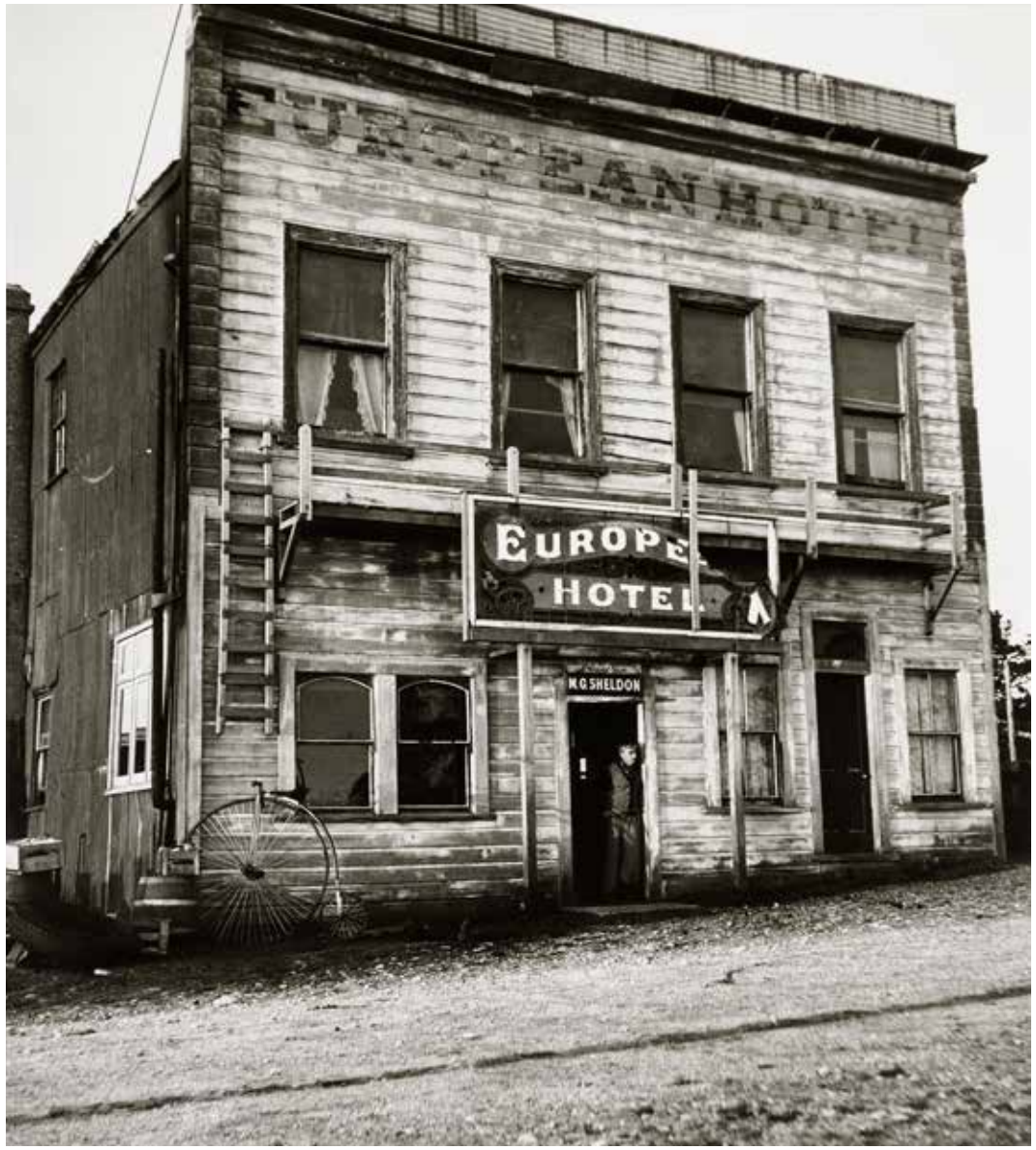
15 Les Cleveland, 'Soldiers' Songs: The Folklore of the Powerless,' *New York Folklore*, 1985, 11 (1-4), 79.

16 Taped conversation with Michael Jackson, March 1999.

17 Michael Puett is Walter C. Klein Professor of Chinese History and Anthropology at Harvard University.

Photographs by Les Cleveland courtesy of Mary Cleveland and Te Papa

TE PAPA COLLECTION: O.003480; Silver pine cutters sheltering from rain at Mussel Point, South Westland, 1955; Cleveland, Les



TE PAPA COLLECTION: O.003475; The European Hotel, Charleston, Westland, proprietor Mick Sheldon in doorway 1956. Cleveland, Les

TE PAPA COLLECTION: O.003486; Morning sun outside a pakapoo den in Taranaki Street, Wellington, 1957; Cleveland, Les

TE PAPA COLLECTION: O.003513; Scene in bar at Kumara race meeting, Christmas 1959.
From the portfolio: PhotoForum - Les Cleveland; Cleveland, Les

TE PAPA COLLECTION: O.003476; Catholic Church, Denniston, Westland, 1957; Cleveland, Les

“Messages of Love from Maoriland”: A. D. Willis’s New Zealand Christmas Cards and Booklets 1883-1893

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Keywords: Willis, Christmas, Chromolithography, Identity, Nationalism, Publishing, Art, Cards, Booklets

I have previously explored the beginnings of the New Zealand Christmas card prior to 1883, and the ways that the designers of these cards negotiated the colonial experience of a summer Christmas.[1] This paper examines the development, over the decade following 1883, of the chromolithographic work of A. D. Willis, whose production not only continued the work of creating a niche for New Zealand Christmas cards, but also tried to compete with the large overseas ‘art publishers’ who were flooding the New Zealand market with northern hemisphere iconography. Willis’s Christmas cards are frequently used to illustrate books looking at the 1880s, but there has been no detailed study done of them. The paper therefore documents the cards, their production and reception, explores how they record Willis’s understanding of the art publishing business and the market he was working into, and situates them in relation to broader print culture. Understanding this overlooked chapter in ‘commercial art’ provides useful evidence of the murky interplay between the local, national and transnational identities that marked New Zealand cultural production when artists and designers sought to capture the public’s Yuletide sentiments. Willis’s work also displays two very distinct conceptions of how to represent what was increasingly known as ‘Maoriland’ to an overseas

market – one focused on the land, and the other on Māori. As such, these cards act as a weathervane for what the New Zealand public accepted as New Zealand, artistic and appropriate as a Christmas gift.

Figure 1: A.D. Willis birthday card showing the North Island Thrush / Turnagra hectori. Watercolour on celluloid, 110 x 73 mm inserted into cards 159 x 113 mm. Courtesy of the Alexander Turbull Library, Wellington, N.Z. Reference: E-936-f-010-4

On a cold July night in 1885, members of the Auckland Society of Arts gathered for their annual general meeting. According to the New Zealand Herald reporter, the members were gratified by the society's 'progress,' and the first example given of this progress was the success of the Society's inaugural Christmas card competition.[2] It had been won by "an unassuming young man, holding a subordinate position in an Auckland warehouse."[3] This win marked the first New Zealand highlight in Frank Wright's distinguished career as a landscape artist. However, while his 1884 success excited comment in press at the time, it was quietly culled from the timeline in Wright's 1954 retrospective at the Auckland City Art Gallery.[4] This omission says much about the fate of the Christmas card genre itself. Through the course of the twentieth century, the Victorian recognition of greeting card designing as a valid artistic pursuit was eroded, and the card found itself instead consigned to a quiet, chocolate-boxy cul-de-sac near the intersection between art and design – where it has stayed. Given such current estimation, it is not surprising that a book like Roger Blackley's *Galleries of Maoriland*, which delves extensively into the art world of the period, should not engage with either the Christmas card, its artists, designers or publishers.[5]

While sending Christmas cards may appear now to be a fixed and inevitable practice, in the 1880s the format appropriate for Christmas exchange was still contested, and cards were relatively expensive gifts in their own right. After the Dickens-led revival of Christmas in the 1840's, many Christmas customs had evolved quickly, but card sending was not one of them. Books were initially a more common bearer of Christmas cheer.[6] Dunedin bookseller Joseph Braithwaite's 1880 publication of Vincent Pyke and Frances Ellen Talbot's *White Hood and Blue Cap: A Christmas Bough with Two Branches* is one local example of the continuing tradition of exchanging books "designed for holiday reading" at Christmas.[7] Braithwaite's 'shilling shocker' cost the same as the first photographic Christmas cards that began to be published in Dunedin that year by the Burton Brothers, in association with J. Wilkie & Co.[8] To justify what might appear a considerable expense in buying a card versus a novel, consumers needed a reason to value them. In this case, the mechanisms for creating this value were a demand for the local and for novelty.

Christmas cards had only hit craze proportions in Britain in the late 1870's, but the buzz around them quickly translated into the volume of imports of primarily chromolithographic British cards.[9] New Zealand photographers like the Burtons and Wilkie were the first to respond to this new market opportunity, with a number of producers, particularly

around Dunedin, offering cards. And despite most photographers who created cards catering for defined regional markets, Nathaniel Leves' 1882 "Comet Card" demonstrated that a locally-produced Christmas card could command national admiration.[10] In Whanganui, Archibald Duddingston Willis clearly decided it was possible to replicate Leves' photographic success in the more demanding category of chromolithography.[11]

A bookseller, printer, entrepreneur and soon-to-be politician, Willis had arrived in New Zealand as a 15 year old, having earlier been apprenticed to the prominent British printers, Eyre and Spottiswoode.[12] After working all around New Zealand as a printer on a variety of newspapers, he became a partner, with John Ballance, on the *Wanganui Herald* before setting up a stationery shop and printing works in 1872.[13] He had only dipped his toes into the Christmas publishing trade before 1883.[14] However, beginning that year, he used Christmas cards to promote his chromolithographic business, publishing cards for nine of the next ten years and gaining a nation-wide reputation for the quality of his work. Two sample books of his cards in the Turnbull collection collectively cover his production until 1888, and Te Papa's collection contains many of his post 1891 cards. Until now, however, the dating of these cards has been largely speculative. Rosslyn Johnson, in her monumental thesis on New Zealand's colour printing, did a case study on Willis and documented some dated adverts for his cards,[15] but she did not look at Christmas cards in great detail, and did not have access to *Papers Past*. Here I have used advertisements and editorial comment from *Papers Past* to date all cards conclusively (see appendix).[16] This means, in turn, that it is possible to trace the development of Willis's design approaches through the period.

During 1882, Willis had brought out a set of floral Christmas cards hand-painted by "a Wanganui Lady."[17] In early 1883, he followed this by producing another line of cards, hand-painted by a number of local artists onto 'gelatine' (celluloid) and inset into a printed mount.[18] He claimed to have over 150 designs, comprising a mix of images of birds, flowers and local scenes.[19] These could be mounted as both Birthday and Gift cards (figure 1). One of the Turnbull sample books, which was likely assembled in mid 1885,[20] contains sixty-three different native bird images from this series, displayed as birthday cards. Willis initially seems to have encouraged postal ordering,[21] so these designs could be created according to demand. Given their prominence in the sample book, they must have continued to be popular for several years. As the *Wanganui Herald* noted, "besides creating a large local

demand," through the production of these and the 1882 Christmas cards, "the nucleus of a trade was formed with the leading towns of New Zealand and Australia."[22]

In 1883, chromolithography seems to have been in the New Zealand air. As a technology it was promoted as bringing art to the masses, and there was an evident demand for colour.[23] In Auckland, Upton & Co. published six chromolithographic cards of New Zealand plants, designed by Miss Eames.[24] These were almost certainly printed overseas – as the vast majority of New Zealand coloured work continued to be. Willis, however, recognised the need for a local alternative. Being a bookseller, he sold chromolithographic items from the large firms in Britain, the US and Germany,[25] and he would have been aware of Australian chromolithographic cards.[26] He therefore understood the market, and knew that it would accept images of the natural world as appropriate for a Christmas card.[27] According to an advert that he inserted into *Freethought Review,* for his new cards, he contracted a British artist to do a set of views and native plants.[28] The advert focused strongly on the "views of special interest....that are so well worth preservation," but also talks about the "charm of foliage and flower." His motivation for publishing the cards, he said, was to "supply the special want long felt by residents of the Colony who may wish to send their friends on the other side of the world pictorial illustrations which .... convey an adequate idea and a tasteful realisation of the land we live in."[29] The views he chose, however, were not focused on the inhabited colony. Rather, they showed highlights of natural beauty: three volcanoes, two lakes and Mitre Peak (figure 4). This focus on uninhabited iconic views is typical of the strategies of cultural colonisation that Peter Gibbons says allowed settlers to imaginatively possess the land.[30] And the choice was probably also influenced by the current fascination with the picturesque, a mode that, in applying familiar conventions to unfamiliar subject matter, allowed the new and the strange to be encountered safely.[31] Flowers were also a default Christmas iconography,[22] and Willis must have believed that there would be a greater demand for the plants than the views, since he published 14 of the former (figure 2) and 6 of the latter (figure 3). As Patricia Zakreski points out (using a northern hemisphere analogy) Christmas cards were perennial money-spinners precisely because, like flowers, they worked on an annual cycle, dying off and needing replenishing – again providing novelty within a comfortingly familiar context.[33]

Certainty of demand would have been imperative for Willis as he planned this ambitious venture. Chromolithography was a

demanding form of printing, involving building up the image on 12 separate lithographic stones. Whereas photography was comparatively easy to embark on, chromolithography demanded a much greater investment in equipment, and needed skilled labour.[34] The *Wanganui Herald* pointed out the considerable difficulties and expense involved. Putting in the plant had meant enlarging the premises, ordering new machines, installing electric lighting ("the first on the coast") and increasing the staff.[35] Nevertheless, it noted that Willis had the "advantage of having the services of a careful artist in Mr Potts, who closely studies each subject to which he sets his pen. The floral representations bear ample evidence of this."[36] William Potts had recently arrived from England.[37] He was highly skilled, and his art pleased not only the *Herald* but its competitor the *Wanganui Chronicle,* which put aside any differences in a show of local pride. It praised Potts and noted that the quality of the work was so high that "these products of a Wanganui house .... should hold their own against any of the coloured cards, prepared by Home or Australian firms."[38] The *Herald* a few days later compared Willis' cards to another set depicting New Zealand plants that had just been produced by the famous British firm Marcus Ward and Co., saying that "the comparison is most decidedly in favour of the Wanganui article, in every respect – in fidelity to nature as well as artistic effect."[39]

Figure 2: A. D. Willis (publisher), W. Potts (artwork), Christmas Cards, 1883. Left: Whero-whero plant. Right: Poroporo plant. Both 145x105mm. Courtesy of the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, NZ. References: E-936-f-019 -2 & E-936-f-019-1.

Outside the bubble of Whanganui, the reception was more mixed. Like overseas counterparts, Willis used the tactic of sending samples to newspapers.[40] In Christchurch, the *Star* relegated discussion of local cards to the end of an article on what was available, and concluded, after quoting Willis' claims about the cards being the equal of overseas companies, that despite "some surprisingly good results... the claim has yet to be made good."[41] The *Grey River Argus* felt that although "scarcely up to Home work for depth and brightness of colouring... they are really very good for all that," seeing them as "a very promising beginning for the colony in this line of art."[42] This view was shared by the *Otago Daily Times* which, having earlier said that Willis's work was "creditable, though plain as regards finish,"[43] wrote an article on Willis's chromolithographic venture, noting the difficulties involved, the advantages of producing work locally rather than having the cost of imports, and praising the work as bearing comparison with imported cards.[44] The most positive response was from the ODT's Dunedin competitor, the *Evening Star*, which felt that the samples sent to the paper did indeed fulfil Willis's claims.[45]

Figure 3: A. D. Willis (publisher), W. Potts (artwork), Christmas Card of Mt Egmont, 1883, 87x127mm. Courtesy of the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, N.Z. Reference: E-936-f-024-3. The image has echoes of Charles Heaphy's iconic picture, however Potts has here shown a less tamed vista, and has exaggerated the mountain less – though the clouds disguise the second vent and make the mountain seem more symmetrical. Note that the greeting is visualised as a 3D object, complete with reflections in the water – a technique adapted from an 1882 Australian card by John Sands (reproduced in Hancox, 2008 p.15).

At a shilling for the larger cards (the earlier handpainted birthday cards were, by comparison, 1s 3d and 1s 6d), the cards did not sell out immediately, though the following year Willis claimed that 3000 copies had been sold in Whanganui alone.[46] Despite the marketing, Willis was still advertising "a large stock....on hand" in mid-December.[47] Willis's stated reasons for publishing these cards, and the responses to them, seem fairly straightforward (i.e. it was generally understood that they served to help settlers share the sights of their new land with friends and relatives at 'home'). Nevertheless, greetings cards are more theoretically complex than they might initially appear. Functionally, they are produced for a market of people who buy them as gifts and mementos to send to others, who in turn may discard them, or store them in an album that can be privately reminisced over, or publicly displayed for others. To add to that, they are normally a mix of image and text, and relate to a Christian festival. These factors collectively create a host of thorny issues before ever one begins to talk about the subject matter and its artistic treatment, both of which introduce another range of formal issues, social contexts and power relations into the mix. For example, Willis's designs showed either images of plants or views of landscapes – genres that can be seen as fitting into an interpretative framework which Judith Adler sees as the scientific tourist's "impartial survey of all creation,"[48] Tony Hughes-D'Aeth terms the "world-as-gallery,"[49] and Susan Stewart calls the collecting of "souvenirs of external sights."[50] However, while the cards might perhaps have ended up being used by some as picturesque tourist collectibles to feed the nostalgic narratives of the collector,[51] greetings cards typically operate more as gift than souvenir. They thus function differently to other mass-produced items which were created to be used and disposed of.[52] Instead, greetings cards are better understood as social and celebratory items that were probably placed in an album with the future-focused intent of displaying them to friends.[53] This sense of feeling with others via printed ephemera is, according to Susan Zieger, an inherent quality of mass print culture.[54] Seen in this light, while the act of sending images of their new environment cannot escape the broader charge of cultural colonisation,[55] it also bespeaks the emotional investment of the senders. Ironically, this sharing and celebrating of a collective investment in the local and national, serves to reinforce the transnational nature of card practice when the cards were sent to the intended recipients overseas.

In 1883, consumers choosing cards to send across the world had been given a choice as to whether to continue the Christmas

tradition of sending images of flowers, or whether to send miniature Romantic landscapes. In 1884, Willis produced twenty-three new view cards and only one of plants. The consumer had clearly spoken. Willis had also evidently realised that having two thirds of his cards showing North Island views was a demographic and marketing mistake. If the earlier cards were constrained by scenes that the artist had managed to visit, the new cards appear to be the beginnings of a project to construct a record of New Zealand as a scenic wonderland. Over the preceding decade, tourism had been expanding,[56] and tourist views generally concentrated on sublime, untamed nature.[57] Willis's cards reflected this, and eighteen of the new cards showed the South Island: the tourist hotspots of Queenstown and Fiordland garnering eight, two showing Dunedin, and the rest spread around the main centres and iconic attractions like Mount Cook. In the North Island, he concentrated on Wellington, Auckland, Thames and the alluring beauties of Taupo and the Bay of Islands. This coverage was praised by the *Evening Star* which took credit for having recommended such subjects, predicted good sales and said they were "by far and away the best samples of chromolithography yet turned out in the colony."[58]

Willis must have taken note of some of the other critiques of the cards, because he advertised in *Freethought Review* that he had made many changes while in the process of reprinting copies of the previous year's cards. The earlier of the two Turnbull sample books contains repeats of two images (Lake Rotorua and Mitre Peak) presumably included so that the salesman could show the improvements.[59] These primarily relate to the rocks and the definition of the mountain (Figure 4), but Willis evidently did not intend to simply repeat the previous year's approach with his new images. A border was introduced around the image of all, allowing newer images to be distinguished from the discounted earlier stock, and to create unity as a series. It is also likely that he started using photographs as the basis for the images. With 288 separations to prepare for the 24 cards (not to mention doing the food labels and ball programmes that were also being produced at the works),[60] Mr Potts the lithographer would have been too busy to travel the length of the country in search of new scenes. And using photographs, worked up by Potts, would explain why Robert Coupland Harding, in gifting his Willis sample book to the Turnbull in 1911, noted that his cousin (Lydia Harding – later Mrs Swain) had been responsible for the designs of the floral borders, but does not mention her doing the scenes themselves.[61]

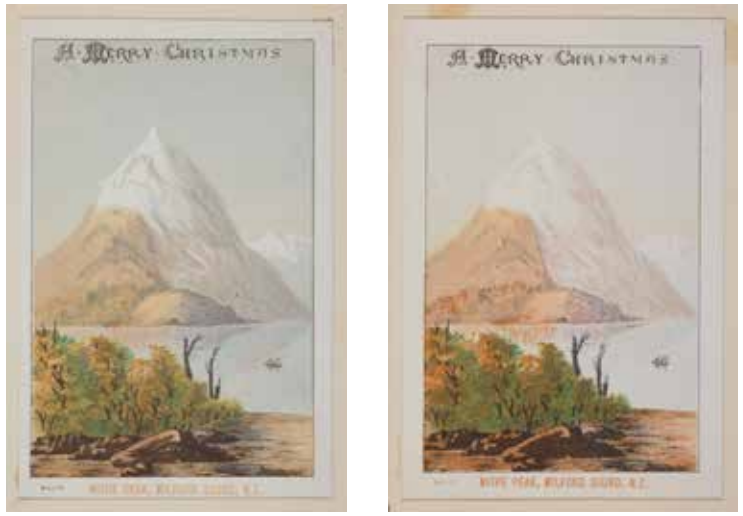

Figure 4: A. D. Willis (publisher), W. Potts (artwork), Christmas Cards of Mitre Peak, 1884 & 1883, 104x69 & 106x72mm. The card on the left is the 1884 reprint of the 1883 original on the right. Courtesy of the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, N.Z. References E-936-f-026-4 & E-936-f-027-3.

Lydia Anne Harding only turned twenty in 1885, but her influence can be seen in that the borders around the cards became progressively more complex and interesting from then onwards. The bulk of the 1884 cards continued the 1883 approach of being a miniature painting with a textual greeting written gratuitously over the background. Integrating text and image was always a challenge for greeting card designers, who could not use the illustrated press, which largely kept text and image separate, for inspiration. Earlier designers tended to imagine the text as being on a piece of card, with plants surrounding it (see Figure 9). For them, the greeting was the primary object. By the 1880's, however, the image was starting to overpower the text, and in Willis's cards the image is dominant. Yet even during 1884 there were some signs of experimentation with this relationship. The image of Timaru Breakwater had the greetings message carried in the beak of a flying bird. In the Tararu Creek image (figure 5) the greeting was written on a painting on an artist's easel, and this idea of having a painting within the card was extended, when, in the Breaksea Sound card, the view was included as if it were on a large painting or placard, which also carries the greeting. Here the message is hammered home that the scene is, literally, 'picturesque.' The image-within-an-image is held by a Māori figure who blends into a staged landscape of birds, flax and cabbage trees, creating a lavish and realistic border which, typically for much picturesque colonial imagery, treats the country's space, landscape and indigenous people as part of a single discourse,[62] signifiers of the exotic "other."[63]

Figure 5: A. D. Willis (publisher), W. Potts (artwork), Christmas Cards, 1885. Left: Tararu Creek, 127x87mm. Right: Breaksea Sound, 105x145mm. Courtesy of the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, N.Z. References: E-068-040 & E-936-f-025-1.

For his third series, in 1885, Willis reduced the number of new cards to twelve (eight South Island and just four North Island views) but began to experiment with more visually challenging approaches that reference both the scrapbook (the most likely display venue for cards) and the 1880s photograph album - the latter typically with its square or oval vignettes surrounded by printed floral designs. The circular tondo in the image of Stewart Island (figure 6), could also reference both the telescope or a porthole.[64] However, scrapbook allusions are more prevalent, as with a card of Lyttleton Harbour, where a *trompe l'oeil* effect is utilised to make it appear that the image has come away from the page in one corner, revealing a greeting message behind it.

Collecting coloured cards in a scrapbook can be framed as creating a compressed sense of abundance.[65] Similarly, images in the 1880s periodical press were also trying to become more abundant,[66] drawing together multiple scenes into a single montage. The covers of the *Illustrated London News* between the years 1880 – 1885, demonstrate this progression. At the start of the period barely any included vignettes. By the end, these are frequent. Tony Hughes-d'Aeth sees this as typical of both the British and American press at the time,[67] and Willis's artistic team was certainly picking up on such effects. Having, in 1884, introduced the idea of an image within an image, they explored it further in 1885. In one card, a page, apparently from a photograph album displays a mockingly full-colour image of Lake Wakatipu, which leans against a Nikau palm (see figure 6). In another,

a small girl holds a sizeable painting of Docharty's Bay, Dusky Sound with the message "A Merry Christmas" in a landscape of trees and flax plants (figure 6 below). This format helps make the view appear more obviously artistic and gives it a greater sense of scale than it otherwise would have. And the girl holding the painting plays to the Victorian fascination with childhood, framing a colonial child within an arcadian landscape. This parallels how the Breaksea sound image (figure 5) showed Māori in a similar role, probably with the expectation that this reference to the exotic could help make a connection with an overseas audience.[68] And a Child, dressed for summer, strange plants and a strange people all helped evoke a strange and wonderful Christmas for people shivering in the northern hemisphere.[69]

Figure 6: A. D. Willis (publisher), W. Potts & L. Harding (artwork), Christmas Cards, 1885. Left top: Docharty's Bay, Dusky Sound, 71x103mm. Left bottom: Nikau Palm & Lake Wakatipu, 145x104mm. Above: Stewart's Island, 104x72mm, Courtesy of the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, N.Z. References: E-936-f-028-1, E-068-018 & E-068-024-2.

Not all the 1885 cards were as formally inventive, with a mix of approaches occurring. Whilst all had a border around the edge of the card (rather than around the image), some had a much thicker, ornate (and less successful) treatment. The same applies to the 1886 cards. One of the North Shore was almost a conventional view, but still used the illusion of a corner of the scene being tucked over, thus hinting that the receiver should place it in a scrapbook. The most album-like card is the scene of Mount Arthur, Nelson (figure 7), but whereas a photograph inserted in an album would be separated from the surround, here the image is treated like a window or arch through which the imagery spills forward onto the page. This effect links the image to the viewer's reality, creating a consensual space between viewer and viewed, and one that emphasises the depth of the framed image.[70] Other cards, like that of the Grahamstown Goldfield treat the central image like a discrete picture, with foliage sitting behind it – though this coherence is subverted by a portion of the image leaking gold-laden earth, implying that it is too bounteous to be contained by the frame. Here two spatial conventions co-exist playfully, but the effect is primarily scrapbook-like, with the image treated as a precious exhibit. The Manawatu Gorge card makes this connotation even more obvious.[71]

If the early images had been miniature paintings, and the 1886 images had experimented, 1887 was the point at which this more lavish style came to fruition. The idea of a card within a card was expanded upon, but instead of using a wide variety of formats, the 1887 cards chose to expand on the Grahamstown and Manawatu Gorge approaches. The latter, in particular, led into some of Willis's most spectacular card designs (figure 8).

Here the design unifies the card with the illusion of two separate images (one picture-like, one giving telescopic detail) floating within a floral nest. It is an arrangement that fragments in order to create a more abundant and unified sense of the subject's reality.[72] Using *trompe l'oeil* to show objects arranged on a card, was labelled a *Quodlibet* by George Buday.[73] Roger Blackley shows that this term, deriving from 17th century Dutch 'hotchpotch' pictures is better applied to more purely *trompe l'oeil* effects.[74] However one describes it, the multi-view format was increasingly used through the 1880s. A selection of overseas cards (figure 10) demonstrate how framing changed over the preceding decade, and how cards moved towards demonstrating greater abundance and complexity in the imagery while diminishing the importance of the greeting text.

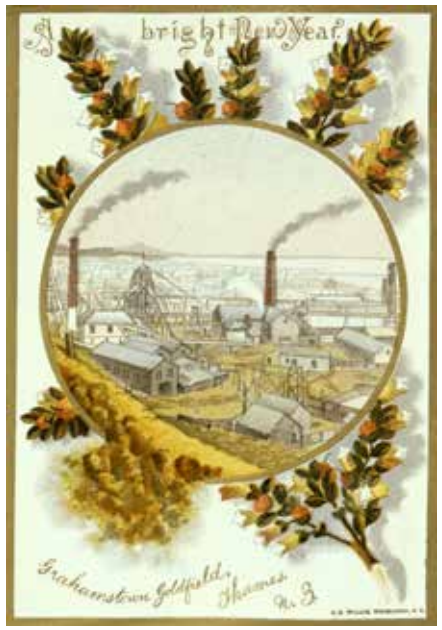

Figure 7: A. D. Willis (publisher), W. Potts & L. Harding (artwork), Christmas Cards, 1886. Left top: Mt Arthur, Nelson. Right top: Grahamstown Goldfield. Both 104x72mm. Above: Manawatu Gorge, 105x144mm. Courtesy of the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, N.Z. References: E-068-016-1, E-068-017-2 & E-068-012. Few of Willis's cards focus more on human activity than nature. The Grahamstown card positions New Zealand as a land of opportunity, and perhaps references the six months a young Willis spent in the goldfields.

Figure 8: A. D. Willis (publisher), W. Potts & L. Harding (artwork), Christmas Cards, 1887, Top: Kiwi and Lake Wakatipu, 72x104mm. Courtesy of the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington NZ. Reference: E-068-006-2. Bottom: Pink Terraces, 105x144. Collection of the author. (Turnbull reference: E-068-002).

Figure 9: Five cards of the types imported to, and sold in, New Zealand which demonstrate the development of framing devices through the period. Below left: Louis Prang card from 1876. Centre: Uncredited card used in 1883. Above left: Frank Vernon card, copyrighted in 1882 and used in 1884. Above right: Uncredited card used in 1886. Below right: Uncredited card used in 1887. All cards from the collection of the author.

What is also clear, looking at the later international cards is that, despite Willis's work improving, it was difficult to compete with the high quality of chromolithographic printing coming from some of the British and German houses. This would prove the hardest issue for Willis to conquer, and by 1887 his adverts took on a slightly plaintive quality when he felt it necessary to remind the public to "support local industry."[75] The problem was not his marketing. He continued to send cards to newspapers – though with less frequent responses – but primarily he seems to have travelled himself to promote sales.[76] He also had a clear sales pitch: "What is the use of sending English cards back to England. Send N.Z. Christmas Cards home."[77] And the work, although reviews had tailed off, had been generally well received. In 1888, the *New Zealand Times* described Willis's offerings that year as "gems in their way,"[78] while the *Wanganui Chronicle* congratulated him on "their success as works of art."[79] Robert Coupland Harding described that year's cards as "exceedingly good."[80] Nevertheless, Harding's later description of Willis's sample book as showing the "first crude attempts" at New Zealand Christmas cards, has some validity in terms of the printing, if not the designs.[81] A mix of dynamic design and underwhelming finish is evident in the cards that elicited such positive responses, Willis's final two coloured views (Figure 10). They used designs by Margaret Olrog Stoddart,[82] then a high-profile graduating student at the Canterbury College School of Art.[83] The effect of the surround is lavish, but Potts' transfer lithographic printing, compared to top European work, is slightly heavy-handed.

Figure 10: Margaret Olrog Stoddart (designer), William Potts (lithographer), A. D. Willis (publisher). West Coast, N.Z. Christmas Card, 1888. Courtesy of the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, N.Z. Reference: E-068-050. Stoddart was a 23-year-old just completing seven years of study. She had already garnered a considerable reputation as a botanical artist. Her design appears not to have considered the greetings text, which is fitted around the image uncomfortably.

These two cards are something of an oddity, relative to the rest. They don't claim to show specific places, but rather are generic scenes. And this was the first year since 1883 that Willis did not publish twelve or more cards. The reasons for this are, I think, two-fold. Firstly, if one plots his images across the country, by 1887 he had ticked off most areas bar the predominantly Māori regions of the King Country, Northland and the East Coast. There were eight scenes around Queenstown, six each around Rotorua and Auckland, four each for Milford and Dusky Sounds, as well as Taupo and Thames, three around Christchurch, two each for Wellington, Dunedin and New Plymouth and a single image for most other centres. He therefore now had a catalogue that could be reprinted, and by the start of 1888 he perhaps felt no real need to add to it. However, Margaret Stoddart's designs (which she may well have submitted to Willis speculatively in order to have a real printed outcome in her graduating show),[85] offered something Willis clearly desired – recognition for the artistic quality of the work. And it would be this that saw him concentrate his 1889 production on his magnum opus *New Zealand Illustrated* rather than doing Christmas cards.

1889 was therefore the first year since 1882 when Willis produced no Christmas cards. This hiatus must have allowed him to do some thinking about the competition for the Christmas market. Overseas firms like Raphael Tuck could market 3000 different designs a year.[86] Novelties such as cards in strange shapes, folding cards in gold leaf, and handpainted cards on porcelain were coming from all the big overseas firms, and an article in the *Press*, after discussing these and many more, then went on to talk about "ordinary chromolithographed cards."[87] Although the Christmas card craze was still at its peak, the public was evidently being seduced by imported choice, while coloured lithographs of the sort Willis had been doing were losing their cachet. Furthermore, there was another area of competition emerging. If, at the start of the 1880's, cards had cut into the Christmas book market, by the late 1880s there was a serious publishing response.

In 1887, John Watt, a bookseller in Willis Street, Wellington, announced "The Book of the Season," noting that this "little work makes a good substitute for either Birthday, Christmas or New Year cards."[88] The work was a 32-page booklet called *As Time Glides On*. Written by George Thompson Hutchinson, costing 1s 3d, and published by Hodders, it consisted of "the months in Picture and Poem," and, according to Watt's advert, had 60,000 copies pre-ordered. This was, in fact, the tip of an iceberg that had been some years coming. Although the lavish £1 Christmas gift books of poems and pictures had effectively died out

by the late 1870's,[89] (roughly in tandem with the rise of the Christmas cards), it seems to have arisen from the ashes in a cheaper guise. Booklets of 16 or 32 pages, targeted to the Christmas market, had been available in the US from around 1882, and appeared in Britain by 1885.[90] And publishing houses made a point of advertising that booklets could be sent instead of cards. However, the game-changer came in 1888 when the large British Christmas Card publishers Raphael Tuck and Hildesheimer & Faulkner replied to this threat by making their own booklets.[91] An example of these is *The Jackdaw of Rheims* (figure 11), which is printed in a mix of black and white illustrations and two

Figure 11: Cover and spread from Raphael Tuck's 1889 booklet The Jackdaw of Rheims. Author's collection. It was reviewed in the press as a Christmas card, despite being 32 pages long, and advertised as the "booklet of the season." The cover was printed chromolithographically using six colours. The left page was printed in three tones of brown, while the right-hand image was printed letterpress, using wood-engraved illustrations.

or three-coloured sepia images. With so many fewer stones to use, such booklets could be produced at not vastly more than a 12 colour chromolithographic card. Abruptly, Christmas card advertising became 'Christmas Card and Booklet' advertising.

As both a publisher and a bookseller, A. D. Willis would have noticed this change, and there was other food for thought. The New Zealand and South Seas Exhibition, for which *New Zealand Illustrated* was produced and which Willis would have attended, may have provided him with ideas for a change of direction. The exhibition articulated a response to the crisis of national identity during the 1880's that had seen leading intellectuals, as James Belich puts it, "forging a picture of the Maori past for Pakeha ideological purposes."[92] The exhibition contained an extensive section relating to the "anthropology of the aborigines of the colony."[93] This included objects like the 300-year-old flute played

by Tūtānekai to Hinemoa.[94] The effect on non-intellectuals interested in New Zealand's national identity must have been significant. The *Auckland Weekly News* published a chromolithograph entitled "The Advent of the Maori: Christmas A.D. 1000" in its 1889 Christmas

Figure 12: A. D. Willis (publisher), G. Sherriff (artwork), Christmas Card, 1890: A Maori Speech (Korero), 87x128mm. Courtesy of the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, N.Z. Reference: A-015-007.

supplement.[95] Willis, ever sensitive to a trend, debuted in 1890 (the 50th year of New Zealand's colonisation) with a very different set of offerings.

The new series of Christmas cards used the cheaper-to-produce, but artistic, sepia.[96] The plants, frames and views remained, to remind one of the earlier cards, but it is culture instead of nature that takes centre stage. New Zealandness had expanded from natural environments (with the occasional building or town scene) to exploring what made New Zealand unique. Jock Phillips sees the "view that any distinctive New Zealand cultural identity could be based in some way upon the Maori," as typical of the 'Maoriland' thinking in the 1890s,[97] and Roger Blackley's book shows how this focus came to affect many aspects of cultural production.[98] This approach was not, however, unique. Nationalism, in many parts of the world, was looking to earlier cultures and myths.[99] Certainly, New Zealand life, according to the following write-up in the *Auckland Star* equated to Māori life.

> The approach of Christmas is already heralded by displays of Christmas cards in the shop windows. Among the New Zealand designers of these popular tokens of goodwill, Mr A. D. Willis, lithographer of Wanganui, has taken the lead, and his designs for this season are again of a novel and attractive character, and are intended to illustrate interesting phases of New Zealand life. ... The views comprise : A Maori Canoe (Waka) Race, A Maori Speech (korero), Maori Going to Market in Canoe, The Home of the Maori (kainga), Maoriland, The Old Style and the New, A Family Repast (kai). ....Friends abroad will undoubtedly value much more highly cards of New Zealand design than English cards, however beautiful, and the novelty of such missives from Maoriland will cause them to be specially prized among the gifts of the season.

Talking about "interesting phases in New Zealand life," calling New Zealand 'Maoriland,' and both Willis and the *Star* including the original Māori words in the titles – all acknowledged that Māori culture was fundamental to an understanding of New Zealand identity. And the cards were well received, with the *Taranaki Herald* saying Willis had "quite outshone his former efforts" with their "natural and artistic manner."[100]

Apart from figure 12, images of the 1890 cards have proven particularly difficult to locate, but one that appeared on Trademe is worth mention.[101] *Maoriland, the Old Style and the New* shows two elderly Māori, one in traditional garb with a whare in the background. The other is dressed in European clothes, with a wooden house and fence behind. There is no caricature of 'the old' but the implication is clearly one of progress bringing assimilation. And the card's design also, subtly, gives a similar message relating to the Christmas card format which, by 1890, was appearing old. *Trompe l'oeil* is used in the card to make the image appear like it is the cover of a 16-page booklet. Willis was the first New Zealand publisher to appreciate and respond to the booklet trend and, alongside his 1890 Christmas cards he published a 2s 6d booklet called *Hinemoa*, which was described as "the first booklet ever produced in New Zealand."[102] His booklets have been discussed in other contexts, but only Barry Hancox noticed the Christmas connection. He quotes Willis as saying, in the front of his 1893 booklet *Under the Southern Cross*:

> This little Booklet is issued in the hope that it will be a change from a mere Christmas card, as a memento to send to European friends, to whom it may convey an idea of the scenery and lands by which we in New Zealand are connected, but which they may not have an opportunity to behold.[103]

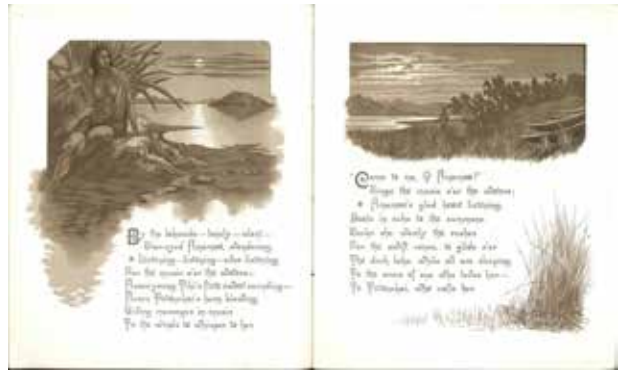

Figure 13: A. D. Willis (publisher), G. Sherriff (illustrator), W. Potts (lithographer), Christmas Booklet, 1890: Hinemoa. Courtesy of Dunedin Public Library. Having illustrations with imagery that melts out of the frame shows continuity with Willis's Christmas card production.

Much the same point is made in the *Wanganui Herald's* advance notice of *Hinemoa*. The paper said that "the get up will be exactly on the lines of the booklets we have been so familiar with of late, and which have to a very great extent taken the place of Xmas cards, etc."[104] The industry, it is made clear, was evolving, and Willis's production was keeping pace. And, after the 1888 experiment with Margaret Olrog Stoddart, Willis involved more high-profile artists. Lydia Harding made way for well-known local painter, George Sherriff, while the booklet's poet, Eleanor Montgomery, was someone who Willis had previously published.[105] The Arawa story of Hinemoa came from Sir George Grey's *Polynesian Mythology*, which had been republished in 1885.[106] Grey's translation was printed on the inside covers, while the illustrated poem filled the remaining twelve pages. The story of Hinemoa and Tūtānekai was a prime candidate for what Blackley identifies as Maoriland cultural appropriation.[107] It enjoyed huge popularity at the time, and there would be at least twelve 1890's poetic versions,[108] not to mention music, brochures, and later film.[109] Peter Gibbons sees such work as part of a process whereby settlers constructed a manageable version of 'the

Maori.'[110] Len Bell similarly talks about the art of this period as being concerned with "drama, anecdote and fiction. Myths... being created about Maori by Europeans for Europeans."[111] Montgomery was clearly working in this manner, picking up on the poet who most influenced this particular genre – Longfellow, whose *Hiawatha* functioned similarly.[112]

While Montgomery was always acknowledged in her booklets, George Sherriff was only ever known by his initials, and did not sign the 1890 cards that he is generally credited with. Nevertheless, Sherriff was named as *Hinemoa's* illustrator in the abovementioned *Wanganui Herald* article. He was also quick to correct what he saw as an error in its reportage. The paper had said that in *Hinemoa* "the German style has been closely followed by Mr G. Sherriff, the artist, and Mr W. Potts the lithographer."[113] Sherriff wrote :

> You remark that I am producing the illustrations to Hinemoa after the German style. My illustrations are produced in the usual manner in sepia, and are thoroughly original in every way. It is the lithographer, Mr Potts, who is attempting to reproduce them after the modern German illustrated booklet form. I trust you will kindly excuse me for correcting the error, as the article reads as though I was copying from the German.[114]

To Sherriff, the booklet was a German form – or at least was coming from German publishers based or operating in Britain, like Tuck, Hildesheimer and Ernest Nister. However, a few days later William Potts wrote in to correct perceived errors in Sherriff's response:

> In the first place I am a lithographic artist and not a lithographer. I am producing for Mr Willis exact reproductions of Mr Sherriff's illustrations to Hinemoa in the manner I reproduce my own drawings and not in any German or other style. As Mr Sherriff's drawings are original, and I reproduce them, I cannot see what Germany has to do with them.[115]

Apart from providing useful clues as to the booklet form, and exemplifying the status invested in the terms 'artist,' 'lithographer" and 'original',[116] this exchange (which must have resulted in some frosty relations at Willis's works) demonstrates the seriousness with which both Sherriff and Potts undertook this work.

It is easy, with hindsight, to see *Hinemoa* as typical of a 'Maoriland' approach, but most of the work that forms this corpus occurred later. In 1890 Sherriff may have been justified in thinking that he was forging something original in New Zealand, though it was hardly "original in every way." The format was borrowed, and the typeface of a style that had been popular in the mid-1880's,[117] and was employed by Tuck in booklets like the 1888 *Songs, Carols and Chimes*. However this melding of transnational form and local content appears to have been a success. Willis garnered more good press for his 1890 products than he had for any of his earlier attempts. The measure of this can be seen the following year, when Wildman & Lyell in Auckland were advertising works "by the eminent colour printer, Mr Willis of Wanganui."[118] The *New Zealand Herald* similarly wrote a piece that exemplifies Willis's growing reputation, and acknowledgement that his works were art. After introducing him as "that most industrious and persevering producer and disseminator of New Zealand art" it went on to say:

> Year after year Mr. Willis has toiled on amidst many discouragements in his attempts to show the outside world that we can produce something besides frozen mutton and kauri gum, and we are pleased to hear that his efforts are at last beginning to be appreciated. The great success of last year's Christmas booklet – "Hinemoa" – has induced the publisher to follow on with something on the same lines, but the work of both the artist and poet, and last, but not least, the printer, is this year immeasurably superior."

Figure 14: A. D. Willis (publisher), G. Sherriff (illustrator), W. Potts (lithographer), Christmas Booklet, 1890: The Land of the Moa. Courtesy of Dunedin Public Library. A (misdated) copy of this work can be seen online at: https://archive.org/details/MontgomerySherriffTheLandOfTheMoa1890

That follow-on, in 1891, was *The Land of the Moa* (figure 14). It is worth noting here that the booklets, like the Christmas cards, have been routinely misdated in libraries and collections. Fortunately, newspaper advertising and comment provides definitive dates, and hence we can also follow something of the development of these works.

The title 'Land of the Moa' predates the booklet. The phrase was an alternative description for New Zealand, and was also the title of a 9x5' painting by George Sherriff, which had been exhibited at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in London in 1886 (where it was the largest work displayed).[119] It was described in the *New Zealand Herald's* review as "a wild lake scene, surrounded by rugged, glacier-crowned mountains."[120] In 1890, this work was the main prize in Sherriff's Art Union Lottery, where it was valued at £70.[121] Given that Willis and Sherriff would have been planning *Hinemoa* at this point, It can hardly be a coincidence that Willis arranged for Sherriff to illustrate a booklet the following year with the same title as the painting. However, when completed, the booklet's treatment could hardly be more different. Whereas the painting was searching for the Romantic sublime, with a bleak and expansive aspect, Sherriff adapted the booklet to the Christmas card approach – realising that a popular audience needed more of a commercial sublime.[122] If the painting was full of empty space (a marker of the highbrow), the booklet was packed and abundant. The central image retains elements of the painting of Wakatipu, but a volcano has been added, along with a waterfall, Māori village and lush framing foliage. The aim is to orchestrate a quick emotional response to New Zealand in as many ways as possible. This agglomeration is slightly less marked in the somewhat disjointed images within the booklet, but what the pictures lack, the poet more than makes up for, with some heady hymns to native flora and fauna, which would have been remarkably difficult for non-locals, who could not distinguish one bird from another, to follow.

The interesting thing about the advertising in 1891 is that, unlike with *Hinemoa*, the identity of the G. S. initials was barely acknowledged. This may have been Sherriff's choice, but it may also be that Willis has simply purchased the artwork, as he did with Sherriff's painting of *The Latest Scandal*, which he then published as a lithograph.[123] He may therefore have felt no particular need to acknowledge the artist, rather than promoting his own Willis brand – much as overseas Art Publishers like Raphael Tuck routinely did. Certainly the Willis brand was blossoming. The *Auckland Star* had this to say:

> While the foreign goods are so attractive, we in the colonies prefer in sending missives Home to send something characteristic of the land we live in. A demand sprang up years ago, and has been admirably met by Mr A. D. Willis, colour printer of Wanganui, whose publications incidental to the Christmas season have extended his reputation far and wide.[124]

The paper went on to praise *The Land of the Moa* (without mentioning Sherriff) as "a charming publication....the work compares very favourably with that done either in America or Europe," and to say of the new series of Christmas cards that "they are really charming, and in point of artistic merit even superior to those of last year."[125] The cards' subject matter in part continued the approach of the previous year, with educational images of Māori life with their Māori names (figure 15), but there were also new, primarily comic, elements. *Thoughts of Christmas* depicts a smiling Māori woman with an unsuspecting pig. *A Christmas Greeting in Maoriland* has an amusing encounter between playful Māori and put-upon Pākehā. These have something of the humour of Sherriff's *The Latest Scandal* (which showed a group of Māori women laughing about the latest gossip), but here it is more at the expense of Europeans than Māori, who are shown as completely at home in their environment. Whether Māori would have found these cards as entertaining as Pākehā is unclear, as there is no evidence directly related to Māori consumption of any of the cards. But, as Blackley has shown, Māori did consume art on their own terms,[126] and there is evidence that *The Latest Scandal*, at least, amused. "A crowd of laughing Maoris" was reported as gathering around a Napier shop window where the title of the displayed print had been translated,[127] while in Auckland a similar group responded to the picture with "great gusto."[128]

By 1892 Sherriff was probably knee deep in Mt Somers stone dust, carving the Lion Monument for Whanganui's Queen's Gardens War Memorial, but he still undertook another commission from Willis. This was the booklet *Tiki's Trip to Town* (figure 16), a largely pictorial piece with a text by James Duigan (editor of the Willis-friendly *Wanganui Herald*). Smaller and cheaper (at 1s 3d) than the other booklets, it came the closest to matching a Christmas card in price. It has been regarded, since Betty Gilderdale's work on New Zealand children's book history, as a children's book.[129] This may be the case, but there is absolutely nothing in the advertising to mark it as such. What it claims to be is "humorous

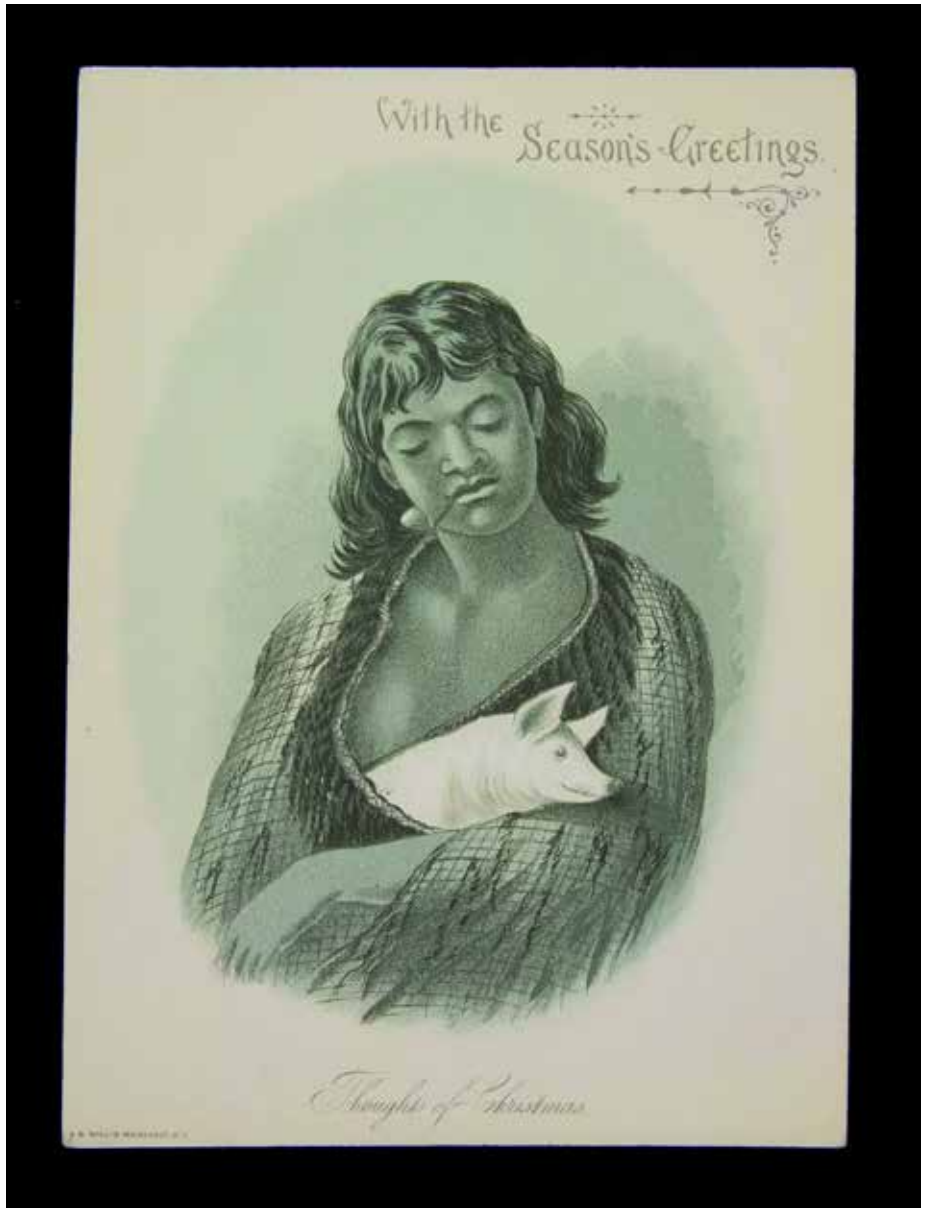

Figure 15: A. D. Willis (publisher), G. Sherriff (artwork), W. Potts (lithographer), Christmas Cards, 1891. Above: Thoughts of Christmas. Right top: Maori Nose-Rubbing ("Hongi oha"). Right bottom: A Christmas Greeting in Maoriland. All courtesy of Te Papa, purchased 1995. References: GH012086, GH004844 & GH012089. Te Papa's records incorrectly date these and other similar Willis cards to c.1900's and use their greeting texts as their title rather than the script captions that Willis advertised with.

sketches of a Maori boy's visit to town."[130] This is similar wording to how Sherriff's *The Latest Scandal* had been marketed by Willis the previous year – i.e. that it "hits off the humourous side of Maori Life most graphically."[131] Its vignette illustrations are also similar in style to the previous year's Christmas cards (compare figures 15 and 16).

Figure 16: Double page spread from *Tiki's Trip to Town*, an 1892 Christmas Booklet illustrated by George Sherriff, lithography by William Potts, published by A. D. Willis. Author's collection.

At all events, this connection with Sherriff's previous work allows us to see how *Tiki* fits into the artist's oevre – something that Caroline Campbell was not able to make sense of.[132] Campbell also misses the connection of *Tiki's* vignette format with Sherriff's previous Christmas cards, seeing this instead as typical of children's illustration.[133] Nevertheless, in the closest and most extensive reading of any of the Willis works discussed here, Campbell's conclusion that "the figurative treatment of the main and supporting characters is an attempt by an immigrant artist/illustrator to articulate an indigenous reality contradicting the aims of colonial agencies of power," seems a fair assessment of Sherriff's approach.[134]

The bulk of Willis's 1892 work was, however, done by a different artist. In 1891 *The New Zealand Herald* had reported that Willis had engaged two Auckland artists for his next year's production,[135] however only one eventuated, and it is less easy to ignore the 'colonial agencies of power' in some of his pieces. Kennett Watkins was by far the most high-profile artist Willis had yet employed, and he not only drew six Christmas card designs, but also the main booklet of the year *The Tohunga* (figure 17). This again had poetry by Eleanor Montgomery which, as a review put it, aimed to "reproduce in English verse the kind of naturalism and savagery which we understand to be the characteristics of Maori verse."[136] The artwork, however, seems to have been almost universally appreciated, and described as "real works of art".[137] It was certainly more cohesive than *The Land of the Moa* and the consensus seems to have been that "nothing could be more suitable than this pretty little book as a Christmas card for sending to friends at home."[138]

Watkins' set of six cards for 1892 were similarly well received. Apart from their stronger sepia colouring (as opposed to the bluish grey of Sherriff's earlier cards) several of them follow the pattern of their predecessors fairly closely, with cards like *A Native Pet* (figure 18) providing an intimate view of Māori life. However, Watkins also introduced new elements. He had worked hard to establish himself in the high-status genre of history painting.[139] With only 50 years of Pākehā history to play with, the genre almost by default propelled New Zealand painters into depictions of historical Māori, a territory which Watkins regarded as an inheritance.[140] Thus, instead of documenting Māori life in the present, as Sherriff had, Watkins began to show historical customs in cards like *A Maori Challenge*.

Figure 17: Cover and spread from The Tohunga, an 1892 Christmas booklet, illustrated by Kennett Watkins, lithography by William Potts, Published by A. D. Willis. Courtesy of Dunedin Public Library.

For these cards, an explanatory text was added to the back. If the ideology is implicit in the images, it is explicit in the texts. The gist of the *Maori Challenge* text is that uncivilised races taunt their enemies, whereas with the introduction of European guns, this primitive custom has stopped. The task of fully analysing these images and their accompanying texts is beyond the scope of this paper, but Watkins' version of Maoriland is clearly shot through with colonial attitudes that attempt, as Roger Blackley puts it, to "rescue the Māori past on behalf of Pākehā successors."[141] It also, rather more than Sherriff's work, falls victim to what Stafford and Williams have called "the Maoriland habit of splitting the present from the past, the actual from the ideal."[142] An honoured place in the past did not guarantee a place in the colony's future. And the fact that these cards were a commercial enterprise opens them to the critique that they, like other Maoriland work, were motivated more by economic benefit than any intrinsic interest in Māori.[143] How much these texts were Willis's doing, and how much they were Watkins' ideology is unclear, though their appearance in tandem with Watkins' arrival is suggestive. That they tapped into contemporary sentiment is, however, quite evident. The *Auckland Star* noted that "the subjects....are well chosen and the letter-press description on the back of the card makes these messages of love from Maoriland specially suitable for transmission to friends abroad."[144]

Willis's final year of Christmas card production was 1893, and Watkins again provided the artwork. *The Observer* called them "a set of six exquisite cards illustrative of New Zealand life and scenery [that would] give folks in England an idea of what Maoriland is really like."[145] The cards moved from a three-colour sepia to the tinted lithograph form and are both technically and artistically more ambitious than the previous year's offerings. The subjects also vary from *A Travelling Party* (figure 19), an image of Māori life with a descriptive and fairly neutral text, to cards that very much explore the impact of European settlement. *In Colonial Progress*, the Māori included are, like the native bush around the frame, simply symbolic of the old and untamed. Within the picture of progress (Watkins' picture-within-a-picture here stages this like a drama), the land is being tamed, and the accompanying text charts the stages. Progress is seen as inevitable and European. There is a more nuanced approach in *Oar Versus Paddl*e which seems to document real boat races. The description allows Māori paddling prowess, but the introduction of sleek rowing boats means that four Europeans can take on (and beat over a longer distance) the Māori waka. Progress again inevitably favours the Pākehā.

Figure 18: A. D. Willis's 1892 Christmas cards. Illustrated by Kennett Watkins, Lithography by William Potts. Top: A Maori Challenge. Above: Reverse of A Maori Challenge. Right: A Native Pet. Centre: Courtesy of Te Papa, Purchased 1995. References: GH012085 & GH004846.

Figure 19: A. D. Willis's 1893 Christmas cards. Illustrated by Kennett Watkins, Lithography by William Potts. Top: Oar Versus Paddle. Above: Colonial Progress. Right: A Travelling Party. Courtesy of Te Papa, Purchased 1995. References: GH004848, GH012081 & GH012082.

The *Wanganui Chronicle* agreed with the *Observer* that the cards were "most artistically got up, ...are eminently suited for the purpose intended, and will give people outside the colony a very favourable impression of picturesque New Zealand."[146] It also praised Willis's new Christmas booklet – *Under the Southern Cross* (Figure 20) which reunited George Sherriff with Eleanor Montgomery, who provided an introductory poem.[147] This was a booklet of views and was perhaps a response to a very nicely designed *West Coast Sounds* booklet published the previous year by J. Wilkie & Co., with illustrations by Robert Hawcridge.[148] It demonstrated that a booklet of views was viable, and hence it is not surprising to see Willis – always aware of market trends – responding to it. However it did not just include views of New Zealand. The Southern Cross connects many places and some pages show other lands and islands. In this booklet, New Zealand identity moves beyond the national to be located geographically and conceptually within the Pacific – and commercially in Australasia.[149]

Despite the good reviews of the year's offerings, 1893 was Willis's Christmas swansong. He would produce no new designs, though his previous cards and booklets continued on sale for several years,[150] and the type of Christmas imagery he had helped popularise would continue in Christmas Issues of journals like the *New Zealand Graphic*.[151] There are several reasons for this retreat from a format that had helped establish him as a leading art publisher. Firstly, 1893 saw Willis elected to the House of Representatives, replacing John Ballance in the Wanganui seat. Secondly, sometime between 1893-4, William Potts left.[152] Given that Willis's Christmas card production began in earnest with Potts' arrival, and stopped with his departure, it seems likely that he was a driving force in their conception. And with no Potts, and with Willis in Wellington, there was clearly a decision to consolidate production. By 1893 Willis's printing works was highly successful across multiple fields (books, labels, playing cards etc). Now he could put more work into these lines. And quitting the Christmas market as a publisher did not prevent his profiting from it as an importer and bookseller.

Looking back, however, Willis would have been able to reflect on a successful decade of Christmas production, that had helped promote his hometown as a publishing centre. He had, with Wilkie and the Burton Brothers, forged a place for the local in the teeth of competition from the giants of print culture. He had been attentive to the trends in that stationery industry and responded quickly – including being the first New Zealand publisher to publish Christmas booklets. He had also produced a catalogue of New Zealand views which

encompassed most of the country and collectively recorded what was considered at the time to be 'picturesque New Zealand.' He had also managed to convince people across the country of the validity of these pieces of ephemera as being "the highest style of art,"[153] had tapped top local talent and, latterly, could call on one of the leading artists of the day to produce works for him.

This paper is not the last word on Willis's work. Rather it has sought to shape an armature on which subsequent studies might be sculpted. Nevertheless, some broad themes have emerged, with the two halves of the production having quite different trajectories. The first half was about refining the chromolithographic technique, developing a distinctive visual language with which to address the local audience while remaining accessible to overseas recipients. There was an increasing sense of New Zealandness being related to its unique, wild and awe-inspiring landscape – a development which superseded and incorporated the earlier focus on flora and fauna. The 'view' here becomes more collectible than the specimen. In none of this is Willis markedly different from what was going on around him, but he was very aware of current cultural shifts – as his quick understanding of the need to create visual abundance demonstrated.

Nineteenth century print culture could easily act as a transnational force for cultural colonisation. Willis was inevitably part of that culture. His work in the 1890s attempted to address New Zealand's cultural distinctiveness, thereby becoming an early exponent of the type of Maoriland approaches that are now largely discredited – seen as "imprisoning Maori within an imagined past" while manufacturing identity from an appropriated mythology.[154] That Willis would, to twenty-first century eyes, fail spectacularly to properly respect the unique identity and position of Māori was, given his cultural background, fairly much inevitable. The cracks are particularly evident in the cards created for him by Kennett Watkins. Nevertheless, within his own context, Willis's interest in promoting the Māori language through his cards is one indicator that he was trying to do more than just make money, and was perhaps encouraging a base-level of cultural understanding via his publications. Indeed, he would later purchase the rights to *Kōrero Māori: First Lessons in Māori Conversation* and publish a fifth edition,[155] suggesting that he was serious about promoting Te Reo Māori. There is, clearly, a great deal more that needs doing to understand Willis's work in relation to the broader issues that Phillips, Bell, Stafford & Williams, Gibbons and Blackley, in particular, have defined. There is also more to be said about the ways that commercial art, the picturesque, the middlebrow and the Christmas card come together. However, for these discussions to be complete, the photographic Christmas cards of the

period also need to be considered. Therefore, these will inform a future paper. For now, I hope that the above has shown that the work of this Whanganui chromolithographer deserves a more central place in these discussions than it has hitherto received, and that, by documenting Willis's development, it has established a clear basis from which these discussions can begin.

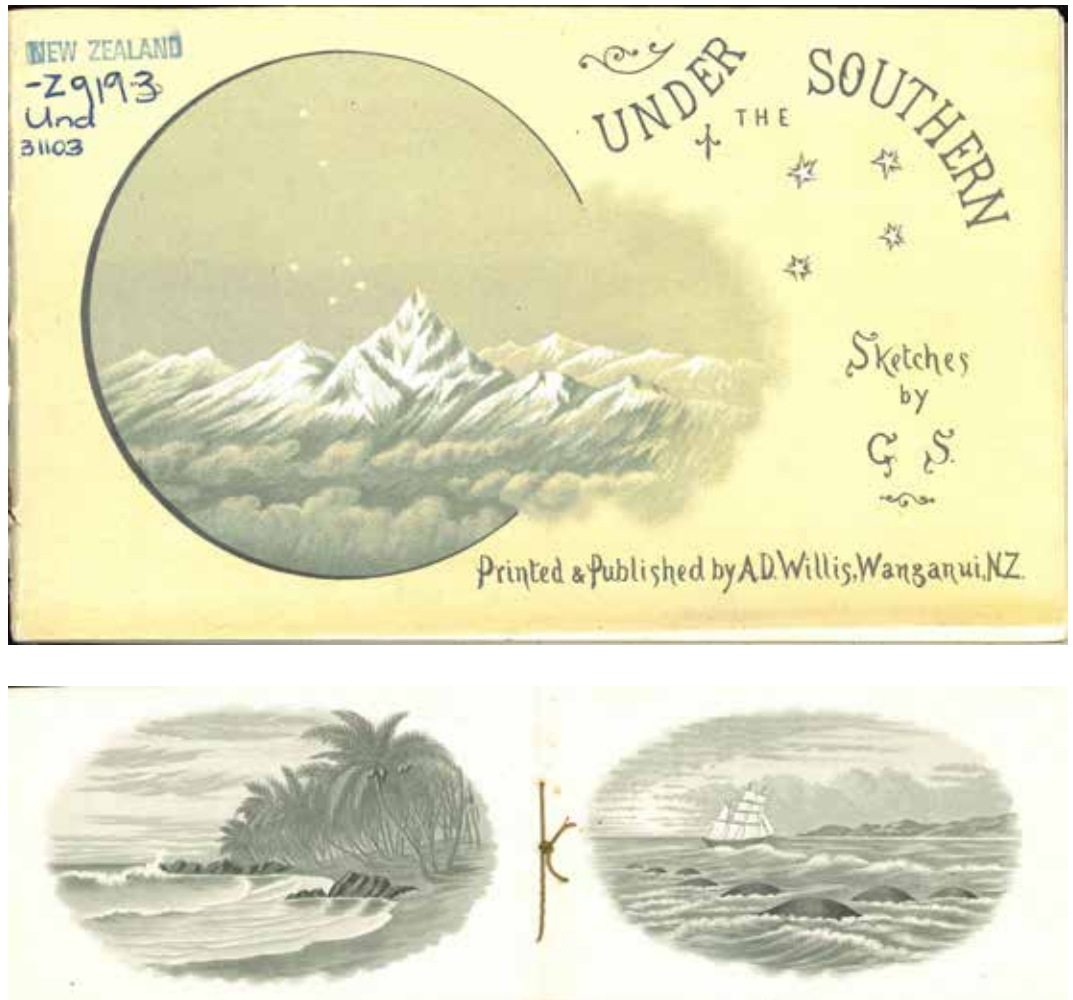

Figure 20: A. D Willis's 1893 Christmas Booklet, Under the Southern Cross. Illustrations by George Sheriff, lithography by William Potts. Courtesy of Dunedin Public Library. The cover illustration combines Sherriff's love of alpine scenes, and Willis's love for exploded frames. The rebus in the title has flummoxed librarians, but advertising confirms that the word 'cross' is intended.

APPENDIX:

A.D. Willis's Christmas cards 1883-93

NB. The cards are listed in the order they appear in the source and with original spelling. The first two years were located in "Freethought Review," while the remaining cards were sourced from newspaper adverts and comment. The cards' titles are deduced from several sources, prioritised as follows: the card itself; Willis's adverts; other adverts; newspaper editorial comment. Some titles have been shortened.

1883: Poroporo; Tutu: Nikau Palm; Karaka; Tawa; Titoki; Houhi; Ponga Fern Kareao; Mock Orange;* Karamu; Black Mairie; Whero-whero; Pohutukawa; Ruapehu; Mitre Peak; Rangitoto Island; Mount Egmont; Lake Manapouri; Lake Rotorua.

**The Mock Orange was advertised, but no copy exists in the Turnbull's sample books.*

1884: On the Dart River (Otago); Mount Campbell; The Kaikouras (Marlborough); Entering Milford Sound; In Milford Sound; Paikakariki (Wellington); Waitangi Falls (Bay of Islands); Waitakere Falls (North of Auckland); Lake Taupo; Lake Mavora (Otago); Among the Ranges, Queenstown (Otago); Wellington Heads; Lyttleton Harbour; Timaru Breakwater; Port Chalmers and Otago Heads; Ocean Beach, Dunedin; Breaksea Sound; Otira Gorge; Tararu Creek; Bowen Falls, Milford Sound; Entrance to Dusky Sound; Mt Cook; A Merry Christmas.

1885: Nikau Palm / Lake Wakatipu; Cabbage Tree / Picton; Pitau Fern / Rangitata Gorge; Lake Mavora / NZ Flowers (Manapouri); Pink Terrace, Lake Rotomahana; View of Wanganui / Floral Design; New Plymouth Breakwater / NZ Flowers; Stewart's Island / NZ Berries; Lake Kanieri, West Coast; Docharty's Bay, Dusky Sound; Lyttleton Heads; White Terrace, Lake Rotomahana.

1886: Lake Wanaka; Akaroa Harbour; Rotokakahi (Taupo); Manawatu Gorge; Napier; Queenstown (Lake Wakatipu); North Shore (Auckland); Te Aroha; Mount Arthur (Nelson); Waitukere, Lower Falls (Auckland); Coromandel; Grahamstown Gold-field (Thames).

1887: Port Road, Nelson*; Cromwell; Pink Terrace and Floral Design; White Terrace and Floral Design; Mount Egmont from New Plymouth; Kawau, Sir George Grey's Residence; Tarawera Eruption; Lake Wakatipu; Tauranga; Oamaru Breakwater; Rangitikei River; Waiwera, Auckland.

**Port Road, Nelson was advertised, but was not included in the Turnbull's sample books*

1888: Early Sunrise, NZ; West Coast, NZ

1890: A Maori Canoe (Waka) Race; Maori Going to Market in Canoe; The Home of the Maori (Kainga); A Family Repast (Kai); Maoriland – The Old Style and the New; A Maori Speech (Korero).

1891: Her Best Friend; Thoughts of Christmas; Maori Nose Rubbing (Hongi oha); A Christmas Greeting in Maori Land; Pig Hunting in New Zealand; Dolce Far Niente.

1892: A Maori Challenge; Maori Hospitality; Natural Hot Baths; Preparing Dinner; A Maori Pa; A Native Pet.

1893: On the Waikato; Colonial Progress; In a Kauri Forest; A Travelling Party; Hinemoa; Oar Versus Paddle.

A.D Willis's Christmas Gift Booklets 1890-93:

1890: Hinemoa

1891: The Land of the Moa

1892: The Tohunga; Tiki's Trip to Town

1893: Under the Southern Cross

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ENDNOTES

I would like to thank the anonymous reviewers of this paper for their suggestions which have materially improved the resulting piece. I would also like to thank Dr Oliver Stead, Curator of Drawings, Paintings and Prints at the Alexander Turnbull Library and Julian Smith, Reed Rare Books and Special Collections Librarian at the Dunedin Public Libraries for their help with arranging images for this paper.

1 Peter Gilderdale, "Summer Scenes and Flowers: The Beginnings of the New Zealand Christmas Card, 1880-1882," *Backstory*, no. 3 (2017).

2 New Zealand Herald (Auckland), "Auckland Society of Arts," July 16, 1885: 6.

3 New Zealand Herald (Auckland), "Auckland Society of Arts," November 10, 1884: 11.

4 Una Platts, "Frank and Walter Wright: An Exhibition Held at the Auckland City Art Gallery," (Auckland: Auckland City Art Gallery, 1955): 12. Wright's workplace is, however, identified as the furniture shop, Winks & Hall, where he worked as a packer.

5 Blackley focuses on colour lithography only in relation to illustrated supplements. Roger Blackley, *Galleries of Maoriland: Artists, Collectors and the Māori World, 1880-1910* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2018): 185-7.

6 Lorraine Janzen Kooistra, *Poetry, Pictures and Popular Publishing: The Illustrated Gift Book and Victorian Visual Culture 1855-1875* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2011): 26. Dickens' *A Christmas Carol* began the trend for Christmas literature, according to Jude Piesse, *British Settler Emigration in Print, 1832-1877* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016): 49

7 Mount Ida Chronicle (Naseby), "Untitled," December 18, 1880: 2. Note that this reference confirms that the book was published in 1880, and not, as usually given, 1881.

8 Gilderdale, "Summer Scenes and Flowers: The Beginnings of the New Zealand Christmas Card, 1880-1882," 11. On J. Wilkie & Co, see: Rosslyn Joan Johnston, "Colour Printing in the Uttermost Part of the Sea: A Study of the Colour Print Products, Printers, Technology and Markets in New Zealand, 1830-1914" (Doctoral Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2002):247-8. Although Johnston gives their entry into the printing trade as 1885, their 1882 Christmas card calls them 'printers and stationers.' Gilderdale, "Summer Scenes and Flowers: The Beginnings of the New Zealand Christmas Card, 1880-1882," 17.

9 "Summer Scenes and Flowers: The Beginnings of the New Zealand Christmas Card, 1880-1882," 9-10.

10 Ibid., 14-17.

11 There has been controversy around the spelling of Whanganui since it was founded. Whanganui is now the official name of the town, and I use it when speaking of the town in contemporary terms. However, when accessing Whanganui papers, I use the name as it was spelt in the nineteenth century – Wanganui.

12 Eyre and Spottiswoode were printers to the Queen and did chromolithography. They would become a major producer of Christmas Cards from 1879. Gleeson White, *Christmas Cards and Their Chief Designers* (London: Studio, 1895): 24.

13 Randal Springer, "Willis, Archibald Dudingston," Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1993. Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2w26/willis-archibald-dudingston (accessed 28 September 2019).

14 Gilderdale, "Summer Scenes and Flowers: The Beginnings of the New Zealand Christmas Card, 1880-1882," 12.

15 Johnston, "Colour Printing in the Uttermost Part of the Sea," 312.

16 Please note that all newspaper references in this paper were accessed online.

17 Wanganui Herald (Whanganui), "The Taupo Road," November 21, 1882: 2. See also Gilderdale, "Summer Scenes and Flowers: The Beginnings of the New Zealand Christmas Card, 1880-1882," 12.

18 As was the case with British firms, it is likely that the bulk of the artists were women. The arts were one of the socially acceptable ways women could earn a living. Almost half of the jobs listed as suitable for women in *The Young Ladies' Treasure Book: A Complete Cyclopaedia of Practical Instruction and*

Direction for all Indoor and Outdoor Occupations and Amusements Suitable to Young Ladies, (London: Ward Lock, c.1880): 334, were arts-related. The book is anonymously authored.

19 Wanganui Herald (Whanganui), "Advertisements," March 3, 1883: 3.

20 Though Willis published twelve cards in 1885, the book contains only four smaller sixpenny cards and one larger shilling card from that year. This suggests that the album was put together to promote Willis's full stock, but at a time when only one stone's worth of cards had yet been printed.

21 Johnston, "Colour Printing in the Uttermost Part of the Sea," 311.

22 Wanganui Herald (Whanganui), "Local Industries: Caxton Printing Works," August 22, 1883: 2.

23 Barry Shank, *A Token of My Affection: Greeting Cards and American Business Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004): 67-70. See also Jay T. Last, *The Color Explosion: Nineteenth-Century American Lithography* (Santa Ana, CA: Hillcrest Press, 2005).

24 New Zealand Herald (Auckland), "Advertisements," October 20, 1883: 4. An example of one of these is printed on the cover of *Mail Coach* in association with G.I. Robertson's article which mentions them. G. I. Robertson, "The Christmas Card: Its Origin and Early Use in New Zealand," *The Mail Coach* 51, no. 1 (2014): 15.

25 He was noted for his links to overseas printers. Caroline Anne Campbell, "In the Realm of the Imagined: Representation and Identity in Australasian Illustrated Junior Fiction 1890 -1920" (PhD Thesis, Victoria University, 2009): 109.

26 Examples of these primarily floral cards are reproduced in Megan Martin, "Bessie Rouse's Scrap Album & the First Australian Christmas Cards," Sydney Living Museums, https://sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/stories/bessie-rouses-scrap-album (accessed September 10, 2019).

27 Ronald Hutton, *The Stations of the Sun: A History of the Ritual Year in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996): 116.

28 Freethought Review (Whanganui), "New Zealand Christmas Cards," October 1, 1883: 8.

29 Ibid.

30 Peter Gibbons, "Cultural Colonisation and National Identity," *New Zealand Journal of History* 36, no. 1 (2002): 10-11.

31 Tony Hughes-d'Aeth, "Pretty as a Picture: Australia and the Imperial Picturesque," *Journal of Australian Studies* 21, no. 53 (1997): 105.

32 Gilderdale, "Summer Scenes and Flowers: The Beginnings of the New Zealand Christmas Card, 1880-1882," 9-10.

33 Patricia Zakreski, "The Victorian Christmas Card as Aesthetic Object: 'Very Interesting Ephemeræ of a Very Interesting Period in English Art-Production'," *Journal of Design History* 29, no. 2 (2015): 125.

34 Johnston, "Colour Printing in the Uttermost Part of the Sea," 294.

35 Wanganui Herald (Whanganui), "Local Industries: Caxton Printing Works," August 22, 1883: 2.

36 Ibid.

37 Johnston, "Colour Printing in the Uttermost Part of the Sea," 297.

38 Wanganui Chronicle (Whanganui), "Local and General," September 1, 1883: 2.

39 Wanganui Herald (Whanganui), "Wanganui Herald," September 4, 1883: 2. Willis's chief competitor in the local stationery business, H. I. Jones, advertised a set of New Zealand floral Christmas cards by another of the major British firms, Charles Goodall & Sons, as well as his own range of hand-painted cards. Wanganui Herald (Whanganui), "Advertisements," October 27, 1883: 3.

40 Georgia Barnhill details a number of tactics used by American lithographers, from selling direct in the shop, to using agents and marketing through editorial write-ups. Georgia B. Barnhill, "Business Practices of Commercial Nineteenth-Century American Lithographers," *Winterthur Portfolio* 48, no. 2/3 (2014):227-9. Willis used all of these approaches. Newspaper samples are more visible in 1883, but in 1884 he was using Joseph Braithwaite as his agent for the South Island. Evening Star (Dunedin), "Evening Star," October 15, 1884: 2.

41 Star (Christchurch), "Christmas Cards," October 8, 1883: 3.

42 Grey River Argus (Westport), "Grey River Argus," October 1, 1883; 2.

43 Otago Daily Times (Dunedin), "Christmas Cards," September 25, 1883: 3.

44 Otago Daily Times (Dunedin), "Lithographic Productions," March 13, 1884: 4.

45 Evening Star (Dunedin), "Christmas Cards," October 5, 1883: 2.

46 Freethought Review (Whanganui), "New Zealand Christmas Cards," October 1, 1884: 8.

47 Wanganui Herald (Whanganui), "Advertisements," December 15, 1883: 3.

48 Judith Adler, "Origins of Sightseeing," *Annals of Tourism Research* 16, no. 1 (1989): 24.

49 Hughes-d'Aeth, "Pretty as a Picture: Australia and the Imperial Picturesque," 99.

50 Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993): 139.

51 Ibid., 139-40; 150.

52 Zakreski, "The Victorian Christmas Card as Aesthetic Object: 'Very Interesting Ephemeræ of a Very Interesting Period in English Art-Production'": 123.

53 For a fuller discussion of these issues see: Peter Gilderdale, "Hands across the Sea: Situating an Edwardian Greetings Postcard Practice" (PhD, Auckland University of Technology, 2013): 154-7. Jennifer Black gives a similar picture related to trade cards. Jennifer M. Black, "Exchange Cards: Advertising, Album Making, and the Commodification of Sentiment in the Gilded Age," *Winterthur Portfolio* 51, no. 1 (2017).

54 Susan Marjorie Zieger, *The Mediated Mind: Affect, Ephemera, and Consumerism in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2018): 4.

55 On this, see Gibbons, "Cultural Colonisation and National Identity."

56 On this, see: Margaret McClure, *The Wonder Country: Making New Zealand Tourism* (Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press, 2004).

57 Anne Maxwell, ""Oceana" Revisited: J. A. Froude's 1884 Journey to New Zealand and the Pink and White Terraces," *Victorian Literature and Culture* 37, no. 2 (2009): 378.

58 Evening Star (Dunedin), "Evening Star," October 15, 1884: 2.

59 Freethought Review (Whanganui), "New Zealand Christmas Cards," October 1, 1884: 8.

60 Otago Daily Times (Dunedin), "Lithographic Productions," March 13, 1884: 4.

61 National Library, https://tiaki.natlib.govt.nz/#details=ecatalogue.94038

62 Hughes-d'Aeth, "Pretty as a Picture: Australia and the Imperial Picturesque," 100.

63 For useful discussions on postcolonial theory within contexts similar to those being examined here, see: Olwyn Cantlon, "Peripheral Visions: Design in Ephemeral New Zealand Print c.1880 – 1914" (PhD, Victoria University, 2015): 249-53, and Alan Robert Cocker, "Picturing Colonial New Zealand: Charles Spencer's Images of the 'Eighth Wonder of the World', the Pink and White Terraces," *International Journal of the Image* 2, no. 4 (2013): 25-28.

64 Tony Hughes-d'Aeth, *Paper Nation: The Story of the Picturesque Atlas of Australasia 1886-1888* (Carleton South, Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 2001): 60-63. Hughes-d'Aeth favours the telescopic, with its connotations of teleology, however more immigrants would have experienced the porthole than the telescope.

65 Ellen Gruber Garvey, *The Adman in the Parlour: Magazines and the Gendering of Consumer Culture, 1880s to 1910s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996): 24.

66 On this move to abundance in an equivalent genre, see Alison Hedley, "Advertisements, Hyper-Reading, and Fin De Siècle Consumer Culture in the Illustrated London News and the Graphic," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 51, no. 1 (2018).

67 Hughes-d'Aeth, *Paper Nation: The Story of the Picturesque Atlas of Australasia 1886-1888*: 203.

68 J. O. C. Phillips, "Musings in Maoriland — or Was There a *Bulletin* School in New Zealand?," *Historical Studies* 20, no. 81 (1983): 529.

69 Alison Clarke, *Holiday Seasons: Christmas, New Year and Easter in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2007): 70-1.

70 Hughes-d'Aeth, *Paper Nation: The Story of the Picturesque Atlas of Australasia 1886-1888*. 209 & 212-14. This effect is also discussed in relation to the later work of Robert Hawcridge in Cantlon, "Peripheral Visions: Design in Ephemeral New Zealand Print c.1880 – 1914," 125-5.

71 For a detailed study of this approach, see Hughes-d'Aeth, *Paper Nation: The Story of the Picturesque Atlas of Australasia 1886-1888*: 221-2.

72 Ibid., 216.
73 George Buday, *The History of the Christmas Card* (London: Spring, 1954): 116.
74 Roger Blackley, *Stray Leaves: Colonial Trompe L'oeil Drawings* (Wellington: Adam Art Gallery & Victoria University Press, 2001): 3.
75 Wanganui Herald (Whanganui), "Advertisements," September 27, 1887: 2.
76 i.e. North Otago Times (Oamaru), "North Otago Times," September 4, 1886: 2. Although Willis clearly enjoyed travelling and promoting his business, the existence of sample books suggests the use of travelling salesmen as well. Willis was certainly using travellers ('bagmen') to promote his wares by 1897. D.F. McKenzie and K.A. Coleridge, *Printing, Bookselling & Their Allied Trades in New Zealand Circa 1900: Extracts from the Cyclopaedia of New Zealand Compiled as Materials Towards a History* (Wellington, New Zealand: Wai-te-ata, 1980): 131.
77 Wanganui Chronicle (Whanganui), "Advertisements," November 10, 1886: 2.
78 New Zealand Times (Wellington), "Untitled," October 15, 1888: 4. The Wanganui Chronicle, Lyttleton Times, Press and New Zealand Mail all carried variants of this story.
79 Wanganui Chronicle (Whanganui), "News of the Day," November 3, 1888: 2.
80 Quoted in Johnston, "Colour Printing in the Uttermost Part of the Sea." 315.
81 National Library, https://tiaki.natlib.govt.nz/#details=ecatalogue.94038.
82 Johnston quotes Harding in *Typo* saying the designer was a Miss Stoddart. Johnston, "Colour Printing in the Uttermost Part of the Sea," 315. My attribution to Margaret Olrog Stoddart comes from the fact that the Star's report of her graduate show, where she exhibited Christmas cards printed by Willis (see note 83) fits with the timing given in her biographical record. Julie King. "Stoddart, Margaret Olrog," Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1996. Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3s37phies/3s37/stoddart-margaret-olrog (accessed 27 September 2019).
83 She exhibited the cards at the School's exhibition in 1889, Star (Christchurch), "School of Art," February 7, 1889: 3.
84 Johnston, "Colour Printing in the Uttermost Part of the Sea," 304.
85 Ibid., The *Star* discussed her work in a paragraph that talks about "the application of an artistic education to the ordinary practical requirements of a trade." If Stoddart was trying to demonstrate this, approaching a good printer of Christmas cards would be the logical way to get her designs realised.
86 Lincolnshire Chronicle (Lincoln, UK), "Christmas Publications," November 25, 1887: 3.
87 Press (Christchurch), "Amongst the Christmas Cards," November 22, 1888: 6.
88 New Zealand Times (Wellington), "Advertisements," November 24, 1887: 8.
89 Kooistra, *Poetry, Pictures and Popular Publishing: The Illustrated Gift Book and Victorian Visual Culture 1855-1875*: 10.
90 I am working on a fuller paper looking at this hitherto undocumented area and will give fuller details there.
91 Shields Daily News (Tynemouth, UK), "Raphael Tuck & Sons," December 4, 1888: 1; Irish Times (Dublin), "Christmas Cards and Christmas Booklets," November 26, 1888: 6.
92 James Belich, "Myth, Race, and Identity in New Zealand," *New Zealand Journal of History* 31, no. 1 (1997). 14; 16.
93 Blackley, *Galleries of Maoriland: Artists, Collectors and the Māori World, 1880-1910*: 37.
94 Ibid., 38.
95 Leonard Bell, "The Representation of the Maori by European Artists in New Zealand, ca. 1890-1914," *Art Journal* 49, no. 2 (1990): 146.
96 They were probably, like the 1891 cards, lithographed in three colours of brown on a cream background. Johnston, "Colour Printing in the Uttermost Part of the Sea," 322. This is the same process used for the sepia illustration in *The Jackdaw of Rheims* (figure 11), and sepia booklets are credited with causing this change in Christmas card design in a later review of Willis's work: South Canterbury Times (Timaru), "New Zealand Art Publications," August 30, 1892: 2.
97 Phillips, "Musings in Maoriland — or Was There a *Bulletin* School in New Zealand?" 527.
98 Blackley, *Galleries of Maoriland: Artists, Collectors and the Māori World, 1880-1910*.
99 Bell, "The Representation of the Maori by European Artists in New Zealand, ca. 1890-1914," 145.

100 Taranaki Herald (New Plymouth), "Advertisements," October 16, 1890: 2.
101 There are some Willis collectors with much deeper pockets than mine. I screenshotted the card at the time, but have neither copyright, or resolution to reproduce it here.
102 Wanganui Chronicle (Whanganui), "Advertisements," September 23, 1890: 2.
103 Barry Hancox, "Southern Hemisphere Christmas Greetings Cards: Part One," *NZ Ephemerist*, no. 1 (2008):18.
104 *Wanganui Herald* (Whanganui), "An Important Colonial Industry," May 24, 1890: 2.
105 E.E.M. Montgomery, *Songs of the Singing Shepherd*, (Whanganui: A.D. Willis, 1885). This work includes some poems of the Banjo Patterson bush ballad type which counterbalance her florid later work.
106 Bell, "The Representation of the Maori by European Artists in New Zealand, ca. 1890-1914," 145.
107 Blackley, *Galleries of Maoriland: Artists, Collectors and the Māori World, 1880-1910*: 227.
108 Phillips, "Musings in Maoriland — or Was There a *Bulletin* School in New Zealand?" 530.
109 Bell, "The Representation of the Maori by European Artists in New Zealand, ca. 1890-1914," 148.
110 Gibbons, "Cultural Colonisation and National Identity," 13.
111 Leonard Bell, *The Maori in European Art* (Wellington: A.H. & A. W. Reed, 1980): 92.
112 Phillips, "Musings in Maoriland — or Was There a *Bulletin* School in New Zealand?" 529-30.
113 *Wanganui Herald* (Whanganui), "Arrival of the Monowai," May 27, 1890: 3.
114 Ibid.
115 *Wanganui Herald* (Whanganui), "Illustrating Hinemoa," 29 May, 1890: 2.
116 The implication here is that a 'lithographic artist' has higher status than a lithographer. However Olwyn Canton found that in Wilkie's establishment the lithographer was of higher status than an 'artist'. Cantlon, "Peripheral Visions: Design in Ephemeral New Zealand Print c.1880 – 1914," 113. On this, see also Johnston, "Colour Printing in the Uttermost Part of the Sea," 219-22.
117 On Robert Coupland Harding's earlier use of similar typefaces like *Harper*, see Cantlon, "Peripheral Visions: Design in Ephemeral New Zealand Print c.1880 – 1914," 48-56.
118 Auckland Star (Auckland), "Advertisements," September 29, 1891: 3.
119 Wanganui Herald (Whanganui), "Wanganui Herald," August 17, 1886: 2. The quoted review is correct about the size, but then conflates Sherriff's work with Kennett Watkins' *Haunt of the Moa*.
120 New Zealand Herald (Auckland), "Colonial and Indian Exhibition," July 27, 1886: 6. This fits with the image on Artnet, where it is described as being of Lake Wakatipu: http://www.artnet.com/artists/george-sheriff/land-of-the-moa-lake-wakatipu-K55VwYKb9CeT-5bMsEZMag2
121 Wanganui Chronicle (Whanganui), "Advertisements," March 3, 1890: 3.
122 This term has been used sporadically in a variety of contexts, but does not seem to have been defined definitively. It is at times used in a similar way to 'kitsch' as a marker of middlebrow taste.
123 Wanganui Herald (Whanganui), "One Man, One Vote," May 1, 1891: 2. For the image, see: https://tiaki.natlib.govt.nz/#details=ecatalogue.193282
124 Auckland Star (Auckland), "Christmas Publications," October 8, 1891: 9.
125 Ibid.
126 e.g. Blackley, *Galleries of Maoriland: Artists, Collectors and the Māori World, 1880-1910*: 72; 96; 99.
127 Daily Telegraph (Napier), "Town Edition," August 29, 1891: 3. It is worth noting that we can't know with certainty whether the amusement was on the picture's terms or whether it was seen as amusingly bad.
128 New Zealand Herald (Auckland), "Untitled," September 19, 1891: 5.
129 Betty Gilderdale, *A Sea Change: 145 Years of New Zealand Junior Fiction* (Auckland: Longman Paul, 1982): 38.
130 Wanganui Herald (Whanganui), "Advertisements," October 8, 1892: 1.
131 New Zealand Herald (Auckland), "Advertisements," September 26, 1891: 3.
132 Campbell, "In the Realm of the Imagined: Representation and Identity in Australasian Illustrated Junior Fiction 1890 -1920," 118.
133 Ibid., 189.
134 Ibid., 193.
135 New Zealand Herald (Auckland), "Untitled,"

September 19, 1891: 5. It is likely that the second artist was Louis Steele, with whom Watkins had collaborated.

136 Otago Daily Times (Dunedin), "Books," December 17, 1892: 5.

137 South Canterbury Times (Timaru), "New Zealand Art Publications," August 30, 1892: 2.

138 Otago Daily Times (Dunedin), "Books," December 17, 1892: 5.

139 Blackley, *Galleries of Maoriland: Artists, Collectors and the Māori World, 1880-1910:* 63.

140 Ibid., 31.

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142 Jane Stafford and Mark Williams, *Maoriland: New Zealand Literature 1872-1914* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2006): 269.

143 Kynan Gentry, *History, Heritage, and Colonialism: Historical Consciousness, Britishness, and Cultural Identity in New Zealand, 1870-1940*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015): 232-3.

144 Auckland Star (Auckland), "Untitled," October 4, 1892: 8.

145 Observer (Auckland), "Amongst the Christmas Cards," November 11, 1893: 6.

146 Wanganui Chronicle (Whanganui), "Local and General," October 19, 1893: 2.

147 This booklet should not be confused with Wilkie's 1899 booklet of the same name (albeit with the subtitle "Christmas Greetings from Maoriland") which was advertised in the Lake Wakatip Mail (Queenstown), "New Zealand Christmas & New Year Cards and Booklets," November 10, 1899: 4. This booklet is reproduced and discussed in Barry Hancox, "Southern Hemisphere Christmas Greetings Cards – Part Two," *NZ Ephemerist*, no. 2 (2009): 24; 29.

148 This booklet is illustrated and discussed in Cantlon, "Peripheral Visions: Design in Ephemeral New Zealand Print c.1880 – 1914," 123-7. Cantlon deals extensively with Hawcridge's *oevre* in chapter three.

149 Although this conception could seem like a nod to Froude's *Oceana*, Willis would likely have been influenced by his *New Zealand Illustrated* author, Edward Wakefield's opposition to it. Maxwell, ""Oceana" Revisited: J. A. Froude's 1884 Journey to New Zealand and the Pink and White Terraces," 387.

150 In particular, Wildman & Lyell went on naming Willis's goods - e.g. Observer (Auckland), "Seasonable Novelties at Wildman and Lyell's," December 8, 1894: 19; Auckland Star (Auckland), "Advertisements," October 24, 1895: 6; Auckland Star (Auckland), "Advertisements," October 22, 1898: 3. In the 1896 advert, Wilkie's *West Coast Sounds* booklet is mistakenly ascribed to Willis.

151 On these, see Cantlon, "Peripheral Visions: Design in Ephemeral New Zealand Print c.1880 – 1914," 278-81. Note that Watkins provided illustrations for a story in the 1895 issue (p.281).

152 Johnston, "Colour Printing in the Uttermost Part of the Sea," 298.

153 This phrase occurs in a Wildman and Lyell advert: New Zealand Herald (Auckland), "Advertisements," November 12, 1892: 4.

154 Stafford and Williams, *Maoriland: New Zealand Literature 1872-1914*: 268; 270.

155 Wanganui Chronicle (Whanganui), "Local and General," February 10, 1899: 2. This was the fifth edition of a book originally published in the 1870's and credited as being written by a "Pakeha-Maori."

A. D. Willis 1893 Christmas Card: *Hinemoa*, 104x144mm. Kennett Watkins (illustrator), William Potts (lithographer). Courtesy of Te Papa, Purchased 1995. Reference GH012088.

Everybody's Artist Photographer: Collaborators and creative influences in the work of Charles Peet Dawes

A profile commentary by Keith Giles

Keywords: # New Zealand # Photography # Dawes # Dog Tax War # Hokianga# Kohukohu

When 1670 glass plate negatives taken by Kohukohu photographer Charles Peet Dawes were gifted to Auckland Libraries in 2018, it was immediately obvious from annotations on the negative envelopes that established ideas of how and when Charlie took up photography needed to be re-examined. Charlie's notes also revealed the names of some previously unsuspected Hokianga visitors and residents who influenced and assisted him in his artistic endeavours. In addition, buried in the collection was a unique record of the 1898 Dog Tax Rebellion together with invaluable and historically important photographs of the people and communities of the Hokianga at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth.

In October 2018 Auckland Libraries' Sir George Grey Special Collections received a large donation of glass plate negatives that had been taken by the Hokianga-based photographer Charles Peet Dawes (1867-1947) in the final years of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth. Although it is not unusual for the Library to receive donations of this type of negative, more often than not such donations comprise just one or two glass plates, or very occasionally a box of ten or twelve. What was different about this donation was its sheer size – 1670 negatives in total.

At the time of the donation the Sir George Grey Special Collections was already home to some 475 glass plates taken by Charlie Dawes that were found in a secondhand shop in Kaitaia in 2012. In addition thirteen quarter plate Maori portraits discovered in an Upper Queen Street junk store in the 1970s and gifted to the Library in 2010 were identified as the work of Charlie Dawes during research for the Library's 2013 exhibition of Maori taonga, *Manatunga*. Together the three collections total over 2100 photographs, the largest assemblage of Dawes material anywhere in New Zealand.[1]

Charles Peet Dawes lived most of his life in the Hokianga, but was born in the small town of Swadlincote, on the outskirts of Burton-on-Trent, England in 1867. The eldest son of Ann Peet and Samuel Dawes, he came to New Zealand with his parents and two siblings Ernie and Sarah Alice on the *Boyne*, arriving in Lyttelton in February 1879. Many of the ship's passengers were bound for Timaru, and it seems likely that this was also the planned destination of the Dawes family before they were side-tracked by the 1886 Special Village Settlement Scheme which took them first to Punakitere near Taheke (just inland from Rawene) and then on to Kohukohu. It was here in 1901 that Charlie married Jessie Allen (nee Bryers, the widow of William McIlreen Allen), with whom he had five children Rachel Peet (1902), Ada Ann (1903), Christina May (1904), Pearl (1907), and Abner Earle (1908).[2]

The Kaitaia negative cache had permitted a number of conclusions to be drawn about Charlie's family and his photographic activities; most notably it had provided an approximate date for Charlie's first forays into photography. One group portrait in particular [negative 1142-D88] was identified by descendants as the wedding of Bessie Magee to George William Alexander Phillips at Oue (between Rawene and Waima) in 1892, and it seemed probable that this was one of the first, if not the earliest, of Charlie's photographs. But a glass plate in the 2018 donation directly challenged this assumption. This was negative number 1572-1115 (figure 1) which showed two boys and a young man resting by a tree stump, with sacks or hessian kits at their feet. The negative was protected from damage by its own negative envelope, part of a re-purposed sheet of newspaper on which had been written "Ernie, Jack & Dugmore 1st attempt". The surname Josephs had been added in pencil at a later date above the name Jack. This was clearly Charlie's brother-in-law Edwin Dugmore, their friend Jack Josephs, and Charlie's brother Ernie; "1st attempt" must surely mean that this was Charlie's first ever effort at taking a photograph. The newspaper was imprinted with the date 1888, at which time Ernie would have been 14 and Jack Josephs a year younger,[3] plausible ages for both boys in the photograph, and pushing Charlie's photographic endeavours back another 4 years, from 1892 to 1888.

Like many settlers along the Hokianga, Charlie combined a number of jobs to make a living. He worked variously as a night soil collector, carrier, and mailman;[4] and a handful of business flyers among the 2018 donation are incontrovertible evidence that Charlie also operated as a professional photographer. Despite his hand-outs being printed by the *Hokianga County Times* which began publication only in 1905,[5] and although his first trade listing as a photographer appeared in the 1900 *New Zealand Post Office Directory*,[6] essentially there was no reason to doubt that the 1892 Magee-Philips wedding portrait was taken in a professional capacity, and very early on in Charlie's professional career. In apparent confirmation of this fact the first of the 1670 glass plate negatives to be cleaned in December 2018 [negative 1572-953, figure 2] turned out to be a photograph of the Kohukohu waterfront complete with a photographer's signboard near the boatsheds at the eastern end of the town quay. The immediate assumption was that this had to be the location of Charlie's studio. But on further examination it became obvious that this photograph was taken after 1900 when the original Kohukohu Hotel was destroyed by fire, and after Charles and Robert Lester had ceased cultivation of the terraces above. Since there were other photographers working in the area in the early 1900s, most notably the Northwood Brothers who were active in Northland from at least 1903/4,[7] it was impossible to say with any certainty that these were Charlie's premises. Indeed although Charlie may have been taking photographs from 1888, as each of the negatives was investigated there was a creeping realisation that he may not have regarded himself as a professional photographer until much later.

Some of Charlie Dawes' best known photographs are of the Dog Tax Rebellion which broke out in Waima and Rawene in May 1898. There are around 50 of them in total forming a unique record of this

little-known episode in New Zealand history. One of the photographs apparently from that event is a distant view of the church at Waima and surrounding buildings which was printed in the *New Zealand Graphic* of 28 May 1898. The original negative [1572-350, figure 3] forms part of the recent donation, and although the published version retained Charlie's name as it appeared in the bottom right-hand corner of the glass plate, it omitted the qualifying wording below the signature: "Amtr Photo". There are other negatives in the collection with the same annotation, such as 1572-438 which, according to a pencil note on its envelope, was taken "around 1890" and shows a view of the Rawene main street looking down towards the wharf from above Bryers' Masonic hotel. Negative 1572-437, a view of the Rakauwahi Falls, has the same notation. There can be little doubt that this abbreviation must stand for "Amateur Photo" or "Amateur Photographer".

But why did Charlie feel it necessary to add this qualification? Other negatives in his Dog Tax Rebellion sequence are inscribed with his name, the date of the photograph and the word "Protected" (occasionally shortened to "Protd") in accordance with the provisions of the 1896 Photographic Copyright Act. Its counterpart, the 1877 Fine Arts Copyright Act, had granted legal protection to artworks and photographs for the life of the artist or photographer plus seven years, but only on payment of a fee and only from the date of registration. The 1896 Act provided for a copyright period of just five years in total, but the legal protection was instantaneous and cost nothing – important considerations where photographs were of topical significance and the photographer's income was restricted. Of course, this does not in itself explain why Charlie chose to flag his amateur status on some negatives and not others, but a reasonable interpretation would be that his use of the term "Amtr" essentially pre-dated the events at Rawene and was superseded by the formula prescribed by the Photographic Copyright Act on the recommendation of someone in the trade.

The likely source of this invaluable piece of advice was the Onehunga photographer Enos Sylvanus Pegler. Negative 1572-1220 (figure 4) shows him alongside Charlie in front of a photographer's tent or booth with Pegler holding a camera and Charlie standing next to a sample board. Two large banners read "Everyone's artist photographer" and "Your photograph while you wait". The negative is undated and the location is unknown, but the surrounding foliage suggests the photograph was taken in the Hokianga area. There is no record of how their association came about, but it is possible to make some suppositions.

Newspaper evidence is proof that Pegler was working as a photographer in Onehunga from at least 1891, if not earlier,[8] and a weekly passenger ship service inaugurated between Onehunga and Kohukohu in 1886 would have provided Charlie with a direct link to the Manukau Harbour and facilitated their acquaintance.[9] Indeed there are several photographs in the Dawes collection inscribed with the same distinctive scratchy lettering apparent in Charlie's photograph of Waima that would suggest he made the trip south; in particular negatives 1572-987 and 1572-990 form a two-part panorama of the Onehunga waterfront, while negative 1572-988 is a view of Mangere Mountain with Charlie himself crouched in the foreground. In addition there are at least two other Onehunga connections: in 1902 Charlie's brother Ernie married Annie Charlotte Walker of Onehunga,[10] and it seems probable that Charlie would have known the town's mayor, Dr William Close Erson who accompanied the expeditionary force to Rawene during the Dog Tax Rebellion and features in several of Charlie's photographs. In a further link with the district Charlie's relatives Tom and Ann Smith lived in Waiuku across the harbour from Onehunga.

Equally it is evident from photographs published in the *New Zealand Graphic* and *Auckland Weekly News* that Enos Pegler had visited the Hokianga at some point in the 1890s. Both publications printed Pegler photographs of the area in their editions dated 14 May 1898, although the likelihood is that these were taken much earlier and should be construed as an example of Pegler supplying stock photographs to meet the sudden Press interest in the region. In fact an "S Pegler" (apparently Enos masquerading under his second name Sylvanus) is recorded as having presented a limelight lecture entitled "A trip to the North" at a meeting of the Onehunga Mutual Improvement Society in August 1890 in which specific mention was made of the lecturer having visited Rawene, Kohukohu and Taheke.[11] Even if Charlie and Enos had previously met in Onehunga the expedition would have provided the perfect occasion to renew their relationship, and the envelope for negative 1572-1614 – a group portrait of the extended Dawes family, including babe-in-arms Charles Edwin Dugmore who was born in January 1890 – is captioned "Our Group (Vanus took)", the use of what appears to be a truncated form of Sylvanus seemingly confirming that this was in fact what happened.

The Dog Tax Rebellion was a major news event, the climax of Maori opposition in the Hokianga to dog registration and tax. The conflict escalated as Richard Seddon's government rushed troops and a gunboat from Auckland to the Hokianga. Amongst the rumblings

of war Pegler clearly spotted an opportunity to make some money beyond simply selling items from his back catalogue. In May 1898 he advertised that he had engaged a local photographer to record the unrest,[12] and the Dawes connection suggests that his man on the ground was probably Charlie. Of the 50 or so photographs that Charlie Dawes took of the proceedings, his portrait of the arrested men [1572-425, figure 5] is perhaps the most well-known. The general high quality of the images, however, did not prevent a rather disparaging comment from an *Auckland Weekly News* reporter who complained about a local photographer getting in the way of the arresting officers.[13]

So did Charlie learn his photography from Enos Pegler? Quite possibly, although the photograph of Charlie and Enos together outside their tent has the appearance of equals rather than pupil and teacher; and Pegler was not the only photographer Charlie seems to have collaborated with. The presence of several varnished negatives in the collection (an early technique used to protect the negative) suggests that he received instruction in photography from someone with wet-plate experience, and there are a couple of references in the collection to a mysterious Mr Warren. According to notes on their envelopes, negatives 1572-89 and 1572-90 were taken in Warren's studio by Mr Warren, and negatives 1572-444 and 1572-445 were taken using a 3D portrait lens that Charlie borrowed from Mr Warren in May 1906. The puzzle of Warren's identity is solved by three portraits labelled "D M Warren" among the Dawes material that was recovered from Kaitaia in 2012. Warren turns out to be Daniel Mapowder Warren who ran a photographic studio in Carlyle (Patea) in the 1870s and 1880s,[14] and by the early 1900s was working as a gardener in Kohukohu.[15]

Another photographer with whom Charlie seems to have had contact is the Wellington businessman Henry Wright. Wright is known to have visited Kohukohu in 1893 to 1894, perhaps on more than one occasion,[16] and at least 34 negatives taken by him can be found among the Dawes Collection. Charlie marked just two of them as specifically being "Wright's negatives", but some are recognisable by the initials HW (not to be confused with the Auckland photographer Henry Winkelmann) in one corner, or by the presence of Wright's wife and children in the photograph as measures of scale. Others can be identified by their style and subject matter, or geographical location, for example one box (Box EB, negatives 1572-1381 to 1572-1390) is labelled "Wellington Views". Intriguingly some of the 380 Henry Wright negatives held by the Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington are comprehensively annotated with technical data and dates down to

the time of day and prevailing weather conditions – not unlike some of Charlie's negatives, such as negative 1572-897 (figure 6) which was taken on 22 January 1906 at 5 o'clock in the afternoon with a very lengthy exposure time of 8 seconds.

There is also a box of 14 glass plates among the 2018 donation marked as being "Harry Bennett's negatives" (Box Y, numbers 1572-272 to 1572-285 inclusive). In addition negatives 1572-839A, 1572-907 and 1572-908 are noted has having been purchased from Bennett, a former employee at John Robert Hanna's studio in Auckland.[17] Several are views of Whakatane, but a series of four shows the opening of the Motukaraka Dairy Factory in October 1908. One of these [1572-840] was published under Bennett's name in the *Auckland Weekly News*, and other examples of his work printed by the same title suggest he was again active in the Hokianga area in 1913/14. In fact the 1911 electoral roll and 1915 *New Zealand Post Office Directory* point to Bennett operating a studio in Ivydale directly across the water from Kohukohu for much of this period.[18]

Charlie was also well acquainted with William Gordon-Jones who was noted by the *New Zealand Herald* as the resident photographic artist in Taheke as early as 1891.[19] It was an evidently rewarding and enduring friendship. Negative 1572-614 (figure 7) is an undated but youthful portrait of Gordon-Jones who turns up again, this time looking more gaunt than fresh-faced, in the background to two of Charlie's Dog Tax Rebellion photographs [1572-341 and 1572-342, figure 8]. At Charlie's request Gordon-Jones photographed the Dawes family's decayed old house at Punakitere (figure 9) long after they had left for Kohukohu; and a group portrait probably taken towards the end of the first decade of the twentieth century shows Charlie Dawes, his brother Ernie, and William Gordon-Jones as a musical ensemble playing violins and mandolin (figure 10). What is interesting about this photograph, apart from the trio's impressive musical ability, is the painted backdrop. It is quite unusual in that it is a recognisably New Zealand scene, depicting the volcanic cones of Rangitoto, Mount Victoria and North Head, and also including the distinctive outline of the temporary St Paul's Church at the corner of Short Street and Eden Crescent. This replaced the old St Paul's church in Emily Place when it was demolished in 1885, and served until the new church in Symonds Street was consecrated in 1895. Intriguingly the view is very similar to Charlie's negative 1572-432, the only central Auckland view in the entire collection. So did Charlie purchase the backdrop, or did he paint the backdrop himself based on his own photograph? Or given what is known about his

acquisition of photographs by other photographers, did he buy the negative and hire someone else to paint the backdrop? Was it even painted contemporaneously with the existence of the temporary St Paul's church or sometime later? It is impossible to say, but what seems clear is that by 1900/1 at the very latest Charlie had acquired various studio trappings and props and made the transition from amateur photographer to taking photographs professionally.

Despite his professional status, however, Charlie's studio would not have matched up to modern expectations. Although many of his portraits show a relatively tidy arrangement, others display evidence of the studio being part of a workshop, with a vice set to one side and wood-shavings spread across the floor and workbench. The workshop was probably located in the large shed to the rear of the Dawes family home (shown in negative 1572-308, figure 11), even though the lack of any obvious light source beyond the standard windows and a glassed-in section of verandah would have rendered the premises less than ideal for photographic work. The fact that the property was on the hillside overlooking the Kauri Timber Company wharf makes it unlikely that Charlie would have been the owner of the studio down at the Kohukohu waterfront noted previously. Indeed, even if Charlie found it necessary to reconsider his living arrangements following his marriage to Jessie Allen in 1901, the quayside signboard unequivocally proclaims "Photographers" in the plural which would strongly suggest it was attached to the Northwood Brothers' studio rather than that of a single photographer.

Of course, a photographer was not necessarily limited to a physical studio even when taking formal portraits, and Charlie was no exception. His negatives clearly show that he travelled throughout the Hokianga area and beyond, seizing whatever opportunities for portraiture came to hand. A semi-derelict shed, a farm building or an agricultural fence were easily converted into an open-air studio by hanging up a painted backdrop, a decorative rug or even just a plain sheet; and if his customers were unimpressed by the makeshift nature of their surroundings (as their pained expressions sometimes suggest) (figure 12) once the extraneous elements had been cropped out of the final print Charlie's skill was such that no one would have suspected that the result was not the product of the best of New Zealand studios.

But even irregular working as an itinerant photographer was not easy. Although the introduction of the dry plate negative into New Zealand in the early 1880s had drastically reduced the paraphernalia a travelling photographer needed to carry with him, Charlie would still have had to lug a substantial amount of bulky equipment including his large, wooden Lancaster camera and tripod, his various backdrops and other props, together with a supply of very heavy glass plates. He would also have had to contend with the sort of adverse conditions that came with travelling along New Zealand's highways at the turn of the century. There are no photographs of Charlie and his camera at work in the field, but two portraits of the surveyor Jack Stevens standing with his theodolite up to his knees in mud give some idea of the type of adversities Charlie may have had to endure (figure 13).

Charlie Dawes initially saw himself as a purely amateur photographer, but he did not operate in seclusion. Despite its geographical remoteness, Kohukohu was far from being a cultural backwater. Charlie's notes show that he shared his lenses not just with Daniel Warren, but also with the microscope slide maker and camera enthusiast William Low Sarjeant who had left his home in Croydon, Surrey in 1895 and set himself up in Kohukohu as a watchmaker and watch repairer.[20] Charlie clearly relished contact with other photographers, whether resident or just passing through, and happily exchanged guidance and advice, perhaps even receiving some training from the likes of Enos Pegler, Henry Wright, Daniel Warren, and William Gordon-Jones, amongst others.[21] He was plainly excited by photography and photographic processes, and by photographic technology and equipment, to the extent that he would not infrequently record which type of lens he was using, and gave specific instructions in his will as to who was to inherit his camera after his death.[22]

Although a number of his photographs appeared in publications such as the *Auckland Weekly News* and *New Zealand Graphic*, most of his photographs had a limited commercial value and were taken primarily for his own interest. He took numerous photographs of the communities of the Hokianga, and whether it was his intention or not he created an invaluable and historically important record of the townships of Kohukohu and Rawene in particular (figure 14). Many of the portraits he took are of his wife Jessie, his children, and of his parents and extended family. Surprisingly Charlie also appears himself in quite a few of them (figures 15 and 16), meaning that even if he set up the shot, someone else must have operated the camera. Whether this was his brother Ernie, his wife Jessie, or one of his children or step-children is unknown.

The 2018 donation of Dawes negatives has produced a great deal of additional information about Charlie Dawes as a photographer; but it has also undermined some of the original conclusions made

about him and raised more questions about how and why he took up photography. The collection as a whole gives a remarkable insight into Charlie's life and work, and the circle of friends and acquaintances that influenced and assisted him. Its make-up also holds out the possibility that there may be further examples of Charlie's work still to be discovered which might add to our knowledge. Regardless of whether such material comes to light, ultimately there is still more research that needs to be done before we can provide definitive answers about the career of this remarkable photographer.[23]

Figure 1, C P Dawes. "Ernie, Jack & Dugmore 1st attempt": Edwin Dugmore with the beard (centre), Jack Josephs (left), and Charlie's brother Ernie. Probably Charlie's first ever photographic effort, 1888. Auckland Libraries Heritage Collections, 1572-1115

Following spread: Figure 4, C P Dawes. The Photographer's Tent. Auckland Libraries Heritage Collections, 1572-1220. Note that this is a double exposure; a cleaned up version was used in the Auckland Libraries' exhibition: 'Charlie Dawes: Everybody's Artist Photographer' which ran from May to August 2019. Enos Pegler is holding the camera (left), and Charlie Dawes is standing next to the sample board (centre).

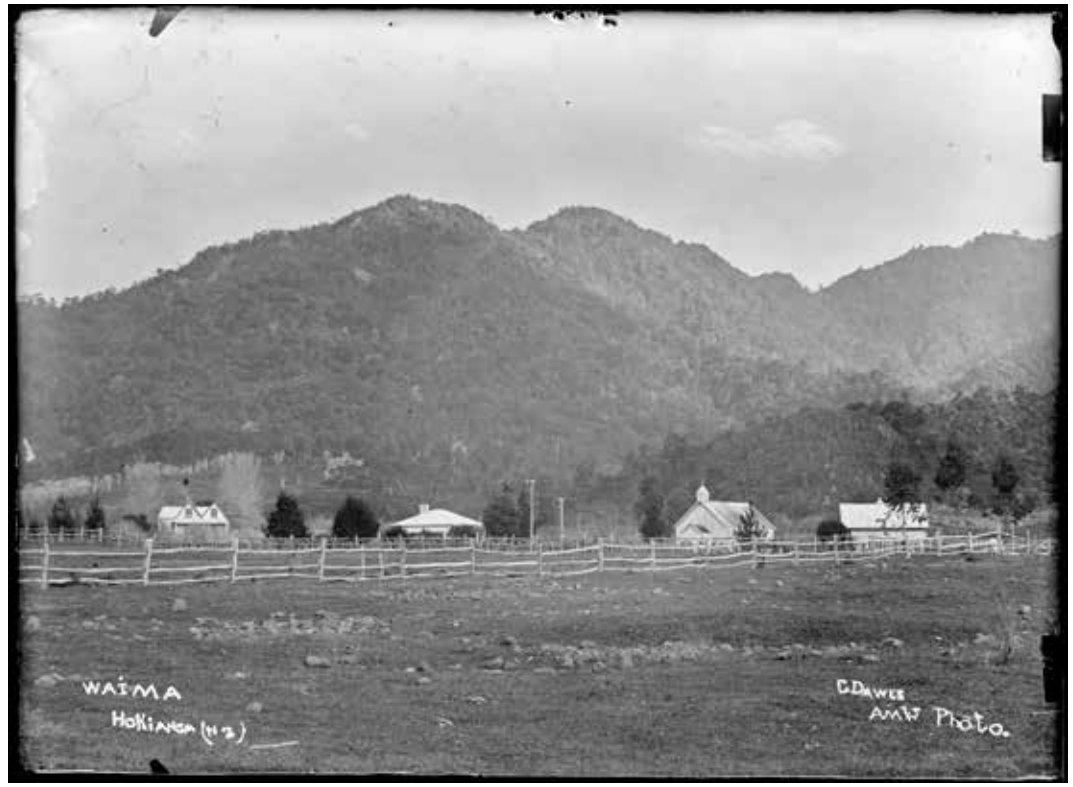

Figure 3, C P Dawes. "Waima Hokianga (NZ) C Dawes Amtr Photo." Auckland Libraries Heritage Collections, 1572-350. A cropped version of this photograph was published in the *New Zealand Graphic* of 28 May 1898 to accompany other photographs from the Dog Tax Rebellion. Negative 1572-351 shows a similar view and includes soldiers arrayed in front of the church, but the editor obviously preferred this shot because the trees are smaller and the buildings less obscured. This would therefore appear to be an example of Charlie, like his friend Enos Pegler, supplying for publication a photograph that pre-dated the unrest.

Figure 2, C P Dawes. Kohukohu waterfront, probably photographed around 1910. Auckland Libraries Heritage Collections, 1572-953. This was the first of the 1670 glass plate negatives cleaned in December 2018. There is a photographer's signboard at the far end of the quay.


EVERYBODY's
ARTIST
PHOTOGRAPHER

Figure 5, C P Dawes. Charlie’s most recognisable photograph – soldiers guarding the arrested leaders of the so-called 'Dog Tax Rebellion’, May 1898. From left to right: Romana Te Paehangi, Hone Mete, Hone Toia (standing), Wiremu Te Makara, and Rakene Pehi. Auckland Libraries Heritage Collections, 1572-425.

Figure 6, C P Dawes. Charlie’s wife Jessie with their daughters Christina May and Rachel on Lovers’ Walk, Kohukohu. According to Charlie's notes the photograph was taken on 22 January 1906 at 5 o’clock in the afternoon with an exposure time of 8 seconds. Auckland Libraries Heritage Collections, 1572-897.

Figure 7, C P Dawes. Photographer and friend, William Gordon-Jones. Auckland Libraries Heritage Collections, 1572-614.

Figure 8, C P Dawes. “Artillery and W Jones”: William Gordon-Jones with his camera at Rawene during the Dog Tax Rebellion, May 1898. Auckland Libraries Heritage Collections, 1572-342.

Figure 9, C P Dawes. The old Dawes family house at Punakitere, as photographed by William Gordon-Jones. Auckland Libraries Heritage Collections, 1572-396.

Figure 10, C P Dawes. Musical ensemble: Charlie Dawes (left), William Gordon-Jones (centre), Ernie Dawes (right). Auckland Libraries Heritage Collections, 1572-457. The painted backdrop shows Auckland Harbour and Rangitoto, and the spire of the temporary St Paul's church (right). The studio clearly shares its space with a busy carpenter's workshop: a vice and workbench can be seen over Ernie's left shoulder.

Figure 11, C P Dawes. The Dawes family house at Kohukohu, probably around 1900. Charlie's photographic studio may have been in the shed at the back. Auckland Libraries Heritage Collections, 1572-308.

Figure 12, C P Dawes. The Carse family of Kaiaka, near Kaitaia, circa 1900, looking less than happy with their photographic experience. Auckland Libraries Heritage Collections, 1572-1632.

Figure 13, C P Dawes. Broadwood surveyor Jack Stevens, undaunted by the road conditions in the Hokianga. Auckland Libraries Heritage Collections, 1572-1146.

Figure 14, C P Dawes. Maori applicants for the means-tested Old Age Pension outside the courthouse (left) and Masonic Hotel (right) in the main street at Rawene, part of a photographic essay by Charlie Dawes published in the New Zealand Graphic in March 1899. Auckland Libraries Heritage Collections, 1572-1084.

Figure 15, C P Dawes. Charlie Dawes with three of his daughters, Ada Ann (left), Pearl (centre) and Christina May, about 1909. Auckland Libraries Heritage Collections, 1572-1505.

Figure 16, C P Dawes. Charlie and Ernie Dawes (left) sitting on the remains of a felled hollow puriri, circa 1910. Auckland Libraries Heritage Collections, 1572-389.

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The Dawes Collection can be searched on-line athttps://kura.aucklandlibraries.govt.nz/digital/

ENDNOTES

1 The work of Charlie Dawes is represented in the Drummond- Te Wake Collection at Whangarei Art Museum; and the Auckland War Memorial Museum has 93 Dawes negatives previously held by the Waihi Museum.

2 New Zealand Herald, "Village Settlement Scheme," September 7, 1886: 2; Keith Giles, "C P Dawes Collection." *New Zealand Legacy* 24, no.2 (2012): 12.

3 This is based on New Zealand death registration 1939/17169 for John William Josephs.

4 Kaye Dragicevich, "Beautiful photographs of early Hokianga by Charlie Dawes." *Doubtless Bay Times*, October 21, 2009: 5.

5 Manawatu Herald, "Untitled," August 31, 1905: 2.

6 *Wise's New Zealand Post Office Directory* (New Zealand: H Wise & Co, 1915), p457.

7 Otago Witness, "Cattle crossing a stream near Mongonui, Auckland," August 12, 1903:38; Otago Witness, "A view in Whangaroa," September 14, 1904: 46.

8 New Zealand Herald, "Auckland Photographic Exhibition," April 7, 1891: 6, and see below.

9 Eric Harrison, *Kohukohu* (Kamo, New Zealand: Kamo Print Limited, 1983), p25.

10 Their son, Sammy, was actually born at his grandmother's house in Victoria Street, Onehunga in 1903, see New Zealand Herald, "Births, Marriages, Deaths," May 27, 1903: 11; and Sammy's death notice (in the Auckland Star, "Deaths," September 5, 1908: 10) confirms the Onehunga-Kohukohu connection.

11 Auckland Star, "Untitled," August 8, 1890: 2. Pegler repeated the lecture in 1891, this time dwelling on the "rough voyage from the Manukau to the Hokianga Heads" (New Zealand Herald, "Untitled," September 4, 1891: 5).

12 Auckland Star, "The Hokianga War," May 7, 1898: 8.

13 Auckland Weekly News, "The Prisoners Photographed," May 14, 1898: 3.

14 Patea Mail, "Photography," September 5, 1877: 1; Patea Mail, "D M Warren," November 30, 1881: 1.

15 *1911 Electoral District of Bay of Islands, General Roll*, p119.

16 John Sullivan, "The Henry Wright Collection of photographic negatives," The Turnbull Library Record 12, no.1 (1979): 42; dates are taken from the National Library website https://natlib.govt.nz/ [accessed September 16, 2019].

17 Bay of Plenty Times, "Up-to-date Photography," January 17, 1908: 3.

18 *1911 Electoral District of Bay of Islands, General Roll*, p9; *Wise's New Zealand Post Office Directory* (New Zealand: H Wise & Co, 1915), p2135.

19 New Zealand Herald, "Taheke," July 3, 1891: 6.

20 Brian Stevenson, "Slide maker 'WLS', probably William Low Sarjeant, 1851-1924," http://microscopist.net/WLS.html [accessed September 15, 2019].

21 The photographer H Kelsey may be related to the Kelsey family of Motukaraka (see negative 1572-744) and could also have been a member of Charlie's photographic cabal. Examples of his work can be seen in the Auckland Weekly News in 1904 and 1919/20.

22 Probate records for Charles Peet Dawes, Archives New Zealand ref. BBNY 10297 A1346 44/1302.

23 For instance there is a suggestion that Charlie may have been introduced to photography by his uncle and namesake, Charles Dawes, who appears in the 1861 census for Newhall, Derbyshire (RG9/1693, fo.98v) as a "grocer and druggist".

The “perpetual hazard”: Middle New Zealand attitudes to marital infidelity in the agony aunt columns of the New Zealand Woman’s Weekly, 1950 editions.

Rosemary Brewer

Social norms about the conduct of married life change over time. This paper examines New Zealand norms about marital infidelity as represented in the agony aunt columns of the New Zealand Woman’s Weekly in 1950. It concludes that sexual adventures outside of marriage constituted a significant challenge to contemporary beliefs about trust and romantic love within it, and that women facing this dilemma were given the task of saving the marriage. However, advice on how to do this was contradictory, from withholding sex while enduring the situation with dignity, to Freudian psychologists’ instruction to provide the straying husband with more and better sex.

Widely consumed public media from the past, whether in print, film, image or sound, can provide insights into significant beliefs, attitudes and values of the communities which produced them. Twentieth century women's magazines, in particular the *New Zealand Woman's Weekly* (the Weekly), can provide a fruitful source of attitudes to matters thought salient for New Zealand women at the time of publication. These included (along with recipes, fashion, knitting and sewing patterns and household tips) articles and columns about romantic heterosexual love, marriage, and divorce. This paper examines attitudes to infidelity in marriage found in 1950 editions of the Weekly, as a point of reference to show how far typical attitudes have changed in New Zealand since that time.

A regular feature of the Weekly was the 'agony aunt' column in which readers' letters about personal problems were responded to by an anonymous author, or authors. In 1950, the column was called "Ask Lou Lockheart", and letters were solicited from readers in this advertisement:

Have You a Love Problem?

If you have any affairs of the heart on which you need advice, just drop a line to Lou Lockheart, c/o N.Z. Woman's Weekly, Box 1409, Auckland, C.1, and she will help you to solve them in her weekly talk. As a sign of good faith you must enclose your name and address, and send a nom-de-plume with the problem.

ADVICE CANNOT BE SENT BY POST.

Advertisement soliciting letters to the agony aunt column in the New Zealand Woman's Weekly, 1950.

According to Fisher,[1] most cultures and belief systems cite overt adultery as the most common cause of relationship breakdown and divorce worldwide, not only transculturally, but also across time. There are clearly exceptions, particularly in strongly religious and patriarchal communities, but the widespread and enduring nature of the phenomenon Fisher describes is impressive. It is therefore possible to speculate that attitudes to infidelity may have had some commonalities across time within New Zealand in the second half of the twentieth century, but also some differences. As part of a study of changing attitudes to romantic love, marriage and divorce in New Zealand (Brewer, 2015), letters to the agony aunt columns in the *New Zealand Woman's Weekly* in the years 1950 and 1980 were analysed to discover whether, considering the major upheavals in social attitudes during the intervening decades of the 60s and 70s, infidelity had similar or different meanings for two generations of New Zealand readers. This paper focusses not only on the meanings that infidelity had for the women readers who wrote to the 1950 agony aunt, 'Lou Lockheart'[2] but also for the attitudes represented in her replies. It will conclude with a brief discussion of changed attitudes found in the 1980 columns.[3]

The nuclear family of a married couple and their biological or adopted children was the predominant template for private life in the New Zealand of 1950,[4] a world in which young and old were recovering from the privations, griefs and upheavals of the Second World War and the Great Depression which preceded it. Wives and fiancées of returning soldiers were encouraged to vacate paid employment in favour of ex-servicemen, and to treat them with gentleness and tolerance, especially if they were greatly changed by the trauma of battle.[5] A settled domestic life, safety and prosperity were the promise of post-war life in 1950 and the nuclear families which were at its heart. Prime Minister Michael Joseph Savage (1872 – 1940), prime mover in progress towards making New Zealand a comprehensively welfare state (and despite being a bachelor himself) had promoted wages for men which were sufficient to support a whole family,[6] and *The New Zealand Woman's Weekly*, already a household staple since its inception in 1932, produced 'common sense' on all matters domestic, including instruction on how to maintain a marriage when something like infidelity threatened its stability.

In the notebooks he wrote while imprisoned under Italy's fascist regime in the 1930s, Antonio Gramsci, a Marxist activist and philosopher, talked about the notion of 'common sense' as a folk philosophy which includes attitudes generally held within communities.[7] He proposed that these sets of community opinions, based on beliefs and values, are one of the forces which work on private citizens, normalising and rationalising their subordinate roles in regimes which privilege elite groups. It is a flexible concept which can also be used to demonstrate how socially constructed attitudes are, and how they can therefore be subject to change over time. Couples in romantic relationships, particularly if they are in trouble, will be concerned about local and contemporary 'common sense' – what other people will think about their marriage. What can they safely tell their family and friends? What should be kept private, and from whom, and what can be made public? Crucially for this paper, what do other people think about infidelity, and what should the couple do about it? The answers to these questions may determine whether they persevere, or give up

the fighting and cut their ties to one another. One way to find out what community attitudes might be in a couple's individual case is to consult an 'agony aunt', whose brief is to provide wise counsel in terms of what is community 'common sense' at the time.

Agony aunt columns from women's magazines – which have been providing such advice since the 17th century – are therefore potentially a good source of information for the social historian about community attitudes, particularly about family, and what communities in the past considered the proper conduct of intimate relationships. How seriously can we take them, though? They have generally been considered trivial, and perhaps fraudulent. This was taken from a report on the school library for the annual Epsom Girls Grammar School (EGGS) magazine in 1952.

> The pictorial magazines are easily the most popular in the reading room and it is a sad fact that many excellent magazines are rarely opened. When the Library is extended the former magazines, requiring no concentration, will be placed at one end of the reading room and the more intellectual at the other.[8]

Undoubtedly, the EGGs librarian in 1952 would have included the *Weekly* among the magazines banished to the end of the reading room along with others "requiring no concentration" (and so appealing to feckless Auckland school girls). A proper discussion of this trivialisation of agony aunt columns – as with other matters coded as feminine - must wait for another time – suffice it to say that the anonymity of agony aunt columns allows the rare opportunity of hearing relatively unedited individual voices from the past talking about matters usually kept private. Even if fraudulent, the letters reflect their authors' attitudes, and what they perceive are those of the audience, and so the 'common sense' of the time.

The *New Zealand Woman's Weekly,* first published in 1932*,* dominated the New Zealand women's magazine market, and was a staple in many homes throughout the period 1950 to 1980.[9] The letters which constitute the data set of this study were selected from agony aunt columns in the 52 editions of 1950 for their accounts of the relationship difficulties of married couples. The magazine has always been targeted at women (although in 1950 was clearly also read by many men – 10% of the letters were from men) and the contents elided much in the way of Maori voices. It is therefore probable that the

letters were from individuals who were for the most part heterosexual, European and female. What was happening within other groups in New Zealand cannot be inferred from the discussion to follow.

The first edition published on 5 January 1950 advertised pieces ranging from serious articles entitled "'Interpol' Wages War Against Crime" and "John Dassent Writes about 'Alcoholics Anonymous'" to the less sober "Torchy Writes from the Mediterranean", "Exclusive from London, a cardigan for the fuller figure" and advice on how to "Pep up your meals".[10] Sexual infidelity is a recurring theme through the agony aunt columns in 1950. Nine of the 34 letters to 'Lou Lockheart' about marriages in difficulty concerned infidelity, and they constituted the largest number of letters on a single issue.

Conventional romantic beliefs in the West assume sexual fidelity and so an affair, however brief, can undermine the very foundation of a relationship. Dominian describes how, after an infidelity is revealed:

> The spouse feels shattered, betrayed, helpless, is afraid of being abandoned and is likely to become jealous. There is a general and specific loss of trust, which is hard to rebuild, and ... the sense of hurt often remains.[11]

Another description of one of the emotions of the wronged spouse by Kipnis is equally poignant: "Realizing that people are talking; that friends knew and you didn't; that someone has been poaching in your pasture, stealing what is, by law, yours is a special kind of shame".[12]

Analysis of selected letters about infidelity can give a picture of both the correspondents' emotions and the agony aunts' responses. Here is an example of the former from the first edition.

> "Unhappy Wife" has discovered that her husband (25) has been seeing a girl (16). She is 22. "I'm wondering whether to make the break now? I could not go through all this heartbreak again. I love him and trusted him, but it can never be the same. He says I am silly, etc ..."

Assuming, as Lou Lockheart appears to, that "seeing" means "Unhappy Wife" has proof of an affair, even in 1950 there was no legal impediment to her divorcing her unfaithful husband: the Divorce and Matrimonial Causes Act of 1928, which was still in force, had infidelity as its first of a number of reasons for granting a divorce (*New Zealand*

Official Yearbook, 1950). She does not appear to be at that point yet – she uses the past tense for "trusted", but the present for "love" – but is very distressed and, despite her husband describing her concerns as "silly", she believes that "it can never be the same". "It" seems to mean the romantic love she thought they shared. She seems to be writing to get an outsider's 'common sense' view: is it 'silly' or normal to be so disillusioned by his behaviour? She's unsure whether her distress is an appropriate reaction. 'Lou Lockheart' gives her what she is asking for – a firm opinion:

> ... you married "for better or worse," didn't you? You are having a spot of "worse". That hardly justifies tossing everything overboard. Other things – ill-health, loss of a child, work, even sanity – have spoilt marriage for some time or forever. Yet the married will weather such and go completely berserk over the perpetual hazard of infidelity. When you show a marriage partner that you mean to abide by your contract you may be surprised to find how well the other will do the same. So more marriage and fewer childish revolts![13]

The agony aunt appears to agree that "Unhappy Wife" is indeed being 'silly' to object to the affair. She reminds "Unhappy Wife" of the vows she made when she married in church, where she promised to bear the "worse" along with enjoying the "better", and that she signed a "contract" at the time which was binding in law. In using terms such as "childish revolts", "going completely berserk" and "tossing everything overboard" and herself minimising infidelity as a "perpetual hazard" she is heaping ridicule on hapless "Unhappy Wife".

This expression of emotion by the agony aunt may suggest tension around the topic,[14] and that she is 'pulling "Unhappy Wife" back into line' – enforcing 'common sense' on a wayward member of the community by using these sarcastic terms. This exemplifies Gramsci's insight that 'common sense' is one of the ways inequities which privilege the powerful (assuming the husband has more power than his wife by virtue of his role as breadwinner) can end up being taken for granted by the less powerful. Lou Lockhart's tone is designed to reprove and perhaps humiliate, and her message arguably makes infidelity that much easier for husbands because it scolds their wives into accepting it without threatening the marriage.

For the 1950 readers, however, there appear to have been competing voices about the meaning of infidelity within marriage.

The first is voiced by "Unhappy Wife" herself. She has an ideal of marriage – especially of one founded on romantic love – that includes passion, trust and sexual fidelity, and is contemplating ending her marriage because these have been lost. She was not alone in expecting marriage to be the continuation of a romance. A group of letters from probably young wives bemoaned the prosaic in their husbands even when there was no infidelity, and recalled previous lovers who were more romantic. "'Had It'" has a husband who never notices her, pays her a compliment, or says he loves her" (27 April, 1950, p. 30); "Jack's Wife" complains that Jack rarely talks to her or does repairs around the house, preferring to read Westerns. They appear to be disillusioned when the romances they viewed in Hollywood movies, like Frank Capra's *It Happened One Night*, with their masculine, brooding heroes (played by Clark Gable in this film) irresistibly attracted to articulate, wilful heroines, do not occur within their own marriages.

A second view comes from the church. Christian denominations, of course, condemn infidelity in the harshest terms, and although divorce was legal in 1950 providing fault could be proved, the Roman Catholic Church at the same time claimed marriage was, according to Reverend James Kavanagh in a 1950s handbook for Catholics, "an indissoluble union ... that makes for the sustained happiness of husband and wife, in spite of occasional ups-and-downs".[15] It would seem that infidelity was still no justification for dissolving the union, and was also just one among other potential 'downs' which married folk must endure. Lou Lockheart appears on the surface to agree with Kavanagh about the indissolubility of marriage, with the addition of ridicule of the young wife's unhappiness and exhortations to set a good example to her husband by 'abiding by her contract' – as though the legal document has also a moral or even religious imperative.

A third view purports to be scientific. According to Celello, the main advice given by American ' experts' to betrayed wives at the time was to look to themselves and what they had or had not done, to 'drive' him to stray. For example, they were asked if they had been willing to have sex when he wanted, or if they had failed to keep their appearance attractive.[16] This advice is more obvious outside the Weekly's agony aunt column. An article in the 21 September edition entitled "Danger Points Are Money and 'In-Laws'" is one of a series on "Marriage and Morals ..." by Ernest Jones "the most distinguished of all living psycho-analysts (sic)".[17] Its Freudian approach (sub-headings include 'Sex Confusion' and '"Soft" Men') attributes "general unhappiness" in marriage to "lack

of gratification", and infidelity in men to having a wife who "wears the trousers", since the husband is emasculated by a dominating wife. Its illustration poses a couple being married in front of a preacher and standing on top of a document entitled "Final Divorce Decree" reminding the reader that if marriage isn't performed correctly (with the wife being appropriately womanly, the man being manly, and the 'gratification' being terrific) then the unthinkable might happen. It is therefore a warning, and an encouragement to heed the advice of what were the leading psychological experts of the day.

Illustration to an article entitled "Danger Points Are Money and 'In-Laws'" is one of a series on "Marriage and Morals ..." by Ernest Jones, 21 September 1950,[18] page 62

An earlier article entitled "Will This Marriage Last?"[19] also explains what makes for a good marriage. It is a strong affirmation of tradition, albeit using justifications from contemporary psychology, in that it regards "acceptance of the conventional patterns of life" as psychologically "well-adjusted", "mature" and demonstrating "emotional stability". It stigmatises those whose marriages are unhappy as not only emotionally unstable, poorly adjusted and immature, but also potentially "mavericks, lone wolves, dissenters ... (and) ... iconoclasts". The idea recalls what Giddens describes as the expert, scientific voice framed as absolutely trustworthy in the mutable communities of the modern West. Nevertheless, as we will see, in private, women were not all swallowing whole this apparently credible advice. It promotes a conservative view of marriage which, despite partially aligning with Lou Lockheart's, was to be fundamentally destabilised in the decades to follow, proving the 'dissenting' voices to be more indicative of the changes that were to come than the 'well-adjusted' ones.

Lou Lockheart's advice to "Unhappy Wife" is clear – it is the voice of the Church and of a kind of pragmatism: give up your silly romantic notions, grow up and face the fact that all grown-ups know – infidelity is always a possibility, but should not be allowed to destabilise the family. To further explore her point of view, here is another piece of advice from the agony aunt, to "Distressed" who has discovered her husband of many years has been having multiple affairs:

> If you can do so calmly, I think you should speak to him and tell him that you are not going to be shared. That you'll remain to look after your children and be provided for (you might get finance arranged legally or by personal agreement), then make the best of it.[20]

I take "not going to be shared" as a euphemism for withdrawing from the marital bed (another euphemism, of course, this study is full of them). The measured tone also contrasts with the sarcasm of her response to "Unhappy Wife". It is possible that 'Lou Lockheart' was written by different journalists in different editions, but also that the same author is showing more sympathy to the older wife of a serial philanderer, than to a very young woman still influenced by 'silly' notions of romantic love.

You will have noted the contradictory advice: in the same year that Lou Lockheart advises this reader to withhold sex from a straying husband, as we have seen, the 'professional' expert, in the form of a

prestigious psychologist, has suggested the answer is for the wife to always do what her husband says and to offer him more and better sex. [21] Nevertheless, in both cases, it is up to the woman to save the marriage. Arguably, these different views of infidelity have in common that they make it the wife's responsibility to deal with her husband's infidelity and keep the marriage intact. The psychological view may see the wife trying to revive romance in her marriage (a strategy 'Lou Lockheart' recommends elsewhere) and the religious view asks her to suffer in dignified silence, while withholding sex.

Some support for the beleaguered wife was available from the communities of women also spending their young married lives in the post-war suburbs raising children. In Helen May's study of this cohort of New Zealand women, "Brenda" describes how keeping the couple together was 'common sense' within the community as a whole, and informal strategies were used to help them:

> It was for the sake of the children that we must keep married at any costs. We would take each other's children when marriages were rocky. Lots of times I would have kids stay here a week – someone whose husband was having an affair. We would let them go for a holiday.[22]

None of these strategies was intended to be public knowledge, however. Deborah Cohen's account of secrets within families – and the concept of family privacy – includes Edmond Leach's famous 1967 description of the nuclear family "with its narrow privacy and tawdry secrets",[23] and May notes that for New Zealand women "... there were many aspects of marriage that were shrouded in silence".[24] She includes amongst them unwanted pregnancies and criminal abortions, with infidelity being added to this list of 'hazards' which must be suffered in order to keep the family together. In this way, errant husbands in 1950 were left largely free to carry on affairs with other women while keeping their families intact under a veneer of respectability.

Lou Lockheart was strict in her responses to teenage girls. Three young women whose letters were responded to in the 7 December issue were given a ticking off by the agony aunt that would strip paint. Their letters are not printed – they have been silenced, only Lou Lockheart's response is printed and the implication is that they have all been having sex. To "A. and B." – two 15 year olds[25] - Lou Lockheart shrills "Both of you acted in an amazingly impulsive, if not absurdly supine manner. You have not been taught to behave properly and

your parents must try and mend your lives for you",[26] and another 16 year old in the 21 December issue, she calls "helplessly, hopelessly lacking in moral training, youthful gaiety, innocence, dignity, and all the attributes which protect young females of even more primitive civilisations".[27] The implicit racism of this comment aside, her assumption is that the three teenage girls themselves are morally reprehensible, as are their parents whose lack of proper oversight has allowed the young women to behave outrageously. The responsibility of the men involved is not discussed – it is up to the girls and their parents to avoid the dangers of sexually rampant men, not for the men themselves to refrain from exploiting younger girls, as it is up to the betrayed wives to cover up their husbands' adultery when it occurs.[28]

It is worth noting that one of the men "though only 20, is married, and his wife is going to have a baby, too", and another "a boy of 18 who has since married" and is also expecting a baby.[29] "Unhappy Wife's" husband was also 'seeing' a girl of only 16, and was himself 25. Although, to some of us, these are all still boys themselves, it is the young wives and girlfriends who are being chastised, and tasked with fixing their marriages, or ending the relationship and regaining their chastity.

The 23 November issue includes an item which illustrates both the requirement for the female correspondent (in this case a potential girlfriend) to take responsibility for dealing with infidelity, and a cynical attitude towards other, older married men who stray.

> "Sleepy Eyes" says she loves a married man for whom she works ... 'He feels the same way. He is 13 years older and wants me to go out with him ...' etc.I think you had better wake up, "Sleepy Eyes". He is not in love with you. He has no intention of getting a divorce. You can easily find another job these days. Make your motto "No poaching."

So "Sleepy eyes" must leave her job, not her aspiring lover, and she, not he, should take responsibility for protecting the man's wife, and potentially his marriage.

'Lou Lockheart' and most of her readers appear to have supported the availability of divorce. It is clear there were situations which justified a woman leaving her marriage. To a young wife who is being physically and sexually abused by her husband, she advises immediate escape, and calling the police.[30] However, it seems to have been a last resort. Arguably, the relative silence around how a woman could support herself if she left the marriage signals its high

significance. In a situation where the woman was unable to support herself and their children without access to her husband's income, other factors such as enduring attachment to the husband and religious beliefs about the sanctity of marriage could have been used to minimise the effects of the betrayal and allow her to carry on. The practical solution was to stay in the marriage as long as necessary, and to act as if nothing was wrong. This advice fits with the ideology of the day, to keep matters which might be negatively judged by the community within the family, and if the community did indeed know about philandering husbands (or indeed husbands who assaulted their wives and children), they too would keep up the pretence that nothing was wrong as a way of saving the faces of the individuals involved.

This muzzling of wives in the name of 'common sense', when many had already had access not only to feminist ideals from the first half of the century but also to romantic fiction, both expressing outrage at infidelity, is likely to have produced the kinds of tensions within the walls of the home which were not conducive to happiness. The children of such marriages were to be raising their own children in the 70s and 80s, and some of the impetus of those daughters into the second wave feminist movement may have been to avoid the lives of 'quiet desperation' that their mothers had lived.

By 1980 negative attitudes towards discussing family problems such as infidelity in public had undergone a transformation. No longer was this problem necessarily a secret. The increased incidence of letters complaining about it in the 1980 agony aunt columns bears testimony to that. (Brewer, 2015). The years since 1950 had seen major changes in public attitudes to private behaviour, and the nature of the traditional marriage itself had come into question, but nevertheless infidelity remained a major cause of discord within relationships. As elsewhere in the West, there were fewer marriages, and more defacto relationships; feminist ideas, even when contested, had infiltrated society at large; the sexual revolution had potentially loosened up attitudes to sexuality in general, and community beliefs in the nature of romantic love had become if anything more idealistic, but the norm of sexual fidelity within relationships had not gone away.

The distress and anger felt by betrayed spouses are just as clear in the 1980 as in the 1950 letters, but the burden of the agony aunt's advice has moved away from the maintenance of a façade of respectability. Years of unprecedented prosperity and the liberal turn in behavioural norms affected 'common sense' about infidelity too. Marriage guidance, with professional counsellors, was now an accepted

part of the scene, and the 1980 agony aunt, 'Karen Kay', routinely advised her correspondents to seek help there. She was also much more likely than Lou Lockheart to recommend that they leave, if the problems seemed to her unsolvable.

According to New Zealand sociologist, David Swain, writing in 1979, "Divorce is important. It is a legal event fraught with human and social significance" (p.114). As this paper hopes to show, a focus on divorce, and relationship difficulties which might lead to divorce, provides an insight into social attitudes in previous historical periods, not only about relationship breakdown, but also about romantic love itself and the nature of our expectations of it. These matters are central to our experiences of happiness in our adult lives, and have an impact on the homes in which we raise our children. Agony aunt columns provide narratives recounted by the real-life protagonists which then might be challenged by the agony aunt, producing two interpretations of what is causing problems in this central relationship of the correspondent's life. A third point of view may be provided by 'experts', reported on in magazine articles. As readers we consume these multiple narratives, and the attitudes we discern in them may reinforce or challenge attitudes we ourselves hold about our own relationships. Divorce is important to all of us, not just the divorced or the children of divorce, because it reveals information about the central relationships in our lives which determine our own happiness.

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ENDNOTES

1 Fisher, Helen. *Anatomy of Love: The Natural History of Monogamy, Adultery, and Divorce*. (New York: W.W. Norton, 1992), p.40.

2 'Lou Lockheart' is a pseudonym and there were no clues to the agony aunt's identity, so I am assuming the author was female, since that is how she was represented.

3 Men too wrote letters about straying wives, but that interesting material is not within the scope of this paper.

4 Phillips, Jock. *A Man's Country: The Image of the Pakeha Male – a History*. (Auckland: Penguin Books, 1996), p.221.

5 For an example of this, see May, Helen. *Managing Children, Managing Men: Conflict and Compromise in the Lives of Postwar Pakeha Women*. (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1992), p.77.

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12 Kipnis, Laura. "Adultery" *Critical Inquiry, 24*, no.2 .(1998): p.300.

13 *New Zealand Woman's Weekly, 5 January, 1950*.

14 The response also refers to "complexities not revealed in one letter". The husband may be a returned serviceman from WWII, one of those whose wives were instructed to be tolerant of infidelities committed when they were serving in the war ("When Your Soldier Comes Home", Walker, 1998, pp 56-62). It is possible the general tolerance shown to these men, some of whom were traumatised, was extended to forgiving even post-war transgressions of this nature.

15 Kavanagh, James. *Manual of Social Ethics*. (Dublin: M.H. Gill and Son Ltd, 1955), p.32.

16 Celello, Kristin. *Making Marriage Work: A History of Marriage and Divorce in the twentieth Century United States*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), p.86.

17 He was indeed very "distinguished", being Freud's main interpreter to the English-speaking world, the author of an early biography (Jones, 1953), and a long-standing colleague of Freud's. p.50.

18 *New Zealand Woman's Weekly,* 21 September, 1950, p.62.

19 *New Zealand Woman's Weekly,* 27 April, 1950, p.10.

20 *New Zealand Woman's Weekly* 29 June,1950, p.34.

21 Such contradictory advice demonstrates how overly simple Friedan's (1963) critique of women's magazines was – magazines are written by many authors, so are not univocal, and competing positions may be expressed, even within the same edition.

22 May, Helen. *Minding Children, Managing Men: Conflict and Compromise in theLives of Postwar Pakeha Women*. (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1992), p.103.

23 Leach, Edmond. "A Runaway World "REITH LECTURES Lecture 3: Ourselves and Others, 26 November 1967 – Radio 4

24 May, Helen. *Managing Children, Managing Men:Conflict and Compromise in the Lives of Postwar Pakeha Women*. (Wellington:Bridget Williams Books, (1992), p.95.

25 The age of consent had been 16 since 1896 URL: http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/gender-inequalities/page-2

26 *New Zealand Woman's Weekly* 7 December, p.34

27 *New Zealand Woman's Weekly* 21 December, p.34

28 The reproving tone of the agony aunt when addressing the misdemeanours of younger correspondents may indicate something about social attitudes to the young in general, especially when compared with her expressions of greater compassion to "Distressed" and other older and longer married correspondents in letters not discussed here, especially if there is a general belief that the young need to be disciplined to return them to a proper path.

29 *New Zealand Woman's Weekly* 7 December, p.34

30 *New Zealand Woman's Weekly*, 15 June 1950, p.34.

Don’t Reinvent the Wheel: Magazine idea-sharing in the 1960s.

Gavin Ellis

Jean Wishart was the editor of the highly successful New Zealand Woman’s Weekly (NZWW) from 1952 to 1985. As part of her strategy to develop the magazine she undertook extensive international study tours looking at other popular titles for women. Gavin Ellis has gained access to reports she wrote in the 1960s for the owners of the NZWW and they provide some insight into what she adapted from overseas models as well those elements which did not impress her as suitable for her New Zealand audience.

In the 1960s the *New Zealand Woman's Weekly* was the most-read women's magazine in the world per head of population.[1] And its editor travelled the world in search of ideas to keep it there. Jean Wishart put an indelible stamp on the magazine she edited from 1952 to 1985 and had firm views on what it should deliver to its readers each week. She saw the magazine's relationship with readers as a partnership between friends and it had to contain something for everyone.[2] Over the course of her long editorship the magazine was in a regular cycle of change that Wishart skilfully managed to avoid alienating what she regarded as a loyal audience.

Jean Wishart, a formal portrait in the 1960s.

An essential ingredient of her development strategy was regular contact with her counterparts in other countries and periodic extended study tours to see other titles and their production processes. She had ready access to market-leading titles like *McCall's* (circulation 8.5 million), and *Woman* (2.7 million), to prestigious titles such as *Vogue* and *Marie-Claire*, and even the propaganda gargantuan *Soviet Woman*.[3]

After each tour she wrote extensive reports for the board of the *Weekly's* publisher, New Zealand News, and used them to change directors' thinking. Each was written in an engaging style that left the impression the reader was being directly addressed. It was a technique she employed in the magazine itself.[4]

The reports reveal that her knowledge spanned the entire gamut of magazine production from commissioning stories and attracting advertising, through complex colour printing, to distribution and marketing. They also show that in the 1960s she had a particularly keen interest in the emergence of 35mm colour photography and its application to cover design. She also was determined to use overseas examples to bolster her case for the creation of a test kitchen at the *Woman's Weekly* which would allow greater creativity in food photography.

When Wishart made her first tour – to Australia in 1960 – the *Weekly's* colour photography was shot largely on Linhof 5x4-inch field cameras, with a 2¼-inch square (120 roll film) camera for secondary shots. There were two reasons: quality, and the fact that photographs could be reproduced at a 1:1 ratio (same size). Pre-press colour enlargement was an expensive process and the *Weekly* was limited to a single projection per issue. She described this as "a handicap" which had led staff photographers to shoot on both the cumbersome 5X4 and on the smaller 2¼-inch format to allow for some variety in layouts.[5]

On that visit she was particularly interested to see how her counterparts were using smaller format colour film. At the time the NZWW had not used a single 35mm colour shot but she found Australian editors more than ready to accept 35mm colour from external sources, although they did not equip their own photographers with small format cameras. At *Woman's Day* she was shown a cover enlarged from 35mm colour film and "it was surprisingly good considering the enlargement". Wishart noted the quality was not as good as from a larger format, but it was acceptable "and I doubt the average person would have been conscious of much difference". The Australian titles did, however, continue to favour larger format colour where possible and Wishart was unconvinced that a wholesale

move to smaller formats was warranted – "but if the only suitable picture we had of an important subject (for instance a member of the Royal Family) were a 35 mm, I think we should be prepared to tackle it".

In spite of this she saw nothing intrinsically magical about the large format. At *Woman's Day* she was shown a layout for an interior decorating feature and was "not at all impressed by the quality." She added that "if these were an average sample of their photographers' work, I think our standards are much higher" and the NZWW production department would have turned down most of the transparencies. Both the *Australian Women's Weekly* and *Woman's Day*, it appeared to Wishart, were prepared to sacrifice quality for other considerations – "perhaps a little too readily at times".

On her return to New Zealand she found syndication agencies pressuring her to move to the 35 mm format, claiming it was the current trend and that overseas magazines were stopping their use of large format colour. However, when she visited the United States and the United Kingdom the following year, she found nothing to substantiate the claim. The larger formats continued to be the most regularly used and there was still "considerable use" of full plate (8½x6½ inches). She was, however, surprised to find that most of the leading American women's magazines no longer employed their own photographic staff. The most cited reason was that the use of freelancers provided a variety of photographic techniques. She was not, however, minded to follow that trend, telling her board that it would be "a most inconvenient arrangement and would certainly not be practical for the New Zealand Woman's Weekly".

Her own photographic staff were about to push the envelope. Michael Willison, who joined the NZWW shortly after Wishart's return form the United States and Britain in 1962 later became its long-serving chief photographer. He told the author that within weeks of his arrival at the magazine he was assigned to cover a Royal Tour. He refused to take the Linhof field camera on tour ("it weighed a ton, was complicated, and used a pre-loaded pack of about six sheets of film"). The company provided a 2¼-inch format Mamiya camera for him to use on tour. He became wedded to the format for colour photography and imported Ektachrome 120 roll film through Kodak: "It came by ship and I had to test each batch because, if it had been placed too close to the funnel, the heat affected it.

Willison became a familiar sight, particularly on Royal tours, with at least one 2¼-inch format camera around his neck while

other press photographers – usually shooting monochrome – used exclusively 35 mm. His Mamiya was replaced with Hasselblad and later supplemented with a Canon 35 mm.

By the time Wishart embarked on her next study tour in 1967, colour television had established itself in the United States, robbing magazines of one of their principal selling points – high quality colour pages.[6] Magazines like *McCall's* now had colour on every page that required it. She found, however, that many magazines continued to use large format cameras for their studio work, although magazines like *Life* (based largely on field assignments) predominantly used 35 mm film.

She noted in her 1967 report that the magazines she visited in the United States had better reproduction than the NZWW, which was printed on newsprint. Willison reinforces the point, admitting that he "slightly over-exposed" his images because newsprint absorbs ink. The boosted colours were absorbed by the newsprint, leaving natural colour ranges on the printed page.

The Weekly's anniversary issue demonstrated the influence Wishart's foreign tours had on its covers in the 60s and 70s.

The1965 cover of the Lawson Quins. The NZWW had exclusive access to the quins and onsold story and pictures to the Australian Woman's Weekly. On her study tour to Sydney in 1965 she was told the story had not increased the Australian magazine's circulation that week. It was a massive seller for the NZWW.

Wishart faced mounting external pressure to use 35 mm colour. She admitted in her 1967 report that overseas picture agencies were supplying "increasing quantities" of small format transparencies although she continued to resist their widespread use ("except in exceptional circumstances") on quality grounds. Nevertheless, over time the cost and quality of pre-press colour projection improved. Eventually the quality of NZWW paper stock also improved. This led to progressively greater use of 35 mm although Willison continued routinely to produce 2¼-inch transparencies.

The 1960s was a period of massive social and cultural upheaval. Media research of the period has concentrated largely on the major movements of the period – civil rights, the resurgence of feminism, the anti-war movement, and youth culture (Gitlin 1987). Studies of magazines have been informed by these significant social shifts. For example, even a study of one of Australia's most prominent magazine foods writers of the era, Margaret Fulton, characterised her as 'an activist' (Brien 2011). This research is not divorced from those social influences although they were slower to manifest themselves in the established titles under study here than in the new magazines created in the era. However, it focusses attention on seemingly mundane considerations for women's magazines editors in the 1960s that were, nonetheless, important contributors to their success – photographic quality, design, and the practical requirements of home economics.

Food always played a vital role in the NZWW – the first issue in 1932 had six pages of recipes – and Wishart's overseas studies always included investigations of how overseas magazines handled culinary journalism and photography. In America, she described food as "probably the glamourous subject for photography". At the time, however, the *Weekly's* own arrangements for food photography were problematic. Recipes were cooked at the home of either the contributor or a staff member and the NZWW photographer had to transport large format camera, lights and props to the respective residences to photograph the dishes. The magazine had experienced "difficulties" transporting food to its studio to be photographed. Wishart looked to overseas evidence to support what would eventually become a capital expenditure request to the parent company's board.

The report on her 1960 visit to Australia is, unfortunately, incomplete but the part that survives ends with a discussion about bringing a New Zealand-born cooking demonstrator to this country.[7] Wishart saw the promotional value in a key component of her magazine. When she undertook her extended tour in 1961/2 she spent

considerable time visiting magazine test kitchens and stated in her report that "all women's magazines which I visited were equipped with a testing kitchen (sometimes more than one) in their editorial departments." She added, pointedly, that she "did not find a single magazine which publishes recipes which they have not tested in their own kitchens." Perhaps she was suggesting the *Weekly's* publisher might be exposed to some contingent liability taking a contributor's self-cooked recipe at face value.

Four pages of her 1961/2 report are devoted to home economics research, which included visiting consumer testing organisations and the US Department of Agriculture's research centre in Maryland. One section of the centre was devoted to optimal kitchen design and she obtained detailed specifications for a test kitchen much smaller than those in American magazines' editorial department. "It was planned for women who must conserve energy because of age or physical disability...or any able-bodied women who also want to save time and energy, which presumably includes everyone." Three years later the plans were used to create the NZWW's first test kitchen, led by its food icon Tui Flower.

Wishart also brought back an idea for a 'props room' containing a host of objects to be used in food styling. The importance of this annex should not be under-estimated. Matalon-Degni (2010)[8] describes the prop stylist as "the unsung hero of the food photography team." Willison was responsible for food styling and photography in the test kitchen and favoured the large format 5x4 camera because its tilting back made it easier to control the plane of focus.[9] However, studio lighting created issues – and heat – and he persuaded Wishart to invest in a studio flash system. He admits that styling sometimes required ruining the food – by painting it with oil to achieve a gloss.

The NZWW test kitchen had been in operation for two years when Wishart undertook her next tour. She noted that American magazines tended to have larger kitchens, but all were adjacent to the editorial department, a feature she had insisted upon in Auckland. The closest comparison to the New Zealand installation was at *Woman's Realm* in London, also a weekly magazine. However, she admitted it had one advantage over the NZWW: If the editor thought food should have been photographed from a different angle, the dish was cooked and photographed again. Her report noted: "This, of course, would not be practical for us, and we have to live with our mistakes...and try as hard as possible not to make them in the first place."

Wishart was a magazine polymath and her overseas studies

reflected her broad range of interests, but one aspect of her trade kept recurring in her reports – what went into deciding the cover of this week's or this month's magazine?

Pictorial quality was a primary consideration for Wishart, and she was critical in her reports of magazines that sacrificed quality without good cause. She was opposed, for example, to using 35 mm images on the cover simply because the editor liked the subject. However, she admitted in her 1960 report that certain circumstances do seem to justify it."[10] This included timeliness and the cover was regarded by both the *Australian Woman's Weekly* and *Women's Day* as the 'last page' in the deadline schedule. She also found that *Women's Day* was prepared to 'fake' covers: "They showed me one which they had done of the Shah of Persia and his bride-to-be, which they published at the time of his wedding. To make this they used black and white pictures of the Shah and the girl and faked the colour. These were superimposed on a background shot of a Persian scene, which was reproduced from a colour transparency."

American magazines she visited on her 1961/2 tour appeared positively profligate in their approach to cover design and selection. For example, she recounted how *Family Circle* drew up at least four dummy covers for each issue and took each to the platemaking and colour proofing stage before deciding which to use – and often seeking the preferences of women in supermarkets. In Britain she was invited to participate in *Woman and Beauty's* cover conference and found they had "no hesitation in scrapping the (large format whole plate) picture and telling the photographer to start all over again." She noted that cover 'gimmicks' such as stickers, gatefolds and transparent plastic overlines were beginning to gain popularity in the United States and was somewhat bemused by the fact that "although they are of no conceivable value to the reader, [they] convey the impression of giving 'something extra'."

Wishart was also mindful of the role fashion played inside women's magazines and her visits always included discussions over fashion layouts, although she was unimpressed with the manufacturing quality of some American garments. Nevertheless, she was impressed by the influence that magazines such as American *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* had on the fashion industry. "They have sufficient power to select ideas not as yet produced in quantity, give them their blessing, and force American manufacturers to jump on their bandwagon... other magazines which feature fashion (in England and Australia, for example) give the impression they are merely giving free publicity to

garment manufacturers. They can report but they do not have the power to originate."

At times the pace of her travel was frenetic – she was in Paris for only a day, which was spent at *Marie Claire* – and conceded in her 1961/2 report that sometimes her schedule outpaced her, with unfortunate results. "I'm probably the only New Zealand woman to turn down (Royal couturier) Norman Hartnell. He was waiting to see me in London, and I had to ring him up and explain my appointments were running so late I wouldn't have time to fit him in."

Jean Wishart's often lengthy study tours were predicated on the knowledge that "as ideas and tastes in other things change, magazines must be perceptive enough to change with them." However, although her research embraced developments such as the rise of magazines for young women, none of her reports in the 1960s – a period in which, after a four-decade lull, feminism began to regerminate (Beins 2017)[11] – directly address the rise of the women's movement.[12]

She did, however, identify related trends. By 1967 even American magazines such as *Good Housekeeping* were running what Wishart described as 'frank' articles. "Factual and handled in good taste, these articles are nevertheless, of the type which the *New Zealand Woman's Weekly* would have, in the past, hesitated to run. However, I think they are symptomatic of today's more candid attitude concerning sex and other formerly taboo subjects...I think that *Woman's Weekly* may have to follow this lead. I believe strongly in preserving the family image of the magazine, but we cannot close our eyes to the fact that the majority of readers are becoming more 'adult' in their tastes." *Harper's Bizaar*'s editor, Nancy White, told Wishart that the most serious mistake any editor could make was to underestimate the intelligence of readers and women probably had a far greater range of interests than men, "from the lowbrow to the intellectual – all in the one woman."

Wishart was interviewed by the *Auckland Star* on her return from the 1967 tour. The story ended: "And as Miss Wishart lands at Auckland International Airport her last memories are of the lights of Lisbon, the paintings of Paris, and her research for the *New Zealand Woman's Weekly*." Five years later she was off once more to the United States, Brazil, Britain, Sweden, Greece, Thailand, Hong Kong and Australia. Her meticulous expense records are among her papers but the report from that study tour has not survived.

The first cover of the New Zealand Woman's Weekly published on the 8 December, 1932.

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END NOTES

1 Mediascope in February 1969 stated the *New Zealand Woman's Weekly* reached 26.1% of the adult female New Zealand population, followed by the *Australian Women's Weekly* at 19.9% of the Australian female population and *Chatelaine* at 17.4% of Canada's equivalent. The two largest circulation women's magazines were *McCall's* in the United States, which reached only 13.4% of the female population and *Woman* in the United Kingdom, which reached 9.8%.

2 Jenny Lynch, *New Zealand Woman's Weekly 70 Years: From Pavlovas to Prime Ministers*. (Auckland: Random House, 2002).

3 On a 1967 visit to Moscow, Wishart met the editor-in-chief of *Soviet Women*, Maria Ovsyannikova, who freely admitted the magazine (which had a larger circulation outside the Soviet Union than within it) was 'political' but added that western magazines reflected the capitalist way of life so they, too, were 'political'. Wishart observed the magazine was "quite well presented" and its tone "varies strangely between being harshly realistic and political...and being strangely ingenious" (a reference to an essay competition in which "those who win will get a free copy of the book [and] those who do not win can buy it"). Ovsyannikova was the editor of a front-line newspaper during the Second World War and was twice awarded the Order of Lenin.

4 The reports from the 1960s have survived among papers that, on her death, were passed to one of her successors as editor, Jenny Lynch.

5 Australian magazines tried to limit projections to two per issue but were allowed to use more if layouts required it.

6 Wishart made a particular study of the effect of television on magazines during her 1967 tour. She noted seasonal variations in viewing numbers (from a monthly household average of 117 hours in the depths of winter down to 82 hours a month in the height of summer). US magazines had begun to capitalise on these seasonal variations (which contrasted with magazines' almost constant circulation throughout the seasons) and coined a phrase used with advertising agencies – 'the medium that never takes a vacation'.

7 The cooking demonstrator was Gretta Anna Terplitzy, whose cookbook *The Gretta Anna Recipes* ran to 15 editions. On her death in 2010, she was described by the *Sydney Morning Herald* as a woman who "cooked her way into the hearts and homes of thousands of Sydneysiders".

8 Francine Matalon-Degni. "Trends in Food Photography: A prop stylist's view," *Gastronomica*, 10. No.3 (Summer 2010): 70-83.

9 Since replaced by tilt-shift lenses. Willison also favoured the 5x4 camera for scenic and architectural photography, in order to correct vertical distortion.

10 The 'certain circumstances' included misjudging just how popular a subject would be. The *Australian Women's Weekly* totally underestimated to popular appeal of evangelist Dr Billy Graham and decided to change its cover by working three shifts to still meet the printing deadline.

11 Agatha Beins. *Liberation in Print: Feminist periodicals and Social Movement Identity* (Athens GA: University of Georgia Press, 2017).

12 She noted in 1961/2 that "in their general content, I feel that the average English magazine for women does not credit its readers with as much intelligence as the average American magazine – and (I hope) the *New Zealand Woman's Weekly.*"

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Burton Brothers, *North Shore, Auckland,* 1870s, Museum of New Zealand.

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