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NEW ZEALAND ENGLISH LANGUAGE

PERIODICALS OF LITERARY INTEREST

ACTIVE 1920s-1960s

by

Stephen Derek Hamilton

VOLUME ONE

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in English, University of Auckland, June 1996
ABSTRACT

The primary objective of this thesis is to provide an account of New Zealand literary magazine activity from the 1920s to the 1950s. While a focus is maintained on the fifteen year period between the appearance of the first issue of *Phoenix* in March 1932 and the advent of *Landfall*, the thesis examines several magazines whose issue runs extend well outside that period. The thesis is divided into two volumes, the first of which, in Chapters Two through Five, provides a detailed survey of the four most important periodicals published entirely within the period selected for this study: *Phoenix* (1932-1933), *Tomorrow* (1934-1940), *Book* (1941-1947), and *New Zealand New Writing* (1942-1945). Chapter Six concludes Volume One with a survey of the numerous university based periodicals, including several published entirely outside the focal period of the study. In Volume Two, Chapters Seven to Nine discuss, in order, the Auckland family magazine the *Mirror* (1922-1963), the national magazine of the arts *Art in New Zealand* (1928-1946), and the travel journal the *New Zealand Railways Magazine* (1926-1940). All three of these publications are of significance as early sites for the development in New Zealand of the popular fiction genres of romance, adventure and mystery. Chapter Ten deals with a range of minor little magazines, including the *New Zealand Mercury* (1933-1936), *Quill* (1934-148), *Anvil* (1945-1946), *Chapbook* (1945-1950), *Oriflamme: A Literary Journal* (1939-1942), and those edited, printed and published by Noel Farr Hoggard: *Spilt Ink* (1932-1937), *New Triad* (1937-1942), *Letters* (1943-1946), and *Arena* (1946-1972). Appendix I supplies an annotated bibliography of the fifty-two periodicals discussed in the body of the thesis. These annotations are supplemented with
author indexes for those periodicals not already indexed by earlier researchers. Appendix II compares the text of Allen Curnow's 1939 prose and poetry sequence *Not in Narrow Seas* with an early version of the sequence published in *Tomorrow* between June 1937 and August 1938.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

As with any project of this size, undertaken over several years, a large number of individuals have provided both encouragement and assistance. First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisor, Professor Terry Sturm, whose enthusiasm for my chosen subject was always infectious and whose advice was ever sage. A debt is also owed to several other members of the University of Auckland Department of English, in particular, Professor MacDonald Jackson, Associate Professors Peter Simpson, Roger Horrocks and Wystan Curnow, lecturers Alan Loney and Marilyn Lewis, and fellow doctoral candidates Sarah Shieff and Kai Jensen. I would also like to acknowledge the support of those individuals whom I interviewed in the course of my research. In particular, I would like to express my gratitude to the late Kendrick Smithyman, from whose wide knowledge of the New Zealand literary scene I was fortunate enough to benefit.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Without benefit of hindsight no event could be described as a beginning. Every gesture required a future, looked back on, for significance.\(^1\)

'Literary movements,' as James Bertram observed in 1954, 'are seldom organised in this country - the accidental grouping of a few writers in one place may produce a spurt of activity, then the group breaks up, and the impulse ceases. What is left behind - if the impulse has been strong enough - is the published record, and a few new literary reputations.'\(^2\) One of the most frequent forms which this 'published record' has taken in New Zealand has been the literary periodical. In a country with only a small market for new writing, the magazine or journal has been of great importance as an outlet not just for innovative and experimental material, but for even the most conventional types of poetry and short fiction. Correspondingly, as Wystan Curnow observed,\(^3\) until the 1970s literary criticism in New Zealand also largely developed through the medium of the periodical.

Little magazines, devoted as they usually are to the support of new and innovative writing, often carry in their pages the most concentrated expression


\(^3\) 'Until recently book reviewing has been almost the only kind of literary criticism practised in New Zealand.' Wystan Curnow, 'Preface,' Essays in New Zealand Literature, ed. Wystan Curnow (Auckland: Heinemann, 1973) vii.
of Bertram's literary 'impulse.' For the literary historian they therefore constitute valuable artifacts from the earliest phases of new movements within the national literature, movements which are often closely linked to the development of a national identity. Keith Sinclair has documented the way in which, during the 1890s and early 1900s, contributors to periodicals such as the *New Zealand Illustrated Magazine* set themselves the task of 'taking literary possession of the New Zealand experience and environment.'\(^4\) In the fertile field of poetry, Alexander and Currie's 1906 anthology *New Zealand Verse* represents the best work of the nineteenth century, much of it first published in magazines and newspapers.\(^5\) The collection also demonstrates the extent to which local poets took seriously the task of describing the unique elements of the New Zealand landscape and people, although not surprisingly, much of this poetry was, to quote a later critic, 'indistinguishable from English verse, imitative rather than in any definable way indigenous.'\(^6\) It set the pattern for much that was to follow.

Through to the end of the 1920s, with a few notable exceptions, the majority of published New Zealand poets were content to contribute to the creation of a fanciful and largely mythical 'Maoriland,' a New Zealand inhabited by courageous settlers, and alternately savage and guileless Maori, all living in

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a spectacular landscape 'full of tuis and riros and manuka blossom.' For the young writers who emerged in the early thirties, Quentin Pope's anthology of this material seemed thoroughly representative of this late colonial phase of New Zealand literature, which often characterised itself in the language of literary nationalism. The terrain they first began to occupy in the 1890s began to be redefined by a generation influenced by British and American poets and motivated in many cases by left-wing political idealism. As one of their number put it, they were 'hungry for the words that shall show us these islands and ourselves; that shall give us a home in thought.' The objective of taking 'literary possession' of New Zealand remained the same: the method and language through which this would be done was to change almost beyond recognition.

The first significant utterance of this new literary movement came in early 1932 when there appeared at Auckland University College a little magazine which was to have an influence on New Zealand literature out of all proportion to the quality or range of its contents. Phoenix was the result of a remarkable confluence of personalities whose collective talent, critical acumen, and publishing enterprise came to dominate local literary culture until well beyond mid-century. Over the following decade and a half, through the slow recovery from the Great Depression, through the years of rising international tension followed by World War Two, the ambitions and ideas first embodied in Phoenix

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7 James Bertram, review of Spike (1931), Phoenix 1.1 (March 1932): N. pag.
9 Eric Cook, review of Phoenix 1.1 (March 1933), Canta 9 May 1932.
bore fruit in a more or less continuous succession of periodicals, culminating in the appearance in March 1947 of the inaugural issue of *Landfall*.

In his 1982 doctoral thesis 'Landfall Under Brasch: The Humanizing Journey,' John Geraets discusses the first twenty years of *Landfall*’s publication, focusing especially on the editorial practices of Charles Brasch and their effect on a number of representative contributors. This thesis maps the wider magazine culture from which *Landfall* emerged. Iris Park’s 1962 bibliography, *New Zealand Periodicals of Literary Interest*, provided the starting point. Approximately one hundred periodicals identified by Park as being published during the first half of this century have been studied in detail, and complete or select author indexes have been compiled for those magazines not already indexed by earlier researchers. A decision was then made to concentrate the study on those magazines active during the fifteen years prior to the founding of *Landfall* in 1947. For the most part, these were published at monthly or quarterly intervals. To contain the study within manageable proportions, daily, weekly, and fortnightly newspapers, and annual magazines and anthologies are generally not discussed. Exceptions have been made, however, for a number of unusually vigorous outlets for New Zealand’s major writers at earlier or developing stages of their literary careers. These include the fortnightly (initially weekly) magazine *Tomorrow*, the more or less annual (if short-lived) *New Zealand New Writing*, and the annual publications of the various University Students' Associ-

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Several of the weekly, fortnightly or annual periodicals from the period 1932-1947 which are not studied here in detail (or annotated in Appendix One) are referred to in my discussions of related magazines. I refer to them briefly here, before turning to the organisation of the thesis itself. The annual *New Zealand Best Poems* (1932-1943), edited by Charles Marris and published by Harry Tombs, began as an anthology of work from another Marris-Tombs magazine venture, *Art in New Zealand*, the subject of Chapter Eight. Together these two magazines were important foils against which the writers associated with *Phoenix* and *Tomorrow* reacted. Another annual from the same publisher and editor, though of more general interest, was *Rata* (1931-1933), marketed as a Christmas gift for overseas friends and relatives.

Among magazines with a political focus, the short-lived *New Zealand Fortnightly Review*, published in Auckland by its editor W.R. Kingsford-Smith from June to September 1933, included short stories, poetry and book reviews by contributors such as A.R.D. Fairburn and C.R. Allen. The *New Zealand National Review* was a politically independent monthly published between 1917 and 1951, reporting and commenting on national and international events. While early issues featured syndicated stories by overseas authors such as W. Somerset Maugham, with the appointment of Noel Holmes as editor in mid-1949 work by G.R. Gilbert, Rewi Alley, and Louis Johnson began to appear in its pages.

The *New Zealand Magazine* was a monthly published in Wellington under various titles between 1921 and 1952, edited by Maurice Hurst. Begun as *New
Zealand Life, from early 1923 it was titled the New Zealand Life and Forest Magazine after absorbing the New Zealand Forest and River Magazine. After also incorporating New Nation into its pages in 1925, it reverted in 1926 to its original title, New Zealand Life. Finally, in early 1930 it adopted its longest held title, New Zealand Magazine. Contributors to early issues include Blanche Baughan, J.C. Andersen, Alan Mulgan and A.H. Messenger. As New Zealand Magazine it added A.R.D. Fairburn, Dulce Carman, C.R. Allen, Hector Bolitho, James Cowan, David Ballantyne, and the literary journalist Pat Lawlor to its ranks.

The Monocle was a glossy monthly set up in opposition to the Mirror (the subject of Chapter Seven), but directed more towards a male readership. Published in Wellington between 1937 and 1939 it was edited by former Mirror editor O.A. Gillespie. Jane Mander contributed a book review column almost identical in format to that which she had previously contributed to the Mirror. While the Monocle solicited local literary contributions, most fiction published was syndicated from overseas sources. Among the New Zealand writers to appear in its pages were Hector Bolitho, Eve Langley, Quentin Pope, and George Joseph.

First and foremost, the thesis describes in Volume One (Chapters Two through Four) the genesis of Landfall, from Phoenix, through Tomorrow to the Caxton Press miscellany Book. Charles Brasch acknowledged this literary genealogy, and linked it to the formative role (as publisher and editor) of Denis Glover.

Denis had looked on all the small periodicals he had run or
Chapter 1: Introduction

supported, Tomorrow, Book, and the rest, as keeping the pot boiling for something more substantial, a mature professional Phoenix.\(^\text{12}\)

Further evidence for the lineage is found in Brasch's 'Notes' to the third number of Landfall, where he names Middleton Murry's New Adelphi, T.S. Eliot's Criterion and Christopher Dawson's Dublin Review as conscious models for his new enterprise.\(^\text{13}\) The first of these was also the most frequently cited prototype for Phoenix.

Volume One of the thesis also includes an account of another important war-time little magazine, New Zealand New Writing, before concluding with a comprehensive survey of literary activity at the four colleges of the University of New Zealand. Volume Two expands the study to discuss several popular magazines with literary content active between about 1930 and 1950, as well as a number of minor little magazines.

Phoenix, the subject of Chapter Two, is by far the most discussed if not the most important little magazine published to date in New Zealand. Initially styled on Middleton Murry's New Adelphi and motivated by a desire to renovate what its contributors regarded as a prematurely moribund national literature, Phoenix drew together a diverse group of young writers, many of whom went on to distinguished academic and literary careers. Phoenix was the first concerted attempt to provide a serious venue for the development of what its founders hoped would be a mature literary culture, one soundly based on tradi-


\(^{13}\) Charles Brasch, 'Notes,' Landfall 3 (1947): 160-161.
tional values but at the same time open to new impulses, from whatever sources. Printed by Robert Lowry and edited in two distinctly different volumes, first by James Bertram and then by R.A.K. Mason, *Phoenix*’s importance resides less in the actual items published within its pages than in its function as an outlet for individuals who were to become influential contributors to the development of New Zealand literature for several decades, including Bertram and Mason themselves, as well as A.R.D. Fairburn, Allen Curnow, and Charles Brasch, the future editor of *Landfall*.

Chapter Three deals with the most substantial step on the journey towards *Landfall*, the long six year passage through *Tomorrow*. Established by Kennaway Henderson in 1934 as an outlet for radical political opinions denied expression in the mainstream press, *Tomorrow* emerged from its earliest issues as an important site for the development of New Zealand poetry, short fiction and literary criticism, largely due to the editorial contributions of Denis Glover and H. Winston Rhodes. Numerous early stories by Frank Sargeson and poems by Allen Curnow, Denis Glover, and A.R.D. Fairburn are just some of the more prominent creative contributions to *Tomorrow* which make it one of the most important periodicals of literary interest published prior to 1947. The enormous volume of literary material in its one hundred and seventy-nine issues makes discussion of it in this thesis more selective than is the case with other little magazines. Nevertheless, the chapter on *Tomorrow* brings to light a considerable amount of hitherto overlooked material.

After the suppression of *Tomorrow* in 1940, the Caxton Press miscellany *Book* and the Progressive Publishing Society’s *New Zealand New Writing* provided
the main outlets for the kinds of fiction and poetry encouraged by Henderson's
fortnightly. These two magazines are discussed successively in Chapters Four
and Five. Founded to promote the Caxton Press in 1941, Book was far more than
a mere sampler of Caxton publications, although that role in itself would have
been sufficient to make it of great interest to a study such as this. In addition
to featuring extracts from forthcoming Caxton publications, Book also solicited
and printed new work by a younger generation of writers, including Maurice
it went into recess following the departure of its editor, Denis Glover, for service
in the British Merchant Navy, New Zealand New Writing fortuitously stepped into
the breach to provide under Ian Gordon's editorship an equally hospitable outlet
for new and established writers and poets. At the end of the War, after four
more or less annual issues, New Zealand New Writing folded, largely owing to the
resignation of its editor, Ian Gordon. Subsequently, a further three issues of
Book were produced, the last in July 1947, by which date two issues of the
Caxton Press quarterly Landfall had appeared.

The final chapter of Volume One, Chapter Six, deals with a second major
strand of this thesis, the literature published in magazines based on the
campuses of Auckland, Victoria, Canterbury and Otago Universities, magazines
which have played an unusually important role in the nurturing of literary talent
throughout much of New Zealand's literary history. The strength and influence
of these student magazines varies greatly over time, and for this reason the
chapter on them moves beyond the fifteen year focal period of the thesis. It
surveys not only the official literary publications of the various Students' Associations, but also the many little magazines published by students up to the present day, several of which contributed to new literary movements as well as to individual careers. The university colleges, which were granted full university status from the mid-1950s, were host to generations of young writers and poets, many of whom obtained first or early publication in magazines published on their campuses. *Phoenix*, arguably the most influential of such magazines, is given its own chapter earlier in this thesis.

Chapter Six is divided into seven sections. After an introductory section, Section Two deals with the only magazine of literary interest produced at the University of Otago. The *Otago University Review* was founded in 1888 and has been produced as recently as 1993, a publication run longer than that of any other student magazine. The likeliest reasons for this are the close relationship which evolved between the University and the wider Dunedin and Otago literary communities, as well as the establishment in 1959 of the University of Otago Burns Literary Fellowships, factors which have allowed the *Review* to develop into more than just a student publication.

Section Three deals with the seven magazines of literary interest produced at the University of Canterbury. These include the *Canterbury College Review*, published by the College's Students' Association between 1897 and 1945; the Caxton Club's *Oriflamme* and *Sirocco*, both dated 1933 and directly inspired by Auckland University College's *Phoenix*; and the Literary Society's little magazine
Chapter 1: Introduction

*Canterbury Lambs*, published in three issues between 1946 and 1949, the last of which was edited by James K. Baxter.

Section Four of Chapter Six describes the thirteen literary magazines produced to date on the University of Auckland campus, beginning with *Collegian* and *Marte Nostro*, predecessors of the principal Student's Association magazine, *Kiwi*, which ran more or less continuously for seventy-five years from 1905. As noted above, *Phoenix* is given a chapter to itself, while in this section something of the background to its appearance can be discerned in the account of *Kiwi*’s editing and production during the early thirties. The section also includes descriptions of several other little magazines, the most notable of which are *Nucleus* and *Freed*. *Nucleus*, published between 1957 and 1961, featured work by students Wystan Curnow, Vincent O'Sullivan, and William Broughton, as well as contributions by Denis Glover and R.A.K. Mason. The five issues of *Freed* appeared between 1969 and 1972, and presented work by the emerging core of a new and important generation of New Zealand poets, including Alan Brunton, Murray Edmond, David Mitchell, Ian Wedde, and Russell Haley. The most important short-run little magazine to be published in New Zealand since *Phoenix*, *Freed* provided the first concentrated expression of a new and innovative poetic, strongly influenced by recent American poetry.

Section Five of Chapter Six deals with the literary periodicals published at Victoria University of Wellington, beginning with the official Students' Association magazine, *Spike*, published between 1902 and 1961. The important sequence of little magazines which appeared at Victoria from the late forties
(Broadsheet, Hilltop and Arachne) are dealt with in some detail, a discussion which
benefits from the availability of substantial amounts of archival material relating
to their publication. This section also includes discussions of Experiment and
Argot, magazines which, from the late 1950s, effectively replaced the increasingly
irregular Spike. Chapter Six concludes with an examination of the two
magazines published by the New Zealand Students' Association, Rostrum and
the New Zealand Universities' Arts Festival Yearbook. Both of these supplemented
to varying degrees the publications of the individual universities.

With Volume Two, attention is turned towards a third type of periodical,
the antithesis of the little magazine, termed here the 'mainstream' magazine.
Published primarily for profit, mainstream magazines are valuable for the
insights they provide into the conventional tastes of their time, tastes which are
often directly challenged or undermined by the small literary magazines.
Furthermore, in the mainstream magazine, literature is usually only one of many
different kinds of general interest items. Discussion and comment on matters
of literary interest is less narrowly focused on formal 'literary criticism.' Feature
pieces on writers, gossip columns and reviews of popular material from overseas
as well as New Zealand, provide kinds of insight into the general literary culture
and its main personalities which are missing in the more specialized or
experimental little magazines.

The up-market Auckland monthly the Mirror, the subject of Chapter
Seven, is a prime example of the mainstream magazine, and has been selected
here as representative of several popular women's or family magazines active
during the inter-war years. Others (not discussed in the thesis) include the New
Zealand Home Journal (1934-1974) and the still current New Zealand Women's Weekly (1936-). The Mirror's editorial policy on literature was motivated by a genuine desire to encourage the development of New Zealand literature, but was in fact constrained by the need to meet the inherently conservative tastes of its readership. By the early thirties it had become a major outlet for locally written genre romance, publishing early stories by Dorothy Eden and Essie Summers, both of whom were later to become authors with international reputations. In addition to such literary interest, the Mirror and magazines of its type provided sites for the expression of a broadly based popular culture, ranging from fashion and social news to gardening and cooking. Accordingly, the discussion of the Mirror refers to other ingredients of the magazine, including visual representations of Maori and of other aspects of New Zealand society and culture.

Chapter Eight deals with another mainstream magazine, though one which was more narrowly focused - on the arts - and which took its role as a venue for the encouragement of New Zealand literature far more seriously than did the Mirror. Under its literary editor Charles Marris, the quarterly journal Art in New Zealand published work by an impressive range of local writers, poets and critics. However, Marris's innate conservatism prevented his magazine developing into an outlet for the avant-garde poets associated with Phoenix and Tomorrow. They took their work elsewhere and indeed, led by Denis Glover, persistently wrote against Marris and editors of similar taste. Art in New Zealand is thus a key site of mainstream literary culture in the 1930s, though its role changed radically towards the end of its life in the 1940s, when it was 'taken
over' by the avant-garde of the 1930s, under the editorship of A.R.D. Fairburn and Howard Wadman.

The *New Zealand Railways Magazine*, the subject of Chapter Nine, provides yet another variation on the mainstream magazine. Founded as a public and staff relations venue for the New Zealand Railways Department, it rapidly developed into a very popular travel magazine featuring articles, verse and fiction. Throughout its life, the Railways Magazine retained its early preference for the yarn, especially tales set in the railway industry, while in poetry it rarely published anything other than light verse of a type also found in the *Mirror*. A long running column of literary gossip and brief book reviews by journalist Pat Lawlor set the tone for its critical content. Again, like the *Mirror* and *Art in New Zealand*, *New Zealand Railways Magazine* is also of interest for the wider cultural range of its contents.

Chapter Ten returns to the original focus of the thesis, to discuss a further selection of little magazines active during the period 1932-1947. Published for a variety of literary and non-literary motives, these were generally conservative in their editorial policies and only occasionally featured experimental fiction or poetry. They include: the long running series of little magazines edited, printed and published by Noel Farr Hoggard; Helen Longford's *New Zealand Mercury*, the best example from the period of a purely literary magazine dominated by Georgian literary tastes; the Women Writers' and Artists' Society's irregular annual *Quill*, dedicated like its publisher to promoting the professional status of women's writing; Tony Murray-Oliver's *Oriflamme*, named after Denis Glover's earlier publication but far less impressive in content and format; Ronald Castle's
Chapbook, atrociously typewritten and cyclostyled but of interest for having featured the early efforts of Louis Johnson; and finally Anvil, a short lived, politically active quarterly published in the spirit of Tomorrow.

Volume Two also includes two appendices. The first provides an annotated bibliography of periodicals discussed at length in the thesis. The annotations are supplemented by complete or selective author indexes which, while listing many more items than are referred to in the body of the thesis, also function as a bibliography for items cited in the text. The second appendix consists of a textual comparison between an early version of Allen Curnow's poetry and prose sequence Not in Narrow Seas, published in several instalments in Tomorrow during 1937 and 1938, and the 1939 edition of that poem.\(^1\)

With the exception of several M.A. and Ph.D. theses, critical discussion of New Zealand periodicals has largely been confined to passing references in wider studies. Prior to 1990, these themselves were few and far between. In both his centennial history Letters and Art in New Zealand and his 1959 New Zealand Literature: A Survey, E.H. McCormick acknowledges the contribution made by the literary magazine to the development of New Zealand literature. However, it is not until 1991 that an overview of the literary magazine as such is published. In his chapter in the Oxford History of New Zealand Literature in English Dennis McEldowney provides an extremely useful outline sketch of the

\(^{14}\) Allen Curnow, Not in Narrow Seas (Christchurch: Caxton Press, 1939).
role of the literary magazine in the formation of the national literature.\textsuperscript{15}

Bibliographer John Thomson's discussion of periodicals in the same volume also supplies a valuable introduction to the subject.\textsuperscript{16}

Rachel Barrowman's work on left-wing culture in New Zealand during the thirties and forties provides a context for several of the periodicals published during that period, most notably \textit{Tomorrow} and \textit{New Zealand New Writing}.\textsuperscript{17} Her account of the circumstances surrounding the publication of \textit{Tomorrow} and the cultural and intellectual milieu which it fostered may be supplemented by Andrew Cutler's M.A. thesis on that newspaper's political and cultural content.\textsuperscript{18} Judith Wild's 'The Literary Periodical in New Zealand'\textsuperscript{19} includes a brief survey of some of the magazines active during the previous twenty years, while \textit{Landfall} has been the subject of two doctoral theses. In addition to the study by John Geraets referred to above, David Anido's 1972 Ph.D. thesis provides a useful discussion of \textit{Landfall}'s place in the what he terms 'the unique New Zealand

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\textsuperscript{18} Andrew J. Cutler, 'Intellectual Sprouts: \textit{Tomorrow} magazine 1934-1940, a cultural and political history' (M.A. Thesis, University of Canterbury, 1989).

cultural conditions. His main proposition - that the poetry and prose selected by Charles Brasch for publication in *Landfall* constituted an accurate selection of the best of New Zealand's developing literature - reinforced an orthodox view which has since been challenged by many critics, including Geraets.

Iris Park's *New Zealand Periodicals of Literary Interest* annotates one hundred and thirty-six titles, plus seven items deemed to be of 'marginal' interest, and provides a very useful index of authors, editors and publishers. Librarians and Library School students have also produced several valuable indexes, including J.J. Herd's comprehensive *Index to Tomorrow, 1934-1940*, Peter Andrews' 'An Index to *Arena* Numbers 1-70,' and Bertha Whyte's 'New Zealand Railways Magazine Index.' In addition, bibliographies of the work of specific authors have been of great benefit to this present study, often drawing attention to the importance of minor magazines in individual careers. Of greatest use has been John Weir and Barbara Lyon's *New Zealand Poetry: A Select Bibliography, 1920-1972*, which provides detailed bibliographies of twenty-five prominent New Zealand poets.

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The argument of this thesis is that the magazines Phoenix, Tomorrow, Book, New Zealand New Writing, Oriflamme, Sirocco and certain key issues of the university annuals, were, in literary terms, largely expressions of the emergence of modernism in New Zealand. In a parallel fashion, nearly four decades later, the University of Auckland magazine Freed provided one of the earliest concerted local articulations of post-modernism. The roles played by these magazines in New Zealand's literary and wider culture are comparable with those of similar publications in other Western literatures, and might be categorised (in terminology first suggested by A.R. Orage) as 'presentative,' presenting as they do new modes of writing to which most other periodical editors and publishers were unsympathetic. According to the particular slant of their often highly fluid editorial policies, the university magazines dealt with in Chapter Six vary between 'presentative' roles, and roles Orage described as 'representative,' that is, representative of the dominant literary culture of their period.

Chapters Seven through Ten of this thesis deal with a range of largely 'representative' periodicals, all of which are dominated by a conventional taste in verse and imaginative prose, and all of which are less open to literary


experimentation than the magazines dealt with in Volume One. Consisting of both little magazines and mainstream magazines, these 'representative' magazines constitute an important component of what had become an 'established' literary culture, whose values, conventions, and language were derived largely from late colonial cultural assumptions and attitudes formed two or three decades earlier. It was against this bulk of orthodox publications that the editors of and contributors to 'representative' magazines such as Phoenix were in the main reacting. That they and their descendants were so successful in their reaction, eventually producing a reconstructed version of New Zealand's literary history, entailed (paradoxically) the displacement and submergence of the once powerful mainstream literary culture, at least in the newly emergent discipline of literary criticism. One objective of this thesis has been to recover this mainstream literary culture, and in so doing restore a sense of the dynamics of cultural difference, conflict and interrelation, as they functioned at the level of literary magazine culture as a whole. Discussions of magazines like Phoenix, often revisionist in intention, which ignore the broader cultural and literary dynamics of their time, often remain locked into the assumptions (modernist or otherwise) they wish to challenge.

With the division between 'representative' and 'representative' magazines in mind, it should, however, be noted that no periodical is monolithic in the nature of its contents. Despite a general tendency in mainstream magazines to publish fiction and poetry of a conventional nature and criticism which rarely extends beyond appreciative reviews and literary gossip, occasionally work by prominent and innovative writers was included. Similarly, even the most radical
little magazines are rarely devoted wholly to experimental work. Writers of conservative tastes and habits often appeared alongside the most progressive young intellectuals. Indeed, journals and magazines must be read in an essentially different way from books and the shorter, individual items which often combine to form collections, anthologies, and the periodicals themselves. This relates to the very nature of periodicals as serially produced texts, and to their unique mode of production, the way in which they are assembled, and the role of individual editors or editorial groups. A magazine is precisely that, a magazine, a storehouse of often diverse items, and in even the most determinedly polemical and *avant-garde* little magazine, editorial control is at best partial. Any impression which might be gained that a particular magazine is the product of some unified controlling consciousness is soon dispersed by close examination of the contents, unless of course the entire magazine has in fact been written by the editor or editors, perhaps under a series of *nom de plumes*, a rare but not unknown event.28

The discussion of each magazine in this thesis opens with an account of the circumstances surrounding its establishment, drawing where possible on archival material. In fact, the availability of such material is very uneven. For example, whereas several very useful archives relating to *Phoenix* and *Book* are in existence (including the Denis Glover Papers held at the Alexander Turnbull Library),29 the entire archive of *Tomorrow* was destroyed by Kennaway Hender-

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28 This occurred, for example, with the first of the three issues of C.R. Allen’s magazine *The Wooden Horse* (1950-1952).

son in 1940 in response to the Government's de facto closure of the journal under emergency wartime regulations. The editorial papers of *New Zealand New Writing* disappeared following the demise of the Progressive Publishing Society in 1945. In contrast, the availability of editorial and other papers (supplemented with interviews and correspondence) relating to *Broadsheet, Hilltop* and *Arachne* makes possible a detailed discussion of the circumstances surrounding the publication of these very important Victoria University College magazines.

The magazines are then characterized in terms of their literary policies, their prominent contributors, and their importance to the wider literary culture within which they were published. Literary policies vary considerably among the periodicals surveyed, extending from the often radical manifestoes espoused in the *avant-garde* little magazines to the more commercially oriented editorial policies of the mainstream periodicals. They also vary in their clarity, from explicit pronouncements to merely implicit, often vague and inconsistent statements of intent. Where policies are deliberately announced in editorial statements the extent to which the policies are in fact implemented is measured in the course of examining the contents of the magazines.

Significant contributors of poetry and short fiction are identified and their work in the magazine discussed in terms of its significance both to the magazine itself and to the author's own literary career. A chronological approach is applied to each periodical, although in the case of long-running magazines the focus is generally maintained on the period 1930-1950. Critical discourse (articles, reviews and other items of literary interest) is discussed in the same terms, suggesting patterns of growth, ascendency and decline in particular
critical assumptions and practices. The literary periodical in New Zealand has been exceptionally important in such processes of cultural change. Finally, some estimate of the significance of the individual magazine to the development of the literature as a whole is made.

The degree of detail with which each magazine is discussed is determined both by its significance to New Zealand literature and by its longevity (hence the sheer amount of material in it). In the case of influential little magazines such as Phoenix, Book, New Zealand New Writing, Oriflamme and Sirocco, there is a more intensive discussion of the contents, on occasion including comment on textual differences between the original magazine appearance of well-known stories and poems and the revised form of their subsequent publication in collections and anthologies. Periodicals with longer runs are presented more selectively, since the literary material in them generally forms only a part (often quite a small part) of their more general contents. Tomorrow, the Mirror, Art in New Zealand, the New Zealand Railways Magazine, and the longer running university based magazines all fall into this category. In these chapters the emphasis falls on a selection of the more prominent literary contributors, although the objective of clarifying the role played by such periodicals in New Zealand's literary culture remains.

With the exception of a few avant-garde little magazines, along with Tomorrow and certain issues of the university annuals, the majority of periodicals published during the focal period of this study (1932-1947) showed a distinct preference for conventional fiction and poetry, described elsewhere as late
colonial in provenance. Poetry, or 'verse' as it was more usually referred to, often expressed nostalgia for the lost 'Home' of Great Britain or attempted a local scenic pictorialism (equally an expression of Anglo-centric alienation) whose central icons were tuis, kowhai blossoms, and the like. The publishers of one annual went so far as to adopt such an icon for their title, as a deliberate marketing device aimed at the Christmas gift market for relatives and friends of New Zealander's residing at 'Home.' *Rata* was published by Harry Tombs in three annual issues between 1931 and 1933 and edited by Charles Marris. Another instance is provided by the title and much of the contents of *Kowhai Gold*, Quentin Pope's anthology of verse which came to epitomise this iconographic use of distinctive features of the New Zealand landscape.\(^{30}\)

Although mainstream magazines in particular are full of such verse, they can be fruitfully read as expressions of the dominant social and cultural values of the time, and gradual shifts in national culture can be traced in the longer-run journals such as the *Mirror*. On the other hand, major shifts in literary taste can often first be discerned in the little magazines, which are often established to support such transformations. After failing to find a readership for his first self-published volumes of poetry, it was largely through the medium of *Phoenix* that R.A.K. Mason began to gain recognition.

With regard to short fiction, magazines prior to the mid-thirties are dominated by the sketch, which, as W.H. New and Lydia Wevers have demonstrated, proved to be the most vigorous genre in which to capture the

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flavour of the new land and register colonial anxieties of location and identity.\textsuperscript{31}

W.H. New defines the sketch in the following terms:

A sketch was short; it stressed the sensorily perceptible; it emerged at a time when the new sciences were declaring the need to collect and record observable data, and equating data with 'truth'; hence it came to communicate the 'factual' rather than the 'fictional' and therefore to be a form which implicitly countered the idealizing or escapist impulses of conventional art. . . . Throughout the history of the sketch, the central element the form has required is a sense of immediacy; the writer is (or the reader infers that the writer is) present as an observer.\textsuperscript{32}

Wevers has described these types of stories as 'represent[ing] experience as orally authenticated and basically documentary.'\textsuperscript{33} From their origins as scientific or pseudo-scientific essays in the periodical literature of eighteenth century Britain, they had become by the mid-1800s a prominent popular short fiction genre, exemplified by Dickens's first efforts, sketches 'from life' first published in various periodicals and gathered into Sketches by Boz (1836), appropriately subtitled Illustrative of Everyday Life and Everyday People. Transferred to a colonial context, the sketch provided writers with a set of ready-made conventions to record 'factual' details about the new land, as well as its nuances, its special characteristics and characters, and (later in the century) its unique idiom, the special form of English which had begun to be spoken in New Zealand. From the raw sketch to the somewhat more sophisticated yarns of A.A. Grace and A.H. Adams published in periodicals such as the Triad (1893-


\textsuperscript{32} New, Dreams of Speech and Violence 21-22.

\textsuperscript{33} Wevers, 'The Short Story' 205.
1923) and the *New Zealand Illustrated Magazine*, to the revolutionary sketches of Frank Sargeson in *Tomorrow*, the short story evolved largely through publication in the pages of magazines. This thesis provides an account of that progress, surveying not just Sargeson's appearances in *Tomorrow* but also the contributions of writers as varied as R.A.K. Mason, Allen Curnow, and Denis Glover (none of whom are generally known for their short fiction), as well as the early work of those writers described collectively as the 'sons of Sargeson,' including Roderick Finlayson, John Reece Cole, A.P. Gaskell, G.R. Gilbert, and David Ballantyne.

As implied above, literary magazine culture in the 1920s and after did not spring into existence from nowhere. In fact it had a long and varied history from the time of first European settlement in New Zealand. In *The Long Revolution*, Raymond Williams traces the development in Britain of the popular press from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries, positing as its source of growth not simply the spread of literacy among the middle and lower classes but also the development of new technologies of mass production and distribution made possible by the industrial revolution. By the mid-nineteenth century, newspaper and periodical production was sufficiently part of the British cultural milieu for newspapers and periodicals to play a role in the promotion and establishment of colonial New Zealand. Under the direction of missionaries and colonial entrepreneurs such as William Colenso and Edward Gibbon Wakefield, printing presses were among the first pieces of mass-production machinery to be set up

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in New Zealand's scattered colonial settlements. Indeed, it is generally regarded that the first New Zealand newspaper was published by Edward Gibbon Wakefield in London in 1839 on the very press subsequently shipped to New Zealand aboard the New Zealand Company vessel the 'Adelaide.' The printer Samuel Revens set up this press at Petone Beach and the second issue of the *New Zealand Gazette* was published there on 18 April 1840.\(^35\)

By 1858 some twenty-eight newspapers had been published, a remarkable number for an estimated European population of under 60,000 scattered thinly throughout the colony. By 1860 only a dozen of these publications survived but with the discovery of gold and the subsequent rapid increase in population and prosperity, one hundred and eighty-one newspapers were published between 1860 and 1879, although eighty-seven of these failed during the same period.\(^36\) Certain papers founded in the 1860s are still published today, including the *New Zealand Herald* and the *Otago Daily Times*.

Government or church sponsored newspapers in Maori and English were a major medium for the dissemination of information about British laws and customs to the Maori population, some of whom responded by publishing their own periodicals promoting their particular culture and interests. A press gifted to Wiremu Toetoe and Hemara Rerehau in 1859 by the Emperor Franz Josef of Austria was eventually set up at Ngaruawahia in the Waikato. In September 1861 it was used by the King Movement to print the first Maori language newspaper, *Te Hokoio o Nui Tireni e Rere atu na* (usually translated as *The War*


\(^36\) Scholefield, *Newspapers in New Zealand* 5.
Bird of New Zealand Soaring Above). The government eventually saw the need to counter Te Hokoio's growing influence and in 1863 published its own Maori language newspaper, Te Pihoihoi Mohemohe.37

Magazines were also important sites of colonial self-definition. While they were often venues for political commentary in the nascent colony, their primary objective was the naming and documentation of the land; its forms, peoples, flora and fauna. The short-lived New Zealand Magazine (1850), noted by T.M. Hocken as the first magazine to be published in New Zealand, printed accounts of geological and other scientific research conducted in New Zealand, with some general discussion of political matters. Literary content was minimal and of no lasting significance.38 Short-lived periodicals such as Zealandia (1889-1890) and the New Zealand Illustrated Annual (1880-1881) relied for much of their content on articles culled from overseas magazines, or on syndicated fiction.

From the late nineteenth century newspapers became (as in some cases they continue to be) important outlets for poetry and short fiction and for the reviewing and discussion of New Zealand literature, especially in their weekly editions. Following the end of the First World War literary editors such as Alan Mulgan of the Auckland Sun, J.H.E. Schroder of the Christchurch Press, and Charles Marris of the Christchurch Sun published an increasing number of New Zealand poets and short story writers in addition to book reviews and articles


surveying the state of the national literature. In addition to locally published newspapers, the Sydney *Bulletin* was also an important venue for New Zealand writers and poets from the 1880s until well into the twentieth century.\textsuperscript{39} From about the turn of the century, newspapers were increasingly supplemented by monthly and quarterly magazines eager to feature locally produced literary material. By the late 1920s several were well established, the most important of which are discussed at length in this thesis by virtue of their continued publication after 1932, including the university annuals, the *Mirror, Art in New Zealand*, and the *New Zealand Railways Magazine*.

Among other magazines published before 1932 one of the most prominent was the *Triad* (1893-1923). Founded by Charles Baeyertz, it was an important contributor to the intellectual and cultural development of late nineteenth and early twentieth century New Zealand society. Baeyertz was a highly respected purveyor of artistic (particularly musical) standards, and his often caustic critical judgements attracted a large local readership. He was less concerned with literature, although reviews and a column of literary gossip (appearing regularly from October 1893) did keep readers up to date with local and overseas developments. Following Frank Morton's appointment to the editorial staff in mid-1906 the *Triad* began to feature an increased number of items by local writers and literary journalists including Alice Kenny, A.H. Adams, Alfred Grace and Morton himself. In addition to over one hundred and thirty poems, plus numerous stories, articles and even a short play, Morton contributed regular

reviews of New Zealand books, developing a reputation as an arbiter of literary
taste comparable to Baeyertz's in the area of music criticism. Alfred Grace, for
example, described the *Triad*'s literary criticisms as 'true, if trenchant; helpful, if
ruthless; kindly, if mortifying to the incapable craftsman.' With the journal's
re-location to Sydney in late 1915 the New Zealand literary connection began to
decline, although familiar New Zealand contributors and a number of new ones
continued to appear. Prominent Australian contributors to the *Triad* in its later
years included Kenneth Slessor, Furnley Maurice, Mary Gilmore, and Cecil
Maṇn.

The *New Zealand Illustrated Magazine* (1899-1905) was a monthly published
in Auckland. It featured New Zealand poetry, stories, articles, and illustrations,
including half-tone photo-engravings of work by several nineteenth century New
Zealand landscape painters. A commitment by the editor, Thomas Cottle, to
producing a magazine with a definite New Zealand flavour led to contributions
by a representative range of writers active around the turn of the century,
including Jessie Mackay, Blanche Baughan, Jane Mander, Edith Searle Grossman,
Alan Mulgan, Edith Lyttleton (G.B. Lancaster), Will Lawson, Alice Kenny, Isabel
Cluett, Dora Wilcox, Alexander Currie, James Cowan, Elsdon Best, Apirana
Ngata, and Johannes C. Andersen, plus work by the artist Frances Hodgkins and
the cartoonist Kennaway Henderson.

The *Pioneer* was a family orientated magazine published in Timaru

40 A.A. Grace, 'Literary Criticism in New Zealand,' *Triad* 15.12 (March 1908): 19.
41 An index to the *New Zealand Illustrated Magazine* was compiled by G.C. Heron in
1943.
between 1905 and 1907 and was in many ways typical of several mainstream magazines published during the early years of the century. Although dominated by articles on sport, farming, current events, and local history, as well as social news, music and drama notes, fashion and children's pages, the *Pioneer* also published short fiction and poetry written by (among others) J.C. Andersen, Dulce Carman, T.M. Curnow, A.E. Currie, Jessie Mackay, and Dora Wilcox. From its inception until mid-1906 ten thousand copies were distributed free to homes in South Canterbury, 'between the Rakaia and Waitaki Rivers,'42 financed by a high percentage of advertising in the overall content of the magazine.

An early travel magazine with literary pretensions was the Union Steam Ship Company's *Red Funnel*, published in Dunedin between 1905 and 1909. Among a predominance of syndicated stories by popular British and American authors, it included fiction and poetry by C.R. Allen, Alice Kenny, Dulce Carman, and Isabel Cluett, as well as articles by Will Lawson, H. Guthrie-Smith, and James Cowan.

The literary journalist Pat Lawlor published two magazines with some literary content during the twenties. The first of these, *Aussie*, began as an Australian soldier's magazine in the trenches of World War One France, shifting publication to Sydney from April 1919. Lawlor became involved in 1923, when he began to edit a sixteen page New Zealand supplement to the Australian magazine. Consisting largely of cartoons, jokes and humorous stories portraying stereotypical and derogatory images of minority groups, particularly Māori, its

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42 *Pioneer* 1.11 (February 1906): 642.
humour was largely based on racial or cultural prejudice. Nine volumes of the New Zealand material were lodged by Lawlor with the Alexander Turnbull Library accompanied by the following note:

The New Zealand section first appeared in Aussie on April 14, 1923 and continued until the final issue of the magazine in January 1932. Until July 1931 the section was a separate entity and did not appear in the Australian edition. The N.Z. section contained prose and verse from many of the leading N.Z. writers of the time.\textsuperscript{43}

\textit{Aussie} is notable chiefly for its publication of several poems and articles by Robin Hyde, a story and an article by A.R.D. Fairburn, and contributions by many key figures in 1920s New Zealand literary and journalistic life, including S.G. August, Dulce Carman, James Cowan, Una Currie, Alice A. Kenny, Will Lawson, Margaret Macpherson, Tom L. Mills, Alan Mulgan, Quentin Pope, Nelle M. Scanlan, J.J. Stroud, Winifred Tennant, and Mona Tracy. Many contributors to \textit{Aussie} were also regular contributors to other magazines of the period, including the \textit{New Zealand Railways Magazine} and the \textit{Mirror}.

Lawlor also owned and edited the \textit{New Zealand Artists’ Annual} (1926-1932), a periodical very similar in tone and content to \textit{Aussie}, of interest for contributions by Robin Hyde, Eileen Duggan, Jessie Mackay and A.R.D. Fairburn. A tribute in the \textit{Annual} by Fairburn to R.A.K. Mason rails against the very philistinism Lawlor’s magazine seems determined to cultivate. After supplying his version of the story of Mason’s exasperated disposal of ‘a bundle of two hundred’ copies of his collection \textit{The Beggar} off the end of Queen’s Wharf, Auckland, Fairburn concludes: ‘There seems very little hope of establishing a

\textsuperscript{43} Autograph note, Lawlor’s hand, signed ‘Pat Lawlor, 1924’ [sic]. Alexander Turnbull Library Serial Collection. See also Lawlor’s \textit{Confessions of a Journalist} (Wellington: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1935).
native literature in New Zealand as long as the people of that country continue to ignore the claims of talent of this sort." If the Artists' Annual fell short of its aim to be, as expressed in its subtitle, 'An Annual Devoted to the Interests of Art and Literature in New Zealand,' it did play a minor role, giving material support to writers during a period when payment for their work was hard to procure. Many of the same personnel who appeared in Aussie are to found in the Annual, with the notable addition of C.R. Allen and Jane Mander. In addition to Lawlor, the Artists’s Annual was largely the work of cartoonists Ken Alexander, Gordon Minhinnick, Frank Bush, A.S. Paterson and Fred Alexander, the 'Artists' of the title.

If Phoenix was preceded by few periodicals of lasting literary interest, the appearance of Landfall in 1947 heralded a veritable flood of little magazines. Many of these were published in direct response to Landfall's rapid occupation of a pivotal position in New Zealand's literary and cultural life. The group of young poets, writers, and critics who had first flexed their literary muscle in the pages of Phoenix emerged in the years immediately following the war as the dominant generation in New Zealand literature. They supported Brasch more or less en masse, seeing Landfall as the fruition of the ideas they first developed as students in the early thirties. But even as they were taking up their respective roles as critical arbiters and literary academics, as well as continuing to produce important creative work, a new generation was emerging, many of them students and many eager to follow the dimly perceived example of Phoenix

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and give voice to their ideas through the pages of little magazines. Of these, those published at the various university colleges after 1947 are discussed in Chapter Six, including Canterbury Lambs, Broadsheet, Hilltop and Arachne. Others to emerge in the fifties from the wider literary community, including Numbers, Mate, Fernfire, Image; Here & Now and Comment, are not dealt with here.

The following thesis provides a comprehensive description of literary magazine culture in New Zealand, especially as it developed during the 1930s and 1940s. While the initial focus is on those periodicals which rightly occupy a prominent place in New Zealand's literary history, the study is also concerned with a group of magazines which, for the most part, have not previously been studied. These include the many minor little magazines published during the thirties and forties, and several mainstream magazines with only a secondary interest in publishing material of a literary nature. Discussion of magazines such as the New Zealand Mercury, Quill, Spilt Ink, New Triad, the Mirror and New Zealand Railways Magazine, reveals a vigorous popular literary culture largely ignored by most historians of the subject. The personnel responsible for these magazines, including Noel Farr Hoggard, Helen Longford, Charles Marris, G.G. Stewart, and their numerous contributors, all deserve more attention than even this study can provide.
CHAPTER TWO

PHOENIX (1932-1933)

'Will the bird perish,
Shall the bird rise?'¹

Men can do nothing without the make-believe of a
beginning. . . . No retrospect will take us to the true
beginning; and whether our prologue be in heaven
or on earth, it is but a fraction of that all-presup­
po sing fact with which our story sets out.²

2.1 Introduction

It has been argued that it was with the Depression of the early nineteen
thirties that New Zealand writing began at last to be neither 'painfully derivative
[nor] self-consciously indigenous.'³ The Depression was seen as a catalyst
serving to arouse in local writers a sense of solidarity with their society, so that
they became, to quote A.R.D. Fairburn, 'willing to partake, internally as well as
externally, of the anarchy of life in a new place and, by [their] creative energy,
give that life form and consciousness.'⁴ Robin Hyde, writing at the end of the
decade, felt that:

¹ Motto printed on the cover pages of the first two numbers of Phoenix, 1.1 (March
1932) and 1.2 (July 1932).
⁴ A.R.D. Fairburn, 'Some Aspects of N.Z. Art and Letters,' Art in New Zealand 6.4
(1934): 216.
The depression had a stimulating effect on the thought and culture of rebellious young minds, in a silent country which at least [sic] learned to be articulate.5

However, while this may be true, Terry Sturm has long since sounded a warning against any over-simplified view of New Zealand literature prior to World War Two.

The group of poets who have since come to be called, variously, the generation of the thirties, or the Phoenix or Curnow generation did not all begin writing in the thirties; nor, except for Ursula Bethell, Robin Hyde and perhaps A.R.D. Fairburn, were the thirties the most poetically productive years for most of the group.6

In particular, the poets R.A.K. Mason and D'Arcy Cresswell were significant contributors to the emerging literature of the twenties. Both these writers' initial involvement with Phoenix seems to have been in the role of elder poets to the younger group of men who initiated the periodical. Mason's eventual role as editor and his transformation of the periodical into a far more politically engaged publication is documented below. Cresswell, on the other hand, did not contribute anything beyond his letter of welcome and encouragement to the periodical, published in the first issue.7 His Poet’s Progress was reviewed by Charles Brasch in the same number,8 but his absence from New Zealand and his determination to succeed in England during this period, served to draw his energy away from Phoenix.

7 D'Arcy Cresswell, 'Culture and Puberty,' Phoenix 1.1 (March 1932): N. pag.
Phoenix's emergence from the enclave of the Auckland University College can be read as a response to the same kind of analysis of New Zealand culture articulated in 1930 in the writings of the economic and social historian J.B. Condliffe. He bemoaned the lack of intellectual development in New Zealand, due he believed to inadequate higher education.\(^9\) He saw New Zealand as dominated by a 'satisfied conservatism and even mediocrity',\(^{10}\) and felt there had been little change since William Pember Reeves, in his *The Long White Cloud: Ao te a roa* (1898), 'very rightly emphasised the comparative poverty of literary expression' in New Zealand.\(^{11}\)

The single most discussed periodical in New Zealand's literary history, *Phoenix* was long promoted as the originating moment of a distinctive New Zealand literature. As the site of first or significant early publication of a number of writers who were to dominate local literary endeavour well into mid-century, and as a harbinger of such later periodicals as *Tomorrow* (1934-1940) and *Landfall* (1947-), its importance cannot be underestimated. *Phoenix*'s stance was avowedly contemporary and international, and an examination of its pages reveals surprisingly little local reference. With regard to the literary content only, there is a strong sense of contributors striving to emulate such proponents of English modernism as T.S. Eliot, D.H. Lawrence, and Middleton Murry, while avoiding any overt reference to their own particular place and time, New

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\(^{10}\) Condliffe, *New Zealand in the Making* 459.

\(^{11}\) Condliffe, *New Zealand in the Making* 462.
Zealand in the early thirties. This was in part due to the internationalist
tendency in modernist literature itself, its consciousness of the western world as
homogenised and anonymous, and in part a rejection of the too earnest incorpor-
ation in much local literature of key signifying tropes of locale, epitomised by
the *Kowhai Gold* anthology edited by Quentin Pope and published in 1930.\(^\text{12}\)

Of greater significance than the specific items published in its pages, is
the role *Phoenix* took as a literary catalyst, bringing together a remarkable group
of poets and writers who were to go on over the following two decades to
develop a distinctly New Zealand body of work, a great deal of it published in
later periodicals which themselves owed much to *Phoenix's* ground-breaking
exertions. A little magazine in the truest sense of the term, *Phoenix* served as a
significant outlet for a group of *avant-garde* writers who by the late forties had
established themselves as the core of a new and influential force in New Zealand
literary and wider culture.

The immediate genesis of *Phoenix* out of the more pedestrian student
publications of Auckland University College (*Kiwi* and the student newspaper
*Craccum*) is discussed later in this thesis. The rapidity of the magazine's
'mythologisation,' its swift elevation to the status of a major moment in New
Zealand's literary development, can be seen in the publication in 1933 of an
article by J.A.W. Bennett, himself a prominent contributor to *Phoenix*, written for
the *Golden Jubilee Book of the Auckland University College*.\(^\text{13}\) The appearance of


\(^{13}\) J.A.W. Bennett, 'Habent sua fata libelli: A Note on the Literature of the College,' *Golden
Jubilee Book of the Auckland University College: 1883-1933*, ed. E.H. Blow (Auckland:
(continued...)

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Phoenix signalled for Bennett that the University College's, and by implication the nation's, 'intellectual history has begun.'\(^{14}\) Certainly, while its publication may be said to mark what Denis Glover was to describe, somewhat inaccurately, as '[o]ur typographical nascence,'\(^{15}\) it was the later reflections of its chief participants, commenting in their acquired roles as academics and editors, that served to ensure for Phoenix a special place in New Zealand literary history.\(^{16}\)

Writing in Book in 1946, in an article which went a long way towards establishing Robert Lowry's reputation as the father of modern New Zealand printing and typography, Glover described the four issues of Phoenix in the following terms.

It [Volume One, number one] ran to fifty-two pages, demy octavo, and if it is not typographically distinguished it is certainly a triumph over difficulties. With July came Number Two, bearing the grandiloquent imprint 'Auckland: at the University Press.' It was a tremendous improvement, and is, to my mind, still one of the happiest of Lowry's achievements. The title-page, with the phoenix device in red, and faced by a small lino-cut, makes an instant appeal. The contents list is remarkable for a traditional use of roman caps with italic lower-case in a Caslon Old Face which is also used for the text.

\(^{13}\)(...continued)
Auckland University College Students' Association, 1933) 49-52.

\(^{14}\) Bennett, 'Habent sua fata libelli' 51.


With Volume Two Number One it is a different story. *Phoenix* is now a quarto, and except for a good title-page it is important without being gracious. Chunky two-colour lino-cuts excite little admiration now, and headings are rather bleakly handled Gill Sans, then a newcomer in these astonied shores. From its exciting cover in large Caslon Old Face (surely the most ruggedly satisfying of all types) Volume Two Number Two leads us to expect an old style journal. But we don't get it. The title-page consists of three asymmetrical dollops of Gill Sans, standing round like people who haven't been introduced at a party; and the headings, except on page one, are mean affairs. Initial letters throughout are unsatisfactory, as they always are unless made or trimmed to range exactly with a specified number of lines. This number is at first glance unimpressive - the lino-cuts are on a yellow paper - and is ingeniously printed on a laid duplicating.\(^17\)

Charles Brasch summed up what he perceived to be the literary and cultural significance of the periodical in the following terms.

> It [*Phoenix*] had more than served its purpose. It announced the birth of a new literature. It struck the first notes of informed, adult inquiry and criticism in a hitherto complacent, uncritical, incurious society: criticism which was independent of the economic situation, based on a perception of values drawn from literature. At once it brought New Zealand, which was usually a generation behind the times in cultural matters, into the post-war world. That great advance must not be abandoned, and from the time *Phoenix* died, James [Bertram], Ian [Milner], Jack Bennett, other friends and I began talking about another journal to succeed it.\(^18\)

That other journal was of course *Landfall*, although two others, *Tomorrow* and *Book*, stand between it and *Phoenix*.

\(^{17}\) Denis Glover, Typography: Bob Lowry's Books,' *Book* 8 (August 1946): N. pag.

2.2 Editorial Policies and Critical Responses

The following section discusses the circumstances surrounding the production of *Phoenix* by Robert Lowry, the changing editorial personnel and policies of the magazine, and the responses each issue received in the student and public press.

Robert Lowry, or 'Caxton Lowry' as he styled himself during the early thirties, 19 eighteen years of age and enrolled as a scholarship student at the Auckland University College, began his professional career as a printer, typographer and publisher with the preparation of *Phoenix*. The first issue is the earliest accessible specimen of his emerging typographical style. 20 In mid-1929 Lowry had managed to purchase a Golding hand-platen press with, as he put it to Glover, 'a font of 9 pt Hadlow Roman oldface medium newspaper type,' 21 for a total cost of £2-10-0. In early 1931, after some experimental attempts at printing with lino-type, he approached the Literary Sub-Committee of the Auckland University College Dramatic Club with an offer to print a magazine for the Club. This was to be little more than an in-house journal, detailing the activities of the club, including, as Lowry reported to Glover in May 1931, transcripts of papers delivered to club meetings, critiques of these papers, as well as

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20 For a full account of the early career of Robert Lowry and of his involvement in the production of *Phoenix* see Peter Hughes, "Sneer, Jeers . . . and Red Rantings": Bob Lowry’s Early Printing at Auckland University College,’ *Turnbull Library Record* 22.1 (May 1989): 5-31.

21 Lowry, letter to Glover, 2 May 1929, Glover Papers, Folder 1. Quoted in Hughes, "Sneers, Jeers" 5. This letter was not able to be located by this researcher in the Glover Papers.
minor papers for which we haven't time at next [sic] meeting: selected passages from the works of authors to be next discussed, illustrating special characteristics: and general [sic].

In the same letter, Lowry adds:

[i]n addition to this to defray expenses of linotype (for I am too experienced to be caught handsetting [sic]) we shall sell the mag [sic] at a 'good and sufficient price' and undertake printing for the other clubs.

Two months later Lowry was ambitiously speculating on the possible production of far more than simply a club magazine.

I really think my true vocation would be encouraging literature in N.Z. There are at least half a dozen men at A.U.C. capable of turning out excellent steady work. Genius is a little harder to come by. . . . I think that we'd need more than one magazine to fit the bill: one for litterateurs and dilettantes as you [Glover] suggest: another after the style of *Argosy* to consist of the better class of short stories: and possibly even an inexpensive publication for the masses of a humorous type - rather more healthily humorous than *Aussie* or *Humour*.

The offer to print a magazine was 'gratefully accepted' by a combined meeting of the Literary and Dramatic Sub-Committees of the College Dramatic Club on 20 November 1931. Lowry was duly elected Business Manager for the new enterprise, and immediately 'empowered to purchase type for the magazine . . . [with] . . . £2 be allotted from the funds of the club for that purpose.' At the same meeting a committee was elected to oversee the production of the magazine. James Bertram was elected Editor, along with an editorial committee.

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22 Lowry, letter to Glover, 3 May 1931, Glover Papers, Folder 3.
23 Lowry, letter to Glover, 3 May 1931, Glover Papers, Folder 3.
24 Lowry, letter to Glover, 15 July 1931, Glover Papers, Folder 3.
25 Auckland University College Literary Club Minute Book, University of Auckland Library, MSS & Archives, E-5, Folder 1.
26 Auckland University College Literary Club Minute Book.
consisting of Rilda Gorrie, Rona Munro, Jean Alison, D.H. Monro, Allen Curnow and Blackwood Paul.

By January 1932 the editorial committee's plans had consolidated around the idea of a single magazine, to be called *Farrago*, 'a sort of junior edition' of Middleton Murry's *Adelphi*, 'but not so blasted highbrow.' The title *Phoenix* was eventually settled upon. A note in the first number of the magazine explains its derivation, and that of the cover page device and motto, in the following terms:

The device on the title page is adapted from a signet-ring given by D.H. Lawrence to Middleton Murry at Christmas 1923, when the latter was engaged in establishing the *New Adelphi*. It was sent with this accompanying note: 'To the old raven, in the act of becoming a new phoenix,' and bore the motto here reproduced.

With its critical allegiances thus declared, the first issue appeared late in March 1932, although only after many difficulties caused by limited typographical and technical facilities and considerable geographical separation between editor and printer.

Lowry spent most of the summer break at his parents' home near Paeroa, while Bertram travelled to the South Island. In Paeroa Lowry allied himself to a local printer, with whom he exchanged labour for 'the use of type (and presses when they're not in use).'

Progress was slow, partly due to a lack of copy ('the blasted editor simply will not send the stuff in decently') and partly due to the state of the printery, which was 'in an absolutely filthy condition,' with (in an ominous prefiguring of Lowry's own career) 'the owner bound to have to close

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27 Lowry, letter to Glover, 11 January 1932, Glover Papers, Folder 5.

28 *Phoenix* 1.1 (March 1932): N. pag. The motto is reproduced at the head of this chapter.

down in a few days.\textsuperscript{30} Bertram visited Paeroa to check on progress and Lowry set out to impress his editor:

I've got a picturesquely Italian black sateen working shirt that I scrambled into for his benefit and timbered around doing technical things to the presses, things I'd only learnt a day or two before, as if all this sort of thing was catsmeat [sic] to me ever since childhood.\textsuperscript{31}

As it happened, the nominated deadline for publication of 7 March, the first day of term for 1932, was well past before the printing of \textit{Phoenix} was in fact finished. Lowry's valiant efforts in Paeroa and Auckland were of no avail in the face of persistently late copy. On 9 March he wrote an exasperated letter to Glover from the College Library, complaining that

Bertram sent me a 20 page review to Paeroa on Saturday 5th inst [sic], finished his four-page editorial last night, gave me Cresswell's stuff yesterday and is trying to get R.A.K. Mason to concoct him a short story.\textsuperscript{32}

The only event to offset Lowry's frustration was the arrival of some long awaited type, although not in time to influence the appearance of the issue. This was so typographically dishevelled that Lowry insisted on the insertion into the issue of the following note:

Many Readers will no doubt have remarked the somewhat bedraggled appearance of the \textit{Phoenix} in this first stage of its flight. It may perhaps be worth pointing out that certain pages of this number cannot be considered at all representative of the standard of typography to be maintained in future issues. The bulk of the letterpress was produced (as is explained elsewhere) under conditions of extraordinary difficulty unlikely to occur again.

\textsuperscript{30} Lowry, letter to Glover, 25 February 1932, Glover Papers, Folder 5.
\textsuperscript{31} Lowry, letter to Glover, 25 February 1932, Glover Papers, Folder 5.
\textsuperscript{32} Lowry, letter to Glover, 9 March 1932, Glover Papers, Folder 5.
At the earnest request of what may be styled (with rather undue impressiveness) the Printing Department, this notice is inserted by

The Editors

In his opening editorial to the first number of *Phoenix*, 'The Cause of it all' (the same title had been used by Murry for the first editorial of the *New Adelphi*), Bertram apologised for 'typographical flaws and inconsistencies.'

If the critical reader can only envisage the peculiarly trying conditions under which the greater part of the present issue was prepared, with the Editor seldom separated by less than five hundred miles from his Printer-Manager, and often inaccessible to communication, perhaps he will be a little forgiving. There were no proof-sheets; for the supply of type only ran to a page at a time. The whole magazine, therefore, was hand-set and printed by one heroic individual, and in several different places at that.

The apology was generally deemed unnecessary, although John Mulgan (editor of *Craccum* for 1932) couldn't resist a slight squib in the student newspaper ('the phoenix out monday: only a limited supply of capitals available') below a rather unwarranted headline to a review of the issue by John Dumble. Dumble in fact applauded the 'excellence of its form,' stating that

[in printing, design, arrangement and general layout, it is so singularly appropriate that there is no exaggeration in describing it as a work of art reflecting the greatest credit on the taste and discrimination of those responsible; and the flaws and inconsistencies to which the editorial draws attention are not important enough greatly to detract from the general impression which one receives.]

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33 Note inserted into *Phoenix* 1.1. Original punctuation.


35 John Dumble, 'Our Young Contemporaries - Some Unkind Thoughts on the *Phoenix*,' *Craccum* 10 May 1932: 8.

36 Dumble, 'Our Young Contemporaries' 8.
The contents of the periodical were less warmly received. Dumble felt that *Phoenix* had fallen short of its avowed aim of contributing to the development of New Zealand literature.

If the *Phoenix* is to be any use to New Zealand literature at all, primarily it must collect and publish original literary work - work that is the delineation, the interpretation in the finest possible artistic form of the life that we are living - work that gathers, blends, moulds, and communicates experience in ways that will construct new meanings for us - meanings capable of immediate possession and enjoyment, and instrumental for further consummatory experience. If there is no such work there is no reason for the *Phoenix* to exist - if there is print it.37

Dumble was in part responding to the high expectations set by Bertram in his editorial. There Bertram stated that, while the journal had its genesis in the Literary Club of the Auckland University College,

it was decided to launch out beyond the confines of this college, and to try to establish something of dominion significance.38

While such aspirations were applauded by Dumble, John Mulgan and their fellow commentators in *Craccum* and elsewhere, it was also generally felt that the new periodical failed to meet its target, largely because of an excess of criticism and an insufficiency of original literary material: 'in fifty-two pages of print there are only seven pages of what can truly be described as original literary work.'39 This criticism was to dog the periodical throughout its short life, intensifying with Mason's editorship. Despite his conservative estimate of what constituted 'original literary work,' Dumble was supportive of the new venture, and acknowledged the promise shown by the first issue.

37 Dumble, 'Our Young Contemporaries' 9-10.
38 Bertram, 'The Cause of it all' N. pag.
39 Dumble, 'Our Young Contemporaries' 9.
I would like to end this review with an appeal for recognition of the very real and valuable energy and enthusiasm which have gone into the production of the Phoenix. It may be that some readers, exasperated by the ungainly antics and various cries of the bird, are inclined to ring its neck. Yet even a phoenix, new-risen from the fire, may without dishonour admit to a little huskiness of the throat and some stiffness of the joints. It is a beautiful bird and perhaps in the future it will learn to sing and soar. For a year at least, or until we are sure it will do neither, I think it deserves our support.40

Elsewhere in the same and subsequent issues of Craccum Mulgan and other writers were often less charitable, mocking Phoenix in satirical articles on 'free verse' or otherwise deriding its political and literary radicalism. There was even an amusingly satiric attack on what was perceived to be an excessive use of foreign and Latin phrases by Bertram in his introductory editorial.41

The first issue also received notice in the New Zealand Herald, where the un-named reviewer saw the 'gaily clad little publication . . . as a safety valve for the ebullient opinions of youth.'42 Disapproving of the contributors' preoccupation with a 'lavish shower of famous literary names of the moment,' the only item specifically referred to by the reviewer was a story by Rilda Gorrie, 'Crade [sic] Likeness,'43 preferred for 'its unacademic air.' Finally, however, the reviewer concluded his comments with the following words of encouragement.

It may be that at present the contributors are running over a shade too much with intellect, but as long as the Phoenix holds to its present policy of keeping its pulse sensitive to modern trends of thought, while not being unmindful that tradition has its value

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40 Dumble, 'Our Young Contemporaries' 10.

41 Unattributed, 'The Impressions and Opinions of an English-Speaking Student (Guaranteed all English, as now written),' Craccum, 10 May 1932: 12.


too, one can hold out a welcoming hand and predict for it a useful future.\textsuperscript{44}

While the first issue was acknowledged, albeit briefly, as far afield as the \textit{Times} of London, the extent of the distribution of \textit{Phoenix} cannot easily be assessed. The \textit{Times} notice was reproduced in the second issue, accompanied by a cartoon depicting the measuring of the periodical, its dimensions being one of the few points noted in the short acknowledgement.\textsuperscript{45} Allen Curnow recalled in 1992 that

the print-run for Vol.1, no.1 was 250 - one or other of the next two issues was 500 - there were 750 of the last, some of which were sold (quite quickly, I was told) on Queen Street [Auckland's main shopping thoroughfare].\textsuperscript{46}

Copies were forwarded to the other three University Colleges, where by the third number 'subscription representatives' had been appointed. Late in 1932 Lowry offered Denis Glover the role of \textit{Phoenix} representative at Canterbury College,\textsuperscript{47} a role eventually taken by Jean Stevenson.\textsuperscript{48} In keeping with the 'dominion wide' brief of the magazine, review copies were also sent to the editors of key periodicals and newspapers throughout New Zealand, as evidenced by the reviews which subsequently appeared.

Production of the second issue in mid-1932 was somewhat better organised than that of the first, partly because Lowry was much better equipped

\textsuperscript{44} Unattributed, 'University Periodical: Promising Publication' 8.

\textsuperscript{45} 'Press Notice,' \textit{Phoenix} 1.2 (July 1932): 43.

\textsuperscript{46} Allen Curnow, letter to the author, 23 October 1992.

\textsuperscript{47} Lowry, letter to Glover, 13 September 1932, Glover Papers, Folder 5.

\textsuperscript{48} Later Jean Bertram. Named Christchurch Subscription Representative in both issues of Volume Two.
with machinery and type thanks to a financial commitment to the establishment of a Press made by the Students’ Association. As he gleefully if a little inaccurately reported to Glover in June 1932,

the Student [sic] Association have shelled out to the tune of £50 for a power press size f’cap folio (about 10” x 15”) and etceteras and a further £11 for a motor to operate same complete with rheostat to run the outfit at any speed from dead slow to 2000 impressions/hour. The chief beauty of the scheme is that not only have I got them to procure me this little gewgaw and a large and comprehensive supply of good type and falldedals to play around with, but they are actually going to pay me for playing with it. The terms are 25% of all profits go to me, the remainder going into a special fund which I can call upon at any time for further supplies of type and other materials. In short, the egg of a N.Z. Univ. Press has been fertilised and all that now remains to do is watch it grow.49

While this was a considerably smaller investment than that originally suggested to the Executive by Lowry (a proposal which involved, among other items, the purchase of a new printing press)50 it was nevertheless sufficient to allow him to set up an operational printery in the basement of the Choral Hall on Symonds Street.

However, Lowry did not entirely abandon his plan to set up a properly equipped ‘N.Z. Univ. Press.’ If he could not have it in fact, then he would create it as a fiction and the colophon to the second issue of Phoenix unambiguously states that it was printed and published by Lowry for the Literary Club ‘At The University Press.’ This claim raised the ire of the Registry, and Lowry was

49 Lowry, letter to Glover, 26 June [1932], Glover Papers, Folder 1. Lowry’s proposal was first put to the Students’ Executive on 29 April 1932, and after referral to the Association’s Business Manager, A.P. Postlewaite, was accepted on 6 May 1932. Auckland University College Student Executive Minutebook 1929-1933, Auckland University Students’ Association Archive.

50 Lowry, letter to Glover, 1 April 1932, Glover Papers, Folder 5.
called before Sir George Fowlds, President of the College, to explain this use of 'a name which is reserved for the official press of an institution and has a very definite signification.'\textsuperscript{51} Having gained their attention, the following month (September) and again in November 1932\textsuperscript{52} Lowry approached the University authorities with his scheme for the purchase of a new cylinder printing press of British manufacture, valued at £285 and capable of 3,600 impressions per hour.\textsuperscript{53} The scheme was rejected outright by the University College Council.\textsuperscript{54}

Meanwhile, James Bertram had been awarded a Rhodes Scholarship to study at Oxford University, and before leaving Auckland for a pilgrimage south to Waitaki and Dunedin, edited the contents of the second issue of \textit{Phoenix}, dated July 1932 but not published until mid-August. Lowry's aspirations to become editor in place of Bertram were dashed by the election of R.A.K. Mason to the position, but his disappointment was tempered by his enthusiasm for the printery. In a letter to Glover (signed 'Caxton II') written just prior to the publication of Volume 1, number 2, he declared confidently that

\textit{Phoenix} is going to be a pretty good thing this time, from the typographical viewpoint at least. The matter is not bad. Much more 'original creative' stuff than was . . . in the first number.

\textsuperscript{51} University Registrar, letter to Robert Lowry, 22 August 1932. University of Auckland Registrar's Section Archives, General Correspondence 1927-1936, Box 51.

\textsuperscript{52} Lowry, letter to the Chairman of the Professorial Board, 12 September 1932; Lowry, letter to the Chairman of the University Finance Committee, 14 November 1932, University of Auckland Registrar's Section Archives, General Correspondence 1927-1936, Box 51.

\textsuperscript{53} L.G. Hughton (Alex. Cowan & Sons Ltd), letter to the Registrar, Auckland University College, 8 September 1932, Registrar's Archives, Box 51.

\textsuperscript{54} Acting Registrar, letter to Lowry, 22 November 1932, Registrar's Archives, Box 51.
Though there is a (somewhat subdued) Bertramish flavour about the thing still.55

Improvements between the first and second issues are attributed by Ronald Holloway to the involvement of L.D. Morrison and 'a professional printer' called Markham.56 Holloway was working alongside Lowry on the Students' Association Press from mid-1932, and is identified in the colophon to the third number as co-printer of the issue with Lowry. Morrison, an architectural student, contributed a number of lino-cuts to this and subsequent issues of Phoenix, as well as having a hand in the design of the magazine.

Writing in Craccum, John Mulgan reviewed the second issue himself, for the most part favourably, concluding with the comment that '[o]n the whole this is a production still worth the shilling which its publishers demand.'57 In two letters in the same issue Lowry first unleashed a vitriolic riposte to several attacks on Phoenix published in previous issues of Craccum58 and then presented two humorous definitions of a 'printer and a 'typographical advisor,' written in response to some uncertainty expressed at the recent Annual General Meeting of the Literary Club over his elected position as 'honorary typographical advisor and printer'59 on the Phoenix Sub-committee of the Club. The definitions are worth quoting.

55 Lowry, letter to Glover, 24 July [1932], Glover Papers, Folder 5.

56 Holloway, interview with Jean Bartlett, October 1976, quoted in Hughes, 'Sneers, Jeers' 12.


58 Robert Lowry, ('Caxton Lowry'), 'Every Student a Printer,' Craccum 22 September 1932: 8.

59 Annual General Meeting of the Literary Club, 8 September 1932, 'Dramatic Club Minute Book,' Auckland University Library, MSS & Arch, E-22: 61.
A 'printer,' as defined by the Royal College of Surgeons, is a person whose consumption of liquor is so large that his eyes fail to line up by two ems and a non-pareil. His conversation is always in 72 points heavy face, set solid, with a shriek four picas away in the other direction.

A typographer in terms of the Orchards Inspection Act of 09 is a spindly son of a gun with long hair, long finger nails, and a long bill at the tobacconists. His nose is same shade as blue laid ledger, quad crowned seventy, his top margin is a little thin and his gutters all to glory, but otherwise he dummies to perfection.60

If these first two issues of March and September 1932 were coloured by the social and political circumstances of the period, Charles Brasch considered such events to be less influential on editorial policy than, as he put it,

the stimulus of English writers who had not yet been recognised in this country, acting upon the self-awareness of the literary and social consciousness of a few young New Zealanders. [Phoenix's] begetters were D.H. Lawrence (from whom the title and the emblem were taken), John Middleton Murry (with Katherine Mansfield behind him), and T.S. Eliot; it invoked Murry's journal the Adelphi as its mentor.61

In his memoirs Brasch gives an account of the preparation of the first issue of Phoenix.

At the end of January 1932 James [Bertram], Ian [Milner], and I spent a week-end at the Milners' bach at Waianakarua, where we wrote a good deal of that first number of the Phoenix. . . I seem to remember that the weekend was damp and rather chilly, that we sat up late at night writing and talking, and got up late in the morning.62

That Brasch was so involved (at least in his own account) with the production of this first number is appropriate considering the direct line between Phoenix

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61 Brasch, Indirections 186-187.
62 Brasch, Indirections 185. Possibly because neither Brasch nor Milner were enrolled at Auckland University College their names do not appear on the list of Editorial Committee members published in Phoenix.
and *Landfall*. *Phoenix* can be considered a sort of proto-*Landfall*, its publication motivated by many of the same aspirations as those which Brasch and his associates entertained for the later periodical.

As with *Landfall*, *Phoenix* deliberately claimed an English progenitor while attempting to differentiate itself from local and contemporary publications. By openly associating itself with Middleton Murry's *New Adelphi* (subscribed to by the Literary Club of the Auckland University College from 1931 until early 1934), *Phoenix* both elevated its nascent literary status and asserted its up-to-the-minute modernity. The response by the New Zealand literary establishment to that self-assertion has been noted above in the discussion of the *New Zealand Herald* review of the first issue.

In a note on the imprint page of Volume One, number one, we learn that 'the watchword of this paper is "Disinterested Enthusiasm for an Ideal,"' echoing the Arnoldian sentiments of the *Adelphi*. The editorial which follows takes its title, 'The Cause of it all,' from the opening editorial of that English journal. The 'ideal' pursued was:

- the integration of national consciousness,
- the focusing of contemporary opinion on local needs,
- the creation of cultural antennae,
- the communication of definite standards of taste,
- the 'redeeming of the times.'

The *Phoenix* aims at giving intelligent people a place where they can write about things that matter. . . . The background of *Phoenix* is literary; its policy aesthetic . . . [amounting to

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63 On 11 April 1931, it was moved that the Society subscribe to 'standard literary periodicals.' A sub-committee comprising M.G. Sullivan, Blackwood Paul, and J.M. Beshant was assigned responsibility. On 24 June 1931 this sub-committee reported that *The Adelphi* had been ordered on behalf of the club. Literary Club Minute Book, 24 June 1931. Kendrick Smithyman points out that copies of *transition*, a modernist periodical which he considers 'had a very evident effect on Lowry,' were held by R.P. Anschutz, an academic of some influence with the group of students responsible for *Phoenix*. Kendrick Smithyman, note to author, 18 December 1994.
a) belief in the potency of culture as a spiritualising agency.  

Furthermore, Bertram added:

its interests do not stop with literature. In any modern paper with pretensions to seriousness . . . some political reflections must take place.  

It was this 'political reflection' which was to colour the periodical 'ramping red' when Mason took over as editor.

On a deeper level there was, to quote E.H. McCormick,

implicit in the undertaking . . . a conviction that things of the mind and spirit were worth considering, worth writing about, indeed worth suffering for. *Phoenix* was a challenge to New Zealand complacency and to the supremacy of material standards. More than this, it was a challenge to the attitude of timid provincialism which had characterised New Zealand writing in the earlier years of the century.  

While James Bertram has asserted that 'the original *Phoenix* group was fairly representative of the early thirties,' the truth of this is clearly debatable. The students responsible for the first two issues were for the most part members of a privileged class, well- educated and, although geographically isolated from the intellectual mainstream of modernist thought, closely attuned to it through books and periodicals similar to the one they were intent on creating. Though

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64 James Bertram, 'The Cause of it all,' *Phoenix* 1.1 (March 1932): N. pag.

65 This statement aligns *Phoenix* even more with the *Adelphi* from which it took so much inspiration. Furthermore, in his article 'The Challenge of Russia,' *Phoenix* 1.1 (March 1932): N. pag., Charles Brasch makes direct reference to Murry's article 'Defence of Possessions,' published in the October 1931 issue of the *Adelphi*.


they may have been young, idealistic and acutely aware of the poverty and suffering beyond the College gates, members of the original Phoenix editorial committee, with the notable exception of Robert Lowry, were largely insulated from poverty and unemployment. Among all those associated with Phoenix during the entire two years of its publication, only Mason, Fairburn and to a lesser extent Lowry, were to any obvious degree motivated by actual personal suffering under the exigencies of the Depression, and their responses to the situation were more than coloured by fierce, if divergent, political awareness and commitment.

R.A.K. Mason's election to the editorship of Phoenix was mooted as early as late July 1932, prior to the publication of Bertram's last number. Some years later Mason recollected that it was in fact James Bertram who first suggested to him that he take over the editorship of Phoenix. Mason agreed to do so only on condition that he have total editorial control, 'subject only to general supervision from the editorial committee.' With this confirmed; Mason was officially elected to the Phoenix editorial committee on 21 October 1932, along with Allen Curnow, Robert Lowry, D.H. Monro, Blackwood Paul, J.A.W. Bennett and several others. The immediate result of the autonomy invested in Mason was that few of the Committee were prepared to cooperate with him, and editorial meetings were sparsely attended. Consequently, among other things, the financial management of the magazine was neglected, and it was this factor, combined with Lowry's notorious and life-long disinterest (if not ineptitude) in

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69 R.A.K. Mason Papers, Phoenix File, Hocken Library MS 592B.

70 R.A.K. Mason Papers, Phoenix File, Hocken Library MS 592B.
financial matters, which eventually became a major element in the demise of
Phoenix.

Lowry predicted a turbulent future for the magazine under Mason's editorship.

He's a crack-brained socialist, with some literary ability: and he's certain sure to land Phoenix into a rough-house with the College authorities. But that doesn't worry me . . . so long as . . . I keep my press. 71

As it happened, it was Lowry's own activities as a printer, rather than Mason's as editor, which initially upset both the University authorities and the Students' Association Executive. Having already been censured by the Registry in August 1932 for the improper use of the term 'University Press' in the colophon to the second issue of Phoenix, Lowry's less than straightforward activities as a printer were rapidly alienating him from the individual most responsible for the financial aspects of the press, A.P. Postlewaite, Business Manager for the Students' Association. Postlewaite made an 'unofficial statement' on the matter of the Press to the Students' Executive in late December 1932, 72 the first of several concerning Lowry's failure to uphold his side of the contract between himself and the Association. Lowry had strong support both within the Association and on its Executive Committee, with the result that he was able more or less to ignore Postlewaite's complaints. In fact, at a meeting of the Executive addressed by Lowry in early March 1933, Lowry succeeded in having his share of the profits from the press increased from the twenty-five per cent agreed to in June 1932 to fifty per cent. Following Lowry's hasty departure from

71 Lowry, letter to Glover, 24 July [1932], Glover Papers, Folder 5.

72 Students' Executive Minutebook 1929-1933, 23 December 1932.
Auckland in September 1933, Postlewaite was to have the final exasperated word on the matter in his 'Report of the Student Printing Press' presented to the Students' Executive in November 1933. Here Postlewaite tries to make some sense of the extremely muddled state of Lowry's management of the Press, in the process painting a picture of apparently wilful incompetence leading to debts amounting to some £342. Postlewaite tempers his condemnation of Lowry with the following statement.

I should like to say this in Mr Lowry's favour, that his ability as a printer, or to be more polite, a typographer, is unquestioned. The quality of his work was excellent and he was a splendid worker.

However, by early 1933 Mason's appointment as editor and his reputation for unrestrained polemicism had also prompted several concerned responses, even though his first issue of the magazine had still to appear. At a meeting of the Literary Club Committee on 17 February 1933 John Mulgan and D.H. Monro moved that a meeting be called immediately after publication of the next issue of the magazine in order to clarify 'the Club's future policy regarding the Phoenix.' Their concerns were partly based on the increasing politicisation of the campus which had become more and more polarised, first by the role of students as special constables in the Auckland riots of April 1932, and subsequently by the controversy which had erupted around J.C. Beaglehole, erstwhile lecturer in History at the College who had been apparently dismissed.

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73 A.P. Postlewaite, 'The President and Executive Committee of the Auckland University College Students' Association: Report of the Student Printing Press,' Registrar's Archives, Box 54.


75 'Auckland University College Literary Club Minute Book,' 17 February 1933, Auckland University Library MSS & Archives, E-5.
for expressing his views on the curtailment of free speech by the University authorities. Mason, an avowed and articulate Marxist, was increasingly seen to be an inappropriate choice for the editorship of a student periodical.

Mason's first number, dated March 1933, appeared in early April after a prolonged dispute between the editor and the body ultimately responsible for the publication of *Phoenix*, the Students' Association Executive, centred on the deletion from the magazine of an article by Eric Cook entitled 'Groundswell.' Lowry had the issue ready for publication late in March. With several copies already bound, the President of the Students' Association, Martin Sullivan, an active member of the Literary Club, recently ordained, and later to become Dean of St Paul's, London, read the article by Canterbury College student Eric Cook and vetoed its inclusion. The article has been described as 'a peculiar and dense amalgam of economics, sociology and sexual psychology.'76 Sullivan called an emergency meeting of his Executive and the article was declared unsuitable for publication in a student magazine. Mason resisted this interference as best he could and a second meeting was called in early April when John Mulgan moved that 'the article be deleted or the whole publication suppressed.'77 A compromise was reached wherein Mason obtained approval for a note to be inserted explaining the deletion. He then proceeded to sell as a broadsheet the offending two pages. The controversy ensured sales of both magazine and broadsheet were brisk. Even with the offending article deleted *Phoenix* incurred the censure


77 E.P. Haslam, letter to Lowry, 5 April 1933, Auckland University College Students' Executive Correspondence File, 1933, quoted in Hughes, "Sneers, Jeers" 17. At 9 September 1994 the above Correspondence File was missing from the Students' Executive archive.
of the Professorial Board. Citing in particular A.R.D. Fairburn's poem 'Deserted Farmyard,' the Board resolved to express its 'disapproval of those portions of *Phoenix* which offend against the canons of decency and good taste.'

As a whole the third number of *Phoenix* is remarkable as a significant moment in Lowry's developing capacity for design and for its more politically radical content. *Craccum*'s response primarily took the form of a review penned by D.H. Monro, a member of the *Phoenix* editorial committee which had been ostensibly elected to assist Mason in the production of the magazine. Monro, who co-edited *Kiwi* with Blackwood Paul in 1932, used the review as an opportunity to express the dissatisfaction with Mason's editorial autonomy common to most if not all members of the committee. He voiced his concern at what he perceived to be the disturbing tone of political evangelicism adopted by the new editor and his contributors, commenting 'it is surprising that they should have been given a pulpit by the literary club, which has, after all, other work to do.' He did, however, concede that the apparent co-opting of a literary periodical by purveyors of the new political faith was due in part at least to a lack of literary contributions 'of a sufficiently high standard,' echoing a comment by Mason in his editorial notes to the issue. Monro's judgement of such literary material as was published in *Phoenix* was grudging.

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79 University College of Auckland Professorial Board Minutes, 15 May 1933, University of Auckland Registry Archive.


82 Monro, 'Phoenix: A Paper With Punch' 5.
Chapter 2.2: Phoenix - Editorial Policies and Critical Responses

The poems in this issue, if they are not superlatively good, are at least not particularly bad. The one short story is pleasant, if not particularly exciting.83

Other published responses were equally if not more concerned with the further swing to the political left voiced in the issue. The Auckland Star reviewer complained that Phoenix had become little more than a 'Communist's soapbox,' warning that if the editors

wish to make the journal a vehicle for Communist propaganda, they will not only alienate the support which their first efforts promised to enlist, but they will destroy the interest of their own members. For whole pages of this number are as dull as ditchwater.84

More colourfully, the weekly tabloid N.Z. Truth launched a front page attack on Phoenix, under the headline 'N.Z. Universities Hotbeds of Revolution. Red hot gospels of highbrows.'85 Truth attacked both Mason's Phoenix and Glover's equally controversial Oriflamme, produced at Canterbury University College in April of the same year. Its writer considered them to be

packed with the most rabid revolutionary ravings. Page after page is devoted to furthering the destruction of everything the community has and holds today, and to loud and long praises of everything that happens in the Soviet republic... The Phoenix brands critics 'morons'... if they utter a protest against the sneers, jeers, bellicose blasphemies, red rantings and sex-saturated sophistries of young men and women who are graduating to become the leaders of the community tomorrow.86

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84 Unattributed, 'The Phoenix,' Auckland Star 13 May 1933, Magazine Section: 2.
86 N.Z. Truth 31 May 1933: 1.
Chapter 2.2: Phoenix - Editorial Policies and Critical Responses

The University authorities were predictably displeased with such negative attention, as apparently were the majority of the student body. For its part, Craccum defended its readers against Truth's accusations, stating in an editorial:

the ravings of two per cent. of our students in Phoenix do not represent the opinion of the great mass of students at this college.87

The reviewer in Art in New Zealand, 'Prester John' (C.A. Marris), saw very little to praise in this third number.88 Its 'dullness' was relieved by only two poems, Fairburn's 'Straw' and Charles Brasch's 'Mountain Storm.' Even Mason's 'In Manus Tuas, Domine'89 did not impress Marris, who felt that Mason had 'done more original and finished work.'90 Mason was in fact to slightly rewrite this poem before including it in his 1934 collection No New Thing.91

The fourth and final published number of Phoenix appeared in early June 1933. In the months after the previous issue, Mason's position as editor had come under increasing pressure, in particular with regard to his status as a bone fide student. Lowry's less than competent management of the Students' Association Press had also drawn severe criticism. Published responses to this fourth issue of Phoenix were again for the most part censorious, although by now reviewers apparently knew what to expect and so were less damning in their complaints against Mason's politicisation of an erstwhile literary periodical.

87 Craccum 19 June 1933: 1.
90 Marris, 'Reviews' 233.
Chapter 2.2: *Phoenix* - Editorial Policies and Critical Responses

The *Auckland Star* reviewer focused on the typographical quality of the periodical, commenting that 'a glance through its pages is a joy to the eye.' There is tacit approval of the impression that its editors and contributors are still mightily concerned - and rightly so - with what Stephen Leacock called "the unsolved riddle of social justice," but no critical consideration of the literary content.

In *Craccum* the response was less restrained. Flippant in tone, the reviewer refused to take seriously either Mason's political rhetoric or any other aspect of the issue. In an article in the issue of *Kiwi* for that year 'I.W.L.' criticised what he or she perceived to be the obscure 'realism' of the poetry in *Phoenix*, especially its 'grim poetic lucubrations about bones and blood,' a clear reference to Allen Curnow's poems 'Arcady' and 'Apocalyptic.' 'I.W.L.' called for a return to a more romantic bias in verse, asking,

> are we not, in the form of realism which we present to the world through *Phoenix* merely following a fashion in literature, and blinding ourselves to the fact that a reality of a far less obvious and a far more beautiful kind can exist in a world quite apart from materialism?

Following the appearance of the fourth issue the Students' Association Executive wrote to the Literary Club querying Mason's appropriateness as

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92 Unattributed, 'The *Phoenix,*' *Auckland Star* 8 June 1933, Magazine Section: 2.

93 Unattributed, 'The *Phoenix* 2.

94 Unattributed, 'Book Reviews: The 2nd *Phoenix,*' *Craccum* 12 July 1933: 4-5.


96 Allen Curnow, 'Arcady,' *Phoenix* 2.2 (June 1933): 40.

97 Allen Curnow, 'Apocalyptic,' *Phoenix* 2.2 (June 1933): 41.

98 I.W.L., 'Reality' 14
editor, on the grounds that he was not a *bona fide* student and therefore ineligible to hold office on a student committee. At a meeting of the Club on 4 July it was recommended that a letter be written to the Secretary of the Students' Association stating that the requirements of the rule had now been fulfilled.

While the meeting was subsequently adjourned until the following evening, apparently owing to lack of a quorum, the intention to write such a letter would seem to indicate the imminent dismissal of Mason as editor. The following evening Martin Sullivan, lobbying in Mason's defence, moved a motion that responsibility for the publication of the magazine be transferred to 'an affiliated society,' a change which would presumably place it beyond the control of the Students' Association Executive. This motion was defeated and in its place John Mulgan and Robert Lowry successfully moved that

no editorial be published, that all articles be signed, that the literary matter be not less than half of the contents, and that political articles be written to show differing points of view.

Mason's response to this attempt to rein in his editorial policy is not recorded. It is known that, in the face of the Students' Executive insistence that the *bona fide* rule be enforced, Mason considered moving *Phoenix* off campus.

This did not however eventuate, and while the periodical was not in fact suppressed, mounting financial and student political problems ensured its

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99 Auckland University College Students' Executive Correspondence File, 30 June 1933. Mason had been enrolled for a bachelor's degree majoring in Latin at the College from 1926 until 1930.

100 Literary Club Minute Book, 4 July 1933, University of Auckland Library, MSS & Archives E-5, Folder 1.

101 Literary Club Minute Book, 4 July 1933, University of Auckland Library, MSS & Archives E-5, Folder 1.

102 Undated notes entitled 'Phoenix,' Mason Papers, Hocken MS 592B.
demise. The final blow was the sudden departure of Lowry from Auckland, in
debt to the Students' Association and soon to be effectively declared *persona non
grata* on all campuses of the University of New Zealand. Mason recalled the end
of *Phoenix* in the following terms.

Ultimately, partly as a result of an abortive affair with one of the
girls connected with *Phoenix*, partly owing to his [Lowry's] general
capacity for getting his business to an unsupportable state, he
departed suddenly.

He came to me and said, rather shamefacedly, that he was
leaving. I pointed out that the fifth issue was already in galley
form, that, if we could get that out, we might have a chance, the
way public support was going, to establish the journal indepen­
dently of the University. However, he said he could not face up
to things.103

The proposed fifth issue of *Phoenix* had to be abandoned completely.

Galley proofs preserved among the Mason Papers include sections of articles by
Jean Devanny (on her 1931 visit to the Soviet Union) and G.E. Fairburn, art and
music critic and brother of Rex. Other papers in the collection indicate that
while the issue would have continued the trend towards the increasing
politicisation of *Phoenix* initiated by Mason, it would also have sustained its
concern with literature and the arts. Mason noted later that with the fifth issue
*Phoenix* would have begun a shift away from an international socialist focus
'towards more emphasis on local matters - reviews of plays, concerts, etc., start­
ing, as was inevitable, with Auckland.'104 This was in part an attempt to widen
the readership of the magazine, in preparation for its proposed removal from the

103 Undated notes entitled 'Phoenix,' Mason Papers, Hocken MS 592B.

104 Undated typewritten notes entitled 'Phoenix,' Mason Papers, Hocken MS 592B. These
may be a copy of the same notes J.E. Weir reports as being held with his personal
papers in the University of Canterbury Library. Fr. John E. Weir and Barbara A.
Lyon, *New Zealand Poetry: A Select Bibliography*, 1920-1972 (Christchurch: The Library,
University of Canterbury, 1977) 509.
college campus. Mason was probably not overstating the situation when he remarked,

we had a definite place in the community by this time, and could probably have continued for some time independently, but for the debacle mentioned above.\textsuperscript{105}

As part of that shift towards a more local focus, D.H. Monro had contributed a review of Nelle Scanlan's \textit{Tides of Youth}\textsuperscript{106} and an article entitled 'Auckland and the Drama,' while G.E. Fairburn submitted an article on the regional celebrations for the 1933 Brahms Centenary. Other contributors were to include: J.C. Beaglehole, who offered several poems and 'a little inoffensive essay in Marxian interpretation';\textsuperscript{107} Noel Pharazyn, later a prolific contributor to early volumes of \textit{Tomorrow}; and Alfred Katz, one of the instigators of the Victoria University College radical magazine \textit{Student} (itself suppressed after three issues), from whom Mason solicited reviews of John Dos Passos's novel \textit{1919} and cartoonist David Low's \textit{Russian Sketch-Book}. It is unclear from the archival record to what extent Mason himself was to contribute to the issue, although he did prepare a review of de Montalk's \textit{Snobbery With Violence: A Poet in Gaol},\textsuperscript{108} and would almost certainly have continued his highly controversial 'Notes.'

During Mason's tenure as editor \textit{Phoenix} was transformed from a primarily literary and aesthetic little magazine into a journal of left-wing

\textsuperscript{105} Undated notes entitled 'Phoenix,' Mason Papers, Hocken MS 592B.

\textsuperscript{106} Nelle Scanlan, \textit{Tides of Youth} (London: Jarrolds, 1933).

\textsuperscript{107} Beaglehole to Mason, 26 July 1933, Mason Papers, Hocken MS 592B.

political commitment. Denis Glover captured this metamorphosis in the following terms:

Under Bertram it [Phoenix] certainly smelt slightly scholarly: it was serious in a literary way. Under Mason it went ramping red. Marxism was the caper. Dogma and manifestoes [sic] peppered its pages.\(^{109}\)

Mason sought controversy, and found it. In his editorial 'Notes' to Volume Two, Number One he declared that Phoenix was 'a place for sparks to fly in.'

This is a forum, a battle-ground, an arena - but only for good gladiators. If any argument is sufficiently active, vigorous, and stimulating, then as far as we can we shall give it to the world.\(^{110}\)

While Mason does concede that '[s]ome, indeed, may feel that this issue discriminates unfairly against our University contributors,'\(^{111}\) he adds:

[if] that is so, then it is due to accident. The material was prepared under great difficulties in haste at a time when most University men were hard to find, or, if found, too tired to respond.\(^{112}\)

It would seem that there was little love lost between Mason and his co-workers on the magazine. Mason goes on to refer to Volume Two, Number One as 'our first regular issue,'\(^{113}\) thus dissociating his enterprise from the earlier and more amateur efforts of students and other such dabblers in literature and politics.

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\(^{109}\) Glover, *Hot Water Sailor* 84.


\(^{111}\) Mason, 'Notes' 6.

\(^{112}\) Mason, 'Notes' 6.

\(^{113}\) Mason, 'Notes' 7.
This is no time to be studying the tonal value of the minor works of T.E. Brown.\footnote{Presumably Mason is referring here to Thomas Edward Brown (1830-1897), a minor Victorian poet.} It is the greatest hour in history. Now as never before there is interest to be found in the life about us. And now as never before we must try to see things coolly and steadily, unhampered by hope or fear. This is no time for optimism, no time for pessimism: the hour for realism is at hand.\footnote{Mason, 'Notes' 9.}

Dismissive of the concern with poetics which had preoccupied Bertram and his fellow aesthetes, and corrupting Arnold into the jargon of the Popular Front, Mason had little patience with literature which did not further the political cause of Marxism. As Jean Alison recalled, when Mason addressed his first committee meeting as editor,

he made it clear that our former literary gods were 'out' - D.H. Lawrence, T.S. Eliot, Middleton Murry, and Katherine Mansfield. . . . The new hero was another K.M. - Karl Marx; and capitalism and the bourgeoisie were the enemy.\footnote{Jean Allison, untitled contribution to 'R.A.K. Mason 1905-71: Some Tributes,' \textit{Landfall} 99 (1971): 226.}

If Mason shook up the student literati he did not have things entirely his own way. He complained in a letter to John Stewart:

Yes, I am still father to the \textit{Phoenix} - or, at any rate, am responsible for the juicy bits in it. There is a committee that cramps my style most horribly, or otherwise I should make things really move. As it is, I do all I can in the face of the Students' Association, the Literary Club, the Phoenix Committee, the College Council, the Prof. Board, the University Senate, public opinion, King George, Rex Fairburn, and Jehovah...\footnote{Mason, letter to John Stewart, n.d., R.A.K. Mason Papers, Phoenix File, Hocken Library MS 592B.}

Mason attempted to establish an open forum for the discussion of 'the major conflicts of the here and now' in order to 'give fair expression to their ideological
aspects.'

He warned 'there is no room here for the spinsterish monasticism of the newspapers,' foreshadowing Kennaway Henderson's brief for Tomorrow.119

Reviewing Mason's first number of Phoenix in Craccum, D.H. Monro while disapproving of the turn towards 'the New Faith' of Marxism, did defend Mason against accusations that he had co-opted Phoenix for purely political ends, suggesting that

[s]tudents who feel that the Club's magazine has become unduly political in trend . . . should write for it themselves. At present the evangelists seem to be the only people with sufficient energy to keep Phoenix going.120

However, with Mason's editorship, and the move towards more radical comment and discussion in Volume Two, Phoenix became too extreme for the University College to tolerate. Pressure was put on the Literary Club to rein in its publication, which had by the fourth number become all but autonomous, with little or no reference to the student body from which it had originally emerged.

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118 Mason, 'Notes' 5.
119 Mason, 'Notes' 5.
2.3 Literary Contents

As my discussion so far of *Phoenix* has clearly implied, the majority of items published in the periodical were non-literary, most frequently articles of political or social commentary. This was especially the case during Mason's editorship. However, it should be stressed that the literary content of the magazine was not as formally homogeneous as might be expected by those familiar with the traditional view of *Phoenix* as the product of a distinct and cohesive group. While many of the literary contributors had similar influences, and expressed allegiance to a select group of contemporary English writers (Eliot, Murry, Lawrence, and others) poets with more diverse backgrounds are to be found in its pages from the first issue to the last. In what follows the work of the most prominent literary contributors to *Phoenix* will be described with the intention of establishing the significance to them of their involvement in what still remains, historically, the most important New Zealand little magazine.

A writer whose influences were somewhat wider than the majority of contributors to *Phoenix* was R.A.K. Mason. His poetic forebears range from the Roman poets, through the Romantics and the late Victorians to poets such as A.E. Housman. It is in part Mason's depth of influence that lent his poetry the weight admired by many of his more junior contemporaries. The inclusion of work by a poet of acknowledged talent was of obvious value to the ambitious founding editorial committee. Mason had been published alongside T.S. Eliot by Harold Monro and had been acknowledged as a poet of some stature in articles published locally.121 Allen Curnow first came across Mason in the pages

of Harold Monro's *Twentieth Century Poetry*, and only later discovered, to his surprise, that Mason was in fact a New Zealander resident in Auckland.122

For many of the literary participants in the *Phoenix* enterprise Mason took the role of elder poet, alongside the more distant and far more romantic figure of D'Arcy Cresswell. Mason had published two volumes of poetry prior to 1932, *The Beggar* (published by the author, 1924), and *Penny Broadsheet* (published by the author, 1925), both of which were more or less ignored by reviewers and the public. It is reputed that Mason threw two hundred copies of *The Beggar* into the harbour in disgust at a lack of sales.123 Whether this story is apocryphal or not, the disappointment Mason felt at the reception to his work prior to 1930 was real and ameliorated only by the fact that Harold Monro selected two poems from *The Beggar* for publication in his *Chapbook* anthology124 where they appeared alongside what Allen Curnow has described as 'some of the newest and most original poets then writing in England: . . . Anna Wickham, Sacheverell Sitwell, Padraic Colum, Harold Monro, John Gould Fletcher, and T.S. Eliot.'125

121 (...continued)


123 Fairburn, 'A New Zealand Poet' 69.

124 These were 'The Latter-day Geography Lesson,' *Chapbook* (London), 39 (1924): 9, and 'In Perpetuum Vale,' *Chapbook* (London), 39 (1924): 29. The latter poem was retitled 'Body of John' for the Caxton Press collection *This Dark Will Lighten: Selected Poems* 1923-41.

In his article in the New Zealand Artists' Annual for 1929, A.R.D. Fairburn sketched the Mason of those early years, lamenting the neglect of The Beggar by the New Zealand public and declaring

[j]t is a tragic thing that a book of this sort should find its way into the hands of only a scattering of people in all Australasia . . . . There seems to be very little hope of establishing a native literature in New Zealand as long as the people of that country continue to ignore the claims of talent of this sort

Prior to 1930 and his appearance in Pope's Kowhai Gold anthology, Mason had seen only a few of his poems published in the New Zealand periodical press. Articles by Ian Donnelly and A.R.D. Fairburn on Mason's poetry published in the late nineteen twenties had raised his profile as a New Zealand poet of considerable talent. This recognition was further consolidated through Mason's contact with the somewhat younger poets associated with Phoenix and Kiwi. It was the sustained support of writers and critics such as Allen Curnow, James Bertram, Fairburn, and others that secured Mason's critical reputation, despite some influential dissent on the part of E.H. McCormick.

As the thirties progressed, growing political unrest and the centennial hunger for an acceptably representative New Zealand literature prejudiced many against the classically influenced poet and committed Marxist that Mason

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127 J.E. Traue records four poems published by Mason in the Auckland newspapers the Sun and the Auckland Star. These are 'Stoic Marching Song,' Sun 7 October 1927: 12; 'Man and Beast,' Sun 14 October 1927: 12; 'Flattering Unction,' Sun 28 June 1929: 14; and 'Saith the Preacher,' Auckland Star 2 August 1929. J.E. Traue, A Preliminary Checklist of Works by and about R.A.K. Mason (Wellington: National Library, 1961) N. pag.

showed himself to be. In what was for many years the only comprehensive study of New Zealand literature, McCormick criticised what he termed the 'social content' of Mason's work, regarding the title poem of The Beggar as 'patently manufactured -- a shallow idea decked out with worn and betraying phrases.'\textsuperscript{129} McCormick was also critical of Mason's preoccupation with classical figures at the expense of 'his fellow-mortals.'\textsuperscript{130} However, several of Mason's fellow poets at the University College provided him with what was ultimately a more sustained and critically approving judgement of his poetry. In the 'Introduction' to his 1945 anthology of \textit{New Zealand Verse} Allen Curnow applauded the 'movement and energy' he perceived in Mason's language,\textsuperscript{131} which he felt contrasted markedly with what he had earlier termed the 'quasi-dead' language of most poets working in the twenties and early thirties.\textsuperscript{132} Certainly, Mason's lines have a vigour lacking in the sort of verse encouraged into print by editors and anthologists such as Charles Marris and Quentin Pope.

By the time Mason began contributing to the Auckland University magazines his poetry had attained what many critics regard as its best manifestation,\textsuperscript{133} represented by the contents of \textit{No New Thing}, his third collection of poetry. The poems for this volume had been completed by 1929, although

\begin{flushleft}
\begin{enumerate}
\item McCormick, \textit{New Zealand Literature: A Survey} 115.
\item McCormick, \textit{New Zealand Literature} 115.
\item Allen Curnow, \textit{Poetry and Language}, reprinted in \textit{Look Back Harder} 5.
\item See, for example, C.K. Stead, 'R.A.K. Mason's Poetry - some random observations,' \textit{Comment} 16 (1963): 36.
\end{enumerate}
\end{flushleft}
they were to wait a further five years before full publication. Between 1931 and 1933 a total of five poems from this collection appeared in Kiwi and Phoenix. In addition, three of the five poems which were to constitute the 1936 collection _End of Day_ appeared in Kiwi, one in 1932 and two in 1934. Mason's contributions to the college annual are considered in detail below in the chapter on the University College magazines.

To the first issue of Phoenix Mason contributed one of the strongest poems from the _No New Thing_ manuscript, 'Stoic Overthrow.' It appears opposite a colourful epistle of support and encouragement to Phoenix from D'Arcy Cresswell, the two respected 'elder poets' appropriately placed together immediately after Bertram's introductory editorial. Cresswell takes as his subject what he terms 'our dawning manhood,' the necessary and impending transition from cultural puberty to cultural maturity which he believes New Zealand faces, and which he argues must be acquired by local effort and not through the mere importation of culture. He regards Phoenix as having the potential to be a venue for such a transition, of far greater value to the process than subscriptions to English magazine of like object. In disparaging the 'signs of [New Zealand's] puberty' which he perceives in the 'wanton poets' of _Kowhai Gold_, Cresswell makes an early foray in the literary feud which developed during the thirties between editors such as Quentin Pope and those writers and poets associated directly or indirectly with Phoenix.

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In addition to being included in *No New Thing*, Mason's 'Stoic Overthrow' was also republished in his 1941 collection *This Dark Will Lighten*, before being gathered by Curnow, first into the 1945 *Book of New Zealand Verse*, and subsequently into Mason's *Collected Poems*.¹³⁶ An elegy of defeat expressing the familiar Mason themes of physical and emotional desolation, 'Stoic Overthrow' is set out employing for the first time what was to become Mason's favoured typographical layout for his poetry, the hanging indent.

Let us laugh with the dying
and smile upon the slain:
not all our tears and sighing
could make them walk again
and raise our comrades lying
upon the sodden plain,
as the stars have decreed.

A comparison of 'Stoic Overthrow' with the poem which directly precedes it in the chronology of Mason's published record reveals the extent to which the appearance of his work was improved as a result of this change.

Long I sobbed at my task:
    Now I leave it undone
To loll back and bask
    In the good sun.
The world goes ill -
    Or so I am told -
What, the world goes still
    As it went of old?¹³⁷

The use of uppercase initial letters and the indention of every second line were standard typographical conventions at the time, but were never subsequently used by Mason.


'Stoic Overthrow' links in subject to the second poem contributed by him to *Phoenix*, an early version of 'In Manus Tuas Domine', published in the first of the two numbers of *Phoenix* edited by Mason. Revised, 'In Manus Tuas Domine' became the concluding poem of *No New Thing* (Poem XXV), before being taken into the *Collected Poems*. The scenario of impending and radical social and political change evident in 'Stoic Overthrow' becomes even more clear in this 'mythic-revolutionary poem', an intensification which seems appropriate in the light of *Phoenix*’s political refurbishment. Both poems ruefully predict the impending destruction of societies which to large degree are themselves formed out of the wreckage of previous cultures.

The final verse contribution made by Mason to *Phoenix* further extends this political subtext. A love poem translated from Ovid, 'Amores VI', later retitled 'Be Swift O Sun', seems initially out of place in what was indeed a very propagandist issue of *Phoenix*. However, the poem's brooding sense of the imminence of death links it tonally with the earlier poems by Mason in *Phoenix*, all of which look towards some breach in the prevailing order not dissimilar to that predicted by Mason elsewhere in *Phoenix* for New Zealand’s social and political structures.

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138 R.A.K. Mason, 'In Manus Tuas Domine,' *Phoenix* 2.1 (March 1933): 37. Among other variants between this and later versions of the poem, a comma is inserted after 'Tuas' in the poem's title in *Phoenix*.

139 Mason, *Collected Poems* 78.


143 As noted by Weir, *R.A.K. Mason* 33.
In addition to these three poems and a substantial amount of editorial comment and other pieces of non-fiction, Mason also contributed a short story to the second number of *Phoenix*, apparently solicited by James Bertram and entitled 'His End Was Peace.' In correspondence with the Atlantic Monthly Press to whom he had offered the manuscript of *No New Thing*, Mason commented that he had been working on a novel and a collection of short stories.

These [stories] are pretty well done now in rough fashion but I lack all incentive to lick them into final shape and get them typed. I know from a sales point of view the prose should precede this book [No New Thing] but from a psychological point of view, foolishly enough, I find it impossible. Life is too stagnant.

It seems likely that 'His End Was Peace' was part of that manuscript collection. Three other of these stories saw publication in periodicals considered elsewhere in this thesis: 'Spring-time and the Sick-bed' and 'The Meth Fiend,' appeared in *Kiwi* in 1931 and 1933 respectively, while 'The Mountain of the Gods' was published in *Tomorrow* in 1935. Unlike his poetry, these stories have received little more than passing comment in previous discussions of Mason's work, and so they are dealt with here in some detail.

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144 Lowry, letter to Glover, 9 March 1932, Glover Papers, Folder 5.


In 'His End Was Peace,' Mason takes up a subject he had also explored in his poetry, that of an individual's liberation from onerous responsibility. His protagonist is an elderly farmer, a respected pillar of the community, who through a meeting with an unemployed drover is inspired to step outside the strict routine imposed on him by his obligations to others. The 'wanderer' he encounters has many of the qualities of other tramp characters in Mason's poetry, especially the tramp-Christ of 'On the Swag.' The unidentified speaker in that poem could well be the farmer of this story, who unexpectedly welcomes the swaggy and instructs him to 'go up to the cook-house - there past the red wool-shed - he'll give you a hand-out.' The reaction of the cook in the poem is echoed by the reaction of the uncharitable son in the story, who, not understanding the gravity of the news that his father (whose name is Maddox) has gone mad, responds with the comment, "'Yes, I think he must have - to invite that bloody useless old dead-beat to stop here the winter.'"

The Christ-like quality of the tramp is first evoked by the following description.

In a few moments a bent figure emerged from the trees and began to plod up the gravel by the rose-walk. A loose sole, imperfectly tied with string, flip-flopped on the pebbles, his rags trailed behind him in the breeze, an old sugar-sack of clothes bumped on his curved back.

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149 Mason, Collected Poems 56. In a note to an earlier printing of the poem in No New Thing, Mason explained that a 'man "on the swag" is a combination of tramp, casual labourer and vagabond entertainer; the "swagger" begs and works his way from farm to farm, often in wild and remote districts.' Mason, No New Thing iv.

150 Mason, 'His End Was Peace' 6.

151 Mason, 'His End Was Peace' 14.
He was talking to himself. He did not lift his head till he reached the gate...

The 'loose sole,' apart from the obvious sole-soul homophone, recalls the 'shrivelled feet' of the beggar in the poem of that name and the feet of the swaggy in 'On The Swag' which must be clothed in slippers as his body must be clothed in silk. The tramp of the story seems to pray as he walks, and the later description of him leaning 'on his staff like a prophet' serves to further lend him an air of religiosity. The very human Christ who appears so often in Mason's poems acts in this story as a catalyst for the apparent enlightenment, or at least liberation, of Maddox from the burdensome life that he has created for himself.

Mason's concern for the plight of the under-class is expressed ironically as an envy on the part of Maddox for the supposed simplicity of the swaggy's life. The irony is highlighted by the laughter between the men which follows the swaggy's comment that he wouldn't 'igsackly advise' Maddox to take to the highway, no matter how preferable the life might seem. As it is, Maddox opts for another means of abandoning his worldly responsibilities, that of surrendering to madness. The meditative state which we discover him in at the beginning of the story (which echoes that of the protagonist in 'Spring-time and the Sick-bed') is intensified by contact with the tramp. He contemplates the

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152 Mason, 'His End Was Peace' 5.


154 Mason, 'His End Was Peace' 8.
burden which his life of material endeavour has yielded him, until 'activity assert[s] itself over negation,'\(^{155}\) and he sets off back towards the homestead and his obligations. However, his resistance has been aroused and he is diverted into nothing less than a pilgrimage towards freedom. In the process he passes through a terrain blasted by his own drive to tame the land.

He left behind him the huge old, broad-verandahed house, deep-bosomed among sheds and trees on the knoll by the green river flat. He passed over the bridge shaded by willows, skirted the rocky cliffs in which the native bush clung as if by a miracle, and came out on the 'back,' as they called the main body of the sheep run. Barren knife-edges scored with ravines ran as far as he could see. Here and there, where the ridges ran up into peaks, there were a few patches of bush, blue in the distance, green near at hand. And in the valleys beside him he could see patches of green where water seeped out. All the rest was drab - dun where the soil of the ridge-sides had slipped, brown where there was grass burnt by the sun, grey where rock outcropped.\(^{156}\)

Biblical in its desolation, he is somehow led through this landscape to an edenic refuge where enlightenment or madness can overwhelm him. The movement outwards from the 'bosomy' centre of the home is through a harsh masculine landscape. His passage along a narrow ridge is dangerous, the wind tears at him as he walks, but he proceeds 'in utter confidence that Destiny has appointed his road.' Eventually he makes his way to

a spot sheltered from the wind, which he could hear whistling a short way overhead, as a man in the trenches hears bullets howling menace just above him.\(^{157}\)

\(^{155}\) Mason, 'His End Was Peace' 8.

\(^{156}\) Mason, 'His End Was Peace' 9.

\(^{157}\) Mason, 'His End Was Peace' 10.
Here, in this 'little navel in the hill-side' where 'all was peace' he undergoes a luxurious relaxation which leads eventually to a moment of illumination and release, hallucinatory in its intensity. A 'vibrant winged dragon-fly' and the sun, which 'caress[es] . . . like long fingers,' soothe his mind and allow 'madness' to overwhelm him. He resists momentarily, and 'a rain of blood' descends over his eyes. The natural world twists away from reality and he is forced to 'let insanity in to calm him.' Reawakening from a sensation that he is 'nothing more that an arrow head of slightly darker grey in the flux,' he returns to the house where his obvious distraction is received with panic by his wife. She is forced to care for him in a way she has not done for a long time. He has become childlike, singing rhymes to the sun and playing sensually with dust and vegetables he discovers at hand. The doctor diagnoses a stroke and predicts that Maddox will thereafter simply 'vegetate.'

There is a familiar Mason irony in Maddox's delusion that he has found freedom in madness. In relinquishing all responsibility he would appear to have brought on the stroke which comes when, during a moment of deep relaxation, he has a sudden recollection of his duty. The old settler at the end of a life spent breaking in the land is finally broken by it, seduced by its remaining beauty into relaxing sufficiently until the return to reality is more than he can

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158 Mason, 'His End Was Peace' 10.
159 Mason, 'His End Was Peace' 11.
160 Mason, 'His End Was Peace' 12.
161 Mason, 'His End Was Peace' 13.
162 Mason, 'His End Was Peace' 13.
163 Mason, 'His End Was Peace' 16.
bear. Clearly, this story repeats and reworks themes and ideas central to Mason's work as a whole.

Mason's involvement with Phoenix was very important both to his career as a creative writer and as a political journalist. Although four poems and a single short story do not make up a large body of creative work, for Mason their publication in the Auckland University College magazine was pivotal in his being recognised as one of the most important New Zealand poets of the period. This was due to two factors. Firstly, other poets came into personal contact with Mason as a direct result of his involvement with Phoenix. Several of these were later to become influential in their own right. Allen Curnow, Charles Brasch, and James Bertram all rose to positions of considerable authority in mid-century New Zealand literary criticism, and all championed Mason's literary if not his political cause throughout their careers. Their self-confessed 'eager[ness] to claim [Mason] as a fellow-countryman and elder poet,' and their ongoing support led to what a critic of a later generation described as Mason's 'literary canonization.'

Secondly, without the ongoing support of those associated with Phoenix Mason would have probably continued to have great difficulty publishing further volumes of his poetry. As it was, Robert Lowry's attempt to print and

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164 In the latter field, Mason never again found as potent a vehicle for his Marxism as Phoenix, despite devoting a large part of his energy to a series of Communist publications, including People's Voice.

165 This process was considerably augmented by his contributions to Kiwi, discussed below.


publish Mason's third collection, *No New Thing*, was almost entirely disastrous, largely due to circumstances surrounding Lowry himself very similar to those which had earlier been a major factor in the closure of *Phoenix*. The printing of *No New Thing* was eventually completed in 1934 by Ronald Holloway and as such constitutes the real beginning of Holloway's long career as a fine printer. This very tangible support for Mason culminated several decades later in Allen Curnow's editing of Mason's *Collected Poems*, the first edition of which was published in 1962.

Given the centrality of Curnow's contribution to New Zealand letters over subsequent decades, his youthful participation on the Editorial Committee of *Phoenix*, his interaction particularly with Mason and the receptivity the journal provided for his early poems, are likely to have been unusually formative for his later career, despite his subsequent tendency to dis-own his very early work.

Interviewed in 1973, Curnow made the following comment on such early poems as those published in *Phoenix*.

I think Wallace Stevens put it pretty well when he said that looking back on these earlier things rather gave one the creeps, and the creeps is perhaps what I suffer from.\(^\text{168}\)

In the introduction to his *Collected Poems 1933-1973* Curnow noted that all the poems published in *Valley of Decision* were written between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one, and all were revised (sometimes so completely as to produce 'new' poems) for inclusion in the later volume. For Curnow, the appellation *juvenilia* is not appropriate to these early poems:

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there are too many connections between my earliest and my latest poems to justify such a separation; they must stand together, for better or for worse.\textsuperscript{169}

This is both affirmed and contradicted by the publication of Curnow's \textit{Selected Poems 1940 - 1989}.\textsuperscript{170} In its choice of a starting date some nine years after poems by Curnow began to be published, this collection effectively denies the existence of much of the early poetry, including work from the first four volumes. On the other hand, the ordering of the poems in the 1990 selection affirms Curnow's comment quoted above on the interconnectedness of the early and late work by its abandonment of a conventional chronological structure in favour of a thematic or cyclical arrangement, in which

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\text{[t]he poems may or may not, as the reader pleases, seem to describe a kind of circle joining age and youth, a loop in the road.}\textsuperscript{171}
\]

Considering the large body of work produced by Curnow over the past fifty years, it is perhaps correct to follow the poet's own lead and not place too much emphasis on the work published in \textit{Phoenix} and elsewhere during the early thirties. However, as with Mason, Curnow's involvement in the Auckland University College Literary Society and his contact with other young men and women seriously interested in modern poetry, had a great impact on the course of his career, both poetically and in a wider sense.

\begin{footnotes}


\textsuperscript{171} Curnow, \textit{Selected Poems 1940 - 1989} xi.
\end{footnotes}
In all, Curnow contributed six poems to *Phoenix*. Three of these, 'The spirit shall return',172 'Arcady,'173 and 'Apocalyptic,'174 were gathered into *Valley of Decision*, published as a *Phoenix Miscellany* in September 1933.175 Of these, 'The spirit shall return' and 'Apocalyptic' were selected for inclusion in the *Collected Poems 1933-1973*. Of the three poems that saw their sole appearance in print in *Phoenix*, 'Egotism [As the Hebrew Poets Wrote]'176 and 'Drawing Room Window'177 can be linked both thematically and in certain aspects of their form with those that went on to subsequent publication. In his only other poem in *Phoenix*, 'Calm',178 Curnow departs from the religious themes which dominate his other contributions to consider the emotional aftermath of carnal love.

All six *Phoenix* poems and all those found in *Valley of Decision* were written during what Curnow later termed 'some crisis or change from faith to scepticism'179 experienced while he was a student of theology at St John's College, Auckland. This study involved two years (1931-32) as a full-time student at Auckland University College, bringing him into contact with men and

173 Allen Curnow, 'Arcady,' *Phoenix* 2.2 (June 1933): 40.
174 Allen Curnow, 'Apocalyptic,' *Phoenix* 2.2 (June 1933): 41.
177 Allen Curnow, 'Drawing Room Window,' *Phoenix* 2.1 (March 1933): 43.
179 Curnow, *Valley of Decision* xii.
women who, like himself, were to have leading roles in the development of New Zealand writing for the next generation, at least.

Most of Curnow's contributions to *Phoenix* mirror the poet's troubled mind as he struggles to resolve the crisis of faith which culminated in his decision to abandon his theological studies. In the *Phoenix* poems we can glimpse something of that struggle, though for a more comprehensive understanding of it the reader must turn to *Valley of Decision*. Driven by a 'mostly personal lyric impulse,' a phrase Curnow used in 1948 to describe the stimulus which lay behind verse written in the early thirties by poets as various as A.R.D. Fairburn, Robin Hyde, and Charles Brasch, his six verse contributions to *Phoenix* show Curnow developing his skill as a practitioner in his chosen art form.

As noted above, Charles Brasch was closely involved in the writing of the first issue of *Phoenix*, joining Ian Milner in assisting James Bertram during three days spent by the trio in the Milner's family holiday home at Waianakarua north of Dunedin. It may have been there that he wrote all or most of his four contributions to the issue. Close involvement by Brasch in the actual production of the periodical was never a real possibility, partly because Brasch was never enrolled as a student at Auckland, and partly owing to his departure for London early in 1932, prior even to the publication of the first issue. However, although Brasch remained abroad until 1938 he followed the progress of *Phoenix* closely, corresponding regularly with James Bertram prior to the latter's own departure for England. Brasch eventually contributed material to all but the final issue of *Phoenix*.

As might be expected, Charles Brasch's most considerable group of contributions to the magazine were to the first number, consisting of two poems, an article on D'Arcy Cresswell, and a political piece entitled 'The Challenge of Russia.'\(^{181}\) The poems are typical of Brasch's early work. 'Cape Wanbrow'\(^{182}\) is a lament for 'those deep hours' now gone and is addressed to Brasch's close friend, Ian Milner. 'Cold Music' affirms the constancy of 'The archetypal form / Of branch, bud, leaf, . . . cast in mould within me. . . .'\(^{183}\) Bertram comments that in this poem,

[s]light as they are, the lines give out like musical phrases two themes that were to persist in all Brasch's work: the search, using the full resources of sense and mind, for some stability in the mortal flux; and the assurance that in the shaping processes of nature, and the final natural product, might be found the true exemplar and model for human art.\(^{184}\)

Both poems have been extensively republished.

In his discussion of D'Arcy Cresswell's *Poems 1921-1927* and *The Poet's Progress*,\(^{185}\) Brasch compares the older poet with Katherine Mansfield as a writer who is 'of greater importance than any of his writings yet published.' Noting the 'erratic' nature of 'Mr Cresswell's muse,' Brasch nevertheless stresses the unique nature of Cresswell's achievement to date. Significantly, he regards him as 'neither colonial nor European,' adding that

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The Poet's Progress is singularly free from the provincialism of the one and the over-developed self-consciousness of the other.\textsuperscript{186} The article is followed by an appreciation of Katherine Mansfield written by Ian Milner.\textsuperscript{187}

In 'The Challenge of Russia,' Brasch compares the advantages and disadvantages of the Soviet communist and Western capitalist systems. He draws on an article by Middleton Murry printed in Murry's Adelphi, 'the most vital periodical of the day, from one of the very few creative thinkers in England.'\textsuperscript{188} Murry argues for a new political economy formed of an amalgam of communism and capitalism, one which will allow the 'primary need of food and shelter for all' to be met without the loss of 'spiritual individualism,' an inevitable casualty of both political systems.\textsuperscript{189} Brasch concludes with a plea for the sort of welfare state established by the Labour government later in the decade.

For the second issue of Phoenix Brasch translated selections from Rainer Maria Rilke's Briefe an einen Jungen Dichter purchased by Brasch in London in 1932.\textsuperscript{190} Rilke's poetry and prose, including these letters that Brasch felt were addressed directly to him, 'preoccupied' Brasch throughout the thirties.\textsuperscript{191} James Bertram notes this to be one of the earliest translations of Rilke's work into

\textsuperscript{186} Brasch, 'Contributors' Club' N. pag.
\textsuperscript{187} Ian Milner, 'A Note on Katherine Mansfield,' Phoenix 1.1 (March 1932): N. pag.
\textsuperscript{188} Brasch, 'The Challenge of Russia' N. pag.
\textsuperscript{189} Brasch, 'The Challenge of Russia' N. pag.
\textsuperscript{190} Charles Brasch, 'Letters to a Young Poet,' Phoenix 1.2 (July 1932): 18-21.
\textsuperscript{191} Brasch, Indirections 191.
English. Brasch's final contribution to *Phoenix* was the poem 'Mountain Storm,' published in the third issue of the magazine. This was later gathered into the Caxton Press anthology, *New Poems*, edited by Ian Milner and Denis Glover and featuring work by Glover, Mason, Curnow, and Fairburn.

For his part, A.R.D. Fairburn contributed two poems to the third number of *Phoenix*: 'Deserted Farmyard' and 'Straw.' Both poems were written in England in 1930 and reflect Fairburn's growing disillusionment with Western capitalism. The disapproving reaction of the College's Professorial Board to the former poem in particular has been noted above. This poem was subsequently included in Fairburn's *Collected Poems*.

While in England Fairburn had met Major Douglas, the founder of Douglas Social Credit, and continued to correspond with Douglas on his return to New Zealand. As a result of this association Fairburn's relationship with the Marxist Mason was somewhat fraught, culminating in the pages of *Phoenix* in his only other contribution to the periodical, an ironic letter to the editor to which Mason gave the title 'Marx is the bunk.' Fairburn was responding to a long article by Mason in the previous issue, signed 'J.P.,' attacking the Social Credit movement by means of a review of the local Douglasite journal, *New

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193 Charles Brasch, 'Mountain Storm,' *Phoenix* 2.1 (March 1933): 34.


198 A.R.D. Fairburn, 'Marx is the bunk,' *Phoenix* 2.2 (June 1933): 53.
Zealand Plain Talk. Fairburn complains that Mason makes an erroneous association between Douglas Social Credit and European Fascism, a charge increasingly levelled at Douglas's movement as the world moved inexorably through the course of the thirties towards war. Fairburn was to continue to promulgate Social Credit policies through the pages of Tomorrow, discussed in the following chapter.

Several other poets and short story writers of less lasting interest also contributed work to Phoenix. One of these was C.R. Allen, a popular novelist and poet active during the first half of this century and as unlikely a contributor to the pages of Phoenix as one could imagine. Of decidedly Georgian taste and conservative politics, Allen was later described by Charles Brasch as 'remaining fixed in the pre-war [that is, pre-World War One] time of his growth.' However, as a prolific contributor to periodicals from 1903 until the 1950s, Allen was always happy to encourage new literary enterprises. A more typical and appropriate venture for his support was the New Zealand Mercury, a magazine of largely pre-modern poetry discussed below. Allen's contributions to Phoenix consist of two competent if unexciting poems, 'The Swan,' and 'Burnham Beeches.' The second of these was published in the final issue and is very

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200 Brasch, Indirections 299.

201 Allen's earliest identified contribution to a New Zealand periodical is a poem titled 'The Riverside,' published in C.N. Baeyertz's magazine the Triad 10.11 (1903): 10, under the name C. Richard Allen. He was eighteen at the time.


much at odds with that issue's overall tone of radicalism. A review of Alan Mulgan's very popular long poem *Golden Wedding*,\(^{204}\) 'Thoughts on the Functions of Poetry,'\(^{205}\) completes Allen's contributions to *Phoenix*. He uses this as an opportunity to give expression to his own conservative poetic.

Apart from Charles Allen, other literary contributors included J.C. Beaglehole, Ian Milner, Hector Monro, Rona Munro, and John Gifford Male. Beaglehole's sole contribution to *Phoenix* was his poem 'Decline of the West,'\(^{206}\) a grim and somewhat laborious lament for the modern world, which, although apparently out of tune with the predominant, Marxist-driven poetic in the issue, was doubtless selected for publication because it accorded with Mason's own dark vision of a world in need of some salutary political curative. Beaglehole had become something of a *cause célébre* with the students associated with *Phoenix* because of his central role in the freedom of speech controversy which preoccupied the University of New Zealand during the early thirties.\(^{207}\)

Ian Milner, involved with the *Phoenix* project in its earliest moments, made an initial contribution on the art of Katherine Mansfield in the first number, and then reappeared with two poems and a short story in Volume Two. It should also be noted that articles and other non-literary items were contributed by, among others, J.A.W. Bennett, Clifton Firth, Robert Lowry, Eric Cook, D'Arcy Cresswell,


\(^{206}\) J.C. Beaglehole, 'Decline of the West,' *Phoenix* 2.2 (June 1933): 11-13.

Blackwood Paul, W.N. Pharazyn (later a regular contributor to *Tomorrow*), Carl Straubel, Martin Sullivan, and F.R. Robertson.
2.4 Conclusion

The consequences of Phoenix's appearance the Auckland University College campus were to become increasingly apparent over the following two decades, culminating in the adoption by its major contributors of various roles in what became New Zealand's literary establishment during mid-century. James Bertram's appointment as a lecturer in English at Victoria University College following his return from Asia and Europe, Charles Brasch's founding of Landfall following his own return to New Zealand, and Allen Curnow's adoption of the role of poetry anthologist and critical arbiter, are merely some of the more visible examples of the shift made by contributors to Phoenix from roles as aspiring leaders of a literary avant-garde into positions of considerable cultural authority. R.A.K. Mason's subsequent career, committed as it was to the editing of Communist Party publications and other more directly political activities, was a less obvious manifestation of this process, although as noted above he retained for many years the role of exemplary elder poet for many of his younger brethren.

Phoenix's other major influence was on the development of printing and typographical design in New Zealand. Dennis McEldowney noted the astonishing progress made by Lowry himself during the life of Phoenix.

Physically the first issue was an octavo printed one page at a time in a variety of undistinguished types though with an obvious typographical flair. By the second issue Lowry had got hold of a good Monotype face (Imprint) and was rapidly learning how to use it, though the effect was still tentative... [By 1933] Lowry the typographer has struck form to produce substantial quartos with large margins, large (12-point) type, heavy headings and page folios in the still comparatively new Gill san serif, bold linocuts on
buff paper, some in two colours, most with political or industrial themes.  

The consequences of this rapid development by Lowry into a printer and typographer of rare talent can be seen in innumerable samples of his work published throughout the following thirty years or so, and also in his influence on Denis Glover, Ronald Holloway and several other fine printer-typographers.

In what is perhaps one of the most explicit examples of the sort of myth-making which has surrounded Phoenix since its demise, Charles Brasch summed up what he perceived to be the literary and cultural significance of the periodical in the following terms, while at the same time emphasising the degree of continuity between Phoenix and its effective successor, Landfall.

It [Phoenix] had more than served its purpose. It announced the birth of a new literature. It struck the first notes of informed, adult inquiry and criticism in a hitherto complacent, uncritical, incurious society: criticism which was independent of the economic situation, based on a perception of values drawn from literature. At once it brought New Zealand, which was usually a generation behind the times in cultural matters, into the post-war world. That great advance must not be abandoned, and from the time Phoenix died, James [Bertram], Ian [Milner], Jack Bennett, other friends and I began talking about another journal to succeed it.  

In fact Phoenix's immediate successor, a politically radical periodical which was also open to new writing, was Tomorrow, founded by Kennaway Henderson in Christchurch in 1934, and the subject of the next chapter.

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209 Brasch, Indirections 187.
CHAPTER THREE

TOMORROW (1934-1940)

Tomorrow is a satire on today, 
and shows its weakness.1

The purpose of Tomorrow is to play its part in the 
arousing of those splendid energies which for the 
most part lie dormant in New Zealand today. We 
have no dogmas to thrust down the throats of our 
readers. We have nothing to sell them. We appeal 
to them to help us in breaking the uncanny and ill­ 
boding silence. Let us see if we cannot in New 
Zealand get up an argument about something else 
beside sun-bathing and body-line bowling.2

3.1 Introduction

Tomorrow was published in Christchurch by its editor Kennaway 
Henderson between 11 July 1934 and 29 May 1940.3 A specimen issue (undated 
and numbered Volume One, number one) was circulated prior to the publication 
of the actual first issue, also numbered Volume One, number one. After

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1 This motto was printed on the title pages of early issues of Tomorrow.

2 Frederick Sinclaire ('F.S.'), 'Notes by the Way,' Tomorrow 1.1 [Specimen Issue] (n.d.): 3.

3 Joyce Herd's comprehensive Index to Tomorrow, 1934-40 (Dunedin: University of 
Otago Press, 1962) has been of enormous value in the preparation of this chapter. 
The following table adapted from Herd will assist readers in keeping track of the 
distribution of issues through the six volumes of Tomorrow.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Volume</th>
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<td>1-52</td>
<td>11 July 1934 - 23 October 1935</td>
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<td>2</td>
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Indices to Volumes Three, Four and Five were published in the final issues of these 
volumes.
appearing weekly until 10 April 1935,\(^4\) production of *Tomorrow* was suspended for over three months owing to financial problems, with publication recommencing with the issue for 24 July 1935. From 4 March 1936 it appeared as a fortnightly until the final issue dated 29 May 1940, after which Henderson's increasingly controversial periodical was effectively suppressed ('clubbed' was the word Henderson used)\(^5\) by the Labour Government under the wide ranging war-time amendments to the Censorship and Publicity Emergency Regulations. The publication in *Tomorrow* of articles opposing conscription and supporting conscientious objection to the war were the main reasons behind this suppression. An added bonus for the government was the removal of a major outlet for dissident Labour Member of Parliament John A. Lee, who had become a regular contributor to *Tomorrow* from early 1939.

*Tomorrow* was, according to Frederick Sinclaire, the result of 'one man's persistent energy and devotion.'\(^6\) That man was Kennaway Henderson, artist, conscientious objector, political radical, and cartoonist and illustrator for several Australian and New Zealand newspapers and periodicals, including the *New Zealand Illustrated Magazine* and, briefly, the *Mirror*. Henderson was assisted in the establishment of *Tomorrow* by Frederick Sinclaire and Winston Rhodes. A New Zealander, Sinclaire lived for several decades in Australia before returning in 1932 to take up the Professorship of English at Canterbury University College, appointed to replace Arnold Wall. While practising as a Unitarian minister in

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\(^4\) With the exception of the week of 10 October 1934.


\(^6\) Frederick Sinclaire ('F.S.'), 'Notes by the Way,' *Tomorrow* 2.1 (30 October 1935): 8.
Melbourne he became an active member of both the local Fabian Society and the Victorian Socialist Party. He had many friends among Melbourne's influential literati, including Furnley Maurice and Vance Palmer. He subscribed to the Fabian belief in the gradual improvement of society by reform from within rather than by sudden revolutionary change. His moderate line led to conflict with more radical elements among Tomorrow's contributors, eventually resulting in Sinclaire's departure from the editorial committee and the paper generally.

Winston Rhodes had met Sinclaire in Melbourne through their common political affiliations. In early 1934 Sinclaire succeeded in appointing Rhodes to the position of lecturer in the English Department at the University College. Rhodes quickly became involved in the Christchurch political scene, lending his support to several left-wing organisations, including the Friends of the Soviet Union, with which he had been involved in Melbourne. Rhodes's 'humanist Marxism' can be detected in many of his contributions to Tomorrow.

Two others, Denis Glover and Bruce Souter, soon joined Henderson, Sinclaire and Rhodes in the editing of Tomorrow. In 1934 Glover was completing his studies at Canterbury University College. He edited the College newspaper Canta in 1934, and the annual Review in 1934 and 1935. Subsequently, until the Caxton Press became more or less established as a going concern in 1938, Glover taught for two and a half years under Sinclaire and Rhodes in the College's Department of English. Bruce Souter was an employee of the Public Trust

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Office and took the role of Tomorrow's business manager. Aside from Souter's, the specific roles taken by Sinclaire, Rhodes and Glover on the editorial committee never seem to have been defined. Glover appears to have taken increasing responsibility for the fiction and poetry content of the paper, although all editorial decisions were subject to Henderson's final approval. Rhodes later recalled that at the regular Friday evening editorial meetings, "after a considerable amount of face-saving discussion all Kennaway's proposals were accepted." 8

After Phoenix, it is usually Tomorrow which is thought of as the most significant periodical of literary interest published in New Zealand prior to the Second World War. The primary although not the only reason for this is the publication in its pages of thirty-three stories by Frank Sargeson between July 1935 and December 1939. In an interview in 1970, Sargeson gave the following estimation of the significance of Tomorrow to the pre-War generation of New Zealand writers.

I suppose in the thirties there was a sort of grouping [of young writers] as it were. Tomorrow was an outlet. There isn't an outlet now, in the sense that there was with Tomorrow. You've got to remember that Tomorrow used to be a weekly to begin with then it became a fortnightly then a monthly [Sargeson's memory is incorrect on this latter point]. But we did have something that we haven't got now, apart perhaps from the [New Zealand] Monthly Review. Publication takes so long. Arena, you never know when it will come out, Mate is the same, Landfall only every three months -- whereas with Tomorrow you always had a date line. . . . We used

to get excited when *Tomorrow* was quoted in Parliament by somebody.\(^9\)

It can be argued, supported in part by the testimony of Sargeson himself,\(^{10}\) that the publication of his early stories in *Tomorrow* constitutes a remarkable example of a periodical determining both the form and content of the work of a contributor. However, while it may be true that Sargeson moulded the tone and subject matter of his stories to suit the interests of *Tomorrow*’s readers, it must also be acknowledged that there were several other factors involved in the development of his unique style, not the least of which was his growing awareness of American literature, especially the writings of Sherwood Anderson.\(^{11}\) As for the much remarked brevity of Sargeson’s early contributions to *Tomorrow* (honored in one case to a mere two hundred and forty words)\(^{12}\) this in fact runs counter to the typical length of stories by other writers published in both earlier and subsequent issues, and so cannot be said to have been imposed by the magazine’s editorial requirements. For example, one of the five stories published in *Tomorrow* prior to the appearance of Sargeson’s work, H.C.D. Somerset’s ‘The Hammer and the Anvil,’\(^{13}\) ran to almost three full double column pages, approximately eight times the length of Sargeson’s first stories.

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\(^{11}\) Sargeson’s article in *Tomorrow* on Sherwood Anderson is discussed below.

\(^{12}\) Frank Sargeson, ‘Cats by the Tail,’ *Tomorrow* 1.40 (31 July 1935): 11.

In addition to the work of Frank Sargeson a large number of other pieces of short fiction appeared in *Tomorrow* by several emerging writers, including Roderick Finlayson and a number of authors not normally thought of as short story writers, notably Denis Glover, Allen Curnow, A.R.D. Fairburn, and R.A.K. Mason. The association of these four poets in Henderson's periodical continued an alliance initiated in the university magazines of the early thirties, in particular *Kiwi, Phoenix, Oriflamme, Sirocco,* and the *Canterbury College Review.*\(^\text{14}\) Indeed, most of the 'crop of rebellious poetasters'\(^\text{15}\) who had first found a public voice in *Phoenix* and other of the university based magazines contributed material of one sort or another to the pages of *Tomorrow*.

Reviews of New Zealand literature appeared amid the more numerous reviews of international (often socialist) fiction, poetry and non-fiction. J.J. Herd records a total of three hundred and sixty-nine book reviews in *Tomorrow.*\(^\text{16}\) Of these eighty-two deal with books about New Zealand or by New Zealand authors, thirty-three of which were in the genres of fiction, poetry, drama, and literary criticism. Frank Gadd, the most prolific contributor of reviews on all subjects to *Tomorrow* (one-hundred and twenty-eight), also contributed the largest number on items of New Zealand literature (ten), including reviews of Cresswell's *Present Without Leave,*\(^\text{17}\) Curnow's *Not in Narrow Seas,*\(^\text{18}\) Robin Hyde's

\(^{14}\) For a discussion of *Kiwi, Oriflamme, Sirocco* and the *Canterbury College Review,* see Chapter Six below.

\(^{15}\) E.H. McCormick, *Letters and Arts in New Zealand* (Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1940) 188.

\(^{16}\) Herd, *Index to Tomorrow* 6-10.

\(^{17}\) Frank Gadd ('F.G.'), review of *Present Without Leave,* by D'Arcy Cresswell, *Tomorrow* 6.3 (6 December 1939): 90.

(continued...)

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The Godwits Fly,9 and John A. Lee's novels The Hunted20 and Civilian into Soldier.21 Despite a fairly close community of literary contributors, there was little cross-reviewing in Tomorrow. To trace the most prominent examples, Fairburn reviewed Curnow's Enemies at length in April 1937,22 while Curnow reviewed Fairburn's Dominion in a feature article just over a year later.23 Sargeson gave his own estimation of Dominion the following month,24 having had Conversation With My Uncle reviewed by Fairburn in July 1936.25 This is the full extent of explicit cross-reviewing by these authors, although articles by them on the general state of New Zealand literature inevitably made reference to the work of their contemporaries. Such articles were of great significance in the development of a vigorous local criticism during the thirties. However, they were also a minority among the bulk of literary criticism in Tomorrow, most of

18(...continued)
18 Frank Gadd ('F.G.'), review of Not in Narrow Seas, by Allen Curnow, Tomorrow 5.17 (21 June 1939): 539.
which was concerned with publications, personalities and events in Britain, Europe, Australia, the United States, and the Soviet Union.

Rachel Barrowman correctly describes Tomorrow as 'the intellectual focus of the Popular Front in New Zealand.' In her book, *A Popular Vision: The Arts and the Left in New Zealand 1930-1950*, she presents a detailed account of the part Tomorrow played in the left-wing culture which developed in New Zealand in part as a result of the social and economic stresses of the Great Depression. Another commentator has described Tomorrow as 'a magazine that reflected the ideology of the Popular Front: the loose group of socialists and radicals united by their opposition to fascism.' Movements such as the Left Book Club, the Co-operative Book Movement, the Progressive Publishing Society and left-wing theatre all found support in the pages of Tomorrow. Barrowman's work allows a much clearer image to be gained of the wider cultural context in which Tomorrow was published. In this chapter the aim is to supplement her study with a more detailed examination of the literary and literary critical content of the periodical than she has done.

The chapter is divided into six parts. Following this introductory section, Section 3.2 deals with the paper's editorial policy and the way in which it developed and changed through the six years of Tomorrow's publication. Sections 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5 examine in turn the literary criticism, poetry and fiction in Tomorrow, paying particular attention to the contributions of Frank Sargeson, Allen Curnow, Denis Glover, and A.R.D. Fairburn, but also discussing a large

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number of other significant contributors. The final section of the chapter describes the circumstances surrounding the closure of the paper and provides some concluding comments on its overall significance to the development of New Zealand literature. In the course of the chapter, no attempt is made to discuss the role of the paper in the political milieu of the thirties, except in so far as that role impinged on Tomorrow's function as a forum for literary criticism and an outlet for creative writing.
TOMORROW

"Tomorrow is a satire on today, and shows its weakness"

AN INDEPENDENT WEEKLY PAPER
EDITED BY KENNAWAY HENDERSON

IN THIS ISSUE:
Some Thoughts On Education ........ Professor James Shelley
New Zealand And The World To-day .... Major W. N. Pharazyn
Conditions in England ................ James Sunshine
Women and Freedom ................ Linda Bennett
3.2 Editorial Policy

First and foremost, Tomorrow was founded by Kennaway Henderson to counter what he perceived as the monopolisation of the New Zealand press by vested interests. Henderson canvassed support through the four main centres before producing a specimen copy which was distributed with a yellow sticker attached. This stated:

We are convinced that the need for such a paper as this is compelling and we have arranged to publish weekly by voluntary effort. This entails a considerable amount of sacrifice. Will you get behind us? Tomorrow is free from any interest, party and any advertisements, its success depends on the enthusiasm of those who recognise the need.28

There followed a list of over twenty-five academics, educationalists and established writers, including Jessie Mackay, who had pledged support for the new enterprise. Winston Rhodes did not regard the specimen copy as impressive, and observed later that:

The list [of supporters] did not include trade unionists, or representatives of radical groups. Nor was there any sign of the younger and more rebellious writers who were emerging at that time.29

As it transpired, the paper was rapidly co-opted by younger writers, many of whom could have been described as 'fellow travellers,' individuals sympathetic with, although for various reasons not fully committed to, the cause of worldwide Marxist revolution. Despite Henderson's initial determination to provide a non-partisan outlet for the open discussion of political and other issues, Tomorrow soon became too left-wing for many potential contributors. Consequently, numerous established names in New Zealand literature during the


29 Rhodes, Kennaway Henderson 45.
thirties did not appear in its pages.

In his memoirs, Charles Brasch gave his impressions of the extent to which the divisive nature of *Tomorrow* alienated many potential supporters:

A number of both writers and readers who should have been *Tomorrow's* natural supporters were put off by what was narrow and doctrinaire - Henderson's repulsive cartoons, and some of its political comment. Fred Page, George Gabites, and articulate younger people whom I met in Christchurch such as the painter Leo Bensemann... and the writer Lawrence Baigent, Douglas Lilburn, the composer, and no doubt others, should have been drawn into it and were not, although all had shown or were to show before long how well they could write... It drew on too small and narrow a circle; but since it could not afford to pay contributors... inducements to write for it were not very strong.30

Even a short examination of the pages of *Tomorrow* throws doubt on the logic of Brasch's latter claim. Henderson's contributors were numerous and it is doubtful whether lack of payment inhibited any from submitting their work for publication. But Brasch's point about the number of otherwise articulate writers missing from its pages holds true, and may be explained by the political controversies which individual issues often generated. Many writers sympathetic to the ideas expressed in *Tomorrow* had personal and professional reasons for avoiding being associated with the increasingly left-wing paper. The frequent use of pseudonyms and initials was one way around this dilemma, and it is unfortunate that Henderson's complete destruction of *Tomorrow's* editorial archive and subscription lists (undertaken to protect his supporters following the suppression of *Tomorrow* in mid-1940) prevents any accurate assessment of the real range of contributors. In addition to the political controversies which both dogged and sustained it, *Tomorrow's* role as a significant venue in the heated...

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exchanges between what, for convenience, may be termed the Denis Glover and Charles Marris literary camps, must also have alienated a number of potential literary contributors.

Early issues of *Tomorrow* carried the motto 'Tomorrow is a satire on today, and shows its weakness,' a hint at the tone Henderson intended his periodical to adopt towards its society. The regular publication of cartoons by Henderson gave a distinct flavour to the periodical. He produced for *Tomorrow* grotesque characterisations of those types of authority (the Press Baron, the Dictator) attacked in their particular manifestations in numerous articles in the periodical. Writing in 1942, shortly after the enforced closure of *Tomorrow*, the highly respected New Zealand political cartoonist David Low noted (somewhat ironically under the circumstances) the long tradition of vigorous political caricature to which Kennaway's cartoons belonged:

> [T]he press is almost uniformly one-sided in view on important political policies. . . . [I]t is a healthy sign to find . . . a cartoonist like Kennaway Henderson who, moved by the injustices and stupidities of the world, insists on throwing his weight about in the true traditional spirit of his art.\(^{31}\)

Henderson accompanied his cartoons with brief articles elaborating on the sentiments expressed in the drawings. To the first such contribution, published in the 'Specimen Issue' and featuring 'The Great Katipo' spinning the 'Daily Press Cables,' he added an explanatory preface which sheds light on his overall purpose in establishing *Tomorrow*:

> The letterpress accompanying many of these cartoons will be in the nature of a cartoon itself. In writing and drawing, an attempt will be made to strike at the tragic selfishness of a fatuous 'governing'...

\(^{31}\) David Low, foreword, *Cartoons From Tomorrow*, by 'Kennaway' (Christchurch: Christchurch Co-operative Book Society, 1942), n.p.
class which, with all its regalia of 'learning' and riches, has done little but leave the masses with the alternative - fight or starve.\(^{32}\)

This encouragement of the criticism of New Zealand society led directly to the coopting of *Tomorrow* by contributors from the political left. As a result, *Tomorrow* also became the most widely read venue for the positive appraisal of the politics and culture of the Soviet Union.

The art and literature of the Soviet Union was perceived by many contributors as a beacon of hope in the struggle against the insidious influence of American and British popular culture (particularly cinema), and of such popular fiction genres as romance, cowboy and detective stories and novels. However, this general congruence of view did not in any way reduce the vigour of the debates in the periodical's correspondence columns and in the often lengthy exchanges conducted through articles. A.R.D. Fairburn was one of several regular participants in these exchanges, partly owing to his willingness to engage with the Marxist contributors to *Tomorrow* on behalf of Douglas Social Credit. Nor were these controversies confined to local issues. Although *Tomorrow* always concerned itself with the economic, political and social life of New Zealand, it was also determinedly international in its outlook, founded as it was to 'contradict the powerful influences at work . . . which make it impossible . . . to know the truth about what is happening abroad.'\(^{33}\) The same emphasis on international perspectives is evident in *Tomorrow*'s literary interests. Winston Rhodes, especially, wrote at length on Russian, European, and


American writers working in the tradition of social (and socialist) realism, as well as on mainstream writing, and theorized often about the aesthetics of literature and politics. However, a significant, if relatively smaller proportion of Tomorrow's space was given over to the publication or discussion of literary work by local writers. Most if not all issues featured a poem or two, although readers were more likely to find these to be a topical squib or epigram by Glover or Fairburn, than serious poetry by Curnow or Mason. Stories, while appearing less frequently, were distributed through all six volumes of the magazine.

In the light of Tomorrow's increasingly left-wing bent, it is perhaps curious that the name R.A.K. Mason appeared no more than four or five times in the magazine's life. Presumably, this was not because he disagreed with the overall political stance of Tomorrow, although he may not have wished to associate himself too closely with a publication devoted to the opinions of those he might well have considered mere 'liberals' or 'fellow travellers.' Denis Glover later commented that '[t]he Communists, of course, found it [Tomorrow] drivelling bourgeois piffle.\(^{34}\) In fact, despite the commitment to political writing evident in his editorship of Phoenix at the start of the decade, Mason's journalism during the mid-thirties was limited to contributions to the left-wing papers the New Zealand Worker and Farming First. This changed towards the end of the decade as he became involved in the production of several communist journals, including the Worker's Weekly, the People's Voice and its war-time substitute, In Print, which Mason edited.

Chapter 3.2: Tomorrow - Editorial Policy

The collapse of Tomorrow's initial editorial policy of political neutrality was enacted most explicitly through a series of disputes between contributors with differing degrees of commitment to the socialist cause. By mid-1937 both Frederick Sinclaire and Major W.N. Pharazyn, another regular contributor of articles on New Zealand's place in the international scene, had fallen out with a more radical group of contributors. Among these were three prominent men who discreetly signed themselves 'Th.':\(^{35}\) W.B. Sutch, economic advisor to the Minister of Finance; Harold Innes, personal secretary to the Minister of Customs; and the Labour Member of Parliament Martyn Finlay.\(^{36}\) Their need for anonymity was in part caused by what Denis Glover ironically described as a pretty little sketch entitled Section 59 of the Finance Act 1932, under which any government servant could be sacked without notice if by public statements, or statements intended for publication in New Zealand or elsewhere, he has sought to bring the government of New Zealand into disrepute.\(^{37}\)

Sutch, Innes, and Finlay, together with a number of young and enthusiastic contributors such as Bruce Souter, wrote much of the controversial and outspoken material published in the 'News and Views' column. The increasing dissension among the regular contributors to Tomorrow which centred around this column led in April 1937 to the following announcement:

> As from this issue the News and Views [column] will be followed by one or more editorials giving the view of the Editorial Committee on important topics. In the past current problems have been discussed from various angles, but generally the paper itself has expressed no opinion. Naturally the members of the commit-

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\(^{35}\) It is unclear why these writers adopted the collective signature 'Th.' It is a common abbreviation for 'Thomas,' hence, perhaps, 'Doubting Thomas.'


\(^{37}\) Glover, 'Back Pages From Tomorrow,' *Rostrum* 2 (1940): 29.
tee have felt strongly on these subjects, and it is felt that more
cohesion will be given to the paper by putting forward an editorial
policy. Sooner or later everyone will be forced to take sides, and
the failure of the paper to give its opinion has been an obvious
weakness.

The policy of independence will be unchanged, and articles
from every point of view will be welcomed. Should any individ­
ual member of the committee not agree with the majority he will
have the opportunity of attacking the editorial policy in a signed
article.38

While this was precisely what happened, increasing discord between the two
main factions within the pages of Tomorrow led in 1937 to the withdrawal of
Major Pharazyn and later Professor Sinclaire from the magazine, largely over
opinions expressed in the paper about both the Spanish Civil War and the
purges and trials then under way in the Soviet Union. Another point of
dissension was the amount of space given to some regular contributors to
promote the policies of Douglas Social Credit. This particular dispute had
literary implications, since A.R.D. Fairburn (actively committed to Social Credit
as an alternative to Marxism as a cure for the woes of capitalism) never lost an
opportunity to bait the socialists through the columns of Tomorrow, at times
quite gleefully.

However, for many creative writers, Sargeson included, Tomorrow was the
favoured venue of publication in New Zealand throughout the late thirties,
despite its inability to pay contributors for their work. This preference was due
largely to a paucity of alternative outlets, but Tomorrow's suitability as a site of
publication for creative work whose spirit reflected a brand of (in Dennis
McEldowney's words) 'literary and aesthetic humanism'39 must also be

38 Kennaway Henderson, 'Editorial Note,' Tomorrow 3.12 (14 April 1937): 356.
considered a factor. While it is true that, both politically and culturally, *Tomorrow* picked up where *Phoenix* had left off, it should be made clear that it did so in literary terms not as the result of any specific editorial policy. It was in a sense by default, owing to the lack of alternative outlets, that *Tomorrow* published many among the rising generation of creative writers who had first found their voice in *Phoenix*. Indeed, among the editorial committee only Denis Glover had personal contacts among the younger writers. Henderson himself was in his fifties and had spent the early part of his career on such bastions of mainstream New Zealand literary culture as the *New Zealand Illustrated Magazine*. His literary taste was decidedly conservative and he is reputed to have habitually referred to Britain as 'Home,' understandable in the light of his origins there but not likely to ally him with the literary nationalism increasingly voiced by the younger poets and writers associated with *Phoenix* and other university based magazines.

*Tomorrow's* commitment to encouraging New Zealand writers was thus never explicit. Many writers turned to *Tomorrow* because 'there was no where else for them to publish.' The quarterly *Art in New Zealand* was the one other significant periodical of literary interest published regularly throughout the thirties. While it focused primarily on the visual arts, reproducing an impressive array of work by contemporary New Zealand artists, under the literary

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39(continued)
40 Rhodes, quoted in Andrew Cutler, *Intellectual Sprouts* 75.
41 Discussed below, Chapter Eight.
editorship of Charles Marris *Art in New Zealand* also featured a wide range of both established and emerging writers and poets, including Robin Hyde, Eve Langley, J.C. Beaglehole, and A.R.D. Fairburn. In addition to creative writing, Marris also published several important articles on the state of New Zealand literature, including one by Fairburn which led to a vigorous debate in the pages of *Tomorrow*, as discussed below.\(^4^2\)

Marris was one of the most influential literary editors working during the mid-thirties, and he was increasingly criticised for his conservative literary taste and editorial style. As early as the fourth issue of *Tomorrow* Winston Rhodes wrote that, while *Art in New Zealand* 'coos placidly and worthily enough,' what was needed in New Zealand literature was a little of what G.K. Chesterton had referred to as 'classical swearing,' since only through the 'use of words like blows' would change be effected in contemporary society.\(^4^3\) In the same article and elsewhere in the pages of *Tomorrow*, Rhodes criticised New Zealand writing for being dominated by 'a dove-like prose that coos; ... [a] childish verse that prattles,'\(^4^4\) which he felt Marris encouraged in both *Art in New Zealand* and in his annual anthologies of *Best Poems*. In 1937 Marris was particularly stung when Denis Glover satirised him in the poem *The Arraignment of Paris*,\(^4^5\) an uncompromising attack on the sort of verse promoted by Marris and other magazine and newspaper editors. In response Marris threatened to sue Glover, and a


\(^{4^4}\) Rhodes, 'On Swearing' 12.

flurry of commentary and letters in Glover's defence ensued in the pages of Tomorrow.

The readership of Tomorrow is also of significance to an understanding of the role it played in the development of New Zealand literature during the period of its publication. Henderson destroyed all records connected with the production of Tomorrow (including subscription lists) in order to prevent any possible repercussions for his supporters under the war-time emergency legislation. However, it is clear both from the contents of the periodical and from comments made later by participants such as Winston Rhodes, that Tomorrow was mainly read by an educated, literate readership of liberal academics and professionals, and not by the working people whom the socialism espoused by many of Tomorrow's writers ostensibly set out to 'liberate.' In an interview conducted in 1988, Winston Rhodes made the following comment:

I would say that the main bulk of the subscribers and readers would be what I would call the 'liberal left.' It [Tomorrow] wouldn't be read very much amongst the workers' circles, but it would be by Trade Union secretaries, etc. . . . [O]f course, it was in the libraries and most of the academics and people of that sort got it, and a lot of educational people.46

A hint at the composition of the readership of Tomorrow can be derived from the advertising published in its pages. Prior to mid-1935 Henderson had attempted to fund the paper solely by subscription, a policy which led to increasing financial difficulties. When Tomorrow lost a libel suit brought by the Seamen's Union Henderson was forced to suspend publication for over three months. As in 1934, when he initially solicited support for his paper, Henderson raised the funds necessary for reviving Tomorrow largely from voluntary

46 Quoted in Cutler, 'Intellectual Sprouts' 74.
donations. When Tomorrow reappeared it was slightly enlarged and carried a note admitting that 'of its own accord the paper has developed left-wing tendencies.' It was also found necessary to admit 'certain well chosen advertisements,' which, as Winston Rhodes later remarked, 'must have been regarded by the advertisers as more in the nature of a donation than a profitable exercise.'

Andrew Cutler provides a breakdown of the variety of these advertisements.

Twenty-six different advertisers used the paper between July 1935 and May 1940 [the final issue]. Thirteen of these were recognisably socialist groups, mainly bookshops or socialist magazines. The Co-op bookshops in all the main centres advertised at one time or another, and the Left Book Club advertised forty seven times through its agency of Paul's Book Arcade. Most of the advertisements appeared in only a couple of issues, and most were of one eighth or one sixteenth of a page size. The most regular advertisement was for Lonsdales Opticians of Manchester Street, Christchurch, which appeared in one hundred and forty three issues. The most interesting advertiser, from the point of view of its social and political standing in the community, was Ballantyne's department store.

Cutler goes on to speculate on the implications of Ballantyne's apparently anomalous involvement in Tomorrow. Ballantyne's ran a total of forty nine quarter page advertisements, beginning with the issue for 24 July 1935, for

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49 Rhodes, Kennaway Henderson 46.

50 Cutler, 'Intellectual Sprouts' 63. Cutler also notes that the inclusion of advertisements was balanced by the expansion of Tomorrow from twenty pages to twenty-four and eventually thirty-two pages, although at no time did the advertising content exceed one page in total, excluding inside cover-page advertisements which utilised pages otherwise left blank. Cutler, 'Intellectual Sprouts' 63.
relatively expensive men’s and women’s clothing including such luxuries as tailor-made spun-silk pyjamas. As Cutler suggests, these advertisements must have been expected to reach an appropriate audience, presumably not working class, but professional. It is reasonable to speculate that the typical subscriber to Tomorrow was also the typical ‘fellow traveller,’ which is to say, someone whose social and professional position did not allow any overt left-wing commitment but whose support for the ideal of social justice pursued by the socialist cause led to sympathetic interest in the movement.

Just as Phoenix was inspired by Middleton Murry’s Adelphi, so Tomorrow took as its model another English periodical, A.R. Orage’s The New Age. For Henderson and his fellow editors, Orage’s example of independent publication amid a hostile journalistic environment was highly relevant. On Orage's death in late 1934, Sinclaire commented that ‘[n]o one who wishes to know what people were arguing about in the second decade of the present century can afford to neglect the files of the New Age.’ The same might be said of Tomorrow with regard to the period 1934 to 1940 in New Zealand. Again, early in 1935, in a note appended to a reprint of Hilaire Belloc’s obituary of Orage first published in G.K. ‘s Weekly (15 November 1934), Sinclaire commented:

[I]t was the example of Orage which more than anything else gave the pioneers of Tomorrow courage for their more modest but closely parallel venture. . . . Like Orage we have published what other papers would not.

51 Frederick Sinclaire (‘F.S.’), ‘Notes By The Way,’ Tomorrow 1.18 (14 November 1934): 2.

Winston Rhodes pointed out some time later that these tributes to Orage could be applied with equal appropriateness to Henderson himself.\footnote{Rhodes, \textit{Henderson} 42.}

Such extracts from the work of Belloc and his fellow Catholic polemicist G.K. Chesterton were the only consistent expressions from the radical right to regularly find their way into the pages of \textit{Tomorrow}. They were among a wide range of overseas commentators quoted both in articles and in the form of short 'fill-in' pieces, such as the paragraph by Chesterton on the shift in power to those with wealth inserted in the issue for 9 October 1935.\footnote{G.K. Chesterton, (The concentration of wealth ...), \textit{Tomorrow} 1.50 (9 October 1935): 7. See also Winston Rhodes's essay 'On Swearing,' \textit{Tomorrow} 1.4 (1 August 1934): 12-14, discussed above.} Their inclusion was likely to have been directly due to Henderson's admiration for these writers, although Frederick Sinclaire's influence may also be evident. Certainly Rhodes rejected their radical form of right-wing politics, as was evident from as early as the fifth issue of \textit{Tomorrow}.\footnote{Winston Rhodes, 'The Rejection of Chesterton,' \textit{Tomorrow} 1.5 (8 August 1934): 10-12.}
3.3 Literary Criticism

Despite the conflicts and debates about its editorial direction which occurred within *Tomorrow*, especially during its first two or three years, the journal quickly developed national notoriety as a site of radical social and political commentary and criticism. Indeed it was this primary commitment of the journal which eventually led to its de facto suppression by the New Zealand Police in June 1940. In the specific area of literary criticism, Henderson and his co-editors provided regular space from the first issue for the reviewing and discussion of New Zealand and other literatures. By far the most prolific commentator was Winston Rhodes, who supplied a large number of articles surveying various elements of world literature, including Soviet and other socialist literatures. These articles at times prompted heated discussions in the magazine, with correspondents such as A.R.D. Fairburn disputing Rhodes's pronouncements. The specimen issue of *Tomorrow*, used by Henderson to promote his new paper, carried an appreciation (as distinct from a review) by Jessie Mackay of *Pageant* by G.B. Lancaster (Edith Lyttleton).\(^{56}\) Mackay favourably compares this very popular and successful historical saga with the work of Victor Hugo and regards it as a 'woman's masterpiece' marking the advent of the 'Australasian novel.'\(^{57}\) Frail and elderly by 1934, Mackay subsequently confined her contributions to *Tomorrow* to articles on prohibition, one of several causes to which she devoted the latter years of her life.

The actual first issue of *Tomorrow* featured contributions of poetry by both A.R.D. Fairburn and J.C. Beaglehole, indicative of the enthusiasm with which

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\(^{57}\) Mackay, review of *Pageant* 15.
these writers greeted the appearance of the new paper. The topical nature of their poems set the tone for much of the verse that was to follow. Also present from the first issue was Winston Rhodes; he was still contributing as late as May 1940, the final month of Tomorrow's publication. Barrowman discusses Rhodes's left-wing critical theory as expressed in Tomorrow at some length in her A Popular Vision. As she points out, only a relatively small proportion of the considerable body of writing contributed by Rhodes to Tomorrow refers to New Zealand culture, and only a small component of this relates to the literature of this country. Rhodes's intellectual formation made him deeply suspicious of the potentially provincial and isolationist character of any narrowly conceived literary nationalism. He wrote on a wide range of literatures from around the world, but especially the emerging literature of the Soviet Union, which he regarded as presenting an international model for literature's place in the global society of the future he believed needed to be created. Drawing on his experience with the Workers' Art Club and similar left-wing cultural groups in Melbourne, Rhodes advocated the establishment of parallel endeavours in New Zealand. He supported in practical ways various manifestations of the New Zealand left-wing cultural movement which sprang up during the thirties. For example, he was President of the National Association of the Left Book Club and founding Chairman of the Christchurch Co-operative Book Society.


59 Barrowman, A Popular Vision 49-60 and passim.

60 Barrowman, A Popular Vision 49.
Noting the growth of such movements as the Writers' International, active in protesting against the suppression of artists and writers throughout the world, Rhodes argued for a similar engagement by local writers and artists in what was termed 'the rapidly developing crisis.'

Have any of our writers and artists come down from their pedestals? We have had more than enough of literary guide books for the use of tourists. We have had something to say about our flora and fauna, our mountains and river-beds, hot springs and glaciers. We have had our say concerning the delights of foreign travel.

It is time for a few writers' manifestos, calls to conference and appeals. . . . There is work to be done in New Zealand as elsewhere. It is more needed here than elsewhere, because we have not yet discovered the New Zealand scene. We have only discovered the scenery. Isolation will help no one to discover that scene, ever changing as it is. Real contact with the stage hands is necessary. In each of the four centres there should be some rallying point, where those writers and artists who are beginning to face the social implications of their crafts might discover 'through collective discussion the way in which writers, as writers, (and artists, as artists) can function in the rapidly developing crisis.'

Taking an internationalist view of literature's role in a changing society, he regarded the search for a recognisable local voice in poetry and fiction as, if not futile, then at least misguided. Writers and poets needed to confront 'the vital issues of modern life,' issues chiefly of class and social justice which transcended national boundaries.

Arguing for the founding of, if not a Chair, then at least a 'stool' of New Zealand Literature in the University of New Zealand, Rhodes spoke of the

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62 Rhodes, 'The Writers' International' 13-14, quoting the manifesto of the American branch of the Writers' International movement.

'Renaissance of Purpose' which he saw as inspiring the great writers of his day:

[W]riters . . . are beginning to come to grips with contemporary reality, and are showing that they realise the social and literary implications of our time.64

In this essay (entitled 'On Keeping Up') and elsewhere he established his own 'Great Tradition' of literary figures, notably different from that being established during the same period by F.R. Leavis and the Scrutiny critics. Among others he names Milton, Dante, Gerard Manley Hopkins ('the greatest poet since Shelley'),65 James Joyce, John Dos Passos, D.H. Lawrence, T.S. Eliot, W.H. Auden, Cecil Day Lewis, and Stephen Spender. He praised the modernists in this list for their 'complete revolt against the inaccuracies and fluffiness of the romantic writers and their bastard descendants, the newspapers and popular fiction':

In verse they [the modernists] are not content to evoke vague emotional responses by means of a verbal imagery that lacks precision, and the diffuse description of the beautiful. In prose they are not content to evoke vague emotional responses by the slipshod methods of a journalese which does not value precise definition and has no time for subtleties of thought and feeling or distinctions between conscious speech and disconnected thought.66

He felt that New Zealand writers were correct to take such poets and writers as their models, although he warned that it was necessary to look further into the past (to the alternative and radical tradition of Milton and Shelley) in order to discover a solid foundation for their art.

Discussing New Poems, a small collection edited by Denis Glover and Ian Milner in 1934, Rhodes congratulated the editors on 'making a new departure

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64 Rhodes, 'On Keeping Up' 9.
65 Rhodes, 'On Keeping Up' 8.
in that standardised product the New Zealand anthology."67 Noting that the collection was 'an attempt to look into the future rather than to assess the past,' he particularly approved of contributions by A.R.D. Fairburn which demonstrated to him 'that modern New Zealand verse is learning to swear.'68 However, he was unconvinced by a vein of negative imagery in some of the poems (perhaps chiefly Fairburn's 'Love in the Night') and by 'a tendency to talk too much about maggots and lice, bones and skeletons, wombs and worms':

[T]he writers, with all their implied faith in a more creative form of life and their poetic vigour and pliancy, have not yet achieved the serenity of discontent which knows that there are other things to write about, there are other songs to sing.69

Glover defended the poets in New Poems against these charges in the next issue of Tomorrow: 'Our aim was to show that some New Zealand writers at least are not wooing the Muses with a goosequill in one hand and a guide-book in the other.'70 Two issues later Fairburn joined the fray, in an article entitled 'Apology for Poesy,'71 one of many exchanges between himself and Rhodes, discussed in more detail below.

To an issue which also featured the first instalment of a comic story by Denis Glover,72 a poem by Allen Curnow in the style of his Valley of Decision,73

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68 Rhodes, 'The Art of Quarrelling' 16.
69 Rhodes, 'The Art of Quarrelling' 17.
70 Denis Glover, letter, Tomorrow 1.10 (12 September 1934): 19.
and Frank Sargeson's early sketch 'A Piece of Yellow Soap,' Rhodes contributed an article on the problem of form in modern literature and the necessity of developing a form appropriate for the treatment of modern life. Concern with such larger issues is typical of Rhodes, who (perhaps unusually for a Marxist in the 1930s) refused to theorize literature purely in terms of 'content,' social, political or 'national.'

Rhodes's attitude to the more conservative periodicals publishing literary material in the thirties was revealed in his comments on Art in New Zealand, quoted above, and in his editing with Denis Glover of the two anthologies which were compiled from poetry published in Tomorrow: Verse Alive and Verse Alive: Number Two. The titles of these anthologies express disdain for 'the principle of imitation which still informs a large body of New Zealand verse.' In a note appended to the preface to the first volume, Rhodes and Glover wrote:

All this verse has appeared in the pages of the weekly journal Tomorrow (volume one), partly, perhaps, because there are in this country not many hospitable pages where it might otherwise have been entertained. Verse Alive is therefore a Tomorrow anthology and the poems in it were written for the readers of a weekly paper and not for the readers of a magazine devoted to verse.

72(...continued)
73 Allen Curnow ('Julian'), 'Monody,' Tomorrow 1.44 (4 September 1935): 12.
75 Winston Rhodes, 'Forerunners,' Tomorrow 1.43 (23 August 1935): 10-12.
77 Rhodes & Glover, introduction, Verse Alive 5.
78 Rhodes & Glover, introduction, Verse Alive 6.
In the second volume, drawing on material published in *Tomorrow* between October 1935 and December 1936, Glover and Rhodes presented 'a collection in which there is a good deal of jesting, even on important topics,' poetry which it was admitted might be 'too topical,' but which was nevertheless thought to be 'genuine verse expressed in lively language.' Poetry by, among others, J.C. Beaglehole, A.R.D. Fairburn, Allen Curnow, Denis Glover, Basil Dowling, Robin Hyde, R.A.K. Mason, and Ian Milner appeared in the two volumes. The original, longer version of Glover's 'Home Thoughts,' part three of Curnow's 'Aspect of Monism' and his 'Monody,' Mason's 'Prelude,' and Fairburn's 'The Christ-Mass,' a poem of the same subject and tone as 'Utopia' but more strident, are among the more interesting items included in the two anthologies.

In an apparent display of editorial modesty these collections were not reviewed in *Tomorrow*, and seem to have received little notice elsewhere. C.A. Marris ignored their appearance, not mentioning them in his review column in the quarterly *Art in New Zealand*, despite commenting on earlier anthologies of work by the same group of poets, including *Another Argo* and *New Poems*. Rhodes wrote a dismissive and heavily ironic review of Allen Curnow's 1935 manifesto *Poetry And Language*, his 'theory of poetry as communication'

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which Curnow concludes with a rejection of most New Zealand poetry on the
grounds that it is written in what he termed a 'quasi-dead' poetical language.
Rhodes was particularly antagonised by the patronizing tone of one of Curnow's
introductory comments:

I have written [this booklet] for those 'literary' people - professors
of English, graduates, editors of newspaper literary columns and
their satellites - who have not yet passed the elementary stages of
a reasoned understanding of the art of poetry.\(^{83}\)

Curnow replied to Rhodes's criticism in the following issue of *Tomorrow*,
claiming that Rhodes had 'missed the point,' and noting that the booklet 'really
was intended' for reviewers like Rhodes.\(^{84}\)

Among his numerous contributions to *Tomorrow* Winston Rhodes
developed a valuable body of critical writing on New Zealand's literary and
wider culture. His ability to place local creative effort within the wider
international context must have stimulated younger writers in search of
alternative models for their work. His call for a politicised and more strenuous
criticism bore fruit, whether directly or otherwise, in the writings of Allen
Curnow and A.R.D. Fairburn, among others. The direct responses which
Rhodes elicited from these younger writers constituted an important formative
element in New Zealand's emerging literary critical discourse.

\(^{82}\)(...continued)


\(^{84}\) Allen Curnow, 'Poetry and Language,' *Tomorrow* 2.11 (22 January 1936): 24. Curnow
recalled in 1973 that R.P. Anschutz, a professor of Philosophy at Auckland University
College with some influence among the *Phoenix* group of poets, 'thought parts of it
[Poetry and Language] were alright,' although this was probably a judgement of the
text as a philosophical discussion, rather than as functional poetic theory. Mac­
As part of the original group which formed around Henderson in 1934, Professor Frederick Sinclaire was a major contributor to *Tomorrow* from the specimen issue until his final disagreement with the periodical’s political stance in mid-1937. He was described as ‘a devastating stylist’ by Glover in 1940, shortly after the closure of *Tomorrow*.

The grave irony of Swift, the paradoxicoliety [sic] of Chesterton, were but two of his weapons. Where the others rushed whooping to the attack, F.S. would be timing his Parthian shafts; where they laid on with a cudgel, he would be setting a cunning snare of words.85

The majority of Sinclaire’s contributions were topical in subject, dealing with matters of political, social and economic interest. They largely appeared over the initials ‘F.S.’ in a column entitled ‘Notes by the Way’ which appeared in more or less every issue until Volume Two, number four, and subsequently (after a gap of fourteen months) in six issues of Volume Three. As a younger man in Melbourne Sinclaire had developed a reputation for political and religious radicalism86 but by the thirties this militancy had become somewhat tempered, a fact which eventually contributed to his departure from *Tomorrow*’s editorial committee. After Sinclaire declared his neutrality on the issue of the Spanish Civil War, asserting that ‘the victory of either side will lead to detestable tyranny,’87 he and Australian correspondent Vance Palmer exchanged a series of articles and letters on the subject, culminating in Sinclaire’s final contribution to

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86 Denis Glover described Sinclaire as a ‘radical and a socialist.’ Denis Glover, *Hot Water Sailor* (Wellington: Reed, 1962) 75.

87 Frederick Sinclaire, ‘Notes by the Way,’ *Tomorrow* 3.6 (20 January 1937): 176.
Tomorrow in May 1937.\footnote{Frederick Sinclaire, 'Notes by the Way,' 3.14 (12 May 1937): 433-436. The Spanish Civil War was a major topic of discussion in Tomorrow from late 1935. Over 130 articles, letters, cartoons (by Kennaway Henderson) and quotations from the local and overseas press are recorded by Herd, plus numerous poems referring to the subject. Palmer's contributions to the dispute were: Vance Palmer, 'The Struggle in Spain,' Tomorrow 3.9 (3 March 1937): 270; and Vance Palmer, 'Open Letter to F.S.,' Tomorrow 3.13 (28 April 1937): 396-398.} Winston Rhodes suggested that this dispute was a major factor in Sinclaire's withdrawl from the magazine.\footnote{Rhodes, Frederick Sinclaire: A Memoir 119. Sinclair's name disappeared from the list of regular contributors to Tomorrow after the issue for 1 September 1937 (Volume 3, number 22).}

Sinclaire's literary critical writings in Tomorrow were relatively few, consisting for the most part of reviews, usually of overseas publications. Only occasionally did he comment directly on New Zealand literature. He opened the specimen issue of Tomorrow by declaring that '[w]e inhabit a land of dreadful silence,'\footnote{Frederick Sinclaire ('F.S.'), 'Notes By The Way,' Tomorrow 1.1 [Specimen Issue] (n.d.): 2.} although he was more concerned with the state of mainstream New Zealand journalism than with the literary landscape. In early September 1934 Sinclaire advocated a period of cultural isolation as a means to foster local creativity. He deplored the derivative nature of much of New Zealand culture and suggested, in words which echoed the opening Phoenix editorial, that '[o]ur need is not to listen, but to become articulate.'\footnote{Frederick Sinclaire, 'F.S./ 'Notes By The Way,' Tomorrow 1.9 (5 September 1934): 3.} In the same issue Winston Rhodes complained about the 'uncertain and strident' voices to be found in the New Poems anthology, edited by Denis Glover and Ian Milner,\footnote{Winston Rhodes, The Art of Quarrelling Tomorrow 1.9 (5 September 1934): 16. Ian Milner and Denis Glover, eds. New Poems (Christchurch: Caxton Press, 1934).} one indication of the difficulty faced by those struggling to find a fresh voice for New Zealand
poetry. Sinclaire's negative reaction to the early stories of Frank Sargeson is discussed below.

A.R.D. Fairburn was also involved with *Tomorrow* from the earliest issues. When the specimen copy of *Tomorrow* appeared Fairburn was one of the first to offer his support. He had associated with Orage in London and on his return to New Zealand sent regular reports to Orage's *New English Weekly* on the plight of New Zealand working people during the Depression. According to Herd's *Index*, Fairburn contributed thirty-eight articles, thirty-three letters, five reviews, twenty-seven poems, and one short story to *Tomorrow*.93

For the most part the poetry consisted of satirical and topical verse, little of which was reprinted. His single short story, entitled 'Our Gang,' is a matter-of-fact, albeit sympathetic description of life on an Unemployed Relief Gang, a form of work Fairburn became familiar with on his return from England in late 1932.94 The story is to all intents a true report from the human coal-face of the Depression, but was published in the newly established 'Miscellany' column, at that time a venue for short fiction in *Tomorrow*, including that of Frank Sargeson.95 The subject matter was similar to several of Sargeson's sketches, focusing on the tragic fate of those individuals most vulnerable to the trials of unemployment: the elderly and the infirm. Fairburn returned to the subject again in his significant early sequence 'Dominion,' written during the same

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93 Herd, *Index* to *Tomorrow* 20-21.


95 The 'Miscellany' column was retitled 'Life and Letters' after the shift to fortnightly publication with *Tomorrow* 2.17 (4 March 1936).
period. 'Our Gang' constitutes a more detailed description of those characters described in the first poem of Dominion, 'Utopia':

... the outcast, the superfluous, 
reading back-date magazines, rolling cheap cigarettes, 
not mated; 
 witnesses to the constriction of life essential 
to the maintenance of the rate of profit 
as distinct from the gross increment of wealth.96

'Our Gang' is perhaps best described as imaginative reportage and is one of the better examples of the sort of realist fiction which other writers with more obvious socialist sympathies contributed to Tomorrow.

A considerable number of the articles and letters submitted by Fairburn to Tomorrow were intentionally controversial, so much so that, according to Rhodes, Henderson was at times disconcerted by Fairburn's deliberate goading.97 In 1935 Fairburn expressed his own frustration with Tomorrow in a comment to Denis Glover:

Tomorrow is, I think, not-so-bad. Its faults are the sort of faults that would attach to a scheme for raising bananas at the S. [sic] Pole. 
... it's a shade too earnest.98

The Marxism of W.N. Pharazyn and Winston Rhodes's left-wing cultural theorizing were especially disagreeable to Fairburn, who had been arguing for the policies of Douglas Social Credit monetary reform since being introduced to Major Douglas by Orage in London in 1931. In a frustrated outburst to Glover late in 1935, he commented:

96 A.R.D. Fairburn, 'Utopia,' Dominion (Christchurch: Caxton Press, 1938) 1.
97 Rhodes, undated interview in Trussell, Fairburn 149.
Tell Henderson I'm sick of this torrent of radicalism and am going to turn myself into a capitalist apologist shortly, and give him some good solid stuff along those lines. 'The Diary of a Capitalist' - imitation Benn, full of malice and trickery.  

Fairburn also clashed with Winston Rhodes over literary matters. He had set out a kind of manifesto for a national literature in an article in *Art in New Zealand* in 1934, arguing that:

[T]he young New Zealand writer must be willing to partake, internally as well as externally, of the anarchy of life in a new place and, by his creative energy, give that life form and consciousness.

Various alternatives already in existence were, Fairburn felt, untenable. These included the slavish imitation of English models, specifically Georgianism, ironically the best description of the type of verse published by Marris in *Art in New Zealand* and elsewhere. Fairburn advocated as a more suitable model what he termed 'the native American tradition,' originating in the 'easy-going, casual, gum-chewing attitude toward life' of Mark Twain, William Faulkner and Ernest Hemingway (and presumably Sherwood Anderson). He criticised Australian literature as too much influenced by *fin de siècle* decadence, leaving it 'to this day overrun with fauns, satyrs, dryads and all the paraphernalia of a shoddy paganism.'

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101 Fairburn, 'Some Aspects' 216.

102 Fairburn, 'Some Aspects' 217-218.
While agreeing with Fairburn's overall argument, as an Australian Rhodes took umbrage at this too sweeping dismissal of the recent literature of his native country. He directed his reader's attention to Fairburn's article, which he felt 'should be read by all those who are even remotely interested in their own literature,' but added (adopting Chesterton's words) that there is to found in Australian literature 'plenty of classical swearing,' and cited the work of Katherine Susannah Prichard and Furnley Maurice in support of his argument. Rhodes saw in Australian literature models which were just as suitable for New Zealand writers as those which Fairburn saw in American literature.

Australian verse and prose have only got off their feet since people began to take a kangaroo and a gum tree as a matter of course, and not as an item of news to be mentioned in every paragraph or stanza.

In his enthusiasm for realistic, particularly socialist, fiction Rhodes drew attention to a different strand of American writers from those nominated by Fairburn:

The beginnings of a national literature are to found when writers turn to deal with the normal activities of ordinary men... That is why American literature has risen to its feet with an oath, as can be seen in the works of contemporary American writers, in Sinclair Lewis, Theodore Dreiser, Upton Sinclair, Dos Passos; as could be seen in the works of Walt Whitman.

Another critical dispute was soon to follow, initiated this time by Rhodes's comments on the amount of 'negative' imagery in the New Poems

103 Winston Rhodes, 'On Swearing,' Tomorrow 1.4 (1 August 1934): 12.
105 Rhodes, 'On Swearing' 12.
Fairburn felt his own contributions to the collection to be the source of 'eighty per cent of the 'repellent imagery'' which so disturbed Rhodes. In his own defence he cited Marvell's 'To His Coy Mistress' as an excellent precedent for the poetic use of the sorts of words which disturbed Rhodes. For Fairburn, the negative imagery in the collection was there as a direct result of an 'age of economic onanism' and 'any man who can continue to deal exclusively with the positive emotions is almost certainly a damned humbug.'

In his review of Allen Curnow's *Enemies: Poems 1934-36* Fairburn took the opportunity to set down his thoughts on recent poetic developments in England and their influence on the local product. He quoted at length Curnow's introductory comments in *Enemies*, which stressed the need for New Zealand poets to find their own voice, to write out of 'a genuine impulse to present in expressive form the material which naturally suggests itself - suggests itself, that is, uninfluenced by any notion of what is or is not fit subject matter for poetry.' However, Curnow had also seen in recent English poetry a model, or at least a parallel development, of such a voice, and argued that his poems 'tried to show the possibility of a technical development *pari passu* with that of recent English poetry.'

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107 Fairburn, 'Apology for Poesy' 14-15.


110 Curnow, 'Author's Note' N. pag. Quoted by Fairburn, review of *Enemies* 415.
Fairburn, identifying W.H. Auden, Stephen Spender, Cecil Day Lewis, Louis MacNeice, and Dylan Thomas as the leading proponents of contemporary English poetry, reinforced Curnow's comments on the stylistic importance of these poets, but also introduced qualifications, noting 'it would be as great a mistake to undervalue [their] technical experiments . . . as it would be to overvalue their work as literature.' He saw their poetry as still in a process of development and felt it to be affected by 'a sort of barrenness,' at its worst producing a kind of 'pylon-poetry (a blend of Wordsworth and Kipling, with pylons instead of daffodils).'

While conceding that Curnow at times deployed a 'second-hand terminology,' and that his 'omission of the article occasionally gives a flavour of pylonese,' Fairburn nevertheless described him as 'perhaps the most able writer of verse . . . in New Zealand,' at his best revealing 'artistic integrity that can be attained only by subduing one's "influences" and applying a rigid standard of self-criticism in respect of the genuineness of those influences.'

Turning his attention to the specific poems in the collection, Fairburn's analysis was typically astute and informative.

In addition to a remarkable feeling for rhythm (i.e., for the weight and texture of words, and for the vowel and consonant patterns) there is in these poems a variety, and at times a richness, of content (welcome indeed in kowhai-land) and a purity of feeling that is to be found especially in the lyrical poems.

111 Fairburn, review of Enemies 415.
112 Fairburn, review of Enemies 415.
113 Fairburn, review of Enemies 415.
114 Fairburn, review of Enemies 415.
Fairburn's own belief in the valid employment of poetry as a medium for social comment led him to approve Curnow's ability to write poems such as 'Quasi-Slum,' which 'make use of social criticism without degenerating into propaganda.'\(^\text{115}\)

Curnow reviewed Fairburn's *Dominion* a year later, reading it almost exclusively in non-literary terms, concerned as he is, firstly, with what the poem has to say about New Zealand society and, secondly, its usefulness as a bulwark in the struggle against literary mediocrity. He opens his discussion of the poem with a broadside directed against the sort of poetry cultivated by Charles Marris in 'the watery quarterly,'\(^\text{116}\) *Art in New Zealand*:

> To those who are watching anxiously the struggle for poetry in New Zealand - rata blossom v. reality, spooju v. style - it will be very gratifying to find that Mr Fairburn has got in first. The inevitable publication of Maoriland, An Epic of the South, by T. L. Fern Grot, has not yet occurred: when that masterpiece is printed in *Art in New Zealand*, Mr Fairburn's *Dominion* will bear witness against it.\(^\text{117}\)

Curnow goes on to applaud Fairburn's vision in the poem, which he links to that presented by J.C. Beaglehole in his *New Zealand: A Short History*.\(^\text{118}\) He is particularly impressed by Fairburn's engagement in the poem with the realities of life in New Zealand in the mid-thirties, describing them as being characterised by disunity, 'defeatism,' and 'a hideous sub-human insolence and

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\(^{115}\) Curnow, 'Quasi-slum,' *Enemies* 18-19. Fairburn, review of *Enemies* 416.


\(^{117}\) Curnow, 'Rata Blossom or Reality?' 438.

\(^{118}\) Peter Simpson points out in a note appended to the reprinting of this review in *Look Back Harder* that '[p]art of the passage quoted [by Curnow in his discussion] from J.C. Beaglehole's *New Zealand: A Short History* (London, 1936) was used in the epigraph to Curnow's *Not in Narrow Seas* (1939).' Simpson, *Look Back Harder* 12.
optimism which is... defeatism inverted." Dominion is thus 'an event of great importance to (the phrase must be used) New Zealand poetry,' countering such negative influences with 'the internal forces of order, love, beauty, and peace; out of the lot he produces a synthesis of his own.' Curnow's primary concern is with the poem's success as a social critique embodying a personal vision (a prominent concern of his own poetry at the time), although, unlike Fairburn in his review of Curnow's Enemies, he refrains from judging the extent to which Dominion expresses its 'social criticism without degenerating into propaganda.' In an article published some five years after this review, Curnow likened Fairburn's efforts in Dominion to his own in Not in Narrow Seas, which he regarded as 'a similar venture on the smaller canvas of the Canterbury Province.'

The following month Frank Sargeson took up Curnow's brief reference to the 'synthesis' achieved in Fairburn's poem as a means to engage in a discussion of the problem of poetic 'form.' In a typically erudite display of literary reference he began by referring to what he saw as a Thomist influence in Dominion before going on to quote Lewis Mumford on Herman Melville and

119 Curnow, 'Rata Blossom or Reality' 438.
120 Curnow, 'Rata Blossom or Reality' 438.
121 Curnow, 'Rata Blossom or Reality' 438.
124 Frank Sargeson, 'Mr Fairburn and the Modern World,' Tomorrow 4.17 (22 June 1938): 536-537.
then Hart Crane on his objective in writing his poem 'The Bridge.' Sargeson's section-by-section discussion of *Dominion* leads him to the conclusion that the poem ultimately fails under the weight of its abstractions: it is insufficiently connected to the reality it attempts to represent. Sargeson wrote to Denis Glover asking him to proof-read his article on *Dominion* (in order to avoid 'a few typical *Tomorrow* blunders'). His letter provides some insight into his motivations for writing the piece:

> I regard myself as saying in the article something of considerable importance. . . . I think it time the attitude of Curnow in his review was dropped. I see no reason why a poem so important as *Dominion* should be used mainly as a stick to beat up Marris and his gang of young ladies.\(^{125}\)

Curnow's and Sargeson's critical incursions into the pages of *Tomorrow* remained occasional compared with the much more regular appearances of Rhodes, Fairburn and others. In July 1936 Fairburn reviewed Sargeson's first collection of stories, *Conversation With My Uncle and Other Sketches,\(^ {126}\) the majority of which had been first published in *Tomorrow*. Defending Sargeson's use of colloquial and American expressions, he cited the view of Arthur Sewell, Auckland University College Professor of English, that the English language must continue to be open to new influences, as it had been since its earliest formation. Fairburn regarded Sargeson's collection as evidence of the invigorating influence on the language of American linguistic 'texture and rhythm' and asserted that the New Zealand 'attitude of mind' was more akin to the American

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\(^{125}\) Sargeson to Glover, 11 June [1938], Glover Papers, Folder 18.

than to the British,\textsuperscript{127} briefly comparing a number of contemporary writers (Sherwood Anderson and A.E. Coppard, Ernest Hemingway and Aldous Huxley) as evidence that American literature provided a more suitable model for New Zealand writers than its British counterpart. Sargeson was, according to Fairburn, 'a young New Zealand writer who has been influenced by, but has not succumbed to, modern American writing.'\textsuperscript{128} In his invention of a narrative voice not dissimilar to that adopted by Mark Twain in \textit{Huckleberry Finn} he has 'given us something of the "normal" New Zealander in the dramatised personality who forms the mouthpiece of these sketches.'\textsuperscript{129}

This review was followed in the next issue by a further article on Sargeson's collection by D'Arcy Cresswell, entitled 'Realism and Art.'\textsuperscript{130} He supplements Fairburn's review with a more detailed discussion of certain of the stories themselves, although Cresswell, like Fairburn, takes the opportunity to address larger issues concerning the development of the national literature, in accordance with his estimate of the significance of Sargeson's 'wholly native'\textsuperscript{131} work. Cresswell rightly predicts 'a distinguished future' for his subject, based on his estimate of Sargeson's 'direct and strong style, a clear cut and confident mastery of words, that rise direct from realities.'\textsuperscript{132} He pays particular attention

\textsuperscript{127} Fairburn, review of \textit{Conversation} 20.

\textsuperscript{128} Fairburn, review of \textit{Conversation} 21.

\textsuperscript{129} Fairburn, review of \textit{Conversation} 21.

\textsuperscript{130} W. D'A. Cresswell, 'Realism and Art,' \textit{Tomorrow} 2.27 (22 July 1936): 20-22.

\textsuperscript{131} Cresswell, 'Realism And Art' 22.

\textsuperscript{132} Cresswell, 'Realism And Art' 20.
to the final story in the collection, 'I've Lost My Pal,'\(^{133}\) one of only two stories in *Conversation With My Uncle* not previously published in *Tomorrow*.\(^{134}\) In doing so Cresswell points out the 'weird homosexual undercurrent' evident in Sargeson's characterisation of George.\(^{135}\) He asserts that this story 'rises above its foundation of crude realism into an imaginative creation, as the greatest short stories do. It has an extraordinary, almost hypnotic, power before which every preconception of the reader is powerless.'\(^{136}\)

Denis Glover's article 'Pointers to Parnassus' was his most considered statement in *Tomorrow* on the direction of New Zealand's emergent literature.\(^{137}\) Declaring that '[i]t is time to take a look at this substance called New Zealand literature,' he begins by heavily censuring writing which 'leaves a journalistic flavour.' John Guthrie's popular novel *The Little Country* is cited as an example of such writing,\(^{138}\) which for Glover is clearly more concerned with presenting a 'scenic story' to an English readership than with 'conscientiously telling New Zealanders about themselves.'

> Literature to be great must have a moral aim of some kind and a language suitable to its expression. Our latest novels seem

\(^{133}\) Sargeson, *Conversation* 24-29.

\(^{134}\) The other was 'Sketch from Life,' *Conversation* 17-20.

\(^{135}\) Michael King points out that this was the sole public reference to the homosexual element in Sargeson's work made during his lifetime. Michael King, *Frank Sargeson: A Life* (Auckland: Viking, 1995) 159.

\(^{136}\) Cresswell, 'Realism And Art' 21.


to have had no moral aim beyond a (laudable) ambition to better the Tourist Dept. [sic] literature. There is no need for a grand tour of all the scenic wonders of a largely mythical Maoriland. A New Zealand novel, I am convinced, can (and should, as an exercise in discipline) be written without the aid of a single geyser, sheep dog, or flax bush.\(^{139}\)

He then cites the anonymous and highly controversial *Children of the Poor*\(^{140}\) as an example of the sort of alternative writing he believes needs to be written, regarding it as 'possibly the most important and certainly the most powerful piece of writing that has come out of this improbable fairyland of gold dust and geysers.'\(^{141}\) John A. Lee's novel had previously been reviewed (pseudonymously, by 'One of Them') in glowing if somewhat propagandist terms in *Tomorrow*.\(^{142}\) *Children of the Poor* has been described as one of the first provincial novels published by a New Zealander, delivering sharp criticism of the author's society expressed in a language which, while stridently realist, is weakened by its slightly mannered, old-fashioned tone.\(^{143}\) It was received amid great controversy. E.H. McCormick later described it as a *succès de scandale*.\(^{144}\) Glover's discussion of it, while brief, shows the degree to which he and *Tomorrow* were willing to support what came to be perceived as an important new development in New Zealand fiction, the realist novel dealing with social injustice.

\(^{139}\) Glover, 'Pointers to Parnassus' 16.


\(^{141}\) Glover, 'Pointers to Parnassus' 16.


\(^{144}\) Eric McCormick, *Letters and Arts in New Zealand* (Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1940) 173.
Acknowledging Fairburn's comments in *Art in New Zealand* in 1934, Glover went on to add his support to the idea that New Zealand writers should turn to the United States as a model for writing about New Zealand. A number of other New Zealand writers are mentioned in passing, including M.H. Holcroft, who at the time was attempting to establish himself as a writer of adventure novels, Ngaio Marsh, and J.C. Beaglehole, much respected for his scholarly and imaginative reconstructions of New Zealand history.

Glover saw New Zealand poetry as divisible into two distinct camps.

On one side we have the music makers and the dreamers of dreams, and on the other a group making a different and even discordant din in what is thought a new and fearful manner. My own sympathies are with the latter, the younger writers who rose out of the ashes of *The Phoenix*. The other side, appearing at length in *Best Poems* and the *New Zealand Mercury* is still transplanting Georgians and their hothouse tradition.145

He names J.C. Beaglehole, A.R.D. Fairburn, R.A.K. Mason, Allen Curnow, and Eric Cook as poets 'influenced by a new freshness in English poetry,'146 and stresses his belief that in order to develop New Zealand literature needs to draw not so much on the dead poets of a past age as on the latest expressions of English poetry.

Some issues later Glover published a six line squib entitled 'The Parnassians (loc. hab. N.Z.),' signed 'P.K.,' one of several pseudonyms he adopted for satirical and topical verse.147 This piece further articulated his derisive attitude towards the 'dreamers of dreams' dismissed in the earlier article:

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145 Glover, 'Pointers to Parnassus' 17.
146 Glover, 'Pointers to Parnassus' 17.
Us you will find at the waterfall
lipping a finger in fairyfolk woodlands
listening tip-toed to the tui, the honey-tongued;
and delicate, delicate are our songs
as the tendrils of fern
shrinking from noonday heat.

Other significant contributions by Glover to the discussion of New Zealand literature include several reviews. His discussion of Robin Hyde's second volume of poetry, *The Conquerors and Other Poems*,¹⁴⁸ is thoughtful and perceptive, sympathetic towards a poet little published in *Tomorrow* and better known to readers of more mainstream periodicals such as *Art in New Zealand*. He points out Hyde's technical skill and applauds her ability to 'give us the hallmark of genuine poetry with a frequency that is surprising.'¹⁴⁹ While acknowledging, as Allen Curnow did later,¹⁵⁰ 'a slight tendency to the precious, a tendency to over-express emotional moments as if they had some importance for their own sake,' Glover concludes with the comment that he regards Hyde's volume to be 'a labour of sincerity and beauty'.¹⁵¹

D'Arcy Cresswell contributed four items over his own name to *Tomorrow*, all during 1936. In addition, three volumes of his work were reviewed in the magazine: *Lyttelton Harbour*, reviewed by John Harris and accompanied by

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¹⁵⁰ '[T]he greater part of her published verse is theatrical rather than dramatic. By the way a vivid or moving phrase is meshed with fustian, it seems she wrote impulsively and did her best unawares.' Allen Curnow, 'Introduction,' *A Book of New Zealand Verse 1923-1945* (Christchurch: Caxton Press, 1945) 37.

¹⁵¹ Glover, review of *The Conquerors* 12.
Cresswell's sonnet 'Mt Potts';\textsuperscript{152} \textit{Eena Deena Dynamo}, reviewed by A.R.D. Fairburn;\textsuperscript{153} and \textit{Present Without Leave}, reviewed by Frank Gadd in 1939.\textsuperscript{154} Cresswell's poem 'In Spring' was first published in the same issue as his long review of Ursula Bethell's second collection of poetry, \textit{Time and Place}.\textsuperscript{155} In addition, Cresswell contributed several deliberately controversial pieces over the pseudonym 'Vulcan.' These prompted a heated response both in the pages of \textit{Tomorrow} and in the private correspondence of several of the people mentioned by 'Vulcan.'

Cresswell was first approached by Henderson in late 1935 or early 1936 and asked to submit material for publication.\textsuperscript{156} A few months later he was approached again by Glover, who had been corresponding unsuccessfully with him with a view to including him in the first \textit{Verse Alive} anthology. Cresswell's response was to offer a sonnet for publication in \textit{Tomorrow},\textsuperscript{157} although he could not resist indirectly haranguing Henderson and his paper through the medium of a letter to Glover.

\textsuperscript{152} John Harris, review of \textit{Lyttelton Harbour}, by D'Arcy Cresswell, \textit{Tomorrow} 2.21 (29 April 1936): 26-27. D'Arcy Cresswell ('W.D'A.C:'), 'Mt. Potts: To C.B.,' \textit{Tomorrow} 2.21 (29 April 1936): 26. The 'C.B.' to whom this poem is dedicated is probably Charles Brasch.


\textsuperscript{154} Frank Gadd ('F.G:'), review of \textit{Present Without Leave}, by D'Arcy Cresswell, \textit{Tomorrow} 6.3 (6 December 1939): 90.


\textsuperscript{156} Cresswell to Denis Glover, 19 January 1936, Glover Papers, Folder 21.

\textsuperscript{157} This would appear to be 'Mt Potts,' referred to above.
Do you really mean that the Editor of Tomorrow . . . being desper­ately in need of contributors and dying of Fairburn fever and Gloverish rash, can't even pull himself out of the mire by as much as writing a letter, whereby it was promised to him that his limp little rag (which [suffers] rickets and the giggles combined, a dangerous condition for such an undernourished brat) might soon learn its alphabet and stand on its legs? Damn sir, you might almost be sure that a spoon-ful [sic] of orange juice daily and a few doses of vitamin W.D'A.C [sic] might pull the thing round. . . But your paper woefully lacks weight and variety and Its [sic] young and fresh like the Undergraduate Reveue [sic], shouldn't appear more than once a year, if then and you fail miserably too [sic] make your own country read like news, except just here and there. Intelligent persons won't be enticed from their English papers just for this. Your Communism is dreadfully stale. Thinking persons are after a new Universe, not a new state - a new view of God and nature, not a rapidly ageing view of property.158

Despite Cresswell's low opinion of Henderson's fortnightly (or perhaps in part because of it), the length and nature of his two reviews in Tomorrow are a measure of the respect accorded him by the periodical's editorial staff.

John Harris's review of Cresswell's Lyttelton Harbour was solicited for Tomorrow by Denis Glover.159 Harris was a committed Communist, playing an active part in the Dunedin branches of both the Party and the Left Book Club as well as being Otago University Librarian from 1934 until the late forties. In his review he reserved his highest approval for the way in which the Cresswell's poem 'magnificently illuminates the subjective aspect of the disintegration of capitalist society.'160 Harris considers Lyttelton Harbour to be the first really 'superior' poem by a New Zealander.

158 Cresswell to Glover, April 1936, Glover Papers, Folder 21.

159 At the close of a long letter to Glover written in April 1936, Cresswell thanked Glover for writing to Harris, adding 'but you might have done it [a review of Lyttelton Harbour] better.' Cresswell to Glover, April 1936, Glover Papers, Folder 21.

160 Harris, review of Lyttelton Harbour 26.
Chapter 3.3: Tomorrow - Literary Criticism

[T]he spirit of exaltation in the rediscovery of nature revealed at the beginning [of the poem] is something qualitatively different from the panegyrics about 'kowhai gold' to which we have become so sickeningly accustomed.161

Harris's co-opting of the poem to socialist ends received a rebuke in two letters published in a subsequent issue,162 most notably by Robin Hyde, who pointed out the absurdity of describing Cresswell as a supporter of Communism or of reading left-wing sentiments into Lyttelton Harbour.

Cresswell's disdain for Tomorrow led him to use its pages to stir up indignation among some of its more earnest readers. These provocations occurred in two items written over a pseudonym, 'Vulcan,' and entitled 'Comments and Occasions,' a title which satirised the long running 'Life and Letters' column. In the first, published on 28 April 1937,163 Cresswell ranged over a number of topical matters, including the role of Christian missionaries in Africa, the pleasures of observing a group of young men at the Y.M.C.A. doing 'physical jerks,' and the poor quality of modern poetry, especially that inspired by the Spanish Civil War. There was also an anti-feminist piece on the negative consequences of women entering the field of journalism, and a brief review of a book on conditions in New Zealand prisons. Cresswell's baiting tactics were successful and several aggrieved responses were published in the issue for 9 June 1937, among them an objection by Frank Sargeson to Vulcan's blanket

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161 Harris, Lyttelton Harbour 27.
162 The two letters, headed 'Lyttelton Harbour: A Recent Book Review,' are attributed to Robin Hyde and Aspro Book, Tomorrow 2.23 (27 May 1936): 32.
dismissal of modern poetry in which Sargeson appears to guess at the identity of Vulcan:

Vulcan's appearances in *Tomorrow* are exciting. A good eye, a steady hand, and home James and don't spare the vitriol. But wait a minute - 'I'd be delighted to see a bonfire made of most modern verse, anyway.' Now just who's that little lot intended for? Masefield, Eliot, Wilhemina Stitch, Kipling, last year's Christmas cards, Pound, A.A. Milne, Auden, Paul Engle, D'Arcy Cresswell - or who? It won't do Vulcan. You'll have to come across and tell us.

But perhaps Vulcan's just trying to make a guessing competition a bit harder. I mean his own.

Frank Sargeson.¹⁶⁴

Sargeson received an apparently direct but in fact highly devious reply in the second and final instalment of 'Comments and Occasions.'¹⁶⁵ Identical in tone to the first instalment, this column treated subjects such as the poor style of New Zealand army uniforms ('Thank God for the Navy') and comments on New Zealand literature by Arthur Sewell recently published in the *New Zealand Herald*. Appended to the article was a letter Vulcan had written to Sargeson via *Tomorrow*. It reads:

Dear Mr Sargeson,

It was nice of you to write to me, and if I come to Auckland I should very much like to meet you and Mr Fairburn. Please tell him so. But I am a native of the South, and have been North only twice in my life.

You have so many interesting people up there. Do you know D'Arcy Cresswell? I should like to meet him too, after yourself. He interests me vastly. If you know him please tell him


¹⁶⁵ D'Arcy Cresswell ('Vulcan'), 'Comments and Occasions,' *Tomorrow* 3.19 (21 July 1937): 598-600.
from me he should write more for *Tomorrow*. I didn't admire his *Lyttelton Harbour* entirely. He puts on the loud pedal. But he's got GUTS.

I admired your *Conversation*, Etc. Hurry up and write more. And your criticism of 'Vulcan' would always be appreciated and valuable.

I've a date in a pub, so can't write more.

Yours sincerely,

VULCAN.

(Excuse anonymity, but I'm not known to you any-way.)

While Cresswell was born and raised in Christchurch, he was in fact resident in Auckland and an associate of Sargeson's from soon after his return from London in 1931. Sargeson responded on his part in the following issue, although still apparently unaware that 'Vulcan' was in fact Cresswell. In the same issue, Denis Glover submitted his own vehement response to Cresswell:

Sir, - Vulcan makes me vomit. He makes a noise like a blowfly that someone won't allow to settle on the cheese. The cheese is literature, art and culture in any and all of its manifestations. I'm attacking him in the way he seems to enjoy attacking everyone encroaching, however remotely, on what he imagines his own pet prairie. Only I'm doing it under my own name. Let the lame god get back to his smithy. Writing's not his game.

Around this time, Sargeson seems to have learned the true identity of 'Vulcan' (possibly through Glover who had access to *Tomorrow*'s editorial files) and in a letter to Glover, expressed his distress at the discovery:

I'm very much astonished that Henderson should not have returned to him [Cresswell] that letter to me that was published in

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166 Cresswell, 'Comments and Occasions' 600.
168 Denis Glover, 'Against Vulcan,' *Tomorrow* 3.21 (18 August 1937): 672. The sole voice of support for Vulcan came in a letter signed 'A Reader' and addressed to Denis Glover. This suggests that Glover's desire to vomit was due not to 'Vulcan' but to a 'liver complaint.' A Reader, 'Mr Denis Glover's Stomach,' *Tomorrow* 3.22 (1 September 1937): 703.
Tomorrow. The deliberate untruths, surely he must have realised, were calculated to draw me on to mention Cresswell in a letter certainly not intended for him. Luckily I didn't criticise him unduly, just said that his egoism made it difficult to live on friendly terms with him.\(^{169}\)

The final word in the controversy may be left to A.R.D. Fairburn, never one to remain silent in the midst of a literary fracas. He takes strong exception to the 'Vulcan' letter to Sargeson and the article which it accompanied.

What on earth induced Henderson . . . to shove that 'Vulcan' letter of Cresswell's (to Sargeson) in Tomorrow? Worst possible editorial taste. One could (doubtfully) forgive an editor for conniving at a mere jolly practical joke. . . . But where it was simply a case of Cresswell manoeuvring his own gigantic narcissisms, - and writing lousy personal stuff about Sewell and others, and making Sargeson and others the embarrassed victims of his quaint megalomania into the bargain - I'm simply puzzled.\(^{170}\)

In Henderson's defence, it should be noted that Vulcan's letter to Sargeson was composed as part of his column, and not submitted as a separate letter to the editor.

Ian Milner was another contributor to Tomorrow previously associated with Phoenix. Although less concerned with literary matters, as a Rhodes Scholar in Great Britain and while travelling in the United States, the Soviet Union and elsewhere, Milner contributed what one commentator has described as 'perhaps the most sustained and intelligent assessment of world politics written by any New Zealander in the thirties.'\(^{171}\) Among these were a series of

\(^{169}\) Sargeson to Glover, 25 August [1937], Glover Papers, Folder 18.

\(^{170}\) Fairburn to Glover, 10 October 1937, Glover Papers, Folder 15.

twenty-seven newsletters from North America and an enthusiastic report from Stalin's Russia.¹⁷²

During the period of its publication Tomorrow was by far the most important regular outlet for the serious discussion of New Zealand poetry and fiction and as such it played a major role in the development of New Zealand literary criticism. Writers like Winston Rhodes, A.R.D. Fairburn, Denis Glover, and Allen Curnow developed key aspects of their criticism through contributions to the critical discourse which occurred within its pages. Rhodes used Tomorrow to promote left-wing cultural movements such as the Left Book Clubs and the Co-operative Book Societies. He brought an international perspective to the paper, applying this to the work of New Zealand writers and poets. Along with Fairburn, Sargeson and others, he repeatedly encouraged a literary engagement with the growing political crisis, suggesting alternative models for such writing in the work of poets ranging from Milton to T.S. Eliot. His ideas in turn prompted fruitful responses from Fairburn and other of the younger writers, among whom Allen Curnow was to have the most lasting influence. Although Curnow's own critical contributions were relatively few, it is in the pages of Tomorrow, in contributions such as his review of Fairburn's Dominion,¹⁷³ that he began to develop his own critical perspective on New Zealand poetry and the direction he felt it should take. In short, Tomorrow must be regarded as the most vigorous outlet available during the mid to late thirties for a developing New Zealand literary critical discourse.

¹⁷² Ian Milner, 'A N.Z. Rhodes Scholar in Russia,' Tomorrow 1.29 (6 February 1935): 14-17.

In addition to providing the only regular forum for the serious assessment of New Zealand literature, an assessment which extended well beyond the appreciative reviews and literary gossip which passed for criticism in the mainstream press, *Tomorrow* also published a great deal of lively and original poetry and fiction, much of it now forgotten or ignored, despite its role in the emergent careers of some of New Zealand's major writers. Although *Tomorrow* appears to have had no explicit policy toward imaginative writing, editorial committee members Winston Rhodes and Denis Glover took responsibility for the literary component of the magazine. The shortage of alternative outlets for the sort of work which began to be produced during the mid-thirties by Frank Sargeson, Allen Curnow and others, was a major factor in their use of *Tomorrow*. In the two following sections, attention is focused on the more prominent contributors of poetry and fiction to Henderson's paper, including Allen Curnow, Frank Sargeson, A.R.D. Fairburn, Denis Glover, R.A.K. Mason, Roderick Finlayson, D'Arcy Cresswell, and Charles Brasch.
3.4 Poetry

Poetry appeared in almost every issue of *Tomorrow*. Typically, it took the form of topical verse, often dealing epigrammatically with issues treated at more length elsewhere in the magazine. A column dedicated to 'Verse' was featured occasionally, but as a rule poetry appeared throughout the individual issues, commonly as fill-in items between longer prose pieces. Most of the poets previously associated with *Phoenix* appeared in the pages of Henderson’s paper, which was by far the most frequent outlet for their poetry throughout the period of its publication.

One of the most prominent of these was Allen Curnow. In the four years between September 1934 and September 1938 he contributed a large number of poems to *Tomorrow*: twenty-three under the pseudonym 'Julian,' one under his initials 'A.C.,' one under the pseudonym 'Amen,' and thirteen under his own name, thirty-eight in all. In addition he contributed two short stories, two articles (including his important feature review of Fairburn’s *Dominion*, discussed above), and a single letter. *Tomorrow* was by far the most important venue for Curnow’s poetry between 1934 and 1940, providing him with a crucially important workshop for the development of his art. A majority of his poems in *Tomorrow* were topical in subject matter, similar in tone to those produced so prolifically for the paper by Denis Glover and A.R.D. Fairburn. These poems are

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174 See, for example, *Tomorrow* 2.20 (15 April 1936): 20; *Tomorrow* 2.21 (29 April 1936): 25-26; *Tomorrow* 2.23 (27 May 1936): 23; *Tomorrow* 4.21 (17 August 1938): 664-665.
177 Julian (Flavius Claudius Julianus), Roman Emperor C.E. 361-363, was known as 'the Apostate.' Curnow had abandoned his religious calling during the early thirties.
predecessors of the numerous well-crafted verse satires produced by Curnow over the pseudonym 'Whim-Wham,' poems he later dismissed as 'ephemeral, trifling, roughly versified.'\textsuperscript{178} While many of the poems of this type in \textit{Tomorrow} were signed 'Julian,' the pseudonym was also used for more serious work, just as he occasionally signed his own name to satirical pieces. His first verse contribution to \textit{Tomorrow}, a satire entitled 'Lunar Prospect' published in the issue for 19 September 1934,\textsuperscript{179} was signed 'Allen Curnow' but 'Julian' was used for the following twenty poems (with the exception of a single poem signed 'A.C.'\textsuperscript{180}). It was not until June 1937 that his own name was again appended to a poem in \textit{Tomorrow}, to 'Rats in the Bilge,'\textsuperscript{181} the first of five instalments in the paper of an early version of \textit{Not in Narrow Seas}.\textsuperscript{182} A number of Curnow's poems were republished in one or other of the two \textit{Verse Alive} anthologies of poetry from \textit{Tomorrow}.\textsuperscript{183} Notable among these are 'Monody'\textsuperscript{184} and the third section of 'Aspect of Monism.'\textsuperscript{185}

\textsuperscript{178} Jackson, 'Conversation with Allen Curnow' 147.

\textsuperscript{179} Allen Curnow, 'Lunar Prospect,' \textit{Tomorrow} 1.11 (19 September 1934): 3.


\textsuperscript{181} Allen Curnow, 'Rats in the Bilge,' \textit{Tomorrow} 3.16 (9 June 1937): 496.

\textsuperscript{182} Allen Curnow, \textit{Not in Narrow Seas} (Christchurch: Caxton Press, 1939).


A reading of Curnow's serious poetry in *Tomorrow* traces a major development in his work from the personal and religious themes treated in *Valley of Decision* to a concern with the wider issues of social and national identity which found their first coherent expression in *Not in Narrow Seas*. This prose and poetry sequence had its first appearance in *Tomorrow* in the poems 'Rats in the Bilge,'186 'The Potter's Field,'187 'Variations on a Theme,'188 'Predestination,'188 and 'A Loyal Show.'189 *Not in Narrow Seas* was the first major attempt by Curnow to deal with what he termed his 'geographical anxieties,'190 and is an important early essay on national identity, stimulated in part by the approaching Centenary. In tenor it follows on from such poems as the satirical 'New Zealand City,' published in the collection *Enemies* in 1937,191 the same year these first drafts of *Not in Narrow Seas* began to appear in *Tomorrow*.192 This sequence signals the emergence of the mythopoeic structures which were to be developed by Curnow in *Island and Time* and other works from the second phase of his output. *Not in Narrow Seas* deals with the historical record, or a version of that record, moulding it into the beginnings of an anti-myth about Pākehā New Zealand's origins which Curnow was to cultivate further over the following

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187 Allen Curnow, 'Variations on a Theme,' *Tomorrow* 3.25 (13 October 1937): 774.
188 Allen Curnow, 'Predestination,' *Tomorrow* 4.21 (17 August 1938): 665.
189 Allen Curnow, 'A Loyal Show,' *Tomorrow* 4.22 (31 August 1938): 685.
192 Appendix II provides a textual comparison between the instalments of *Not in Narrow Seas* published *Tomorrow* and the version of the poem published in 1939.
Chapter 3.4: Tomorrow - Poetry

decade or so in poems such as 'House and Land' and 'The Unhistoric Story.' This revisionist reading of New Zealand history was influenced in part by Curnow's contact with several poets associated with Tomorrow, especially A.R.D. Fairburn, whose poem Dominion Curnow reviewed at length in Tomorrow in 1938. J.C. Beaglehole's A Short History of New Zealand is also an obvious, not to say an explicit influence on the development of Curnow's interests and attitudes at this time. Four passages from Beaglehole's Short History were used as an epigraph to Not in Narrow Seas.

The first instalment of the sequence which was to become Not in Narrow Seas was given the title 'Rats in the Bilge,' marked 'Unfinished,' and published under Curnow's own name in the issue for 9 June 1937. The second, 'The Potter's Field,' was published four issues later (4 August 1937) under his pseudonym 'Julian.' 'A Loyal Show,' which was to become the first half of Section Ten of Not in Narrow Seas, appeared later in the same month (31 August 1938), signed Allen Curnow and dated 2 July 1938. Section Twelve of the finished sequence, entitled 'Predestination' in Tomorrow, appeared earlier in the same month, in the issue for 17 August 1938, also signed Allen Curnow and dated 3 July 1938. The epilogue to the 1939 sequence was originally published as 'Variations on a Theme' in Tomorrow on 13 October 1937, signed Allen Curnow.

Curnow's switching between the use of his pseudonym and his real name may indicate uncertainty about the poem on Curnow's part, although his

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193 Allen Curnow ('A.C.'), 'Rata Blossom or Reality: New Zealand and a Significant Contribution,' Tomorrow 4.14 (11 May 1938): 438-439. This review is discussed above in Section Three of this chapter.

anonymity is effectively annulled by his prefacing 'The Potter's Field' with a note instructing it 'To be read as continuation of "Rats in the Bilge."' In the light of Tomorrow's poor record in the area of proof reading, the variation could just as easily be due to a lack consultation with the editor responsible for the poem (probably Denis Glover). As observed above, 'Julian' had been Curnow's preferred signature for all but two of his more than two score contributions to Tomorrow up to mid-1937.

All four instalments differ to varying degrees from the corresponding passages of the 1939 version of the poetic sequence. They thus allow a rare if partial insight into Curnow's process of composition. 'Rats in the Bilge' corresponds to Sections One to Four of Not in Narrow Seas. Comprising four parts, a 'Prelude' and Sections (i) to (iii), it takes what Curnow described as its 'random title'\textsuperscript{195} from the final verse paragraph of section (iii), lines not included in the 1939 version of the poem.

No bale of all the cargo marked poverty,  
no consignment of oppression.  
Who observed  
the rat scaling the bow-lines and another  
lodged in the forward hold? Who saw stirring  
in the dark bilge the devil's pioneers?

The prose extract from J.C. Beaglehole's New Zealand: A Short History which prefaces the final poem does not appear in the Tomorrow version, although early versions of Curnow's own prose accompaniments to the poem's later sections were printed with 'The Potter's Field.'

The second instalment carries as epigraph a quotation from the New Testament (Matt. 27:6-7), an account of the purchase of the potter's field for the

\textsuperscript{195} Curnow, 'The Potter's Field' 628.
burial of strangers with the thirty pieces of silver paid to Judas. This is an ironic reference to the part played by the church in the colonisation of New Zealand, purchasing choice land from which later generations of clergy are 'assured their stipend.'196 'The Potter's Field' consists of seven further poems, numbered Sections (iv) to (x), corresponding to Sections Five to Eleven of Not In Narrow Seas.

Apart from the addition of the 'Dedication,' the four quotations from J.C. Beaglehole's New Zealand, and the opening 'Statement' (one of several sestinas composed by Curnow around this time), the initial eight sections of the 1939 version of the poem differ little from the Tomorrow versions, except for minor adjustments to punctuation, possibly including the correction of typographical errors, and the capitalization of the first letter of each line. More significant changes include the alteration of line two of the 'Prelude' to 'Rats in the Bilge,' 'against iron men scrape,' to 'Men scrape rough iron' in Section One of Not in Narrow Seas. The modernisation of the syntax and the introduction of the adjective 'rough' works to make the language more 'alive,' in accordance with Curnow's own poetic as expressed in Poetry and Language.197 Several individual words are changed: 'sea-nerv'd' in Section ii of 'Rats in the Bilge' becomes simply 'nervous' in the finished poem; the archaic and rather awkward 'stablishing' becomes 'stabilising' in Section Three.

In Section Nine, the dialogue between the Teacher and the Pupil on 'the meaning of Empire,' Curnow undertook a major reworking of the Tomorrow

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196 Curnow, 'The Potter's Field' 628.


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version, the most conspicuous act of which was the replacement of the religious terms 'Elder' and 'Novice' used in 'The Potter's Field' with the secular terminology of the education system. Several lines in this section are rewritten and a number of new ones added. The 'racing gusts' of wind become 'deep gusts,' implying a less transient and more sustained strength in Nature's challenge to the power of Empire. In a further effort to increase the immediacy of the poem, the five thousand 'madmen' inhabiting the mental hospital become the more colloquial 'loonies.' The 'foreigners' commenting patronisingly on the material progress of the Dominion become 'tourists.' The almost derogatory use of the latter noun echoes the attitude to such visitors expressed in Glover's poem 'Conversation with a Tourist,' published in *Tomorrow* in late March, 1939, just prior to the publication of *Not in Narrow Seas.*\(^{198}\) Lastly, the final contribution to the dialogue by the Elder/Teacher is substantially rewritten.

That is the colony of those who heard the subversive wind the flag's enemy; their strength and wit are blown about the streets and are paid in dividends to better men

becomes the more cynical:

One of the poorer suburbs, the colony Of those who heard the wind, the enemy: Such refuse heaps make disposal a problem But the contractors it is said are doing well.

In the 1939 version of the poem, 'A Loyal Show' was inserted at the beginning of section (ix) of the 'Potter's Field,' immediately after the prose

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\(^{198}\) Denis Glover, 'Conversation with a Tourist,' *Tomorrow* 5.11 (29 March 1939): 330. The poem reads:

- Oh yes, the Maoris were cannibals.
- You see, there weren't many edible animals.
- Oh no, we don't allow
- them to eat each other now.
passage and with only minor alterations to wording and punctuation. The first three verse paragraphs were removed from section (x) of 'The Potter's Field,' with the last six becoming Section Eleven of the finished poem. The most pronounced alterations made by Curnow to this passage include the alteration of the pathetic plea 'O God tell me its beautiful / (pity our littleness)' to the more rational 'Let us discuss beauty / And various scenic attractions,' while the ironic prayer

Prosper our publicity O lord make fast
thy mercy of deep river and steep rock
O lord lift up our standard of living
stabilise the price of milk and honey
sell the stuff and give us the money

becomes

(O lord, O lord, lord, O lord
Make them say the encouraging word)

These lines thus become a coda to the previous stanza in which an overseas visitor has been asked for his opinion on New Zealand's scenic beauty.

*Tomorrow's* 'Predestination' became, without alteration, Section Twelve of *Not in Narrow Seas*, and Curnow then concludes the 1939 version of the poem with 'Variations on a Theme,' retitled '[EPILOGUE] (A theme by William Blake).' This mixes lines from Blake with Curnow's own work to end the poem pessimistically, 'With the wheezing sea clay.'

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199 When *Not in Narrow Seas* was reprinted in the Collected Poems 1933-1973 Curnow stated in his preface to that collection that he had 'altered almost nothing' in preparing it for inclusion. One alteration that was made appears in Section 6 where the 'Guaranteed seed' of line thirteen becomes in the 1974 version 'Certified seed,' resulting in a more complex and pleasing verbal parallelism, the pararhyme 'Certified seed.'
Several of the prose passages printed with 'The Potter's Field' differ from their final versions. In the prose epigraph to Section Five, for example, the phrase 'new nation' is replaced by 'new social order,' perhaps indicating that in Curnow's terms the country is not yet a nation. He drops the explicit personification of the Church in 'Religion, she is aware, thrives among the poor in spirit and body,' replacing it with 'It has been noticed that religion thrives best among the poor in spirit and body.' The softening of the rhetoric of the sentence which results from the insertion of the phrase 'It has been noticed' was repeated throughout the rewriting. Indeed, the most significant impact of these textual alterations is a mollification of the more strident inflection of the earlier version, resulting in a much greater tonal play between the poetry and prose passages.

A single example should suffice to demonstrate this difference between the versions of the prose passages. In the statement prefacing section (vii) of 'The Potter's Field' Curnow makes several textual changes which reduce the stridency of the passage simply by lengthening sentences, effectively intellectualising and thereby modifying the tone of the final version. The most significant of these is the alteration made to the last sentence of the passage.

Ownership and trade have established the old evil, which is even more powerful where there are fewer traditional 'escapes' from economic necessity

becomes

Even those to whom they are politically sacred admit that ownership and trade have brought their inevitable attendant evils. These are more potent here, where there are fewer escapes by culture or tradition from the economic cycle of strength, work and food.
A further effect of these alterations is to lend authority to the prose passages, giving them the tone of academic history, reinforced by the employment of the quotation from Beaglehole's *Short History* as the primary epigraph to the 1939 version of the poem.\(^{200}\)

The appearance in *Tomorrow* of what might be termed workshop instalments of one of Curnow's most important poetic sequences appears to be unique in his career. Other poems by Curnow which have passed through the periodical literature before appearing in collections differ only slightly between versions, and then largely only in matters of punctuation and typography. The correction of compositor's errors may account for many of these changes, although deliberate stylistic changes undertaken by Curnow also account for a relatively large number of individual alterations. The seven changes made to 'The Spirit Shall Return' between its first appearance in the second number of *Phoenix* and its inclusion in *Valley of Decision* is an example of this minor recasting.\(^{201}\)

On a number of occasions Curnow's poems in *Tomorrow* generated debate in the correspondence columns about modernist 'obscurity.' Two contributions by him to the first volume of the paper, specifically 'Aspect of Monism'\(^{202}\) and

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\(^{200}\) Frank Gadd reviewed *Not in Narrow Seas* in the issue of *Tomorrow* for 21 June 1939, and commented favourably on Curnow's treatment of the growing discontent felt among many New Zealanders 'that their national ambition soars no higher than the possession of "a radio, perhaps a car."' Gadd here quotes the final lines of Section One of *Not in Narrow Seas*. Frank Gadd ('F.G.'), review of *Not in Narrow Seas*, by Allen Curnow, *Tomorrow* 5.17 (21 June 1939): 539.


'Monody,'\textsuperscript{203} received a negative response in a letter signed simply 'M.'\textsuperscript{204} The correspondent asks 'why certain pieces of verse by Julian have been published in \textit{Tomorrow} . . . [when] a piece of verse sent in by an acquaintance of mine was refused publication.'\textsuperscript{205} The former poems are 'unintelligible' to 'M.' and the import of the letter is that a double standard is being applied based on personal bias.

'M.'s complaint received an immediate response in the next issue in the form of a letter entitled 'Poetry and Piffle,' signed simply 'D.'\textsuperscript{206} The correspondent rejects 'M.'s criteria that good poetry should be able to be easily understood.

To me the value of Aspect of Monism lay in the fact that it expressed, not indeed scientifically and statistically, but luminously and imaginatively, a whole wealth of subjective experience of which I personally was only dimly aware, or had not felt at all.
Explained and expanded it would have made a very dull book: as it is it makes a very fine poem, deeply and sensitively expressed.207 'D.' concludes by suggesting that 'M.'s 'poetic education must have begun with the School Journal and ended with Ella Wheeler Wilcox.'208

The charge of unintelligibility came to be something of a refrain in the reviewing of Curnow's poetry. As Elizabeth Caffin observed in 1991, 'the complexity, austerity, and intelligence of [Curnow's] writing has ... somewhat deterred critics, and his continuing achievement still awaits the critical attention it merits.'209 In one of the earliest reviews of his work, Charles Marris complained that in Valley of Decision Curnow's 'lines are lacking in elasticity, his imagery imprisoned in stiff tense phrases which tend to befog the argument.'210 Reviewing the 1935 collection Three Poems (one of which was 'Aspect of Monism'), Marris saw some signs of improvement in Curnow's poetry, largely thanks to a reduction in the 'naked realism' and 'propagandist' elements.211 On the other hand he considered Curnow's poem 'Doom at Sunrise,' published the same year in the Caxton Press anthology Another Argo, to be 'heavy with portent but scarcely explicable.'212 Curnow consistently refrained from responding to such criticism, preferring to let his work speak for itself.

207 D., 'Poetry and Piffle' 22.
208 D., 'Poetry and Piffle' 23.
210 Charles Marris ('Prester John'), 'Reviews,' Art in New Zealand 6.3 (March 1934): 150.
Writing in Islands in 1981, in an article written as an introduction to Denis Glover's Selected Poems, Curnow observed that for Glover 'poetry was a notation of life and experience.'

This perfectly captures the nature of Glover's contributions in verse to Tomorrow. Under his own name and the initials 'D.G.' and 'P.K.,' Glover contributed one hundred and twenty poems to Tomorrow, most of which were satirical and topical. Among these were a string of humorous poems advertising Tomorrow, published on the back covers of the sixteen issues published between 29 March and 25 October 1939. These include such gems as:

In Edward Albert Homeward Hawks  
a martyr we can boast:  
he'll read Tomorrow walking home,  
and walk into a post.  

Glover also contributed twelve stories (under his own name and the pseudonyms 'Ralph Roister-Doister' and 'P. Kettle'), twelve reviews (signed 'P.K.,' 'D.G.,' and Denis Glover), four letters and thirty-four articles, including twenty-nine signed 'P.K.' Seventeen of these were in a series entitled 'Oranges and Lemons,' which ran from 24 July 1935 until 5 February 1936.

His first published poem in the magazine is a typical Glover epigram:

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214 Denis Glover, (In Edward Albert Homeward Hawks'), Tomorrow 5.21 (16 August 1939): outside back cover page.

'Answer your countries call' the posters tell all those who love the joys of shot and shell: I too have heard the sergeant-major bawl and never known it was my country's call.216

Another epigram published much later, in 1939, pokes fun at the way in which New Zealand was being increasingly promoted as a destination for tourists.

Oh yes, the Maoris were cannibals. You see, there weren't many edible animals. -- Oh no, we don't allow them to eat each other now.217

In a story published in October 1936, Glover took the opportunity to comment on the real value of satiric verse.218 After the narrator, Mr Syrup, receives a letter from his neighbours protesting against the state of his garden, he counters with a light-hearted poem extolling the virtues of the dandelion. The neighbours' reaction prompts the following remark from Syrup:

Because I wrote in verse they thought I was being flippant, because I extolled the dandelion, they thought I was insulting their marigolds. Poor people, they think from the roots of their box-hedge beings that any verse which is pleasantly light is also flippant, that any flower not listed in the horticultural handbook is a despicable weed.219

Glover clearly felt that, despite its often insubstantial appearance, satiric verse had the capacity to carry a weight of meaning detectable to those willing to take it seriously.

216 Denis Glover ('P.K.'), 'Dulce et Decorum,' Tomorrow 1.5 (8 August 1934): 3.


218 Denis Glover, 'Plot And Counter-Plot,' Tomorrow 2.33 (14 October 1936): 27-29. This story is discussed in some detail below.

219 Glover, 'Plot And Counter-Plot' 29.
Poems by Glover written in a more serious vein began to appear from early in Volume One. ‘These Are The Men’ was published in the issue for 31 October 1934.\textsuperscript{220} Ruth Harley has pointed out the way in which this poem ‘anticipate[s] what was to become the subject of Glover’s best poetry as well as the stock character of New Zealand writing, the so-called ordinary man.’\textsuperscript{221}

Treating the swaggie’s plight, it opens:

These are the men, hungry-eyed,
with the stubbled cheek, nostrils dust filled,
that the System has turned adrift.

The hard dry hills know their spittle;
in chill of dawn, heat of the cracking clay,
they carry their world in a sack
on the back, and their words are few.\textsuperscript{222}

Harley comments:

Insofar as these poems are derivative, sentimental or doctrinaire they illustrate the problems faced by committed writers here and in England, the difficulty of absorbing ideology into literary forms.\textsuperscript{223}

In poems published in \textit{Tomorrow} such as ‘To the Young Men,’\textsuperscript{224} ‘All of These,’\textsuperscript{225} and ‘The Road Builders,’\textsuperscript{226} Glover’s work can be seen to develop towards his

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{220} Denis Glover (‘D.G.’), ‘These Are The Men,’ \textit{Tomorrow} 1.16 (31 October 1934): 16.
\item \textsuperscript{222} Glover, ‘These Are The Men’ 16.
\item \textsuperscript{223} Harley, ‘Politics And Public Themes’ 9-10.
\item \textsuperscript{224} Denis Glover, ‘To the Young Men,’ \textit{Tomorrow} 1.42 (14 August 1935): 11.
\item \textsuperscript{225} Denis Glover, ‘All of These,’ \textit{Tomorrow} 2.34 (28 October 1936): 23.
\item \textsuperscript{226} Denis Glover, ‘The Road Builders,’ \textit{Tomorrow} 3.11 (31 March 1937): 326.
\end{itemize}
own mode of pastoral poetry which saw its best fruit in the *Sings Harry* and *Arawata Bill* sequences.227

A poem by Glover which at first sight seems merely another of his many short poems and epigrams is entitled 'From the Classical Chinese.'228 Displaying the clear influence of the early Pound, it runs:

The tremulous agitation of the leaves fills the air,  
the drifting drizzle lightly descends on the grass;  
and packing the picnic things, closing  
the windows of the car, we set off home  
saying the weather is unkind.

Slightly ironic, but gently reminiscent of an experience many of his readers must have had, the tone of this poem recalls his better known 'Home Thoughts,' first published in *Tomorrow* in 1935.229

Without doubt, *Tomorrow* played an important role in the development of Glover's poetry during the thirties. The availability of an outlet over which he had some control, in which he seemed able to publish shorter humorous pieces almost as they were written, was clearly of great benefit to his poetry. While the number of serious poems by Glover in *Tomorrow* is small in comparison to the bulk of squibs and other satiric items, it is possible to trace in the magazine a development towards his important work of the forties and fifties.


228 Denis Glover ('D.G.'), 'From the Classical Chinese,' *Tomorrow* 4.7 (2 February 1938): 213.

229 Denis Glover ('D.G.'), 'Home Thoughts,' *Tomorrow* 1.43 (21 August 1935): 16. This version is considerably longer than the four line poem it became with republication.
R.A.K. Mason contributed two poems and a play to *Tomorrow* during 1936, in addition to a rare short story published in December 1935. The first of the poems was 'Prelude,' taken from the manuscript of Mason's fourth collection, *End of Day*, which was published in an edition of one hundred and fifty copies by the Caxton Press in mid-1936. Mason's only other poem in *Tomorrow* was 'Notes for a New Life' (also from the *End of Day* manuscript), which appeared in April 1936 along with poems by Glover and Curnow in the occasional 'Verse' column. In his introduction to Mason's *Collected Poems*, Curnow described this poem as dealing with

> the impossible choice between involvement in history and disengagement of the self from 'events': it concerns the freeing of the self from desire, from struggle, from 'zeal', till it emerges, if not as 'immortal diamond', at least as Negro-softly hard, bonelicked clean of desire's least hint, come knots charred from ancient fires.

Writing shortly after the publication of *End of Day*, Winston Rhodes was generally admiring of the collection, despite some irritation with the 'occasional mannerism,' such as the first line of the stanza quoted above, in which he felt

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230 R.A.K. Mason, 'Prelude,' *Tomorrow* 2.11 (22 January 1936): 6. Due to the third line of the final stanza being misprinted in *Tomorrow*, a corrected version of this poem was published with an apology in *Tomorrow* 2.13 (5 February 1936): 23.


232 R.A.K. Mason, 'Notes for a New Life,' *Tomorrow* 2.20 (15 April 1936): 20. The Glover poem was 'Rotary,' an attack on the service club of that name; Curnow, as 'A.C.,' contributed a short untitled piece beginning 'Pull the blind on the country scene.' Both were also published on page twenty of the above named issue.

more is lost in the collision of ideas than is gained in the shock.\textsuperscript{234} As was common in Tomorrow, the reviewer could not resist taking the opportunity to harangue those of more conservative poetic taste:

It is not possible to stress too often the fact that there is no excuse for the verse that asks nothing of the reader, and yet the criticisms of the more recent verse published in New Zealand lead one to suppose that it is just this which the critics want. Mr Mason will not satisfy them. But for those who can think in terms of images he has something to offer.\textsuperscript{235}

Between their appearance in Tomorrow and their publication in the Collected Poems, Mason made some minor improving alterations to the punctuation of these poems, as he did with many pieces taken into the later volume.\textsuperscript{236} By the mid-thirties Mason had largely ceased to write poetry and so these items in Tomorrow are among the last published by him in the periodical press.

Mason's one-act play in Tomorrow was entitled 'To Save Democracy.'\textsuperscript{237} Set in a prison cell in France during World War One, it treats the theme of conscientious objection, a topical subject amid the rising militarism of the late thirties. Mason's verse drama Squire Speaks appeared in the same year and was favourably reviewed in Tomorrow by Winston Rhodes.\textsuperscript{238} During this period Mason was starting to become a regular contributor of articles and one act plays

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item \textsuperscript{235} Rhodes, review of End of Day 21.
\item \textsuperscript{236} In the End of Day version of the poem, a typographical error occurred wherein the last line of stanza four, 'brave-brain-bespattered' reads 'brava-brain-bespattered.'
\item \textsuperscript{237} R.A.K. Mason, 'To Save Democracy,' Tomorrow 4.13 (27 April 1938): 408-411.
\end{itemize}
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to the Communist journal the *People's Voice*, an outlet he appeared to prefer to *Tomorrow*, possibly owing to its more explicit commitment to the Marxist cause.

Robin Hyde contributed three poems to *Tomorrow* in addition to several articles, a letter and a single short story. Typically for Hyde, who was always aware of the ambience of the different publications she offered her work to, her poems in *Tomorrow* are suited to the dominant concerns of their venue. Her first contribution was the poem 'The Faithful',\(^{239}\) which appeared in the journal's short-lived verse column. The poem is a satiric prayer in rhyming couplets for 'homeless dogs' in the city pound. Her next contribution takes a more seriously non-conformist line, on the subject of pacifism.\(^{240}\) It appeared in the same issue as her letter written in response to John Harris's review of Cresswell's *Lyttelton Harbour*. Hyde's final poem in *Tomorrow* was 'The Free Talkers',\(^{241}\) an attack on false liberalism in modern society. The poem is given weight for readers aware of Hyde's autobiographical writings by some telling concluding lines:

I do not think I would tell them  
If my gas-meter lacked a shilling,  
Or should I be about to have a child  
Born out of wedlock, but none the less expensive.  
I have a feeling they would find me too frank,  
That beyond ----'s guides to brothels  
And gelded Sebastian Bach  
They will not go.

*Tomorrow* was not a major venue for Hyde's poetry, largely because of the magazine's role in the dispute between Denis Glover and Charles Marris, in which Hyde aligned herself with Marris. Another factor was the anti-feminist

\(^{239}\) Robin Hyde, 'The Faithful,' *Tomorrow* 2.21 (29 April 1936): 25.

\(^{240}\) Robin Hyde, 'The Pacifist,' *Tomorrow* 2.23 (27 May 1936): 23.

\(^{241}\) Robin Hyde, 'The Free Talkers,' *Tomorrow* 2.31 (16 September 1936): 17.
line expressed by some of the paper's more prominent contributors, particularly Denis Glover. Hyde responded to this anti-feminism in an article on the left-wing periodical Woman Today. This was in part written as a rejoinder to a series of three articles by Denis Glover entitled 'We Give Them Votes,' in which he satirised the opinions of women on matters of national significance. A passage from the first of these ('Subject under censure: the Labour Government') should suffice to give the general flavour:

'This forty-hour week - ridiculous!' said the most formidable of the three, harsh featured as the Rimutakas, bosomed like Banks Peninsula. 'What are they going to do, I'd like to know. They've got too much leisure already. Drinking and getting into trouble.'

While Hyde admits that 'Woman is a backward nation,' with much women's discourse amounting to little more than 'hen-cackle,' largely owing to the influence of "Ladies' columns and little periodicals [which] give themselves up body and soul to the business," she cites Woman Today, the first issue of which had just appeared, as 'one of the most promising symptoms of mental growth since, first among women in the world, New Zealand women sat down and decided that they were going to have the vote.'

Hyde's only short story in Tomorrow, 'America Won the War,' was published in the same issue as her article on Woman Today. This story was

244 Denis Glover ('P.K.'), 'We Give Them Votes,' Tomorrow 2.24 (10 June 1936): 26.
245 Hyde, review of Woman Today 376.
246 Hyde, review of Woman Today 377.
recently republished in *Goodbye to Romance*, a collection of New Zealand and Australian women's short fiction.\(^{248}\) Her final contribution to *Tomorrow* was an article entitled 'They Might Have Left Him His Looks,'\(^{249}\) on the abdication of Edward VIII.

Following the publication in mid-1937 of *The Arraignment of Paris*, Glover's satire on the editorial taste of Charles Marris, Hyde chose the conservative women's magazine the *Mirror* as a venue for her defence of the poets, including herself, whom Marris published.\(^{250}\) Hyde briefly surveys the efforts of a wide range of successful women writers, from Katherine Mansfield to many who are now almost totally forgotten, such as Rosemary Rees and Nelle Scanlan. In particular, Hyde applauds those women who have managed 'against a serious local prejudice' to succeed as writers.\(^{251}\) She described these women as contributing to the 'building up [of] a third stratum of letters,' by which she means a type of writing which is outside the conventional parameters of serious (Hyde uses the word 'pretentious') literature, including children's fiction and the popular fiction genres such as romance and mystery.\(^{252}\)

Her personal response to Glover's *Arraignment* came in the form of an angry letter in which she made clear that she 'want[ed] no more Caxtons or To-


\(^{249}\) Robin Hyde, 'They Might Have Left Him His Looks,' *Tomorrow* 3.15 (26 May 1937): 461.


\(^{251}\) Hyde, 'New Zealand Authoresses' 63.

\(^{252}\) Hyde, 'New Zealand Authoresses' 63.
Six months later, tempers had cooled somewhat. In a ten page letter written to Glover in January 1938 Hyde judged Glover's satire 'fun in spots, a bit feeble in others,' continuing:

Was it [aimed] at Marris, at Marris because he prints the poems of women as well as those of men (including one of yours if I remember), or just at women? If the last, and if I may ask a more than usually delicate indelicate question, why wed and bed? Or even if it's all drollery, does it conform to the T.S. Eliot invocation of his mother earth's curse on him if he tells a lie 'A lie which is not a poet's lie.'

A further comment by Hyde in the same letter indicates that Charles Marris was not entirely the passive and aggrieved victim in the affair. She notes that, with regard to the threat to sue Glover for libel, 'Mr Marris, as you have of course been informed by now, was pulling your leg - he was delighted when I told him how excited Sarge [sic] and Fairburn were.'

Fairburn's own verse contributions to Tomorrow were largely of a piece with his prose items. All of his thirty-three poems in Tomorrow were satirical or topical in tone. Eight of these were signed with his initials while the remaining twenty-five appeared under his full name. He also signed his name to the majority of his letters in Tomorrow (thirty-one of thirty-four, using his initials for the balance), to all but one of his thirty-nine articles, three of his five reviews and the sole short story he contributed. He began contributing with the first

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issue: three caustic epigrams on the state of the world. The first of these, the
two line 'Meretrix' with its play on lines from William Blake ('The newsboy's cry
from street to street / shall weave old England's winding sheet'), was perfectly
tuned to Henderson's purpose in publishing *Tomorrow*, as expressed in his article
on the New Zealand Press in the Specimen Issue.

Fairburn was represented in both *Verse Alive* anthologies, the collections
of poetry from *Tomorrow* edited by Winston Rhodes and Denis Glover. He had
five poems in the first volume (including 'Other Days, Other Ways' from the
first issue of *Tomorrow*) and three in the second. Two of the three poems by
Fairburn in *Verse Alive Number Two*, 'War To End All War' and 'Subsequent
Engagement,' appeared in the irregular 'Verse' column in *Tomorrow* where they
were given the collective title 'Rhymes for the Times.' A further two poems
were taken into Fairburn's 1943 retrospective collection *Poems 1929-1941*. These
were 'For the Gravestone of A Politician,' and 'To A Rich Man,' which was

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256 These were: A.R.D. Fairburn, 'Meretrix,' *Tomorrow* 1.1 (11 July 1934): 5; A.R.D.
Fairburn, 'Other Days, Other Ways,' *Tomorrow* 1.1 (11 July 1934): 13; and A.R.D.

257 Kennaway Henderson ('A. Kennaway'), 'The Press,' *Tomorrow* 1.1 [Specimen Issue]
(n.d.): 6.


Herd also attributes a fourth poem in the same column, 'The Rubbish Heap,' to
Fairburn, although it is signed 'Amen,' a pseudonym retained when the poem was
reprinted in *Verse Alive Number Two* (Christchurch: Caxton Press, 1937) 6. Olive
Johnson does not list 'Amen' as a pseudonym used by Fairburn in her *A.R.D.
Fairburn 1904-1957: A Bibliography of His Published Works* (Auckland: University of
Auckland, 1958) 90. On the other hand, in their bibliography of his work, Weir and
Lyon attribute the poem to Allen Curnow. Fr. John E. Weir and Barbara A. Lyon,
*New Zealand Poetry: A Select Bibliography, 1920-1972* (Christchurch: The Library,

republished as 'To A Millionaire.' Both these poems also appeared in Strange Rendezvous: Poems 1929-1941 with additions, while 'To A Millionaire' was the only poem from Tomorrow included in Fairburn's Collected Poems.

This brief survey of some of the more prominent contributors of poetry to Tomorrow cannot do justice to the full range of such material in the magazine. J.J. Herd records a total of four hundred and twenty-two poems by approximately one hundred contributors. Glover, Curnow and Fairburn were by far the most prolific of these, but others such as J.C. Beaglehole (seven poems), Charles Brasch (ten poems), Anton Vogt (twenty-one poems), and Ian Milner (two poems) should also be acknowledged. It is clear from these basic statistics that during its period of publication Tomorrow was by far the most important site of publication for the work of the rising generation of poets. Without its openness to new and innovative material, largely thanks to the presence of Denis Glover on its editorial committee, a great deal of vigorous work would have had considerably less chance of publication. It would be difficult to over-estimate, also, the role of the magazine in gradually building up a readership for this new generation of poets.

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261 (...continued)


264 Herd, Index to Tomorrow 46-47.
3.5 Fiction

In a similar way and for identical reasons, *Tomorrow* was also an important venue for short fiction. It was rivaled only by the Sydney *Bulletin* in the amount of fiction by New Zealand writers published in its pages during the six years of its publication, but differed somewhat in the sorts of stories published. Whereas the *Bulletin* (at least in the 1930s) and other more local outlets such as the Auckland based monthly the *Mirror* preferred stories on conventional and uncontroversial topics, ranging in genre from the 'historical sketch to light romance, *Tomorrow* increasingly tended to favor stories dealing with the political and social issues it sought to address elsewhere in its pages. Satire became the dominant mode for the criticism of capitalism and its anomalies and injustices. However, actual socialist realist fiction was rarer than might be expected in *Tomorrow* and many stories could well have been published in less politically radical magazines.

Undoubtedly, Frank Sargeson was the most noteworthy contributor of fiction to *Tomorrow*, both in terms of his importance to New Zealand literature as a whole and of the sheer number of stories published, thirty-four in all. Including Sargeson's stories, one hundred and twenty pieces of short fiction were published in *Tomorrow*. The majority of them (almost two-thirds) appeared in the first half of *Tomorrow's* existence, June 1934 - October 1937: twenty-two in the fifty-two issues of Volume One; twenty-seven in the thirty-four issues of Volume Two; thirty-four in the twenty-six issues of Volume Three; eighteen in each of Volume Four and Five (comprising twenty-six issues each); and six in the fifteen issues of the final volume. A large number of different authors
(approximately forty) were responsible for these stories, among whom the most prolific were (in addition to Sargeson) Denis Glover (thirteen stories, including a number written under the pseudonyms 'Ralph Roister-Doister' and 'P. Kettle'), Roderick Finlayson (five) and Kennaway Henderson, who wrote as 'K.' and 'Peggy Cunliffe-Crighton' (eight). Other noteworthy contributors include A.R.D. Fairburn, R.A.K. Mason, M.H. Holcroft, Robin Hyde, Allen Curnow, and Isobel Andrews.

Prior to the appearance of Sargeson's first story ('Conversation With My Uncle') in the thirty-ninth issue of Tomorrow, that for 24 July 1935, only five stories had appeared in the magazine. The first published of these, Alice M. Henderson's 'A Broken Promise,' occupies a single page of the periodical and recounts a story about a stray kitten and an old man who attempts to adopt it. In doing so it deals with themes of social justice and the human condition that were to be explored repeatedly in the magazine, most expertly by Sargeson himself.

One day I saw a poor old man coming up our path and round to our back door. He shuffled along because his boots were much too large, and he carried a very battered old fashioned brown leather portmanteau, and a large parcel wrapped up in an old piece of brown shiny cloth. I wish I could draw for you this pitiful looking old man - worn, weary, untidy and certainly not clean, watery blue eyes and a stubby unshaven chin - old and odd garments - altogether quite unattractive and yet not repellent,

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265 The use of pseudonyms makes it impossible to give an exact figure.


because of a faded smile which we had reason to see and which quite changed his face.\textsuperscript{268}

Behind its somewhat sentimental tone the story has several qualities which were soon to become the trademark of Sargeson himself. Apart from the slightness of plot, a device which in the right hands is capable of throwing considerable narrative weight onto other elements of the story, Henderson's use of a kitten as objective correlative for the social alienation experienced by the destitute tinker prefigures Sargeson's frequent use of such images in his own stories. With some rewriting to rid the tale of the mannerisms which plagued most popular short fiction at the time and which the more famous author so effectively eliminated from his own work, the story could well be transformed into classic Sargeson. Indeed, it is not unreasonable to speculate on the impression this story might have had on Sargeson.

Of the other stories in \textit{Tomorrow} which predate Sargeson's initial appearance, one was the sole contribution to the magazine by H.C.D. Somerset, the educationalist and later author of \textit{Littledene}.\textsuperscript{269} 'The Hammer and the Anvil'\textsuperscript{270} deals with social injustice in a manner Kennaway Henderson would clearly have approved. A small working class boy is caught between the punishing hammer of social authority and the anvil of his family circumstances. Denis Glover, writing under his satirical pseudonym 'Ralph Roister-Doister,' also

\textsuperscript{268} Henderson, 'A Broken Promise' 12.


\textsuperscript{270} H.C.D. Somerset, 'The Hammer and the Anvil,' \textit{Tomorrow} 1.18 (14 November 1934): 12-14.
contributed the first of thirteen humorous or satirical stories to the issue for 21 November 1934.271

Meeting Rex Fairburn and seeing a copy of Tomorrow for the first time were coincident in the memory of Frank Sargeson.272 He recalled in dramatic terms the effect of the magazine on his writing:

[A]lmost immediately [I] wrote something which I could very surely recognise as quite different from anything I had written previously: but the astonishing thing was that it seemed different in an interesting and distinguishing way from any other piece of writing I had ever encountered.273

The resulting story was 'Conversation With My Uncle,'274 written, as Sargeson himself put it, in

short clear sentences which, in a vivid and unexpected way, would transmit a good deal of what readers might fairly grant to be common human experience.275

The seminal effect on New Zealand literature of this story and its successors has been thoroughly documented.276 Sargeson was to see eight more stories

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272 Sargeson, More Than Enough 50.
273 Sargeson, More Than Enough 50.
275 Sargeson, More Than Enough 50. It is reasonable to speculate that this story was in part inspired by F.S. Flint's poem 'Hats' published in Harold Monro's anthology Twentieth Century Poetry and described by J. Malton Murry in Art in New Zealand as 'some sixty or seventy lines of jibe at the average respectable individual who wears a hard felt hat [wherein] we get the impression that the hard felt hat and all it implies was the cause of the war.' J. Malton Murry, Plain Man and Poet, Art in New Zealand 5.19 (June 1933): 235.
276 See, for example: Lawrence Jones, Barbed Wire & Mirrors: Essays on New Zealand Prose (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 1987); W.H. New, Dreams of Speech and Violence: The Art of the Short Story in Canada and New Zealand (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987); and Lydia Wevers, 'The Short Story,' Oxford History of New Zealand Literature in English, ed. Terry Sturm (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1991) 201-
published in *Tomorrow* before the end of the year, although he received no payment for any of them.\textsuperscript{277} Of the thirty-four he eventually published there, including six brief parodies of contemporary New Zealand novels, eight of the first thirteen were gathered in 1936 into his first collection, *Conversation With My Uncle*.\textsuperscript{278} A total of twenty of Sargeson's *Tomorrow* stories were eventually republished in the *Collected Stories*.\textsuperscript{279} His story 'The Making of a New Zealander,' published in *Tomorrow* in early 1939, shared first prize in the Centennial Literary Competition.\textsuperscript{280}

In addition to his short stories Sargeson contributed, according to his bibliographer, 'nearly forty commentaries, columns, parodies, poems and reviews . . . between 1935 and 1940.\textsuperscript{281} His first appearance in *Tomorrow* was in March 1935 as the writer of a satirical and topical poem, 'Song And Refrain for a Dictator,' a response to fascist double-speak then emanating from Greece. \textsuperscript{282} Sargeson signed himself 'F.S.,' adding the locale 'Takapuna' to distinguish himself from Frederick Sinclaire who signed his own contributions with the

\textsuperscript{277} Sargeson, *Once is Enough* 51.

\textsuperscript{278} Frank Sargeson, *Conversation With My Uncle* (Auckland: The Unicorn Press, 1936).


\textsuperscript{280} Sargeson's co-winner was Eleanor Midgely (Eleanor Scott), author of 'The River,' published in the *Mirror* 19.3 (September 1940): 16-17,57. See Chapter Seven, below.

\textsuperscript{281} Kevin Cunningham, 'Some Notes on Sargeson's Journalism,' *Islands* 6 (1975): 273-274.

\textsuperscript{282} Frank Sargeson ('F.S.'), 'Song And Refrain for a Dictator,' *Tomorrow* 1.36 (27 March 1935): 19.
same two initials. According to Rhodes, the correlation of initials often irritated both writers, whose views did not always coincide.

It was an attack on his stories launched, according to Winston Rhodes, by Frederick Sinclaire that in part prompted Sargeson to draw attention to his 'technical' debt to Sherwood Anderson. In a heavily ironic letter written over the pseudonym 'Live and Let Live,' Sinclaire criticised what he perceived as Sargeson's rationalistic atheism in stories such as 'Chaucerian' and 'A Piece of Yellow Soap.'

Cannot he [Sargeson], and those like him, be made to regard the speed limit? Already as a young man, on his own evidence, he was advanced to the stage of being a Unitarian. No sooner have we pulled ourselves together from the shock of that announcement than he goes on to shout in our ears, as he once again whizzes past us at break-neck speed, that he now . . . no longer believes either in God or in the future life. You cannot imagine, sir, how this upsets us. These reckless progredients [sic], reaffirming the outlook of Darwin's Tierra del Fuegians, might show some consideration for those whose ardour in the case of Progressive Thought may be chilled by such discoveries. Not to mention God's feelings. But the worst of it is that these progressives may possibly not have finished progressing even yet. I dread lest in the

283 As noted below in Chapter Seven, the same combination of initials and locale appeared in an editorial response to a story submitted for publication in the Auckland Mirror in mid-1933: "Mamie's Urge" (F.S., Takapuna, Auckland): Very fair. Marred by an overdose of up-to-date slang. Make your dialogue more convincing.' Editorial, 'Our Mailbag,' Mirror 12.2 (August 1933): 41.


285 Rhodes, 'In the Beginning' 218.


287 Frederick Sinclaire ('Live and Let Live'), 'The Road of Progress,' Tomorrow 1.47 (18 September 1935) 24.

288 Frank Sargeson, 'Chaucerian,' Tomorrow 1.45 (September 1935) 14.

next chatty instalment of his intimate autobiography this headlong spirit may clatter past me again, having been there and back.290

Glover's observation that Sinclaire held 'certain ecclesiastical views of a unitarian kind'291 may be the key to the latter's complaint against Sargeson, since 'Chaucerian' characterises the Unitarian Church as a haven for the sort of false liberalism so frequently attacked in *Tomorrow* by Sargeson and other contributors. Sinclaire's traditionalist literary taste would also have made Sargeson's colloquial and sparse prose unpalatable. Glover recalls Sinclaire's attitude to modernist prose in the following terms.

Someone once handed him a modern novel. . . I think it was by Virginia Woolf. He picked it up, opened the first page, and the novel began with the word "but." He hurled it into the corner and said, "I will not read any book that begins with the word 'but.'"292

In Sinclaire's defence it should be noted that, to quote Rhodes, 'a number of early readers found difficulty in accommodating themselves to the varied masks of Sargeson.293

The article on Sherwood Anderson provides insight into a major influence on Sargeson's rapidly developing and highly distinctive narrative style. With eight stories published in *Tomorrow* in fifteen issues, he clearly felt it was appropriate to acknowledge his debt to the little known American writer. Several comments in the article could easily be applied to the sketches Sargeson was producing at the time, which seemed radically different from anything that

290 Sinclaire, 'The Road of Progress' 24.


292 Glover, *Hot Water Sailor* 75.

293 Rhodes, 'In the Beginning' 218.
had come before in New Zealand fiction. Discussing what he terms 'Anderson's technical abilities,' Sargeson wrote:

One of the things that Anderson understands is the value of repetition. He never explores the important incidents of a story at one hit. He will say enough to set your imagination working, and have you looking for the page where he will return to the incident and fill in the gaps that he has deliberately left you wondering over. I think he got the idea from some of the story-tellers of the Old Testament.

Anderson also exploits the short, suggestive sentence. What fascinates him about words is their enormous suggestive power and he uses them to liberate the imagination; certainly not, as some writers do, to restrict and pin it down.294

Sargeson saw in Anderson a kindred spirit writing from and about a place with many similarities to New Zealand in the thirties: provincial and unsympathetic to artistic endeavour of any but the most conservative sort. In addition to Anderson and other American writers such as Hart Crane, Ernest Hemingway and Sinclair Lewis, during this period Sargeson also read widely in New Zealand, Australian and South African literatures.

Despite Sinclair's criticism, most of the editorial staff of Tomorrow recognised that here was a lively new writer expressing a decidedly New Zealand form of life. Rhodes, writing as Sargeson's literary biographer, later recalled 'the excitement caused by what became a steady stream of short manuscripts above the signature of an unknown writer, Frank Sargeson.'295

From his very first sketch Sargeson employed what Lawrence Jones described

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as his 'symbolizing imagination,'\(^{296}\) the 'hard knocker' of the uncle standing for all the stultified conservatism of pre-War New Zealand society.

*Conversation With My Uncle* was favourably reviewed in *Tomorrow*, first by A.R.D. Fairburn in the issue for 8 July 1936\(^{297}\) and then by D'Arcy Cresswell two weeks later.\(^{298}\) In her contribution to the special issue of *Islands* published in celebration of Sargeson's seventy-fifth birthday, Jean Bertram gave an account of the correspondence which followed an anonymous and dismissive review of *Conversation With My Uncle* in the Christchurch *Press*.\(^{299}\) Both Jean Bertram (writing as Jean Stevenson) and Denis Glover defended Sargeson's work in subsequent issues of the *Press*,\(^{300}\) while Sargeson himself again took the opportunity to make clear his debt to Sherwood Anderson.\(^{301}\)

In preparing the early stories both for their initial republication in his first collection and for their inclusion in the *Collected Stories*, Sargeson made several textual alterations.\(^ {302}\) With 'Conversation with My Uncle' for example, he worked to simplify the sketch, despite the brevity and sparseness already

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\(^{298}\) D'Arcy Cresswell, review of *Conversation With My Uncle*, by Frank Sargeson, *Tomorrow* 2.27 (22 July 1936): 20-22.


\(^{300}\) Jean Stevenson ('J.E.S.'), 'Mr Sargeson's Book,' *Press* (Christchurch), 12 September 1936; Denis Glover ('D.G.'), letter, *Press* (Christchurch), 19 September 1936.

\(^{301}\) *Press* (Christchurch), 26 September 1936.

\(^{302}\) 'If you do decide to reprint any of the sketches I'd like to make a few alterations here and there.' Sargeson to Denis Glover, 13 November 1935, Glover Papers, Folder 18.
achieved in the *Tomorrow* version. A significant change is the alteration of the occupation of the Uncle from shopkeeper to 'a partner in one of those big firms,' perhaps to further alienate the character from the reader by placing him firmly among the upper middle class. Generally, however, the alterations are more subtle, designed to produce a more natural-seeming colloquial utterance and also to define the speaking voice of the narrator more precisely. In the following change a single sentence is simplified into two even briefer sentences: 'He grumbles a bit but who doesn't grumble a bit' becomes 'He grumbles a bit. Well, who doesn't grumble a bit.' The main effect is to introduce a pause into the speaking voice of the narrator, making what was a single thought in the original into a thought followed by an afterthought. The effect of 'thinking on one's feet' or 'thinking as one speaks' is emphasized, a device of immediacy which brings the narrator further into conversational intimacy with the reader.

In late 1937 Sargeson departed from the developing narrative style of his stories to contribute a series of six brief parodies of popular New Zealand fiction. In correspondence with Denis Glover regarding the printing of *Conversation With My Uncle*, Sargeson remarked:

> Only one or two of the sketches [published to date in *Tomorrow*] really satisfy me. I've been thinking of changing over to some parodies. 'Boys and Girls' by Isabel K. Peaton. 'How I Write' by Alan B. Multanga. 'The Teeny Land' by James Bluffy etc.³⁰³

Only the latter of these parodies reached print in *Tomorrow*. Entitled 'A New Zealand Anthology,' the entire series consisted of the following:

³⁰³ Sargeson to Glover, 13 November 1935, Glover Papers, Folder 18. 'Isabel K. Peaton' combines Isabel Maude Peacocke and Elsie K. Morton. 'Alan B. Multanga' is Alan E. Mulgan and 'James Bluffy' is John Guthrie.
Introducing the series, Sargeson stated that these parodies display 'the merits of some of our most distinguished fiction-writers . . . [and] show . . . the very marrow of the language for which names have become justly famous.' More than this, they exposed an entire array of colonial literary stereotypes of plot, characterisation, and attitude. Sargeson sent an amused Robin Hyde a copy of his parody of her work prior to its printing in Tomorrow. Writing to Glover in January 1938 she reported: I laughed at Frank Sargeson's parody, first in my bach, then in your (or Mr Henderson's) fortnightly.

In his introduction to the Collected Stories, W.H. Pearson describes Sargeson's fiction in Tomorrow as 'sorting a little incongruously with some of the
confident leftist assertions' expressed in the periodical.\textsuperscript{307} Indeed, unlike the majority of the typically polemical articles and most if not all of the fiction and poetry published in \textit{Tomorrow}, much of which was deeply critical of New Zealand's cultural and social institutions, Sargeson's stories offer a more suggestive questioning of his society, and always refrain from supplying answers to those questions. Beyond that essential qualitative difference, Sargeson's stories were nevertheless well tuned to the political and social ethos expressed throughout the pages of Henderson's paper. In their tone and in the situations and characters they presented to readers, Sargeson's stories foregrounded the social injustices experienced by many New Zealanders during the Depression. When these stories are compared with others published at the same time, their most remarkable aspect is their lack of sentimentality.

The most successful alternative strategy in the stories published by other authors in \textit{Tomorrow} was that employed by Denis Glover, satire. Of the twelve stories by Glover published in \textit{Tomorrow} the vast majority were satiric in tone. There were two exceptions to this rule. 'Strike Sketch' describes the crisis of conscience suffered by an idealistic young office clerk when the machinists and packers at his place of work go on strike.\textsuperscript{308} The story appears to be an attempt by Glover at socialist realism, although the inherent seriousness of the genre is somewhat undercut by his naming the protagonist 'Harry Gasket,' making him a close relative of other more humorous Glover fictional creations such as Mr


\textsuperscript{308} Denis Glover, 'Strike Sketch,' \textit{Tomorrow} 2.17 (4 March 1936): 12-14.
Syrup,\textsuperscript{309} Jason Death,\textsuperscript{310} and George Scantelpatter.\textsuperscript{311} The story ends inconclusively with Gasket resigning to take up school teaching, having failed to make a stand in the industrial dispute. The second serious story is the more effective 'Till The Star Speak,'\textsuperscript{312} a convincing account of a crashed airman's last hours in the intense cold and maddening silence of the South Island's Southern Alps.

The remaining ten stories spanned a range of genres, from 'The Death of Jason,'\textsuperscript{313} an ironic tale of the supernatural, to 'The Apotheosis of George Scantelpatter,'\textsuperscript{314} a satire in two instalments on the advertising industry. Glover's preferred mode was that of social satire, influenced to a degree by the stories of G.K. Chesterton, although Glover's work reminded Frank Sargeson of the English novelist and short story writer T.F. Powys, 'who has the same extraordinarily lively way of reporting conversation and putting the finishing touches to his characters.'\textsuperscript{315} Sargeson also described Glover as 'a sort of New Zealand [G.B.] Shaw.'\textsuperscript{316} Furthermore, as far as Sargeson was concerned he and Glover were

\begin{quote}
the only people in N.Z. who can write short stories. Place either of us beside, say, Holcroft and what have you? . . . His mediocrity
\end{quote}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{309} Denis Glover, 'Plot And Counter-Plot,' \textit{Tomorrow} 2.33 (14 October 1936): 27-29.
\item \textsuperscript{310} Denis Glover, 'The Death of Jason,' \textit{Tomorrow} 3.15 (26 May 1937): 470-473.
\item \textsuperscript{311} Denis Glover, 'The Apotheosis of George Scantelpatter,' \textit{Tomorrow} 1.44 (28 August 1935): 15-17; \textit{Tomorrow} 1.45 (4 September 1935): 19-22.
\item \textsuperscript{312} Denis Glover, 'Till The Star Speak,' \textit{Tomorrow} 3.22 (1 September 1937): 690-692.
\item \textsuperscript{313} Denis Glover, 'The Death of Jason,' \textit{Tomorrow} 3.15 (26 May 1937): 470-473.
\item \textsuperscript{314} Denis Glover, 'The Apotheosis of George Scantelpatter,' \textit{Tomorrow} 1.44 (28 August 1935): 15-17; \textit{Tomorrow} 1.45 (4 September 1935): 19-22.
\item \textsuperscript{315} Sargeson to Glover, 26 September [1935?], Glover Papers, Folder 18.
\item \textsuperscript{316} Sargeson to Glover, 17 August 1936, Glover Papers, Folder 18.
\end{itemize}

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is appalling. And his technique! My God! . . . There's no-one in N.Z. who can do 'idea' writing of the quality of 'Plot and Counter-plot' [sic] and 'Death of a Maiden,' and both, I think, are a great advance on your 3 Stories [sic]. The first, of course, came nearest to being lifelike of anything of your's [sic] I've read, but I like the second the better.\textsuperscript{317}

Sargeson's description of Glover's mode as "idea" writing recalls the 'novels of ideas' of Aldous Huxley.\textsuperscript{318} Huxley, Shaw, Chesterton, and Glover all, in their various ways and from their very disparate perspectives, wrote against the degrading influence of 'mass culture' and scorned the shallow preoccupations of modern life.

Glover's first prose contribution to \textit{Tomorrow} was a sort of fable, entitled 'The Cat And The State Of The Country',\textsuperscript{319} written as a dialogue between a cat and a 'Dresden Shepherdess' and largely concerned with the very topical issue of freedom of speech. The two instalments of 'The Apotheosis of George Scantelpatter' were published alongside two of Sargeson's most famous stories, 'A Piece of Yellow Soap' and 'Chaucerian.'\textsuperscript{320} 'Apotheosis' recounts the consequences when a successful advertising executive, representative of a profession repeatedly excoriated by Glover and others in \textit{Tomorrow}, begins to subvert all that his industry represents. The story culminates in the apotheosis

\textsuperscript{317} Sargeson to Glover, 26 January 1936, Glover Papers, Folder 18.

\textsuperscript{318} The title, although certainly not the subject matter, for Glover's 'Plot And Counter-Plot' may have come from Aldous Huxley's novel \textit{Point Counter Point} (New York: Doubleday, 1928; London: Chatto & Windus, 1930), in which each character represents an idea or human type.

\textsuperscript{319} Denis Glover ('P.K.'), 'The Cat And The State Of The Country,' \textit{Tomorrow} 1.6 (15 August 1934): 18.

\textsuperscript{320} Frank Sargeson, 'A Piece of Yellow Soap,' \textit{Tomorrow} 1.44 (28 August 1935): 18; Frank Sargeson, 'Chaucerian,' \textit{Tomorrow} 1.45 (4 September 1935): 14.
of the title, with Scantelpatter transformed into a martyr on the altar of consumerism.

Sargeson was particularly taken with the characterisation achieved by Glover in this and other stories.

You don't deal in the lives of the Toms Dicks Berthas and Claras [sic] that you can pick up in handfuls along the street, but fantastic creatures named Robert Window and George Scantelpatter; and you are so confoundedly clever that you make me feel that these creatures might, and at any rate, should, exist.321

'The Apotheosis of George Scantelpatter' was republished in Glover's *Three Short Stories,*322 along with 'Another Visitor From Mars' (a sequel to 'A Visitor From Mars' published in *Tomorrow* in 1934323), and 'Robert Window and the Whale.'

Reviewing *Three Short Stories* in *Tomorrow,* Winston Rhodes commented:

In each story Mr Glover takes a theme which cannot bear any elaborate treatment, nor does he make it. He touches it lightly and easily and lets it drop as lightly and easily, and yet he manages to direct the edge of his wit and satire towards things that are well worth attacking. In a time when propaganda is often so dull and factual there is room for such stories as these.324

Glover's next story after 'Apotheosis' appeared in the first fortnightly issue of *Tomorrow,* that for 4 March 1936.325 Later in the same year, in one of a remarkable series of issues from a literary perspective, Glover's story 'Plot and

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321 Sargeson to Glover, 17 August 1936, Glover Papers, Folder 18 [sic punctuation].


325 Denis Glover, 'Strike Sketch,' *Tomorrow* 2.17 (4 March 1936): 12-14.
Counter-Plot\(^{326}\) appeared in the company of a review by D'Arcy Cresswell of Ursula Bethell's *Time and Place*,\(^{327}\) a poem by Cresswell,\(^{328}\) Sargeson's story 'They Gave Her A Rise,'\(^{329}\) a review by W.B. Sutch of A.E. Mander's eugenics tract *To Alarm New Zealand*,\(^{330}\) and a review by Glover of *A Book About Beer*.\(^{331}\)

'Plot and Counter-Plot' is a good example of the kind of social satire Glover excelled at. In common with much of Glover's short fiction, the story is written from the perspective of a man-alone character who is bemused by and at odds with his society. In this story 'Mr Syrup' counters pressure from his conservative suburban neighbours to smarten up his house and property by employing a simple trick to convince them that he is fabulously wealthy, then shows up their superficiality and snobbishness when as an apparently rich eccentric (however inept a householder) he is deemed an asset to the street, not a liability.

Glover's short fiction has received very little critical comment and remains a largely unknown aspect of his work. Apart from his *Three Short Stories* and one or two other pieces in collections such as *Dancing to My Tune*,\(^{332}\) little of his

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\(^{326}\) Denis Glover, 'Plot And Counter-Plot,' *Tomorrow* 2.33 (14 October 1936): 27-29.


\(^{328}\) W. D'Arcy Cresswell ('W.D'A.C.'), 'In Spring,' *Tomorrow* 2.33 (14 October 1936): 25.


\(^{332}\) Denis Glover, *Dancing to My Tune* (Wellington: Catspaw Press, 1974). Stories in this collection included 'Death and the Maiden,' previously in *Tomorrow* 3.6 (20 January (continued...))
fiction has progressed beyond the pages of the periodicals in which they first appeared. Weir and Lyon list thirty-one pieces of imaginative prose by Glover, published in eight separate journals.\textsuperscript{333} The foregoing discussion of only a few of his stories in \textit{Tomorrow} highlights the need for further examination of Glover's fiction.

R.A.K. Mason's single story in \textit{Tomorrow} was 'The Mountain of the Gods,'\textsuperscript{334} described by Charles Doyle as an 'anti-capitalist story.'\textsuperscript{335} In the light of Mason's commitment to political journalism both in the early thirties with \textit{Phoenix} and again from the late thirties and into the nineteen forties, it is surprising that his involvement in \textit{Tomorrow} was limited to this story, two poems and a short play. Whereas other writers involved in the politically radical student magazines of the early 1930s were grateful for and made full use of the venue, Mason was more restrained. His commitment to the Communist cause was among the most explicit of those writers who flourished creatively under the duress of the Great Depression, and it may have been this which prevented him from utilising what he possibly considered an insufficiently radical publication. Why Mason did not exploit the pages of \textit{Tomorrow} to persuade the many fellow travellers among its readers to make a fuller commitment to social revolution is unknown. As discussed above with regard to his poetry in \textit{Tomorrow}, by the early thirties Mason had entered a period of increasing hesitancy about the

\textsuperscript{332}(...continued)\textsuperscript{332}


direction in which he should proceed as a writer. His short story in *Tomorrow* followed several others in the Auckland University College periodicals *Kiwi* and *Phoenix*, and, like those stories, may have come from the manuscript collection he offered to the Atlantic Monthly Press in late 1932.336

'The Mountain of the Gods' was published in the 'Miscellany' column, which at the time was also a venue for stories by Frank Sargeson and A.R.D. Fairburn. In its brevity Mason's story resembles those of Sargeson. However, there the resemblance ends. Aphoristic and stylistically mannered, almost poetic, 'The Mountain of the Gods' lacks the concision of phrase and image of Sargeson's work. Mason's story opens:

The great squat mountain leers imbecile over the town. One huge spire of rock seems to project a yard-arm gallows right above the victim of its doom.337

Heavy with religious and other imagery, this ironic parable of modern society tells the story of 'a boy just coming to his manhood' who, when he challenges the sanctity of the mountain which dominates the town, is shot from its peak by the bank manager, characterised with the bishop as the co-guardian of social order.

Another very important contributor of fiction to *Tomorrow* was Roderick Finlayson, later characterised as one of the original 'Sons of Sargeson.'338 Finlayson obtained his first publication in *Tomorrow* and was eventually to

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publish five stories there between June 1937 and March 1940. He later recalled that it was D'Arcy Cresswell who introduced him to *Tomorrow*, although his assertion in the same article that Cresswell also introduced Fairburn and Sargeson to the magazine must be questioned in the light of evidence offered by the latter writers.339

All but one of Finlayson's stories in *Tomorrow* were republished in 1938 in *Brown Man's Burden*,340 the exception being 'Uncle Alf Says Goodbye to the Troops,' first printed in *Tomorrow* in March 1940 and reprinted in *Sweet Beulah Land*.341 While *Tomorrow* was the first site of publication provided to Finlayson, the *Auckland Star* published 'The Tangi,' the first part of 'Hemi's Daughter,' on 13 November 1937, awarding it its monthly short story prize. The first of Finlayson's stories in *Tomorrow*, 'Wi Gets the Gospel,'342 was considerably altered before inclusion in *Brown Man's Burden*. Some forty percent from the beginning of the original rather rambling yarn was removed and rewritten. The other four stories saw only slight alterations. For example, 'Mr Buckle' is renamed 'Mr Puttle' in 'Standards of Living,'343 and his adventure starts when he seeks not just


a newspaper, as in the Tomorrow version, but a copy of the New Zealand Herald, the epitome of the sort of conservative press Tomorrow and many of her writers protested against. Puttle's conversion to a more relaxed and liberal way of life is thus made more pointed.

A rare short story by Allen Curnow appeared in Tomorrow in mid-1938. Published in the 'Life and Letters' column, 'A Bad Liver' reports the musings of one 'Tudall' in a rambling interior monologue which shows an obvious debt to that of Joyce's Leopold Bloom.\(^{344}\) Tudall's disdain for the people and things he sees on his way home from work, his discontent, small-mindedness and vanity, are all linked in the story to what he imagines to be a pain in his liver, a pain which turns out to be relieved by a visit to the bathroom. His dissatisfaction is then further soothed by the reassuring headlines in his newspaper. Frank Sargeson expressed his opinion of this story to Glover in the following terms.

I didn't find much to object to in Curnow's story, but I'm boastful enough [to] say that I could stand on my head and turn out that mind-stuff by the ream. . . . I believe that if you use the 3rd person you should externalise completely, diving just occasionally into the reader's mind to establish and maintain a rapprochement.\(^ {345}\)

Writing under his pseudonym 'Julian,' Curnow contributed one other story to Henderson's fortnightly.\(^ {346}\) 'Day of Wrath' is an ironic account of the


\(^{345}\) Sargeson to Glover, 28 August [1938], Glover Papers, Folder 18.

secularisation of Judgement Day, 'the one religious festival which so far had not
been adjusted to British concepts of truth and justice.' Instead of an unknown
day on which the dead would rise, the imprisoned be set free, and, most
disturbingly, 'the rich . . . reduced to pauperism,' the religious and temporal
authorities agree to establish a public holiday 'when the existing relations of
classes and the existing distribution of wealth would be effectively recognised.'
Both stories by Curnow in Tomorrow derive from the same impulse towards
social satire that motivated the short fiction of Denis Glover.

During its brief six-year life Tomorrow's record in sponsoring new and
original short fiction at a time when alternative venues for such work were
largely non-existent is as remarkable as its support for poetry. Its discovery and
support of Frank Sargeson's work would, on its own have been a major
achievement. But it was also noteworthy for its openness to work by a wide
range of other authors working in a variety of genres, from socialist realism to
conventional melodrama. Much of this fiction, by Glover especially, but also
by Mason, Fairburn, Curnow and others, has been forgotten, and deserves more
intensive investigation, not only for what it reveals about the development of the

347 Curnow, 'Day of Wrath' 790.
348 Curnow, 'Day of Wrath' 790.
349 For example, M.H. Holcroft contributed two stories: 'The Trees,' Tomorrow 2.31 (2
September 1936): 20-23; and 'The Flood Comes Down,' Tomorrow 3.5 (6 January 1937):
149-152.
authors themselves, but for a fuller understanding of the liveliness and complexity of New Zealand's literary culture in the 1930s.
3.6 Conclusion

Tomorrow ceased publication with the issue for 29 May 1940. Ironically, after struggling financially for almost six years, at great cost to Henderson himself, the fortnightly had at last begun to find its feet. More and more subscribers saw the need for a politically independent outlet capable of challenging the increasingly authoritarian regime imposed by the Government as war approached. Denis Glover recalled in Hot Water Sailor that Tomorrow's circulation 'was, on the outbreak of war, in the strongest position it had ever been in.' Contributions by renegade Labour Member of Parliament John A. Lee were also a factor in the increased notoriety and hence popularity of the fortnightly. Lee had adopted Tomorrow as a platform for his own political ends after a concerted effort to discredit him undertaken in the Labour Party paper the Standard rendered that outlet unavailable to him. It was as a direct result of an article in Tomorrow entitled 'Psycho-pathology in Politics,' that Lee was expelled from the Labour Party. Lee himself later described this article as having been 'written to let the Labour movement know that we were being dominated from the bedside by a sick tyrant,' namely the then terminally ill Prime Minister Michael Joseph Savage. Following the appearance of this article in early December 1939, Lee became a regular contributor to the magazine until


353 Barrowman, A Popular Vision 42.

354 Lee, Simple on a Soapbox 171.
its final issue, an involvement which must have increased the Government's resolve to silence Henderson's paper.

*Tomorrow's* demise was announced in a circular letter to subscribers. Henderson described the circumstances surrounding the suspension of his publication in the following terms:

> It is with regret that we announce to our many subscribers that we have temporarily ceased publication. The reason for this is that last week the Superintendent of Police visited our printer and warned him of the risk he was running in continuing to print *Tomorrow*. The Superintendent pointed out that the Police have power to seize any printing press and they would not hesitate to use this power if any subversive articles were printed. The Editor was similarly warned. After the visit our printer informed us that he was not prepared to print any further issues of the journal.\(^{355}\)

As Henderson went on to point out, the Public Safety Emergency Regulations under which the magazine was suppressed characterised subversion in such a way that no printer would have been willing to take the risk of printing articles even mildly critical of the government or the war effort, adding wryly:

> In effect we have been suppressed under legislation passed by the first New Zealand Labour Government. New Zealand now has no independent critical journal.\(^{356}\)

An indication of the increasingly marginalised position of *Tomorrow*, can be seen in a notice placed in the first issue of Volume Five, dated 9 November 1938. Messrs Simpson and Williams Ltd, printers of *Tomorrow* ever since the specimen issue had been produced to promote the paper in early 1934, felt it necessary to publicly dissociate themselves from the more radical political

\(^{355}\) Kennaway Henderson, 'Notice to Subscribers,' letter dated 17 June 1940 slipped into the final issue. The substance of this letter was reported in 'Publication Ceases: Fortnightly Paper *To-morrow*: Warning to Printer and Editor;' *Press* (Christchurch), 14 June 1940, 8.

\(^{356}\) Kennaway Henderson, 'Notice to Subscribers.'
opinions being expressed in the paper.\textsuperscript{357} Four months later, with the issue for 1 March 1939, their association with the magazine ceased. The following issue was produced by H.W. Bullivant, printers of Christchurch. In the move to a new printer, Henderson and his co-editors took the opportunity to revamp the typography of \textit{Tomorrow}, replacing the Baskerville which had been used since the earliest days with a more contemporary design, the utilitarian Gill Sans-serif. Denis Glover's influence is possibly evident in this choice, although not to the extent of preventing the effect he later noted in \textit{Book}, where he warned that 'zeal in it [Gill Sans-serif] may be misplaced / Unless the lines are widely spaced.\textsuperscript{358}

Henderson appears to have been hopeful that at some stage it would be possible to recommence publication, but not until, as he put it, the 'wave of hysteria . . . sweeping the country\textsuperscript{359} had dissipated. In 1942 the Progressive Publishing Society proposed to publish a monthly magazine as a successor to \textit{Tomorrow}\textsuperscript{360} and while this did not in fact materialise, Winston Rhodes considered the \textit{New Zealand Monthly Review} and later \textit{Comment} to be true successors to \textit{Tomorrow}.\textsuperscript{361}

In order to protect his subscribers and contributors, many of whom were prominent employees of the Public Service and similar institutions, Henderson

\textsuperscript{357} Untitled editorial note, \textit{Tomorrow} 5.1 (9 November 1938): 4.

\textsuperscript{358} Denis Glover, 'Some Type Faces At A Glance,' \textit{Book} 7 (February 1946): N. pag.

\textsuperscript{359} Kennaway Henderson, 'Notice to Subscribers,' letter dated 17 June 1940 slipped into the final issue.


took the extreme step of burning all correspondence and other files, thus destroying the entire archive of the periodical. As a result, details of Tomorrow's day to day editorial activity and the identities of numerous pseudonymous contributors were permanently lost, although some are identified in the archival papers of key literary contributors such as Denis Glover and Rex Fairburn. The identification of D'Arcy Cresswell as 'Vulcan,' discussed above, is an example of this.

This chapter has focused almost exclusively on the literary content of Tomorrow, referring to the magazine's political and social concerns (its main concerns) only in passing. Clearly, however, Tomorrow's importance in the literary and wider cultural climate of the mid to late thirties was unmatched by any other journal. Its provision of a weekly, then fortnightly outlet for aspiring young writers and poets was of inestimable value in the development of New Zealand literature. Furthermore, as a forum for commentators such as Winston Rhodes, A.R.D. Fairburn and others it initiated a discourse about New Zealand literature, about its cultural and social contexts, its 'identity,' its relation to international movements, and the achievements of individual writers, which was profoundly influential on the subsequent development of literary criticism in New Zealand.

\[362\] The reader is again referred to the work of Rachel Barrowman for a discussion of this aspect of Tomorrow.
CHAPTER FOUR

BOOK (1941-1947)

Play the game, you cads!

4.1 Introduction

After the single-issue Caxton Club Press publications Oriflamme and Sirocco in 1933, there was a gap of eight years before another periodical edited, published, and printed at the Caxton Press appeared. This was Book, one of the two most important little magazines published in New Zealand during the Second World War. Along with New Zealand New Writing it stands as a bridge in literary periodical publication between the pages of Tomorrow and those of Landfall, first published in March 1947. In addition to publishing the work of those writers and poets previously associated with Phoenix and Tomorrow, both Book and New Zealand New Writing also published the efforts of a younger group of writers whose work first began to appear during the war years.

Initially subtitled A Miscellany From the Caxton Press, Book was edited by Denis Glover with the assistance of Leo Bensemann, Lawrence Baigent, and, especially during Glover’s service in the Merchant Marine, Allen Curnow. As well as carrying short fiction, poetry, essays, and criticism, Book also gave a great deal of space to the art of typography itself, including wood engravings and other work by artists associated with the Press. Applauded for its typographical excellence as well as for its textual content, Book’s editorial policy can be taken

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1 Title given to an appeal for contributions made in Book 3 (August 1941): N. pag.

2 See below, Chapter Six, Section Three.
Chapter 4.1: Book - Introduction

to be that of the Caxton Press as a whole, as expressed in the 'Foreword' to the Press's Catalogue of publications published early in 1941:

First to make available, as widely and therefore as reasonably as possible, what prose and poetry the directors of the press have considered of interest and value; second, to see that the work of printing is as well carried out, typographically and technically, as has lain within our powers.3

This Catalogue also carried a pre-publication announcement for Book, which it reported 'will contain stories, articles, criticism, poems, art, typography - in fact, anything we can find that is likely to be of interest.'4

In all, nine numbers of Book were eventually produced between March 1941 and July 1947. Intended to appear five times in 1941, the Caxton Press managed to produce five numbers within twelve months,5 an heroic effort in the face of circumstances such as a nationwide shortage of printing paper and the loss of staff to the war effort. With Glover's departure for service in the British Merchant Navy in late 1941, the production of Book slowed considerably, and was eventually totally suspended between the sixth issue, that for September 1942 and the seventh, dated February 1945.

With this seventh issue and the two which succeeded it, a range of new and younger writers had early work published in Book, including Maurice Duggan, John Reece Cole, Helen Shaw, Louis Johnson, and Kendrick Smithyman. Indeed, the index to Book compiled by Olive Johnson reads like a who's

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3 Unattributed, 'Foreword,' A Catalogue of publications from The Caxton Press Christchurch up to February 1941 (Christchurch: Caxton Press, 1941) 7.


5 Book 1 (March 1941) - Book 5 (February 1942).
who of emerging New Zealand writers during the forties. Poetry, short fiction and essays by writers such as Allen Curnow make Book an important component of the wider literary environment of the period. Illustrations were also a major feature throughout most issues, including numerous contributions by Leo Bensemann, plus portraits of Allen Curnow and Denis Glover by Rita Cook, and several fine engravings by Mervyn Taylor. Augmenting the typographical quality of the periodical as a whole, specific examples of typographical work by Denis Glover, Robert Lowry, and Leo Bensemann (among others) were also published. Sometimes these were straightforward reproductions of pages from forthcoming books, a form of advertising giving Book the nature of a 'sampler' of Caxton products. Other publications were promoted through fly-sheets slipped into issues, one or two of which have survived bound into library copies of Book.

Other pages, particularly in the later issues, were given over to free-ranging displays of the typographer's art, often in the form of humorous advertisements for fictitious products such as 'Morgan's Morning Mix' tobacco. In addition, many poems, stories and essays were accompanied by a footnote

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8 For example, the National Library copy of Book 1 (March 1941) contains a fly-sheet advertising Denis Glover's Cold Tongue, described therein as 'Consisting of a Guide to Politics (invaluable for beginners), a Graveyard section, a number of reflections by our friend the Bomb, and many other savory little satires.'

9 Unattributed, 'Morgan's Morning Mix,' Book 7 (February 1946): facing page 16.
identifying the font employed in their printing. A poem by Glover entitled 'Some Type Faces at a Glance' is one of several amusing advertisements for the range of available Caxton fonts, as well as being another expression of the typographical concerns of Book's producers. Each verse paragraph of the poem features a different font available to the Caxton typographers.

In another respect, in his editing and publishing of Book Denis Glover created for himself and others an outlet for the sort of social and political criticism which had once found voice in Tomorrow. Glover contributed a number of epigrammatic squibs and poems which recalled those he had produced so prolifically for the pages of Kennaway Henderson's paper between 1934 and 1940. Although Book, unlike Tomorrow, had no overt political agenda (and in the light of the latter periodical's fate, this would have been an unwise policy to pursue during the war years in New Zealand) Book's contributors occasionally took the opportunity to express their views on such matters as the effect of the war on the individuals caught up in it. Anton Vogt, J.R. Hervey, G.R. Gilbert and Glover himself are among several poets who made the war the subject of their poetry.

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10 Denis Glover, 'Some Type Faces at a Glance,' Book 7 (February 1946): 32. This was reproduced in Inkling: A Magazine for New Zealand Printers 7 (December 1947): 26. This issue of Inkling also featured an amusing article by Glover to which was appended a biographical note and photograph. Denis Glover, 'Against Cheltenham,' Inkling 7 (December 1947): 4-7.
4.2 Literary Contents

After opening somewhat inauspiciously with an unremarkable story by Fred Jones entitled 'Boat Train,' the first issue of *Book* presents work by Allen Curnow, Denis Glover, and Anton Vogt. In addition, and in keeping with periodical's role as a miscellany, there are several other items of minor interest in the issue. Most of these are short extracts from recent publications or works in progress at the Caxton Press, including two illustrations by Leo Bensemann, the first captioned 'Leo Bensemann's first drawing (not used) for "Nastagio and the Obdurate Lady,"' a Decameron story recently set up and printed. The second Bensemann drawing is accompanied by a page from the text which it was intended to illustrate, as explained by an appended note:

A page from 'The Adventures of Chanticleer and Partlet,' (by the Brothers Grimm) set up in an experimental edition in Gill Sans-serif, in order to observe the effect of even word spacing. The frontispiece (by Bensemann) has been designed to the peculiarities of the full page with its broken right-hand margin. 50 copies, price 3/6.

The details imparted in these captions indicate the professional concerns of the periodical, and were echoed repeatedly throughout all subsequent issues.

Another item of this ephemeral nature published in the issue is a long quotation from Francis Meynall of the Nonesuch Press, entitled 'Craftsmanship and the Machine' and noted as being 'Set in Caslon Old Face.' Meynall was only one of several British and American printer-typographers to influence...
Glover. In the early thirties Robert Lowry had referred Glover to the work of Eric Gill, D.B. Updike, and Stanley Morison, three of the most influential of modern type designers. Lowry advised Glover on the selection of typefaces, recommending the sixteenth century French type Garamond (as recut by Morison for the Monotype Corporation), which he regarded as 'highly legible, [and] very beautiful in Italic.'

As was often to be the case, the last few pages of the first issue of *Book* are taken up with humorous typographical pieces, plus extracts from and advertisements for Caxton Press publications. On a single page (although headed 'Open Pages') are printed an extract from M.H. Holcroft's *The Deepening Stream*, given the title 'Criticism,' and the fourth paragraph (lacking the final sentence) of Frank Sargeson's story 'Conversation With My Uncle,' printed to promote his second volume of stories, *A Man And His Wife*. M.H. Holcroft was to see several other extracts from his work published in *Book*, including a reprint of his *Southland Times* review of Allen Curnow's *Island & Time*, and an extract


16 Lowry to Glover, [18 October 1932]. Glover Papers, Folder 5.

17 M.H. Holcroft, *The Deepening Stream* (Christchurch: Caxton, 1940).

18 M.H. Holcroft, 'Criticism', *Book* 1 (March 1941): N. pag.

19 Frank Sargeson, Extract from 'Conversation With My Uncle,' *Book* 1 (March 1941): N. pag.; Frank Sargeson, *A Man And His Wife* (Christchurch: Caxton Press, 1940). A cheap edition of this collection, stapled and with a fold-over cover, was produced by the Caxton Press in 1941.

from his sequel to *The Deepening Stream*;\(^{21}\) entitled *The Waiting Hills*.\(^{22}\) He also contributed a story, 'Dangerous Turning,'\(^{23}\) to the issue for September 1942, one of the last pieces of short fiction published by Holcroft.

Among items of more lasting interest published in this first issue of *Book*, certainly the most significant is Curnow's short article 'A Job for Poetry,'\(^{24}\) recently reprinted in his *Look Back Harder*\(^{25}\). Despite its somewhat hieratic prose, this essay must be considered a significant early moment in Curnow's developing poetic. Strongly reminiscent of Henri Bergson's philosophical speculations on the nature of time, it deals with the responsibilities of poets in a world weakened by war and deprived of the traditional certainties afforded by religion, science and a stable society. An editorial footnote links this essay to *Island and Time*, published a few weeks after this first issue of *Book* appeared. The collection is described in the note as 'an attempt to assign the New Zealander and the New Zealand scene some place in the larger current of history and Time [sic].'\(^{26}\) Curnow is concerned in the article to set out the task of 'imaginative rehabilitation' facing poets, nothing less, in his view, than the 'imaginative

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22 M.H. Holcroft, 'The Memory of a Voyage,' *Book 6* (September 1942): 1-4. This is the opening section of Chapter Five of *The Waiting Hills* (Wellington: Progressive Publishing Society, 1943) 53-57. There are a few minor textual differences between the two publications of the passage.


26 Curnow, 'A Job for Poetry' N. pag.
reconstruction of the very idea of man itself. He sees the poet's role in distinctly modernist terms: there is a job to be undertaken, specifically 'the reconciling of reason and imagination' as a means to rescue society from its 'mechanist confidence in progress.'

Until Glover's departure overseas, Book continued to provide an important outlet for Curnow's work. To the second issue he contributed his early essay on the poetry of R.A.K. Mason. As Peter Simpson has observed, the essay's appearance coincided with the publication of Mason's selected poems, This Dark Will Lighten, the first collection to make available something of the range of Mason's poetry. Curnow also reviewed the collection in both the Christchurch Press and the New Zealand Listener. In the essay in Book he describes Mason significantly as a 'native poet,' a species Curnow feels has not previously been seen in these islands.

His [Mason's] poetry is conspicuous in two respects - first, it is almost entirely lacking in explicit reference to the New Zealand scene and people; second, it exhibits, more than any other native New Zealand poetry, an awareness of the elemental immediacy of birth, life, pain, and death, with a corresponding appreciation of the problem of evil.

27 Curnow, 'A Job for Poetry' N. pag.
28 Curnow, 'A Job for Poetry' N. pag.
30 Peter Simpson, Look Back Harder 31; R.A.K. Mason, This Dark Will Lighten: Selected Poems 1923 - 1941 (Christchurch: Caxton Press, 1941). An advertisement for Mason's collection appears inside the back cover page of this second issue of Book.
Two years later, in the Australian periodical *Meanjin Papers*, he was to attribute this lack of local reference to 'the vulgarization of the local scene and experience by large numbers of New Zealand versifiers.'

Curnow uses the article as an opportunity to further develop his ideas on New Zealand literature. He briefly plots and attempts to explain the modes of poetry written during the different phases of colonisation. He sees these modes as being characterised by a violent swing between an initial denial of the immediacy of the new environment and a more recent and 'feverish' documenting of the outward reality. Mason is considered remarkable by Curnow for having stepped outside that polarity, choosing instead to present a verse which, but for the odd, though telling phrase, could have been produced anywhere in the English speaking world. The article is a serious and persuasive advertisement for the collection of Mason's poetry with which it coincides. More significantly, read together with Curnow's survey of New Zealand poetry published in *Meanjin Papers* in 1943, the essay reads as an early formulation of his discussion of Mason's work in the introduction to the Caxton Press *Book of New Zealand Verse*. Its publication exemplifies the role of the little magazine as a medium for the advancement of critical discussion, in this case assisting in the development of a major contribution to the body of New Zealand literary criticism.

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In addition to these articles, Curnow contributed three poems to *Book*. The most significant of these is an early version of 'The Navigators,' the fifth of the 'Nine Sonnets' in *Sailing or Drowning*, a volume of poetry notable for both 'Landfall in Unknown Seas' and 'The Unhistoric Story.' The Navigators' appears, untitled, as the second of 'Four Pacific Sonnets' in the fifth issue of *Book*. Earlier, the first issue of *Book* contained an untitled sonnet beginning 'Horizon's hatred smites Magellan,' a powerfully bleak rendering of another circumnavigator's trials.

Horizon's hatred smites Magellan,  
Parched in Pacific, scurvy-swollen;  
Men & ships all the mild weather  
Share one rhythm and rot together,  
In festering flesh, in softening wood,  
Brine is sap and brine is blood;  
Vain the Virgin on clotted tongue;  
The dead dive where the dead belong  
Whose mutinous limbs dissolving down  
Lighten the keels of Christian Spain:  
Pluck wave at plank, blaze sun in sky,  
Magellan shall have land with joy,  
Shall forge for fetter on the seas  
Tally of his tormented days.

There seems a clear debt to Dylan Thomas in the rhythm and language of this sonnet, despite Curnow's claim that the Welsh bard was not 'one of the poets I

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Chapter 4.2: Book - Literary Contents

felt most impressionable about. The poem's experiment with half-rhymes ('Magellan' / 'swollen') allies it with sonnets published in *Sailing or Drowning* such as 'Discovery' and the third part of 'Attitudes for a New Zealand Poet,' later titled 'The Skeleton of the Great Moa in the Canterbury Museum, Christchurch.'

Curnow's final contribution to *Book* was the much anthologised poem 'The Old Provincial Council Chamber, Christchurch,' published in the issue for September 1942. After being reprinted in first *Sailing or Drowning* and then *At Dead Low Water and Sonnets*, the title was slightly modified in subsequent republications, the word 'Chamber' being altered to 'Building,' no doubt to reflect more accurately the poem's focus on the structure of the building itself.

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38 MacDonald P. Jackson, 'Conversation with Allen Curnow,' *Look Back Harder* 255. Even without access to Thomas's three collections published prior to 1940, Curnow would have been familiar with the Welsh poet's work through the numerous poems he contributed to periodicals distributed in New Zealand, beginning with his first published poem, 'And Death Shall Have No Dominion,' printed in the *New English Weekly* for 18 May 1933, but also including work in more prominent little magazines such as *Poetry* (Chicago) to which Curnow contributed four poems in 1942. John Ackerman, *Welsh Dylan: Dylan Thomas's Life, Writings, and His Wales* (London: Granada, 1979) 38. John E. Weir and Barbara A. Lyon, *New Zealand Poetry: A Select Bibliography, 1920-1972* (Christchurch: The Library, University of Canterbury, 1977) 166-189.

39 Allen Curnow, 'Discovery,' *Sailing or Drowning* 7; Allen Curnow, 'Attitudes for a New Zealand Poet: [Sonnet (III)],' *Sailing or Drowning* 28.

Immediately following Curnow's article in the inaugural issue of *Book*, appears Denis Glover's song 'Things of an Hour'\(^{41}\) which in tone, subject matter and refrain ('Green grass and a magpie's feather') echoes his more famous magpie poem, also published for the first time in 1941.\(^{42}\) 'Things of an Hour' was the first of thirteen poems contributed by Glover to *Book*, ranging from the amusing if largely instructional 'Some Type Faces at a Glance',\(^{43}\) to the fifth and sixth of the *Sings Harry* sequence of lyrics,\(^{44}\) published in *Book* in 1946. These were 'Harry Singing'\(^{45}\) and 'I Remember, Sang Harry'.\(^{46}\) In his introduction to Glover's *Selected Poems*, Curnow notes that Glover rarely 'revised anything, once printed':

> but the 'I Remember' of 1946 had the refrain 'Sang Harry,' changed to 'Sings Harry' in the final arrangement. In 1946 he may well have meant to mark a conclusion of the series. Or possibly the Harry who sang seemed the voice of that earlier self, before the years of service overseas.\(^{47}\)

In a less serious vein are Glover's ironic four line 'Moral Maxims,' published in two instalments in 1941 and reminiscent of similar work in

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\(^{43}\) Denis Glover, 'Some Type Faces at a Glance,' *Book* 7 (February 1946): 32.

\(^{44}\) Denis Glover, *Sings Harry and Other Poems* (Christchurch: Caxton Press, 1951).

\(^{45}\) Denis Glover, 'Harry Singing,' *Book* 7 (February 1946): 28. Retitled 'Once the Days' in *Sings Harry*.

\(^{46}\) Denis Glover, 'I Remember, Sang Harry,' *Book* 8 (August 1946): N. pag. Retitled 'I Remember' in the *Sings Harry* collection.

Tomorrow. While certain of these maxims had a definite anti-feminist tone, most were straightforward attacks on the conservatism and falseness of modern society. Among them were, from the first instalment:

In matters of thought give credit  
Where credit is due;  
But in business cash on the nail  
Is the best rule for you.

Truth is a very beautiful girl,  
And should be seen with you  
(Though a big brewer's daughter is  
A better girl to woo).48

And from the second:

Neglect the public interest  
For the private lust,  
For justice is a jewel  
The Minister holds in trust.

Flatter all women,  
Even if it's a bore:  
The fat and the ugly  
Will come back for more.

But as long as they're useful  
One's as good as another--  
And in flattering a beauty  
Flatter her mother.49

Glover's maxims exemplify the way in which several poets and writers employed Book to voice social and political dissent, including their opposition to the conduct of the war and the way in which New Zealand society was changing during the period.

48 Denis Glover, 'Moral Maxims,' Book 3 (August 1941): N. pag. There were seven four line maxims published in this issue. Those quoted here are the first and the fifth, in that order.

49 Denis Glover, 'Moral Maxims,' Book 4 (September 1941): N. pag. Of the twenty-three in this issue these are the sixth, fourteenth and fifteenth.
Glover also published (anonymously) a short story in the first issue of *Book*, entitled 'The Telegram' and written very much in the style of his stories in *Tomorrow*. Much later, and in keeping with the printerly concerns of the publication, Glover contributed to the penultimate issue of *Book* an article on Robert Lowry's typography, the first of several promised (though not realised) on the art of the book. Glover opens his article with the following acknowledgment.

If typography is a word that some of us now understand, the credit is Bob Lowry's. That we have not only a more general interest in the appearance of printed matter, not only a few critics of typography but several zealous practitioners, is almost entirely due to the impetus provided by Lowry in the early thirties.

Glover then proceeds to an account of Lowry's career, in the process commenting with great authority on some of the more notable of Lowry's productions.

About R.A.K. Mason's *No New Thing*, which Lowry produced with Ronald Holloway under their Unicorn Press imprint, he writes:

Bound in hand-woven linen and printed on a de luxe antique laid, this is a book for the collectors to prize for its appearance no less than its contents. It adheres to traditional format, the verse set in 12-point Garamond, but there is a vivid use of large bold lowercase roman numerals at the head of each numbered poem, and the same number is used as a folio in square brackets at the tail. Mason's verse, always hard to set, changing as it does from the ultra-short to full-measure lines, is ranged most happily on the vertical axis thus provided. The title-page, an unobtrusive mixture of types, is most satisfying for balance and weight. The verso of

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51 Denis Glover, 'Typography: Bob Lowry's Books,' *Book* 8 (August 1946): N. pag. This was also published as a pamphlet by the Pilgrim Press (Auckland, 1946).

each leaf is left unprinted, normally a precious practice, but here adding to the effect of a luxurious edition for private circulation.53

Glover's praise in tempered by a concern that of late Lowry had, in effect, abandoned 'the edict that typography is a subsidiary art.'54 Readers are given direct evidence of this in a four page insert accompanying Glover's article, 'set up and machined' by Lowry with the assistance of Patrick Dobbie at their Pelorus Press in Auckland.55 The bulk of this is made up of an advertisement for How to Ride a Bicycle in Seventeen Lovely Colours,56 the text of which was produced by A.R.D. Fairburn as a brief for what Glover termed Lowry's 'hot-house tropical typography, where a flamboyant lunacy burgeons on every page.57

The only other item of lasting interest in this first issue of Book is Anton Vogt's poem 'Air War,'58 one of two poems by Vogt in the periodical later reprinted in his Poems for a War,59 the other being 'Ace,' first published in the fifth number.60 Vogt contributed a further four poems, including two love poems, one of which, 'Parting,'61 was gathered into his Love Poems.62 Another,

57 Glover, Typography: Bob Lowry's Books' N. pag.
'You Are Too Hard on the People: an Answer to G.R. Gilbert,' was written in reply to Gilbert's harsh lament 'See What We Have Done to This Land,' published in the second issue.

This appeared in May 1941, two months after the first. It opened with, on facing pages, a poem by J.R Hervey and a short but impressive sketch by Frank Sargeson, entitled 'Park Seat.' Here Sargeson applies all the skills which first appeared in his early *Tomorrow* stories. The narrator is walking along an ocean foreshore when he meets an old sailor. They talk briefly and when the old man begins to recount a yarn from his youth an abrupt moment of recognition is experienced by the narrator. The sketch is set out in three parts; the first setting the scene; the second italicised to emphasise the depth of distraction effected by the sudden memory sparked in the narrator; and the third a mere one line, though very telling in impact. Partly as a result of this tripartite structure, the sketch generates a poetic density which makes it one of Sargeson's best, though, apart from the extract from 'Conversation With My Uncle' in the first issue of *Book*, this was to be his sole contribution to the periodical.

Hervey's poem 'A Child Sees the Dead' in this second issue of *Book* was the first of six he was to contribute in total. A number of these were reprinted,
after some rewriting, in his *New Poems*, published by Caxton the following year.\(^67\) The most impressive is the much anthologised 'Two Old Men Look at the Sea,'\(^68\) one of several poems published by Hervey in *Book* in which he displays what MacDonald Jackson described as his 'Georgian romanticism toughened by familiarity with Herbert, Donne and the Metaphysicals.'\(^69\)

Another contributor rapidly gaining in stature as a short story writer through the early forties was G.R. Gilbert, whose poem 'To the Outsiders' was the first of two contributed to *Book* on the theme of New Zealand as it might be seen by tourists and other visitors.\(^70\) A third, 'Killed in Action,' is an impressionistic response to war.

Stoop steel sing lead  
The silent flood serves plaster saints  
Steel needle's severed nerve end  
Sags  
The needle machine stops  

The red flower sprouts, petals, fades  
Sings in the water to mud


\(^{70}\) G.R. Gilbert, 'To the Outsiders,' *Book* 2 (May 1941): N. pag. The other was 'See What We Have Done to This Land,' *Book* 3 (August 1941): N. pag., which elicited the response from Anton Vogt referred to above.
Calyx blackened leaf betrayed  
Goes sap and stalk  
Shouts no more.\textsuperscript{71}

Gilbert also contributed four stories, including 'In Heavenly Love,' the opening item in the third issue.\textsuperscript{72} This story is incorrectly described in an editorial preamble as being 'from Free to Laugh and Dance, shortly to be published.'\textsuperscript{73}

Other stories by Gilbert in \textit{Book} are The Growth of Civilisation,\textsuperscript{74} 'Death - A Lasting Virtue,'\textsuperscript{75} and 'The Finger of God,'\textsuperscript{76} none of which have been republished. The latter story tends to over-dramatise its 'man alone' theme through excessive wordiness, as in the following passage:

\begin{quote}
In the snapping, frosty night with the cold, inhuman stars mocking from their impenetrable, blue haven, he struggled on over the dim-seen snow grass against the immense, mountain wind that blew from loneliness and desolation.\textsuperscript{77}
\end{quote}

Other items of interest in the second number of \textit{Book} include a short story by Isobel Andrews (her sole contribution to the magazine),\textsuperscript{78} a brief piece by


\textsuperscript{72} G.R. Gilbert, 'In Heavenly Love,' \textit{Book} 3 (August 1941): N. pag.

\textsuperscript{73} G.R. Gilbert, \textit{Free to Laugh and Dance} (Christchurch: Caxton Press, 1942).

\textsuperscript{74} G.R. Gilbert, 'The Growth of Civilisation,' \textit{Book} 4 (September 1941): N. pag.

\textsuperscript{75} G.R. Gilbert, 'Death - A Lasting Virtue,' \textit{Book} 5 (February 1942): 10-13.

\textsuperscript{76} G.R. Gilbert, 'The Finger of God,' \textit{Book} 7 (February 1946): 3-6.

\textsuperscript{77} Gilbert, 'The Finger of God' 5.

\textsuperscript{78} Isobel Andrews, 'Miss Minney,' \textit{Book} 2 (May 1941): N. pag.
Frank Gadd on Ernest Hemingway's literary antecedents, poems by Glover, 'M.H.P.,' and Ian Gordon, an advertisement for *Three Biographies* by R.M. Burdon, extracts from reviews of *Recent Poems* and *Island and Time*, and a list of four forthcoming publications headed 'News From The Press.' Finally, the issue carried a reproduction of an illustration prepared by Leo Bensemann for his *Fantastica*.

The next issue of *Book* appeared in August 1941. Under the heading 'Play the game, you cads!' a request for '[c]ontributions in the form of short stories of any length, essays, poems, woodcuts, wood engravings,' was made on the imprint page, indicating a desire on the part of Glover and the Caxton Press to move away from using *Book* as a mere sampler of their stock and towards a medium for recruiting fresh literary talent. The first new author to appear in this issue was Anna Kavan, described in the following terms in an editorial note prefacing her story 'Department of Slight Confusion.'

Anna Kavan is an English novelist at present living in New Zealand, and is the author of seven or eight books. Her *Asylum Piece*, published by Jonathan Cape last year, is a remarkable piece of work. Department

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79 Frank Gadd ('F.G.'), 'Ernest in Arms: or Who Was Hemingway's Mother,' *Book* 2 (May 1941): N. pag.

80 The poems by Ian Gordon were: 'The Dragon,' and 'Troopships in the Harbour,' both *Book* 2 (May 1941): N. pag. Gordon contributed two further poems, 'End of an Epoch,' and 'Underneath the White Ice,' both *Book* 3 (August 1941): N. pag.


82 Unattributed, 'News From The Press,' *Book* 2 (May 1941): N. pag.


84 Unattributed, 'Play the game, you cads!' *Book* 3 (August 1941): N. pag.
of Slight Confusion is extracted from an M.S. [sic] that Miss Kavan has recently completed.\textsuperscript{85} 

As discussed below in Chapter Five of this thesis, during this period Kavan also contributed a story to \textit{New Zealand New Writing}.\textsuperscript{86} Kavan had travelled extensively in the United States, Europe, Asia and Australia before arriving in New Zealand in the late thirties in the company of the pacifist Ian Hamilton. With Hamilton and fellow writer Greville Texidor, she soon became part of the left wing arts community in Auckland. Her story in \textit{Book}, her only contribution, is set on the Indonesian island of Bali and gives a deceptively simple account of an American woman's relationship with an older Balinese woman. The subtle weight of the story recalls that achieved so successfully and so often by Frank Sargeson, who acted as mentor to Kavan during her stay in New Zealand.

Other items of interest in the third issue include several illustrations by Bensemann and two poems by Denis Glover, 'Arrowtown,'\textsuperscript{87} illustrated by Jean Angus, and the first of his two instalments of 'Moral Maxims.'\textsuperscript{88} Basil Dowling contributed 'Birds and Man,'\textsuperscript{89} the first of six poems he was to see printed in \textit{Book}. (Dowling's first collection of poetry, \textit{A Day's Journey},\textsuperscript{90} is reviewed by

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Anna Kavan, 'Department of Slight Confusion,' \textit{Book} 3 (August 1941): N. pag.
\item Anna Kavan, 'Ice Storm,' \textit{New Zealand New Writing} 1 [1942]: 22-30.
\item Denis Glover, 'Arrowtown,' \textit{Book} 3 (August 1941): N. pag.
\item Denis Glover, 'Moral Maxims,' \textit{Book} 3 (August 1941): N. pag. The second instalment appeared in \textit{Book} 4 (September 1941): N. pag.
\item Basil Dowling, 'Birds and Man,' \textit{Book} 4 (September 1941): N. pag.
\item Basil Dowling, \textit{A Day's Journey} (Christchurch: Caxton Press, 1941).
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
Lawrence Baigent in the fifth issue.\textsuperscript{91) James Harris attempted a realist sketch with his 'Scenario For a Still Picture,'\textsuperscript{92} while R.M. Burdon contributed a humorous article entitled 'Pants and People: Are Both Too Ready-made?'\textsuperscript{93} He returned in the seventh issue of Book with a piece of short fiction, also humorous in tone, a bibliographical detective story.\textsuperscript{94} A reprint of J.C. Beaglehole's review of Curnow's \textit{Island and Time}, first published in the Christchurch Press,\textsuperscript{95} an amusing poem 'To The Caxton Press,' written by 'A.C.B.' (probably Arthur Barker) in lieu of a subscription,\textsuperscript{96} and a sample page from the Caxton Press edition of Milton's \textit{Areopagitica}\textsuperscript{97} are the only other items of interest in the issue not already noted above. This sample page (page fifty-four of the finished edition) is accompanied by a 'Note on Areopagitica' which describes the circumstances surrounding its original composition and publication and explains that: 'This important work is now printed, and the binding should be finished about the time this appears.'\textsuperscript{98} Caxton's selection of extracts from Milton's


\textsuperscript{92} James Harris, 'Scenario For a Still Picture,' \textit{Book} 3 (August 1941): N. pag. Harris also contributed stories to a range of other New Zealand periodicals during the war years, including: 'The Guardsman's Tale,' \textit{New Zealand New Writing} 3 (1944): 27-32; 'The Misfit,' \textit{New Horizon} 1.5 (1940): 67-69; and 'The Morning Caller,' \textit{New Zealand Magazine}, 23.4 (1944): 17-19.

\textsuperscript{93} R.M. Burdon, 'Pants and People: Are Both Too Ready-made?' \textit{Book} 3 (August 1941): N. pag.

\textsuperscript{94} R.M. Burdon, 'Vengeance,' \textit{Book} 7 (February 1946): 18-22.

\textsuperscript{95} J.C. Beaglehole, review of \textit{Island & Time}, by Allen Curnow, \textit{Book} 3 (August 1941): N. pag.

\textsuperscript{96} A.C.B., 'To The Caxton Press,' \textit{Book} 3 (August 1941): N. pag.

\textsuperscript{97} John Milton, \textit{Areopagitica} (Christchurch: Caxton Press, 1941).

\textsuperscript{98} Unattributed, 'Note on Areopagitica,' \textit{Book} 3 (August 1941): N. pag.

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powerful protest against the imposition of censorship was motivated by the wartime suppression of information, a state of affairs compounded by the restrictions on printers imposed by the Paper Controller, the government agent responsible for overseeing the distribution of scarce stocks of printing paper, all of which had to be imported.

The Caxton *Areopagitica* was reviewed by J.C. Beaglehole in the following number of *Book.*99 Beaglehole had close ties to Glover and the Caxton Press, frequently advising on typographical and other matters. His criticisms of *Areopagitica* are for the most part to do with minor points, although, as Beaglehole reminds his reader, ‘printing is, in more ways than one, all small points.’ Approving the use of Caslon as ‘extremely fine,’ he nevertheless abhors the overabundance of white space caused by Glover's breaking up of Milton's 'original terrific paragraphs' into less substantial units. One of the results of this is the loss of a 'desirable solidity at the tops and bottoms [of the pages], where above all we want to keep our rectangle of type full and tight.' An excess of end-line hyphens also irritates: 'Two successive hyphens you can get away with, but not three.' Generally though, Beaglehole approves Glover's efforts in reproducing Milton's text, advising: 'If you have 8/6, you might easily spend it on lots of less worthy and less beautiful things.'100

In addition to Beaglehole's review, *Book: Number Four,* as it was titled, featured work by J.R. Hervey, Charles Brasch, Denis Glover, R.A.K. Mason,

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100 Beaglehole, 'A Few Harsh Words on Areopagitica as printed' N. pag.
Anton Vogt, G.R. Gilbert, and Helen C. Wheeler. Of those contributors appearing for the first time, the most significant were certainly Brasch and Mason. Brasch contributed his major early poems 'A View of Rangitoto' and 'Forerunners,' both of which, after being taken unaltered by Allen Curnow into his 1945 anthology, were revised by Brasch for publication in his second collection, *Disputed Ground.* Subsequently, both poems have been repeatedly anthologised.

The revision of these poems by Brasch prior to their publication in *Disputed Ground* indicates the important role of the little magazine as a workshop for the development of a poet's craft. In the case of 'A View of Rangitoto,' apart from the correction of what are probably typographical errors and minor alterations in punctuation or spelling (for example, 'further' in line six of the Book version of the poem is changed to 'farther' in *Disputed Ground*), the main revisions are relatively small. In lines eighteen and nineteen: 'For ages past the rushing anger sank / Back underneath the sea-bed,' becomes 'For the rushing anger sank down ages past, / Sank far beneath the sea-bed.'

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101 Wheeler's single contribution to *Book* was the poem 'Minutes,' published on the final page of this issue, *Book* 4 (September 1941): N. pag.


104 Brasch, 'A View of Rangitoto' N. pag.
However, the case of 'Forerunners' is considerably more complex, with only the final verse paragraph remaining completely unchanged. The original opening quatrain was expanded into two:

Those who were before us named the bays
And the mountains, leaving a breath of poignance in
Their chosen places,
Where still the currents of living trouble the air

becomes in *Disputed Ground* the more substantial

Not by us was the unrecorded stillness
Broken, and in their monumental dawn
The rocks, the leaves unveiled;
Those who were before us trod first the soil

And named the bays and mountains; while round them spread
The indefinable currents of the human,
That still about their chosen places
Trouble the poignant air.

Of the remaining lines, ten remained unchanged including the whole of the final quatrain. Most of the changes were improvements to the syntax of the poem. The original's 'they held warm in their hearts / The image of the land,' becomes in *Disputed Ground* the more concise and hence more weighty 'warm in their hearts holding / The land's image.' The 'sombre winding lakes' become 'sombre, guarded lakes,' just as the 'Darkness in the reckless ravine' becomes the far moodier 'Twilight in the hooded ravines,' both alterations serving to amplify the image of concealment introduced with the new opening reference to 'The rocks, the leaves unveiled.'

Two other poems by Brasch in later issues of the periodical, 'On Mt Iron'\(^\text{105}\) and 'Wevelsfleth,'\(^\text{106}\) were taken unaltered into *Disputed Ground*. R.A.K.

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Chapter 4.2: Book - Literary Contents

Mason’s poems ‘Body of John’ and ‘On the Swag’ were printed in the fourth issue to promote his *Selected Poems*, then in the process of being printed.¹⁰⁷ These poems are followed on the next page by an advertisement for the ‘cheap edition’ of Sargeson’s *A Man and His Wife*.¹⁰⁸ This sold for three shillings and had been published by Caxton in 1941 to supplement the original 1940 edition.¹⁰⁹ This edition was republished in 1944 by the Progressive Publishing Society.

The fifth issue of *Book* appeared in February 1942 and opened with the following note (almost certainly written by Allen Curnow) printed on the inside of the front cover page.

> By the time this issue of *Book* appears, Denis Glover, whose desire to print well what is worth printing has been the chief influence on the growth of The Caxton Press, will probably have arrived in Britain. There he is to train for service in the Royal Navy.

> It was Glover’s expressed wish that *Book*, which he began publishing about a year ago, should continue, as a recurring expression of the constructive aims of The Caxton Press. We hope many will agree that the usefulness of this small magazine may be increased, not diminished, at a time when such aims are easily overlooked.¹¹⁰

Glover, who seems to have been largely responsible for the editing of *Book*, although nowhere in its pages is this explicitly stated, prepared the issue for publication in late 1941, prior to his departure from Christchurch for Auckland and eventually Britain.

¹⁰⁶(...continued)


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F.A. Shurrock provided a frontispiece for the issue, a wood engraving of flowers and leaves,\footnote{111} while elsewhere pencil sketches of Denis Glover and Allen Curnow by Rita Cook were featured.\footnote{112} Both poets are shown reading, Glover rather stiffly in a straight-backed chair smoking his pipe, Curnow more relaxed in an armchair, wearing what appears to be a polka-dot smoking jacket over a waistcoat, a scarf or cravat, cuffed trousers and street shoes. Curnow's 'Four Pacific Sonnets' published on pages eight and nine of the issue are discussed briefly above. Glover's 'Labour Party Conference,' signed 'D.G.,' is a good example of the topical epigram at which he so often excelled.

I'm sorry, gentlemen:
Excuse me, please.
You may expel me,
But I'm going to sneeze.\footnote{113}

Elsewhere in the issue, new names to appear include John O'Shea with an amusing story of the frustrations of war-time relations between the sexes,\footnote{114} and Werner Droescher, whose story 'Epilogue' returns for its setting to civil-war Spain where he and his wife Greville Texidor first met.\footnote{115} The poet and translator Arthur Barker, later a contributor to several Wellington periodicals

\begin{footnotes}
\item[111] F.A. Shurrock, 'Wood Engraving,' \textit{Book} 5 (February 1942): frontispiece.
\item[112] Rita Cook, 'Denis Glover,' \textit{Book} 5 (February 1942): facing page 5; Rita Cook, 'Allen Curnow,' \textit{Book} 5 (February 1942): facing page 20.
\item[114] John O'Shea, 'With All My Heart and Soul,' \textit{Book} 5 (February 1942): 3-7. O'Shea also contributed a story to \textit{New Zealand New Writing}, 'Rhapsody in Blue,' \textit{New Zealand New Writing} 1 (1942): 31-36. A biographical note in that magazine describes O'Shea as serving at the time with a New Zealand Field Ambulance Unit.
\end{footnotes}
including *Spike*, *Hilltop*, and *Numbers*, contributed translations of an epitaph for Mathurin Regnier (1573-1613) and an epigram by Voltaire.\(^\text{116}\)

With Glover overseas on war service, the sixth issue of *Book* did not appear until September 1942 and may be considered the last of the initial run of the magazine. Following its appearance publication was suspended for several years until early 1946. It is probable that Glover had some input into the contents of the sixth issue, either prior to his departure or through the regular letters he sent home from Britain. His sole contribution to the number, the fine poem 'Leaving for Overseas,'\(^\text{117}\) was included by Curnow in his 1945 anthology.\(^\text{118}\) Otherwise the sixteen page issue was somewhat dominated by M.H. Holcroft, whose short story\(^\text{119}\) and extract from *The Waiting Hills*,\(^\text{120}\) referred to above, took up almost nine pages. The rest of the issue consists of: an extract from an essay in Frederick Sinclaire's *Lend Me Your Ears*,\(^\text{121}\) a brooding demonic head by Leo Bensemann,\(^\text{122}\) and poems by Allen Curnow,\(^\text{123}\) A.R.D. Fairburn,\(^\text{124}\)

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\(^{117}\) Denis Glover, 'Leaving for Overseas,' *Book* 6 (September 1942): 6.

\(^{118}\) Curnow, *A Book of New Zealand Verse* 178.

\(^{119}\) M.H. Holcroft, 'Dangerous Turning,' *Book* 6 (September 1942): 7-11.


\(^{121}\) Frederick Sinclaire, 'Lend Me Your Ears,' *Book* 6 (September 1942): 14-15. The extract is from his essay 'Handel for Health,' Chapter Seven of *Lend Me Your Ears*, by Frederick Sinclaire (Wellington: Caxton Press, 1942) 67-71.

\(^{122}\) Leo Bensemann, wood engraving, *Book* 6 (September 1942): 13;

\(^{123}\) Allen Curnow, 'The Old Provincial Council Chamber, Christchurch,' *Book* 6 (September 1942): 12.

(continued...)
and Jeannette Stace.\textsuperscript{125} Fairburn's 'A Farewell' was reprinted in his \textit{Poems 1929-1941},\textsuperscript{126} before being included by Curnow in the 1945 Caxton anthology,\textsuperscript{127} while his ruminations 'From a Notebook,'\textsuperscript{128} were published in the eighth issue of \textit{Book} and deal with topics as various as sentimentality in poetry and edible indigenous fungi.

\textit{Book} did not appear again until February 1946, more than a year after Glover's return from war service. At forty-eight pages it was over double the size of any previous issue and from the title page onwards has something of a celebratory air about it, expressed particularly through the playful and innovative use of typography and illustration. Two pages are devoted to exhibiting part of the growing range of types available from the Press. One of these is Glover's poem 'Some Type Faces at a Glance,' discussed above. In the same vein is a page which reads 'Display Types / Newly in Use /At The Caxton Press / Christchurch,' its four lines composed of four different typefaces: Chisel, Fry's Ornamented No. Two, Thorne Shaded, and Old Face Open Titling. Thorne Shaded is used with other typefaces on the title page of the issue, while others shown in the two displays appear in one of two four page inserts published

\textsuperscript{124}(...continued)
\textsuperscript{125} Jeannette Stace, (R.S.) 'To the Soldier in Wilfred Owen's poem "A Terre."' \textit{Book} 6 (September 1942): 4. R.S. is identified as Stace by Olive Johnson, 'An Index to \textit{Book}' 3.
\textsuperscript{127} Curnow, \textit{A Book of New Zealand Verse} 114.
\textsuperscript{128} A.R.D. Fairburn, 'From a Notebook,' \textit{Book} 8 (August 1946): N. pag.
with the issue. The most amusing of these feature, in order: humorous advertisements for "'Dare You?' / The Scent Sensational,' 'Morgan's Morning Mix' tobacco,\textsuperscript{129} and a fictional brand of honey mead;\textsuperscript{130} a lament by Robert Lowry entitled 'Defeat (Lines written in dejection after two bottles of beer),'\textsuperscript{131} and a poster for a 'Monster Cricket Match' apparently set in colonial Africa and to be played between a 'Basutoland' representative side and the 'Combined Missionaries' team.\textsuperscript{132}

In a far more serious tone, the other insert included with the issue is largely taken up with James K. Baxter's 'A Song For Otago University,' with music by Douglas Lilburn.\textsuperscript{133} Baxter's poem is printed on the first page of the single folded sheet, while Lilburn's music takes up the central facing pages. Rita Cook provided an untitled drawing for the final page of this insert. Other illustrations and typographical displays in the issue are: a frontispiece by Bensemann featuring a wood engraved portrait of a malevolent 'Dancing Dwarf';\textsuperscript{134} a page of calligraphy by Bensemann;\textsuperscript{135} a 'Reproduction in One Colour of part of a Canterbury College Drama Society Programme,' printed on the verso

\textsuperscript{129} Both Book 7 (February 1946): facing page sixteen.
\textsuperscript{130} Book 7 (February 1946): facing page seventeen.
\textsuperscript{131} Book 7 (February 1946): facing page thirty-two.
\textsuperscript{132} Book 7 (February 1946): facing page thirty-three.
\textsuperscript{133} Book 7 (February 1946): bound between pages twenty-four and twenty-five.
\textsuperscript{134} Leo Bensemann, 'Dancing Dwarf,' Book 7 (February 1946): frontispiece.
\textsuperscript{135} Leo Bensemann, Page for a Manuscript Book, Donne's "Devotions" written by Leo Bensemann, Book 7 (February 1946): 23.
of the 'Display Types' sampler;\(^{136}\) and, on the last three pages of the issue (pages forty-seven, forty-eight and the inside back cover page), reproductions of the title pages of Sargeson's *When the Wind Blows,\(^ {137}\)* Denis Glover's *Summer Flowers\(^ {138}\)* (described as 'a few frivolous verses hand set in Perpetua'),\(^ {139}\) and an advertisement for a new edition of Holcroft's *The Deepening Stream.\(^ {140}\)*

This double-length issue also featured five short stories and a large selection of poems, including two by Baxter in addition to the song mentioned above. Baxter had published his first collection of poetry with Caxton in 1945\(^ {141}\) and his second, *Blow, Wind of Fruitfulness,\(^ {142}\)* was at the press at the time the seventh issue of *Book* appeared. 'Prometheus,\(^ {143}\)* published in this seventh issue, is a key poem from *Blow, Wind of Fruitfulness,\(^ {144}\)* expressing a major theme of the collection, 'man's Promethean struggle amid life's solitariness.\(^ {145}\)* The other poem by Baxter in this issue of *Book* explores a similar theme,\(^ {146}\) but was not republished. Nor was 'For the Death of a Virgin,' which appeared in the final

\(^{136}\) Unattributed, 'Reproduction in One Colour of part of a Canterbury College Drama Society Programme,' *Book 7* (February 1946): 14.


\(^{139}\) *Book 7* (February 1946): facing page forty eight.

\(^{140}\) M.H. Holcroft, *The Deepening Stream* (Christchurch: Caxton Press, 1940).


\(^{143}\) *Book 7* (February 1946): 26.

\(^{144}\) Baxter, *Blow, Wind of Fruitfulness* 16.


\(^{146}\) James K. Baxter, 'Poem' ('O see the heavy waves roll in on sand'), *Book 7* (February 1946): 26-27.
issue of the Caxton periodical a year later.147

Other poems in this issue include Glover's 'Harry Singing' (discussed above) and two topical pieces, 'On Taking Over a Bank' and 'For Uno Who,' both signed 'D.G.,'148 and Basil Dowling's 'Home,'149 printed with a note describing it as a 'new poem, hand set in eighteen point Perpetua.' James Bertram, recently returned from several turbulent years overseas, published 'The Prisoners: Three Movements,'150 reflecting on his experiences as a Japanese prisoner of war. Other poems by Bertram in the following issue of Book explore the same general topic of the war in Asia.151 Following the same theme, the English poet John Waller was paired with Eric de Mauny in a section in the seventh number of Book entitled 'Two Poems from a War.'152 De Mauny's 'existentialist interpretation' of the man-alone theme,153 The Huntsman in His Career, was published in England in 1949.154

152 John Waller, 'Crusade,' Book 7 (February 1946): 34-41; Eric de Mauny, 'Seven Days,' Book 7 (February 1946): 41-45. John Waller served in the Middle East with Eric de Mauny, co-editing with him a collection of war poetry entitled Middle East Anthology (London: Lindsay Drummond, 1946).
154 Eric de Mauny, The Huntsman in His Career (London: Lindsay Drummond, 1949).
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Book No. 7 opened with a group of five short stories, including G.R. Gilbert's 'The Finger of God' and R.M. Burdon's 'Vengeance.' Gilbert's story is followed by John Reece Cole's 'The Sixty Nine Club,' in which a returned airman reluctantly visits the mother of a deceased comrade. An apparent disparity between her memory of her son as an innocent youth and the man the airman saw corrupted by the stresses of war is revealed as false when the airman finally understands that behind her expressions of piety lies the same latent sensuality the airman witnessed in her late son. Cole opened the next issue of Book with his story 'He Was Different,' which describes an encounter between a New Zealand woman and an American soldier.

Maurice Duggan's 'Short Story' is a brief character sketch, described by C.K. Stead as one of the nine early stories which 'show a slow and painstaking exploration of the fictional mode.' It was later republished, unaltered, as 'Still Life' in Kiwi in 1947, before being taken into Duggan's Collected Stories. His 'Conversation Piece,' published in the last issue of Book, is from the same group of early stories and was not republished until the Stead included it in the

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157 Maurice Duggan, 'Short Story,' Book 7 (February 1946): 12.


159 Maurice Duggan (M.D.'), 'Still Life,' Kiwi 42 (1947): 60. Maurice Duggan, Collected Stories 40. Stead also notes that this story was published in Irish Writing 5 (July 1948). Stead, 'Earlier publication of stories,' Collected Stories, by Maurice Duggan 374.

Collected Stories in 1981. Walter Brookes contributed 'The Double Port.'

Brookes had attended Canterbury University College with Glover and in 1933 contributed to both the Canterbury College Review and the Caxton Club's Oriflamme. He contributed one other item to Book, a translation of Heinrich Heine's poem 'Du hast eine Blume.'

The eighth and penultimate issue of Book was styled a 'Wood Engraving Number,' a theme motivated by the publication by Caxton of Mervyn Taylor's A Book of Wood Engravings. The cover of the issue featured a reproduction of a medieval figure framed by an elaborate printer's decoration. This was described on the verso of the title page in the following terms:

The compartment of floral scrolls was used by Wynkyn de Worde in 1509. The figure with empty scroll was added for 'Here begynneth a mery gest and a true how Iohan splynter made his testament,' printed by Julian Notary (?1520).

The words 'floreat caxton' in lower case gothic script were added to the engraving for its printing here. The frontispiece to the issue continued the wood engraving theme, being an engraving of a fantail on boxwood by Mervyn Taylor, the first of three such contributions by Taylor to the issue. The others were an engraving in the same wood of a tui and a decorated initial 'A'

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161 Duggan, Collected Stories 45-47.


164 E. Mervyn Taylor, A Book of Wood Engravings (Christchurch: Caxton Press, 1946). An advertisement for this collection of twenty-three engravings was printed towards the rear of this number of Book.

165 Book 8 (August 1946): N. pag.

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engraved in Southland beech,\textsuperscript{167} published as illustrations to an article by Arthur Hipwell entitled 'Woodcuts and Wood Engraving.'\textsuperscript{168} Subsequently, in a rather formal illustrated note printed in the final issue of Book, Taylor advertised himself as being 'able to undertake commissions for Bookplates and illustrations, either by wood engraving or line drawing.'\textsuperscript{169}

Arthur Hipwell's ten page article was copiously illustrated with work in the medium under discussion, ranging from an anonymous woodcut of Saint Christopher dated 1417, to more contemporary pieces. These included two by Leo Bensemann\textsuperscript{170} and one by S.B. Maclennan\textsuperscript{171} in addition to those by Mervyn Taylor. Hipwell provides a history of wood engraving, which he regards as a component of the wider art of typography. He pays particular attention to what he terms 'the current revival of the art,' inspired by the work of Albrecht Durer, Thomas Bewick and William Blake. He surveys the state of the medium, explaining methods and recent innovations. Noting that the rise of the Ex Libris societies has provided a local stimulus, Hipwell concludes his survey of New Zealand work by applauding the efforts of Mervyn Taylor, remarking:

He combines great facility in the use of the graver with an interesting variety of techniques and an unerring sense of fine

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{167} Both Book 8 (August 1946): N. pag.
\item \textsuperscript{168} Arthur Hipwell, 'Woodcuts and Wood Engraving,' Book 8 (August 1946): N. pag. Hipwell was a teacher of art at King's College, Auckland, from 1936 until 1952. He was a graduate of Elam and the Canterbury University College School of Art, and for many years acted as art critic for the Auckland Star. His painting 'Mt Taratara, Northland' won the 1957 Kelliher Prize for landscape art.
\item \textsuperscript{169} Mervyn Taylor, Book 9 (July 1947): facing page one.
\item \textsuperscript{170} Leo Bensemann, 'Engraved on Pear,' Book 8 (August 1946): N. pag.
\item \textsuperscript{171} S.B. Maclennan, 'Pumpkin Patch... Engraved on Southland beech,' Book 8 (August 1946): N. pag.
\end{itemize}
design. Further, he chooses subjects indigenous to New Zealand; native birds, insects, shells, fungi, flora, and fauna woven into an intriguing pattern and cut with skill and feeling. The publication of a folio of twenty-three of his more important blocks should stimulate wide interest in this fascinating medium.172

Hipwell thus fulfils the promotional brief of Book, stimulating readers' interest in the medium of wood engraving and hence the work of Mervyn Taylor.

Other illustrations in the issue include: Robert Brett's amusing lino cut for A.R.D. Fairburn's 'Walking on My Feet,'173 published in The Rakehelly Man in 1945;174 several printer's decorations; a photograph of a New Zealand mountain lily reproduced from W.B Brockie's New Zealand Alpines in Field and Garden,175 demonstrating an expansion of the technical capabilities of the Caxton Press; a typographical display at once demonstrating and discussing the use of decorative initial letters;176 and a four page insert prepared by Robert Lowry and Patrick Dobbie, illustrating Glover's article on Lowry's work as a printer and typographer, discussed above.

Apart from the rich visual material, issue eight of Book opened with Cole's story 'He Was Different,'177 the first of three stories in the issue, others of which were A.W. Stockwell's humorous 'Fourth Jam Session'178 and Helen Shaw's

172 Hipwell, 'Woodcuts and Wood Engraving' N. pag.
175 W.B Brockie, New Zealand Alpines in Field and Garden (Christchurch: Caxton Press, 1945).
'Beneath a Star.' The latter was one of the earliest published of Shaw's stories written for an adult audience, along with her piece in *New Zealand New Writing*. Other prose items in the issue include Fairburn's musings 'From a Notebook' (discussed above), and an article by Mona Gordon on the influential nineteenth century Dutch-New Zealand artist Petrus van der Velden. Poetry in the issue ranges from James Bertram's 'Rondeau in Wartime' (dated 'Hong Kong-Singapore, 1942') to Glover's three line squib 'Industrial Efficiency.' The most considerable new talent to appear for the first time in *Book* with this issue was Kendrick Smithyman. His 'Sonnet: On Ron Stenberg's "Head of Isla" Drawing' and the untitled poem beginning 'Amid my five great rearing senses,' were followed in the final issue by his 'Two Poems in the Return for Graham.' None of these were republished. Smithyman's first collection of poetry, *Seven Sonnets*, was published by the Pelorus Press in the same year as this second to last issue of *Book*. Charles Brasch made his final appearance in

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Book with his poem 'Wevelsfleth,' noted as being 'Set in 12-point Blado italic, 3-point leaded.'

The last issue of Book was published in July 1947 and styled a 'Short Story Number.' In addition to the cover page it sported two typographically distinctive title pages, the first of which spanned two facing pages, with the left-hand page listing nine contributors of short fiction, eight contributors of verse, and a section entitled 'Luna Park and Incidental Effects' attributed to the 'Caxton Press Psychological Warfare Department.' This consisted largely of ten pages of humorous typographical exuberance, two following the title pages and eight as an unpaged end piece largely concerned with advertising various Caxton publications, including Allen Curnow's *A Book of New Zealand Verse 1923-1945*, Denis Glover's *D-Day*, and A.R.D. Fairburn's *The Rakehelly Man* and *How to Ride a Bicycle*. Facing the second title page were advertisements for the Caxton quarterly *Landfall*, the first two issues of which had already appeared, and A.P Gaskell's *The Big Game*.

The first thirty-six numbered pages of the issue were given over to fiction, and opened with a story by Dennis McEldowney entitled 'By the Lake,' subsequently included in Dan Davin's Oxford anthology of New Zealand short

188 *Book* 9 (July 1947): N. pag.
190 *Book* 9 (July 1947): N. pag.
stories. In addition to Duggan’s ‘Conversation Piece’ there were two stories by Philip Wilson (a writer who later opened the first issue of Hilltop with his story ‘In the Tunnel’ and went on to contribute short fiction to Here & Now) and Bill Pearson’s ‘Uncle 52, recently republished in his Six Stories. Poetry in the issue appeared in a single block between pages thirty-seven and forty-eight, and included - in addition to work by Anton Vogt, Basil Dowling, James K. Baxter, and Kendrick Smithyman - two poems by Louis Johnson, ‘Reflections of Mortality’ and ‘Leda.’ At this time Johnson was on the threshold of an extensive career as both contributor to and editor of a number of literary periodicals. Apart from his essay ‘Notes on a National Culture,’ published by A.R.D. Fairburn in one of the last issues of Art in New Zealand, Johnson’s literary output had been confined to poems published in little magazines such as the privately published Chapbook and Noel Hoggard’s Arena, along with a first slim collection published by Hoggard’s Handcraft Press in 1945.

195 Philip Wilson, ‘Down at Jake’s Place,’ Here & Now 2.8 (May 1952): 33-34.
4.3 Conclusion

Despite its irregular appearance, confined to 1941-1942 and 1947-1946, Book played a significant role in sustaining literary energies everywhere vulnerable to the dislocations of the Second World War, and it confirmed the emergence of the Caxton Press as the most important literary press operating in New Zealand during mid-century. Indeed, in the opportunities it afforded for typographical and other design experimentation and its encouragement of emerging as well as established writers it might be seen as an exemplary little magazine. As is so often the case with periodicals of all types, the reasons for the closure of Book are difficult to ascertain. Certainly, the need for such a sampler of Caxton Press publications had lessened considerably with the end of the War. During the late forties Caxton Press entered a period of increasing activity, stimulated by Glover's return from Britain where he had met several prominent book designers as well as editors such as John Lehmann.202

Glover also continued to work towards the fulfilment of his ambition to publish a quarterly successor to Phoenix and Tomorrow, plans developed at length with Charles Brasch in London during 1942 and 1943. As Brasch recalled: 'Denis had looked on all the small periodicals he had run or supported, Tomorrow, Book, and the rest, as keeping the pot boiling for a more substantial, mature professional Phoenix.'203 Landfall was founded as soon as the Caxton Press was deemed able to support the regular publication of such a periodical. Its initial editorial policy (to be more than a narrowly literary magazine) to some extent echoed that of Book. Indeed, under Brasch's driving influence and

202 Thomson, Glover 26-27.
ambition the aim was no less than the formation of a distinct national culture. *Landfall* rapidly monopolised all the resources available at the Press for periodical publication. The first issue appeared in March 1947, and the second in June. The final issue of *Book* was published in July, after which *Landfall* became the sole periodical published by Caxton Press.
CHAPTER FIVE

NEW ZEALAND NEW WRITING (1942-1945)

Literature is a cardinal feature of the civilisation we are in arms to defend. Looked at in that light, New Zealand New Writing constitutes a snook cocked at totalitarianism; since an indication that we are in sound morale intellectually is as definite a rebuff to Goebbels as the defeat of the Luftwaffe in the Battle of Britain was to Goering or as the defeat of the Africa Korps has been to Rommel.¹

5.1 Introduction

As Book lapsed into a prolonged recess following the departure of Denis Glover for overseas service, another little magazine of comparable value was getting under way in Wellington. New Zealand New Writing was founded as an outlet for new and established writers by the Progressive Publishing Society (P.P.S.) and appeared in four irregular issues between 1942 and 1945. The P.P.S. had emerged out of the Co-operative Book Club movement in response to that movement's desire to see pamphlets and other texts voicing its left-wing viewpoint published and distributed throughout New Zealand. New Zealand New Writing was undoubtedly its most successful venture. In his report to the Progressive Publishing Society's national conference in 1944, Harold Fenton, the manager of the Society, observed that '[t]he success, from the sales point of view, of New Writing has made possible the publication of other works which have not paid their way.'² Ian Gordon, the magazine's editor, claimed in 1984 that the

¹ Unattributed, review of New Zealand New Writing 1 (1942), Standard 7 January 1943: 2.
² Manager's report to the 1944 conference, quoted in Rachel Barrowman, A Popular Vision: The Arts and the Left in New Zealand 1930-1950 (Wellington: Victoria University (continued...))
first number of *New Zealand New Writing* achieved sales of 10,000 copies, although in late 1944, after three of the four issues had appeared, he gave figures of from five to seven thousand copies per issue. Whatever the correct figures were, it is clear that in a country starved of new reading matter due to war-time shortages of printing paper and imported books, new publications were clearly in great demand. Reviews in the *Sydney Bulletin* seem to indicate a more than local market for Gordon's magazine, which also travelled throughout the Pacific and European theatres of war as reading matter for New Zealand servicemen and women.

It was *New Zealand New Writing*’s popularity that allowed Gordon to retain his position as editor, despite the increasing disapproval of a hard-core political faction in the Progressive Publishing Society. They protested against his refusal to employ the periodical as an outlet for didactic social, or rather, socialist realist poetry and fiction, or essays supportive of left-wing political objectives. *New Zealand New Writing* was felt by many on the political left to be too literary, too elitist in its selection of material, and not sufficiently concerned to meet the needs of working-class readers. In an extended reply to such criticism Gordon reaffirmed his intention to supply a non-partisan periodical 'in

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3.(...continued)


5 Reviewing the second number of *New Zealand New Writing* in the *Sydney Bulletin*, Douglas Stewart notes that 'there is no indication as to whether *New Zealand New Writing* is on sale in Australia.' Douglas Stewart, review of *New Zealand New Writing* 2 (1943), *Bulletin* 10 November 1943: 2. I am grateful to Professor Terry Sturm for bringing these reviews to my attention.
which writers (established and otherwise) could have printed their contributions of a literary nature.\textsuperscript{16}

*New Zealand New Writing* had come about almost entirely due to Gordon's own initiative. In April 1993 he recalled:

> I had no interest in the political pamphleteering that Progressive Publishing was producing. I was interested in producing a literary magazine. . . . It was my brainchild and I prepared to put my stamp on it.\textsuperscript{7}

In response to Gordon's initiative a committee was convened to oversee the editing and production of the periodical. While the 'Foreword' to the first issue acknowledged the assistance of a four person manuscript selection committee in the preparation of the issue, Gordon later maintained that he was in fact solely responsible for the editing of all four issues, including the selection of material.\textsuperscript{8} Indeed, it would seem that the periodical thrived despite rather than because of the committee's involvement.

Although Gordon's indifference to the political agenda of his publishers did not reflect an open animosity to the socialist cause, he certainly worked to avoid, as he put it, 'mere partisan writing.'\textsuperscript{9} While this resistance to the very raison d'etre of his publishers made him as unlikely an editor as might be imagined for what soon became the P.P.S. flagship, his enthusiasm for the project and his willingness to undertake the often onerous editorial work encouraged the Society to provide him with the means he needed. In addition, his

\textsuperscript{6} Gordon, 'NZNW and its Critics' N.pag.

\textsuperscript{7} Ian Gordon, interview with the author, 8 April 1993.

\textsuperscript{8} Gordon, interview with the author, 8 April 1993.

\textsuperscript{9} Gordon, 'NZNW and its Critics' N.pag.
position as an academic (he had taken over the Chair of English at Victoria University of Wellington in 1937) lent him an authority the Society was willing to exploit.

The dearth of outlets for writers during the war meant that it was not necessary for Gordon to solicit material for the first issue. The monthly newsletter of the Christchurch Co-operative Book Society, Co-operative Book News, reported in September 1942:

Compilation of material for the first volume of N.Z. Writing is now completed, and the Society is going ahead with its publication. This book will be based on the English edition of New Writing in the Penguin series. It offers opportunities to writers from the middle class as well as the working class. Stories, plays, radio plays, poems and autobiographies are now under consideration for inclusion.10

In the opening editorial Ian Gordon described the venture as 'an experiment, not so much in writing as in publishing,'11 indicating he was less concerned with editing a little magazine presenting innovative forms of writing, than with providing a much needed periodical for New Zealand authors and poets.

From the first he envisaged the project to be in emulation of John Lehmann's Penguin New Writing. This is clearly evident from the cover of the first issue, which in layout, typography and colour closely resembled Lehmann's periodical, a fact which Gordon later learned 'annoyed Lehmann like hell.'12 A drawing of a kiwi replaced Lehmann's penguin and appeared over the logo 'Kiwi Books.' After a protest from the Wellington printers L.T. Watkins Ltd,

10 Unattributed, 'Recent New Zealand Publications,' Co-operative Book News 1.9 (September 1942): N. pag.
12 Gordon, interview with the author, 8 April 1993.
who claimed copyright on the Kiwi Books imprint, Gordon and his publishers were forced to drop the kiwi symbol. It was replaced for the third and fourth numbers by the 'Tiki Book' logo used on many Progressive Publishing texts.

While a publication frequency of about twice a year was initially envisaged, this was never actually achieved. Contributions to the first issue were received and published from such established writers and poets as Frank Sargeson, Allen Curnow, A.R.D. Fairburn, and J.R. Hervey as well as less well known writers such as Isobel Andrews, A.P. Gaskell (Alec Pickard), G.R. Gilbert and Arthur Jackson-Thomas. Many of these individuals had left-wing sympathies, although only one or two made this commitment explicit through their writing. One who did so was Jackson-Thomas, an active member of the Communist Party and manager of the Auckland Progressive Bookshop from 1942 to 1966.13 His socialist realist story of life in Wellington during the economic depression of the previous decade earned the approval of those who saw New Zealand New Writing's role as primarily that of an outlet for politically motivated fiction and poetry.14 Other less didactic stories and poems were disapproved of by the same critics.15 It was clear to them that what should have been a periodical of working class socialist fiction and poetry had in fact emerged as merely another elitist magazine for the delectation of the

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13 Barrowman, Popular Vision 95,112 & passim.
15 Including John Campbell, whose review of the first issue in Co-operative Book News is discussed below.

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bourgeoisie. Curnow's poems in the first issue were perceived as obscure.\textsuperscript{16} When a romantic portrayal of worker dissatisfaction entitled 'Blame Keats' and written by the respected author Alan Mulgan appeared in the second issue, members of the Society were unimpressed.\textsuperscript{17}

P.P.S. reported the receipt of several hundred manuscripts for \textit{N.Z.N.W.} . . . Surely there was something more original, more important than, say, 'Blame Keats' in \textit{N.Z.N.W. 2}? That I find inexplicable, for while in the \textit{Mirror} or the \textit{Weekly News} it would be an acceptable story, I cannot conceive of it as 'new writing.'\textsuperscript{18}

Mulgan, an associate of Gordon, was regarded as representative of the political right, and his story interpreted as a romantic portrayal of the worker as literary dilettante, unacceptably remote from the 'reality' faced by the working-class readership that \textit{New Zealand New Writing} ought to have been directed towards. For Gordon to include Mulgan was a direct snub to all that the P.P.S. stood for. From Gordon's perspective Mulgan was a good writer, well established in the New Zealand literary scene and an asset to the pages of any periodical.\textsuperscript{19} Mulgan had offered his story unsolicited and Gordon was only too happy to include it in the issue.

Such supposed anomalies aside, a survey of the stories and poems in the four issues of \textit{New Zealand New Writing} reveals a range of subject matter that was very often topical, with the war featuring prominently in the work of many


\textsuperscript{17} Gordon, interview with author, 8 April 1993.


\textsuperscript{19} Gordon, interview with author, 8 April 1993.
new writers. Several contributors were serving in the armed forces and submitted accounts of their experiences aboard ship, in the North African desert, and elsewhere. There was also a strong strain of impressionistic writing, often about subjects far removed from the reality of life in a country affected at all levels by the war. Gordon was open to experimentation as well as to work in the familiar New Zealand genre of the yarn, represented in *New Zealand New Writing* by adventure stories set in colonial days, by ghost stories, and by tales of Maori life witnessed through Pakeha eyes.
5.2 Literary Content

The first issue opened promisingly with a prose piece by Frank Sargeson. Entitled 'Episode' this was an extract from his short novel, *That Summer*, written between 1938 and 1941. The complete work was later published in three episodes during 1943 and 1944 by John Lehmann in *Penguin New Writing* (Numbers 17-19), and then again by Lehmann as the title piece of Sargeson's 1946 collection *That Summer and Other Stories*. In 1941 Sargeson's critical reputation was growing steadily, as evidenced by the three impressions of *A Man and His Wife* which appeared between 1940 and 1944, the last of which was produced by the Progressive Publishing Society itself. Sargeson's story 'The Making of a New Zealander' had been placed first equal in the 1940 Centennial Short Story competition, alongside a now forgotten piece by Eleanor Scott, 'The River,' a tale of colonial race relations. His appearance in *New Zealand New Writing* was something of a coup for Gordon as editor.

Feeling himself seriously compromised by Gordon's dispute with John Lehmann and Penguin Books over the design of *New Zealand New Writing*, Sargeson temporarily withdrew his support for the venture, returning only

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20 Frank Sargeson, 'Episode,' *New Zealand New Writing* 1 [1942]: 5-10.


22 First published in *Tomorrow* 5.6 (18 January 1939): 180-182.

23 Published in the *Mirror* 19.3 (September 1940): 16-17,57. A story by E. Midgley, entitled 'The River,' was 'commended' (although not published) by Charles Marris in the results of the annual short story competition run in *Art in New Zealand* 10.3 (March 1938): 137.

with the third issue, to which he contributed 'Growing Up', an extract from *When the Wind Blows*. This became Chapter Five of *I Saw In My Dream*, published by John Lehmann in 1949. In preparing the *New Zealand New Writing* piece for subsequent publication, Sargeson made few alterations, aside from minor punctuation and paragraphic adjustments and the dropping of the name 'Annie' from the narrative.

A story by A.P. Gaskell follows Sargeson's 'Episode' in the first issue. 'The Picture in the Paper' had previously been published in the *New Zealand Listener* and tells the story of Sammy, a poorly educated and naive rural Maori who is bemused by Pakeha society's seemingly inconsistent attitude towards him. At first glance 'The Picture in the Paper' appears to be an orthodox yarn, told in the first person, but in fact Gaskell has reversed a key convention of the genre. He has the Maori protagonist tell his own story. Conventionally, yarns featuring Maori were told from a Pakeha perspective, as narratives of colonial exploits, hostile tribes, ghost kaumatua, and the like. This is done competently in this very issue of *New Zealand New Writing* by G.R. Gilbert in his story 'Fear,' which recounts an 'old tale' of Maori life in which cruel and merciless utu


(revenge) is witnessed by the great-grandfather of the narrator. Where Maori did speak in stories, they were given a formal, even biblical diction, deemed an appropriate idiom into which to translate the Maori language. Otherwise they spoke a broken English which the writers of the stories used to reinforce their characterisation of Maori as inarticulate and hence stupid, in accordance with the usual fictional role of Maori as objects of humour. While Gaskell retains the convention of having his narrator Sammy speak in broken English, he does this in a way which makes for a far more sensitive characterisation, partly founded on having Sammy tell his story from his perspective, thus allowing some sympathy to be developed for him in his ingenuous attempts to gain Pakeha approval.

Another impressive story by Gaskell appeared in the next issue. Again taking what must have been a familiar model, 'The Cave' is a gripping adventure story, a yarn in the best colonial tradition. This story had been previously published in the Sydney Bulletin on 18 November 1942. The narrative is highly engaging, the reader quickly empathising with the narrator's fear for the fate of the men trapped in the sea-bound cave. Gaskell's final contribution to New Zealand New Writing was 'Tidings of Joy' which, like 'The Picture in the Paper' and 'The Cave,' was republished in Gaskell's The Big Game and

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30 G.R. Gilbert, 'Fear,' New Zealand New Writing 1 [1942]: 16-19. This was reproduced as one of the 'Stories told by my Grandfather' in Gilbert's first collection of stories, Free to Laugh & Dance (Christchurch: Caxton Press, 1942) 84-87.


Chapter 5.2: New Zealand New Writing - Literary Content

Other Stories.\textsuperscript{34} The irony of the title (a party on Christmas Eve 1941 is coloured by tidings of war dead) and the restrained narrative style display the growing influence of Sargeson on Gaskell's work. The metaphor of the 'game,' which Gaskell had already used to such effect in The Big Game,\textsuperscript{35} is a key image in this story. The dead companion is characterised as leading a bayonet charge 'as he used to lead his forwards down the field.' The narrator responds: 'Of all the bloody rot. What is it all? - is it just a game?'\textsuperscript{36}

Also to be found in this first issue are stories by Anna Kavan and Greville Texidor, recently described as 'those interesting transients.'\textsuperscript{37} Both writers were refugees from Europe and both had impeccable left-wing credentials. Texidor had contributed to the Republican cause in the Spanish struggle of the thirties and Kavan arrived in New Zealand in the company of the pacifist and conscientious objector Ian Hamilton. Both became part of the Auckland group of radical intellectuals and writers loosely associated with Frank Sargeson and their fellow outcast from Europe, the elderly refugee poet Karl Wolfskehl. Kavan's story 'Ice Storm' is set in New York and Connecticut and may well have been written there.\textsuperscript{38} It is a highly introspective piece, displaying the influence of Dos Passos and other modernist writers in such devices as the interspersing of the narrative with snatches of newspaper headlines.

\textsuperscript{34} Gaskell, The Big Game and Other Stories 30-41.

\textsuperscript{35} First published as 'One Hell of a Caper,' New Zealand Listener 28 April 1944.

\textsuperscript{36} Gaskell, 'Tidings of Joy' 61.


\textsuperscript{38} Anna Kavan, 'Ice Storm,' New Zealand New Writing 1 [1942]: 22-30.
Chapter 5.2: New Zealand New Writing - Literary Content

Texidor began her brief career as a short story writer with her contribution to the first issue of *New Zealand New Writing*. 'Home Front' switches between the Spanish War past and the dour rural New Zealand of the story's present. Frank Sargeson, a mentor of Texidor as he was of Gaskell, Gilbert and Maurice Duggan, regarded 'Home Front' as 'remarkable for accurate observation, an ear for New Zealand speech, and the beauty of its pictorial detail.' The more substantial 'An Annual Affair' appeared in the third number of *New Zealand New Writing* and shows the rapidity with which Texidor's writing developed over the intervening years. This latter story was collected by Dan Davin into his anthology in the 'World's Classics' series, *New Zealand Short Stories*.

Other stories in *New Zealand New Writing* No.1 include Arthur Jackson-Thomas's 'Unto Us,' subtitled 'Fragment of an autobiography which is extremely unlikely ever to be written.' As noted above, this piece of documentary realism came closest to fulfilling what many felt to be the proper objective of the periodical, that of publishing social or socialist realist fiction and poetry, in addition to providing an outlet for the expression of left-wing opinion.

39 Greville Texidor, 'Home Front,' *New Zealand New Writing* 1 [1942]: 62-70.
41 Greville Texidor, 'An Annual Affair,' *New Zealand New Writing* 3 (1944): 39-52.
on matters of national and international interest. Jackson-Thomas's story is a
gloomy account of the narrator's struggle against the circumstances of the
Depression; unemployment, poverty, exploitative landlords, illness and the
difficult pregnancy of his ailing wife. An anonymous reviewer in the Labour
Party periodical the Standard commented:

From a sociological point of view it is the finest document, probably, in which a New Zealander has epitomised (in this case
with what clarity and intensity) the suffering and ignominy inflicted on people through the inequities of a system whose worst
features socialism has mitigated and is resolved to destroy.44

An extract from the second of M.H. Holcroft's three meditations on New
Zealand culture and society, The Waiting Hills,45 completes the prose items of
note in this first issue of New Zealand New Writing.46 Apart from a minor error
of detail (the date of Holcroft's return to New Zealand is given as 1940; it was
in fact 1930) the passage matches the central section of 'The Awakening of
Poetry,' Chapter Six in the 1943 volume.47

Of the poetry in the first issue of New Zealand New Writing the most
significant is undoubtedly that contributed by Allen Curnow. 'The Seascape'48
was composed at the same time as the poems published in Sailing or Drowning,49
although it was not included in that 1944 collection. Retitled 'Pantoum', it

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44 Unattributed, review of New Zealand New Writing 1 (1942), Standard 7 January 1943: 2.
46 M.H. Holcroft, 'Return to New Zealand,' New Zealand New Writing 1 [1942]: 49-51.
49 Allen Curnow, Sailing or Drowning: Poems (Wellington: Progressive Publishing
Society, 1944).
became the second part of 'Pacific Theatre, 1943' in *A Small Room with Large Windows*, and in 1974 it was inserted (retitled 'Pantoum of War in the Pacific') into the *Collected Poems*, among the poems from *Sailing or Drowning*. 'The Seascape' opens with a quotation from *Macbeth*. Its form, the pantoum referred to in the subsequent titles, is a French form of verse originating in Malaya and only occasionally used by English poets, presumably because of the extreme rigidity of its form as far as the English language is concerned. It requires seven metrically consistent heroic quatrains with the entire lines repeated in the pattern ABCD BEDF EGFH GIHJ IKJL KMLN MCNA. The second poem by Curnow in the first number of *New Zealand New Writing* was 'Musical Criticism,' a precisely composed Petrarchan sonnet, treating the subject of high culture's problematic presence in these 'uttermost isles'. This poem was not republished.

A.R.D. Fairburn's only contribution to *New Zealand New Writing* was a piece entitled 'Poem' ('Age will unfasten us, and take our strength;'), published in the first issue. He was to slightly recast the poem before gathering it into his *Poems 1929-1941*, published by Caxton Press in 1943. The only other poets

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53 *Macbeth's* soliloquy, Act I, scene vii, lines 2-6: 'if th' assassination ... shoal of time.'

54 Allen Curnow, 'Musical Criticism,' *New Zealand New Writing* 1 [1942]: 21.

55 A.R.D. Fairburn, 'Poem,' *New Zealand New Writing* 1 [1942]: 61.

56 A.R.D. Fairburn, *Poems 1929-1941* (Christchurch: Caxton Press, 1943) 30. Fairburn collapsed the two middle verse paragraphs into one in the later version, and added an exclamation mark to line 27, following the phrase 'remembered time.'
of any note to appear in the first issue were Anton Vogt, who contributed 'Letter to an Aviator',\textsuperscript{57} and J.R. Hervey, who contributed a lament entitled 'Threnos',\textsuperscript{58} a later version of which appeared in his New Poems, published by Caxton Press.\textsuperscript{59} This poem has been much anthologised, beginning with its inclusion by Curnow in his 1945 anthology, A Book of New Zealand Verse 1923-1945.\textsuperscript{60} Hervey contributed a further two poems to Gordon's periodical, 'Adolescence' in the second issue,\textsuperscript{61} and 'Unreported' in the final issue.\textsuperscript{62} Both these latter poems were published in his collection Man on a Raft.\textsuperscript{63} Vogt, a prolific contributor to periodicals such as Tomorrow, the New Zealand Listener and New Zealand Education, which he edited during 1947 and 1948, contributed three poems in all to New Zealand New Writing. 'Letter to an Aviator' was dedicated to Spence Combs, one of the twenty war dead to whom Vogt dedicated his Poems for a War.\textsuperscript{64} 'For Norway', published in the second issue of New Zealand New Writing,\textsuperscript{65} was also reprinted in this collection. His third and final contribution, the poem 'Coal',\textsuperscript{66}

\textsuperscript{57} Anton Vogt, 'Letter to an Aviator,' New Zealand New Writing 1 [1942]: 37-38.
\textsuperscript{58} J.R. Hervey, 'Threnos,' New Zealand New Writing 1 [1942]: 15.
\textsuperscript{59} J.R. Hervey, New Poems (Christchurch: Caxton, 1942) 22.
\textsuperscript{60} Allen Curnow, ed., A Book of New Zealand Verse 1923-1945 (Christchurch: Caxton, 1945) 80. Professor MacDonald Jackson has pointed out to me that Louis Johnson praised this poem in his memorial tribute to Hervey in the New Zealand Poetry Yearbook 8 (1958): 92.
\textsuperscript{61} J.R. Hervey, 'Adolescence,' New Zealand New Writing 2 (1943): 58.
\textsuperscript{63} J.R. Hervey, Man on a Raft (Christchurch: Caxton Press, 1949).
\textsuperscript{64} Anton Vogt, Poems for a War (Wellington: Progressive Publishing Society, 1943).
\textsuperscript{65} Anton Vogt; 'For Norway,' New Zealand New Writing 2 (1943): 26-27.
\textsuperscript{66} Anton Vogt, 'Coal,' New Zealand New Writing 3 (1944): 38.
written while he worked as a teacher in the South Island West Coast coal mining
town of Reefton, was not subsequently republished.

Response to the first issue was mixed. Douglas Stewart reviewed both the first and the following two issues of New Zealand New Writing at length in the 'Red Page' of the Sydney Bulletin. He considered Gaskell's story 'The Picture in the Paper' as the best item in this first issue, describing it as 'rich, ripe, complete; [with] some underlying pathos, but written in a fine spirit of acceptance that makes it a little masterpiece of comedy.'67 He was less enthusiastic about the experimental nature of several of the other stories, including Sargeson's 'Episode,' feeling them to be too imitative of some component or other of the 'Joyce-Hemingway-Saroyan triumvirate.'68 Stewart concludes his review by expressing the hope that this 'melancholy and imitative' collection is not entirely representative of the New Zealand psyche.69

Locally and from within the left-wing community, John Campbell delivered a positive if qualified review in the Christchurch Co-operative Book Society's monthly Co-operative Book News. He felt that Gordon's publication was too much like a university review, and expressed a preference for Jackson-Thomas's 'Unto Us' over the sort of work penned by Sargeson, either in his contribution to the New Zealand New Writing or in his recently published collection A Man and His Wife,70 thus ignoring the extent to which Sargeson's fiction

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68 Stewart, review 2.
69 Stewart, review 2.
70 Frank Sargeson, A Man and His Wife (Christchurch: Caxton Press, 1940).
was capable of being read as social criticism in terms acceptable to the left wing movement. Campbell suggested that the poetry in *New Zealand New Writing*

showed a deplorable trend best seen in T.S. Eliot, to enlarge the gap already manifest between culture and the people. Life shapes literature but in turn it is also shaped by it. Allen Curnow in particular seems to have lost sight of his public. His verse is consequently too personal so as to be obscure. This is indeed lamentable in one with his ability with words.71

Gordon Ingram added to this criticism in a letter published in the following issue of *Co-operative Book News*. Disapproving of the 'slavishly imitative' nature of both the title and the contents of Gordon's periodical, Ingram claimed that Gordon's publication was merely 'an echo of John Lehmann[s]', adding:

> First thing we know we will have simply replaced the Holy Trinity of Spender, Auden, Isherwood with our 'more English than English' Three Graces, Mason, Curnow, Sargeson. Don't encourage this neo-Sargeson cult too much... Every second N.Z. writer is developing literary parsimony in an endeavour to emulate Sargeson's economy of words. Hellish, ain't it. Do something about it.72

While describing Mason, Curnow, and Sargeson as 'more English than English' seems highly inaccurate today, negative reactions to Ian Gordon's efforts were sufficiently dominant for a subsequent meeting of the Christchurch Co-operative Book Society to resolve that:

> (W)hatever the literary merit or the sales value of *New Zealand New Writing* may be, it has completely failed to represent the type of writing in which the progressive movement is chiefly interested.73

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However, such criticism, on largely political grounds, did not deter contributors. Some fifty writers submitted manuscripts to the second issue. Among those published were Isobel Andrews, Hubert Witheford, David Ballantyne, Roderick Finlayson, A.P. Gaskell, David Hall, J.R. Hervey, Helen Shaw, Keith Sinclair, Alan Mulgan, and Anton Vogt.

Isobel Andrews’s popular and prize-winning one-act play *The Willing Horse*, written for an all-women cast, had been published by the P.P.S. in 1941. She had contributed an unremarkable poem to the previous issue of *New Zealand New Writing* and for the second penned a mystery narrative structured as a series of interior monologues centred around preparations for the event referred to in the title, 'The Day of the Funeral.' This may have been intended as a radio play, a very popular genre during the period. Its setting appears to be England in the thirties.

Alan Mulgan’s story 'Blame Keats' deals with the plight of an English immigrant with literary pretensions languishing in a suburb of a New Zealand city. His inner life, centred around the composition of verse and the reading of Palgrave’s *Golden Treasury*, comes into conflict with the philistinism of his work place, leading to his rebellious resignation. Attracting a writer of Mulgan’s popularity and status (among other things he was at the time Director of Talks for the National Broadcasting Service) was regarded as something of a coup by Gordon. The response of his publishing committee was more equivocal, as

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74 Harold E. Fenton, 'Fostering New Zealand Writers,' *Co-op Books* 1.17 (July 1943): N. pag.

75 Isobel Andrews, 'The Day of the Funeral,' *New Zealand New Writing* 2 (1943): 5-17.

76 Alan Mulgan, 'Blame Keats,' *New Zealand New Writing* 2 (1943): 18-25.
discussed above. Possibly both Mulgan and Gordon thought that a story about conflict between employee and employer would be suitable for a periodical such as *New Zealand New Writing*. The negative reaction to Mulgan's romanticisation of the worker as literary aesthete recalls Sargeson's parody of *Spur of Morning* in *Tomorrow*, which had satirised Mulgan's representation of working people as seen through the narrative perspective of a character similar to Morris in 'Blame Keats'.

David Ballantyne's story, 'A Child's Day' is an impressionistic piece written from the bemused perspective of pre-school-aged girl. There is a hint of the same sense of dislocation later found in Janet Frame's early stories. An increasing sense of sexual danger or illicitness permeates the story, progressing from Sadie's innocent sensual pleasure in being without her 'bloomers' to the implicitly adulterous liaison of her mother and 'Uncle Bill' which occurs towards the end of the story. A similar motif is treated less successfully by David Hall in 'Little Girl Lost' which also features a pre-school girl.

Roderick Finlayson contributed 'Sweet Beulah Land', the impressive title story of his second collection which was reviewed in the same issue of *New Zealand New Writing* by J.L. Ewing. Helen Shaw's story 'The Two Fathers' deals with the topical subject of a censorious society's response to a woman's

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79 David Hall, 'Little Girl Lost,' *New Zealand New Writing* 2 (1943): 71-76.


relationship with an American soldier stationed in New Zealand.82 Shaw had previously contributed stories to the children's pages of the Christchurch Press, edited by her friend Jean Stephenson, later Jean Bertram. In an autobiographical essay published in 1978 she recalled that 'The Two Fathers' was her 'first adult story' to be published.83

Hubert Witheford's moving 'Elegy in the Orongorongo Valley'84 was later gathered into his first collection, _Shadow of the flame: Poems_.85 As a student at Victoria University College he had previously published poems in _Spike_, which he co-edited in 1941 and 1942 and edited in 1944. The more determinedly modernist Australian counterpart to _New Zealand New Writing, Angry Penguins_ (1940-46), also published some of the poems which were to later appear in _Shadow of the Flame_.

The second issue sold even better than the first. Critical and (more significantly) left-wing reaction was, however, still mixed. In the Sydney _Bulletin_ Douglas Stewart regarded the issue as a distinct improvement on the first, largely because it showed less of a bias towards what he termed 'stereo-typed Leftist moaning.'86 Selecting Isobel Andrews's story 'The Day of the Funeral' for particular praise, Stewart regarded its structure ('a series of soliloquies' with no

82 Helen Shaw, 'The Two Fathers,' _New Zealand New Writing_ 2 (1943): 49-58.
84 Hubert Witheford, 'Elegy in the Orongorongo Valley,' _New Zealand New Writing_ 2 (1943): 48.
86 Douglas Stewart, review of _New Zealand New Writing_ 2 (1943), _Bulletin_ 10 November 1943: 2.
action or descriptive passages) as a successful 'rationalisation of the usually too-woolly stream-of-consciousness technique.' Other contributions to the issue (including verse) are also praised and Stewart concludes by recommending the issue to anyone 'looking for short stories that would be enjoyed anywhere in the world.' 87

The response in *Co-operative Book News* was also more positive than had been the case with the first issue. In a generally favourable review, L. Verry felt that '[t]he poetry, taken collectively . . . [is] a better representation of New Zealand verse than that in the first volume.' 88 Writing in the first issue of *Co-op Books*, the Progressive Publishing Society's replacement for *Co-operative Book News*, Wellington Teachers' College lecturer W.J. Scott also considered the second issue to be an improvement on the first. He particularly liked Mulgan's story 'Blame Keats' (an opinion at odds with that of many members of the P.P.S.), and considered Gaskell's 'The Cave' to be 'a marked improvement' on his 'The Picture in the Paper.' 89

However, many observers still thought that the journal was falling short of its publisher's brief to produce socialist literature. At a meeting of the Christchurch Co-operative Book Society in October 1943 it was proposed that the title of the periodical be changed in order to 'prevent association with *Australian New Writing* and *English New Writing* [sic] as the latter publications were far

87 Stewart, review 2.

88 L. Verry, 'Writers and the War: *New Zealand and New Writing* [sic] No.2,' *Co-operative Book News* 1.19 (September 1943): N. pag.

superior in general content.\textsuperscript{90} Other suggestions tabled included a proposal for the establishment of a more determinedly left-wing publication, to be titled 'Left New Writing.' However, despite criticism, the financial success of the magazine forestalled any real challenge to Gordon's position as editor and he went ahead with the preparation of a third issue.

Contributors to the third issue included Kendrick Smithyman, Frank Sargeson, Greville Texidor, G.R Gilbert, and Ian Gordon. In his introductory comments Gordon noted:

\begin{quote}
With the publication of this number \textit{New Zealand New Writing} can fairly claim to be established. All contributions are now paid for and, so long as our readers support the venture as they have the first numbers, will continue to be paid for.\textsuperscript{91}
\end{quote}

This had been made possible by sales of approximately seven thousand copies of the second issue, an enormous print-run for a New Zealand literary journal, even by today's standards. The irony of the situation did not escape Ian Gordon:

\begin{quote}
[The Progressive Publishing Society] were producing all sorts of things by people like Bill Sutch on New Zealand and the war and the rest of it, and no one was buying them. And here was my despised literary journal and [it] was booming. They [the P.P.S. committee] were very annoyed, but they could see I was producing cash for them.\textsuperscript{92}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{90} Minutes of the Annual General Meeting, 27 October 1943, quoted in Barrowman, \textit{Popular Vision} 153. In July of the same year, it was announced in \textit{Co-operative Book News} that 'Four thousand copies of Australian New Writing have been ordered by the Progressive Publishing Society for distribution throughout New Zealand. Harold E. Fenton, 'Australian New Writing,' \textit{Co-operative Book News} 1.17 (July 1943): N. pag.

\textsuperscript{91} Ian Gordon, 'Foreword,' \textit{New Zealand New Writing} 3 (1944): 4.

\textsuperscript{92} Gordon, interview with author, 8 April 1993.
It was this fact which enabled Gordon to persuade his committee that contributors should be paid a modest fee.\footnote{Ian Gordon was not able to recall the exact fees paid for contributions, although he remarked they were generally very small. Ian Gordon, interview with author, 8 April 1993.}

Texidor's contribution to issue three, 'An Annual Affair,' has been commented on above, as has that by Frank Sargeson, 'Growing Up.' Ian Gordon had published one of his own poems in the first issue and for the third wrote an article on Katherine Mansfield,\footnote{Ian Gordon, 'Katherine Mansfield: New Zealander,' New Zealand New Writing 3 (1944): 58-63.} the first of his many contributions to Mansfield scholarship. Gordon used the essay as an opportunity to deride the didactic nature of the socialist fiction his publishers would have preferred him to print. He argues that Mansfield's rejection of the moralising fiction of nineteenth century New Zealand led her to produce a neutral tone:

Katherine Mansfield reformed nothing in her stories. She was interested in human beings as human beings, not in economic and political man.\footnote{Gordon, 'Katherine Mansfield' 60.}

He suggests that 'The Garden Party,' if written by one of 'today's' writers, would inevitably be made to express resentment over the class differences represented in the story, whereas 'Mansfield's attention is all the time on the people as individuals, not as symbols for a social class.'\footnote{Gordon, 'Katherine Mansfield' 61.}
Kendrick Smithyman contributed two poems to the third issue, 'Walk Past Those Houses on a Sunday Morning' and 'Prelude,' among the earliest he ever published. The former poem has been much anthologised, and was recently reprinted in his Selected Poems, edited by Peter Simpson. In his introduction to this collection Simpson analyses some of the alterations Smithyman made to this poem after its first appearance in New Zealand New Writing. The second poem, 'Prelude,' was not republished. G.R. Gilbert contributed three unremarkable poems to the issue, one of which, 'Killed in Action,' had previously appeared in the Caxton Press periodical Book. In common with several other contributors to New Zealand New Writing, Gilbert was serving with the armed forces. 'Killed in Action' is typical of other contributions by writers such as John Male, Alan Falconer, and Don McDonald in its treatment of the subject of war as experienced or imagined by the participants.

Apart from Sargeson's and Texidor's contributions referred to above, the fiction in the final issue is not of lasting interest. James Harris contributed a humorous yarn, 'The Guardsman's Tale' and P.W. Robertson, Professor of Chemistry at Victoria University College, contributed 'Odyssey in Wellington


100 Simpson, introduction, 10-11,22-23.


Harbour,\textsuperscript{104} written in a sonorous Victorian prose at odds with the more contemporary styles of the other contributors.

Again, critical response to the issue was mixed, and Ian Gordon described it at some length in an issue of \textit{Co-op Books}:

\begin{quote}
I am told . . . it is too gloomy (Mr James Harris); it does not reflect the life of these islands (Mr Parkyn); it is a great job (Mr Holcroft); it should not contain stories about consumptives (Mr Harding); it should (Sydney Bulletin); . . . the poetry is good but the prose is bad; the prose is good but the poetry is incomprehensible . . . \textsuperscript{105}
\end{quote}

He went on to point out that \textit{New Zealand New Writing} was by far the most successful publication venture undertaken by the Progressive Publishing Society.

\begin{quote}
[I]t sells from five to seven thousand copies per issue . . . but of course you can sell anything these days. Or almost anything, for there is some dead stock lying around the storeroom of the P.P.S., very dead stock full of very live matter.\textsuperscript{106}
\end{quote}

He also took the opportunity to clarify his objectives in editing \textit{New Zealand New Writing}.

There has been a certain confusion of thought on what N.Z.N.W. is trying to do. I have deliberately refrained so far from writing one of those pretentious manifestoes full of high sounding platitudes. But a few facts may help. The P.P.S. began with the avowed intention of publishing material of a progressive nature and stimulating the writing of literature in this country. The original Management Committee accepted my proposal to found N.Z.N.W. in order that there might be one publication in this country in which writers (established or otherwise) could have printed their contributions of a literary nature. The quality of individual contributions have [sic] varied, but certain guiding principles have influenced their choice. One is that they must be well written, the other is that they must be sincere. The final one


\textsuperscript{105} Ian Gordon, 'New Zealand New Writing and its Critics,' \textit{Co-op Books} 1.13 (November 1944): 1.

\textsuperscript{106} Gordon, 'New Zealand New Writing and its Critics' N. pag.
is that they must have contact with life. But life includes what goes on in the writer's head, not merely what is going on in the street outside. I have made no attempt to turn N.Z.N.W. into a journal of opinion, though New Zealand needs one badly at the present moment. A journal of opinion has to appear at frequent intervals - weekly if it is possible - to allow for commentary on current issues and the cut-and-thrust of varying opinions.

Above all I have avoided mere partisan writing. The writers I have printed have not necessarily seen the whole of life, but what they have recorded they have seen steadily, and adjudged with candour and honesty.¹⁰⁷

At the same time that Gordon was defending himself in Co-op Books, pressure to have him ousted from the position of editor came to a head at a P.P.S. conference in late 1944, where it was moved that the editorship of New Zealand New Writing be rotated between the four main centres.¹⁰⁸ The challenge was not successful.

Reviewing the third issue in the Sydney Bulletin Douglas Stewart lamented what he perceived to be the overly experimental nature of much of the contents.

(O)ne would prefer to see New Zealand New Writing based firmly on quality - with, at all times, a welcome for experiments that 'come off.' Experiment is for the little groups; but literature is for the world.¹⁰⁹

He preferred Don McDonald's 'mildly experimental' poems to those by G.R. Gilbert, and found little to recommend in the fiction in the issue, regarding even

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¹⁰⁷ Gordon, 'New Zealand New Writing and its Critics' N. pag.


¹⁰⁹ Douglas Stewart, 'Experiment or Quality?' review of New Zealand New Writing 3 (1944), Bulletin 30 August 1944: 2.
Chapter 5.2: New Zealand New Writing - Literary Content

the best of it (by Wallace Gaitland,110 E.O. Petersen111 and Frank Sargeson) as
more suited to an 'experimental publication' than to a magazine directed
towards a general readership.

Fairburn, writing in the New Zealand Listener, compared the issue
favourably with the current issue of Australian New Writing. He used the
opportunity afforded by the review to argue with typical perspicacity that
Sargeson's prose should not be read as an example of an author 'writing down'
to the 'masses.'

His use of an idiom based on common speech is not to be taken as
a concession to illiteracy. It is a literary device, used to express
character and to define an attitude. As such it fully justifies itself,
whether or not it exactly reflects New Zealand speech.112

Fairburn's recognition that, while Sargeson's idiom is based on common speech,
it is not necessarily an exact representation or reflection of that speech is well
worth remembering when considering Sargeson's work. He goes on to suggest
the inclusion of more critical material in New Zealand New Writing, a suggestion
which may have borne fruit in Gordon's decision to include an article on New
Zealand literature by Rosemary Seymour in the next issue.

Issue four appeared in March 1945, and again offered a wide variety of
contributions in terms both of subject matter and genre, and of quality. Poetry
included J.R. Hervey's 'Unreported,' referred to above, and two further poems

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110 Wallace Gaitland, 'The News,' New Zealand New Writing 3 (1944): 5-12. Wallace
Gaitland was the nom de plume of would-be novelist Lionel Grindlay. Michael King,


112 A.R.D. Fairburn, 'Under the Sun,' New Zealand Listener 27 October 1944: 27.
Chapter 5.2: New Zealand New Writing - Literary Content

by Kendrick Smithyman printed under the collective title 'Danish Interlude,' written in response to a reading of Hamlet and not subsequently republished. Gaskell's story 'Tidings of Joy' has already been discussed above. H.C.D. Somerset's allegorical 'The Will and Mr Wilkins' takes the form of an extended monologue by a solicitor addressed to the sole beneficiary of a deceased estate. Bernard Vaughan Smith's 'In the Sounds' is a competent ghost story centred around the discovery of a mysterious greenstone mere.

Rosemary Seymour contributed a short essay on what she perceived as a 'false nostalgia' in New Zealand literature. 'A Present Tendency in New Zealand Literature' is an early expression of dissatisfaction with the characterisation of New Zealanders as lost souls caught 'between two hemispheres.' Seymour specifically criticised the work of writers such as M.H. Holcroft, E.H. McCormick and Allen Curnow and in doing so produced an opposing, and for her a more realistic characterisation of the 'normal, uninteresting but well-adjusted New Zealander' she felt had been ignored by these writers. Such a New Zealander is:

stupid, self-centred, without vision and without depth. He works six or seven days a week on a small farm - sheep, cows or fruit - and likes it. He likes drinking beer, getting a bit tight now and again, going to the races and putting ten bob on each race without

117 Seymour, 'A Present Tendency' 31. This phrase is the title of Chapter Six of E.H. McCormick's Letters and Art in New Zealand (Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1940).
expecting to get it back. He has a smattering of knowledge about the form of horses but he is certainly not a scientific gambler. He likes his mongrel dogs and his uncared for pony. He does not sentimentalise any of these things and that is what is important and valuable about him. He is on good terms with his environment and gives and takes from it as unselfconsciously as the trees in the bush. He has no sentimental preference for New Zealand trees over Australian or English ones. His politics are narrow and unabashedly selfish. He only wants to be left alone.\textsuperscript{118}

She compares this individual with the 'intelligentsia and . . . socialites . . . [who] are self-conscious and affected, sapless, rootless and unhappy.'\textsuperscript{119} Her portrayal of her fellow nationals seems so harsh as to verge on satire, but in the light of Seymour's earlier essay on the poetry of Allen Curnow, in which she expresses similar sentiments, it must be accepted that she was serious, at least in her plea for a reconciliation of the gap between what she perceives as the dominant literary image of the New Zealander and a 'real New Zealander' altogether more unselfconsciously 'at home' in the local environment than the literary image allowed.\textsuperscript{120}

War dominates the subject matter of the other contributions to this final issue of \textit{New Zealand New Writing}. Copies of earlier issues had increasingly reached members of New Zealand's armed forces in both the European and Pacific theatres of war, and led to a number of submissions in the form of accounts of life at or near the front line. The issue opens with 'My Ship was

\textsuperscript{118} Seymour, 'A Present Tendency' 31-32.

\textsuperscript{119} Seymour, 'A Present Tendency' 32.

\textsuperscript{120} Rosemary Seymour ('R.Y.L.S.'), 'Allen Curnow,' \textit{Kiwi} 36 (1941): 25-36. At the time of writing this essay Seymour was teaching in the Department of English at the University of Auckland.
Chapter 5.2: New Zealand New Writing - Literary Content

Bombed: Letter from a Merchant Seaman,\textsuperscript{121} an account of the narrator's survival of an air attack on a merchant convoy in the Mediterranean. The tone of the story is captured in the documentary newsreel inflection of its final statement: 'And we, the seamen, men and officers of the Merchant Navy alike, await eagerly our new ships for new onslaughts against the Fascist foe.'\textsuperscript{122} 'Sangro in Flood' by John Gifford Male is of a similar order, offering an account of a journey through a battle-scarred Italian river valley.\textsuperscript{123} Male had been associated with the Auckland University College publications \textit{Phoenix} and \textit{Kiwi} in the early thirties. W.H. Pearson contributed 'Taralala: From a Fijian Diary,'\textsuperscript{124} an extract from a longer account of Fiji written while Pearson was serving on Viti Levu with the New Zealand Dental Corps.\textsuperscript{125} K.J. Hollyman, also serving in the Pacific, contributed 'Five Poems from a Pacific Campaign,' with individual titles such as 'Dive Bombers,' and 'Evening after Battle.'\textsuperscript{126}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{121} Unattributed, 'My Ship was Bombed: Letter From A Merchant Seaman,' \textit{New Zealand New Writing} 4 (1945): 5-10.
\item \textsuperscript{122} 'My Ship was Bombed' 10.
\item \textsuperscript{123} John Gifford Male, 'Sangro in Flood,' \textit{New Zealand New Writing} 4 (1945): 35-36.
\item \textsuperscript{124} W.H. Pearson, 'Taralala: From a Fijian Diary,' \textit{New Zealand New Writing} 4 (1945): 22-26.
\item \textsuperscript{125} See Bill Pearson, 'Beginnings and Endings,' \textit{Sport} 5 (1990): 14-15.
\item \textsuperscript{126} K.J. Hollyman, 'Five Poems from a Pacific Campaign,' \textit{New Zealand New Writing} 4 (1945): 27-30.
\end{itemize}
5.3 Conclusion

The success of *New Zealand New Writing* with the reading public and the revenue it consequently generated, allowed the P.P.S. to finance the publication of other, less profitable, books. As a result, it was not until Gordon tendered his resignation, under the pressure of an enormous increase in enrolments at Victoria University College following the end of the war, that *New Zealand New Writing* ceased publication. A fifth issue was planned by this stage, and a large number of manuscripts had been received. Gordon recalled the end of *New Zealand New Writing* in these terms:

I was preparing material for No.5; I had a great suitcase full of manuscripts and the war finished and within two months back came all the boys. I had a department of myself and one lecturer and our [enrolment] numbers in '46 multiplied by four. . . . I took the suitcase of material down to whoever was secretary at the time and said, 'Look, you'll have to find another editor.' My impression was that they [the P.P.S. committee] said, 'Thank God! We've got rid of Ian Gordon.'

Soon after the demise of *New Zealand New Writing*, increasing financial difficulties led to the Society itself folding.

*New Zealand New Writing* met a considerable need within the New Zealand literary scene at a time when there were no other outlets of its type available. While its publisher's avowed commitment to working class literature bore only minimal fruit within its pages, Ian Gordon's editorial drive and acumen ensured that the four issues of *New Zealand New Writing* contained material of lasting interest. Its slim pocket sized volumes were read voraciously by civilian and soldier alike, and provided a welcome venue for writers formed, at least in part, in the theatre of war. Many who achieved first or significant

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127 Gordon, interview with author, 8 April 1993.
early publication in its pages went on to become major figures in the country's national literature, including Kendrick Smithyman, A.P. Gaskell, G.R. Gilbert, Helen Shaw, Greville Texidor, David Ballantyne, Bill Pearson, and Hubert Witheford. In his *Life of Frank Sargeson*, Michael King reports that it was partly as a result of Sargeson's encouragement that Gaskell, Gilbert, Texidor and Anna Kavan appeared with him in the first issue of *New Zealand New Writing*.128 King's biography also clarifies the extent to which Gordon's magazine helped, as Dennis McEldowney put it, to 'define a post-war generation' of writers,129 many of whom had also cut their teeth in the university-based periodicals. It is these magazines which provide the subject matter of the next chapter of this thesis.

128 King, *Frank Sargeson* 239.

CHAPTER SIX
UNIVERSITY PERIODICALS

The real token, however, of any enthusiasm for writing is not the longevity of any particular journal but the courage which determines to produce a new one.¹

6.1 Introduction

New Zealand universities have been generally underrated as consistently important sites for the production of magazines of literary interest throughout the present century. Following a tradition first established in British universities, official magazines were published by the Students' Associations of the four original Colleges of the University of New Zealand from within a few years of their being founded. These magazines were initially motivated by a desire to develop a collegiate bond among students, with only a minor concern to foster literary talent. In the early thirties, however, again largely influenced by developments in Britain, little magazines with combined literary and political motivations began to be produced at Auckland and then Canterbury University Colleges. The most important of these, Phoenix, is of such significance to the development of New Zealand literature that it has been discussed in detail in Chapter Two. Other university based little magazines and the generally more conservative student annuals are dealt with in the present chapter.

The earliest student magazine to appear in New Zealand was the Otago University Review, first published in August 1888. In 1897 Canterbury University

College followed suit with its own *Review*, followed in 1898 by the *Collegian*, published at the Auckland University College, predecessor of *Marte Nostro* (1903-1904) and *Kiwi*, first produced in 1905. In 1902 the students of Victoria University College of Wellington published the first issue of *Spike*. Initially, these publications were monthly, bimonthly or triannual reports on the social and sporting activities of the college communities, often with one issue annually devoted in part to a celebration of the current graduands. In the early decades of their publication literary content was generally restricted to humorous undergraduate ballads and squibs (often associated with capping carnivals), with some patriotic verse published during World War One. From the 1920s literary began to occur, though it was largely uncritical, consisting typically of 'appreciation' of authors or brief descriptive surveys of the state of the national literature. The flavour of these magazines was captured in a poem published in the *Canterbury College Review* in 1929.

> Take a quart of journalese,
> Thicken it with morals,
> Photographs of naked knees,
> Flavour well with laurels;
> Stew the stuff in printer's ink -
> Spice for seventeen,
> Serve luke-warm, and there you
> have a college magazine.

Take it up in forty years,
Cynical and cold,
See our triumphs, feel the tears
You shed ere you were old.
Wish yourself a boy again
And bless the distant scene,
Gone forever, but recalled by
the magazine.2

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Chapter 6.1: University Periodicals - Introduction

The frequency of publication of these official Students' Association periodicals gradually decreased over the decades until by the early thirties all four were annual productions. To some extent their reporting of student political, social, and sporting activities was taken over by newspapers such as *Craccum* (first published at Auckland University College in 1928), Victoria University's *Smad* (1930-1938) and its successor, *Salient*. These usually weekly or fortnightly papers also featured literary material, particularly poetry and reviews, and were valuable outlets for student contributors. Also in the early thirties, *Kiwi* and the *Canterbury University College Review* in particular encouraged the first stirring of what was to become a surge in New Zealand literary activity initiated to a large extent by students. For a brief two year period in 1932 and 1933, Auckland and Canterbury Colleges were venues for the publication of several little magazines, the first in New Zealand's literary history. In addition to *Phoenix* two magazines were produced by Denis Glover and the Caxton Club Press at Canterbury College and these are discussed below.

Between 1939 and 1946, *Rostrum*, the first of two inter-university annuals, was published.³ Subsequently, the diversity of outlets for student literary activity received another boost with the rapid increase in student populations following the end of the Second World War. From 1947 Victoria University College in particular hosted a series of very important little magazines, edited and produced by a group of emerging writers, including W.H. Oliver, Alistair Campbell, Eric Schwimmer, John Mansfield Thomson, and Pat Wilson, to name

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³ *Rostrum* was succeeded during the nineteen sixties and early seventies by the *New Zealand Universities Literary Yearbook* (1960-1972). These form the subject matter of section six of the present chapter.
just a few. The appearance of these magazines signalled a major shift in the nature of university-based magazines from the somewhat moribund Students' Association annuals to the far more vital little magazines published by campus literary societies and other groups.

This shift was partly an inevitable result of a problem shared by all the annual magazines, that of a constantly changing student population. While conventions of editorial policy, format and content were often preserved for considerable periods, particular editors and their committees rarely influenced the magazines for more than a year or two. Likewise, the pool of contributors also changed completely in the course of a few issues, resulting in widely fluctuating literary quality. Enthusiasm for such a time consuming extracurricular activity also waned as the century passed its mid-point, leading to increasing gaps in publication and the eventual demise of all but one of the magazines, the Otago University Review, which was last published in 1993.

An important difference between the annual, officially sanctioned university periodicals and the campus-based little magazines is the inevitable preponderance of immature work in the annuals. Being more editorially focused, more highly motivated, and often more open to the work of writers from outside the university, the little magazines are generally of higher quality. However, there are numerous items of interest in the annuals, most typically in the form of juvenilia by students who later went on to prominent literary or other careers. Often the same gifted students appear in concurrent issues of the annuals and the little magazines. Frequently, the most interesting issues of the annuals are those which feature graduate or invited contributions, such as the
Chapter 6.1: University Periodicals - Introduction

issue of *Kiwi* for 1948, edited by Maurice Duggan, printed by Robert Lowry, and featuring work by A.R.D. Fairburn, Denis Glover, James K. Baxter, David Ballantyne, and several other prominent writers and poets. But such issues are exceptional and often constitute, in effect, a co-opting of the publication by a minority interest.

This chapter is divided into five substantive parts treating in turn the periodicals produced at the four University Colleges and the two inter-university magazines published by the national Students' Association from 1939. Individual periodicals are treated in chronological order, with the most detailed discussions reserved for those published during the fifteen years prior to the first appearance of *Landfall* in March 1947.
6.2 University of Otago: *Otago University Review* (1888-).

The *Otago University Review* has to date been the sole periodical of its type published at the University of Otago. While students at the other colleges were occasionally prompted to publish little magazines, often in opposition to the official publications of their respective Students' Associations, students at Otago have relied almost solely on the *Review* to provide an outlet for their literary efforts. Apart from some material in the student newspapers *Te Korero* and *Critic*, the *Review* constitutes the main record of literary life on campus. In common with Auckland's *Kiwi*, Victoria's *Spike*, and the *Canterbury University College Review*, the *Otago University Review* has undergone successive reformulations of its editorial objectives and numerous refurbishments of its format. In the process it has published an enormous number of literary contributions ranging in quality from the most banal items of verse to remarkable early pieces by poets as noteworthy as James K. Baxter.

In the early thirties, while students at Auckland and Canterbury Colleges were producing *Phoenix*, *Oriflamme*, and *Sirocco*, the *Review* was featuring the work of Dan Davin, including his first published short story. In the mid-forties James K. Baxter began to contribute to both the *Review* and its sister publication, the student newspaper *Critic*. Over the following twenty years or so, he was to go on to contribute to most of the campus-based literary magazines, partly as a result of his somewhat peripatetic undergraduate career. Issues of the *Review* published during the fifties featured poetry by the Dunedin based editor of *Landfall*, Charles Brasch, who also played a part in encouraging creative writing among students through his support of the campus literary society. From 1959

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Chapter 6.2: University of Otago

Burns Literary Fellows also inspired literary endeavour among students, as well as themselves contributing items to the Review. Students such as Bill Manhire, Alan Loney, Trevor Reeves, Peter Olds, Iain Lonie, and David Eggleton have appeared in the Review alongside an impressive array of Burns Fellows, including James K. Baxter, Janet Frame, Hone Tuwhare, Witi Ihimaera, Maurice Duggan, and Brian Turner.

From its founding in 1888 the Review appeared on a monthly basis during the university session until 1913, bi-annually to 1922 and thereafter annually. Issues for 1948, 1949, and 1950 were entitled Twelvemonth, and from 1980 it has been continued variously as the Review and the Literary Review. The most recent issue is that for 1993, which carried the cover page title Dream. Two anthologies of poetry and prose from the Review have been compiled. The first was published in 1972, edited by Kevin Jones and Brent Southgate. This was produced in response to a perceived threat to the continued publication of the Review, and appeared in place of an issue for that year. In 1988 a Centenary Edition was produced featuring a selection of poetry and prose published since the magazine's inception and concluding with some thirty pages of new material.

Attempts to establish an Otago University magazine from the late 1870s met with failure. Interest was revived in 1887 in response to a perceived need

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for some means to develop a sense of 'esprit de corps' among students.\textsuperscript{4} In the first issue, published in August 1888, the founding editors, later identified as W.A. Sim and J.A. Johnson,\textsuperscript{5} announced their intention to provide an outlet for the best literary work of the students - both past and present. . . . [O]ur columns will not be confined to students only, but will always be open to contributions from all friends of the University on literary subjects and subjects connected with University work.\textsuperscript{6}

The ongoing (if fluctuating) determination to open the pages of the \textit{Review} to more than just student contributors was to be the most important factor in its continued publication well beyond the life-span of other Students' Association magazines. By acquiring a more regional focus the \textit{Review} benefited from the strong literary culture which increasingly developed in Dunedin and its environs from the late forties, partly founded on the presence and influence of Charles Brasch and stimulated by the establishment of the Burns Literary Fellowship in 1959.

Early numbers of the \textit{Review} featured some humorous undergraduate ballads, but were largely dominated by social and club news and lists of graduands. Items of lasting literary interest were few. Arthur H. Adams, a co-editor in 1892, contributed a ballad, 'Consummation,' to the issue for August

\textsuperscript{4} Sam Elworthy, \textit{Ritual Song of Defiance: A Social History of Students at the University of Otago} (Dunedin: Otago University Students' Association, 1990) 24. In the course of this study Elworthy provides an account of the role of the \textit{Review} in the social and political life of the University of Otago.

\textsuperscript{5} Unattributed, 'The Otago University Review,' \textit{Otago University Review Special Number: A History of the Otago University During its Minority} (1894): 48.

Chapter 6.2: University of Otago

1894. The Dunedin poet and novelist C.R. Allen, writing under his initials 'C.R.A.,' contributed a poem, 'The Wind, A Tree, And a Child,' to the issue for October 1910. The First World War engendered a number of poems expressing jingoistic sentiments, and in 1922 W.W. Bridgman was awarded the Stuart Prize for his poem celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the College.

With the shift to annual publication in 1923 (assisted by the founding of the monthly student newspaper Te Korero in 1922) the literary content was increased, highlighted in that year by H.C.D. Somerset's article 'New Zealand Poetry and the University of New Zealand,' a review of contributions to the national poetry by A.H. Adams, Seaforth McKenzie, Ernest Currie, Charles Marris, Arnold Wall, and others. However, it was not until the mid-thirties that the Review produced literary material of lasting interest. The poetry and prose in the number for 1931 was reviewed by James Bertram in Phoenix in 1932. He regarded the issue generally as 'a lamentable production,' the poetry in particular marred by a 'self-regarding impulse.' In his discussion of the prose

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7 Arthur H. Adams, 'Consummation,' Otago University Review 7.3 (August 1894): 94-95. As with all the university based periodicals, the frequent use of pseudonyms in issues of the Otago University Review published up until about the mid-1930s, makes it difficult to identify notable contributors.


Chapter 6.2: University of Otago

he noted that a story by Winifred Gonley 'escapes this almost universal ban.'¹²

Half a century later he again referred to this story and its writer in his short
critical study of Dan Davin, observing that 'its author - considered by the
[Otago] Professor of English, Herbert Ramsay, to be one of the two best students
he ever had . . . some years later was to become Davin's wife.'¹³

A first year student in 1931, it was not until 1933 that Dan Davin's name
featured in the pages of the Review, when it was noted that he had been elected
secretary of the College's Literary Society. In the same year he was also a Vice-
President of both the Arts Students' Association and the Arts Debating Society.
In 1934 and 1935 he co-edited the Review. His first contribution was in 1934, an
essay on fin de siècle English poetry.¹⁴ A poem in the same issue, signed simply
'D,' might also be attributable to Davin. It is an ironic commentary on what
young people face in a time of unemployment and war-mongering.¹⁵ A more
typical contribution to this and other issues produced during the period, is
'Spring in New Zealand' by 'C.J.,' which opens

In England, half the world away,
When April holds out hands to May,
The hawthorn dazzles on the spray,
    And all the land is white:
But when to gild the Southern Spring
October goes a blossoming,
The hue her hands in largesse fling

¹² James Bertram ('J.M.B.'), 'University Prose,' Phoenix 1.2 (July 1932): 59. Winifred


¹⁴ Dan Davin ('D.M.D.'), 'Remarks on the Decadence in English Poetry of the 1890s,'

¹⁵ Dan Davin ('D.'), 'A Sweet and Gentle Ballad of Youth: Chorus of Nymphs and
Swains,' Otago University Review 47 (1934): 38.
Is yellow, burnished bright.\textsuperscript{16}

In the same issue there appeared P.W.H. Nevill's poem 'Ode To Speed,' winner of the Macmillan Brown Prize for 1933.\textsuperscript{17} Nevill had already won the coveted prize twice previously. His ode runs along these lines:

\begin{quote}
The swallow and the swift  
Are partners in that gift  
See them in the air  
Flitting, darting,  
Meeting, parting, here and there,  
With a quick weaving tapestry of wings.
\end{quote}

Until the award of the prize to James K. Baxter for his poem 'Convoys' in 1944, Nevill's work is characteristic of the kind of verse applauded by the Macmillan Brown judges.

In 1935 Davin contributed a further four poems and a short story to the magazine as well as giving a talk to the Literary Society on modern poetry, specifically that of Eliot and Pound. His story in the issue, 'Prometheus,' was the first piece of fiction published by Davin.\textsuperscript{18} Both it and his poem 'Deity' won their respective sections of the Literary Society competitions.\textsuperscript{19} Impressed by Davin's competence with realist narrative, G.M. Cameron, lecturer in English and judge of the short stories, commented:

\begin{quote}
The chief merit of 'Prometheus' is its accurate account of a wharf labourer's work, and the skill with which this is related to the thoughts in Petrie's mind.\textsuperscript{20}
\end{quote}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{16} C.J., 'Spring in New Zealand,' \textit{Otago University Review} 47 (1934): 5.  
\textsuperscript{17} P.W.H. Nevill, 'Ode To Speed,' \textit{Otago University Review} 47 (1934): 6-8.  
\textsuperscript{18} Dan Davin ('D.M.D.'), 'Prometheus,' \textit{Otago University Review} 48 (1935): 26-29.  
\textsuperscript{19} Dan Davin ('D.M.D.'), 'Deity,' \textit{Otago University Review} 48 (1935): 5.  
\textsuperscript{20} G.M. Cameron, 'Short Stories,' \textit{Otago University Review} 48 (1935): 19.
\end{flushright}
The following year Davin was awarded a Rhodes Scholarship, enrolling at Balliol College, Oxford in 1936, and his final contribution to the magazine appeared two years later, in 1938, when he sent back a group of five poems reflecting on his experiences in Britain and Ireland. The first verse paragraph of one of these, 'Galway, 1936,' was reprinted twenty years later in *Landfall*.

The issue for 1937 was subtitled *Supplement to the Otago University Critic*, the student weekly which succeeded *Te Korero* from 1925, and appropriately appeared in a newspaper format. The refurbishment was not, however, carried through to any improvement in the contents and with the next issue the journal reverted to its usual format. In 1939 the Literary Society submitted a report on 'Literary Trends in the University' during the previous decade. Of the fiction it commented:

... perhaps too much of O. Henry has been available, and the 'slice of life' has been presented as simply a glance through someone's window, having no definite pattern, but often an underlying motive of frustration. This type of writing, though effective, cannot be called a short story. ... The study of Katherine Mansfield will enlighten writers.

Of poetry it noted that 'there is no sense that the work of the decade is representative,' implying that the best work of the poets had been submitted elsewhere. Faults noted include the presence in the poetry of 'a sort of detached fury ... [a] failure to attach the writing to reality ... [and] a superficial imitation and a failure to assimilate influences somewhat indiscriminately.

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24 Literary Society, 'Literary Trends' 52.
accumulated. In the same issue some concern was expressed that the newly published inter-university periodical *Rostrum* (1939-1946) might supplant the *Review*.\(^{26}\)

The early forties saw little of lasting interest published in the *Review*, although in 1941 the weekly student newspaper *Critic* began to publish a Literary Page in each of its issues. In 1944 this column ushered in a significant period of literary activity on the Otago campus with the publication of four poems by a youthful James K. Baxter. Aged seventeen, Baxter had enrolled at Otago to begin studies towards a Bachelor of Arts. He was at one time or another also enrolled at Canterbury and Victoria University Colleges, and Wellington Teachers' College, and contributed work to student periodicals published at all of these institutions (as well as to Auckland University College's *Kiwi*). One of the poems published in *Critic*, 'Hill-country,'\(^{27}\) described by Frank McKay as 'virtually a joint effort with [Gerard Manley] Hopkins,'\(^{28}\) was gathered by Allen Curnow into his 1945 anthology of New Zealand verse.\(^{29}\) In including 'Hill-country' and five other poems by Baxter in the anthology Curnow commented that Baxter's poems seem a new occurrence in New Zealand: strong in impulse and confident in invention, with qualities of youth in verse which we have lacked; yet with a feeling after tradition and a frankly

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25 Literary Society, 'Literary Trends' 53.


confessed debt (besides the unsought affinities) to some older New Zealand poets.30

Baxter took centre stage in the Review for 1944 with his memorable Macmillan Brown Prize poem 'Convoys'.31 McKay records Baxter's initial distaste for the topic set for the Macmillan Brown prize in 1944, being as he was, after his father and older brother, a committed pacifist.32 Nevertheless, his precocious technical fluency ensured his success, and the appropriateness of Baxter winning a prize established in honour of his maternal grandfather did not go unnoticed. The poem was printed in the Otago Daily Times, complete with a portrait of the poet,33 as well as in the Review. In addition to 'Convoys,' the 1944 Review also published Baxter's 'Prelude New Zealand (In Syllabic Verse).34 In its turn, this poem was awarded first prize in the annual Literary Society competition, judged in 1944 by J.N. Findlay, Otago Professor of Philosophy. It was also included by Curnow in his 1945 anthology.35

An article in the same issue by 'M.' (otherwise unidentified) on 'New Zealand Literature' made reference to the 'breaking away from overseas bondage' considered to have begun in the 1930s with the work of the poets associated with Phoenix and to have been continued in the forties by publications

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32 McKay, Baxter 69.

33 McKay, Baxter 69.


such as *New Zealand New Writing*.

Baxter’s poetry was to prove a significant part of that ongoing development. Elsewhere in the issue it was noted that among a selection of one-act plays presented by the Dramatic Society there was performed, 'for its world premiere, "Pause," a play by a New Zealand student, Bruce Mason.' This unpublished play is not listed in the standard bibliographies of New Zealand drama, nor is it mentioned by Howard McNaughton in his study of Bruce Mason in the New Zealand Writers and Their Work series.

McNaughton suggests that 'Pause' may have been written by Mason prior to his departure for war service. He also notes that while Mason was never enrolled at Otago University, his wife Diana was, and it is possible that she submitted the play to the Drama Society on Mason's behalf.

In the issue for 1947 it was reported that on 31 March of that year Charles Brasch had addressed the Literary Society on 'the aims of the literary periodical *Landfall*, the first issue of which had just come out.' Lectures were also given to the Society by Basil Dowling and Allen Curnow, with further talks expected later in the year by Denis Glover and Winston Rhodes. Also in this issue there appeared a poem entitled 'Sublimation,' signed J.P.M.E. Frame, likely to have

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been written by Janet Frame. The initials in fact match those of her sister, 'June Phylis Mary Evelyn,' but as Kendrick Smithyman has pointed out to me, June had nothing to do with Dunedin in 1946 or 1947, and has no record of publication or interest in it as far as I know. However, at the end of 1946 into earliest 1947 Janet was in June's company.

Frame has since denied responsibility for this poem, which was judged by Basil Dowling in the Literary Society competition as 'highly commended... interesting, though technically weak.' In March of the previous year Janet Frame had seen her first short story published in the *New Zealand Listener* for which she was paid two guineas. In 1948, in the first of a series of issues of the *Review* entitled *Twelvemonth*, several rejected poems submitted over the initials 'J.P.M.E.F.' were noted by Dowling to 'have some merit, but [to] suffer from an uncontrolled excess of romantic emotion.' Frame's trepidation about the process of submitting poetry for publication is expressed in the first volume of her autobiography, *To the Is-Land*:

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46 Janet Frame ('J.F.'), 'University Entrance,' *New Zealand Listener* 22 March 1946: 18-19.

47 Frame, *To the Is-Land* 130.

Although I dreamed of writing poems that would startle and satisfy with their brilliance, I knew I had not the talent, the assurance, the wonderful maturity that spoke so clearly in the poetry pages of Critic.49

Frame’s estimation of the poetry published in Critic undoubtedly has its origin more in her own lack of confidence than in the actual quality of the material in the student newspaper, with the obvious exception of contributions by Baxter. Furthermore, during this period she was in fact awarded ten shillings for a poem entitled 'Cat,' published in the Dunedin Teachers' College magazine, Te Rama in 1943.50 Dowling awarded the poetry prizes in 1948 to 'R.G.M.' and A.C. [Annette] Stoop, ahead of three poems by James K. Baxter.51 Frame did not publish anything else in the Review until 1965, when as Burns Fellow she submitted an 'Extract' from a work in progress, published in New York the following year as A State of Siege.52

The title Twelvemonth continued to be used until 1950. The issue for 1949 sustained a considerable financial loss, and in his editorial to the issue for 1950 (the only issue of the Review ever printed by the Caxton Press) Dorian Saker

49 Frame, To the Is-Land 30.

50 Frame, To the Is-Land 47. Unfortunately, no copy of this issue of Te Rama is held in the New Zealand library system.

51 Baxter’s poems were: 'Poem,' Twelvemonth [Otago University Review] 1948: 5; 'Song,' Twelvemonth [Otago University Review] 1948: 8; and 'Xerxes and Homer,' Twelvemonth [Otago University Review] 1948: facing page 41. Of these only the first was later gathered into a collection, as 'I had thought ... (Nor did I ask),' in The Labyrinth, some uncollected poems, ed. J.E. Weir (Wellington: Oxford University Press, 1974), later republished in the Collected Poems as 'Nor did I ask.' Baxter, Collected Poems 32. The two other poems were republished in Kevin Jones and Brent Southgate, eds., Review 1888-1971. In 1948 Baxter was Literary Editor of the Canterbury University College paper Canta and the following year he edited the third and final issue of Canterbury Lambs (see below).

speculated on the continued existence of the annual in the face of flagging interest. In response to this difficulty, the issue gave more emphasis to the recording of student activities than to literary material. However, after a gap of two years, the Review reappeared in 1953, unnumbered, published under its former title and with the proportion of its literary content more or less as it had been in the mid-forties. Charles Brasch favoured the issue with his poem 'The Voyage,' the first of several he contributed over the following eighteen years. David Hall (later for many years the chief book reviewer for the New Zealand Listener) contributed an article on François Mauriac.

Brasch contributed another poem in 1954, 'Not to be a Ghost,' published in an issue edited and designed by Geoff Adams, whose influence on the design of the magazine was to extend into the early sixties. A note on the issue's typography, printed as a colophon on the inside of the front cover page, gives an idea of the production quality achieved by Adams.


The 1954 issue was printed by the Otago Daily Times and Witness Newspapers. No Review was produced in 1955, and in the paltry edition for 1956 two poems and a single story, none worth remarking on, were the sum total of the literary content. In 1957 the Review again failed to materialise.

The issue for 1958 was the first of a series of Reviews which featured an

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54 David Hall, 'Francois Mauriac;' Otago University Review 1953: 43-44.
55 Charles Brasch, 'Not to be a Ghost;' Otago University Review 1954: 29.
expanded focus on literary material, largely due to the increased involvement in the magazine of the Arts faculty. Edited by Charles Croot and Neville Wilson, the issue featured poems by Graham Billing and Alan Roddick. Roddick won first prize in the magazine's literary competition with his poem 'The Shell,' but this was not printed in the *Review* due to its being already accepted for publication in *Landfall*.56 A short story by Richard Smithies, 'Breakup,'57 won the story competition and was later read on the New Zealand Broadcasting Service's 'Writing' programme.58

Literary content was even more prominent in the issue for 1959, co-edited by Richard Smithies and Mike Brown. This was due in part to the presence of a resident writer on campus, the first recipient of the Burns Fellowship, novelist Ian Cross. The Fellowship, which is still current, was established to celebrate the Scottish poet's bicentenary with funds supplied by an anonymous group of Dunedin businessmen, reputedly led by (or, as some suggest, consisting solely of) Charles Brasch. Its main objective is the support of creative writing in New Zealand. The Fellows are provided with an office at the University, and are paid a lecturer's salary, in return for which they sometimes undertake a small amount of teaching.59 Writers and poets in receipt of the Fellowship since its inception include, in addition to Ian Cross: Maurice Duggan, R.A.K. Mason, Maurice Shadbolt, Maurice Gee, Janet Frame, James K. Baxter, Hone Tuwhare,

58 As noted in an article signed 'Literary Editor,' 'Student Writers Deplorably Few,' *Critic* 18 June 1959: 8.
59 Frank McKay, Baxter 208.
Ian Wedde, Witi Ihimaera, and Brian Turner. All contributed to the *Review* as a result of their appointment to the Fellowship.

Ian Cross's contribution to the issue for 1959 was 'Three New Zealand Fathers,' an extract from a work in progress later published as his third novel, *After Anzac Day*. The *Review* made a rare profit for the year on the six hundred and thirty copies printed, an impressive increase on the one hundred and nine sold in 1956. Charles Brasch and Margaret Dalziel judged the literary competition, awarding Roddick, current President of the Literary Society, first and second prizes respectively for his poems 'Day Trip to Rangitoto' and 'A Sensitive Young Man is Very Annoyed.' No prize was awarded in the short story competition. Roddick also edited the inaugural *New Zealand Universities' Arts Festival Programme* for 1959.

In 1960 Burns Fellow Maurice Duggan contributed 'A Fragment from a Projected Work: The Wits of Willie Graves.' This was later published in *Summer*

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60 Ian Cross, 'Three New Zealand Fathers,' *Otago University Review* 1959: 51-60.


63 Alan Roddick, 'A Sensitive Young Man is Very Annoyed,' *Otago University Review* 1959: 24.

64 It should be noted that this is a different publication from the *New Zealand Universities Arts Festival Literary Yearbook*, which was first published in 1960 to coincide with the second Festival, held at the University of Canterbury. See below, Chapter 6.6: Inter-University Magazines.

Victor O'Leary also contributed the first of the many poems he contributed to the *Review* during the early part of the decade. An older student whose collection 'The Sensual Anchor' had recently appeared alongside work by Peter Bland and John Boyd in a 1958 anthology entitled *Three Poets*, O'Leary was president of the University of Otago Literary Society for three years between 1960 and 1962. O'Leary went on to edit the *Review* in 1961, adopting a new, more compact format in an effort to escape the 'school magazine' style of previous years. O'Leary published four parts of his poetic sequence 'To Bind a Dream' in the issue, with a fifth omitted after the printers, the Otago Daily Times and Witness Newspapers, refused to accept legal advice that the section did not in fact contravene the Indecent Publications Act.

A large group of new writers and poets were published by O'Leary in 1961, including Fleur Adcock. Her poem 'Returning' was gathered unaltered into her first collection, *The Eye of the Hurricane*, and later republished in the


centenary issue of the *Review*. Several other contributors to the issue went on to less prominent literary careers, including short story writer and dramatist Alexander Guyan, and poet and dramatist Michael [Anthony] Noonan. In fact, during this period the *Review* vigorously fulfilled the role of the student periodical at its best: bringing together and encouraging into print groups of fledgling writers. A number of these young writers gathered for a photograph published in the centre of the issue, posed in imitation of a group portrait of several prominent Beat poets taken on Walt Whitman's grave. The Dunedin group assembled around Thomas Bracken's memorial in a homage which was ostensibly serious but in fact ironic. Among the group were Victor O'Leary (reading Bracken's poem 'The March of Te Rauparaha'), Michael Noonan, Alexander Guyan, and Fleur Adcock.

R.T. Robertson, a lecturer in the English Department at Otago, contributed an article on little magazine culture in the United States. He later reviewed the 1961 issue of the *Review* in *Landfall*, along with a special literary number of *Critic*, also published in 1961, and several other publications: *Kiwi, Drum, Experiment, Miscellany, Nucleus, Spike*, and the *New Zealand Universities Literary*
Robertson was generally scathing in his estimate of these student efforts, and thankful that they emerged but once a year. His advice to all participants was to attend a 'seminar in creative writing,' although he did have one or two favourable things to say about individual contributions.

Several student contributors to the 1961 issue reappeared in 1962, where they were joined by Burns Fellow R.A.K. Mason, whose status as a poet was confirmed during his tenure at Otago by the publication of his *Collected Poems.*

To the *Review* he contributed the poem 'Tria Carmina ad Miram [sic],' one of his last published. This was subsequently republished in the 1972 retrospective anthology of the *Review* and, with the title abbreviated to 'Ad Miriam,' in the revised edition of his *Collected Poems* published in 1971.

The other notable contributor to the issue for 1962, albeit working in a quite different genre and style from Mason, was Barry Crump, who submitted a story entitled '. . . that way [sic]' His first novel, *A Good Keen Man* had appeared in 1960, immediately establishing his status as the most successful male author of popular fiction yet to appear in New Zealand. The story '. . . that way' differs markedly from Crump's humorous yarns in the more grisly

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78 Robertson, 'University Reviews' 93.
nature of its plot. Originally titled ‘Throat Cutter,’ Crump offered it to the Review in the belief that his publisher, A.H. and A.W. Reed, would not accept it for publication.\textsuperscript{85} The story displays the influence of Roald Dahl in its bloody detail and surprise horror ending.\textsuperscript{86}

Victor O'Leary again played a part in the editing of the 1962 issue, although the role was officially assigned to Peter Burns. O'Leary won the Macmillan Brown prize for 1962 with 'Ordeal By Isolation'\textsuperscript{87} and a further three of his own poems also appeared in the issue. Peter Burns returned to edit the issue for 1963 in which Maurice Shadbolt, Burns Fellow, published 'Towards a Character: Ned Livingstone,'\textsuperscript{88} described by him in a prefatory note as an extract from 'the rough first draft of a novel tentatively titled "Search for Tim Livingstone."'\textsuperscript{89} This note also links the extract to previous stories by Shadbolt, including several published in The New Zealanders.\textsuperscript{90} 'Towards a Character' eventually appeared in 1972 in his novel Strangers and Journeys.\textsuperscript{91} Charles Brasch

\textsuperscript{85} Victor O'Leary, interview with author, 2 April 1994.

\textsuperscript{86} In his recently published volume of autobiography, Crump names Dahl as a writer who particularly impressed him during this period. Barry Crump, The Life and Times of a Good Keen Man (Opotiki: Barry Crump Associates, 1992) 63. The story ‘... that way’ was reprinted in the Centenary issue of the Review. David Merritt, ed., Literary Review 1888-1988 71-75.


\textsuperscript{89} Shadbolt, 'Towards a Character' 6.


\textsuperscript{91} Maurice Shadbolt, Strangers and Journeys (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1972). The extract equates to three passages in the completed novel: the beginning of Chapter One (pages 27-31), the beginning of Chapter Five (pages 58-62), and a final passage from about the middle of the same chapter (pages 67-69).
contributed two poems to the issue, 'Physics of Love'\(^{92}\) and 'Revolving,'\(^{93}\) and Alexander Guyan published his playlet 'Modern Man at Breakfast.'\(^{94}\) Victor O'Leary, again unofficially involved in the editing of the issue, contributed several poems. John Paisley contributed an article tracing the chequered academic career of James K. Baxter.\(^{95}\)

Michael Noonan, a contributor of several poems in 1963, edited the issue for 1964, which was subtitled *A Literary Annual*. Burns Fellow Maurice Gee was the major figure in the issue, with an 'Extract From a Novel.'\(^{96}\) An editorial note thanked Gee for his assistance in the preparation of the issue, indicating a high degree of contact between the Burns Fellow and the student body. Gee had published *The Big Season* in 1962\(^{97}\) and the Fellowship allowed him to complete the writing of his second novel, *A Special Flower*.\(^{98}\) The 'Extract' is a late draft of the first half of the first chapter of that work, 'Mrs Pinnock.'\(^{99}\)

Ruth Dallas also began what was to be a long relationship with the *Review* with two poems published in the issue for 1964. One of these, 'Valley,'\(^{100}\) was


\(^{96}\) Maurice Gee, 'Extract From a Novel,' *Otago University Review* 1964: 6-16.


\(^{100}\) Ruth Dallas, 'Valley,' *Otago University Review* 1964: 27.
reppublied in the 1972 retrospective anthology. Dallas herself became Burns Fellow in 1968 and maintained an association with it until 1993. Charles Brasch contributed 'Reel for the Fifties,' and O'Leary continued his association with the magazine with two further poems. Robin Morrison, then in the second year of an arts degree, also contributed two poems.

As has already been noted, Janet Frame figured in the issue for 1965, publishing an extract from a draft of *A State of Siege*, equivalent to Chapter 13 (the first section of 'Part Two: Darkness') in the published text. Robin Morrison, who had taken the role of film reviewer for *Critic*, contributed two more poems, and Iain Lonie, who first contributed a poem to the *Review* in 1953, returned with three poems. Bill Manhire, an eighteen year old second year student, began his own long association with the *Review* with two poems 'Adam to Eve' and 'Weeping,' neither republished. He contributed a further nineteen poems over the following five years.

The issue for 1966, published at short notice and with the literary society inactive, presented a mix of new and familiar names. As Burns Fellow, James K. Baxter submitted what was for him a rare piece of fiction, 'Bulls and Cows'

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101 Ruth Dallas, 'Valley,' *University Review* 1972: 75.
103 Janet Frame, 'Extract,' *Otago University Review* 1965: 4-10.
105 Bill Manhire, 'Adam to Eve,' *Otago University Review* 1965: 30.
subtitled 'An extract from an unpublished work.' It remained so. An account of Baxter's tenure of the Burns Fellowship, which extended into a second year, can be found in Frank McKay's biography. Baxter made himself accessible to students and took part in many activities, both on campus, in the city and in the wider region. This included contributing to the poetry workshops which had been an irregular part of the off-campus literary life of Dunedin since the early sixties, a place for student poets such as Bill Manhire to read and discuss their work with their peers and with older poets. McKay notes that Baxter produced ninety poems and six lectures in the first year of his fellowship, an impressive output from a man generally regarded as an unsystematic worker. The published results of this activity include *The Man on the Horse,* a series of lectures given during 1966, and a collection of poems entitled *The Lion Skin.*

Also in the issue for 1966, Charles Brasch contributed an essay on what he termed 'the perils of editing,' reflecting on his editorship of *Landfall* since its inception in 1947. Brasch's role with the students at Otago varied from mentor to foe, although most who aspired to be taken seriously as poets and writers recognised the need to cultivate him as an editor. He occasionally addressed meetings of the literary society on campus, and while he generally encouraged students in their endeavours, for some he represented the old guard in New Zealand poetry.

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Zealand poetry, unsympathetic to experimental forms and trapped in a stifling and outmoded literary nationalism. He was to hand over the editorship of Landfall to Robin Dudding late in the same year in which this article appeared. In his turn, Bill Manhire contributed a single poem 'My Love, that you should see.'

In 1967 Baxter was granted an extension to his Burns Fellowship. He contributed to the Review for that year some typically honest and insightful thoughts on 'Kiwi Habits.' His daughter Hilary contributed what was to be the first of several poems, signing herself simply 'H.B.' In the contents list she is named as 'Hilary Banter,' possibly a typographical error, but also possibly a deliberate distancing of herself from her increasingly famous, not to say notorious, father.

Bill Manhire contributed four poems, including The Old Man's Example. After being anthologised several times, most significantly in the Second Edition of O'Sullivan's An Anthology of Twentieth Century New Zealand Poetry, this poem became the title piece for a privately published 1993 collection of poems from the period. Manhire has remarked that he selected such early pieces for republication on the basis of 'temperamental and tonal, rather

112 Bill Manhire, 'My Love, that you should see,' Otago University Review 1966: 10-11.
than simply chronological' criteria.\textsuperscript{118}

Ruth Dallas was appointed Burns Fellow in 1968 and contributed two poems and a short story to the issue for that year. A larger format and improved typography and layout made for an impressive issue, edited by Geoff and Helen White, and copiously illustrated, including a cover by Derek Ball, the Frances Hodgkins Fellow at the University for the year. James K. Baxter, still resident in Dunedin, contributed 'Property and Poverty,' a prose rumination in seven parts on Western materialism.\textsuperscript{119} Hilary Baxter returned under her correct name with three poems, and Iain Lonie contributed a single poem, 'Glacier.'\textsuperscript{120} Bill Manhire also added a further poem to his list of contributions. Other contributions of poetry were by Howard McNaughton, John Casserley, Chris Elder and Peter Olds.

Ian Fraser and John Cochrane edited the issue for 1969, which featured contributions by James K. Baxter, Hone Tuwhare, Ruth Dallas and Bill Manhire. Three of the latter's poems saw republication: 'Two Songs for Morag'\textsuperscript{121} in his 1972 collection, \textit{The Elaboration};\textsuperscript{122} 'Morag's Valediction'\textsuperscript{123} in \textit{The Old Man's Example};\textsuperscript{124} and 'The Proposition,'\textsuperscript{125} in \textit{How to Take Off Your Clothes at the Picnic}.\textsuperscript{126}

\textsuperscript{118} Bill Manhire, letter to the author, 25 February 1994.


\textsuperscript{120} Iain Lonie, 'Glacier,' \textit{Otago University Review} 1968: 5.

\textsuperscript{121} Bill Manhire, 'Two Songs for Morag,' \textit{Otago University Review} 1969: 4.

\textsuperscript{122} Bill Manhire, \textit{The Elaboration} (Wellington: Square and Circle, 1972) 18.

\textsuperscript{123} Bill Manhire, 'Morag's Valediction,' \textit{Otago University Review} 1969: 5.

\textsuperscript{124} Manhire, \textit{The Old Man's Example} N. pag.


(continued...
Dallas's short story 'Escapers' was described as an extract 'from work in progress' and was later published as *Ragamuffin Scarecrow*. Hone Tuwhare, Burns Fellow for the year, contributed three poems, 'Tick of the Clock,' 'Rain,' and 'In October, Mary, Quite Contemporary, Will Be Seven Months Gone.' These were published the following year in his collection *Come Rain Hail*. Of Baxter's three 'Spring Sonnets, 1968,' only the first was republished and then only in the 1972 *Review* anthology. In addition, Charles Brasch and Peter Soskice contributed translations of two poems by Sergei Esenin, part of a selection of that poet's work prepared for publication the following year.

No *Review* was produced in 1970, but the following year another particularly strong issue appeared under the editorship of Brent Southgate. In his

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126(...continued)


130 Hone Tuwhare, 'Rain,' *Otago University Review* 1969: 34.

131 Hone Tuwhare, 'In October, Mary, Quite Contemporary, Will Be Seven Months Gone,' *Otago University Review* 1969: 36.


134 James K. Baxter, ('The girl with the broad brass belt'), *Otago University Review* 1972: 87.

editorial he remarked on the course of the Review over the preceding decade, observing that, after the promise shown by issues produced in the early sixties (with contributors such as Fleur Adcock, Victor O'Leary, Michael Noonan, and Alexander Guyan) it was disappointing that for this issue few contributions were received from students. Southgate was clearly envious of what he terms the 'endless proliferation of student poets in the northern based literary magazines like Freed.' Overall, the Review for 1971 is dominated by recent graduate and non-student contributors, presenting work by an impressive array of new and familiar writers and poets, including Bill Manhire, Noel Hilliard, O.E. Middleton, Alan Loney, Peter Olds, Charles Brasch, Ian Milner, and the editor, Brent Southgate. Published with the assistance of the New Zealand Universities Arts Council, the 1971 Review draws to some extent on the energy generated by that organisation's activities, including its own Arts Festival Yearbooks.

Hilliard's story, 'Nothing They Won't Come At,' was a product of his tenure as Burns Fellow, one of several stories written he wrote at this time which present what Lawrence Jones later described as a 'gallery of hopelessly deracinated Māori adolescents.' It deals with the incredulous and racist response of several policemen to a claim by a frightened young Māori woman that she has been raped by two of their fellow officers. It was not included in

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137 Noel Hilliard, 'Nothing They Won't Come At,' Otago University Review 1971: 5-9.

his 1976 collection, *Send Somebody Nice*.

Four of Bill Manhire's eight poems in the issue were gathered into subsequent collections, three into *How to Take Off Your Clothes at the Picnic*, and one, 'The Oreti River Watching the Grown-ups' into *The Old Man's Example*. One poem not republished was the humorous concrete poem '2 Names for Mr Wedde's Kites.' A European tone was given to the issue with contributions by Ian Milner and Charles Brasch. Milner, in New Zealand as a visiting lecturer in the English Department of the University, and his Czech wife Jarmila translated three poems by Czech poet Vladimir Holan. Charles Brasch, a lifelong friend of Milner, contributed a poem 'Eternal Questions (to Nicholas Zissermann).' O.E. Middleton, Burns Fellow in 1970, contributed an article responding to C.K. Stead's lecture 'For the Hulk of the World's Between.' Middleton's tenure at Otago resulted in his short story collection *The Loners*, published with drawings by Ralph Hotere. Hotere was Frances Hodgkins

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140 Manhire, *The Old Man's Example* N. pag.

141 Bill Manhire, '2 Names for Mr Wedde's Kites,' *Otago University Review* 1971: 15.


Fellow at Otago for 1969, and contributed drawings to the issue for 1971, reproduced on pages nineteen and twenty. Alan Loney, studying English and Greek at Otago and literary editor of *Critic* for the year, contributed an untitled poem, not subsequently republished. A photograph of a piece of sculpture by Frances Hodgkins Fellow, Marte Szirmay, was also published.

Although there was no issue as such published in 1972, that year saw the publication of a retrospective anthology of the *Review* by the Bibliography Room of the University of Otago. The volume consisted of a selection of items published since the inception of the periodical in 1888, but did not feature any new material. The editors, Kevin Jones and Brent Southgate, limited themselves to material not reprinted since its original appearance in the *Review*. Although they drew on some contributors from earlier years (including Dan Davin), the emphasis fell on the post-World War Two period: Iain Lonie, Charles Brasch, Basil Dowling, James K. Baxter, Ruth Dallas, and Bill Manhire.

Amid ongoing speculation about the viability of the *Review*, again no issue appeared in 1973. However, interest in an annual forum for student literary endeavour did not die out, and from 1974 until 1993 issues continued to appear annually, with the exception of the years 1982 and 1992. During this period the *Review* tended to be more representative of the wider Dunedin and Otago literary community than might be expected of a University Students' Association publication. The ongoing presence of the Burns Fellows and the fluctuating

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population of off-campus writers in Dunedin encouraged the publication of the Review well beyond the lifespan of its contemporaries. In 1988 a special Centenary number was issued, publishing a selection of items from past issues, as well as almost thirty pages of new material. Notable contributors after 1974 include Denis Glover, Hone Tuwhare, Witi Ihimaera, Brian Turner, Fleur Adcock, Ian Wedde, Sam Hunt, Cilla McQueen, and David Eggleton. The most recent issue, for 1993, was sumptuously published under the title Dream: 1993 Literary Review and dedicated to the Women's Suffrage Centenary celebrations and the International Year of Indigenous Peoples. It featured work by, among others, Ruth Dallas, Cilla McQueen and Fleur Adcock.
6.3 University of Canterbury: *Canterbury College Review* (1897-1945); *Oriflamme* (1933); *Sirocco* (1933); *Canterbury Lambs* (1946-1949); *Gaudeamus* (1951); *Hemlock* (1957-1970); *Sapling* (1958-1959); and *Troubadour* (1964-1969).

While the *Otago University Review* more or less monopolised student literary endeavour in Dunedin, the University of Canterbury was host to a series of periodicals following the closure of its own *Review* at the end of the Second World War. Aside from a brief flowering of the little magazines *Oriflamme* and *Sirocco* in the early thirties (coincident with the appearance of *Phoenix* at the Auckland University College) Canterbury students have generally contented themselves with producing one outlet for their work at a time. The existence of *Tomorrow* and the Caxton Press in Christchurch may have drawn off energy which would otherwise have been directed toward student publications, but a more important and less predictable factor was simply the number of students enrolled at the College who were willing to devote large amounts of time and energy to the exercise of producing a literary magazine and able to compose material of lasting interest. As with the other university colleges, the number of such students fluctuated with each new undergraduate intake, in the case of Canterbury gradually falling as the century passed its mid-point until literary magazine production ceased entirely at the end of the nineteen sixties.

The *Canterbury College Review* was published by the College's Students' Association between 1897 and 1945. Initially issued monthly during the University session, its frequency decreased until it became an annual from 1930. Editorial staff included J.H.E. Schroder (1915-1918, 1920), Ian Milner (1932), Denis Glover (1933-1934), W.J. McEldowney (1941), Peter Munz (1942) and J.G.A.
Pocock (1945). The inaugural editorial announced that the magazine would be devoted to the promotion of student interests, 'though we shall always try to avoid making it too much of a literary production,'¹ a promise which helped to keep the level of poetry in the Review at that of light verse, ballads, and capping songs for at least the first two decades of its life. Most pages were devoted to reports on college life, graduate lists, and the like. Notable exceptions among the mostly anonymous contributors of poetry, fiction and criticism to early issues were Alexander Currie, T.M. Curnow, Jessie Mackay, Arnold Wall, and J.H.E. Schroder. In 1923 an editorial team headed by O.T.J. Alpers gathered the best of the early verse in the Review, plus other poems by former students, into an anthology entitled College Rhymes.²

Literary reviews and articles, descriptive rather than critical in nature, began to appear from 1903 with J.W. Joynt's review of Johannes C. Andersen's Songs Unsung.³ In the issue for May 1905, S. Clarke Johnson made the first contribution to a series of articles on New Zealand literature.⁴ His discussion of Alfred Domett's epic poem Ranolf and Amohia was followed in the July issue with an article by Albert Chappell on Frederick Maning's Old New Zealand.⁵ In

the issue for October of the same year, G.S. Sale wrote on Butler's *Erewhon*.\(^6\) Dora Wilcox's *Verses from Maoriland* was reviewed by Alexander Currie in the issue for May 1906,\(^7\) while the following year J.W. Joynt contributed a review of Alexander and Currie's anthology *New Zealand Verse*.\(^8\)

The first hint of an improvement in the poetry published in the *Review* came in 1909 with the publication of Jessie Mackay's 'Slumber Song.'\(^9\) Her collection *Land of the Morning*, regarded as possibly her best, appeared in the same year.\(^10\) Poet and academic Arnold Wall contributed his poems 'The Two Magics' and 'The Flying Man' to the issues for October 1909 and October 1910 respectively.\(^11\) Under J.H.E. Schroder's editorship between June 1915 and November 1920\(^12\) (including issues remarking the involvement of College students and graduates in the Great War) the literary quality of the magazine was sustained at the highest level to that date, in part due to the contributions of T.M. Curnow, father of Allen Curnow. Curnow senior contributed six

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\(^12\) *Canterbury College Review* 45 (June 1915) - 52 (October 1918) and *Canterbury College Review* 55 (July 1920) - 56 (November 1920).
carefully crafted poems, all based on classical models, three of them translations of Horatian Odes.

With Schroder's departure at the end of 1920, and in the face of an acknowledged lack of original literary content, which was deemed to have 'brought the *Review* to the level of a mere record,'¹³ in 1922 it was 'handed over to the school of journalism to be produced each month of the College year.'¹⁴ In July of that year it was noted that '[t]he Drama Society has set itself a tradition of giving people a little of that which they would never otherwise see,'¹⁵ an acknowledgement of one aspect of the College's cultural life which was to continue to grow, initially under the influence of Professor James Shelley, and, from 1942 until 1964, of Dame Ngaio Marsh.

Although six-monthly publication was restored in 1924, noteworthy literary content in the *Review* was negligible until it became an annual in 1930, in which year it was edited by, among others, Jean Stevenson (later Jean Bertram). Stevenson was an active member of the literary circle which developed around Denis Glover and the Caxton Club Press, the student printing endeavour which preceded the Caxton Press proper. The issue for 1930 also saw the first appearance in the *Review* of Ian Milner, poet, translator, critic, committed socialist, and a close associate of Charles Brasch and James Bertram.¹⁶


Milner contributed work regularly to the *Review* until his graduation in 1933. As editor of the issue for 1932,\(^{17}\) he took the opportunity to express his growing dissatisfaction with the social crisis which during the period swept around the insular walls of academia, announcing that 'This is "zero hour" in the world's history,' a time when

*conscious* men all over the world not only feel we stand on the threshold of a new order, but they are looking about them for suitable weapons in case the door has to be broken down.\(^{18}\)

He then quotes the first verse paragraph of R.A.K. Mason's poem 'Youth at the Dance,' published in *Kiwi* the previous month.\(^{19}\) Elsewhere in the issue, Milner favourably reviewed the second number of *Phoenix*, enthusiastically describing it as 'a symbol of our cultural destiny,' before going on to a more reasoned criticism of its contents.\(^{20}\)

Milner published several of his associates in the *Review*, including Lawrence Baigent, Charles Spear, Denis Glover, and Eric Cook. He also published an article by his father, Frank Milner, Canterbury old boy and Rector of Waitaki Boys' High School.\(^{21}\) This appeared as the third in a series of contributions by graduates, and stands at odds with much else in the issue. In his article, Milner

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\(^{18}\) Ian Milner, 'Zero Hour,' *Canterbury College Review* 84 (October 1932): 7.


\(^{20}\) Ian Milner, review of *Phoenix* 1.2 (July 1932), *Canterbury College Review* 84 (October 1932): 40.

\(^{21}\) Frank Milner, 'New Zealand's Cultural Identity,' *Canterbury College Review* 84 (October 1932): 31-34.

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senior reasserts New Zealand’s distinctive relationship with Britain, arguing for the establishment 'in the Southern Seas [of] a Britain of the Pacific, loyal to the same ideals, but freer from class privilege and tradition,' able to fulfil a 'destiny as participant and beneficiary in a unique spiritual patrimony,' that of Empire, its security assured by the ascendancy of the Royal Navy over a 'Pacific environed by congested Asiatic peoples.'

Lawrence Baigent contributed several poems to the issue, including a satirical poem written in concert with Charles Spear, entitled 'The Hippopotamus: A Moral Tale.' Baigent also contributed a caricature of Professor James Shelley and wrote a review of the typographically flamboyant issue of Kiwi for 1932, designed and printed by Robert Lowry. Baigent became a lecturer at the College and returned to the pages of the Review in 1943 to judge the prose in the issue for that year, along with Allen Curnow in the role of poetry judge (see below). Eric Cook, whose controversial article 'Groundswell' was later excised from the third issue of Phoenix, contributed poetry to the Review from 1930 until 1932, assisting Milner with the editing of the issue for the latter year.

Denis Glover began to contribute to the Review in 1931. Coincidentally,
in the same issue there appeared a poem signed 'Prester John,' the pseudonym of Charles Marris, whom Glover later satirised for his editorial fostering of 'the music makers and the dreamers of dreams.' Glover later described the Review in the early thirties as 'a parish magazine of the worst description.' James Bertram reviewed the issue for 1931 in rather more favourable terms. After a detailed discussion of the poetry of Eric Cook, he names Ian Milner's 'Sunset of Ulysses' as 'perhaps the finest thing in the Review,' and admires a poem by 'Prester John' entitled 'Every Monday' remarking, apparently under the impression that the poet is a woman,

[...]he poem is in itself the refutation of Mr Perry's dictum . . . that, 'it is a pity that at the moment, in New Zealand, women write more poetry than men.' For my own part, I think it a pity that more poems like this are not written at the university. The power to see the common things of the lecture room transformed, to catch a word at random and chase a fancy through the four quarters of the universe - this, if not a rare, is surely a charming and delightful gift.

The irony in these comments may well be deliberate. In his commentary on the prose in the issue, Bertram takes further, if minor, issue with C.S. Perry's article on the use of local place names in New Zealand poetry, while not in fact disputing its major premise that 'our New Zealand names are not so outlandish . . .

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26 C.A. Marris ('Prester John'), 'Every Monday,' *Canterbury College Review* 83 (October 1931): 28. Marris did not make any further contributions to the *Canterbury College Review*.


29 James Bertram, 'University Poetry 1931,' *Phoenix* 1.1 (March 1932): N. pag. The reference to 'Mr Perry' is to an article on the use of New Zealand motifs in poetry, signed 'C.S.P.' and titled 'Place Names and Other Matters,' *Canterbury College Review* 83 (October 1931): 22-23.
Denis Glover assisted in the editing of the issues for 1933 and 1934, years in which he was also involved in establishing the Caxton Club Press. Among its printing projects were the controversial 1933 publications *Oriflamme* and *Sirocco*, published partly in emulation of *Phoenix*. This was only one of the earliest in a long series of parallel ventures between Glover and Robert Lowry. The two had first met when both were attending Auckland Grammar School in the twenties. Lowry's adolescent enthusiasm for printing proved contagious for Glover and together they produced the single copy 'unofficial form magazine,' *La Vérité*. The two kept in close touch by letter after Glover left Auckland to attend Christ's College in Christchurch. From late 1931 Lowry frequently wrote to inform his friend of progress on *Phoenix*. In September 1932, shortly after Mason had been appointed editor, Lowry offered Glover the role of *Phoenix* representative in Christchurch, a role he was invited to take in conjunction with Ian Milner or Eric Cook. Glover visited Auckland for the inter-Collegiate Easter sports tournament in 1933 and was impressed with Lowry's printing of *Phoenix*. He resolved to establish a similar venture at Canterbury College. Lowry assisted his friend to purchase a small hand-platen printing press and

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32 Lowry to Glover, 13 September 1932, Glover Papers, 1928-1970, Alexander Turnbull Library MS-Papers 0418, Folder 5. As it happened, Jean Stevenson (Jean Bertram) became the *Phoenix* representative in Christchurch. See Chapter Two, above.
sold him some Goudy old style types. On his return to Christchurch Glover obtained permission to set the press up in the basement of the Clock Tower at the University College. He and several friends formed themselves into the Caxton Club, forerunner of the Caxton Press, with membership set at £1. Among the members were C.R. Straube, former editor of Kiwi, Ian Milner who had helped Brasch and Bertram write much of the first issue of Phoenix, and Eric Cook, also formerly of Auckland University College and a contributor to Phoenix.

Their first venture was Oriflamme, a title 'brainwaved' by Ian Milner 'through association with [Byron's] 'Yet, Freedom! yet thy banner, torn, but flying;,' and also a reference, inadvertently (though not inappropriately), to the red banner of St Denis, the mere sight of which was reputed to blind infidels. Published in April 1933, Oriflamme carried social and political criticism, epigrams and poetry of a political nature. In a letter to the secretary of the Victoria University College Free Discussions Club, publishers of a similarly orientated periodical, Glover explained the motivation behind Oriflamme:

Having the press installed at the college we naturally decided that we might as well publish something and as the time seemed unsuited for literary work we decided that Oriflamme should have a political and social bias, not towards any policy or party, but merely existing as a medium of expression for any views on any subject well enough put to merit inclusion. We insisted that everything should be signed and that disagreement with our own view should perhaps be all the more reason for publishing it, not

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33 Glover, Hot Water Sailor 86.


35 This was Student, the single issue of which appeared in May 1933. The almost exclusively political nature of this magazine's contents excludes it from discussion in Section Five, below, on the Victoria University College literary periodicals.
Appropriately subtitled *A Spasmodical*, *Oriflamme* was suppressed after just one issue by the University College authorities who objected to its radical tone and were alarmed by the attention it received both in the national press and around Christchurch. This attention was particularly incited by an article by J. Patrick Robertson entitled 'Sex and the Undergraduate,' which argued for what Robertson termed 'companionate marriage' among undergraduates as a reasonable and necessary outlet for their youthful libidos.

*Oriflamme* carried no serious literary content, being established as an unofficial student publication for the free discussion of issues affecting students. Ian Milner wrote the introductory editorial, in which he announced that *Oriflamme* is simply a rallying-point for people of different views. He went on to propose that contributors use its pages as a venue for the testing of the 'outworn system' which prevents the enjoyment of 'earth's rich sap.' In a prefiguring of Henderson's predominant theme in *Tomorrow*, Glover contributed an article to *Oriflamme* entitled 'Papology,' advocating the rejection of propaganda ('pap') of all sorts: political, religious, educational or commercial. His concluding remarks capture the idealism and eagerness which inspired Glover and his fellows in the face of the deepening crisis of the thirties:

> Every tenet of our civilisation must be coolly and critically analyzed and resynthesised in the light of rational and exhaustive

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37 J. Patrick Robertson, 'Sex and the Undergraduate,' *Oriflamme* 1 (April 1933): N. pag.


enquiry. We must not stand still on ground that is slipping from under our feet and persuade ourselves that nothing is wrong. We must courageously reject the old outworn principles to which we have clung so passionately, and unite to build afresh. Politicians! to-morrow to fresh words and parties new.

In a word, more pep and less pap.40

D'Arcy Cresswell contributed an essay, written in his usual mannered style, entitled 'Of Disputing,'41 in which he expands upon the nuances of that branch of logic. This is followed by J. Patrick Robinson's article, 'Sex and the Undergraduate,' discussed briefly above. This was by far the main source of irritation to the University's Board of Governors, who came under considerable pressure from irate parents fearful for the chastity of their daughters.42 Several other articles make up the rest of issue, along with a small number of topical poems and squibs, including one each by Glover, Milner, Robertson, and Straubel. Also of note is a lino-cut by Leo Bensemann, featuring a caricature of Prime Minister J.G. Coates, portrayed as 'Il Duce' defending a redoubt representing his government's beleaguered financial policy.

After a suitable apology to the College authorities, the Caxton Club was granted permission to continue its publishing activities on condition that the same title not be used and that the club membership be restricted to financial members of the Students' Union. The new periodical was called Sirocco, and appeared in July 1933. Its brief was similar to Oriflamme's and it was, as Glover put it, 'quite as disputatious.'43 In a letter written shortly before his sudden

40 Denis Glover, 'Papology,' Oriflamme 1 (April 1933): N. pag.
42 Glover, Hot Water Sailor 94.
43 Glover, Hot Water Sailor 99.
departure from Auckland for Christchurch, Robert Lowry informed Glover that in his opinion 'Sirocco is typographically better than Oriflamme, technically worse, and as to content much the same.' As a result of the latter feature, it suffered similar censure at the hands of the university authorities and only one number was produced. The highlight of the issue was undoubtedly the publication of a poem by A.R.D. Fairburn, 'Street Scene,' later reprinted in his Collected Poems. This may have been the first contact between the Fairburn and Glover; it certainly marked the beginning of a long professional and personal relationship of great significance to the development of New Zealand literature during mid-century.

Allen Curnow, adopting the pseudonym 'Philo,' opened Sirocco with an article entitled 'Christianity and Marxism.' Providing a rare insight into his early intellectual formation, the piece may be read as Curnow's attempt to reconcile the two seemingly diametrically opposed belief systems named in the title. As the son of an Anglican Vicar and, until his abandonment of his studies the previous year, a theological student at St John's College, Auckland, Curnow was too insightful to simply replace Christian belief with Marxist dogma. Instead, he argued that 'Marxian materialism' must be tempered with Christian idealism if it is be the means to resolve the 'present chaos . . . into some form

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44 Lowry to Glover, 16 August 1933, Glover Papers, Folder 5.
45 A.R.D. Fairburn, 'Street Scene,' Sirocco 1 (July 1933): 11-12.
of communal order,\(^{49}\) concluding:

O you wretched materialists, idealists in spite of yourselves! Vulgarly, you poor saps! O you wretched Christian idealists, allowing a sour materialist taste to turn your stomachs against the greatest idea of centuries. The one way to settle the new Communal society which shall be, and preserve it from the mumbo-jumbo of artificial religion, sex-perversion and animality, is the Christian way. As it has risen on each wave of social progress and held the ground gained, so Christianity must rise on this next wave, to be in at the death of Capitalism.\(^ {50}\)

The deliberately provocative tone adopted here by Curnow prefigures that of his 1935 treatise *Poetry and Language*\(^ {51}\) and accorded well with articles by other contributors to *Oriflamme* and *Sirocco*, including Denis Glover and J. Patrick Robinson.

Robertson's article in *Sirocco* was slightly less controversial in tone than his piece in *Oriflamme*, being an argument for the adoption of free verse as the most suitable verse form 'for social expression and propaganda' in an age of revolutionary social change.\(^ {52}\) Denis Glover made an exasperated plea for greater tolerance of left-wing views in a New Zealand where 'conformity is inculcated in the schools, demanded by the employers, approved by the social order and enforced (if necessary) by the police.'\(^ {53}\) As with *Phoenix*, the literary historical significance of both *Oriflamme* and *Sirocco* lies less in their actual contents than in their being venues for members of an emerging *avant-garde* to express themselves. They are also of interest as significant artifacts from the

\(^{49}\) Curnow, 'Christianity & Marxism' 6.

\(^{50}\) Curnow, 'Christianity & Marxism' 7.


\(^{52}\) J. Patrick Robertson, 'Social Change & Verse Form,' *Sirocco* 1 (July 1933): 11.

\(^{53}\) Denis Glover, 'Land of Hope & Glory,' *Sirocco* 1 (July 1933): 15.

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early printing and typographical career of Denis Glover.

During the same period Glover also contributed poetry, stories and articles to the Review, much of it humorous in tone, little of which was republished. He began to use the pseudonym 'P.K.' for satiric stories,\textsuperscript{54} initials he later used extensively in Tomorrow. Two of his poems in the issue for 1933, 'The Harmony of Night'\textsuperscript{55} and 'Storm Dawn,'\textsuperscript{56} won the Professor Sinclaire Prize for that year. Neither was republished. To the issue for 1934, which Glover co-edited with Reginald Clarke, he contributed a number of poems, stories and articles. His 'Threnody,'\textsuperscript{57} published in the issue for 1935, was anthologised several times before being gathered into his Selected Poems.\textsuperscript{58} Several other members of the Caxton Club contributed material to issues of the Review published in the early to mid-thirties, including J.P. Robertson and Walter Brookes. Brookes was chief editor of the issue for 1933, assisted by Glover, R.T. Clarke and John Curnow, brother of Allen and himself a contributor of poems and other material to the issues for 1933 and 1934.

In 1934 Allen Curnow, who had first enrolled at Canterbury University College as a part-time student during 1929 and 1930, returned to the College to complete his undergraduate degree. In the interim he had spent three years studying for the Anglican Ministry at St John's College, Auckland, the latter two

\textsuperscript{54} Denis Glover ('P.K.'), 'The Cat and the Crayfish,' Canterbury College Review 86 (1934): 9-11; Denis Glover ('P.K.'), 'The Cat and the Fiddle,' Canterbury College Review 86 (1934): 24-25;


\textsuperscript{56} Denis Glover, 'Storm Dawn,' Canterbury College Review 85 (1933): 19.

\textsuperscript{57} Denis Glover ('D.G.'), 'Threnody,' Canterbury College Review 87 (October 1935): 34.

\textsuperscript{58} Denis Glover, Selected Poems (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1981) 38.
years being also spent at the Auckland University College where he had become part of the circle which assembled around the campus literary society and where he had published his first pieces of poetry in *Kiwi* and, later, *Phoenix*. In the issue of the *Canterbury College Review* for 1934 he published three poems: 'Metaphysics',59 'The Four Last Things';60 and 'Ethics'.61 He signed these poems 'Julian,' a pseudonym he was also to use in *Tomorrow*. They were not republished. Allen Curnow's only other contribution to the *Canterbury College Review* occurred a decade later, and was a typically uncompromising, even acerbic judgement on the poetry contributed to the issue for 1943.62 In the same issue his wife, Bette Curnow, published her illustration for 'Landfall in Unknown Seas'.63

During the late thirties and early forties Winston Rhodes, lecturer in English at the College and a prolific contributor to *Tomorrow*, wrote several thought-provoking articles for the *Review*, all of a piece with his contributions to the more political fortnightly. W.J. McEldowney edited the issue for 1941 and contributed poetry and stories to issues between 1939 and 1941. Later in the nineteen-forties he was to go on to co-edit the National Library School annual *Colophon* (1946-1969). In the early forties Antony Alpers, Peter Alcock, and John Weir also contributed to the magazine. The Caxton Press was responsible for designing and printing all issues published after nineteen-forty, resulting in a

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59 Allen Curnow ('Julian'), 'Metaphysics,' *College Review* 1934: 11.


61 Allen Curnow ('Julian'), 'Ethics,' *Canterbury College Review* 1934: 27.


63 Bette Curnow, 'Illustration by Bette Curnow for the Tasman Tercentennial Poem Landfall in Unknown Seas,' *Canterbury College Review* 1943: 4.
marked improvement in the appearance of the Review, despite war-time shortages of paper and printing ink.

After ceasing publication with the issue for 1945, edited by J.G.A. Pocock, the Review was succeeded by Canterbury Lambs, published in three irregular issues between 1946 and 1949 by the Canterbury University College Literary Society, and printed by the Caxton Press. Canterbury Lambs featured poetry, stories and a single book review. The authors were mainly students of the College, although several of the most notable contributions came from members of Victoria University College: W.H. Oliver, Pat Wilson, Alistair Campbell. The second issue appeared within eight months of the first, with a sixteen month or more gap until the third and final issue appeared sometime in 1949. This was edited by James K. Baxter, then attending Canterbury College, and is notably different in cover design from its predecessors, possibly due to the presence of Keith Maslen on the editorial staff. Baxter contributed 'Poem by the Clock Tower Sumner' to the issue, a poem which was to appear later in Fires of No Return.

The first two issues of Canterbury Lambs were edited by a committee of the Literary Society, which at the time boasted an impressive line-up of honorary office holders, including Frederick Sinclaire (President), Ngaio Marsh, J.R. Hervey, Allen Curnow, Denis Glover, Winston Rhodes, and the internationally renowned logician A.N. Prior (all named Vice-Presidents). A 'President's Prize' was awarded in the first two numbers of Canterbury Lambs. In 1946 this was awarded in the first two numbers of Canterbury Lambs. In 1946 this was

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Chapter 6.3: University of Canterbury

awarded by Winston Rhodes and Lawrence Baigent to Ernst Badian, chair of the magazine's editorial committee, for 'Fantasy on an Autumn Evening,'\(^{66}\) a poem written in (possibly) satiric response to the current fashion for imitating the verse of T.S. Eliot. In 1947 Charles Brasch awarded the prize to Bill Pearson for his story 'Ain't gonna grieve ma Lord no more.'\(^{67}\) Pearson later republished this story as 'Indemnity' in the American little magazine *New Story*.\(^{68}\) His contribution to the final issue of *Canterbury Lambs*, 'At the Leicester's,'\(^{69}\) was gathered by C.K. Stead into the second series of *New Zealand Short Stories*.\(^{70}\) Both contributions were included in Pearson's 1991 collection *Six Stories*.\(^{71}\)

Poetry of note in *Canterbury Lambs*, apart from Baxter's contribution referred to above, came from Alistair Campbell, W.H. Oliver and Pat Wilson. To the first issue they contributed a single poem each, grouped together and identified as the work of 'V.U.C. students.'\(^{72}\) This appearance prefigures the writing and publishing of their own somewhat more amateurishly produced

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\(^{68}\) Bill Pearson, 'Indemnity,' *New Story* (New York and Paris), May 1951. This is noted in 'Previous Appearances,' *Six Stories* by Bill Pearson (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1991) 10.

\(^{69}\) Bill Pearson, 'At the Leicester's,' *Canterbury Lambs* 3 (1949): 17-25.


\(^{72}\) *Canterbury Lambs* 1 (December 1946): 27. These were: Alistair Campbell, 'The Statesman,' *Canterbury Lambs* 1 (December 1946): 28; W.H. Oliver, 'Ballade,' *Canterbury Lambs* 1 (December 1946): 27; and Pat Wilson, 'Excursus,' *Canterbury Lambs* 1 (December 1946): 27.
little magazine entitled *Broadsheet* (1947-1948). *Broadsheet* was itself followed by *Hilltop* (1949) and *Arachne* (1950-1951), both of which were to a degree modelled on *Canterbury Lambs*. Wilson and Oliver returned to the second issue of the Canterbury magazine with, respectively, 'Dirge for Young Poets' and 'Here is the Citadel of Silent Waters', while Wilson contributed 'The Childhood Church' to the final number.

Literary periodical activity at Canterbury University declined after the demise of the shortlived *Canterbury Lambs*. Five issues of a magazine entitled *Gaudeamus* appeared between April and October 1951. This was established by Michael Conway after his dismissal from the editorship of *Canta* by a conservative Student Executive, largely for voicing his opposition in the student newspaper to the nationwide suppression of information and opinion during the 1951 waterfront strike. By publishing off-campus, *Gaudeamus* avoided the problems of its outspoken predecessors, *Oriflamme* and *Sirocco*, as it set out to provide a student journal 'free from official interference and safe from outside pressure'. The first issue carried work by Rewi Alley, Charles Spear, and James K. Baxter. Poetry by Pat Wilson and Louis Johnson appeared in subsequent numbers, with a rare story by Johnson in the final issue.

A single issue of a magazine entitled *Verbatim* was published by the College Literary Club in 1955. The campus Socratic Society published an

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74 Pat Wilson, 'The Childhood Church,' *Canterbury Lambs* 3 (1949): 15-17.

75 Michael Conway ('M.P.C.'), 'What to Expect,' *Gaudeamus* 1 (April 1951): 2.

occasional periodical of philosophical and religious articles, entitled *Hemlock*, between 1957 and 1970, early issues of which featured a small amount of poetry and fiction. In 1958, the Literary Society produced a magazine called *Sapling*, edited by Tony Holcroft and printed by Caxton Press. After being published in 1959 as a supplement to *Canta*, *Sapling* was suspended in order to allow Society members to work on the first issue of the *New Zealand Universities Literary Yearbook*, a product of the second inter-universities Arts Festival. Finally, an annual periodical of poetry and fiction entitled *Troubadour* was published by the University of Canterbury Literary Society in 1964, 1965 and 1969.

77 *Sapling* is referred to by Florence Jones in her editorial to the inaugural issue of the *Yearbook, The Universities' Literary Yearbook,* *New Zealand Universities Literary Yearbook* 1960: 34-36.
University of Auckland: *Collegian* (1898-1902); *Marte Nostro* (1903-1904); *Kiwi* (1905-1980); *Phoenix* (1932-1933); *Conspectus* (1949-1964); *Nucleus* (1957-1961); *Crucible* (1964); *Freed* (1969-1972); *Te Maarama* (1975); *Bright But Invisible* (1978); *Houyhnhnms* (1979-1980); *Verbatim* (1981); and *Tango* (1982).

The most famous magazine published from within the precincts of the University of Auckland is undoubtedly *Phoenix*. This is of such significance, both to the development of New Zealand literature in general and to the period covered by this thesis, that it has been allocated an entire chapter to itself and so will not be dealt with in any detail here. Instead the focus will be on those other magazines which have been written, produced and published by Auckland University students over the past century or so, chief among which is the long-time official publication of the Students' Association, *Kiwi*. A number of other publications will also be referred to in passing, ranging from the highly serious, academically driven *Conspectus* (1949-1964) to *Nucleus* (1957-1961) and *Freed* (1969-1972), little magazines published in the tradition of *Phoenix*. For its part *Freed* is of such importance to the emergence of new styles and directions in New Zealand poetry during the late sixties and early seventies that it warrants extensive study beyond the scope of this present thesis. Its treatment here will therefore be necessarily introductory and brief.

*Kiwi* was first published in 1905. It had been preceded on campus by two publications: *Collegian*, published from 1898 to 1902, and *Marte Nostro* (1903-1904), both of which, with the early *Kiwi*, attempted to emulate the reviews of the South Island Colleges at Christchurch and Dunedin. J.C. Reid records an attempt to publish such a review at Auckland University College as early as
1891, to be edited by E.K. Mulgan. In 1900 the Collegian was edited by, among others, Alan Mulgan and Frederick Sinclaire, future Professor of English at Canterbury University College and a key contributor to Tomorrow from its inception until his departure from the editorial group in 1937. Issues of the Collegian were dominated by College news, including club and society reports, although a small amount of poetry was published. After it lapsed in 1902, a group of 'Militant' women students published Marte Nostro, subtitled The A.U.C. Chronicle. This too apparently suffered from a lack of contributions, and after appearing irregularly during 1903 and 1904 was replaced by the first number of Kiwi in August 1905. Among the small amount of poetry published in Marte Nostro, Alan Mulgan contributed 'Villanelle' under his initials 'A.E.M.'

At first published twice during the university session, early numbers of Kiwi primarily consisted of reports on student sporting and social activities and lists of graduands, although some humorous ballads and short poems were included, usually over initials or pseudonyms. As J.A.W. Bennett noted in 1933, during the first twenty years or so of Kiwi its literary content consisted of little more than the odd 'sonnet or triolet inserted "as boys eat bread, to fill up

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1 J.C. Reid, 'A Note on Auckland University Student Publications,' Kiwi 1965: 11.


4 Alan Mulgan ('A.E.M.'), 'Villanelle,' Marte Nostro 1.2 (October 1903): 32.
An early editor was P.S. (Pip) Ardern (Volumes 2-3, 1906-1907), later an academic of some influence on the Phoenix and later generations of students.6

With the establishment of the student newspaper Craccum in 1928, Kiwi became an annual publication. In the editorial to that year's issue, it was announced that henceforth Kiwi would be devoted to 'the development of literature' at Auckland University College.7 Citing the English university journals Isis and Granta, those 'nurseries of English literature,' as suitable models, it was declared that 'with the appearance of a school of young writers in N.Z., we should be able to achieve a similar result.'8 The intention was to elevate the standard and status of Kiwi and to overcome the 'misconceptions . . . that N.Z. writing must be pardoned because of its youth and that it must at all costs be unmistakably "Made in N.Z."'9 Proof of this resolve was immediately manifest in the publication of two poems by A.R.D. Fairburn, chief among the 'school of young writers' referred to by Wilson. His 'On Walking Among the Ruins of the Old Convict Settlement, Norfolk Island' was the result of an eventful visit to that island in 1926.10 Since that Zenophila was re-published with some minor alterations of punctuation and layout first in He Shall Not Rise and then in

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7 J.N. Wilson, 'News or Poetry?' Kiwi 23 (1928): 3.

8 Wilson, 'News or Poetry?' 3.

9 Wilson, 'News or Poetry?' 4.

Fairburn's *Collected Poems*.11

Also in 1928, D.H. Monro contributed the first of several items to the magazine. Monro was sub-editor of *Craccum* for 1929, while Blackwood Paul edited, with R.E.L. Aubin, an issue of *Kiwi* which contained the largest proportion of poetry to date, though little of this proved to be of lasting interest. Fairburn contributed an otherwise unpublished poem, 'Evening,'12 and an article, 'Two Words: A Plea for Temperance,'13 a humorous piece on the poetic overuse of the words 'God' and 'Beauty.' The following year, 1930, in an issue edited by P.J. Soljak, Fairburn published an article in *Kiwi* entitled 'Music Today' in which he is humorously critical of the gramophone and radio as barriers to live performance, a topical issue of the day.14 Fairburn recommends a solution to the problem in the form of 'Music Week,' a programme of performances by Auckland musicians planned for mid August 1930.

Also in the issue for 1930, Fairburn published a highly favourable review of D'Arcy Cresswell's *The Poet's Progress*15 and five poems, including 'Disillusionment.'16 This poem was censured by F.P. Worley, Chair of the Professorial

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14 A.R.D. Fairburn, 'Music Today,' *Kiwi* 25 (1930): 9-10. Fairburn's article reads as a slightly ironic response to a rather more serious piece on the same subject by Isabel Cluett entitled 'The Menace of Mechanical Art,' published in another Auckland based magazine, the *Mirror* 9.1 (July 1930): 32-33, see below, Chapter Seven.


Board, who was disturbed by its frank discussion of the disappointment and
despair which Fairburn presents as consequences of carnal love.\textsuperscript{17} Another poem
by Fairburn, 'The Runner,'\textsuperscript{18} was named by judge Alan Mulgan as prize poem
for the issue. This poem had been published in \textit{Poetry} (Chicago) the previous
year,\textsuperscript{19} and was gathered by Quentin Pope into his anthology \textit{Kowhai Gold}.\textsuperscript{20}
Other poems by Fairburn in the issue were 'Song,'\textsuperscript{21} 'Release,'\textsuperscript{22} and 'Near a
Growing Town,'\textsuperscript{23} the latter published as a frontispiece.\textsuperscript{24}

In an article in the same issue on 'New Zealand Literature,' E.M. Johnston
briefly names the 'native-born poets and writers' who have, in her opinion, suc-
cceeded the 'transplanted Englishmen' of the previous generation.\textsuperscript{25} Her list holds
few surprises to the modern reader familiar with the New Zealand authors of
popular verse and fiction during the 1920s. Johnston's discovery of 'an amazing
preponderance of women' among the poets has become an orthodoxy, while her
addition of R.A.K. Mason to the short-list of prominent male poets (Arnold Wall,
J.C. Andersen and Alan Mulgan) demonstrates Mason's growing reputation.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{17} Keith Sinclair, \textit{A History of the University of Auckland 1883-1983} (Auckland: Auckland
University Press; Oxford University Press, 1983) 165.
\item \textsuperscript{18} A.R.D. Fairburn, 'The Runner,' \textit{Kiwi} 25 (1930): 27.
\item \textsuperscript{19} \textit{Poetry} (Chicago) 34 (June 1929): 131-132.
\item \textsuperscript{20} Quentin Pope, \textit{Kowhai Gold: An Anthology of Contemporary New Zealand Verse} (London:
\item \textsuperscript{21} A.R.D. Fairburn, 'Song,' \textit{Kiwi} 25 (1930): 23.
\item \textsuperscript{22} A.R.D. Fairburn, 'Release,' \textit{Kiwi} 25 (1930): 30.
\item \textsuperscript{23} A.R.D. Fairburn, 'Near a Growing Town,' \textit{Kiwi} 25 (1930): 2.
\item \textsuperscript{24} These three poems were republished among the 'Early Poems' in Fairburn's \textit{Collected
Poems} 200-203.
\item \textsuperscript{25} E.M. Johnston, 'New Zealand Literature,' \textit{Kiwi} 25 (1930): 11.
\end{itemize}
Fairburn, characterised as Mason's 'appreciator' is also acknowledged as a poet of considerable promise.  

The issue for 1931 saw the first comprehensive appearance in the pages of *Kiwi* of the group of writers and poets who were to be closely associated with the production of *Phoenix*, first published the following year. Edited by E.H. Blow with the assistance of, among others, Jean Allison, James Bertram, D.H. Monro, John Mulgan, Blackwood Paul, and Martin Sullivan, the 1931 issue of *Kiwi* was also the first to feature the work of R.A.K. Mason and Allen Curnow.  

Mason's poem 'Wise at Last,' later published in *No New Thing*, opened the issue as an impressive frontispiece. In his story 'Spring Time and the Sick-bed' (winner of the issue's short story prize) a man who feels intolerably trapped by responsibility for his dying asthmatic wife breaks and flees into the bush towards Owhango, a Maori word roughly translatable as 'the place of the hoarse sound,' an obvious reference to the distressed breathing of his wife and a more innovative example of the utilisation of New Zealand's indigenous language than was usual at the time. At Owhango, in a solution prefiguring that pursued by Johnson in John Mulgan's *Man Alone*, Mason's protagonist could grow a beard, stick there till the world had forgotten him, change his name, and then get right out of the country.

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26 Johnston, 'New Zealand Literature' 11.


31 Mason, 'Spring Time and the Sick-bed' 35.
'Spring Time' was probably one of the stories Mason referred to in a letter to the Atlantic Monthly Press of Boston, to which he submitted the *No New Thing* manuscript.32

Allen Curnow had seven poems in the issue of *Kiwi* for 1931. These were his first published pieces and are a considerable debut by any standards. Two of the poems, 'Prayer'33 and 'In the day I had seen in a window a figure of the praying Christ,'34 were gathered after some minor alterations into his first collection, *Valley of Decision*.35 This appeared as the first 'Phoenix Miscellany' in September 1933, and was the last item printed by Lowry on the Students' Association press before his abrupt departure from Auckland late in the same month. Of Curnow's other contributions to this issue of *Kiwi*, 'The Eyes Unseeing' won the prize for Serious Verse.36 Other contributions of note include a prize winning article by Hector Monro on Virginia Woolf,37 an article on Gerard Manley Hopkins by J.A.W. Bennett,38 a poem by James Bertram,39 and

32 'These are pretty well done now in rough fashion, but I lack all incentive to lick them into final shape and get them typed.' Mason to unspecified correspondent, n.d. Quoted in John Weir, *R.A.K. Mason* (Wellington: Oxford University Press, 1977) 31. See also the discussion of Mason's involvement in *Phoenix*, Chapter Two above.

33 Allen Curnow, 'Prayer,' *Kiwi* 26 (1931): 36.

34 Allen Curnow, 'In the day I had seen in a window a figure of the praying Christ,' *Kiwi* 26 (1931): 51.

35 Allen Curnow, *Valley of Decision* (Auckland: Auckland University College Students' Association, 1933) N. pag. The latter poem was retitled 'The Agony' in *Valley of Decision*.


39 James Bertram, 'Brise Marine,' *Kiwi* 26 (1931): 44.
eight items by the briefly prolific poet and story writer John Dumble.

In his review of the poetry in *Kiwi* in 1931, published in the first number of *Phoenix*, James Bertram made the following comments on the contributions of Curnow.

Mr Allen Curnow is perhaps a little too well represented; but his work is almost always interesting, and seldom as obvious as his prize poem. Like many another young poet, Mr Curnow has been to school with Dr Eliot, and has caught the measles. But that will do him no lasting harm, and there are already signs of convalescence. We shall expect great things of Mr Curnow, when he has really found himself.40

Bertram went on to make analogous observations on the efforts of other contributors. He considered the poetry of D.H. Monro and R.A.K. Mason as having 'attained a maturity which is in striking contrast to many of their fellows.'41 In his review of the prose contributions to the university periodicals, published in the second issue of *Phoenix*, Bertram was particularly impressed with Mason's short story, 'Spring-time and the Sick-bed,' regarding it as nothing less than a 'small masterpiece, and by far the most distinguished work to be found in any of the [university] reviews' published in 1931.42

The issue of *Kiwi* for 1932 featured an elaborate title page designed by Robert Lowry as an ornate parody of the typographical style of the seventeenth-century. In a note printed opposite the hope was expressed that the title page would stimulate 'interest in a movement for fine printing that is just now

41 Bertram, 'University Poetry,' N. pag.
beginning in the College.\footnote{D.H. Monro and Blackwood Paul, editorial note, \textit{Kiwi} 27 (1932): N. pag.} As discussed above with regard to the production of \textit{Phoenix}, Lowry now had at his disposal a 'second-hand treadle platen . . . and a comprehensive supply of good type and falldedals to play around with.'\footnote{Robert Lowry to Denis Glover, 26 June [1932]. Glover Papers, Folder 1.} The frontispiece for \textit{Kiwi} was a woodcut in the same antique manner as the title page, executed by Miss W. Simpson of the Elam School of Art. Several other wood and lino-cuts by Simpson, S.F. Champ, and L.D. Morrison were scattered throughout the issue. Morrison had advised Lowry on the design of \textit{Phoenix} as well as contributing a number of block prints on socialist realist subjects. Many individuals involved in the publication of \textit{Phoenix} in 1932 and 1933 were also connected with \textit{Kiwi} during those years, including R.A.K. Mason, Robert Lowry, A.R.D. Fairburn, and Allen Curnow.

The 1932 \textit{Kiwi}, edited by D.H. Monro and Blackwood Paul, featured further contributions by both Mason and Curnow. Mason had Robert Lowry set out his contributions with the hanging indent adopted during the preparation of the manuscript of \textit{No New Thing}, eventually published in 1934 and printed by Lowry's Unicorn Press. This was to become the characteristic lay out for his poems, as exemplified by the most significant contribution by Mason to the issue, 'Christ on the Swag':

\footnote{D.H. Monro and Blackwood Paul, editorial note, \textit{Kiwi} 27 (1932): N. pag.}

\footnote{Robert Lowry to Denis Glover, 26 June [1932]. Glover Papers, Folder 1.}
His body doubled
under the pack
that bangs untidily
on his old back,
the cold wet dead-beat
plods up the track.45

Mason also contributed 'Youth at the Dance,'46 printed with a lino-cut by L.D. Morrison illustrating the final line of the fourth stanza: 'to the tune of the devil's attack.' This was to become the last line of the poem following the deletion of the fifth stanza in the version printed in End of Day. Mason's third poem in Kiwi for 1932, 'Their Sacrifice,'47 was in its turn illustrated with a wood-cut by S.F. Champ. Curnow's poem The People Perisheth,48 was gathered with some slight alterations in punctuation and wording into Valley of Decision.49

John Mulgan's article, 'A New Zealand Culture' speculates pessimistically on the probability of such a thing developing: 'The nightingale will remain a more fit subject for poetry than the tui beyond our generation and it is doubtful whether the name 'New Zealand' will ever occur in any good line of verse.'50 Mulgan also contributed several poems to the issue. Other contributors include


49 Curnow, Valley of Decision N. pag.

Chapter 6.4: University of Auckland

M.K. Joseph, author of a one-act play entitled 'Twilight of the Gods,'51 Elsie Farrelly (Elsie Locke), whose article 'The Student Responsibility' is an early expression of her strong social conscience,52 J. Gifford Male (later a contributor to New Zealand New Writing and editor of New Horizon), Graham MacDiarmid, and Kathleen Harvey (Kay Holloway).

The following year, 1933, was the Jubilee Year of the College, and the issue of Kiwi was dominated by material celebrating the event. Lowry had printed the Golden Jubilee Book of the Auckland University College: 1883-1933,53 one of the typographical highlights of his early work and something of a swan song for this initial phase of his career as a printer. In the Jubilee Book J.A.W. Bennett declared that it was in 1932 that the College's 'intellectual history had begun,'54 citing the publication of Phoenix as special proof of this event. Two further issues of Phoenix had appeared under the editorship of R.A.K. Mason in March and June 1933, issues so controversial in content that both Mason and his printer Lowry suffered severe censure from the University authorities. As a result Mason lost his position as editor while Lowry, for various reasons, financial and otherwise, was effectively declared persona non grata and banned from all campuses of the University of New Zealand. Kiwi appeared late in the academic year with a large increase in advertising content and under the strict financial management of the recently appointed Students' Association Business Manager


In the issue for 1933, edited by L.W.A. Crawley, Mason published another short story, probably from the collection unsuccessfully offered to the American publisher, the Atlantic Monthly Press. 'The Meth Fiend' is an account of an incident in which an elderly down-and-out alcoholic is caught smashing a shop window in order to steal a bottle of methylated spirits. The reactions of the unsympathetic 'honest' common people are silently observed by Mason through the persona of Reynolds. The story is in part interesting for its largely effective rendering of a New Zealand working class diction.

Allen Curnow contributed two poems to the issue, 'Via Recta' and 'Et Resurrexit,' the latter of which was also published in *Valley of Decision*. Other contributions include two poems and a short story by D.H. Monro. In an article signed 'I.W.L.,' a reactionary note was sounded against the literary experimentation and radical politicisation of the student publications on

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55 A.P. Postlewaite, *The President and Executive Committee of the Auckland University College Students' Association: Report of the Student Printing Press,* University of Auckland Registrar's Archives, Box 54.


57 Allen Curnow, 'Via Recta,' *Kiwi* 28 (1933): 14; Allen Curnow, 'Et Resurrexit,' *Kiwi* 28 (1933): 15.

58 Curnow, *Valley of Decision* N. pag.

59 The poems were: D.H. Monro ('D.H.M.'), 'Me quoque pectoris,' *Kiwi* 28 (1933): 2; and D.H. Monro ('D.H.M.'), 'Shadows,' *Kiwi* 28 (1933): 35; The story was: D.H. Monro, 'Quot Hominus,' *Kiwi* 28 (1933): 18-21;
Picking up on misgivings already voiced in *Craccum*, the author, otherwise unidentified, criticised the preference among members of the Literary Society for a fashionable poetic obscurity, especially as manifested in *Phoenix*’s ‘grim poetic lucubrations about bones and blood.’

In the next issue Mason published two poems, ‘Payment’ and ‘Fugue,’ both reprinted two years later in *End of Day*. These were to be his final contributions to *Kiwi*. The academic R.P. Anschutz contributed an article which was in effect a reply to the complaints of I.W.L. in the previous year’s issue. Anschutz argued, ‘we can appreciate poetry - know that it is great poetry - before we have but the haziest idea of its meaning,’ quoting T.S. Eliot and drawing attention to the aesthetic importance of sound patterns in poetry. Also in the issue was a further contribution by M.K. Joseph, a short story entitled ‘Returning as the Wheel Returns.’

Most contributions to the issue for 1935 appeared over initials or pseudonyms, although Warwick Lawrence signed his own name to an article promoting drama in New Zealand. In 1936 J.C. Reid, made the first of many
appearances in *Kiwi* with two poems and a story treating his recurrent theme of Christianity.\(^{68}\) He was to go on to act as literary sub-editor in 1937, sub-editor in 1938, and editor in 1939.\(^{69}\) In 1943 he was judge of fiction and poetry for the issue, and took the role of President of the Literary Society throughout (at least) the late forties and early fifties, as noted in his acknowledged patronage of *Conspectus*, the irregular annual publication of the Society produced in 1949, 1950, 1951 and 1964.

Reid contributed several items to the issue of *Kiwi* for 1937, an issue which also featured a one act play, 'The Shortest Day' signed 'D.G.'\(^{70}\) Although Denis Glover used his initials during this period, the play is not listed among Glover’s work in Weir and Lyons’ *Bibliography*,\(^{71}\) and is probably best attributed to one D. Gully, who is noted as being responsible for magazine exchanges in the list of sub-editors to the issue.

1938 saw the first involvement of Ron Holloway and his Griffin Press in the production of *Kiwi*. Holloway was to print the magazine again in 1939, 1941, 1945, 1946, and 1949. Robert Lowry’s Pelorus Press printed the issues for 1948 and 1952, and his Pilgrim Press those published in 1955, 1958, and 1960. Again in 1938, J.C. Reid contributed several items to the issue including an essay

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\(^{68}\) John Reid, 'The Saint With a Twisted Halo,' *Kiwi* 31 (1936): 46-51.

\(^{69}\) Reid also contributed several poems to *Kiwi* under his pseudonym 'Caliban,' the name he used for the publication of his collection *Live Rounds: Verses of Army Life* (Auckland: Griffin Press, 1945). I am grateful to Ronald Holloway for pointing this out to me.


entitled 'Modern Poetry and Marxism'\textsuperscript{72} in which he articulates the reactionary position which he brought to its most extreme expression during the early years of the Second World War in his self-published magazine View. This was founded to 'counter subversive tendencies'\textsuperscript{73} and carried warnings of such threats to the liberty of 'free men' as the rising birthrate among Māori (who 'may once again possess New Zealand')\textsuperscript{74} and of 'Communism in Student Periodicals,' describing Victoria College's Salient as 'an adolescent apologist for Marxism, pacifism, anti-Christian ideas and all the intellectual junk of the extreme Left Wing.'\textsuperscript{75} Of no literary interest, View's book reviews ran only as far as praise for A.N. Field's pamphlet Why Colleges Breed Communists and the anonymous Towards a Christian Social Order. His article in the 1938 issue of Kiwi attacks the Marxism of Auden and his group, whose poetry he regards as immature, insipid, feeble in imagery, and the work of 'mental adolescents.'\textsuperscript{76}

P.S. Ardem judged the prose in the issue, placing E.D. Morgan's story 'Flippant Sees it Through' second.\textsuperscript{77} Poetry was judged by A.R.D. Fairburn, who selected Morgan's eulogy 'He Died in Tahiti' as the best poem contributed.

\textsuperscript{73} J.C. Reid, 'Editorial,' View, 1.1 (September 1940): 1.
\textsuperscript{74} Reid, 'Editorial' 4.
\textsuperscript{75} J.C. Reid, 'Communism in Student Periodicals,' View, 1.1 (October 1940): 8.
\textsuperscript{76} Reid, 'Modern Poetry and Marxism' 23.
\textsuperscript{77} P.S. Ardem, 'Results of Literary Competitions,' Kiwi 33 (1938): 68.
He sees no opal lights on Orion's hip
Nor tall spars thrusting, deck to sky. No ship
Awaits him, like a tired bird, on Thames,
Her rigging tangled in the sunset's hems;
No more with Zackery Hicks he takes a sight
Upon that blunt deck in the velvet night,
Unrolling with a master-seaman's touch,
Charts, parchment-stiff and crackling, charts whose clutch
Holds, under dolphins on a painted sea,
Port Royal, Diemen's Land and Owhyee.
He sails no more to set a dull king's yoke
Upon the tattooed treacherous folk,
Nor smoothing cuffs and soft cravat of lawn,
Hears flocks of birds, like far bells, peal in dawn...
   Far off the sea winds bellow, wave to wave
   The brown barefooted boys romp past his grave.\(^78\)

Morgan seems to have muddled his history here in describing the death of an apparently prominent 'master-seaman' in Tahiti. Zachariah Hicks was second in command to James Cook on the first voyage of the *Endeavour* to the Pacific in 1769, undertaken largely to record the Transit of Venus from Tahiti. Cook was killed in Hawaii, so he cannot be the poem's subject. It was John Buchan, a landscape artist working under Joseph Banks, who died in Tahiti during Cook's 1769 visit to the island.

Morgan's poem may be usefully set against the historical re-evaluations undertaken by Curnow during the same period and after, particularly his *Not in Narrow Seas*,\(^79\) which had appeared in five instalments in *Tomorrow* between June 1937 and August 1938.\(^80\) Morgan had contributed some two dozen poems

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\(^78\) E.D. Morgan, 'He Died in Tahiti,' *Kiwi* 33 (1938): 33.


\(^80\) These were: 'Rats in the Bilge,' *Tomorrow* 3.16 (9 June 1937): 496; 'The Potter's Field,' *Tomorrow* 3.20 (4 August 1937): 628-631; 'Variations on a Theme,' *Tomorrow* 3.25 (13 October 1937): 774; 'Predestination,' *Tomorrow* 4.21 (17 August 1938):665; and 'A Loyal Show,' *Tomorrow* 4.22 (31 August 1938):685. All are discussed in Chapter Three, (continued...)
to *Kiwi* since 1934, although none of these achieved the standard of the above named piece. Other poems by Morgan in the issue for 1938, such as 'To a Dutch Pioneer' and 'Rangatira' tend towards a more usual romanticisation of New Zealand history. The latter, for example, characterises its Māori subject as a gypsy and a Trojan hero. Morgan was sub-editor in 1938 with J.C. Reid, both working under the editorship of A.O. Woodhouse.

September 1939 saw the appearance of Volume 34 of *Kiwi*, an issue which again featured a large selection of work by J.C. Reid, now promoted to the position of Editor. His poems on Christian themes, 'Hands of a Carpenter' and 'Birds,' and his article entitled 'Surrealism' were judged by Arthur Sewell as the best in their categories, although not without some equivocation. Untitled linocuts by A.R.D. Fairburn, Roderick Finlayson, and Ronald Holloway add interest to an otherwise mediocre issue.

P.W. [Revised] Day edited the issue for 1940. Reid again contributed an article

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80 (...continued) above.

81 E.D. Morgan, 'To a Dutch Pioneer,' *Kiwi* 33 (1938): 56.


83 Kay Holloway gives a brief account of the difficulties surrounding the printing of this issue in her *Meet Me at the Press: Memoirs II* (Panmure, Auckland: Griffin Press, 1994) 80-81.


87 A.R.D. Fairburn, 'Decoration,' *Kiwi* 34 (1939): 29. This illustrates J.C. Reid's article 'Surrealism.'


deploring, as its title put it, The Marxist Influence on Modern Literature.\textsuperscript{90} E.J. Keating contributed an article reviewing one of the University's contributions to the Centennial celebrations, a collection of essays entitled \textit{1840 and After}.\textsuperscript{91} Keating argues for the development of an identifiable tradition in New Zealand literature and art, a frequent topic for discussion at the time, partly inspired by T.S. Eliot's writings on the importance of cultural tradition. Eliot's poetry and drama were also the subject of a perceptive article by Rosemary Seymour.\textsuperscript{92}

The following year Seymour acted as an editorial assistant on \textit{Kiwi} and contributed a detailed article on the poetry of Allen Curnow, the first published anywhere devoted solely to that poet.\textsuperscript{93} Seymour begins with a discussion of Curnow's article on the poetry of R.A.K. Mason, published in the second issue of \textit{Book}.\textsuperscript{94} She then applies Curnow's criteria of judgement to his own work, ranging from \textit{Valley of Decision} to the just published \textit{Island and Time}.\textsuperscript{95} Critical of what she perceives as a lack of lucidity in his work, Seymour nevertheless admires Curnow's technical skill and compares his work favourably with that of Hugh MacDiarmid, especially in its 'deliberate matter-of-factness and lack of expression.'\textsuperscript{96} The 1941 issue of \textit{Kiwi} also carried a number of other critical

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{JCR} J.C. Reid, 'The Marxist Influence on Modern Literature,' \textit{Kiwi} 35 (1940): 32-38.
\bibitem{AC1} Allen Curnow, \textit{Island and Time} (Christchurch: Caxton Press, 1941).
\bibitem{S} Seymour, 'Allen Curnow' 33.
\end{thebibliography}
articles, including E.A. Horsman's 'Poetical Faith and Works: Aspects of the Verse and Prose of T.S. Eliot' and an editorial which berates the student body for the paucity of its literary talent, a theme common to many editors of university based periodicals.

No issue was produced in 1942 while that for 1943 carried a note on the contents page in which Rosemary Seymour and E.A. Horsman explicitly deny any responsibility for 'the final selection of material for *Kiwi*, 1941.' It is not clear what aspect of that issue they were dissatisfied with. Horsman continued his association with the magazine with a further article on modern literature, an essay on Aldous Huxley. John Reid judged the literary competition, as he did again in 1946 and 1949. In 1946, after two issues of little literary interest (1944 and 1945), Reid awarded the poetry prize to one of two poems by Kendrick Smithyman, 'Return to Exile.' Both this poem and its companion, 'Song' ('Our beautiful inheritance'), were illustrated with linocuts by Hella Hofmann (Helen Shaw). 'Return to Exile' was later republished in *The Blind Mountain and Other Poems*.

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1947 saw *Kiwi* (edited by R.K. Parkes and incorrectly numbered Volume 42, not Volume 41) regain some of its literary weight, largely due to contributions by a new group of student poets and writers. In addition to Kendrick Smithyman, these included Mary Stanley, Keith Sinclair, Maurice Duggan, and Robert Chapman. Smithyman was again awarded first prize in the poetry competition, this year judged by Professor Musgrove, for his poem 'The Green World.'\(^{104}\) In the fiction section J.R. Kelly's 'The Kitten and the Herrenvolk'\(^{105}\) and Maurice Duggan's 'That Long, Long Road'\(^{106}\) were judged first equal by Frank Sargeson. Duggan also contributed a short prose sketch to the issue, 'Still Life,'\(^{107}\) written in obvious emulation of Sargeson's early character sketches, although more impressionistic in texture and lacking the older author's concision of phrase and image. This had been previously published as 'Short Story' in *Book,*\(^{108}\) and was later gathered into his *Collected Stories.*\(^{109}\)

Smithyman also contributed two other poems to the issue: 'Statement'\(^{110}\) and 'What more dear than I tell is in me,' the latter of which was reprinted in

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107 Maurice Duggan ('M.D.'), 'Still Life,' *Kiwi* 42 (1947): 60.

108 Maurice Duggan, 'Short Story,' *Book* 7 (February 1946): 12.


The Blind Mountain.\(^{111}\) Mary Stanley contributed two poems: 'Heraclitus at Ephesus Preached'\(^{112}\) and 'Phoenix,'\(^{113}\) both recently republished in the new edition of Starveling Year.\(^{114}\) Keith Sinclair, who graduated M.A. from the University of Auckland in 1947, contributed three poems: 'Dreams and Trees,'\(^{115}\) the dialogue 'Interlude in Arcady,'\(^{116}\) and 'To Her for Christmas,'\(^{117}\) the latter of which was gathered into his 1954 collection Strangers or Beasts.\(^{118}\) Robert Chapman, a close associate of Sinclair and Smithyman, also contributed three poems to the issue.

Maurice Duggan edited the issue for 1948, the final over which Bert Postlewaite, recently honoured with an O.B.E., had financial control. He had first taken the role of business manager in 1933, after the financial debacle surrounding Robert Lowry's management of the Students' Association Press. It is not without some irony, then, that the issue was handsomely designed and printed by Lowry operating in the guise of his most recent business venture, the Pelorus Press. The issue featured an impressive range of literary talent drawn

\(^{111}\) Kendrick Smithyman, 'What more dear than I tell is in me,' Kiwi 42 (1947): 33; Smithyman, The Blind Mountain 28.

\(^{112}\) Mary Stanley, 'Heraclitus at Ephesus Preached,' Kiwi 42 (1947): 36.


\(^{114}\) Mary Stanley, Starveling Year and Other Poems (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1994) 4-5.


\(^{117}\) Keith Sinclair, 'To Her for Christmas,' Kiwi 42 (1947): 59.

\(^{118}\) Keith Sinclair, Strangers or Beasts (Christchurch: Caxton Press, 1954) 38. This poem was later included in his collection Moontalk: Poems New and Selected (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1993) 34.
from both within and outside the university. Glover, Fairburn, Ballantyne, Baxter, Cole, Smithyman, Sinclair, G.R. Gilbert, and Duggan himself are the most notable names to appear in an issue which enacted a brief but dramatic change in editorial policy and objective. Duggan recognised the potential in *Kiwi* for providing a literary outlet of a high standard for the many writers and poets active after the end of World War Two. The editorial to the issue, written, as Duggan later recalled, by Rex Fairburn 'over my own name and a plateful of fried potato and egg,' argued persuasively for the integration of the College into the cultural and intellectual life of the larger society. Fairburn took up the idea at greater length in his article 'Grasping the Nettle.' He also contributed three poems to the issue, one of which, 'For an Amulet,' was anthologised several times before being gathered by Glover into the *Collected Poems*.

Duggan's edition of *Kiwi* sported as epigraph a poem by Denis Glover, 'On Govt. Departments That Invent Inspiriting Slogans,' a call to the kiwi (bird, people, and magazine) to 'essay to soar.' Glover also contributed four

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122 A.R.D. Fairburn, 'For an Amulet,' *Kiwi* 43 (1948): 60.

123 A.R.D. Fairburn, *Collected Poems* (Auckland: Pegasus Press, 1966) 97. The other two poems were 'Broadcasting' and 'The Power and the Glory,' both *Kiwi* 43 (1948): 60. The latter of these was also reprinted in the *Collected Poems* 114.


125 Republished in the *Yearbook of the Arts in New Zealand* 4 (1948): 158.
other short poems, all published on page seventy of the issue. After some recasting, two of these were later integrated into the Sings Harry sequence, published in 1951. ‘Sunset’ became ‘The Park,’ although not before being twice anthologised, in the 1948 Yearbook of the Arts in New Zealand and in Curnow’s expanded 1951 edition of his A Book of New Zealand Verse. In a more straightforward transmission, Glover’s poem ‘The Harbour’ became ‘On the Headland’ in the 1951 sequence. The other two poems by Glover in the issue, ‘My Country, O My Country’ and ‘Roll On,’ were republished in the 1949 edition of the Yearbook of the Arts.

Keith Sinclair contributed a single poem to the issue (‘Love of Two Hands’) and Kendrick Smithyman four: ‘First Meeting’, ‘Landscape of Love and Time’, ‘The Mirror Prospect’, and ‘The Hanging Judge’. In his sole

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127 Denis Glover, Sings Harry and Other Poems (Christchurch: Caxton Press, 1951).

128 Glover, Sings Harry 17.


131 Glover, Sings Harry 22.

132 Both Yearbook of the Arts in New Zealand 5 (1949): 133.


appearance in *Kiwi*, James K. Baxter submitted a group of four poems: 'To My Father',138 'To Ward off Demons',139 'Hart Crane';140 and 'Virginia Lake.'141 The second of these, 'To Ward off Demons,' has never been republished, while the other poems were included in Baxter's 1953 collection, *The Fallen House*.142 In the *Collected Poems* John Weir dates these poems as being composed in 1947 and 1948. Auckland was the only College of the four original constituent Colleges of the University of New Zealand at which Baxter was never enrolled. His appearance in *Kiwi* is the result both of Duggan's editorial policy of opening *Kiwi* to work by writers from beyond the campus precincts and of Baxter's growing reputation as a poet, which had been recently confirmed by the publication of *Blow, Wind of Fruitfulness*.143

Duggan himself contributed two stories to the issue. The first, 'Listen to the Mocking Bird' was published under the initials 'N.H.' ('Noel Harbron'),144 and

136(...continued)
144 Maurice Duggan ('N.H.'), 'Listen to the Mocking Bird,' *Kiwi* 43 (1948): 54-59. 'He was Maurice Noel Duggan and his paternal grandmother's family name was Harbron'. C.K. Stead, 'Notes on Texts and Publishing Matters,' *Collected Stories*, by Maurice Duggan (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1981) 377.
both it and the second, 'Sunbrown,'\textsuperscript{145} were republished in his \textit{Collected Stories}.\textsuperscript{146} John Reece Cole contributed a near final draft of his story 'It Was So Late,' here titled 'Return.'\textsuperscript{147} Versions of this story had already appeared twice previously.\textsuperscript{148} In its final form, from which the \textit{Kiwi} version differs only in the elision of a few words and sentences, it became the title story of Cole's first collection, published in 1949 by Caxton Press of Christchurch. Other stories were contributed by: David Ballantyne,\textsuperscript{149} J.B. Raphael,\textsuperscript{150} Werner Droescher,\textsuperscript{151} John Ellis,\textsuperscript{152} and John Kelly.\textsuperscript{153}

As is so often the case with university periodicals, the standard of contributions set by Duggan in 1948 was not sustained. The issue for 1949, edited by Murray Martin and printed by the Griffin Press, returned to a reliance on student contributions, although A.R.D. Fairburn made a final appearance in \textit{Kiwi} with his poem 'Mr Pyrites,'\textsuperscript{154} a poem notable for its expression of Fairburn's increasing homophobia. M.K. Joseph, now a lecturer in the English

\textsuperscript{145} Maurice Duggan, 'Sunbrown,' \textit{Kiwi} 43 (1948): 76-81.

\textsuperscript{146} Maurice Duggan, 'Listen to the Mocking Bird,' \textit{Collected Stories} 57-61; Maurice Duggan, 'Sunbrown,' \textit{Collected Stories} 52-56.

\textsuperscript{147} John Reece Cole, 'Return,' \textit{Kiwi} 43 (1948): 34-42.


\textsuperscript{149} David Ballantyne, 'The Outcast,' \textit{Kiwi} 43 (1948): 14-22.

\textsuperscript{150} J.B. Raphael, 'Front Seat,' \textit{Kiwi} 43 (1948): 45-49.

\textsuperscript{151} Werner Droescher, 'Luscious Dahlias,' \textit{Kiwi} 43 (1948): 61-62.

\textsuperscript{152} John Ellis, 'Episode - The School,' \textit{Kiwi} 43 (1948): 81-90.

\textsuperscript{153} John Kelly, 'Tangi,' \textit{Kiwi} 43 (1948): 91-95.

\textsuperscript{154} A.R.D. Fairburn, 'Mr Pyrites,' \textit{Kiwi} 1949: 31. The use of volume numbers ceased with this issue of \textit{Kiwi}.
Department, also returned to Kiwi with his poem 'Vacation Exercise.'\textsuperscript{155} John Reid judged the prose for the issue, awarding first prize to Iris Park for 'Homecoming,'\textsuperscript{156} ahead of O.E. Middleton's 'Boy From the South,'\textsuperscript{157} judged 'Highly Commended.' Professor Musgrove judged Murray Martin's 'Metaphysical Verse' best poem.\textsuperscript{158}

1949 also saw the first issue of the irregular annual of the Literary Society, Conspectus. Devoted to publishing academic essays by students, the first three issues (1949, 1950 and 1952) featured four essays in each, stylishly printed by the Griffin Press. Murray Martin, editor of Kiwi for 1949, published an essay on 'The New Zealand Short Story' in the first issue.\textsuperscript{159} In 1964, a year in which Kiwi did not appear, Conspectus was revived with its objective intact of providing a venue for students' academic rather than creative endeavour. An article by Charles Doyle, 'Making it with the Muse,'\textsuperscript{160} briefly surveying New Zealand poetry over the previous decade, is the highlight of this final issue. At the time Doyle was a lecturer in the English Department and enrolled for a PhD.

The next issue of Kiwi to appear after 1949 was that for 1952, edited by Ann Scott and printed by Pelorus Press, although without the input of Robert Lowry, who had moved on to found the Pilgrim Press in 1951. A number of familiar names were featured, including M.K. Joseph, Keith Sinclair, Kendrick

\textsuperscript{156} Iris Park, 'Homecoming,' Kiwi 1949: 9-15.
\textsuperscript{157} O.E. Middleton, 'Boy From the South,' Kiwi 1949: 20-22.
\textsuperscript{158} Murray Martin, 'Metaphysical Verse,' Kiwi 1949: 32-33.
\textsuperscript{159} Murray Martin, 'The New Zealand Short Story,' Conspectus 1949: 10-16.
\textsuperscript{160} Charles Doyle, 'Making it with the Muse,' Conspectus 1964: 1-13.
Smithyman and O.E. Middleton, none of whom were in fact students. Sinclair was now a senior lecturer at the University. His poem 'This Summer' appeared as the second poem in the title sequence of his first published collection, Songs for a Summer, issued by Pegasus Press in the same year as this number of Kiwi.\footnote{Keith Sinclair, 'This Summer,' Kiwi 1952: 23. Keith Sinclair, Songs for a Summer (Christchurch: Pegasus Press, 1952) 6. This poem had already appeared in the Australian Jindyworobak Anthology 1951: 47. Weir and Lyons, Bibliography 430. It was recently republished in Moontalk: Poems New and Selected (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1993) 1.}


The most significant new name to appear in the 1952 issue was that of C.K. Stead. He had enrolled at Auckland in 1951 and soon became part of a
small group of student poets who met to read and discuss their work. Of the
dozen or so in the group only Stead continued writing and in 1952 he con-
tributed four poems to Kiwi, the first of his creative work published anywhere.\textsuperscript{171}
He later described these as 'love poems, written to a fellow student, and read to
her in a coffee bar in Queen Street called Somerville's.'\textsuperscript{172} Stead's reaction to
seeing the 'nakedness of the feeling' in these poems in print was one of acute
embarrassment, and he recalls tearing out the relevant pages of any 'stray copies'
of the issue which he came across.\textsuperscript{173}

After another lapse of two years, the next issue appeared in 1955, edited
Stead completed the editing of the issue, begun by Dyer early in the previous
year, after the latter left New Zealand to study in England. By 1955 Stead had
made rapid progress as a poet, with his work being accepted for publication in
a range of local and overseas periodicals, including Landfall, the New Zealand
Poetry Yearbook, and the Australian Jindyworobak Anthology. Partly due to his
involvement in the larger Auckland literary scene, the 1955 issue of Kiwi was
enhanced by contributions from Frank Sargeson and Maurice Gee. Sargeson
contributed an article entitled 'Can a New Zealand writer live by his writing?'\textsuperscript{174}
the text of a lecture to the College's Literary Club later republished in Conversa-

\textsuperscript{171} These were: 'The Girl,' Kiwi 1952: 57; 'Thoughts in Autumn,' Kiwi 1952: 76; 'The
Farewell' Kiwi 1952: 72; and 'Tree,' Kiwi 1952: 76.

\textsuperscript{172} C.K. Stead, 'Foreword,' New Zealand Universities Arts Festival Yearbook 1968: 7.

\textsuperscript{173} Stead, 'Foreword' 7.

\textsuperscript{174} Frank Sargeson, 'Can a New Zealand writer live by his writing?' Kiwi 1955: 13-17.
tion in a Train.\textsuperscript{175} Gee's story 'In at the Death'\textsuperscript{176} was his first published piece.\textsuperscript{177} A complex and highly polished debut, it deals with the final moments in the life of the Reverend Mr Whittaker, a character who prefigures Gee's most famous literary creation, George Plumb. This story was not reprinted. The only other contributions of note in the issue are three poems by C.K. Stead: 'You are the music . . . [sic]'\textsuperscript{178} republished as 'Sonnet' in the 1955 issue of the \textit{New Zealand Poetry Yearbook};\textsuperscript{179} 'Mare against the sunset';\textsuperscript{180} and 'Dissolution,'\textsuperscript{181} republished in Stead's first collection, \textit{Whether the Will is Free}.\textsuperscript{182}

Andrew Gurr, Max Richards and Graham Percy co-edited the next issue, that for 1958. Another Pilgrim Press production, it carried as epigraph the following ironic lines, attributed by Vincent O'Sullivan to Max Richards:\textsuperscript{183}

\begin{quote}
The Kiwi is rare, 
Almost abolished 
Excepting where 
Our shoes are polished.\textsuperscript{184}
\end{quote}

In his editorial ('What Kiwis Print') Andrew Gurr notes the 'advent of Nucleus,'

\textsuperscript{175} Frank Sargeson, 'Can a New Zealand writer live by his writing?' \textit{Conversation in a Train} by Frank Sargeson, ed. Kevin Cunningham (Auckland: Auckland University Press; Oxford University Press, 1983) 93-98.

\textsuperscript{176} Maurice Gee, 'In at the Death,' \textit{Kiwi} 1955: 21-26.

\textsuperscript{177} Cathe Giffuni, 'Maurice Gee: A Bibliography,' \textit{Australian and New Zealand Studies in Canada} 3 (1990): 36-42.

\textsuperscript{178} C.K. Stead, 'You are the music . . . [sic],' \textit{Kiwi} 1955: 18.


\textsuperscript{180} C.K. Stead, 'Mare against the sunset,' \textit{Kiwi} 1955: 18.

\textsuperscript{181} C.K. Stead, 'Dissolution,' \textit{Kiwi} 1955: 19.

\textsuperscript{182} C.K. Stead, \textit{Whether the Will is Free} (Hamilton: Paul's Book Arcade, 1964).

\textsuperscript{183} Vincent O'Sullivan, letter to the author, 2 January 1995.

\textsuperscript{184} Max Richards, ('The Kiwi is rare'), \textit{Kiwi} 1958: 2.
which he sees as a catalyst freeing the more established magazine to 'spread its wings wider [to] become a genuine (not an aspirant) literary magazine.'

_Nucleus_ appeared on campus in four irregular issues between 1957 and 1961. Describing itself in the opening editorial as an 'experiment' and as 'Auckland's only literary periodical,' _Nucleus_ set out to provide a venue for work by student contributors, leavened with the addition of material by established writers. Modelled in format if not in content on Noel Farr Hoggard's _Arena_ and arising in part from a burgeoning coffee house and jazz culture among Auckland students during the late fifties, _Nucleus_ refused affiliation with any single student group. The editors and contributors were for the most part enrolled with the English Department and were involved in both the occasional issues of _Kiwi_ which appeared during the period of _Nucleus_'s publication and in the intermittent activities of the campus Literary Club. Wystan Curnow was involved in the editing of all four issues of _Nucleus_, with Phil Crookes co-editing numbers one and two and Tony Hammond numbers three and four. Contributors included R.A.K. Mason and Denis Glover, as well as a number of students at the start of notable academic or literary careers, including Vincent O'Sullivan, William Broughton, and Andrew Gurr. All three of these latter individuals were also involved at different times in the editorship of _Kiwi_.

The first slim number of _Nucleus_, that for 1957, consists of an editorial and five pages of poetry by W.S. Broughton, Peter Watson, and Max Richards, whose

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185 Andrew Gurr, 'What Kiwis Print,' _Kiwi_ 1958: 3.
186 W. Curnow and P. Crookes, 'The Editors' Particle,' _Nucleus_ 1 (1957): N. pag.
187 Wystan Curnow, interview with author, 1 September 1994.
contribution is printed over his frequently used pseudonym 'Oscar Hammerklavier.' 'Mongrel Patrol'\textsuperscript{188} is written in a similar vein to 'Wonderful Whitianga,' also signed 'Oscar Hammerklavier' and one of the highlights of \textit{Kiwi} for 1958.\textsuperscript{189} This appeared as a single leaf (four page) broadsheet printed on yellow paper and inserted into the issue. A witty piece of social criticism, it portrays the Coromandel Peninsula beach resort of Whitianga as the epitome of New Zealand culture in the fifties, venal, materialistic, and complacent. Its secondary title, 'Mercury Bay Catalogue,' and its setting make reference to M.K. Joseph's poem, 'Mercury Bay Eclogue,' several part lines of which are quoted by Richards as one of three separate epigraphs to his poem. Richards, as 'Hammerklavier,' is also apparently responsible for The Tragicall Hiftory of Ch. Mrl. [sic], signed 'Osc. Ham.' and printed on page eleven of this issue of \textit{Kiwi}.\textsuperscript{190} Richards also contributed poetry to \textit{Craccum} under the pseudonym 'Oscar Hammerklavier' during the early sixties.\textsuperscript{191}

In the editorial to the second issue of \textit{Nucleus}, that for 1958, Curnow and Crookes claimed the moral high ground, seeing their publication as an oasis of intellectualism amid a desert of apathy and 'juvenile flippancy.'\textsuperscript{192} Hopeful of

\textsuperscript{188} Max Richards ('Oscar Hammerklavier'), 'Mongrel Patrol,' \textit{Nucleus} 1 (1957): N. pag.

\textsuperscript{189} Max Richards ('Oscar Hammerklavier'), 'Wonderful Whitianga,' \textit{Kiwi} 1958: between 20-21.

\textsuperscript{190} Max Richards ('Osc. Ham.'), 'The Tragicall Hiftory of Ch. Mrl. [sic],' \textit{Kiwi} 1958: 11.

\textsuperscript{191} For example, Max Richards ('Oscar Hammerklavier'), 'Sonnet On First Poking into Chapman's Humour,' \textit{Craccum} 4 May 1961: 8. The Chapman here is Robert Chapman, poet, critic and editor with Jonathan Bennett of \textit{An Anthology of New Zealand Verse} (London: Oxford University Press, 1956).

\textsuperscript{192} W. Curnow and P. Crookes, 'A nucleus of what?' \textit{Nucleus} 1.2 (n.d.): 1.
a 'minor "renaissance" in University writing,' the editors solicited articles on a wide range of subjects. By far the most significant items in the issue's twelve pages of poetry and short fiction were two contributions solicited from R.A.K. Mason: the poems 'She Kept Cows' and 'Lullaby and Neck-verse.' Both these poems were assigned by Mason's editor, Allen Curnow, to the period 1924-1930 and republished by him in the 1962 Collected Poems. 'Lullaby and Neck-verse' in particular has strong similarities to that major poem of Mason's oeuvre, 'Body of John.' During the late fifties Mason's work was being rediscovered by a new generation of poets.

The third issue of Nucleus appeared in April 1959, and again its editorial took a very serious stand, in this case on the magazine's role in the development of a distinctive New Zealand poetic. Wystan Curnow, this time writing in concert with co-editor Tony Hammond, responded to Peter Bland's review of Louis Johnson's recent collection, New Worlds for Old: Poems, published in the Auckland literary periodical Image. Curnow and Hammond took issue with Bland's apparent dismissal of the significance of a 'national tradition' in New

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194 R.A.K. Mason, 'She Kept Cows,' Nucleus 1.2 (n.d.): 8.
197 Wystan Curnow, interview with author, 1 September 1994.
Zealand poetry, and in response claimed for *Nucleus* a role in the development of this tradition, a project which its editors regarded as having been begun some thirty years previously, that is, around the time of the publication of *Phoenix*. Interestingly, Curnow and Hammond chose to bolster their argument with the same quotation, only slightly longer, from Yeats's *Letters to the New Island* employed the following year by Allen Curnow as the second of his three epigraphs to his *Penguin Book of New Zealand Verse.*\(^{201}\)

Again in 1959 an established poet added his weight to *Nucleus*, although this time it was the ever irreverent Denis Glover who contributed a satiric poem on the plight of the neophyte poet craving what Glover portrays as the most coveted acknowledgement of his or her talent, inclusion in one of the much discussed anthologies published during the period, probably those edited by Louis Johnson.\(^{202}\) Vincent O'Sullivan also contributed the first of several poems to *Nucleus*, 'After a bush fire.'\(^{203}\) O'Sullivan and two other contributors of poetry, W.S. Broughton and Max Richards, had previously seen their work published in *Landfall*. W.J. Cameron, then an English Department staff member, contributed an article on 'Auckland's First Printing Press.'\(^{204}\)

The fourth and what was to be the final issue of *Nucleus*, published in August 1961 (the same month in which that year's issue of *Kiwi* appeared) was devoid of any editorial comment and opened with a group of four poems by


\(^{202}\) Denis Glover, 'Complaint of one of the "younger" poets,' *Nucleus* 3 (April 1959): 13. Not republished.

\(^{203}\) Vincent O'Sullivan, 'After a bush fire,' *Nucleus* 3 (April 1959): 20.

\(^{204}\) W.J. Cameron, 'Auckland's First Printing Press,' *Nucleus* 3 (April 1959): 5-12.
O’Sullivan. Broughton contributed a long essay on the poetry of James K. Baxter and Andrew Gurr, Max Richards, and Mark Young (editor of the Victoria University magazine *Experiment* in 1960) also contributed poetry. Don Binney contributed several illustrations, as he did to *Kiwi* during the same year.

Vincent O’Sullivan had made his first appearance in *Kiwi* in 1958 with two poems, 'Boy Next Door'\(^{205}\) and 'Pioneer (Epithalamium)'\(^{206}\) He was responsible for editing the Capping Book for 1958 and went on to co-edit the next issue of *Kiwi*, that for 1960, to which he contributed two further poems, 'Woman'\(^{207}\) and 'Dream of Ulysses'.\(^{208}\) The issue of *Kiwi* for 1960 was edited by Phil Andrews and Michael Jackson, and printed by Pilgrim Press. It featured an article by Wystan Curnow entitled 'New Zealand Painting',\(^{209}\) one of his first ventures into the area of art criticism.\(^{210}\)

W.S. Broughton and Wystan Curnow edited *Kiwi* in 1961. Robert Lowry was credited with printing the issue, which featured poems by Roger Horrocks (writing under his then favoured pseudonym of 'H. Searle'), K.O. Arvidson, and W.S. Broughton. MacDonald Jackson contributed The Visionary Moment: An Essay on the Poetry of A.R.D. Fairburn,\(^{211}\) a reworking of an M.A. essay written

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\(^{205}\) Vincent O’Sullivan, 'Boy Next Door,' *Kiwi* 1958: 34.

\(^{206}\) Vincent O’Sullivan, 'Pioneer (Epithalamium),' *Kiwi* 1958: 35.

\(^{207}\) Vincent O’Sullivan, 'Woman,' *Kiwi* 1960: 42.

\(^{208}\) Vincent O’Sullivan, 'Dream of Ulysses,' *Kiwi* 1960: 3.

\(^{209}\) Wystan Curnow, 'New Zealand Painting,' *Kiwi* 1960: 31-32.

\(^{210}\) An earlier piece was his article 'Painting in Isolation,' *Comment* 1.4 (1960): 11-12.

in 1959 which argues persuasively for the consistency and integrity of the poet's particular 'view of life.'

Ken Arvidson had contributed the first of several poems to *Kiwi* in 1960. He went on to contribute a further four poems over the next three years, none of which were republished. Two of these appeared in the issue of *Kiwi* for 1962 which appeared as an eight page supplement to *Craccum,* the student newspaper, a format resorted to since there was no one willing to act as editor for either the usual issue of *Kiwi* or its fellow on-campus publication, *Nucleus.* The supplement was edited by *Craccum* art and literary editor Ian Pringle. Roger Horrocks contributed a story and ten poems, all but one under the pseudonym 'H. Searle,' which he also used for poems published elsewhere in *Craccum.* Other poems were also contributed by William Broughton and Tim ('Tyme') Curnow, both of whom had contributed to previous issues of *Kiwi.*

*Kiwi* for 1963 was edited by Tim Curnow and Terry Snow and printed by Whitcombe & Tombs with typography by Robert Lowry. The only names of long term interest to appear in its pages were those of K.O. Arvidson and Jack Lasenby, both of whom contributed poems. The issue of *Kiwi* for 1964 was titled *Crucible.* A second periodical with this title was also published in Auckland between 1964 and 1969, but was not linked to the University. This began as a photocopied quarterly before developing briefly into a glossy magazine of poetry, fiction, reviews and photography with pretensions to an international focus. It folded after five issues. The 'Kiwi* Crucible was typed and photocopied

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212 MacDonald Jackson, correspondence with author, 24 August 1994.

and contained nothing of lasting interest.

In 1965 the title *Kiwi* was restored for what was promoted as the sixtieth jubilee issue. Vanya Lowry designed the typography in the issue, which was edited by John Harvey and Christine Moir and printed by Robert Lowry's Wakefield Press, successor to his Pelorus Press. The first half of the number was devoted to essays by academics such as Sydney Musgrove, Charles Nalden, and J.C. Reid, who wrote an account of Auckland University student periodicals.214 The second half featured literary material, including a story by Albert Wendt and poems by Kendrick Smithyman, M.K. Joseph, Ian Wedde and Michael Morrissey. Smithyman's contributions were two elegies for Robert Lowry, entitled collectively 'Grotesques'215 and both headed by quotations from Henry James. For his part, Wendt had published extensively in student magazines between 1960 and 1963, including the *New Zealand Universities Arts Festival Yearbook* and the Victoria University periodicals *Experiment* and *Argot*.

Ian Wedde edited the issue for 1966, the highlight of which was a series of responses to a questionnaire presented to several New Zealand poets.216 They were asked to respond to a quotation from Allen Tate's *The New Provincialism* in which Tate sets out what he considers to be the distinguishing features of regionalism and provincialism, ideas discussed at length by Kendrick Smithyman in a series of articles in *Mate* (Nos 8-11, 1961-1963), republished in 1965 as

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214 J.C. Reid, 'A Note on Auckland University Student Publications,' *Kiwi* 1965: 11-14.


216 'Comments on a Questionnaire,' *Kiwi* 1966: 14-19.
A Way of Saying. Respondents included Louis Johnson, C.K. Stead, Peter Bland, and K.O. Arvidson. Allen Curnow declined to participate. In his editorial Wedde notes that the issue is divided into two sections, solicited articles and unsolicited poetry and prose. Among the latter were poems by Michael Jackson, Francis Pound and Wedde himself. Olive Johnson, Fairburn's bibliographer, contributed a review of his Collected Poems.

Since 1966 only one issue of Kiwi has appeared, that for 1980, although three magazines published by the Students' Association may be regarded as Kiwis by other names. These were Te Maarama (1975), Bright But Invisible (1978) and Tango (1982). All carried in their subtitles reference to being the literary magazine of the Auckland University Students' Association, a clear declaration of lineage. The first two featured poetry, short stories, photographs and drawings, including poetry by Iain Sharp, Richard von Sturmer, Mari Hunt and Michael Morrissey. Tango, which was subtitled 'a literary rage': auckland university literary handbook 1982: an anthology of new writing, new artwork (sic), was edited by David Eggleton and published in a format and layout similar to that employed for Kiwi in 1980. Kendrick Smithyman added to his considerable series of contributions to University of Auckland literary publications with three poems in Tango, written after visiting Canada: 'Party-going: London, Ontario'; 'Housing Scheme: London, Ontario'; and 'Walking Campus: London,


Ontario. C.K. Stead contributed '4th April 1982,' a poem reflecting on one of the final events surrounding the Bastion Point protests. Riemke Ensing contributed four poems and Michael Morrissey one. Eggleton himself contributed a story, 'Squid's Cookbook' and Iain Sharp two prose pieces: 'Jukebox Journal' and 'The Poets.'

The last issue of *Kiwi* to bear that name appeared in 1980, edited by Judi Stout, editor of *Craccum* for the year. Its unnumbered pages featured work by staff and students alike, including Kendrick Smithyman, C.K. Stead, Wystan Curnow, Michele Leggott, Riemke Ensing, and Peter Wells. Curnow's contribution was his poem 'Variations on a theme by Charlie Parker.' He was also the main subject of an amusing series of photographs by Sophie Green entitled 'Wystan Curnow Looking for the Underground,' a record of an excursion by Curnow and others into the excavation dug for the construction of a pedestrian tunnel beneath Symonds Street east of the Grafton Road intersection, connecting two sections of the Auckland University campus.

221(continued)
226 Iain Sharp, 'The Poets,' *Tango* 1980: 44.
228 Sophie Green, 'Wystan Curnow Looking for the Underground,' *Kiwi* 1980: N. pag.
Kendrick Smithyman contributed a poem, 'Dreams, Responsibilities,' and C.K. Stead poems '4' and '12' from his 'Catullan Variations.' Riemke Ensing contributed 'More Notes to Liz,' and Michele Leggott, in one of her first outings as a poet, contributed five pieces: 'Bean Rock,' 'Figures in a Sequence,' 'Raison D'Aller,' and 'Two Poems for Bridget Riley: Persephone 2; Orient 4.' Peter Wells contributed 'Four Remembered Pleasures,' a prose piece which expands on themes explored in his 'Made in New Zealand: Six Political Memories,' printed in Islands in 1976. Phil Dadson, a music student beginning to make a name for himself with the performance group 'From Scratch,' contributed an illustration entitled 'Diagrammatic layouts for music performance GUNG HO 1,2,3 D: A Work in 7 Stages.'

In addition to the Kiwi proxies for 1975, 1978, and 1982, there were also two other little magazines published on campus during the decade or so prior to 1980. The most significant of these is generally referred to as Freed, a

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235 Michele Leggott, 'Two Poems for Bridget Riley: Persephone 2; Orient 4,' Kiwi 1980: N. pag.

236 Peter Wells, 'Four Remembered Pleasures,' Kiwi 1980: N. pag.


238 Phil Dadson, 'Diagrammatic layouts for music performance GUNG HO 1,2,3 D: A Work in 7 Stages,' Kiwi 1980: N. pag.
magazine published in five issues under various permutations on the original title, *The Word is Freed*, between 1969 and 1972. From the start its editors gave voice to a newly invigorated local poetic which had emerged over the previous half-decade or so, largely in response to the influence of what has been termed a 'post-Poundian American poetry (Olson, Creeley, Ginsberg),' an influence clearly and even stridently at odds with the poetic heritage formed by the previous two generations of New Zealand poets. *Freed* is one of the best local examples of what one critic has recently called a 'limited-issue manifesto magazine.' As early as 1979, C.K. Stead was presenting *Freed* 'as an event of comparable symbolic significance' to the publication of *Phoenix* in the early 1930s. Like that earlier little magazine, *Freed*’s editors and contributors were too diverse a group to warrant the appellation 'school,' although they certainly formed the vocal core of a new and vigorous element in New Zealand poetry.

*Freed* clearly deserves a degree of close analysis and extended discussion beyond the bounds of this present thesis. Instead, the objective here is merely to 'get the record straight,' or as straight as possible, on the material circumstances of the magazine's production. As always, the tendency is towards

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Stead, 'From Wystan to Carlos' 475.


detail and comprehensiveness, driven by the bibliographical impulse which lies at the base of this thesis.

Freed's editors were Alan Brunton (Numbers 1 & 2), Murray Edmond (Numbers 3 & 4), and Russell Haley (Number 5), with Jim Stevenson and Chris Else assisting Brunton with the first and second issues respectively. They and their designer David Kisler, who was responsible for the layout of all five issues, made full and innovative use of the latest photocopy technology, producing issues which paid little attention to the conventional rules of design and typography. Graphics were an imaginative mixture of found images and, in early issues particularly, nineteen-sixties style illustrations and cartoons, rendered by artists such as Beth Noble and Barry Linton. Pat Hanly supplied the cover for the second issue.

Freed's immediate antecedents can be identified in various magazines published in the sixties, magazines in which the editors and major contributors to Freed had already seen their work published. Preeminent among these were the various periodicals associated with the university campuses, including most significantly the 1968 issue of the New Zealand Universities Literary Yearbook, edited by Ian Wedde (see below, Chapter 6.6). In addition, Robin Dudding's editorship of Landfall, which he took over full responsibility for in 1967, saw him gradually introduce to his readership a range of new and younger poets, including Wedde, Bill Manhire, Russell Haley, and Murray Edmond. Other significant contemporary outlets for the poets published in Freed were Frontiers (1968-1970), edited by Michael Harlow and Edge (1971-1976), edited by Don Long. Freed editors Brunton and Haley, in concert with Martin Edmond and Ian
Wedde, were to join forces again in the mid-seventies with their publication of the performing arts magazine *Spleen* (1975-1976).

In an interview published in the Victoria University Literary Society magazine *Argot* soon after the first issue of *Freed* had appeared, Brunton stated that in the new magazine he and his fellow contributors deliberately adopted 'an extreme point of view' in an attempt to 'show the local public there is another direction.\(^{244}\) The extent to which this was deliberately iconoclastic is clear from the polemical nature of the magazine's editorial comments, manifestos driven by Pound's primary dictum ('Make it New') and written in the style of the best *avant-garde* little magazines of the past. Murray Edmond and more recently Mark Williams have both commented on the extent to which C.K. Stead rapidly co-opted *Freed* to fit his own particular literary historical agenda, squeezing its recalcitrant form into a lineal tracing of influences and developments. Comments by the participants clearly throw into dispute Stead's analysis, though his reading of the significance of *Freed* as a transitional moment in the literature is largely correct. It is often in the nature of little magazines to appear larger on the historical map than they in fact are; as it were, to bulk large in the collective consciousness of their participants and inheritors.

At least seven of *Freed*’s most important contributors, including three of its editors (Brunton, Edmond and Haley) were enrolled in Auckland University English Department courses, the most significant of which in terms of the magazine's content was the Stage Three English Special Paper on modern

\(^{244}\) Anonymous, 'Interview with Alan Brunton and Ian Wedde,' *Argot* 21 (1969): 36.
American poetry taught by Roger Horrocks. The editorial in the first issue of *Freed* cites the names of several poets referred to in that course, including Robert Creeley, Robert Duncan, Charles Olson, Louis Zukofsky, Theodore Roethke, and William Carlos Williams.

The aphoristic tone and 'cutup' layout of this editorial is characteristic of the style of this and subsequent issues. Rife with ampersands and abbreviated words ('yr,' 'th,' 't') and arranged in five distinct parts, it employs the textures of open form poetry as it switches between bold aphoristic prose and telegraphic verse. Brunton asserts his allegiance to the American poets by expounding a poetic which recalls and at times directly quotes the writings of Creeley, Olson, Levertov, and Ginsberg, among others. The editorial is supplemented by a poem by Brunton in which he further attacks those he terms 'the Elders,' those established poets who

... must cease to lot
themselves in literary
auctions/before them
devalue metaphysics
of discovery. i say.

here at the ankles of the world:
ghost-writers
of a sensibility
abashed of its own
rodomontade
/prolonging its affective tone
enjoying its data

Brunton then names key members of the Black Mountain College group of poets as more suitable mentors for his generation of New Zealand poets.

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245 Edmond, 'Creating a Potent Image' 59.

246 Alan Brunton, 'The Big Re-Think,' *Freed* 1 (July 1969): N. pag.
Other contributors to the issue include David Mitchell, Russell Haley, Murray Edmond, Ian Wedde, Bill Manhire, Trevor Reeves, Rhys Pasley, and Arthur Bates (pseudonym of Arthur Baysting, editor of *The Young New Zealand Poets*,\(^{247}\) the first significant anthology of the work of the *Freed* generation of poets). Contributions are almost entirely restricted to poetry, much of it emulative of the forenamed American poets. This may be in some cases due to the fact that in his course Roger Horrocks had students compose 'imitations' of selected poets.\(^{248}\) Edmond identifies Brunton's contribution to the fourth issue, 'America: A Vision,' as being originally written under this criterion, as 'a poem in imitation of Ginsberg.'\(^{249}\) Beneath a page of poems by Haley, Ringley and Pasley, is printed the directive which Edmond (after Haley) has identified as the 'keynote of *Freed*: "Create me a potent image."'\(^{250}\) These words are cut-up and reset disjunctively around an emerging roughly heart-shaped array of leaves, flowers and other organic images.

Brunton also edited the second issue (again entitled *The Word is Freed*) with the assistance of Chris Else, and published work by Bob Orr in addition to Edmond, Haley, Brunton, Wedde, and Reeves. The opinions of, among others, Claus Oldenberg and Charles Olson on modern culture are cited. Again conventional layout is eschewed in favour of a mild sort of typographical chaos.


\(^{248}\) Edmond, 'Creating a Potent Image' 59.

\(^{249}\) Edmond, 'Creating a Potent Image' 59.

\(^{250}\) These poems were: Rhys Pasley, 'music man,' *Freed* 1 (July 1969): N. pag.; H. Hingley, 'onan,' *Freed* 1 (July 1969): N. pag; and Russell Haley, 'mary the terrible tree,' *Freed* 1 (July 1969): N. pag.
achieved by cutting and pasting sections of print at odd angles on the page. Brunton's highly cryptic editorial concludes with a series of five 'perceptions,' namely:

1. Th Dadaists are planning yet another revolution in th arts over Sprunglis teashop.
2. Thos. Nashe: 'printers are madde whoresonnes.'
3. L'art est une prétention chauffée à la timidité du bassin urinaire.
4. Reality is th actor in th white coat.
5. Hieronymous von Aken liven in Hertogenbosch [sic].

The poetry which entirely dominated the first issue is supplemented in the second with articles on architecture and film.

Issue three was the first of two edited by Murray Edmond. Edmond opens the issue's editorial with a quote from Robert Creeley, and selects Arthur Rimbaud as his inspirational 'voice from the past.' At the end of the decade C.K. Stead was to quote Edmond's call for New Zealand poets to 'construct a poetic rather than name them hills & [sic] define a national consciousness,' as part of Stead's own attempt to develop a 'set of terms' for the discussion of New Zealand literature. Edmond also took the opportunity in his editorial to review the previous two issues, opening with the comment that:

This third issue of FREED has none of the frottuerist [sic] qualities nor the visual titillation of the first issue. This is part of the inevitability of being third. It is not an attempt to blast a literary scene and an international awareness out of the Chinese walls of ingratiating tastemongering that have been erected about us. The first issue gave evidence of the successful crumbling of these walls when a certain 'critic' described that issue as 'heretical' and 'not poetry' - perhaps the nadir of the handy-man cum buddy-

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251 Alan Brunton, 'Two: The Word is Freed,' Freed 2 (n.d.): 3-4.
believer's method, who apart from a few notably [sic] exceptions amongst writers, is the type of critic welcomed and brothered in NZ. In fact there is not very much to geli [sic].

Edmond goes on to make the most explicit references to date in Freed to the internationalist nature of the enterprise, setting the poetic antecedents for its contributors among American poetry of the fifties and modern European poetry in translation.

This issue of The Word is Freed in particular is dedicated to giving 'SPACE' to the long poem, by which Edmond means the sorts of poetic sequences David Mitchell pursued at the time, poems characterised by, as Stead later described,

first the lack of logical or narrative structures, and in their place the aggregation of radioactive fragments within a 'Field'; second, the scoring of speech patterns to create a music which must predominate over any externally imposed form; and third, the use of suggestion, approximation, a carefully judged incompleteness as a way of engaging the reader in the action of the poetry itself - all these combining ideally to increase the sense of an achieved reality.

Long poems in the issue by Russell Haley, Arthur Bates and David Mitchell best fulfil these criteria, although work by Wedde, Orr, Brunton and Edmond himself also stand out.

The issue opens with an account of an interview by Edmond with David Mitchell, signalling an attempt to consolidate a Freed 'school' of poetry. This piece is typical of much of the prose published in the magazine, being very open (even vague) in its details and determinedly non-academic. Mitchell was a poet whose contributions to several magazines during the sixties and early seventies

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254 Edmond, 'Three: The Word is Freed' N. pag.

255 Stead, 'From Wystan to Carlos' 480.

256 M.D. Edmond, 'dave mitchell and [sic],' Freed 3 (n.d.): N. pag.
indicated a considerable talent, but one which, however, did not sustain itself far beyond the period of Freed's publication. The interview, conducted on the eve of Mitchell's departure for Thailand, is followed by what Mitchell himself refers to as a 'not-poem,' 'the singing bread,' a six page odyssey of hippy life and love in Paris in the early sixties which conforms well to the criteria for such long poems set out by Stead and quoted above. It opens:

paris. 1962
french bread/'the best in the christian world'
holds within its cells
the mysteries, yeah. the mysteries. . . .

drinking/ drinking great rum & pernod afternoon
with canadian music student / harmonious lush
cinzano & anis too ! yeah. the best this pagan counter

point ! nul. 'je suis à cul de l'universe ! 'bad
language. . . . ½ gone under the lowlands zinc. mal
de siècle . . . appears again as a choir of angels
in the yeast.

nickel or copper ? no matter/ great.257

What follows evokes the joys and tragedies of life on the road in Europe among the multinational youth culture which flourished there in the early nineteen sixties.

Elsewhere in the issue Edmond with the assistance of Ian MacMillan presents a (deliberately) typographically and imagistically chaotic 'essay' on film, focussed apparently on what they term 'sequential art,' with particular reference to the work of Jean-Luc Godard. Word lists (or sequences), poems and aphorisms, found images and designs, and brief, more or less cogent passages of prose combine to explore the potentialities of the form. As is common with

257 David Mitchell, 'the singing bread,' Freed 3 (n.d.): N. pag. Original lacks circumflex marks.
much of the prose in Freed, a mild form of linguistic anarchy prevails, at times poetic (some passages within the piece may be described as 'prose poems') but often, at least from this perspective, merely garbled, a fair judgement in view of the consciously irreverent attitude of the editors and their designer towards prose of any sort of literary or academic conventionality.

Exceptions to this general rule include items such as John Daly-Peoples' interview with environmental artist Leon Narbey, which concludes this third issue of Freed. The publication in Freed of what amounts to a straightforward interview about Narbey's exhibition entitled 'Real Time,' mounted at the Govett Brewster Gallery in New Plymouth, indicates a slippage of the magazine towards the conventional raison d'être of such publications, namely to provide a venue for the publication and discussion of work from within the selected avant-garde.

The fourth issue, again edited by Edmond, featured poetry by regular contributors Orr, Haley, Mitchell, Wedde, Brunton, Bates, and Edmond himself, with the addition of work by Gerard Smithyman, Jan Kemp and Rhys Pasley (the latter two had been absent since the first issue). David Kisler's skills were clearly developing. Typographically and in terms of overall design the issue was much cleaner than any of the first three. Illustrations were crisp and found images were largely shunned in favour of line drawings and other art work by Hal Chapman.

The issue opened with a review by 'Q.D.L.' (not in fact Mrs Leavis but

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258 John Daly-Peoples, 'Leon Narbey: real time,' Freed 3 (n.d.): N. pag.
English Department lecturer Jonathan Lamb) of *Head Poems,*\(^2^5^9\) a collection apparently inspired by J.R.R. Tolkien, Rider Haggard, Edgar Alan Poe, and the drug experience ('the acid ticket is the talisman')\(^2^6^0\) and penned by the poets 'False Donovan & Lepricorn Jak and S. Wonder [sic].' The first named of these had two poems published in the final issue of *Freed.* Roger Horrocks, a significant influence behind the magazine since its inception, contributed 'Three Versions of the *Avant-Garde,*'\(^2^6^1\) the first in an important and wide ranging series of articles by Horrocks on New Zealand literary and wider culture, others of which were to appear in magazines such as *Parallax* (1982-1983), *AND* (1983-1985) and elsewhere. Incidentally, the first issue of *Freed* had specifically solicited 'articles on the avant-garde'\(^2^6^2\) as well as the usual range of stories, poems, and illustrations, indicating the degree to which the editors were conscious of being part of a literary movement at odds with what had gone before.

Among the poetry in the issue, Murray Edmond's contributions were extracted from 'The Grafton Notebook,' the major sequence of poems in his first collection, *Entering the Eye,* published two years later in 1973.\(^2^6^3\) David Mitchell's

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\(^2^5^9\) Jonathan Lamb ('Q.D.L.'), 'headlands by headlight,' *Freed* 4 (June 1971): 3-4. It has not been possible to view a copy of *Head Poems* or to gather any bibliographical information beyond its title and pseudonymous authors. Both it and Lamb's review may well be a spoof.

\(^2^6^0\) Lamb, 'Headlands by Headlight' 3.

\(^2^6^1\) Roger Horrocks, 'Three Versions of the *Avant-Garde,*' *Freed* 4 (June 1971): 10-16.

\(^2^6^2\) Alan Brunton and Jim Stevenson, request for contributions, *Freed* 1 (July 1969): title page.

lament on the Vietnam War, 'odalisque/mi lai,'\textsuperscript{264} was later recast as 'my lai/remuera/ponsonby,' published in his second collection, \textit{Pipe Dreams in Ponsonby}.\textsuperscript{265} Another item of interest in the issue was Ian Wedde's 'In Index,'\textsuperscript{266} a poem consisting of freely associated images arranged alphabetically, described later as 'verbal constructs ... culled from Freud's \textit{Interpretation of Dreams}.\textsuperscript{267}

This issue and the next were bound along the short side of the page, but with only some pages orientated accordingly. The result is slightly disconcerting, as periodically during the course of reading the text must be turned ninety degrees. This is yet another means by which the editors deliberately unsettled readers, keeping them from entirely relaxing with the material.

The fifth and final issue of \textit{Freed}, dated July 1972, was appropriately titled \textit{Freed at Last}. This is the first and only overt indication that the magazine was destined for a limited run, a fact which casts into doubt the impression generally held that \textit{Freed} was from the start intended to be a little magazine with a finite issue run. Edited by Russell Haley and again designed by David Kisler, it was dedicated to the two previous editors, Alan Brunton and Murray Edmond, and largely if not entirely financed by donations, several of which came from members of the University's English Department, and some funds from the Universities Arts Festival committee. Such financial backing allowed this final issue to be both professionally typeset and to have a previously unseen touch

\textsuperscript{264} David Mitchell, 'odalisque/mi lai,' \textit{Freed} 4 (June 1971): 25.
\textsuperscript{266} Ian Wedde, 'In Index,' \textit{Freed} 4 (June 1971): 8-9.
\textsuperscript{267} Edmond, 'Creating a Potent Image' 58.
of colour on the glossy cover page. Haley's editorial seems to owe something to William Burroughs for its slightly obscene linguistic chaos, ripe with polysyllabic medical terminology related to disfunctions of what Mikhail Bakhtin called the 'lower bodily stratum.' The issue opens with six pages of poetry by Alan Brunton, and, in addition to work by its editor, features poetry by Ian Wedde, Martin Edmond, Murray Edmond, Bob Orr, Jan Kemp, Don Long, and 'False Donovan.' The issue concludes with a post-mortem of the previous four issues of the magazine by Bert Hingley.

In 1969 we saw the promotion of poetic egofever and arselicking in a dadaist explosion a few decades too late. Master Alan decided to replace the whisper of dependence with a shout and the New Wordshit arrived with THE WORD IS FREED/ONE. The Georgians were done over by BLAST fifty years ago but Brunton thought we'd all forgotten. Anyway now we're bowing down to Olson, Creely [sic] and Bob Dylan not to mention the Egyptians and the Chinese; its [sic] all Pound's fault I guess but why should the Freedlings follow?

A trumpet blast in our small room. Five times and the fifth the last. The culmination of Kisler's apprenticeship as technician of the avant-garde. The third and fourth blasts by Edmond with K. seeing wilder and wilder visions on his layout trip. Number 3 looks a mess, but 1, 2 and 4 are all good.

Hingley goes on to review each issue to number four consecutively, concluding with the prediction that the final will be 'A shit in the pants for N.Z. poetry.'

The last word from Freed is left to a reconstructed cartoon on the outside of the back cover page in which a caricature of a university lecturer is shown musing over his pipe on the success of a career based on a Ph.D. thesis on the

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269 Bert Hingley, 'Freed 1-4 Reviewed: Freed From Freed At Last,' Freed 5 (July 1972): 24.

270 Hingley 25.
subject of Freed, while looking forward somewhat lasciviously to introducing the magazine to the young female student represented in the adjacent frame. The overtly self-conscious, self-mocking state of mind of the Freed group is nowhere better evinced than in the words attributed to this academic.

When I remember 1969! When names like Brunton, Wedde,[] Edmond and Mitchell were not household words! Before I wrote my doctoral thesis on them now published in paperback by Pan Books! How blase one gets! One compares this magazine with Phoenix - one conjures with names! What magic?271

In conclusion, while Freed's editors, fulfilling the archetypal agenda of the little magazine, published some of the finest poetry of their chosen form or genre ('open form,' to use a commonly applied term) their attitude to the usual responsibilities of editorship, specifically the stating of policy, the declaring of manifestos, is at best equivocal. Some twenty-five years later, it is difficult to extract from these individuals any admission that there was a serious agenda behind Freed, beyond that declared in the rare lucid editorial passages. There seems a resistance to allowing the project to be pinned down, its motivations clarified, as if the very form of the poetry, with its deliberate incompleteness and suggestiveness, has seeped out to colour the entire publication. The myth of Freed is not to be easily erased by the procedures of the literary historian, and this researcher must concede that so slippery an object may have to be left until a more distant era, when its participants are less resistant to having their youthful iconoclasm studied, defined and confined between ordered lines of prose.

The only multiple issue little magazine to appear on campus since the

271 Freed 5 (July 1972): Outside back cover page.
demise of Freed is the unimpressive Houyhnhnms, subtitled *a magazine for the culturally depraved*. Published by the University Literary Society during 1979 and 1980, its three issues of four photocopied pages each featured poetry with no editorial comment. In 1981 the single issue of the very similarly formatted *Verbatim* was co-published by the Literary Society and the English Society. Neither publication featured poetry or contributors of lasting interest.

Since its last manifestation under the title Tango, Kiwi has failed to appear again on campus, with student literary endeavour catered for only by outlets such as the poetry pages of *Craccum* and, more recently, the publications of the English Department's Creative Writing course.\(^{272}\) This falling away of interest in student literary periodicals mirrors that at other universities in New Zealand. Only the University of Otago Students' Association has managed to sustain publication of its *Review* through the 1980s and into the 1990s, largely by transforming itself into a regional as well as a university literary magazine.

\(^{272}\) The most recent of these is *100 Lovers/Tamaki-Makaurau* (Auckland: Storytellers, 1994). It should also be noted that *Outspoke*, a monthly newspaper with some slight literary content, was published irregularly on campus by the Auckland University Amalgamated Independent Critics' Society in direct competition with *Craccum* from March 1964 until (at least) May 1967.
Students at Victoria University College produced a number of literary periodicals, ranging from *Spike*, the official annual publication of their Association, through to the nationally significant efflorescence of little magazines produced by the College's Literary Society from immediately after the end of the Second World War until the early 1970s. Among these, the trio of magazines consisting of *Broadsheet*, *Hilltop*, and *Arachne* was especially significant, while their successors *Experiment* and *Argot* continued to support writers both within the College, or University as it became in name from 1958, and throughout Wellington and the country as a whole. In 1977, some five years after *Argot* ceased publication, a single issue of a magazine entitled *Hasard* appeared, published by the English Club with the support of the Victoria University Students' Association and the New Zealand University Students' Arts Council.

The *Spike or Victoria College Review*, as it was first titled, began life as a bi-annual in 1902, four years after the establishment of the College. The June number was partly given over to creative work, and the October issue devoted to College business, official records such as lists of graduands and reports on the various clubs and societies of the College. In his history of Victoria College, J.C. Beaglehole rightly describes the first issue as 'a period piece . . . in typography, advertising and art; in its prose and verse; in its humour and its good

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1 A complete author index to *Spike* is held as a card file in the Beaglehole Room of the Victoria University of Wellington Library.
THE SPIKE

Victoria College Review.

JUNE, 1902.

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF
THE VICTORIA COLLEGE STUDENTS SOCIETY.
intentions. Its objective was to be 'a freelance, dealing out to each and all their just meed of blame or praise without fear, prejudice, or favour.' Its literary content in these early decades for the most part consisted of verse, typically in the form of songs, often of the capping variety. With the appearance of the student newspaper Smad in 1930, predecessor of Salient, Spike (like its equivalents at other university colleges) was able to devote more of its pages to imaginative writing, and from 1931 it became an annual publication, appearing regularly through the following two decades. After 1949 it appeared only infrequently, finally ceasing publication completely after 1961. During this latter period its role as a literary periodical was partly taken over by the series of campus based literary magazines named above. The student newspaper Salient also produced special literary issues in 1952, 1953 and 1955.

From a literary perspective, issues prior to 1931 are chiefly notable for poetry by writers such as J.C. Beaglehole, Hubert Church, Seaforth Mackenzie, Quentin Pope, F.A. de la Mare, and Siegfried Eichelbaum, most of whom usually contributed under initials or pseudonyms. The best of this material was gathered into *The Old Clay Patch: A Collection of Verses Written On and Around Victoria University College*, edited by F.A. de la Mare and Siegfried Eichelbaum.

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4 Smad (an acronym of the College motto) ran from 1930 to 1938 when it was succeeded by Salient. Anton Vogt reviewed the literary issue of Salient for 1953 in *Here & Now*. Anton Vogt, 'University Writers,' *Here & Now* 4.1 (1953): 34-35.

5 In addition, a special issue of Salient subtitled *The Arts in New Zealand* appeared on 5 October 1964 and presented articles on a wide range of topics, including literature.
and published in three successive editions, in 1910, 1920, and finally in 1949 as part of the College's Golden Jubilee celebrations.6 The first item of any literary note to appear in Spike was the 1903 Macmillan Brown Memorial Prize poem, written by Seaforth McKenzie and published in two extracts over a nom de plume in the issue for June 1903.7 Together with an anonymous poem in the same issue,8 these were the first of two dozen pieces of verse McKenzie was to publish in Spike over the next thirty years or so. Writing in Spike in 1922, Quentin Pope enthusiastically described Mackenzie as 'easily the greatest' of New Zealand's poets.9 The first poet of any reputation to sign his own name to a contribution was Hubert Church, who appeared regularly in Spike between 1904 and the special Silver Jubilee Number for 1924.10 Although never enrolled as a student at Victoria College, Robin Hyde contributed a single poem to the issue of Spike for June 1928.11

Among the many editors appointed prior to 1931, three are worthy of note. F.A. de la Mare edited the second and third volumes, those for 1903 and 1904, after acting as sub-editor during the inaugural year of 1902. J.C. Beagle-

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8 Seaforth Mackenzie, 'Superannuated,' Spike 3 (June 1903): 36.


10 Hubert Church, 'Victoria College,' Spike 3.2 (October 1904): 56; Hubert Church, 'Eugenic,' Spike: Silver Jubilee Number Easter 1924: 19.

hole co-edited or edited issues published from 1921 to 1925, as well as contributing verse on a regular basis throughout the twenties. He returned to the pages of *Spike* as judge of the verse competitions in 1941 and 1944, and contributed an article to the issue for 1957, 'Research in New Zealand History.' E.H. McCormick edited the two issues for 1930, as well as contributing several items, the most important being 'The Novel in New Zealand Today,' an article based on his work towards an M.A. at Victoria, and a prefiguring of his University of Cambridge M.Litt thesis, 'Literature in New Zealand,' completed in 1935. In its turn this thesis led to his *Letters and Arts in New Zealand*, one of the most important contributions to the 1940 New Zealand Centennial Surveys series, the publications of which were also edited by McCormick.

From 1931 *Spike* became an annual devoted primarily to literary and other creative effort, but with some space still given over to items such as reports on the activities of the College's various clubs and societies. The issue for 1931 was reviewed rather negatively by James Bertram in the first two numbers of *Phoenix*. He described its prose as 'distressingly ephemeral.' In reply, although with somewhat more admiration, H.R. Bannister reviewed the first volume of *Phoenix* in the issue of *Spike* for 1932. To the same issue F.A. de la Mare contributed an obituary of Hubert Church, a prolific contributor to early volumes of

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14 E.H. McCormick, *Letters and Arts in New Zealand* (Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1940). This was itself subsequently rewritten and republished as *New Zealand Literature: A Survey* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), the only study of its kind available prior to 1990.


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Chapter 6.5: Victoria University of Wellington

*Spike.* De la Mare was also to contribute a eulogy for Siegfried Eichelbaum to the issue for 1957. Literary competitions were begun in 1932, although without immediately producing material of lasting interest. During the thirties, literary taste in *Spike* tended towards the conservative, guided by the decisions of such competition judges as Professor von Zedlitz and Alan Mulgan.

Despite the hope expressed in 1932 that Victoria would soon produce a magazine 'worthy to take its place beside the *Phoenix,*' it was not until the nineteen forties that *Spike* began to be the venue for literary work of lasting significance. In 1939 a new intake of students, including Dorian Saker and Tony Murray-Oliver, signalled a change in the nature and quality of the literary content of *Spike.* Anton Vogt began to contribute from 1940, as did Hubert Witheford, who also contributed to the editing of the magazine from 1940 to 1942, and was subsequently named editor in 1944. In 1942 Witheford was joined as an Associate Editor of *Spike* by Eric Schwimmer, marking the beginning of almost a decade of association between the two, culminating in their involvement in the editing of *Arachne.*

Allen Curnow judged the verse competition in 1942, and was critical of the contributions he was asked to comment on. He opened by admitting, 'I cannot tell how much in my own notion of the poet's job in New Zealand is personal myth, not transferable,' a quandary Peter Simpson points out Curnow

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16 F.A. de la Mare, 'Hubert Church,' *Spike* 32.60 (1932): 12. A photographic portrait of Church appears as frontispiece to this issue.

17 F.A. de la Mare, 'In Memoriam: Siegfried Eichelbaum,' *Spike* 1957: 33-35.

18 Unattributed, 'Literary Club,' *Spike* 32.60 (October 1932): 63.
attempted to resolve in the introduction to his 1945 anthology.\textsuperscript{19} Curnow goes on to complain:

I am disappointed to find in the more serious of these poems only such generalised attitudes as might occur to young men anywhere in the world; not borrowings or imitations, strictly, from contemporary poetry abroad, but abstractions from the big movements of notions a New Zealander can entertain without incongruity. The particular stimulus [of world war] seems to be evaded. The throwing off of the naive journalistic fancies about 'New Zealand' poetry will have been wasted effort if it is replaced by an idea of poetry as neutral ground, like scientific enquiry, in which significant work may be done without regard to place and people. I am afraid of our repeating, in modern guise, the pioneer cycle of pallid derivative verse, followed by a sentimental local reaction.\textsuperscript{20}

Curnow here raises several concerns expressed in previous and subsequent writings. His belief in the need for New Zealand poets to produce poetry 'marked or moulded everywhere by peculiar pressures - pressures arising from the isolation of the country, its physical character, and its history,'\textsuperscript{21} was not met by the work offered to him at Victoria in 1942. He selected, somewhat reluctantly, Witheford's 'Remembering Nietzsche'\textsuperscript{22} as the 'most satisfying, most solid' poem submitted. He was later to select Witheford's 'Elegy in the Orongorongo Valley,' published in \textit{New Zealand New Writing} the following year,\textsuperscript{23} for inclusion

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{20} Allen Curnow, 'Verse Judgements,' \textit{Spike} 41.70 (1942): 21.
\item\textsuperscript{21} Allen Curnow, \textit{The Penguin Book of New Zealand Verse} (Auckland: Blackwood and Janet Paul, 1960) 17.
\item\textsuperscript{22} Hubert Witheford, 'Remembering Nietzsche,' \textit{Spike} 41.70 (1942): 16.
\item\textsuperscript{23} Hubert Witheford, 'Elegy in the Orongorongo Valley,' \textit{New Zealand New Writing} 2 (1943): 48.
\end{itemize}
in his 1945 *A Book of New Zealand Verse 1923-45.*

Canterbury University College's Winston Rhodes judged the prose contributions for both 1942 and 1943. In the issue for the latter year, printed by Caxton Press, Eric Schwimmer and Ronald Meek were the most interesting contributors of prose, and a poem by Anton Vogt, 'Home Guard,' later published in his *Poems for a War,* was the only piece of verse worthy of note.

The issue for 1944, edited by Hubert Witheford with the assistance of Janet Wilkinson (Janet Paul) and printed by the Caxton Press under Government Printing Permit No. 717, featured a strong selection of poetry, very typical of the period. Witheford opened the issue with his poem 'Invasion,' later included in his first collection of poetry, *Shadow of the Flame.* Two other poems by Witheford in the issue were also collected into *Shadow of the Flame,* 'Ein Feste Burg' and 'Moment,' and both were re-printed by de la Mare in *The Old Clay Patch* anthology for 1949. Witheford also published translations of three poems by Charles Baudelaire and a somewhat critical review of Anton Vogt's

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27 Hubert Witheford, 'Invasion,' *Spike* 43.72 (1944): 6.


29 Hubert Witheford, 'Ein Feste Burg,' *Spike* 43.72 (1944): 26.

30 Hubert Witheford, 'Moment,' *Spike* 43.72 (1944): 27.

Poems for a War, entitled 'The Poet's Mantle and Mr Vogt'.

Eric Schwimmer wrote a 'Causerie on Translation,' accompanying translations of European poetry by Witheford, Arthur Barker, and himself. Barker also submitted a piece of short fiction, 'Our Life's Star,' noted as being an 'extract from a work in progress.' Patrick Hayman, an English artist resident in New Zealand from 1936 until 1947, contributed three poems to the issue. Two years later, in 1946, Hayman joined Witheford in producing the little magazine Egress, which ran to only one issue. J.C. Beaglehole, writing under the pseudonym 'Scribulous,' reviewed A.R.D. Fairburn's We New Zealanders, and judged the verse for the issue. The prose was judged by Professor von Zedlitz. Patrick Macaskill reviewed Salient for 1944 and an article on 'Ern Malley and the Angry Penguins,' signed simply 'Triad,' was also published. This article is indicative of the interest that major Australian literary hoax aroused among local poets and writers, and perhaps prefigures the prankish

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33 Eric Schwimmer, 'Causerie on Translation,' Spike 43.72 (1944): 13-17.
34 Arthur Barker ('A.B.'), 'Our Life's Star,' Spike 43.72 (1944): 21. This is an uncertain attribution, and is largely based on the fact that Barker made other contributions to the same issue. He later contributed a story entitled 'Metabolism' to Numbers 2.1 (May 1956): 23-24, indicating that he worked in the genre.
36 J.C. Beaglehole ('Scribulous'), review of We New Zealanders, by A.R.D. Fairburn, Spike 43.72 (1944): 28-29.
39 Patrick Macaskill ('P.M.'), review of Salient (1944), Spike 43.72 (1944): 35-37.
issue of the Literary Society's *Broadsheet*, the *First Placard of the Armadillan Absolutists*, later in the decade. It is possible that Eric Schwimmer was part of the 'Triad,' as he was also a member of the anonymous authorial and editorial group behind the *Placard*.

In 1945 *Spike* was styled the 'first peace-time issue' and under instruction from the Students' Association Executive reverted to being largely a record of College life. It did, however, feature some impressive poems by W.H. Oliver and Pat Wilson. Ian Gordon, then Professor of English at Victoria and editor of *New Zealand New Writing*, judged the poetry for the issue. Gordon commented:

This is the first time that I have had difficulty in finding a bad poem. Whether it is the war or returned men, or record enrolment, or a New Zealand renaissance on the way I know not. But there are real poets among us... if you keep like this we'll have to make a volume of you all. You're too good for typescript.

One eventual result of such encouragement was the production of *Broadsheet*, which first appeared in 1947, the first in the series of important student initiated periodicals produced in Wellington in the late forties and early fifties. In the 1945 issue of *Spike* Pat Wilson was awarded first prize by Gordon for three poems, one of which, 'Poem' ('Here is the door, and I must turn and go in'), was included in the 1949 edition of *The Old Clay Patch*. The quality of Oliver's untitled poem, ('To be forever remembering'), was acknowledged by its being

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41 Unattributed, 'Editorial,' *Spike* 44.73 (1945): 3.
42 Beaglehole, *Victoria University College* 255.
43 Ian Gordon ('I.A.G.'), 'Spike Poetry 1945,' *Spike* 44.73 (1945): 38.
44 Pat Wilson, 'Poem' ('Here is the door, and I must turn and go in'), *Spike* 44.73 (1945): 44.
45 W.H. Oliver, ('To be forever remembering'), *Spike* 44.73 (1945): 38.
printed below Gordon's judgements. Other contributors of note included Catherine Crosse, Neil Mountier and William Easterbrook-Smith.

W.H. Oliver went on to act as poetry editor in 1946, in which year a remarkable thirty seven poems were submitted to *Spike* for the judgement of Basil Dowling. Dowling awarded first prize to Oliver's 'Poem in Winter'\(^{46}\) ahead of Pat Wilson's 'Perfect before Practice.'\(^{47}\) After stressing the discipline required to produce good poetry and commending the 'commonly despised Georgians' as suitable models, Dowling commented on some of the individual contributions.\(^{48}\) In his opinion Pat Wilson, W.H. Oliver and G.H. Datson, all 'possess genuine talent.' He described Oliver's 'Poem in Winter' as 'a gravely beautiful poem in which the fit matching of form with subject has achieved something like that inevitability for which the true poet strives.' He does, however, criticise Oliver for 'a bad habit of modernism - what I will call the article-epithet-noun habit; as in the first stanza, "The ultimate collapse," "the dark colour," "the close frost."'\(^{49}\) Such criticism, while perhaps valid, demonstrates a recurring problem faced by apprentice poets who submit their work for judgement by elders unsympathetic towards current trends - one of the chief motivations, in fact, behind the establishment of independent little magazines, the contents of which

\(^{46}\) W.H. Oliver, 'Poem in Winter,' *Spike* 45.74 (1946): 11-12.

\(^{47}\) Pat Wilson, 'Perfect before Practice,' *Spike* 45.74 (1946): 22-23.

\(^{48}\) Basil Dowling, 'Judgements: Verse,' *Spike* 45.74 (1946): 18-19. In probably the earliest remarks on the poetry of Alistair Campbell, Dowling notes that Campbell's "Stele" and "William Blake," seem to promise something which [the poet] does not quite fulfil - the thoughts are vaguely interesting but somehow uncrystallized.' (*Spike* 1946: 19). Neither poem was published, and Campbell had to wait until 1948 for his only, albeit substantial, contribution to *Spike* (see below).

\(^{49}\) Dowling, 'Judgements: Verse' 19.
are selected by editors who are also peers of their contributors.

The issue of *Spike* for 1947, edited by H.W. Gretton and printed, as were those for 1946 and 1948, by Caxton Press, again featured a selection of poems by W.H. Oliver and Pat Wilson, plus James Bertram's 'Epitaph for An American Bomber: Tokyo, March 1945,'50 one of a number of poems on this theme contributed by him to periodicals during the immediate post-War period. Bertram had taken up a lectureship in English at Victoria in March 1947 after several tumultuous years in Europe and east Asia. Oliver contributed four poems, and Wilson one, 'A Prelude For Contemporary Lovers,'51 republished in the 1949 edition of *The Old Clay Patch*.52

In a report on the activity of the newly revived literary society, mention was made of the establishment of three Study Groups; on New Zealand poetry, William Blake, and Elizabethan drama.53 Wilson, Oliver, and other students such as Alistair Campbell, Eric Schwimmer, Lorna Clendon, W.H. Mabbitt, and Harry Orsman were active in the New Zealand poetry group. Wilson and Orsman, later collectively described as 'those riddling hierophants,'54 were largely responsible for instigating and running the Blake group. The Elizabethan Drama group staged readings of Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair*. All the forenamed students were involved in the production of the Society's *Broadsheet*,

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51 Pat Wilson, 'A Prelude For Contemporary Lovers,' *Spike* 45.75 (1947): 26-27.

52 De la Mare, ed., *Old Clay Patch* 112-113.

53 Unattributed, 'Literary Society,' *Spike* 45.75 (1947): 47.

first published in May 1947, and it was partly through the continued activity of the Society over the next few years that *Hilltop* and *Arachne* were produced.

Cyclostyled and stapled, and often un-numbered or (possibly deliberately) misnumbered, there seem to have been no more than five issues of *Broadsheet*, of from nine to twelve pages each.\(^{55}\) Most contributions were published over pseudonyms or initials. W.H. Oliver, Alistair Campbell, Pat Wilson, and Eric Schwimmer were the main individuals responsible for *Broadsheet*, much of which was written and produced in Weir House, the student hostel at Victoria University College. The first number opens with an editorial signed with the initials of W.H. Oliver, in which he sets out the straightforward objectives of the Literary Society and its magazine. *Spike* and *Salient*, official publications of the Students' Association, are perceived as lacking in critical commentary, a deficit the Society intends to supply. The recently founded *Landfall* must also be figured into this equation. As James Bertram commented in his 1954 account of literary activity at Victoria, this "national" New Zealand quarterly . . . provided both encouragement to young writers, and a norm to vary against.\(^{56}\) However, while there was certainly a strong element of resistance and even literary subversion among the editors and contributors to *Broadsheet*, publication in the highly regarded quarterly was their most prized goal and several soon had work accepted by *Landfall*'s editor Charles Brasch, who also encouraged them in their efforts to publish their own little magazines.

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\(^{55}\) Pat Wilson confirms that: 'counting Vol.2, Nos 5/6 as one, there were only five issues of the Broadsheet.' Pat Wilson, letter to author, 13 March 1993.

The most significant contribution to the inaugural issue of *Broadsheet* was a poem by Alistair Campbell, 'Love Poem IV',\(^{57}\) part of an ongoing sequence of poems, of which more were to appear in the issue of *Spike* for 1948 and in the first issue of *Hilltop* in April 1949. Campbell's only other contribution to *Broadsheet*, although there is some uncertainty over the attribution, was 'Poem' ('The hours like surgeons' knives have pierced him through'), printed over the initials 'C.A.S.' in the *First Placard*.\(^{58}\) Neither of these contributions was subsequently republished.

Pat Wilson contributed a poem called 'Two Groups' to the first issue of *Broadsheet*,\(^{59}\) and two poems to the final issue: 'Legend' and 'Where the Schoolboys Walk.'\(^{60}\) Wilson also had at least some involvement in the writing of 'On the Necessity for a National Literature,' published anonymously in the first issue.\(^{61}\)

The second issue, dated August 1947, opens with an editorial by Eric Schwimmer. Born in Amsterdam in 1923, he was living in Indonesia with his parents at the start of the Second World War. He served with the Dutch Indonesian Army, stationed in Melbourne towards the end of the war, before arriving in New Zealand with his family in 1946 and enrolling for a degree in Classics at Victoria University College. His interest in European and particularly

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\(^{57}\) Alistair Campbell ('A.C'), 'Love Poem IV,' *Broadsheet* 1 (May 1947): 2.


\(^{60}\) Pat Wilson ('P.S.W.'), 'Legend,' *Broadsheet* 2.5/6 (August 1948): 11; Pat Wilson ('P.S.W.'), 'Where the Schoolboys Walk,' *Broadsheet* 2.5/6 (August 1948): 11.

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French Existentialist literature and his concern with theory, unusual at the time, gave him some standing as 'the intellectual of the group,' according to Alistair Campbell.\(^62\) In his editorial Schwimmer responded to the first and second issues of *Landfall*, taking issue with what he perceived as Charles Brasch's too simplistic and deterministic view of the development of New Zealand culture. He later described the dispute as 'a quarrel with a mechanical view of causality which links supposed *realia* like the 'landfall' of the British to New Zealand poetry as a necessary and sufficient determinant.\(^63\)

The undated next issue of *Broadsheet* - the third - carries the title *First Placard of the Armadillan Absolutists* and a cover illustration by Alistair Campbell featuring a bandaged hand with a miniature armadillo hanging from it,\(^64\) accompanied by some deliberately obscure, Pound-like lines penned by W.H. Oliver: 'Only the shy return / After the dawn.'\(^65\) Ostensibly serious but in fact something of a literary hoax, the *Placard*’s announced intention was 'to start a new "school" of poetry' based on the premise that '[l]anguage is an absolute. What is stated in poetry is stated for all time in the only possible terms.'\(^66\) The poems of the controversial Australian literary fraud, Ern Malley, published some five years previously, were prefaced by similar gnomic utterances.

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64 Actually, with its numerous small legs this appears to be a common slater or wood louse, although Campbell describes it as a 'miniature armadillo.' Alistair Campbell, *Island to Island* 111.

65 W.H. Oliver, ('Only the shy return'), *Broadsheet* 2.4 (n.d.): cover page.

The inclusion of an article by 'S.E.H.' (identified by Bill Oliver and Pat Wilson as Eric Schwimmer although Schwimmer disputes this) on the New York poet Harry Roskolenko, citing him as 'one of the chief precursors of the movement of which this placard is an expression,' and a poem by 'C.W.B.' (Pat Wilson) titled 'Homage to Roskolenko,' indicates a tentative link between the Placard and the 'Ern Malley' affair, since both Roskolenko and Schwimmer had been in Australia at the time of the Em Malley controversy. Roskolenko was so impressed by the Malley poems that he arranged for three of them to be published in a special Australian issue of the American journal Voices, which he co-edited with Elisabeth Lambert. Max Harris, publisher of the Em Malley poems and the periodical Angry Penguins (1940-1946), provided a commentary for Voices and advised Roskolenko on selection, assisted by C.B. Christensen of Meanjin Papers, Cecily Crozier of Comment, and R.G. Howarth of Southerly. Roskolenko also had two volumes of poetry published in Australia, at least one of which was familiar to Eric Schwimmer.

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68 Schwimmer, 'Harry Roskolenko' N. pag.


71 Harry Roskolenko and Elizabth Lambert, 'Comment by the Editors of this Issue,' Voices 118 (1944): 3.

72 Eric Schwimmer, letter to the author, 25 March 1993. This was probably A Second Summary (Melbourne: Reed & Harris, 1944). Schwimmer sent me his personal copy of this volume for my inspection. For a review of A Second Summary see S. Musgrove, 'Confound Their Language,' Meanjin Papers 3.3 (1944): 188-189.
Pat Wilson later recalled that Schwimmer asked him to choose, more or less at random, the quotations used in the Roskolenko article from a selection initially made by Schwimmer. Wilson also recalls that his poem 'Homage to Roskolenko' was written for Schwimmer at his request, and has no connection whatsoever with its (Erik's) title. It's not in any sense a 'homage' addressed to someone, real or imaginary; it is merely a piece of what I used to call 'atmospherics,' written in a sort of doggerel, and almost completely meaningless although it reads like sense.\textsuperscript{73}

Wilson also rightly points out that the fact that Roskolenko was a real poet makes the \textit{Placard} not an Ern Malley type hoax but the \textit{opposite} of one. . . 'Ern Malley' didn't in fact exist, but he sounded like someone who did; by contrast 'Harry Roskolenko' sounded . . . like someone who \textit{didn't} exist.\textsuperscript{74}

Schwimmer cannot now recall precisely why Roskolenko played such an important part in the issue. He disagrees that the citing of Roskolenko was part of a 'search for legitimacy or planned hoaxing as everything [in the issue] was a spontaneous joke.'\textsuperscript{75} The American poet visited Auckland in 1946 where he met David Ballantyne, then a journalist with the \textit{Auckland Star}. Ballantyne introduced Roskolenko to Frank Sargeson, Maurice Duggan and others.\textsuperscript{76} Neither Schwimmer nor any members of the \textit{Broadsheet} group met Roskolenko, and indeed Oliver and Campbell deny any knowledge of him at the time beyond Schwimmer's portentous attributions in the \textit{Placard}. It would appear

\textsuperscript{73} Pat Wilson, letter to the author, 13 March 1993.  
\textsuperscript{74} Pat Wilson, letter to the author, 13 March 1993.  
\textsuperscript{75} Schwimmer, letter to the author, 25 March 1993.  
\textsuperscript{76} David Ballantyne, 'An American Influence,' \textit{Islands} 31-32 (1981): 41.
that this hoax, for that is undoubtedly what it is, will never be fully explicated.

According to Alistair Campbell, the *Placard* was produced when he, Bill Oliver, and Pat Wilson went around to Eric Schwimmer's home and 'decided to have a bit of fun.'77 A story 'Death by Dissertation'78 was written by the group as a whole, in the manner of a party-game with each writer contributing a paragraph with little or no reference to what had gone before. Other contributions were composed in similar ways.79 Apparently, several people not in on the joke took the *Placard* seriously. The next issue of *Broadsheet* opened with an editorial titled 'An Explanation,' probably written by Eric Schwimmer, which begins by declaring that 'The Armadillans are quite unpenitent [sic], before going on to defend the work in the *Placard*.80 Also in this fourth issue are a number of poems, including two by Brian Bell, and an appropriately ironic review by 'O.D.' of the first issue of *Bookie* (1948-1951), the satire on *Book* published by R.S. Gormack of the *Nag's Head Press*.81 An anonymous report was also published on the activities of the New Zealand Literature Group of the Literary Society for the first half of 1948. This gives some indication of the enthusiasm within the Society for New Zealand literature, with which many members had been almost totally unfamiliar prior to attending university.

This group has already discussed James K. Baxter (Pat Wilson); four Auckland Writers - Fairburn, Mason, Mulgan and

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80 Unattributed, 'An Explanation,' *Broadsheet* 2.4 (June 1948): N. pag.
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Sargeson (Bill Shires); Arnold Cork, Geoffrey Pollett, and Count Geoffrey Vladislav, Vaile Potocki de Montalk, Prince Potocki, Pretender to the Throne of Poland (Tony Murray-Oliver); and at the most recent meeting selected passages were read by those present . . . .

On July 22nd Mr Schwimmer will speak on Frank Sargeson, and at subsequent meetings there will be, among other speakers, Mr W.H. Oliver on Basil Dowling; Mr C.W. Strathern on Thomas Bracken; Mr P.S. Wilson on The Old Clay Patch; and Mr A.St.C.M. Murray-Oliver on Douglas Stewart. 82

The colophon to the issue announced that it was 'Printed and Published by the Victoria University College Literary Society, July 17th, 1948.' 83

The final number of Broadsheet appeared the following month and was sold on campus for sixpence. It opened with an unsigned editorial which stated in part that Broadsheet 'exists because people write for us and we like printing their work.' 84 Despite the ingenuous nature of this statement, it is possible to detect in the pages of this final issue an immanent (if not yet actual) increase in the thoughtfulness and seriousness of the enterprise. Among a number of anonymous poems were several by Pat Wilson, 85 plus articles by Eric Schwimmer 86 and R.T. Robertson. 87 Hilltop, edited by John Mansfield Thoms

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82 Unattributed, 'New Zealand Literature,' Broadsheet 2.4 (June 1948): inside back cover page.
83 Broadsheet 2.4 (June 1948): inside back cover page.
84 Unattributed, 'Editorial,' Broadsheet 2.5/6 (August 1948): 2.
86 Eric Schwimmer ('E.S.),' Introduction to Camus, ' Broadsheet 2.5/6 (August 1948): 3-5. This was followed by a translation by K.V. [Keith] Sinclair of The Actor by Albert Camus, from Le Mythe de Sisyphe, Broadsheet 2.5/6 (August 1948): 5-9. Schwimmer translated the The Actor himself for Arachne 1.1 (January 1950): 10-12, discussed below.
produced by many of the same members of the Victoria University College Literary Society appeared early the following year.

1948 also saw an issue of *Spike* dominated in literary terms by contributions of poetry by Wilson (five) and Oliver (two), although now with the addition of four poems by Alistair Campbell. Co-edited by Campbell and Wilson, printed by Caxton Press and sporting a colourful cover design by Louise Henderson, in appearance it was one of the most impressive issues produced to date. However, its earnest literary asceticism was mocked by J.C. Beaglehole in his history of the College, published the following year. Beaglehole disliked the emulation of Eliot and other modernists, and took particular umbrage at the editors' decision to dispense with the traditional prose and poetry competitions, based on their belief that 'past judges . . . judged cursorily and often stupidly.' 88

As noted above, Beaglehole judged the verse in *Spike* in 1941 and 1944, so his response to the issue for 1948 is not surprising. In the place of judges' commentaries there was a slightly pretentious introduction to the poetry in the issue by Charles Fennel. 89

Alistair Campbell contributed four of his 'Love Poems,' numbers II, XIV, XV, and XXI, 90 part of a longer sequence of poems, one of which had appeared in the first issue of *Broadsheet*, 91 and several of which were to be published in the

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88 Alistair Campbell and Pat Wilson, 'Editorial,' *Spike* 1948: 5.
first issue of *Hilltop*, in April 1949. While Campbell had contributed a poem to *Salient* as early as 1946, this was his first appearance in *Spike*. Of Wilson's five poems, two were published in *The Old Clay Patch* the following year. W.H. Oliver's two poems were not subsequently republished. The other contributors of poetry to the issue, Lorna Clendon, Tony Murray-Oliver ('a'), and Elizabeth Entrican, also appeared in the Literary Society periodicals *Broadsheet*, *Hilltop*, and *Arachne*. Prose of note in the issue included Eric Schwimmer's essay 'Causerie on Romance'.

With the end of the forties another sea-change occurred among the student population at Victoria, and a new generation of noteworthy writers and poets began to appear in the pages of *Spike*. However, for a variety of reasons, the annual appeared only infrequently during the final decade or so of its production: in 1949, 1954, 1957 and 1961. Chief among these reasons was the increase in alternative outlets for imaginative writing, especially in Wellington, but also throughout the country.

*Salient*, both in its weekly issues and in special literary issues for 1952, 1953, and 1955, to a degree took over the role of on-campus outlet for the large numbers of young poets and writers who gave the capital in the fifties a

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93 Alistair Campbell, 'Agapanthi,' *Salient* 20 March 1946: 3. Not republished.


95 Eric Schwimmer, 'Causerie on Romance,' *Spike* 1948: 14-16.
reputation for bohemian cafes and modern young people. The three literary issues of *Salient* tapped this reservoir to the full, and featured an impressive array of poetry by James K. Baxter, Charles Doyle (editor in 1955), Louis Johnson, and many others, plus fiction, articles, and wood engravings supplied in 1953 and 1955 by Mervyn Taylor.

Other little magazines also drew away energy which might otherwise have been channelled into producing issues of *Spike*. Firstly, there were those associated, directly or indirectly, with the College: *Broadsheet, Hilltop* and *Arachne*, and, somewhat later, *Experiment* and *Argot*. There were also two short-lived little magazines with more tenuous connections to Victoria, *Est I Rom* (1955) and *Drum* (1961). The quarterly *Numbers* began to appear in Wellington from July 1954, and from 1951 there was Louis Johnson's anthology *New Zealand Poetry Yearbook*. From its first appearance in March 1947 *Landfall* rapidly became the preferred venue for the best work of a generation of poets and writers, including students and recent graduates of Victoria University College.

Notable contributors to the four issues of *Spike* produced between 1949 and 1961 were Arthur Barker, James K. Baxter, James Bertram, Peter Bland, Alistair Campbell, Gordon Challis, Charles Doyle, Victor O'Leary, Maria Dronke, Bill Oliver, Maurice Shadbolt, Douglas Stewart, and Anton Vogt. When issues appeared they were of a high quality in content, format and production, partly due to the involvement of the Caxton Press and Robert Lowry in the printing of the numbers for 1949 and 1961 respectively.

96 See for example, E.H.B., 'Love Sonnets in the Coffee Shops,' *Evening Post* December 1957, as well as the recollections of the period published in *Landfall* 185 (1993), subtitled *The Fifties Issue.*
The issue for 1949 celebrated the Golden Jubilee of Victoria College. Among other items it featured a story and poem by Douglas Stewart, who studied law at Victoria before moving to Australia in 1934. The story 'The Bishops Shoot a Godwit'\textsuperscript{97} was taken from his collection \textit{A Girl With Red Hair}, published in 1944,\textsuperscript{98} while his poem 'The River'\textsuperscript{99} came from his 1946 collection \textit{The Dosser in Springtime},\textsuperscript{100} and was later republished in the selection of his poems made for the \textit{Australian Poets} series.\textsuperscript{101} Written in Australia in the early years of World War Two, 'The River' is an example of what M.H. Holcroft described as Stewart's 'nostalgic reconstructions'\textsuperscript{102} and recalls with fondness the Taranaki of the poet's youth.

Lecturer James Bertram contributed a poem, 'College Library,'\textsuperscript{103} to the Jubilee issue while his professor, Ian Gordon, contributed an article discussing the practice of literary scholarship at Victoria College.\textsuperscript{104} Gordon closes with suggestions that Victoria emulate Canterbury College in promoting the production of drama, and that a serious attempt be made to publish a literary journal.

\textsuperscript{97} Douglas Stewart, 'The Bishops Shoot a Godwit,' \textit{Spike} 48.77 (1949): 40-42.

\textsuperscript{98} Douglas Stewart, \textit{A Girl With Red Hair} (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1944) 150-157. This volume also contained Stewart's story 'The Whare' which was subsequently included in Dan Davin's \textit{New Zealand Short Stories} (London: Oxford University Press, 1953) 261-273.


\textsuperscript{100} Douglas Stewart, \textit{The Dosser in Springtime} (Sydney: Angus & Robertson: 1946).

\textsuperscript{101} Douglas Stewart, \textit{Australian Poets: Douglas Stewart} (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1963) 10-12.


\textsuperscript{103} James Bertram, 'College Library,' \textit{Spike} 48.77 (1949): 23.

\textsuperscript{104} Ian Gordon, 'Authorship at Victoria College,' \textit{Spike} 48.77 (1949): 30-32.
Both suggestions were soon to bear fruit. Anton Vogt contributed a humorous piece of prose\(^{105}\) and a poem,\(^{106}\) and a group of younger poets including Lorna Clendon, W.H. Oliver, Pat Wilson and Lyster Paul contributed several items each. Paul later had work published in the first *New Zealand Poetry Yearbook* and various of the Wellington Teacher's College publications.\(^{107}\) Clendon was an active member of the College literary society and contributed work to both *Hilltop* and *Arachne*, co-editing the first issue of the latter publication. She had appeared in the 1948 issue of *Spike* and contributed two poems in 1949. Oliver contributed three poems, none of which were republished, and Wilson five, again none of which were republished. The first issue of *Hilltop* appeared in April 1949, one month prior to the publication of this special issue of *Spike*, and it is likely that all three of the above named younger poets reserved their better work for the new periodical.

*Hilltop* marked a significant step forward from *Broadsheet*, in terms both of the contents and of the production quality of the magazine. Literary Society members Pat Wilson and John Mansfield Thomson sought prices for the production of a forty page magazine from several Wellington printers, finally accepting a quotation submitted by McKenzie Thornton Cooper for '600 copies Crown 4to. 40 pages Self Cover printed on Newsprint, 2 columns [sic] 10 point


\(^{107}\) Paul was a lecturer at Wellington Teachers' College during (at least) the fifties. Mary Paul informs me that to her knowledge he is not a member of the Blackwood Paul family.
for Forty-five pounds fifteen shillings.\textsuperscript{108} The decision to use a local Wellington printer rather than presses such as Caxton or Pegasus was partly one of expediency, but was also motivated by a desire to break away from Christchurch's near monopoly on literary printing. This in turn may be seen as part of the critical and stylistic break by the new generation from the influence of the established New Zealand poets, represented most explicitly by Allen Curnow, Denis Glover and Caxton Press publications such as the 1945 \textit{Book of New Zealand Verse}.\textsuperscript{109}

Unfortunately, the result was less than pleasing. McKenzie Thornton Cooper had a very limited range of typefaces available for use, and John Thomson was forced to select the best of these, Century, for the new publication. Roy Parsons, who supported the magazine through advertising in its pages, was very reluctant to sell copies of \textit{Hilltop} in his bookshop, regarding it as having the appearance of a parish magazine.\textsuperscript{110} After Frank Stockman, an architecture student associated with the Literary Society, criticised the layout of the first issue, Thomson engaged him to advise on design. While little could be done about improving the typeface, Stockman did approach John Drawbridge of Wellington Teachers' College, commissioning him to design a new cover illustration. The result appeared on the two subsequent issues, both of which are also tangibly improved in other ways by the influence of Stockman.

Thomson, as Secretary of the Society, solicited subscriptions to the


proposed magazine in a circular letter. His comments therein shed light on the motivations behind the shift to a more professional format.

In the past we have sponsored a cyclostyled 'Broadsheet' containing verse and articles by the members of the society and their friends, but the transient character of these sheets together with their unpleasant appearance and the difficulties and discouragements involved in their printing has decided us to end these experiments and to engage a professional printer. The limited circulation was also a disadvantage and we would now like to provide more opportunity for the young writers in Wellington and at Victoria - several of whom have had work printed in *Landfall* and others of the country's periodicals.\(^{111}\)

Suggestions for a title for the new magazine were also canvassed. Alistair Campbell suggested 'Notornis,' in celebration of the recently rediscovered species of native bird.\(^{112}\) Pat Wilson proposed 'Christopher's Paper' and a subscription form using this title was prepared.\(^{113}\) However, in conversation with John Thomson, Professor Ian Gordon suggested that such a title was 'too precious' and proposed 'Hilltop' instead, citing a quotation from Donne 'about truth standing high on a hilltop and he who must reach it "about must and about must go."'\(^{114}\) The appropriateness of such a title for a magazine published from Victoria College ('high above the city') did not go unremarked.\(^{115}\)

The first number of *Hilltop* was pasted-up over an issue of the *New Zealand Funeral Director*, supplied by the printer on the grounds that it was the

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\(^{113}\) Thomson Papers.

\(^{114}\) Thomson, *Hilltop . . . outline of its origins* 5. Donne's lines are reproduced on a mock-up of a proposed advertising slip for *Hilltop*: 'On a huge hill Cragged, and steep, truth stands, and he that will Reach it, about must, and about must go.' Thomson Papers.

\(^{115}\) Thomson, *Hilltop . . . outline of its origins* 5.
same size as the proposed literary magazine. Following the receipt of copy, McKenzie Thornton Cooper objected to 'some rather strong language' in a story entitled 'Sixty' by a now forgotten author.\[116\] The piece was never actually published, but among those stories and poems which were included in the first number are contributions by David Ballantyne, James K. Baxter, Alistair Campbell, Louis Johnson, W.H. Oliver, Kendrick Smithyman, and Pat Wilson, an impressive range of authors, several of whose presence in a student magazine may be explained by a note on the title page, which stressed that *Hilltop* 'is not a student magazine... It exists for all writers, in New Zealand and outside.'

The issue opened with stories by P.J. [Philip] Wilson and David Ballantyne, whose 'Girls Have to Suffer' tells the tale of an adolescent girl's transition into the world of adulthood.\[117\] This recalls to some extent his story in the second issue of *New Zealand New Writing*, discussed briefly in Chapter Five, above.\[118\] John Thomson, writing as 'John Mansfield,' contributed a (for him) rare piece of fiction,\[119\] while J.W. Winchester, communist and controversialist, responded to Thomson's request for an article with a piece critical of the 'basic emptiness'\[120\] of M.H. Holcroft's ideas, as expressed in his series of three expansive ruminations on New Zealand society and culture, republished in 1950.


under the collective title *Discovered Isles*.

Eric Schwimmer, so prominent in *Broadsheet* and later *Arachne* made his only contribution to *Hilltop* in the form of an unattributed translation of a poem by du Perron. Schwimmer's subsequent absence from *Hilltop* was the result of an apparent rift between himself and John Thomson, the details of which are difficult to clarify. Schwimmer's negative review of the first issue in *Salient* may have been a contributing factor. He regarded *Hilltop* as generally unsuccessful, and takes particular issue with the title and what he regards as a consequent lack of clear editorial policy or leadership. This complaint was to be a causal factor in the transmutation of *Hilltop* into *Arachne* following the shift of editorial control to Schwimmer and Hubert Witheford after John Thomson's departure for Britain in September 1949.

As with issues of *Spike* during the late forties, it is the poetry content of this first issue of *Hilltop* which stands out as most worthy of comment. Poems by W.H. Oliver, Alistair Campbell and Pat Wilson constitute the magazine's strongest link with its precursor, *Broadsheet*. Other contributions by James K. Baxter and Louis Johnson serve to greatly elevate the significance of *Hilltop*, although little of this material has since been reprinted. Baxter's poem

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'Wellington,'124 one of five by him in the issue, was included in *The Fallen House.*125 Baxter first enrolled at Victoria University College in 1950, and Frank McKay records that he occasionally attended *Hilltop* editorial meetings, although without taking any active part in preparing the magazine.126 However, he may be one of the 'two anonymous co-editors' credited with assisting with the first issue of *Arachne.*127

Responses to the contents if not the format of the first issue of *Hilltop* were generally encouraging. Kendrick Smithyman sent his congratulations and submitted a poem for inclusion in the second number.128 Charles Brasch did likewise after an unexpected encounter with the enthusiastic core of the editorial team in Dunedin in mid-1949.129

The second issue opened with a topical editorial opposing compulsory military training. In addition to poems by Smithyman and Brasch, it also featured work by Alistair Campbell, Hubert Witheford and James K. Baxter. The most notable contribution to the issue was Campbell's, all three of his

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127 *Arachne* 1.1 (January 1950): N. pag. The other may have been Louis Johnson.

128 Kendrick Smithyman, 'View of the City, in Oil,' *Hilltop* 1.2 (June 1949): 15.

129 Charles Brasch, 'Sea-gulls Among the Mountains,' *Hilltop* 1.2 (June 1949): 16. Thomson recalls that he, Bill Oliver, and Lorna Clendon, another active member of the *Hilltop* editorial committee, stayed with Brasch in Dunedin while the trio were on a trip south selling subscriptions prior to the publication of the second issue. Thomson, *Hilltop . . . outline of its origins* 5-6.
poems later being republished. 'Landscape with Figures'\textsuperscript{130} and 'At the Fishing Settlement'\textsuperscript{131} were taken into his first collection, \textit{Mine Eyes Dazzle}, and both were subsequently much anthologised. 'Girl and Landscape'\textsuperscript{132} became 'Blonde Girl' in \textit{Wild Honey}.\textsuperscript{133} These poems were written on a working holiday in the South Island, partly spent in the company of Eric Schwimmer.\textsuperscript{134} Campbell also offered a defense of Holcroft in response to Winchester's article in the first issue, in the form of a letter to the editor.\textsuperscript{135} Other items of interest include an article by Baxter, 'Why Writers Stop Writing,' described in its subtitle as: 'An adaptation and synopsis of a talk given to the Literary Society of Victoria University College, 27th May, 1949,'\textsuperscript{136} and a piece by Arthur Barker on the poetry of Pierre de Ronsard, just one example of Barker's extensive work in the field of literary translation.\textsuperscript{137}

A request for a grant of £100 from the New Zealand Literary Fund following the publication of the second issue was turned down, apparently because the Committee did not consider \textit{Hilltop} to have properly established

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\textsuperscript{131} Alistair Campbell, 'At the Fishing Settlement,' \textit{Hilltop} 1.2 (June 1949): 15. Reprinted in \textit{Mine Eyes Dazzle} 23.

\textsuperscript{132} Alistair Campbell, 'Girl and Landscape,' \textit{Hilltop} 1.2 (June 1949) :14.


\textsuperscript{134} Alistair Campbell, \textit{Island to Island} (Christchurch: Whitcoulls, 1984) 115.

\textsuperscript{135} Alistair Campbell, letter, \textit{Hilltop} 1.2 (June 1949): 38.

\textsuperscript{136} James K. Baxter, 'Why Writers Stop Writing,' \textit{Hilltop} 1.2 (June 1949): 26.

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Chapter 6.5: Victoria University of Wellington

itself as an ongoing concern. In fact, the Fund made only one grant towards the publication of a literary periodical during the early years of its operation: to the New Zealand Women Writers' Society for the publication of the 1948 edition of *Quill* (discussed in Chapter Ten, below). It was not until grants began to made to A.H. and A.W. Reed to assist the publication of the *New Zealand Poetry Yearbook* from 1951 that periodical titles began to feature to a small extent in the lists of Literary Fund recipients. *Landfall* began to receive regular grants from 1952.

As part of the application for funding Lorna Clendon, Treasurer of the Literary Society, prepared a statement of accounts which indicated that issue runs for the magazine had increased from an initial four hundred copies to a remarkable one thousand copies with the second number. However, she also records only one hundred and fifty-five subscriptions to *Hilltop* at the time of the application, indicating that there would have been numerous unsold copies of the second number. One source of funding which committee members did successfully tap was advertising. As John Thomson recalled in 1958, their enthusiasm for the new venture was apparently infectious.

Pat Wilson’s poetic nature often came forth with picturesque ideas - 'Let’s hire a Tiger Moth and drop leaflets over Wellington.' He proved extremely good at securing advertisements and we would set off for an afternoon’s tour of possible sources, stopping every now and then at a pub for a drink. The advertisers were, in the main, most gracious towards us and I remember only one

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140 Lorna Clendon to Ormond Wilson, 24 August 1949. Thomson Papers.
bookshop where we were more or less ushered out.

At one stage I found myself sitting on the step outside the
printers hurriedly writing the text for a second-hand shop
advertisement which hired dinner suits. We were not selective
about advertisements - at the stage we could not afford to be and
saw nothing incongruous in the fact that there was a butcher's
advertisement in a literary magazine. We were later criticised
severely on this score.141

As a result of this enterprise the latter pages of all three issues of *Hilltop* sport
a variety of advertisements, ranging from bookshops such as Roy Parsons,
Souths, and Modern Books to the Florida Milk Bar ('For Everything Hot or
Cold') and Preston's, 'Butcher, Poulterers, Etc.' Many of the same companies
continued to support *Arachne*. Although their reactions to contributions
occasionally caused problems for the editors, these had slightly less impact than
the objections of the printers, McKenzie Thornton Cooper. Income from
advertising sources met a fairly substantial part of *Hilltop*’s costs, rising from £18
for the first issue to £22 for the second, set against total expenses of £69-11 and
£105-10 respectively.142

John Drawbridge’s cover illustration was used again for the third issue,
which appeared in September 1949 and which opened with a belated attempt
to establish a coherent editorial policy.143 This had been a major subject of
complaint from Eric Schwimmer, and was a further motivation behind the
alteration of the title of *Hilltop* to *Arachne* in 1950. Oliver, to whom the editorial

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141 In a footnote to this latter point, Thomson adds, "by Eric Schwimmer, particularly." Thomson, 'Hilltop . . . outline of its origins' 3.

142 Clendon, letter to Ormond Wilson, 24 August 1949.

143 W.H. Oliver, 'Editorial,' *Hilltop* 1.3 (September 1949): 3.
is ascribed by Weir and Lyon in their bibliography of his work, asserts that 'insofar as this magazine has any policy, it is to print as much poetry, fiction, polemic and scholarship, as we, in fallibility, judge good.' Largely shunning engagement with a number of current literary and cultural controversies, Oliver continues, 'we intend to print as much of the work of each contributor as possible.' The extent to which this was achieved is debatable, especially in the light of the change in the make up of the editorial committee which occurred over the summer of 1949-1950.

An aspect of Oliver's editorial which did have repercussions in *Arachne* were his comments on the publication by Caxton Press of a collection of poems by William Hart-Smith. As part of a wider criticism of Caxton's recent list of publications, Oliver described Hart-Smith's volume as 'mediocre' and suggested that work by Allen Curnow, Basil Dowling, Pat Wilson or Alistair Campbell would have been more suitable for such an imprint. His linking of Wilson and Campbell with the more established names of Curnow and Dowling indicates a wider critical strategy behind Oliver's comments. This final issue of *Hilltop* appeared just prior to the emergence of Campbell as a new and significant force in New Zealand poetry, signalled by the publication of his first collection, *Mine Eyes Dazzle* by Pegasus Press in 1950. This volume was to go through two new editions in the following six years, and was favourably reviewed both locally

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144 Weir and Lyon, *Bibliography* 420.

145 Oliver, 'Editorial' 3.

146 Oliver, 'Editorial' 3.

147 Oliver, 'Editorial' 3. The subsequent exchange between Hart-Smith and Oliver was published in the first issue of *Arachne*. See below.
Hart-Smith regarded Oliver’s comments in *Hilltop* as akin to a 'big flat hand slap-bang in the face,' symptomatic of a type of criticism predominant in New Zealand, a 'spiteful inhibiting chill' which discouraged the efforts of novice poets. His response was published in the first issue of *Arachne*, along with a reply from Oliver. Hart-Smith described at some length what he perceived as the essentially different treatment meted out to aspiring poets in Australia and New Zealand.

At the time I left for Australia, what few poems I’d written were so bad I’m certain that within a year or so I would have 'grown out of it.' I left behind me several friends, one a recognised New Zealand writer, *at the time*, and whose work made mine look like the prattlings of a sentimental school girl. Somehow though, in Australia, there was a different attitude towards that odd sheaf of poems poked away among the shirts and collars. If in a wad of poems handed out at request there was one good one or promising one, or if the whole lot collectively gave my critics and friends a chance of saying something encouraging, out it would come. I gained enormously in confidence, wrote a great deal, most of it rubbish, but now and again hit the jackpot. Without that boost to my confidence it wouldn't have happened. The result has been that out of what was, as late as my twenty-eights and twenties, nothing but a weird product of too much introspection, has come four books of verse, and a shelf of periodicals, magazines, journals . . . one edited by myself . . . and a collection of anthologies, in which poems appear, and not to very great disadvantage. Are standards lower there? Perhaps. But the emphasis is on productivity, and I think that's important. Here, frankly, I'm afraid to. I stop writing; I stop developing.

I return to New Zealand and find, almost without exception, those very talented people I left behind so completely flattened that I am . . . well, afraid it's not just because they didn't have the goods.

. . . let's have lots of grubby little volumes and lots of experiment, and work that calls from ordinary people such a voluntary opinion as: 'I am quite pleased to be able to praise this and that quite sincerely, because I was almost sure that I would be running into sets of mannered, sequined and spangled stuff so like

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Hart-Smith, much like Douglas Stewart before him, had discovered in Australia a more sympathetic and encouraging literary climate. Both these expatriate poets were included in Harry Heseltine's 1972 anthology of Australian poetry, a sure mark of their acceptance and success across the Tasman.

Elsewhere in this final issue of *Hilltop* Oliver published his poem in three parts, 'The Old Stone House,' while Hubert Witheford contributed three poems. Fiction included Baxter's 'Blue Peter' and Louis Johnson's The Eternal Female. A vigorous correspondence column featured letters responding to items in earlier issues of *Hilltop*, in particular to an article by Victoria lecturer Peter Munz on the study of history, and there was also a letter by O.E. Middleton on the plight of the writer in New Zealand society.

*Hilltop* was succeeded in 1950 by *Arachne*. The change in title signalled an increasing degree of distance between the magazine and the institution in which it had its origins. Schwimmer had already protested in print and privately that *Hilltop*'s attempt to develop itself into a magazine of national interest was hindered both by its explicit association with Victoria College, and

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151 W.H. Oliver 'The Old Stone House,' *Hilltop* 1.3 (September 1949): 7-9.

152 James K. Baxter, 'Blue Peter,' *Hilltop* 1.3 (September 1949): 10-11.

153 Louis Johnson, 'The Eternal Female,' *Hilltop* 1.3 (September 1949): 19-20. Ascribed to 'Louis A. Johnston.'


its use of what he considered to be an unfortunately bucolic title. \(^{156}\) Several options for a new title were canvassed before *Arachne* was chosen, including 'Capricorn', \(^{157}\) and 'The Victorian and Antarctic Review (incorporating *Hilltop*). \(^{158}\)

With Thomson's departure from New Zealand in late 1949, Schwimmer, closely assisted by Hubert Witheford, determined to transform the Literary Society magazine into a publication with a more international focus. Schwimmer had discussed setting up a magazine of this type as early as July 1948. \(^{159}\) Described as a miscellany of some one hundred and thirty pages, it was hoped to partly finance the proposed magazine through the newly established Literary Fund. Ormond Wilson, member of the Literary Fund Advisory Committee, encouraged the Society to make an application. \(^{160}\) The Schwimmer dominated *Armadillan* issue of the Society's *Broadsheet* may be regarded as a precursor to *Arachne*, a connection first acknowledged by James Bertram, who described the publication of the new magazine as 'the "revolt of the Armadillans."' \(^{161}\)

*Arachne*’s break with *Hilltop* is most clearly expressed in a note printed on the verso of an unbound slip wrapped across the cover of the first issue of the

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\(^{156}\) Eric Schwimmer, 'In Mountain Air,' *Salient* 4 May 1949: 3. 'The argument against the title *Hilltop* was simply that it connoted Victoria College and we no longer felt identified with the alma mater as most of us were leaving or had left and Lou John­son had never been at Victoria.' Eric Schwimmer, letter to the author, 25 March 1993.

\(^{157}\) Suggested by Frank Stockman in an undated note to John Thomson. Thomson Papers.

\(^{158}\) Schwimmer suggests the latter title 'has a Witheford flavour.' Schwimmer, letter to author, 25 March 1993.

\(^{159}\) Pat Wilson, letter to Mrs Wilson, [July] 1948; extract transcribed by Pat Wilson, letter to the author, 13 March 1993.

\(^{160}\) Pat Wilson, letter to Mrs Wilson, [July] 1948; extract transcribed by Pat Wilson, letter to the author, 13 March 1993.

\(^{161}\) James Bertram, 'Literary Periodicals,' *Spike* 1954: 41.
new magazine, identifying it as 'formerly Hilltop.' Probably penned by Eric Schwimmer,\(^{162}\) this reads:

> Hilltop was founded at the beginning of this year with the conscious absence of any policy except to publish the best work available. That work, however, apparently so heterogeneous, was found to have certain qualities which now seem to make possible a magazine centring around certain specific principles.

> In the nineteen-thirties some poets and essayists, using the facts of New Zealand's history and geography endeavoured to create a myth which would give the New Zealand writer a setting in time and space and an accepted function in his community. *Arachne* sets out with the principle that there is no such easy solution to the absence of anchorage in the world. We should explore, not obscure the situation of a culture in which each writer and artist is NOT part of a continuous tradition but must deliberately select from the past those influences which seem necessary to him, must accept another master than the community. This situation is at present most easily grasped in colonial societies. Perhaps the older countries are on the way to it. If this is so some sort of international context for *Arachne* becomes possible.

> In the first issue of *Arachne* these ideas are suggested rather than expounded. In later issues we shall endeavour to work out their implications - to create a unity which may stimulate the diversity of contributions we hope *Arachne*, like *Hilltop*, will receive.\(^{163}\)

Schwimmer put these objectives somewhat more obscurely in his editorial to the first number, a recasting of the Arachne myth in terms which emphasise the plight of the artist unappreciated by her society.\(^{164}\) Hubert Witheford later described this editorial as being a description of the 'condition which *Arachne* is committed to explore . . . [wherein] the poet is defeated by the unregarding

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\(^{163}\) Note published with *Arachne* 1.1 (January 1950). The ephemeral nature of this note, which is now missing from many copies of the issue, warrants its full transcription here.

power of Pallas.\footnote{Hubert Witheford, 'Background to a Magazine,' \textit{Arachne} 1.2 (February 1951): 20.}

Continuity between the two periodicals was made explicit in a note on the contents page of the first issue of \textit{Arachne}, which refers to 'our last number,' meaning the final issue of \textit{Hilltop}.\footnote{\textit{Arachne} 1.1 (January 1950): 46.} In addition, subscriptions were rolled over for the new periodical. Some of these were gathered on an eventful expedition undertaken by Pat Wilson and Alistair Campbell into the southern South Island.\footnote{Alistair Campbell, 'On the Road,' \textit{Landfall} 45 (1958): 31.} An announcement was also made in the first issue that an anthology of poetry published in \textit{Arachne} was planned, free to subscribers.\footnote{Alistair Campbell, 'On the Road,' \textit{Landfall} 45 (1958): 31.} This was specifically intended to introduce poets associated with the magazine to overseas readers. Charles Spear, James K. Baxter, Alistair Campbell, W.H. Oliver, Pat Wilson, Hubert Witheford, and Eric Schwimmer are named as intended contributors.

While the first issue of \textit{Arachne} followed \textit{Hilltop} in being published by the Victoria University College Literary Society, responsibility for subsequent issues was transferred to a newly formed company, Crocus Publishing, set up largely for that purpose by a group of members and former members of the Society, including Eric Schwimmer, Hubert Witheford and W.H. Oliver. Considerable difficulties had been encountered with the printer McKenzie Thornton Cooper, mostly due to disputes over the contents of the magazine, leading to a gap of fifteen months between the first and second issues of \textit{Arachne}. Following the
establishment of Crocus Publishing, Albion Wright's Pegasus Press was engaged as printer. Wright became involved partly through his publication of Alistair Campbell's first volume of poems, the preparation of which he discussed with Schwimmer. Their association was to continue with Schwimmer's editing of the Department of Māori Affairs quarterly Te Ao Hou (1952-1975), printed by Pegasus Press.

Another impetus towards the shift off-campus was the response of the student body to Arachne's first appearance, voiced most clearly in a review published in Salient. The author was critical of the change of title from Hilltop and dismissive of most of the contents, with the exception of a story by Helen Shaw and the exchange between Oliver and Hart-Smith, discussed above. The reviewer concluded with the following comment, which must have been typical of many responses to student literary endeavour during mid-century.

I feel that Arachne is no credit to V.U.C., reeking as it does of intellectual snobbery, and perhaps, as at least two members of the editorial committee are no longer members of the Association, and aren't legally entitled (I understand) to be members of clubs this year, the group might well - for the sake of the good name - be discouraged from using 'Victoria College' on their cover.

All three issues of Arachne sported a cover page illustration by Mervyn Taylor, a spider in its web. The first issue opened with an impressive selection of eight poems by Charles Spear, all of which were reprinted later the same year in his collection Twopence Coloured, as was his single contribution to the second

170 Nga Ngath-Fhaceil, 'Hilltop runs amuck,' Salient 16 March 1950: 3.
171 Ngath-Fhaceil, 'Hilltop runs amuck' 3.
His poem 'Die Pelzenaffen,' published in the third issue, had already appeared in the Canterbury College publication *Gaudeamus*, and was later included by Louis Johnson in the second *New Zealand Poetry Yearbook*.

Eric Schwimmer contributed a number of items to the issue, after his absence from the pages of the last two numbers of *Hilltop*. Apart from his somewhat obscure editorial, these include a translation of Albert Camus's essay 'The Actor,' and a piece called 'Diary Notes,' consisting of largely unedited ruminations on a range of subjects, including the literary hoax perpetrated by the eighteenth century poet, Thomas Chatterton, whose work Schwimmer was studying at the time. The selection of such a topic recalls Schwimmer's involvement in the hoax issue of *Broadsheet, The First Placard of the Armadillan Absolutists*, discussed above. The notion of publishing these diary jottings came to Schwimmer from 'French literary magazines of the time. The idea was to present an apparently unconnected flow of thoughts which nonetheless has some internal coherence.' His translation of the essay by Camus followed an earlier rendering into English of the same piece by Keith Sinclair, published with an

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173 Charles Spear, '1914,' *Arachne* 1.2 (February 1951): 11.
175 *New Zealand Poetry Yearbook* 2 (1952): 78.
introductory essay by Schwimmer in the final issue of *Broadsheet*.\(^{179}\)

Imaginative prose in the first issue of *Arachne* includes a story by Helen Shaw,\(^{180}\) who also contributed a story and an article to the final number of the magazine\(^{181}\) as well as acting as Auckland editorial representative for the issue. The European theme initiated by Schwimmer was extended in an article by H.H. Rex on the existentialism of Sartre,\(^{182}\) while Witheford discussed Pound's recently published *Pisan Cantos*.\(^{183}\) In addition to the opening selection of verse by Charles Spear, poetry by Lorna Clendon, Kendrick Smithyman, and Louis Johnson was also published in the issue. Johnson's contributions were solicited by Eric Schwimmer. Johnson offered four poems, two of which were published in the first number of *Arachne*. In a letter to Schwimmer, Johnson described 'Dear Doctor D'Ath'\(^{184}\) as part of a group of poems on the theme of death, while 'Some Held to Love by Hate'\(^{185}\) was 'an extension of the theme of "Dirge" which appeared in *Landfall*,'\(^{186}\) adding, 'the idea for it came out of reading Constant's

\(^{179}\) Eric Schwimmer ('E.S.'), 'Introduction to Camus,' *Broadsheet* 2.5/6 (August 1948): 3-5. Schwimmer also contributed further translations of European poetry to later issues of *Arachne*.

\(^{180}\) Helen Shaw, 'After the Dark,' *Arachne* 1.1 (January 1950): 5-8.

\(^{181}\) Helen Shaw, 'The Blind,' *Arachne* 1.3 (December 1951): 8-13; Helen Shaw, 'I am the Dark: the Poetry of Ursula Bethell,' *Arachne* 1.3 (December 1951): 25-29.


\(^{183}\) Hubert Witheford, 'The *Pisan Cantos*,' *Arachne* 1.1 (January 1950): 24-25,27.


\(^{185}\) Louis Johnson, 'Some Held to Love by Hate,' *Arachne* 1.1 (January 1950): 15.

Adolphi [sic] and Strindberg's plays.\[^{187}\] In a postscript to this letter, Johnson withdrew his poem 'She Who is the Dream of any Poem' from Arachne's files, as it had recently appeared in the Yearbook of the Arts in New Zealand.\[^{188}\] Kendrick Smithyman's sole contribution to the issue was not republished.\[^{189}\]

It was some fifteen months before the second number of Arachne appeared, for reasons described above. A note to subscribers slipped into the issue apologised for the delay in publication, blaming it on 'printing difficulties, which are not likely to recur.' The note went on to explain that:

> It appeared early last year that the V.U.C. Literary Society could not continue to bear the fairly heavy liabilities involved in publishing the magazine. The Students' Association had shown considerable generosity but could not continue to give undue prominence to efforts like ours. We, therefore, joined with some other Wellington writers, most of them graduates of Victoria College, and formed a Company, modestly named 'The Crocus Publishing Co. Ltd.'\[^{190}\]

A third issue of Arachne was promised for July of 1951,\[^{191}\] although it did not in fact appear until December.

The second issue opens with an editorial, probably attributable to W.H.

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\[^{188}\] Louis Johnson, 'She Who is the Dream of any Poem,' *Yearbook of the Arts in New Zealand* 5 (1949): 134.


\[^{190}\] Signed by Judith Wild, Treasurer of the Literary Society and a Director of the Crocus Publishing Company.

\[^{191}\] This was originally given as June, with the typewritten word 'June' being altered by hand to 'July.'
Oliver, which sets out to clarify the magazine's editorial policy further: in order to survive in such a small market, the magazine must be all things to all readers, providing a venue for both conventional and unconventional fiction, poetry, and prose, while at the same time attempting to 'print work that has a cathartic quality' for the development of literature, both within New Zealand and internationally. These ideas were further explored by Hubert Witheford in an essay entitled 'Background to a Magazine,' in which he describes New Zealand society as being riven by isolation and disintegration, salvageable only by the formation of some new ethic, as yet undiscovered.

Oliver follows his editorial with an article on the poetry of William Wordsworth. He also contributes a poem, 'A Figure at the Window,' previously published in the Arts Year Book for 1950 and later gathered into his collection Fire Without Phoenix. Elsewhere in the issue are poems by Alistair Campbell, Charles Spear, and Basil Dowling, while Schwimmer contributes a translation of Marcel Bisiaux's story 'The Convent.' He also provides a detailed review of two collections of poetry by probably the two most talented

193 Oliver, editorial 2.
194 Hubert Witheford, 'Background to a Magazine,' Arachne 1.2 (February 1951): 20-23.
196 W.H. Oliver, 'A Figure at the Window,' Arachne 1.2 (February 1951): 12-13.
197 Arts Year Book 6 (1950): 124.
of the *Hilltop*/*Arachne* poets, Alistair Campbell and Hubert Witheford, both published by Albion Wright of the Pelorus Press as part of his New Zealand Poets Series. Schwimmer regards the publication of the two volumes as a triumph for the sort of poetry published by *Arachne*. The issue closes with an advertisement placed by Louis Johnson, calling for contributions of verse to the inaugural issue of the *New Zealand Poetry Yearbook*.

The final number of *Arachne* is dated December 1951. It was edited by Louis Johnson, Eric Schwimmer, Hubert Witheford, and the committee of the Victoria College Literary Society. Helen Shaw and Basil Dowling are respectively named as Auckland and Dunedin associate editors. The issue opens with an editorial, probably by Schwimmer, on 'The Place of Māori Poetry,' introducing an essay on the subject by Sir Apirana Ngata, translated by his son, W.T. Ngata. Helen Shaw contributed two items, as detailed above, while Charles Spear, Hubert Witheford, J.R. Hervey, and James K. Baxter each contributed a single poem. Pat Wilson contributed an article on Blake, the subject of his doctoral dissertation at Victoria, while Eric Schwimmer contributed a rare short story. Louis Johnson contributed a group of poems given the collective title 'Six Sonnets, Unpleasant.' One of these, 'The Music Teacher: Boarding School

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Sonnet,' offended the management of the music shop Charles Begg and Company, a regular advertiser in both *Hilltop* and *Arachne*. Schwimmer later recalled that Begg and Company 'thunderingly withdrew' their support for *Arachne*.\(^{203}\)

Once again, an inherent attrition of editors and contributors, precipitated by the peripatetic nature of students and recent graduates eager to leave their alma mater and move out into the world, was a major reason for the closure of *Arachne*. Wilson, Oliver, and Witheford all departed for Britain. For his part, Louis Johnson, who had played an increasing role in the editing of the magazine, turned his energy towards other publications, including the *New Zealand Poetry Yearbook* and, from 1954, *Numbers*.

After the issue for 1949, *Spike*, the official annual of the Victoria Students' Association, did not appear again until 1954. By this date a new batch of students with literary inclinations had occupied Victoria University College, several of the most prominent of whom were proteges of James K. Baxter. His 'Lament for Barney Flanagan, Licensee of the Hesperus Hotel' is undoubtedly the most substantial poem in the issue.\(^{204}\) It also appeared as a broadsheet in the same year.\(^{205}\) His other verse contribution to the issue was the subsequently unpublished ballad 'The King and the Clown.'\(^{206}\) Baxter also contributed an

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article, 'The Phoenix and the Crow,' a mostly ironic although insightful parable on the intellectual plight of the average student.

James Bertram gave an account of recent literary periodical activity at Victoria. Cautioning against elevating recent literary events at Victoria to the status of a literary renaissance, he notes:

Literary movements are seldom organised in this country - the accidental grouping of a few writers in one place may produce a spurt of activity, then the group breaks up, and the impulse ceases. What is left behind - if the impulse has been strong enough - is the published record, and a few new literary reputations.

Bertram attributes the emergence of what he terms a 'literary avant-garde' at Victoria during the late forties in part to the founding of Landfall, the presence of which 'provided both encouragement to young writers, and a norm to vary against.' Its establishment coincided with an influx of talented students following the end of the war, including, as Bertram notes, W.H. Oliver, Pat Wilson, and Alistair Campbell. Bertram traces the series of publications which began with the Broadsheets issued by the Literary Society from 1948, discussing at some length the contents of Hilltop and Arachne and the literary issues of Salient published in 1952 and 1953. He correctly concludes:

The strongest personalities to influence these different publications were probably Erik Schwimmer and Louis Johnson - the one was largely responsible for the 'internationalism' of Arachne, the other for the urban outlook of Salient. And James Baxter, of course, is

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209 Bertram, 'Literary Periodicals' 40.

210 Bertram, 'Literary Periodicals' 40.
as chameleon-like as a true poet is always supposed to be. But if, as seems not unlikely, the enduring contribution of a brief moment of literary activity is to be seen in the lyrical poetry of Alistair Campbell, the intellectual force and compression of Hubert Witheford, and the subtlety and mental agility of W.H. Oliver and P.S. Wilson, then this might fairly be described as a distinctive and seminal contribution of Victoria College to New Zealand literature.211

Charles (Mike) Doyle, then a student at Victoria, contributed three poems to the issue of Spike for 1954, and an article, 'Puppet Theatre.'212 This was the beginning of Doyle's considerable involvement in Wellington-based literary periodicals. He went on to act as literary editor of the 1957 issue of Spike, and to edit the fifth issue of the Literary Society magazine Experiment. He was also a member of the editorial group set up to publish Numbers, as well as contributing material to a wide range of other periodicals produced during the period. His 1965 anthology Recent Poetry in New Zealand213 was published as a corrective to Allen Curnow's 1960 Penguin Book of New Zealand Verse,214 which Doyle felt paid insufficient attention to the work of those poets who had begun their careers in the fifties.

Two other items of lasting interest appeared in the issue of Spike for 1954: a translation by Maria Dronke of 'The Fifth Elegy' by Rainer Maria Rilke215 and

211 Bertram, 'Literary Periodicals' 44.
a poem by Marilyn Duckworth, or Marilyn Adcock as she was then known.216 In 1953 Duckworth (as Adcock) had contributed three poems to the first issue of the Wellington Secondary Schools' literary annual, *A College Spectator* (1953-1954), one of the more minor of the host of literary periodicals to appear in Wellington during the nineteen-fifties. Later in the same period Duckworth was to contribute both stories and poems to *Numbers*.

The next issue of *Spike* appeared in 1957, with Charles Doyle as Literary Editor. It may have been his involvement which drew a number of new young poets to *Spike*. Since June 1956 the revitalised Literary Society had produced four issues of its periodical *Experiment*, publishing work by Gordon Challis, Peter Bland, Charles Doyle, Barry Mitcalfe, and John Boyd, among others. In his preface to the 'Prose and Verse' section of *Spike*, Doyle noted that, although the majority of the contributions were obviously the work of young and relatively inexperienced writers, 'the material selected . . . is more than satisfying in its variety and high standard.'217 He went on to note especially the work of Peter Bland, appearing for the first time in *Spike*, although his poetry had previously been published in periodicals such as *Numbers* and *Experiment*, which he had assisted in setting up and editing. Bland had settled in Wellington after emigrating from Great Britain, and at the time of his involvement with *Spike* was studying part-time at Victoria, associating with mentors such as James Baxter, Louis Johnson and Eric Schwimmer.218 Included among Bland's four contri-

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216 Marilyn Adcock, 'Nothing,' *Spike* 1954: 56.


butions for 1957 was 'New Settler's Seasonal,' later printed by Louis Johnson in the seventh volume of his *New Zealand Poetry Yearbook*, published in April 1958.\(^{219}\)

Arthur Barker, like Anton Vogt somewhat older than most of the other poets in the issue and (also like Vogt) a lecturer at Wellington Teachers' College, was also given special mention in Doyle's introductory remarks. He had first appeared in *Spike* in the issue for 1944, and had published translations of work by a number of European poets in periodicals such as *Book, Numbers, Hilltop*, and various of the Wellington Teachers' College publications. In his four free verse 'Fragments'\(^{220}\) he used the lower case 'i' for the first person pronoun, one of the first times it had appeared in a New Zealand periodical, prefiguring the rash of such typographical variants in experimental New Zealand poetry during the sixties. He went on to publish several volumes of poetry in translation with Caxton Press.

Other new names to appear in *Spike* in 1957 include Gordon Challis (an associate of Peter Bland and Charles Doyle, and also involved with *Experiment*), Victor O'Leary, John Boyd, and Conrad Bollinger, all contributors of poetry to other fifties and sixties magazines. Doyle himself contributed two poems to the issue, 'Dark Harbour'\(^{221}\) and 'Hydrogen Bomb Test.'\(^{222}\) It was also reported in the issue that the Literary Society, re-established in late 1955 after a considerable


\(^{220}\) Arthur Barker, 'Fragments,' *Spike* 1957: 62-64.

\(^{221}\) Charles Doyle, 'Dark Harbour,' *Spike* 1957: 74-75.

\(^{222}\) Charles Doyle, 'Hydrogen Bomb Test,' *Spike* 1957: 75-76.
hiatus, had been very active during 1956 and 1957, with readings by Maria Dronke, Anton Vogt, Denis Glover, Doyle, Louis Johnson, and James Baxter. Both Charles Brasch and Ron Mason had addressed the society, as had academic staff members Peter Munz, Joan Stevens and Ian Gordon. As well as the younger contributors named above, the 1957 issue of *Spike* had strong links with previous issues, chiefly through F.A. de la Mare's eulogy on his contemporary, Siegfried Eichelbaum,\(^{223}\) and J.C. Beaglehole's historiographical article, 'Research in New Zealand History.'\(^{224}\) Anton Vogt, who had contributed work regularly since 1940, published three humorous epigrams.

The next and final issue of *Spike* was published in 1961. While the periodical *Experiment* had served the students of Victoria well since its inception in 1956, subsequent to 1959 it published the work of a largely different group of poets and writers than appeared in the 1961 *Spike*. Only the interesting short story writer Renato Amato, who published work in *Experiment* from 1959, also contributed to this last issue of *Spike*. On the other hand, Albert Wendt, who, like Amato, was an important contributor to *Experiment*, did not appear in *Spike*. Literary material for the issue was selected by a committee of the Literary Society.

Among those who did contribute to *Spike* in 1961, in addition to Amato, were James K. Baxter, Peter Bland, Gordon Challis, Elizabeth Allo, Les Cleveland, Norman Bilbrough, and, as guest author, Aucklander Maurice

\(^{223}\) F.A. de la Mare, 'Siegfried Eichelbaum,' *Spike* 1957: 33-35.

\(^{224}\) J.C. Beaglehole, 'Research in New Zealand History,' *Spike* 1957: 20-25.
Shadbolt, who submitted a story, 'Nightfall,' 225 not otherwise republished. Renato Amato, an Italian immigrant and a writer of considerable talent who died suddenly in Wellington in 1964, contributed a story, 'Jocelin.' 226 He had enrolled as a part time student at Victoria in 1959 and won first prize for the story 'A Summer Night' published in the issue of *Experiment* for that year. 227 Amato was president of the Victoria University Literary Society in 1960, and published eight stories in its periodical *Experiment*, in addition to editing the issue for 1963.

Baxter's 'Essay on Higher Learning' 228 is an ironic and provocative memoir of his experiences at Otago, Canterbury and Victoria Universities. His article is followed by three songs featuring blues phrasing, 'Fiddling Blues,' 'Wellington Blues' and 'Sallyann Blues,' 229 none of which were republished. It is not known if these were set to music. Peter Bland contributed four poems to the issue, 'The Prodigal Son,' 230 'The Prodigal Son Remembers,' 231 and 'Two Imaginative Landscapes: I: Hawk and Rabbit; II: High Moon.' 232 Gordon Challis contributed two

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230 Peter Bland, 'The Prodigal Son,' *Spike* 1961: 70.

231 Peter Bland, 'The Prodigal Son Remembers,' *Spike* 1961: 70.

poems while Les Cleveland, who was later to write a memoir of Amato, contributed a humorous story set on the West Coast of the South Island. Other contributors of note include Elizabeth Allo and Norman Bilbrough.

Another contributor to the issue was Mark Young, described in a brief biographical note as 'New Zealand's one-man Beat Generation.' His work is typical of many writers who featured in student and other magazines during the late fifties and throughout the sixties, their contributions exemplified by his untitled poem in the manner of the American Jazz poets. His story 'The Sun and the City' opens,

i was gassed by the idea that i'd like to dig the sun and the city so i put on my duffle coat and shot out ... a wild scratchy-bearded maniac complete with duffle coat and dark glasses.

Devoid of uppercase letters and replete with references to early blues records and the Modern Jazz Quartet, the story derives what strength it has from the contrast between the narrator's youthful egoism and a destitute alcoholic whom he encounters.

Spike's demise with the issue for 1961 ended its role in the fostering of new literary talent among both the student and wider populations of Wellington. During the last ten years or so of its publication a considerable amount of literary activity occurred in Wellington beyond the precincts of the College, including the establishment of several important national literary periodicals.

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235 Spike 1961: 68.
236 Mark Young, 'The Sun and the City,' Spike 1961: 66.
Other local venues for the work of individuals published in *Spike* included Noel Hoggard's *Arena* (always open to the work of competent younger poets) and the series of irregular periodicals associated with the Wellington Teachers' College.\footnote{Including *Ako Pai*, and the Glenco publications *Verse 1951*, *Moa on Lambton Quay* (1951) *Verse: Gorse in the Gutter* (1959), and *Matika: Verse 1960*. A brief account of these and other Teachers' College magazines is provided in the concluding section of the present chapter.} On campus, *Spike* was supplemented and then succeeded by the continued publication of two little magazines, *Experiment* (1956-1968) and *Argot* (1962-1972). Clearly of considerable significance during the period of their publication, these magazines warrant far more detailed treatment than can be supplied within the chronological focus of this study.

*Experiment* was produced by the Victoria University College Literary Society and featured in its thirteen issues work by, among others, James K. Baxter, Louis Johnson, Albert Wendt, Peter Bland, Renato Amato, Charles Doyle, Ruth Dallas, Gordon Challis, Rowley Habib, Russell Haley, David Mitchell, Alistair Paterson, and Alan Brunton. As with any little magazine published over a number of years, *Experiment* underwent several transformations of format and focus, according to the decisions of its frequently changing editorial committee. Initially published biannually and edited largely by committee, early issues were cyclostyled but from (at least) 1959 the then new 'XeroX-Multilith' method was used, supplied by John Milne Ltd. A more famous literary press, that of Harry H. Tombs Limited, was responsible for the printing of the issue for 1962. Building on Peter Bland's editorship of the issue for 1957, Victor O'Leary's 1958 issue marked a distinct improvement in the format of *Experiment*, to which he also attracted contributions by Louis Johnson and James K. Baxter. Over the
following five years, a succession of editors, including Andrew Gurr (1959),
Mark Young (1960), and Renato Amato (1963), built the erstwhile Literary
Society magazine into a publication of considerable importance. During the late
sixties Experiment deteriorated somewhat in the quality of its contents, and
despite late input from poets such as Alan Brunton and Russell Haley, ceased
publication with the issue for 1969.

In part this may be attributed to the rising prominence of Argot, which by
1968 had developed into one of the most significant venues in New Zealand for
the work of the younger group of writers most usually associated with the
University of Auckland's little magazine Freed. After being founded in 1962 by
the Victoria University Contemporary Arts Group, an organisation established
to promote a wide range of cultural activities among students, Argot underwent
a considerable number of changes over the decade of its publication. Early
issues were produced by gestetner machine, partly with the assistance of the
University's Wai-te-ata Press, and featured the work of writers such as James K.
Baxter, Peter Bland, Albert Wendt, Brian Turner, and David Mitchell. From the
seventh number, that for May 1963, Argot moved off-campus and began to be
professionally printed. With the tenth issue its editor declared it to be 'a
completely independent publication,'238 controlled by a group of 'Business
Associates,' namely Peter Frater, John Parkyn, Barry Southam and David Flude.
Over the next two years it continued to expanded its role as a national rather
than a merely university based outlet for new writing, adding among others,
Louis Johnson and Kendrick Smithyman to its ranks of contributors.

238 Mark Young, 'Editor's Note,' Argot 3.10 (February/April 1964): N. pag.
With issue thirteen (dated Autumn 1965), edited by Blair Peach, Dennis List and David Rutherford, *Argot* returned to the status of a Students' Association publication, although it retained a high degree of editorial independence. After appearing only irregularly for several years, and not at all in 1968, David Harcourt and Max Kerr produced four issues in 1969 by tapping into a veritable flood of new work being produced at that time. During the last four years of its publication, *Argot* added an impressive array of talent to its pages, including Alan Brunton, Sam Hunt, Arthur Baysting, Murray Edmond, Russell Haley, Gary Langford, Rhys Pasley, Peter Olds, Barry Southam, and Ian Wedde. As is often the case, its demise after a run of three issues in 1972 (the latter two published with the aid of a Literary Fund grant) was unheralded by any real reduction in the quality of its contents or the apparent vitality of its editing.

Finally, in 1977 there appeared from Victoria the single issue of *Hasard*, a large format and copiously illustrated product of the campus English Club, styled very much on the later issues of *Freed* and featuring several of the Auckland magazine's more prominent contributors, including Alan Brunton and Murray Edmond. Since that date, students at Victoria have relied for on-campus publication on the pages of *Salient*, which has continued to provide an outlet for poetry and reviewing, though not for fiction.

Victoria University of Wellington has been a fertile seeding ground for New Zealand literature, an attribute which it has in common with the other tertiary institutions discussed in this present chapter. The Wellington campus has hosted six or seven little magazines which, in conjunction with the many other literary periodicals published in the city itself, have supported an
impressive range of both juvenile and established writers. Certainly, however, as James Bertram pointed out in 1954, Victoria's most 'distinctive and seminal contribution'\textsuperscript{239} to the national literature came in the form of the three little magazines produced by W.H. Oliver, Pat Wilson, John Mansfield Thomson, Erik Schwimmer, Hubert Witheford, Alistair Campbell and others between 1947 and 1951, namely *Broadsheet*, *Hilltop*, and *Arachne*.

\textsuperscript{239} James Bertram, 'Literary Periodicals,' *Spike* 1954: 44.
6.6 **Inter-university Magazines: Rostrum (1939-1946); and New Zealand Universities' Arts Festival Yearbook (1960-1973).**

In addition to the periodicals associated with individual colleges, or universities as they became from the late fifties, two inter-university literary annuals were published by the national Students' Association. The first of these was *Rostrum*, produced in seven issues between mid-1939 and late 1946 by the Association's Press Bureau with the editorial assistance of students from the four Colleges. Contributors included graduates and students of the University of New Zealand (many of whom also appeared concurrently in the annual publications of their individual colleges), as well as academic staff and members of the University's Senate. *Rostrum* featured articles on student and university affairs, essays from a wide range of university disciplines, as well as poetry, stories, drawings, and photographic studies.

The first number opened with a rather muddled response to the advice of an unnamed correspondent that the new magazine avoid printing 'articles which are controversial, e.g. in praise of the Government, anti-war, anti-Chamberlain, distinctly Leftist, or radical.' It was decided that, in the light of the contributions received and the general tone of the country, such advice could not be followed. The efforts of *Tomorrow* are recalled in *Rostrum*'s determination to give expression to the 'general abhorrence for various forms of escapism,' and to counter the influence of the daily press and other conservative forces in New Zealand society. The result was a number of articles denouncing the political and social status quo, and several poems expressive of a modernist disillusion-

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1 Unattributed, 'Editorial,' *Rostrum* 1 (1939): 5.

2 Unattributed, 'Editorial.' 5.
ment. The most interesting of these is by a regular contributor to this and other magazines of the period, Ronald Meek. His poem 'Dance Puppy, Dance' is headed by a quotation from Aldous Huxley's *Eyeless in Gaza*. Meek went on to contribute poetry and other work to the next three issues of *Rostrum*, as well as editing that for 1940.

This was produced at Victoria College, where Meek was assisted by James Winchester, Mary Boyd, and Shirley Grinlinton. Winchester later gained brief notoriety for a contribution to the Victoria College magazine *Hilltop*, an article attacking the work of M.H. Holcroft. The most prominent contributor to this second issue of *Rostrum* was Denis Glover, who appeared as a graduate of Canterbury College. His article 'Back Pages from *Tomorrow*' is a eulogy for Henderson's recently suppressed paper. The issue also featured work by Dorian Saker and Tony Murray-Oliver, both of whom, like Ronald Meek, were regular contributors to a range of minor little magazines, including Murray-Oliver's *Oriflamme* (see below, Chapter Ten).

Meek's ironic 'Centennial Ode' in the second issue of *Rostrum* was followed in the third by his 'Occasional Poem,' again one of the most substantial contributions to the issue. This number also saw Rosemary Seymour add to her growing list of essays on literary criticism published in student publications with

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6 *Rostrum* 3 (1941): 18-19.
an article on modern drama. Seymour had written in Kiwi on the poetry of T.S. Eliot in 1940, and in the same year as this issue of Rostrum contributed a detailed discussion to the Auckland University College annual on the poetry of Allen Curnow. Curnow's work received further mention by Seymour in the issue of Rostrum for 1942, as part of a wider discussion of modernist poetry entitled 'Death in Recent Poetry.'

Rostrum for 1943 was unremarkable, except for its being printed by the Caxton Press and edited by Canterbury College student R.S. Gormack, later founder of the Nags' Head Press and author, editor, and publisher of Bookie, a satirical little magazine published during the late forties. No issue appeared in 1944, but in 1945 Rostrum was given a new lease of life, largely owing to the editorial involvement of Peter Munz and Hubert Witheford, both of Victoria University College. Witheford had been involved in the editing of Spike throughout the early forties, and was to go on to play a major part in the production of Hilltop and Arachne in the late forties and early fifties. His contributions to this sixth issue of Rostrum were an article on the 'outsider' status of artists and other 'cultural rebels' in society, and two poems. More significantly the issue saw the first appearance in the annual of Louis Johnson and James K. Baxter. Baxter's poem 'The Closed Picture,' signed 'J.K.B.,' was not

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11 Hubert Witheford, 'Delanda Est Carthago,' Rostrum 6 (1945): 8-11.
Chapter 6.6: Inter-University Magazines

included by Weir in Baxter's *Collected Poems*. For his part, Louis Johnson contributed an article expressing some of his ideas about the function of poetry and a single poem. Witheford, Baxter and Johnson were to cooperate in the editing and publication of several magazines over the following decade or so.

The Caxton Press, which had printed all but the third issue of *Rostrum* (this was produced by Whitcombe and Tombs), was replaced for its final issue in 1946 by Ronald Holloway's Griffin Press, when the editorship (R.I.F. Pattison and Iris Park) moved to Auckland. An international theme, evidence of a wider post-war influence on New Zealand culture resulting from the influx into New Zealand of European refugees, was apparent in an article on Rilke's poetry by Paul Hoffmann. Hoffmann made use of translations of Rilke's work by Charles Brasch, parts of which were first published in *Phoenix* in 1932. In his turn, James Bertram, recently returned to New Zealand after several years interned in a Japanese prison camp, contributed a translation of the first of Rilke's 'Duineser Elegien.' In a hint of things to come, Pat Wilson and Bill Oliver contributed several poems, among the first of their work to appear outside the pages of their own Victoria College *Spike*. More impressive perhaps was the first

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publication of Baxter's 'Blow, Wind of Fruitfulness',\textsuperscript{16} later the title poem of his second collection.\textsuperscript{17} The name of Kendrick Smithyman also appeared for the first and last time in \textit{Rostrum}, beneath a poem entitled 'Christmas Ode'.\textsuperscript{18}

As is so often the case with little magazines, \textit{Rostrum} simply ceased to appear after the issue for 1946. No explanation is easily discernible, beyond the fluctuating enthusiasms of an ever changing student population, a circumstance which always threatened the stability of university based publications. Another factor which may have drawn energy away from a national literary publication was the impetus at the time towards the production of little magazines, like \textit{Canterbury Lambs} in Christchurch and \textit{Broadsheet}, \textit{Hilltop} and \textit{Arachne} in Wellington, as well as the advent other new, non-university literary magazines which sprang up in the years immediately following the end of World War Two.

However, after a gap of fourteen years a later generation of students revived the idea of producing a national literary magazine, largely in response to the establishment of an annual New Zealand Universities' Arts Festival. The first Festival was held in August 1959 at the University of Otago, alongside the annual inter-universities Winter Tournament of sport and related activities. To a large extent, the Arts Festival was established to counter what were perceived by its advocates as the excesses of New Zealand male culture promoted through the Winter Tournament and its autumn counterpart, the Easter Tournament. The range of festival activities grew rapidly to include poetry readings, jazz


\textsuperscript{17} James K. Baxter, \textit{Blow, Wind of Fruitfulness} (Christchurch: Caxton Press, 1948).

concerts, literary lunches (by invitation only), and various 'events' inspired by the activities of overseas movements such as the Beat generation of poets and singers. Throughout the nineteen sixties the pages of the various literary periodicals produced at the individual universities gave clear evidence of what appears to have been a ferment of artistic and literary activity encouraged, at least in part, by the Festival and by events such as the annual national Students' Association conferences held at Curious Cove in the Marlborough Sounds.

For the second Festival, held at the University of Canterbury in 1960, a Literary Yearbook was published, edited by members of the host university's Literary Society and printed by Caxton Press. In her editorial to the issue, Florence Jones set out the objectives of the Festival Council and gave a brief history of university literary periodicals from Phoenix to Experiment, including one entitled Sapling, a publication described as a successor to Canterbury Lambs and Verbatim. By far the most notable contribution to this inaugural issue of the Yearbook was by the Italian immigrant writer Renato Amato. His impressive story 'Window Watching' also appeared in the same year in the Victoria University Literary Society magazine Experiment, site of first publication for the majority of his stories. 'Window Watching' and another story by Amato in the

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19 The Finding List holds no record of Sapling. Jones describes it in the following terms: 'Its first issue, with Tony Holcroft as editor, was printed by Caxton Press in 1958; in the following year Sapling comprised a four-page supplement to the October number of Canta. But Sapling has modestly stood aside in 1960, so that the energies of the Literary Society might be devoted to the Arts Festival Yearbook.' Florence Jones, 'The Universities' Literary Yearbook,' New Zealand Universities' Arts Festival Yearbook 1960: 35.

20 Renato Amato, 'Window Watching,' Experiment 7 [1960]: 55-59; Renato Amato, 'Window Watching,' New Zealand Universities' Arts Festival Yearbook 1960: 5-8.
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_Yearbook_ for 1963, 'Green Almonds, a Castle & [sic] a Couple of Horses,'\(^{21}\) were included in the posthumous collection of Amato's stories, selected by Ian Cross and Maurice Shadbolt.\(^{22}\) Among other work in the 1960 _Yearbook_ are poems by Vincent O'Sullivan and Max Richards, both regular contributors during the period to the University of Auckland magazines _Nucleus_ and _Kiwi_.

The second _Yearbook_, published in 1961, was described on the cover as 'No.3,' a confused reference resulting from its association with the third Universities' Arts Festival. O'Sullivan opened the issue with a selection of three poems, his final contributions to the _Yearbook_, while Albert Wendt contributed the first of several poems. He returned in the following issue with a story, 'The Ring,'\(^{23}\) one of many published by Wendt in university based periodicals during the early sixties. His 'Tagata, the Man Who Search for the Freedom Tree: a Fable for Our Times,'\(^{24}\) appeared in the _Yearbook_ for 1963. Other contributors of note in the second issue included Mark Young, editor of and contributor to _Experiment_, Richard Smithies, Michael Noonan, and Hilaire Kirkland.

In 1963 the editorial committee felt able to boast, not unreasonably, that the 'Arts Festival Yearbook' is now well established as one of New Zealand's more

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22 Renato Amato, _The Full Circle of the Travelling Cuckoo_ (Christchurch: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1967).

23 Albert Wendt, 'The Ring,' _New Zealand Universities' Arts Festival Yearbook_ 1962: 71-78.

24 _New Zealand Universities' Arts Festival Yearbook_ 1963: 24-29.
prominent little magazines.\textsuperscript{25} Contributors included Albert Wendt, Renato Amato, K.O. Arvidson, Hilaire Kirkland, and Victor O'Leary. 1964 saw an issue printed by Robert Lowry's Wakefield Press, with a cover illustrated by Vanya Lowry. An aggressive editorial denounced the slavish imitation by student writers of previous generations of successful New Zealand writers, including Albert Wendt, so prominent a contributor to previous issues, as well as more senior writers such as Maurice Shadbolt, Charles Brasch, C.K. Stead, Charles Doyle, and Allen Curnow.\textsuperscript{26} There was a call for younger writers to pay attention to the wider body of literature, and to avoid 'the continual harping on the theme of New Zealandese.'\textsuperscript{27} The issue was dominated by the work of Michael Morrisey and Hilaire Kirkland.

No issue appeared in 1965, but in 1966 the \textit{Yearbook} was produced from Massey University, site of that year's Arts Festival. Michael Jackson is the only contributor of note in the issue. In 1967 an issue entitled \textit{Strawberry Fields} was produced by the University of Canterbury Students' Association, edited by Rupert Glover and printed by Pegasus Press. The issue was devoted entirely to poetry, including work by Gary Langford, Kevin Cunningham, and Bill Manhire. The following year Ian Wedde took over responsibility for editing the \textit{Yearbook}, which was printed by the Caxton Press. Wedde introduced a new generation of writers, including Sam Hunt, Riemke Ensing, Peter Olds, Chris

\textsuperscript{25} Hilaire Kirkland, Douglas McPhail and John Paisley, 'Editorial,' \textit{New Zealand Universities' Arts Festival Yearbook} 1963: 3.

\textsuperscript{26} David Williams, B.F. Babington, and Christopher Reid, 'The Moa Against Glow-worms,' \textit{New Zealand Universities' Arts Festival Yearbook} 1964: 3.1-4.

\textsuperscript{27} Williams, et al, 'The Moa against the Glow-worms' 4.
Else, Alan Brunton, and, returning from the previous year, Bill Manhire. Many of these were to become increasingly prominent over the next decade in university periodicals, including Freed. C.K. Stead provided a 'Foreword' to the issue, in which he makes some typically candid confessions about his own first experiences of publication as a poet in Kiwi.28

Bill Manhire and John Dickson took over the editorial role in 1969. Produced at the University of Otago and printed again by Caxton Press, the issue drew further on the Freed group of poets to include Russell Haley, Rhys Pasley, Kevin Cunningham, Bob Orr, and Gary Langford, as well as Manhire, Murray Edmond, Alan Brunton and Ian Wedde, among others. Printed in the issue was Russell Haley's play 'The Running European,' which was noted as having been performed at the University of Auckland in July 1968, directed by Chris Else.29

For 1970 the journal shifted to Victoria University, under the editorship of Arthur Baysting writing as 'Arthur Bates'. Brief biographical notes were accompanied in many cases by photographic portraits of the contributors, including Bates, Alan Brunton, Murray Edmond, David Mitchell, Russell Haley, Rhys Pasley, and Ian Wedde. In 1971, under the editorship of Alister Williams, the Yearbook (given the cover title Earthly) made a radical departure from the conventional periodical format, being published as a folder containing an

assortment of loose broadsheets of varying sizes and coloured papers. Arthur Bates, Murray Edmond, David Eggleton, Russell Haley, Alan Loney, D.S. Long, Peter Olds, Rhys Pasley, and Brent Southgate were the most well known contributors. Another was Auckland Stephen Chan, editor with Elizabeth Wilson of the issue for 1972 to which they gave the main title *A Charlatan's Mosaic*. The issue's large format recalls that of its contemporary *Freed*, as do other aspects of its design, such as the illustrations and the innovative use of a variety of typefaces. Most of the *Freed* poets who had appeared in previous issues of the *Yearbook* contributed, with the addition of Kendrick Smithyman and Keith Sinclair.

The final issue of the *Yearbook* appeared in 1973, edited in Auckland by Gary Langford. With the exception of Russell Haley, Stephen Chan, D.S. Long and Langford himself, the group of writers who had dominated the magazine for the previous few years are consciously spurned in favour of a new selection of contributors. In his introductory notes to the issue, Langford set out his judgements on the current state of New Zealand literature, including that of the periodical press. New contributors included Trevor Reeves, editor of *Cave*, and Iain Sharpe.

Like its predecessor *Rostrum*, the *Yearbook* provided a valuable outlet for several successive generations of student writers and poets. Together with other

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30 This format was popular at the time. A series of broadsheets with the running title *Llareggyb*, published at Victoria University during 1970, were gathered into a folder for sale at the 1970 Arts Festival. Noel Hoggard of Handcraft Press used the same format in 1970 for a collection of broadsheets by Louis Johnson, Alistair Paterson, John Summers, and others. John Hales, 'Editorial,' *Argot* 26 (September 1971): 2.

university based little magazines of the period such as *Freed*, *Experiment* and *Argot*, the *Yearbook* gave space to increasingly innovative and experimental work. With new editorial staff on each issue, the *Yearbook*’s variation in both format and overall content reflects the rapidly changing mood of a remarkable period in New Zealand literary and wider culture. From 1968 issues were more and more dominated by a poetic otherwise best represented in *Freed*, premised on a rejection of dominant models in favour of a more radical American influence and typified by the work of Murray Edmond, Russell Haley, Alan Brunton and David Mitchell.
6.7 Conclusion

It is clear that in their provision of space for the young unknown writer the university magazines acted as important catalysts in the development of New Zealand literature. From the efforts of Arthur H. Adams in the Otago University Review in the early 1890s to the most recent issue of the same magazine over a century later, the numerous publications of the various Students' Associations and campus literary societies have hosted many fledgling poets and writers who later went on to become major contributors to New Zealand literature. Successive periods of change and growth in the national literature have been, if not always initiated in, then at least fostered and reflected by these publications. In several important instances, university based magazines have been the only means into print for young poets determined to extend the boundaries of both poetic form and content. The provision by the various Students' Associations of funding for the publication of new and innovative writing has been a key factor in the emergence of several groups of poets, including those associated with Phoenix and those responsible for the series of magazines which emanated from Victoria University College in the late forties and early fifties. In addition, and especially during the late sixties, the very existence of periodicals financed by the Students' Associations has been part of the motivation behind the production of independent and highly innovative little magazines such as Freed.

Lack of space has precluded the detailed discussion of a number of other student periodicals, those produced at the Teachers' Training Colleges. Like their university counterparts, successive issues of these annuals vary widely in quality. The majority are of little literary interest, with students' creative efforts
dominated by class, sporting and other reports. However, several individual issues are worthy of comment.

When Robert Lowry enrolled at the Auckland Teachers' Training College in 1941 he founded a College Press which resulted in a revival of the standards of student magazine production first achieved a decade earlier at Auckland University College. Lowry had printed the issue of Manuka for 1932, using the same press employed to produce Phoenix and that year's issue of Kiwi, with correspondingly innovative (if chaotic) typographical effects, although without any compensating quality in the literary contents. In contrast, as the main project undertaken by Lowry and his fellow students in 1941, that year's issue of Manuka is of more than just typographical interest, featuring as it does work by Kendrick Smithyman and Keith Sinclair, as well as Lowry himself. The issues for 1944 and 1945, both produced by students on the College press, also show Lowry's influence.1

As well as its annual magazine, Ako Pai (1920-), around 1950 Wellington Teachers' Training College students also produced a number of other literary magazines, largely owing to the presence on the staff of lecturers such as Anton Vogt, Patrick Macaskill, and George Barker. With their support and encouragement, a remarkable group of students, including Victor O'Leary, John Drawbridge, Louis Johnson, Alistair Campbell, Alistair Paterson, and James K. Baxter, published several volumes of poetry under the Glenco imprint. Baxter wrote the introduction to the second annual volume of Verse produced by Glenco, dated

1951, as well as contributing poetry to both it and to an anthology published in the same year entitled *Moa on Lambton Quay: animal vegetable & funereal verse.*

Two more issues of *Verse* appeared (in 1959 and 1960), both of which included poems by Baxter and other former students. Eileen Duggan, Anton Vogt, Lauris Edmond, Bruce Mason, Charles Doyle, Barry Mitcalfe, and Sam Hunt also contributed work to *Ako Pai* over the years.

The Students' Association of the Christchurch Teachers' College produced an irregular periodical entitled *Recorder.* The issue for 1958 was sumptuously produced for the Association by Robert Lowry and Robin Lush at the Pilgrim Press in Auckland. In 1974, the Division A students at the College, in association with Edge Press, produced the single issue of *Gar(r)otte,* compiled by D.S. Long and containing poetry and stories by students.

Although generally these Teachers' College publications are of less literary interest than their University College counterparts, they need to be kept in mind when constructing an image of the wider literary periodical scene. Like the magazines discussed in detail in the present chapter, they fostered successive generations of young writers and all, at some stage or another, were important seeding grounds for new New Zealand literature.

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3 Baxter's contributions to these two issues were: James K. Baxter, 'The Hesperides,' *Verse: Gorse in the Gutter,* editor not stated (Wellington: Glenco, 1959) 10; and James K. Baxter, 'Obiter Dicta,' *Matika: Verse 1960,* edited by Howard Patterson (Wellington: Wellington Teachers' Training College, 1960) 8.