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NEW ZEALAND ENGLISH LANGUAGE

PERIODICALS OF LITERARY INTEREST

ACTIVE 1920s-1960s

by

Stephen Derek Hamilton

VOLUME TWO

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
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CHAPTER SEVEN

*Mirror* (1922-1963)

These publications illustrate very clearly the broadening cultural ambitions of the class of readers they served. Their contents vary in quality and intention: from original work that can properly be classed as literature, through polite journalism, to an obvious 'digest' function.¹

7.1 Introduction

While the above comments were made by Raymond Williams in his account of the development of the magazine as a distinct type of publication in mid-nineteenth century Britain, they apply just as readily to the range of magazines published in New Zealand from that period to the present day. Monthly or quarterly mainstream magazines published primarily for commercial reasons, particularly those directed towards either a family or female readership, are valuable repositories of New Zealand popular culture. The format, style and much of the contents of these magazines have an obvious provenance in British models. Magazines such as the *Mirror* continuously reinforced an amalgam of colonial, British, and American identities, while at the same time increasingly allowing the expression of uniquely something New Zealand, whether through advertisements, articles on indigenous topics such as Maori culture or local tourist spots, or through verse and short fiction. Despite the way in which New Zealand mainstream magazines largely styled themselves on the many British magazines which were freely available here and with which they were in direct

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competition for readers, they have also played an important role in the development of a distinctive cultural identity. In the pages of the Mirror this identity was tailored towards what its editors perceived to be the needs and expectations of the predominantly Pakeha middle class readership towards. In this chapter the Mirror will be examined as an example of a long running mainstream periodical of considerable literary and wider cultural interest.

In the four decades of its publication (1922-1963) the Mirror printed work by an enormous number of New Zealand's amateur and serious poets and short story writers. The popular nature of most of the material published has excluded many of its authors from inclusion in the generally accepted canon of New Zealand literature. However, recent critical work in the field of popular literature has clarified the cultural significance of material such as was published in the Mirror to the extent that it can no longer be deemed unworthy of serious analysis and consideration. The Mirror has much to offer the historian interested in New Zealand's popular cultural and intellectual development during the period of its publication.

Despite the paucity of 'canonic' literary figures in its pages, it is nevertheless clear that the Mirror made a large contribution to the development of

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popular New Zealand literature. Its most notable literary offspring were Dorothy Eden and, to a lesser degree, Essie Summers, both of whom went on to careers as internationally successful writers of genre fiction. Through the 'Our Mailbag' column, the magazine encouraged a large number of aspiring authors and versifiers, and while its literary standards may have been deeply conservative, its provision of space and hence payment for writers was an important practical contribution to local literary endeavour. However, the magazine's apparent spurning by New Zealand's established writers and poets is hardly surprising in the light of its adamantly conservative poetics.

It is in the field of popular fiction and verse that the Mirror made its fullest contribution to New Zealand's literary development, ranging from the yarns of Harry Gibson to the romances of Dorothy Eden and her contemporaries. It took its role as a vehicle for the promotion of New Zealand very seriously, joining with gusto in the nationalism which prevailed in local publishing during the period of its production. Despite its frequent deference to British standards, in matters ranging from fashion to fiction, it is possible to trace in its pages a developing New Zealand identity, expressed through all the media and genres at its disposal: photographs and drawings, advertising, editorial comment, articles, criticism, letters, short fiction, and verse.

The Mirror was published in Auckland by the Mirror Publishing Company between July 1922 and March 1963. A single issue of the Mirror Magazine had been published by a company using this name in Christchurch in 1910, but there does not appear to have been any connection between the two enterprises. The Auckland company was founded on 22 March 1922 by a group
of ten investors, among whom were several local businessmen including H.E. Vaile, C.E. Clinkard, and Alexander Geddes. After successfully publishing sixteen monthly issues between July 1922 and October 1923, for reasons unknown the company was dissolved. However, prior to liquidation a purchase agreement was signed between the shareholders of the original company and a new pair of owners, Henry J. Kelliher and one of the original shareholders, Alexander Geddes.

Publication continued without pause through the transferral of ownership, and indeed did so until the final issue of March 1963, in which it was announced that publication was to be suspended while

our associate company, the Dawson Printing Company [printers of the Mirror from December 1926] is undergoing major reconstruction and reorganisation, during which it will be impossible to maintain our printing schedule.

The Dawson Printing Co. Ltd. was set up by members of the Dawson family on 26 July 1926, only a few months before it would have taken over the contract to print the issue of the Mirror for December of the same year. Following the voluntary liquidation of the company on 31 October 1952 it was evidently purchased by Kelliher and associates and used to continue printing the Mirror.

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3 'Memorandum of Association of The Mirror Publishing Company,' Archive COA/404 No.2283, National Archive, Auckland.

4 This Purchase Agreement is referred to in a letter, dated 4 October 1923, informing the Auckland Registrar of Companies of the liquidation of the original company. Archive COA/404 No.2283, National Archive, Auckland.

5 Unattributed, 'Special Announcement,' Mirror 42.9 (March 1963): 3.

6 Archive Co-A1/508 No.2990, National Archives, Auckland. The letterhead on a letter held in this archive, dated 16 February 1931, indicates that the Dawson Printing Co. also produced periodicals entitled Farming First, Every Girl, The Lyceum, and Progress Record.
Even prior to the death of Alexander Geddes in 1936, Henry Kelliher was the personality most closely associated with the *Mirror*. At the time of his co-purchase of the Mirror Publishing Company, he was emerging as a prominent Auckland businessman and over the next few decades he increasingly styled himself on the brewing and press barons of Great Britain. Kelliher's business career began with the purchase of a hotel in the Wairarapa in 1917. After making a considerable profit on the purchase and sale of a large portion of Maori land in the Whakatane area in 1922, he formed an importing and exporting business in Auckland. His interests in the liquor industry grew throughout the twenties, culminating in his founding of Dominion Breweries in 1930.\(^7\)

Initially titled the *Ladies' Mirror: The Fashionable Ladies' Journal of New Zealand*, the *Mirror* was the first mainstream magazine published in New Zealand primarily devoted to the interests of women. The opening editorial argued the need for a journal of this type, a need which had previously been supplied only by the women's pages in daily newspapers, weeklies and other periodicals.\(^8\) The magazine was ostensibly established to counter a perceived loss of impetus in the feminist movement in New Zealand due in part, according to the *Mirror*, to the lack of 'a rallying point.'\(^9\) This the magazine hoped to supply. However, while it was announced that in its pages 'women's interests alone will be considered, and . . . the whole gamut of the activities of the sex

\(^7\) Ted Reynolds, 'Liquor Baron Built Empire from Loophole,' *New Zealand Herald* 2 October 1991, section 1: 9.

\(^8\) Unattributed, 'Editorial Reflections,' *Mirror* 1.1 (July 1922): 10.

\(^9\) 'Editorial Reflections' 10.
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will be run,¹⁰ these interests were scarcely political, let alone radical. Indeed, the editorial to this first number confidently announced:

Woman's supreme and unchallenged domain is the home - feminine art and grace have their abiding place here, and within its walls are mirrored the very soul of its chatelaine."¹¹

With such statements the Mirror aligned itself with the conservative belief that women, who during the labour shortages occasioned by World War One had taken an unprecedented role in the work force, should now step back into their more traditional roles of mothers and wives. Similar sentiments were expressed at the time of the Second World War, with one editorial in the Mirror arguing that, despite some irrevocable changes in the distribution of work between the sexes, 'many women naturally prefer to work in their own homes.'¹² As was so often the case, these sentiments accorded with the general tenor of opinion in the community.¹³

Within this brief to cater for 'women's interests alone' children's pages appeared from the very first issue, which featured an illustrated story by the cartoonist Kennaway Henderson (future editor of the radical fortnightly Tomorrow). After five issues Henderson's somewhat grotesque images were dropped in favour of more conventional fare. The inaugural issue also carried the first book review column, a feature which was to continue in various guises through most of the Mirror's life. However, local literature generally received only occasional

¹⁰ 'Editorial Reflections' 10.
¹¹ 'Editorial Reflections' 10.
attention in the various manifestations of this column. Jane Mander contributed the column fairly regularly from mid-1934 to mid-1937.¹⁴

From the range of articles and advertisements carried in these first numbers, the target readership was clearly broad, ranging from the affluent middle class woman with income to spend on fashionable clothing, to the reader concerned with the day to day running of the household, although it should be recognised that these were often one and the same individual. Advertisements for basic household items such as Taniwha Soap, Edmonds Baking Powder, proprietary medicines and a particularly prolific breed of hen for the home egg supply, appeared alongside others promoting Smith & Caughey corsetry, Milne and Choyce millinery and exclusive women's tailoring. Articles ranged from fashion and society notes to articles on dressmaking, gardening and women's sport. An illustrated article in the first issue on the exclusive Auckland Women's Club hints at the social status of the magazine's ideal reader.¹⁵ The publication of frontispiece portraits of local luminaries like the Governor-General and his family, or members of the upper middle-class such as Ethel Vaile and her daughters, further ensured the magazine's appeal to the hautecbourne.¹⁶

After only the fourth issue male readers, or possibly elements among the editorial staff, began to express their displeasure with this exclusive catering to


¹⁶ Mrs Vaile was, along with her husband, one of the founding share-holders in the Mirror Publishing Company.
the needs of the 'weaker sex.'\textsuperscript{17} A pseudonymous letter appeared arguing for the inclusion in the magazine of articles of interest to men.\textsuperscript{18} In the next issue, a column addressed to men appeared, written in a satirically misogynist tone. Signed 'Ye Gentyle Knighte,' it purported to instruct its readers on 'How to Educate Your Wife.'

Undoubtedly knowledge is power, which is why woman is said to belong to the weaker sex. As far as knowledge goes she is practically powerless. Even if she possesses it, she rarely knows how to use it. The problem then, which we must consider, is the education of one's mate.\textsuperscript{19}

Although this article may be read as an attempt to undermine the mildly feminist agenda promoted in the \textit{Mirror}'s opening editorial and elsewhere, it might also be a deliberately ironic piece penned by a woman. Whatever the gender of its author, it received an appropriate and ironic reply in 'Training a Husband: The Value of Utility,' published anonymously in the same column the following September.\textsuperscript{20}

Immediately prior to the sale of the magazine to Kelliher and Geddes in late 1923, the intention was announced to 'broaden the scope of the journal and fully to cater for an extensive range of interests.'\textsuperscript{21} The editors would employ 'first class writers and publicists' to supply articles on 'home and social life.'\textsuperscript{22}

\textsuperscript{17} Ye Gentyle Knighte, 'How to Educate Your Wife,' \textit{Mirror} 1.6 (December 1922): 34.

\textsuperscript{18} A. Mann, 'Why Not About Men?' \textit{Mirror} 1.5 (November 1922): 26.

\textsuperscript{19} Ye Gentyle Knighte, 'How to Educate Your Wife' 34.

\textsuperscript{20} Unattributed, 'Training a Husband: The Value of Utility,' \textit{Mirror} 2.3 (September 1923): 22.

\textsuperscript{21} Unattributed, 'A Word to Our Readers,' \textit{Mirror} 2.4 (October 1923): 1.

\textsuperscript{22} Unattributed, 'A Word to Our Readers' 1.
In this issue, the popular author and journalist Hector Bolitho made his initial appearance in the magazine, with an article entitled 'New Zealand in Australian Art,' the first of thirty-five items contributed by him to the *Mirror*. It was announced that circulation had reached ten thousand copies with this issue, which was also expanded to fifty-eight pages, the first hint of an eventual increase towards the average of eighty pages achieved over the entire life of the periodical. The increase in the breadth of appeal of the *Mirror* took a further step the following month with the first explicit admission that men were to be catered for in its pages. In January 1924 the price of the magazine was increased by fifty percent to one shilling and sixpence per copy, a move aimed at providing a more secure financial footing. These changes were all highly successful. Circulation increased throughout the next year to peak momentarily at twenty-five thousand copies with the special Christmas Annual edition for 1924.

This issue signalled that the *Mirror* was established as the premier monthly in the Dominion. Its cover and over thirty other pages in the issue were produced with the newly imported four-colour printing process offered by Whitcombe & Tombs using colour plates prepared by Auckland Photo Engravers Ltd. Photographs had always been and continued to be a prominent component of the journal, covering the entire range of subject matter typically treated

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by the pictorial press, from royal tours and society weddings, to New Zealand scenery, Maori maidens, and holiday scenes.25

The cover of the Christmas 1924 issue portrayed a classic 'Maoriland' tourist motif: several young Maori women are shown bathing naked in a hot pool amid the volcanic landscape of Rotorua, a popular tourist destination at the time. This image is a typical romanticisation of the Maori, recurrent in popular New Zealand culture throughout the colonial and later periods. The arrangement of bodily forms in the image indicates the deliberate use of European painting as a compositional model, recalling the romanticised Pre-Raphaelite renderings of mythological Greek subjects, perhaps in this case Diana and her nymphs. From the centre middle distance the wahine are observed by two European women, indistinctly shown in what appear to be Victorian dresses and large bonnets. The sexualized representation of the Maori women is viewed from within the picture by the female Pakeha observers, who are rendered non-sexual by distance and dress. This image of the colonial past is clearly designed to appeal to both male and female readers; to the former erotically through the naked Maori women in the foreground, and to the latter romantically, allowing female readers to place themselves in the position of the imaginary colonial

observers. This issue of the Mirror was marketed as a gift for overseas posting and presented as a special annual issue.

The cover of this issue was one of numerous examples of the promotion of New Zealand, and especially Rotorua, as a tourist destination in the magazine from the mid-twenties. With improved roads and the increased use of motor vehicles, New Zealanders were being encouraged to explore their country in increasing numbers. A 'Motoring Supplement' was initiated in the Mirror in September 1924, and this multi-page column featured regular items on tourist routes and destinations. The specifically female target audience of this column is attested to in the issue for October 1924 when an article appeared on women's fashions suitable for wearing to the then premier New Zealand tourist destination, the Hermitage Hotel at Mt Cook.

Attitudes to both female and male nudity were different in the twenties from those generally held today. It would seem from the number of nude photographic studies in the Mirror that, so long as art was the raison d'être behind the image, nudity was acceptable. This cover, although it is certainly exploitative of Maori in using them as subjects for the promotion of New Zealand's natural heritage, is not necessarily salacious in the manner of certain magazine covers published today. The editors doubtless felt they were selecting an image representing Maori women as they may have been seen in the early colonial period.

The importance of this three to four page supplement was attested to by its title being included in the long title of the magazine from April 1925 until January 1926: The Ladies' Mirror: The Home Journal of New Zealand In Which Is Incorporated 'The Home Journal of New Zealand,' 'The Fashionable Ladies' Journal of New Zealand' and 'The Ladies' Mirror Motoring Supplement'. The supplement's appearance was in part a response to the fact that by the mid-twenties over 100,000 motor vehicles were registered, a remarkable number at a time when New Zealand had a population of only circa 1.25 million. Most private vehicle owners can be presumed to be members of the middle-class, the target audience for the Mirror. A large part of the supplement was written by Sancho, under the title 'The King's Highway: A Motoring Causerie;' See for example, Mirror 3.11 (May 1925): 53-54.

With the issue for December of the same year, the cover of which is discussed above, the first of numerous articles on Maori culture was published. All of these articles were copiously illustrated, often with photographs from a variety of sources, including both the text of Whitcombe & Tombs' popular *New Zealand in Pictures* and the files of the increasingly active Government Tourist Department. Also in this issue, Whitcombe & Tombs printed a full page advertisement entitled 'Placing New Zealand on the Map,' promoting New Zealand books, especially those on New Zealand's colonial history, landscape, and indigenous culture.

The Christmas number for 1925 featured a cover story by Dr Peter Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa), 'Wai-Whaka-Ata - The Maori Mirror.' This purports to give a brief account of the use by 'neolithic Maori' of reflecting pools as both mirrors and oracles. The cover of the issue features a photograph of several Maori women in traditional costume gazing into a pool. Buck's superficial and anthropologically suspect text is an example of the popularization of Maori culture which surrounded the promotion of New Zealand, and in particular Rotorua, for the purposes of tourism. The accompanying photographs contrast markedly with a photographic study presented a few pages further into the same issue, featuring a studio portrait of a young European woman gazing into

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29 Joan King, 'Legends of the Maori,' *Mirror* 3.6 (December 1924): 10-12.
30 *New Zealand in Pictures* (Christchurch: Whitcombe & Tombs, [1920]).
31 Peter Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa), 'Wai-Whaka-Ata - The Maori Mirror,' *Mirror* 4.6 (December 1925): 5.
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her own, far more romantically evoked pool.\textsuperscript{33} The costuming, consisting of a strategically draped strip of material and a possibly Grecian headband, the model's fashionable twenties hairstyle, and the photographically evoked mistiness of the image, combine in an obvious attempt at constructing a classical past for European viewers to claim and enjoy for themselves.\textsuperscript{34}

Two months later the first photographs of those icons of early New Zealand tourism, the Rotorua Maori Guides, appeared. 'Popular Rotorua Guides' consists of two photographs by C. Troughton Clark of Rotorua.\textsuperscript{35} The guides, dressed in traditional costume, are, as was usual, identified only by their European first names. One, 'Guide Susan,' is shown admiring what is described as 'a Native Graven Deity.' On the facing page, in immediate and marked contrast in subject matter, photographic quality and layout, appear three studio portraits of young European women, entitled 'Graceful Types of Girlhood.'\textsuperscript{36} In further contrast to their indigenous counterparts, these young debutantes are identified formally as 'Miss Rosemary Waller, of Auckland,' etc. Clark later contributed a photographic essay presenting 'Types of Maori Women at Rotorua: Native Guides of Our Thermal Wonderland.'\textsuperscript{37} Two unidentified Maori women are shown in traditional dress.

\textsuperscript{33} Schmidt Studios, 'Looking into Nature's Mirror,' \textit{Mirror} 4.6 (December 1925): 9.

\textsuperscript{34} Published elsewhere in this issue were numerous photographs of New Zealand scenery, and Maori culture, including Alf Jones, 'A Study of Motherhood,' 4.6 (December 1925): 21, a portrait of a Maori woman carrying her child in what is described as 'Native Fashion.'

\textsuperscript{35} C. Troughton Clark, 'Popular Rotorua Guides,' \textit{Mirror} 4.8 (February 1926): 5.

\textsuperscript{36} Unattributed, 'Graceful Types of Girlhood,' \textit{Mirror} 4.8 (February 1926): 4.

\textsuperscript{37} C. Troughton Clark, 'Types of Maori Women at Rotorua: Native Guides of Our Thermal Wonderland,' \textit{Mirror} 4.10 (April 1926): 7.

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Articles by contributors such as Isabel Maude Peacocke and Margaret Martin also regularly promoted New Zealand's natural beauty. Martin's 'A Western Fairyland of Bush Scenery, Rural Loveliness, and Alpine Grandeur' - on the beauty of the South Island's west coast - was the first substantial article of its type published in the *Mirror.*\(^\text{38}\) Peacocke, writing as Isabel Cluett, contributed half a dozen items on the subject, ranging from an article on the necessity of 'Advertising New Zealand,'\(^\text{39}\) to a piece lauding the beauty of the 'The Southern Lake District.'\(^\text{40}\) Following the publication of James Cowan's landmark two volume *Travel in New Zealand* (Auckland, etc: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1926), the promotion of local tourism became an established feature of the *Mirror*'s letterpress. This frequently took the form of photographic essays, but also commonly extended to verse contributed by readers, part of the popular scenic pictorialism which has dominated New Zealand's mainstream periodicals throughout much of this century. In addition, articles by amateur ethnologists such as Tano Fama and G.A. Bertram added to the large volume of material on Maori culture in the *Mirror.*

The Auckland advertising agency The Carlton Studio provided the cover illustrations for many early issues, including that for the December 1924 issue, as well as supplying advertising illustrations throughout the period. Printed on the verso of the December 1924 cover page is a full colour advertisement for a product offered by Kelliher Lochner Co Ltd, Importers and Exporters, one of the


\(^{40}\) Isabel Cluett, 'The Southern Lake District,' *Mirror* 8.1 (July 1929): 34-35.
first instances of Kelliher using the magazine as a vehicle for advertising other of his commercial enterprises. With the founding of his Dominion Breweries in 1930, the magazine became a major outlet for advertising the growing chain of hotels owned by that company throughout New Zealand.

With the alteration of the main title of the magazine (after February 1926) from the *Ladies Mirror* to the more egalitarian and non-gender specific the *Mirror: The Home Journal of New Zealand*, the gradually increasing breadth of its appeal was consolidated. However, the magazine still retained its role as a 'quality' women's magazine, featuring society notes and portraits of the *haute bourgeoisie*. In January 1926, a notice promoting the magazine to potential advertisers argued:

> The *Mirror*, by reason of its unique standard of quality, has built for itself a circulation of readers comprising mostly the well-to-do people throughout the country. Thus the advertiser has at his disposal a select field of prospects, which is approached by no other journal in the Dominion.\(^{41}\)

During the years leading to the Second World War, the *Mirror* established itself as a significant element in the cultural life of New Zealand. Its wide appeal is evidenced in the variety of short stories published in the magazine over the successive forty years of its publication, covering the entire range of popular fiction genres, and hence appealing to both male and female readers. In addition, articles on a broad range of topical matters were presented, although, with some exceptions, overt political comment and polemical journalism were generally excluded. Social notes and articles on matters of public concern were

\(^{41}\) *Mirror* 4.7 (January 1926): 44.
always a feature, as were statements rallying its readers to support matters of national interest such as the war effort.

Apart from its primary role as a profit making venture, Kelliher used the Mirror to promote social innovations such as the provision of milk in primary schools, championed in coordination with the League of Health for New Zealand Youth, another Kelliher initiative. He also argued in the magazine for radical reform of the monetary system. Articles by Kelliher on this subject were later gathered into his multiple edition *New Zealand at the Cross-Roads*, first published in the same year as his appointment as a Director of the Bank of New Zealand and reprinted on several occasions. Kelliher also took up the role of patron of the arts, supporting local painting through an annual art competition with a substantial prize which ran for twenty seven years between 1956 and 1983. The competition, renamed from 1963 the 'Kelliher Prize for New Zealand Subject and Landscape Painting,' encouraged naively representational styles and was severely criticised for promoting 'chocolate-box art.' In response, Kelliher stated that 'You have to be able to identify whether cattle are Herefords or Friesians in a painting.' Entries became the property of Dominion Breweries, and the best were reproduced in the *Mirror* and hung in Dominion Brewery hotels throughout New Zealand.


44 During an earlier period Alexander Geddes also supported local artists, in his case as President of the Auckland Society of Arts. He was also President of the Ex Libris Society and Chairman of the Anthropological Section of the Auckland Institute and (continued...)
Kelliher's official role on the magazine was that of Managing Director and Editor, although the day to day running of the enterprise was largely handled by managing editors such as Otto Williams. Other editors named in the magazine include the Auckland poet Warwick Lawrence, the journalist O.A. Gillespie, and two of Kelliher's daughters, Adrienne and Yvonne Kelliher. A General Manager of the *Mirror*, John Griffith, left Kelliher's publication to found the *Monocle* (1937-1939), a rival magazine of very similar format but directed towards a male readership. The *Monocle* folded after twenty-nine months but not before drawing O.A. Gillespie from the *Mirror* to its own editorial ranks in late 1937. Several writers are also found in both periodicals, including Jane Mander (who ran a book review column in *Monocle* almost identical in format to her *Mirror* contribution), Hector Bolitho and Eve Langley. Another rival to the *Mirror* from the mid-thirties was the monthly *New Zealand Home Journal* (1934 - 1974). Published in Christchurch, the *Home Journal* featured fiction by writers familiar to readers of the *Mirror*, notably Dorothy Eden, Jean Boswell, Grace Phipps and Jillian Squire. The *New Zealand Women's Weekly* first appeared in 1932. Owing largely to its lower production values and somewhat different target audience, it initially posed little threat to the *Mirror’s* status. However, by mid-century it had become one of Kelliher's main rivals and its rising popularity,

44(...continued)

45 Named Managing Editor from 6.11 (May 1928) to 11.3 (September 1932), and variously General Manager, General Editor or Editorial Director from 15.12 (June 1937) to 37.8 (February 1953).
along with that of several other weeklies aimed at a primarily female readership, eventually led to the demise of the *Mirror*. 
7.2 Literary Content

A predominance of syndicated popular fiction written in Australia and the northern hemisphere over local material indicates that the Mirror's literary policy was determined primarily by the need to sell copies profitably, and only secondarily by a desire to promote local writing. However, there was the occasional expression of nationalistic literary sentiment in the magazine's editorial columns. For example, the opening editorial observed that:

Opportunities [for publication] are notoriously inadequate here... with the appearance of the Ladies' Mirror a new avenue is open to all womankind to get into print... to the mass of literary talent awaiting a vehicle of expression we say emphatically, 'Here is the opportunity presented to you.'

From November 1923 a note printed on the title page asked:

Contributors, send your best social notes, most attractive photographs, essays, verse, and stories to the Ladies' Mirror. New Zealand talent generously encouraged.

The response to these continuous requests for contributions appears to have been a sustained flood of amateur versifying and story writing, attested to by the volume of material dealt with in the 'Our Mailbag' column. This column provided advice to aspiring poets and other writers who submitted work for brief criticism and possible acceptance for publication. The reduction in the amount of unsolicited material received by the magazine following the closure of the 'Our Mailbag' column in April 1957 led in December of that year to the reintroduction of the title page notice calling for stories, 'preferably with a New

46 Unattributed, 'Forward,' Mirror 1.1 (July 1922): 3.

47 Mirror 2.5 (November 1923): 1.

48 Begun as 'Answers to Correspondents' with Mirror 1.3 (September 1922): 32 and continued as 'Our Mail Bag' until Mirror 36.10 (April 1957): 46.
Zealand setting,' 'brief verse' and articles of two to four thousand words 'of
general reader interest and accompanied by photographic illustrations.'

Initially edited by an otherwise unidentified 'Editress,' the column allows
a rare insight into Mirror editorial policy towards locally written material. In
an extensive response in the third appearance of the column to some lines
submitted by one 'D.M.N.' of Opoho, Dunedin, the editor advises:

Do not try to write Vers Libres [sic]. They are the refuge of the
would be verse writer who will not or cannot take pains. Your
lines on 'Night' are just prose cut up into short lengths. Verse -
good verse - is not written with ease. Poetry is much more
difficult, but with study and application may be accomplished.

This reaction to attempts at free verse was mollified with time as the form
became more generally acceptable, although resistance persisted well into the
forties. In 1943, for example, H.T. (Harry) Gibson wrote an article protesting at
what he termed the 'pseudo-soulful stuff' of free verse. With the replies
published in the following issue the exchange constituted a rather low key
literary debate, one of the only ones to occur in the Mirror.

Locally written fiction published in the Mirror, while rarely other than
popular in its appeal, in fact constituted a major contribution by the magazine

49 Mirror 37.6 (December 1957): 3.
50 The Editress of 'Answers to Correspondents' and its early successor, 'To Help Young
Writers - Criticism on Manuscripts,' may have been Dulce A. Duncan (the romance
author Dulce Carman), author of 'Hints to Young Writers: The Rules of Verse Con­
51 Unattributed, 'To Help Young Writers,' Mirror 1.5 (November 1922): 32.
52 Incidentally, the distinction made here between verse and poetry is significant, and
should be borne in mind when considering work published during the period.
54 Alex D. Munro, 'In Reply to "Pseudo Music,',' Mirror 22.7 (June 1944): 64-65; and M.J.
Maclaurin, 'Song and Verse,' Mirror 22.7 (June 1944): 65-66.
to the development of New Zealand literature. Its popular and generic nature, typified by stories dealing with courtship or domestic romance, adventure and mystery, guaranteed its appeal to a wide readership. The paucity of stories by more experimental writers such as Frank Sargeson may be explained by the following entry from the 'Our Mailbag' column for August 1933.

'Mamie's Urge' (F.S., Takapuna, Auckland): Very fair. Marred by an overdose of up-to-date slang. Make your dialogue more convincing.55

This response was printed two months before Sargeson's first published story appeared in the *Australian Woman's Mirror*.56 'Mamie's Urge' may have been one of the early unpublished stories noted by Rhodes.57

The uncontroversial, sanitised, 'family magazine' policy maintained for its fiction throughout the *Mirror's* publication is no better exemplified than in a 1953 reaction to a complaint about 'too many crime and sex stories' being published in the magazine. The editorial response was an assertion that the *Mirror* has 'always taken special pride in the clean and healthy literature published in our journal.'58 Such concern for propriety did not allow the magazine to act as a venue for literary experimentation, although it did foster the careers of several internationally significant writers of genre romance, including Dorothy Eden and Essie Summers, both of whom are discussed below.


58 Unattributed, 'Just Between Ourselves,' *Mirror* 33.9 (March 1953): 3.
The issue for December 1931 announced the sole short story competition ever hosted by the *Mirror*.

All stories . . . must have a New Zealand atmosphere and the plot must be laid in the Dominion; but stories of Maori life are not specially solicited.59

This prescriptive discouragement of stories featuring Maori characters may have been an attempt to anticipate a flood of second-rate writing on exotic Maori themes, but it also clearly omitted Maori from the notion of a 'national spirit in literature,'60 confining 'New Zealand atmosphere' to the life of Europeans in New Zealand. Among the twenty finalists for the competition were Robin Hyde, Alice Kenny, Dorothea Buck and Ethel Beauchamp. The eventual winner, from a total of two hundred and thirty-seven entries, was Audrey Argall of Paeroa with 'Farewell Pioneer,' an historical romance chosen largely for its systematic tracing, through the progress of a pioneer family, of the development of the nation from the mid-nineteenth century.61 The deliberate use of fiction to develop a Eurocentric sense of national identity is rarely better exemplified.

Some nine years later the *Mirror* published one of the two winning short stories in the 1940 Centennial Literary competition. The story by Frank Sargeson which had shared first prize, 'The Making of a New Zealander,' had already appeared in *Tomorrow* in January 1939,62 and has been republished and anthologised numerous times since. Eleanor Midgley's 'The River' was not

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59 '£5/5/0 for the Best Short Story,' *Mirror* 10.6 (December 1931): 51.


Chapter 7.2: Mirror - Literary Content

destined for publication beyond the pages of the Mirror. Its suitability to this periodical far outweighed that of Sargeson's more problematical story. Midgley's narrative is an historical romance purporting to be an account of the last stronghold of the Maori succumbing to European progress. It was illustrated with an unattributed sketch of an inhabited pa over the lines, 'Te Tamahana called his people together, then strode to the whare of Te Waimona.'

Typically, contributions of poetry to the Mirror came from the magazine's own readership. The vast majority of it cannot be regarded as anything other than crudely composed doggerel, often sentimental in subject matter. However, this description should not be allowed to devalue the pleasure the publication of such verse surely gave both to its authors and its readers. Notable exceptions, among the army of amateur versifiers, included a small number of contributions by Gloria Rawlinson, Louis Johnson, Anton Vogt, and G.R Gilbert. Otherwise the majority of New Zealand's serious poets seem to have refused or been refused publication in the Mirror.

Gloria Rawlinson's two contributions occurred in 1934 and 1938, when she was 14 and 18 years old and regarded as something of a child literary prodigy. Her first poem, 'The Lotus Pool (Auckland Winter Gardens),' appeared in the children's pages of the issue, although its layout and separation from other

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63 Eleanor Midgley, 'The River,' Mirror 19.3 (September 1940): 16-17,57. A story by E. Midgley, entitled 'The River,' was 'commended' but not printed by C.A. Marris in the results of the annual short story competition run in Art in New Zealand 10.3 (March 1938): 137.

64 This illustration is in fact, "Interior of a Native Village or 'Pa' in New Zealand, 1851," a lithograph published by E.G. Moore after J. Gillfillan, 'reproduced in Leonard Bell, The Maori in European Art (Wellington: Reed, 1980) 79.

poems in the column acknowledge the higher quality of her work, which was clearly written for an adult readership. Her second contribution, 'The Lodgers,'66 accompanied an article by her mentor Robin Hyde, 'New Zealand Authoresses,' a reply by Hyde to Denis Glover's attack on Charles Marris and the writers and poets that editor supported.67 A portrait of Rawlinson accompanies the article, along with portraits of some of the most prominent New Zealand 'authoresses' to date, including Katherine Mansfield, Jane Mander, Eileen Duggan and Hyde herself. In her article Hyde praises the work of these and other women writers, and in a paragraph devoted to Rawlinson describes her as possessed of 'the poet's sense for word and rhythm, [and] the abundance of an excellent short story writer and novelist.'68

The Australian writer Eve Langley contributed two poems to the Mirror during her years in New Zealand, 'The Changing Mind'69 and 'The Dead Plow-lad [sic],'70 both contributed in 1938. Langley lived and wrote in New Zealand for twenty-four years from 1932, publishing over seventy poems locally during that period.71

Anton Vogt published three poems and a single story in the Mirror. The first item to appear was a poem, 'Quarrel,' published in June 1942 in the short

66 Gloria Rawlinson, 'The Lodgers,' Mirror 16.8 (February 1938): 63.
68 Hyde, 'New Zealand Authoresses' 63.
70 Eve Langley, 'The Dead Plow-lad [sic],' Mirror 16.8 (February 1938): 72.
lived 'Our Poets' Corner.' Similar to many short poems by Vogt, composed of concise epigrammatic rhyming couplets, it stands out among the more usual contributions to the column, such as M.B. Wheeler's topical and sentimental 'Kitchen Craft,' which opens

My soldier son on leave  
Seems so grown up to me . . . [sic]  
But on days I bake  
He's not too old to scrape the bowl.

'Quarrel' was reprinted in Vogt's 1952 collection, Love Poems. His second contribution to the Mirror was 'Girders,' also printed in the 'Poets' Corner.' His third and final poem, 'Adventure,' is a grim evocation of death in what appears to be the North African desert, and was reprinted in his Poems for a War. It is curious that the previous appearances in the Mirror of 'Adventure' and 'Quarrel' are not acknowledged in the collections in which they were reprinted, most likely an indication of embarrassment at being associated with a conservative and popular magazine.

Vogt's story, 'Love in Autumn,' published in the Mirror almost seven and a half years after the last of his poems, appears to be a straightforward piece of genre romance, the predominant short fiction genre published in the Mirror. It

75 Anton Vogt, 'Girders,' Mirror 21.9 (March 1943): 35.  
76 Anton Vogt, 'Adventure,' Mirror 22.5 (November 1943): 46.  
is one of three such stories published in the same issue, one of which was by Dorothy Eden, the most prolific contributor of light romance to the magazine. According to an associate of Vogt's at the time, Victor O'Leary, Vogt wrote the story simply to earn the contributor's fee, with no attempt at irony. He studied the genre, established what was required and set about writing a suitable contribution. The *Mirror*'s editors took the story at face value, and provided for it a drawing which was uncompromisingly of the genre, illustrating the lines:

They kissed and it was an act of confirmation. Adult and Autumn . . . [sic] with ease and certainty.

Certainly, a reading of the story does not suggest that Vogt had any intention to undermine the genre. It recounts the harmless flirtation of a middle aged woman - disconcerted at the beginning of the story by the appearance in her face of visible signs of ageing - with the ubiquitous charming and seductive stranger. It reads as an affirmation of the attractiveness of housewives and mothers unappreciated by their spouses and in need of just such a fantasy encounter, very suitable fodder for the magazine's readership.

Louis Johnson's single contribution to the *Mirror* was a short lyric entitled 'Ransome,' about a horse-breaking high country youth who cannot be fettered by city ways. Johnson had been instrumental in producing the first four annual issues of the *New Zealand Poetry Yearbook* by the date of this poem's appearance. It is, therefore, little short of anomalous that a solitary poem by him,

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79 Victor O'Leary, personal interview, 2 April 1994. O'Leary was a mature student at Wellington Teachers' College during 1950 and 1951, studying under Vogt.

80 Anton Vogt, 'Love in Autumn' 31.

81 Louis Johnson, 'Ransome,' *Mirror* 34.9 (March 1955): 52.
otherwise unpublished, should appear in the *Mirror* for 1955. No other poet of his stature from the post war generation appeared in Kelliher's magazine. It is possible that this poem was submitted some years earlier, when Johnson was attempting to obtain publication in any periodical venue, held in the 'fill-in file,' and later printed in response to his growing reputation.\(^{82}\)

G.R. Gilbert, better known for his short stories, had two poems published in the *Mirror*. The first, entitled 'Remembered Happiness,' appeared in the 'Poets' Corner' column for April 1941,\(^{83}\) and the second, 'Make No Reservation,' in July of the same year.\(^{84}\) Neither poem appears to have been republished.

Of the many versifiers published in the *Mirror*, a number are worth noting as prolific (and thus apparently favoured) contributors of what has been termed 'light verse,' which often found its way into collections published at the authors' own expense. Voluminous output in itself is no guarantee of quality, although publication in the *Mirror* of a dozen or more poems over several years is, at the very least, a mark of the works' suitability to the outlet. Poems by May Cottrell, Alice Greville, Marie Western, Marion Curran, Lilian Moulin, Rita Atkinson, Nancy Bruce, and Dorothy Clinkard, to name just a few, fall into this category. Such writers provided key instances, for the *Mirror*, of its professed role to encourage the development of New Zealand's literary talent. This role was, occasionally, acknowledged by its readers. For example, a poem by

\(^{82}\) I am grateful to Alan Loney for this suggestion.


\(^{84}\) G.R. Gilbert, 'Make No Reservation,' *Mirror* 20.1 Guly 1941): 45.
Chapter 7.2: Mirror - Literary Content

Temple Sutherland, entitled 'Casualty's Conscience,'\textsuperscript{85} prompted Francis Pennington to write that its publication 'augurs well for New Zealand poetry.'\textsuperscript{86} Sutherland was the author of several stories in the Mirror in the years immediately following World War Two, and published a number of books ranging from texts on soil science to his reminiscences of farming in New Zealand. Pennington felt that this poem indicated that the recent war had 'produced a new depth of feeling which, in the past, had been lacking in local verse.'\textsuperscript{87}

A number of poets in the Mirror also contributed work to other general interest or purely literary magazines. Noel Hoggard's Arena was one such venue, and indeed Hoggard and his sister Roma Hoggard both had poems published in the Mirror. Roma Hoggard's appearance is echoed by contributions from a number of other members of the women writers' organisations operating during the period. Indeed, the Mirror styled itself as the 'Official Organ of the League of New Zealand Penwomen' and provided space for a comprehensive monthly report of the activities of that group for two years from January 1927.\textsuperscript{88} The League was one of the two most active groups established to promote women writers, the other being the Women Writers' and Artists' Society, established in Wellington in 1932. Monthly reports on the activities of the National Council of Women were also carried in the Mirror during the same period.

\textsuperscript{85} Temple Sutherland, 'Casualty's Conscience,' \textit{Mirror} 25.2 (August 1946): 58.

\textsuperscript{86} Francis Pennington, 'New Zealand Poetry,' \textit{Mirror} 25.3 (September 1946): 91.

\textsuperscript{87} Pennington, 'New Zealand Poetry' 91.

\textsuperscript{88} From \textit{Mirror} 5.7 (January 1927): 26-27 until \textit{Mirror} 7.7 (January 1929): 35.
First among the many New Zealand authors of short fiction to appear in the *Mirror* was Isabel Maud Peacocke (Isabel Cluett) whose serialised romantic melodrama, 'The Career of Stella Frame' began in the second issue of the magazine.\(^89\) This is the story of a woman who makes the error of leaving the security of married life to pursue success as a singer. As a result of her popularity her husband is estranged from her, emotionally emasculated by the fact that she is the main breadwinner. She falls more and more under the influence of the entrepreneur who has guided her onto the stage, seduced by his foreign mannerisms until he finally declares his true intent:

> I love you - I adore you - no, don't speak - I am mad about you, lovely little thing of fire and dew and celestial voice that you are.\(^90\)

In shocked response Stella regains her senses, rejects his advances and the story ends happily with marital reconciliation and her declaration to her husband that 'You're my career at present.'\(^91\) Such a plot is typical of Peacocke, whose novels frequently carried similar warnings about the vulnerability of marriage to outside influences and temptations, although it should be noted that Stella's use of the qualifying phrase 'at present' in her renunciation of life on the stage precludes any total closure of her career options.\(^92\)

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\(^{89}\) Isabel Maud Peacocke, 'The Career of Stella Frame,' *Mirror* 1.2 (August 1922): 12-13, 36 - 1.6 (December 1922): 32, 56.


\(^{91}\) Peacocke, 'The Career of Stella Frame' Instalment Five, *Mirror* 1.6 (December 1922): 56.

\(^{92}\) Sturm, 'Popular Fiction' 504-505.
Peacocke’s only other story in the *Mirror* was ‘When the Pohutukawa Bloomed,’ published in the Christmas edition for 1923. A conventional romance, this story has many of the classic ingredients of the genre, from a strong woman and a wayward man to the improbable discovery of hidden treasure as a means to solve an apparently insoluble dilemma.

Peacocke went on to contribute over twenty articles on matters of social and cultural interest during the late twenties and early thirties, usually under her married name, Isabel M. Cluett. These range in subject from the promotion of New Zealand as a tourist destination, to moralising pieces such as The Menace of Mechanical Art. This article can in part be read as a reaction to the advent of the ‘talkies,’ the first of which was shown in New Zealand in Auckland in April 1929. Despite its title, her argument has more in common with the tradition of Luddite reactionism than it does with Benjamin’s article, ‘The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction,’ first published in 1936. Peacocke deplores the loss of traditional arts and pastimes, such as live theatre and the playing of musical instruments and singing in the home. In her opinion this loss was due to the increasing popularity of the phonogram and of (specifically) American cinema. The crudity and lewdness of the latter ‘combine to produce a disturbing effect on the mind of the adolescent’:

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93 Isabel Peacocke, ‘When the Pohutukawa Bloomed,’ *Mirror* 2.6 (December 1923): 21-2.
[I]f we must have pictures, the intelligent and artistic section of the public must make every effort to encourage the production of British films in British countries.96

Presumably, this is in part to be interpreted as a call for the support of a local film industry, which had made some progress during the twenties but was now in decline with the advent of the American 'talkies.' In addition to lamenting the moral decay accompanied these modern distractions, she attributed the coming economic depression at least in part to these machines displacing human labour.97

Peacocke's final article written for the Mirror was entitled 'Morality and Responsibility.'98 This was a response to comments made on the rate of illegitimate births in New Zealand by A.G. Butchers, author of a Parliamentary commissioned report on educational reform.99 Peacocke, writing as Cluett, argues for 'instruction on sex-hygiene and physiology on sane and practical lines' to be given, adding that 'it is time some restraint was imposed on these hot-blooded young people.'100 Finally, while her involvement with the Mirror

96 Cluett, 'The Menace of Mechanical Art' 33.

97 This view was echoed some years later by Ngaio Marsh when, writing in the first issue of Landfall, she recalled that with the advent of the 'talkies,' 'All over Australasia one seemed to hear the desolate slam of stage doors.' Ngaio Marsh, Theatre: A Note on the Status Quo, Landfall 1 (1947): 37. Writing in the same year as Peacocke, the French author and critic, Georges Duhamel, voiced very similar views to Peacocke on the effect of cinema on modern culture. Georges Duhamel, Scenes de la vie future (Paris: n.p., 1930) 52,58. Duhamel is quoted by Benjamin in the article cited above. Benjamin, The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction 239. While it is unlikely that Peacocke read Duhamel, this does confirm that she was expressing a view commonly held at the time.

98 Isabel Cluett, 'Morality and Responsibility,' Mirror 9.7 (January 1931): 37,49.


100 Peacocke, 'Morality and Responsibility' 49.
had effectively ended by mid-1932, a patriotic poem celebrating the marriage of Princess Elizabeth and Phillip Mountbatten was published in the issue for November 1947.\textsuperscript{101}

Edith Lyttelton contributed two stories to the \textit{Mirror}, both in the twenties and both under her gender-ambiguous pseudonym 'G.B. Lancaster.' 'Through a Glass Darkly'\textsuperscript{102} and 'Untaught Kisses,' enticingly subtitled 'An Unusual Short Story in Which Love, A Man's Honour and Medieval Necromancy Are Involved,'\textsuperscript{103} belong to the first phase of her career as a writer of fiction, examples of the multitude of stories written by Lyttelton after the success of \textit{The Law Bringers} (1913). Both are tragic tales of women victimised and downtrodden in the masculine environment of the North American frontier. Lyttelton's use of colloquial dialogue and narratives characterised by cruelty and madness owe a debt to the American dime novel and its successors, as well as to certain periodicals popular in Britain at the time.\textsuperscript{104}

Jean Boswell contributed two stories to the \textit{Mirror}, one at the beginning of her career in 1926 and one in 1952. The first, 'Moon Magic,' is an account of a child-like woman journalist whose inexperience prevents her writing the sorts of romantic stories her editor demands.\textsuperscript{105} His advice turns into an object lesson revolving around their previously unrealised mutual love of New Zealand's

\begin{footnotes}
\item[101] Isabel M. Cluett, 'Royal Romance,' \textit{Mirror} 26.5 (November 1947): 73.
\item[102] G.B. Lancaster, 'Through a Glass Darkly,' \textit{Mirror} 2.6 (December 1923): 43-8.
\item[103] G.B. Lancaster, 'Untaught Kisses,' \textit{Mirror} 3.7 (January 1925): 12,23,25,27.
\item[105] Jean Boswell, 'Moon Magic,' \textit{Mirror} 5.4 (October 1926): iii-v.
\end{footnotes}
native flora, particularly the flowers of the kowhai. His eventual confession that he is married leads to her forgiveness and the result is the story just read, composed with the passion required. Boswell's only other contribution, 'The 'Tween Age,' is written from the perspective of a girl who is neither child nor teenager.¹⁰⁶

The popular and prolific writer of yarns, Harry Gibson, contributed thirteen stories to the Mirror between 1928 and 1947. He also contributed stories to the Red Funnel (1905 - 1909) as well as to several Australian and British journals. New Zealand settings, humour, ghost stories and the yarn format typify Gibson's short fiction. His first story in the magazine, 'The Maori and the Jigger,' gives an account of journey into the heart of the King Country on a train called 'The Maori,' a title given in recognition of its sedentary 'do-it-tomorrow propensities.'¹⁰⁷ Such an explicit association of Maori with characteristics viewed as negative by European commentators was quite usual at the time, particularly in the context of humorous fiction. The train slowly passes through a landscape irrevocably altered by the wholesale clearance of the forest for farming. In contrast, the 'jigger' on which the journey is completed gives a rapid and exhilarating ride through magnificent and, to some extent foreboding native forest. The juxtaposition of the sleepy train with the ruined landscape through which it travels effects an ironic comment on the enervating effect on Maori of the imposition of European will on the land. The jigger's headlong progress through the virgin bush is made in despite of the magnificent environment through

which it rushes. Ominously, its destination is the bush saw-mill which will continue to eat its way inexorably through the forest.

Gibson’s most considerable contribution to the *Mirror*, the ‘Off the Beaten Track’ series, ran to six stories published in 1929, including two serialised over two issues. Humorous railway and sea yams or stories of Europeans caught in conflict with treacherous Maori, either real or ghostly, predominate. Other stories by Gibson outside the series repeat the formula. In ‘Holiday Utu’ Gibson blends the genres of fantasy and ghost story to teach a seasonal message of environmental care.108 Published in January 1931, the story tells of a crowd of Pakeha beach-goers held up by ghost Maori whose chief demands that they clear the sands of their rubbish and refrain from spoiling the natural beauty of the place. The dreaming narrator awakes to find the beach deserted but still littered with Pakeha litter, the pohutukawa trees stripped bare of their blossom.

Gibson’s Maori dialogue is often biblical or classical in tone, a device typical of the period. The Spirit of Ata Mana’ is preceded by a preamble signed by Gibson which asserts that:

In the following narrative, true and unadorned by lyrical embellishment, I have endeavoured to render a faithful interpretation of Maori metaphor and allegory.109

This supposedly verbatim report of a tangi, with its emphasis on the traditional rhetoric of mourning, is an excellent example of the construction of a Europeanised Maori nobility to stand as substitute for the increasingly remote Pakeha heritage.


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In the melodramatic yarn 'No Flame Can Scorch' Gibson utilises the common fictional stereotypes of 'good native' versus 'evil native' with the European character innocently caught between the two.\textsuperscript{110} Despite the language barrier, romantic love blossoms in a mid-nineteenth century bush camp between a Pakeha worker and a Maori woman. Her thwarted Maori suitor pursues violent revenge culminating in the torture of the Pakeha above a slow fire, leading to the self-sacrificial death of the woman and the righteous murder of the evil suitor. The timber worker escapes to tell his yarn around a camp fire in quieter times.

Gibson did not go on to republish the stories from the \textit{Mirror}, although in 1924 he published a collection of stories based on his experiences as a primary school teacher. These had been previously published in a range of New Zealand and Australian magazines.\textsuperscript{111}

Hector Bolitho, the popular journalist and biographer of British royalty, began a long relationship with the \textit{Mirror} with an article on 'New Zealand in Australian Art,' published in October 1923.\textsuperscript{112} Between that brief article and his final contribution in September 1959, Bolitho contributed in total eight short stories and twenty six articles plus a serialised version of his autobiography,

\begin{footnotes}
\item[H.T. Gibson ('H.T.G.')]\textit{, That Gibbie Galoot: The Tale of a Teacher} (Auckland: Observer Printing Works, 1924). David Verram of the Auckland Public Library points out that the \textit{National Bibliography} erroneously carries two separate entries for Gibson, as Harry Gibson and as H.T. [Henry Thomas] Gibson. An obituary in the \textit{Auckland Star} dated 24 September 1957, notes that H.T. Gibson published fiction under a range of pseudonyms in local and overseas magazines. Although these pseudonyms are not provided in the obituary, the stories in \textit{That Gibbie Galoot} are described as having previously been published in the \textit{New Zealand Herald}, the \textit{Otago Witness}, \textit{Lone Hand}, \textit{Wide World Magazine}, and \textit{The Graphic}. Auckland Public Library Obituary Scrapbook.
\item[Hector Bolitho] 'New Zealand in Australian Art,' \textit{Mirror} 2.4 (October 1923): 20.
\end{footnotes}
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Here titled 'The Hounds of Discontent,' which ran for twelve issues from Vol.26, no.3 (September 1947). Many of the articles were either extracted from or destined to become sections of his numerous published works. Of the eight stories published by Bolitho in the Mirror, four were included in his anthology The House on Half Moon Street and Other Stories,113 along with several stories published in other New Zealand periodicals. The acknowledgments made in this 1934 collection testify to the extent to which Bolitho published in established British periodicals during the nineteen thirties, including Nash's Magazine, Windsor Magazine, the Saturday Review and the Spectator.

Alice Kenny contributed several items to the Mirror during the nineteen thirties, including 'The Rescue of Rose Loveridge,' an exotic tale of romance amid the dangers of the orient, serialised in five parts between May and September 1930.114 Kenny was a prolific contributor of stories and verse to such periodicals as the Triad, the 'N.Z. Section' of Aussie and the New Zealand Illustrated Magazine. She is possibly best remembered for having had poetry 

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by Ezra Pound for Poetry (Chicago), an event which outraged Frank Morton of the Triad, leading him to characterise Poetry as the site of degenerate literary experimentation.

Kenny's only other story in the Mirror was 'In the Loopholed Shed,'115 a tale of the New Zealand Wars, in which a group of isolated colonists take refuge

115 Alice A. Kenny, 'In the Loopholed Shed,' Mirror 17.6 (December 1938): 16-17,99.
from the threat of a Maori attack. Their concerns prove groundless and a rescue party arrives to find a performance of *Hamlet* in progress, courtesy of a theatrical troupe trapped with the settlers. The romantic encounter between an actor and a female colonist is harmlessly resolved with the arrival of her husband. In this rather pointless tale, subtitled 'A New Zealand Xmas [sic] Story of Pioneering Days,' Kenny seems content to resolve all problems, be they military or romantic, bathetically, although it is doubtful that enough dramatic tension is generated to warrant even that dismissal of her narrative.

Robyn Hyde began to contribute material to the *Mirror* from January 1929. Among the articles attributable to her, of particular interest is her account of her travels in Asia. Published in several instalments as they were received, for the most part under the title 'I Travel Alone: My Trans-Siberian Journey to England,' they form a preliminary version of her *Dragon Rampant*, published in London in 1939 shortly before her death.116 Illustrated with news journalist photographs of, for example, events in China surrounding the Japanese invasion, the articles were written as a means to finance Hyde's journey. The *Mirror* General Editor, Otto Williams, was dissatisfied with the tone and content of Hyde's reports. He demanded 'snappy and sensational' prose, declaring,

*you are a woman travelling among thousands of men and there must be hundreds of intimate touches, both pleasant and unpleasant, which would be of interest to readers.*117

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Her disappearance behind Japanese lines and the consequent gap in instalments prompted great concern throughout the country, expressed both in the *Mirror* and in the other major outlet for her writing discussed in this thesis, the *New Zealand Railways Magazine*.

Hyde's first signed contribution to the *Mirror* and her only story was a short genre romance published in January 1929.118 "Evidence" is subtitled 'A Short Story of How a Wife Reformed Her Husband' and records an arrangement made between a well-off woman and an unemployed man. An urban story, clearly set in Christchurch although without any overt use of the familiar New Zealand motifs, the story would have been suitable for inclusion in a contemporary British magazine. The woman employs the man to pose as her lover in order to win her husband back from the attractions of an exotic femme fatale. The standard genre formula is followed with no obvious attempt to undermine it. Hyde also (unsuccessfully) submitted a story to the competition announced in December 1931, receiving mention as an entrant of particular note.

The balance of contributions by Hyde were articles, ranging from two pieces about women who had achieved success in traditionally male-dominated spheres, to a rejoinder to Denis Glover's *The Arraignment of Paris*,119 his satirical

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117(...continued)


verse attack on Charles Marris and the woman writers such as herself whom Marris supported. It opens:

I have just finished reading a versified satire (weak) apparently written with the purpose of depreciating New Zealand women writers and those crude enough to publish them. It saves a really horrid egg for the men foolish enough to be in such company; it compares them with women . . . [sic]

Hyde then proceeds to a brief survey of a selection of New Zealand women writers, ranging from Katherine Mansfield to the teenage literary protege, Gloria Rawlinson. She also contributed an unsigned column of Wellington social notes entitled 'Breezes From the Capital' between (at least) April 1927 and April 1928. Gillian Boddy notes that Hyde was commissioned to write this column soon after her first breakdown, following the death of her son Robin. The demand by the *Mirror*’s editor that she produce 'bright and chatty' articles caused her great frustration.

Monte Holcroft contributed three adventure stories during the second half of 1934. Set in the exotic locations of Basrah, Cairo and the Congo, they were written as part of Holcroft's attempt to become a successful fiction writer on the international market. According to Holcroft, these stories had already been rejected by London publishers and appeared in the magazine largely as a result

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121 Hyde, 'New Zealand Authoresses' 20.


124 Gillian Boddy, 'The Life of Robin Hyde' 35. Boddy is quoting Hyde, letter to J.H.E. Schroder, 2 September 1930, Hyde Manuscripts, Alexander Turnbull Library, MS 820 WIL.
of the intervention of Jane Mander, book review editor at the time. Other stories offered to the Mirror were apparently rejected by the fiction editor at the time, O.A. Gillespie, owing to a lack of "love interest" of the sort believed to be indispensable in a magazine addressed primarily to women. Holcroft received two guineas for each of these stories of from two to three thousand words, a payment which may be taken as typical for the period.

A.R.D. Fairburn contributed two articles to the Mirror, both in the late nineteen thirties. 'Has Modern Woman Been Emancipated?' prefigures his more famous essay 'The Woman Problem' in its discussion of feminism and its gains. Fairburn notes that despite the struggle by women to gain the vote, 'up to date' young women were complacent about that right. For Fairburn, emancipation had led to little more than the right of women to work as typists. He attacks 'militant' women, fashionable women, and 'bluestockings' and advises them to return to the hearth, characterising feminism as a 'disease.' He argues that

the woman whose chief interest in life is the raising of a family is the happy and successful woman . . . I have twenty generations of men on my side - men who subdued their women in proper and

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126 Holcroft *The Way of a Writer* 164.

127 Holcroft *The Way of a Writer* 164.


129 Fairburn, 'Has Modern Woman Been Emancipated?' 53.
gentlemanly fashion, and made them happier than their daughters are today.\textsuperscript{130}

No response to this deliberately controversial article was published, although the \textit{Mirror}'s lack of a correspondence column at the time precluded the voicing of protest or agreement through that means. However, three months later an article by the young Barbara Cartland was published expressing Fairburn's sentiments in very much the same terms. Cartland argued that as a result of the alteration in the status of women achieved by feminism in the preceding decades, problems were rife in modern marriage. Women must take responsibility for harmony in the home, by practising the three precepts set out in the title of her article: 'Salute to Mothers: Base Your Life on Service, Love and Gratitude.'\textsuperscript{131} It is clear from these and other items published in the magazine that despite its early promise of support to non-radical feminism, its editorial policy had shifted by the nineteen-thirties to one supportive of traditional roles for women. An article entitled 'I Remember Barcelona' completes Fairburn's participation in the \textit{Mirror}, an account of a visit to that city prior to the recently concluded Spanish Civil War.\textsuperscript{132}

Ruth Park contributed a poem and a regular series of humorous articles to the \textit{Mirror} between October 1940 and July 1943, then returned after a gap of three years with a short story and several articles, including several accounts of her experiences in Australia. Her single story is an account of an elderly

\begin{enumerate}
\item Fairburn, 'Has Modern Woman Been Emancipated?' 55.
\item Barbara Cartland, 'Salute to Mothers: Base Your Life on Service, Love and Gratitude,' \textit{Mirror} 15.4 (October 1936): 75.
\item A.R.D. Fairburn, 'I Remember Barcelona,' \textit{Mirror} 17.10 (April 1939): 24-5,63.
\end{enumerate}
Chinese grocer living in New Zealand who is visited briefly by his grandson, an American serviceman stationed here during World War Two.\textsuperscript{133} Sentimental and marred by inauthentic dialogue, the story appeared prior to the publication of Park's \textit{Harp in the South} (1948), winner of the prestigious £2000 \textit{Sydney Morning Herald} literary competition. News of this award was published in the \textit{Mirror} with Park's final contribution to the magazine, an article entitled 'The Australian Way of Life,' co-written with her Australian husband D'Arcy Niland.\textsuperscript{134}

Less well known now but clearly popular in his time was Bruce F.R. Scott, who contributed ten stories between 1944 and 1952. His first contribution appeared as the feature story in the issue for July 1944. While this indicates an already established reputation, Scott does not appear to have published anything in book form or to have contributed to any other New Zealand periodicals. His stories are of a limited narrative range, generally concerning marital strife often leading to murder. Early stories are told by an older narrator, witness to the romantic folly of a surrogate son. Relationships between men and women are often exacerbated by the separation and stress imposed by the Second World War. 'He Just Walked Out' follows this formula, with the added interest of a masculine relationship being eventually chosen instead of marriage.\textsuperscript{135} The male competitor for the fidelity of the protagonist is characterised as a negative influence, a foreign drifter content to wander the world's shipping routes, roughly dressed yet curiously and suspiciously fastidious.

\textsuperscript{133} Ruth Park, 'The Dusty Years,' \textit{Mirror} 26.1 (July 1947): 70-72.

\textsuperscript{134} Ruth Park and D'Arcy Niland, 'The Australian Way of Life,' \textit{Mirror} 28.4 (October 1948): 6-7,59.

\textsuperscript{135} Bruce F.R. Scott, 'He Just Walked Out,' \textit{Mirror} 25.9 (March 1947): 4-5,35-36.
I can still see Henderson now, leaning against the mantelpiece, filing his fingernails. He had the most beautiful nails and hands that I've ever seen on a man, and he lavished a care on them that was at variance with the untidiness of the rest of his person. It always seemed to me a slightly offensive characteristic in a man.136

This preoccupation with personal grooming recalls that of George in Sargeson's early story of repressed homosexuality, 'I've Lost My Pal,' first published a decade earlier in Conversation With My Uncle.137 Scott here and in other stories adapts the man-alone theme, commonly used in both short and long fiction at the time, to the narrative demands of the mainstream periodical medium. The result is masculine romance featuring troubled relationships between men and women narrated from a male perspective.

During the same period that Scott was writing for the Mirror John Reece Cole made his own single contribution. The story 'One of the Few' had already appeared twice in overseas periodicals before being published in the Mirror.138 It was later included in Cole's only collection of stories.139 The spareness of Cole's realist narrative contrasts markedly with Scott's fuller and more measured phrasing. Similarly concerned with the effects of World War Two on human relationships, Cole's story, so clearly displaying the influence of his acknowledged mentor, Frank Sargeson, takes a perspective on the subject quite different from Scott's.

136 Scott, 'He Just Walked Out' 35-36.

137 Frank Sargeson, Conversation With My Uncle and Other Sketches (Auckland; Unicorn Press, 1936) 24-26.


C.R. Allen, the Dunedin poet, novelist and short story writer, contributed four items to the *Mirror*, two stories and two articles. The articles are admiring portraits of the English actresses Irene Vanburgh and Fay Compton. The story 'The Door' was published in the December 1937 issue, subtitled 'A Poignant Christmas Story by a New Zealand Author.' It is the sentimental story of a woman grieving for her deceased husband and estranged brother. The second story, 'Good King Wencelas' appeared in the Christmas issue two years later and follows the same theme of estrangement between siblings occasioned by the same cause, the love of a woman, and also ending in reconciliation.

Amelia Batistich contributed a single story, printed in the Christmas issue for 1959. 'The Madonna's Crown' is a humorous tale set in Dalmatia about a plot to steal the icon named in the title in order to finance emigration to the United States. The story was reprinted in Batistich's 1963 collection *An Olive Tree in Dalmatia*.

Among the writers of mid-century genre romance to be encouraged into professionalism by publication in the *Mirror* were Dorothy Eden, Grace Phipps, Essie Summers, Jillian Squire, and Elizabeth Messenger. All of these writers appear to have obtained their first fiction publication in the *Mirror*.

The most significant contributor of genre romance to the *Mirror* was undoubtedly Dorothy Eden. She published forty short stories in the magazine.
between November 1933 and July 1960. The first six of these stories were published under the name 'Ena Eden,' including her first published story, 'Michael and Jennifer.'144 Her first novel, *Singing Shadows,*145 appeared in London in 1940 and from 1954 she resided in that city,146 where, as Terry Sturm remarks, she produced 'short stories prolifically for the international magazine market.'147 Her first story printed in the *Mirror* under the name Dorothy Eden was 'Tennis is Only a Game,' published in July 1942,148 after a break of over three years in her otherwise regular appearances there. This story is a straightforward romance set at a tennis tournament, featuring a vulnerable but at the same time independent woman and a strong silent man whose initial lack of interest turns in the course of the story to admiration and desire.

As is often the case with stories by Eden and her contemporaries in mid-century, the setting for this story is geographically neutral, making it eligible for syndication in magazines throughout the English speaking world. This is confirmed (in reverse as it were) by its appearance alongside syndicated stories by Sinclair Lewis and C.S. Forester, not unusual company for locally written material in the *Mirror.*149 The habit of neutralising the locale of stories did not

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146 Francis Barber, 'Publisher won't let NZ-born author retire,' *New Zealand Woman's Weekly* 27 June 1977: 38-39.

147 Sturm, 'Popular Fiction' 514.

148 Dorothy Eden, 'Tennis is Only a Game,' *Mirror* 21.1 (July 1942): 16-17,56-57.

149 Other significant international authors whose work appeared in the magazine include Agatha Christie, J.B. Priestley, A.E. Coppard, Dennis Wheatley, F. Scott Fitzgerald, Pearl Buck, A.J. Cronin, Daphne du Maurier, Beverly Nichols and many other now (continued...)
go unnoticed and was regarded by some as letting the side down, failing to promote New Zealand to overseas readers, or losing the opportunity to further develop a national identity through the writing of fiction and poetry. The anonymous reviewer of Mary Scott's *Pippa in Paradise* (London: Hurst & Blackwell, 1955) complained that despite being set in New Zealand, the novel suffered from a paucity of local atmosphere and could easily have been set in England.\(^{150}\) This is one example of the *Mirror* acting as a medium for a literary critical reaction against the attempt by New Zealand writers - in all genres - to move away from local pictorialism, long castigated by many critics as the 'Kowhai Gold' school of writing.

A typical story by Eden in the *Mirror* is 'Death of A Redhead,' published in July 1951.\(^{151}\) This is a story which correlates particularly well with the formula for Eden's 'romantic mystery novels' as described by Sturm.\(^{152}\) Suspense builds as a woman, alone in a sinister and gothic house, finds herself dependent on a man who at first appears untrustworthy, but is later revealed as good and, more significantly, romantically desirable. Of the forty stories by Eden in the

\(^{149}\) (continued)
less well known writers. Syndicated articles were also published by Winston Churchill, Benito Mussolini and Henry Ford.


\(^{151}\) Dorothy Eden, 'Death of A Redhead,' *Mirror* 31.1 (July 1951): 8-9,39-41.

\(^{152}\) Sturm, 'Popular Fiction' 497.
Mirror only 'Woman Through Glass' was treated to serialisation.\(^{153}\) This too matches the narrative pattern set by her novels.\(^{154}\)

Eden's story 'Mirage'\(^{155}\) was republished in her 1977 collection *The House on Hay Hill and Other Stories*.\(^{156}\) Some rewriting occurred between these appearances, largely in response to the collection being published in the United States concurrent with its London publication. Apart from the Americanization of spelling, a concession is made in certain phrases to the radically changed climate of race-relations in the U.S.: the word 'piccaninnies,' is replaced by the less loaded 'children,' and the 'fat gaudy negresses' becomes the racially neutral if less ambiguous 'fat, gaudy riffraff.'

Grace Phipps published twenty-five stories and three poems in the *Mirror*. Unlike Eden, Phipps initially wrote almost exclusively in the genre of family drama, stories dealing with the domestic trials and triumphs of Eve McClintock, happily married matriarch of a typical suburban family. Her first published story, 'Marriage is a Career,' appeared in the *Mirror* in July 1945, the first in a series of episodic stories, many of which were eventually published as *Marriage with Eve*,\(^{157}\) Phipps's first novel. With simple, often humorous plots which

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\(^{154}\) Incidentally, only one novel by Eden was reviewed in the *Mirror*. This was *Samantha* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1960), reviewed anonymously in the 'Books for Today' column, *Mirror* 40.11 (May 1961): 59.

\(^{155}\) Dorothy Eden, 'Mirage,' *Mirror* 38.4 (October 1958): 12-13,72-73.


always work to affirm the positive values of motherhood and the nuclear family, Phipps's 'Eve' stories found a ready readership. After publishing six stories about Eve and her family, the Mirror published a story by Phipps in the romance genre, 'The Diabolical Mr Dyer,' set in an Auckland office. There followed a further seven Eve stories over about three years before Phipps again ventured to use other characters, although she stayed with stories focussed on what amounted to different manifestations of Eve, wives dealing with the minor traumas of domestic life. It was not until 1961 that Phipps published another story in the romance genre, following the publication in the late fifties of The Life for Louise, her first novel about a single woman's pursuit of happiness in love and career. Louise at first appears close to the ideal heroine for a romance novel, a modern young woman, independent and determined to pursue her own career, prefiguring Phipps's third fictional creation of note, Nurse Penny. However, to a certain extent she resists the genre by having Louise turn down the proposal of marriage offered by the very eligible local farmer in favour of retaining her independence and pursuing her career as a commercial flower grower. By adopting a young orphan as her final act in the novel, Louise conveniently obtains the family she is otherwise denying herself.

In 'Mrs Grey's Final Fling,' the second of the group of four romances which make up Phipps's final contributions to the Mirror, Phipps again resists the usual formula of the genre, in this case by using a heroine of seventy-four

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years of age. \(^{160}\) Mrs Grey breaks out of her usual routine with a secretive trip to Melbourne where a chance encounter with an old boy-friend brings back the long forgotten pleasures of courtship. The other three stories adhere more closely to the conventions of genre romance, including 'Mr McAlister's Dream Girl.' \(^{161}\) In this story the eponymous publisher, who prefers romance novels to the 'earthy,' 'realistic,' 'true to life' manuscripts offered by so many of his authors, follows the adventurous example of Mrs Grey and abandons his office for a drive in the country. Circumstances conspire, as they so do often in the genre, and lead Mr McAlister to an unexpected first meeting with his favourite client 'authoress,' a writer of romances favoured by the publisher. Romance ensues. In Phipps's final contribution to the *Mirror*, she presents the unelaborate and humorous story of a woman's futile attempt to rid herself of an unwanted admirer named Frank. \(^{162}\) The plot is resolved, quite conventionally, when jealousy leads her to realise she in fact loves Frank.

For long the most prolific Mills and Boon novelist New Zealand had produced, Essie Summers had a relatively small output of short fiction. Like Phipps, Summers began her writing career as a contributor of advice, comment and light verse to local newspapers and magazines. She contributed three poems to the *New Zealand Railways Magazine* in the late nineteen-thirties, and penned a regular pseudonymous column for first the *Timaru Herald* and later the Christchurch *Press*. Her three stories in the *Mirror* all appeared in the early to


\(^{161}\) Grace Phipps, 'Mr McAlister's Dream Girl,' *Mirror* 42.5 (November 1962): 24-25,54-55.

\(^{162}\) Grace Phipps, 'Go Away, Frank,' *Mirror* 42.6 (December 1961 / January 1962): 26-27,76-77.
mid-nineteen-fifties, prior to the publication of her first novel. She then abandoned story writing in favour of the romance novels she produced so prolifically between 1957 and 1986.\textsuperscript{163} Her first story, possibly her first published, appeared in the \textit{Mirror} in June 1951, her last in August 1955.\textsuperscript{164} Summers also contributed two poems and two articles to the \textit{Mirror}, all during the middle to late fifties.

Jillian Squire, the pseudonym of Joyce Thom, published eleven stories and four articles in the \textit{Mirror}. A note published in the magazine in 1957 asserts that Squire contributed her first story to the \textit{Mirror} in 1950 although no work over either the name Thom or Squire appeared prior to March 1953. Squire's stories and articles are light, humorous snippets of life in New Zealand. Her book \textit{Family Daze}, published in Wellington by Reed in 1954, gathers together a series of autobiographical stories of family life originally published in the \textit{New Zealand Home Journal}.

Finally, Anne Fleetwood joined the \textit{Mirror} late in its publishing run, contributing eight stories between 1957 and 1962. Apart from her first contribution, all her stories feature romanticised portrayals of both rural Maori and the benevolent Pakeha who now own the land. As the wife of a Waikato sheep farmer, Fleetwood draws extensively on her own contact with Maori with a perspective which appears highly suspect by today's standards, based as it is on an unquestioned belief in the desirability of the assimilation of Maori into mainstream European society. Editorial comment on Fleetwood's stories

\textsuperscript{163} Summers produced fifty-three novels for Mills and Boon during that period.

\textsuperscript{164} Summers's stories in the \textit{Mirror}, in order of appearance, were: 'Road To Nowhere,' \textit{Mirror} 31.12 (June 1951): 8-9,62; 'Our Foolish Hearts,' \textit{Mirror} 32.3 (September 1952): 26,33-4; and 'Tangled Web,' \textit{Mirror} 35.2 (August 1955): 23,43-45.
explicitly approves her treatment of Maori, applauding her ability to 'capture the inborn nobility and happy-go-lucky nature of these complex people.'\footnote{165 Anne Fleetwood, 'Just Between Ourselves,' \textit{Mirror} 38.10 (April 1959): 3.}
7.3 Conclusion

The foregoing discussion constitutes a preliminary essay towards a more detailed account of the careers of the individual writers published in the Mirror and the role played by the magazine in the development of professional genre fiction and verse in New Zealand and of the cultural assumptions underlying it and expressed throughout. Within New Zealand during the twenty years or so prior to the end of the Second World War, Kelliher's monthly was one of the most attractive venues for imaginative writing of a conventional type. Its active encouragement of a large number of amateur and younger poets and story writers constitutes a significant contribution to the development of a distinctive local literary voice, despite the magazine's obvious hostility to work of a progressive or innovative nature. If to some degree the Mirror's literary conservatism discouraged the emerging avant garde from contributing to its pages, it may said to have acted as a negative impulse, encouraging individuals like Denis Glover and Charles Brasch to counter its influence through the publication of their own periodicals. In this sense, the Mirror was only one of several conservative publications to act in such a way, alongside journals like Art in New Zealand and the New Zealand Railways Magazine, and the numerous weekly editions of newspapers like the New Zealand Herald and the Christchurch Press, edited by a clique of older men whose literary tastes were generally formed during the nineteen twenties or earlier.

Putting aside such larger literary considerations, within the ambit of its own particular aims and assumptions, the Mirror was clearly a major force in the development of popular fiction in New Zealand. It is undoubtedly one of the
most interesting components of New Zealand's magazine culture, shaping and reflecting mainstream cultural tastes over four decades.
CHAPTER EIGHT

ART IN NEW ZEALAND (1928-1946)

A Quarterly Magazine Devoted to Art in its Various Phases in Our Own Country.¹

8.1 Introduction

The quarterly journal Art in New Zealand was established by the publisher Harry H. Tombs in 1928, partly in emulation of the Australian magazine Art in Australia. It has long been considered one of the most important periodicals of its type published through the thirties and early nineteen forties. In the 'Note on Sources' with which Eric McCormick concludes his Centennial Survey of New Zealand art and literature, he describes the twelve volumes of Art in New Zealand which had appeared to 1940 as 'a most valuable record of New Zealand art, contemporary and past.'² As a literary outlet, from the early thirties the magazine developed into something of a redoubt against the more contemporary impulses associated with Phoenix and, especially, Tomorrow. The publishing power afforded by Harry H. Tombs allowed the original and long-time literary editor of Art in New Zealand, Charles Marris, to lend sustenance to the conservative literary forms published by him both in Art in New Zealand and in the annual New Zealand Best Poems, a series of anthologies largely drawn from the pages of Tombs's quarterly. Marris, or 'Prester John' as he often signed reviews, was able to promote a group of writers who are now largely forgotten

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¹ Subtitle, Art in New Zealand 1.1 (September 1928) - to 3.12 (June 1931).
and who from the mid-thirties were repeatedly excoriated by Denis Glover and others writing in more radically inclined periodicals.

When Marris took up the role of literary editor on *Art in New Zealand* he had already accrued considerable prestige as an editor and mentor to almost an entire generation of young New Zealand writers. He used the pages of his magazine to cultivate new writing further, partly through the medium of annual competitions in various literary genres. However, even in the pages of *Art in New Zealand* and from as early as 1931 (when Blackwood Paul contributed an early commentary on the development of New Zealand literature), signs were beginning to appear indicating imminent rebellion against not just Marris, but the whole company of conservative editors and publishers then dominating New Zealand's literary press. As has been detailed above, in Chapter Three, this revolt largely emanated from the pages of *Tomorrow*, much of it from the pen of Denis Glover. To Marris's credit, it must be observed that he was willing, at least prior to the publication of Glover's *The Arraignment of Paris*, to entertain in the pages of *Art in New Zealand* articles such as Fairburn's radical 1934 reassessment of the direction he believed should be taken by the national literature. Glover's infamous satirising of Marris in the *Arraignment* and the controversy which ensued actually received little mention in *Art in New Zealand*. Marris's muted response to Glover's satire appeared in the review column of the

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issue for June 1938: 'This lampoon will be remembered - if at all - for its conspicuous lack of good taste and cheap smartness.' Privately Marris threatened to sue Glover, and in the ensuing feud (for that is what it was) numerous writers and poets aligned themselves according to their declared allegiances. Robin Hyde's involvement is discussed above, in Chapter Three. Following Marris's retirement from the magazine in the mid-forties, an event at least partly precipitated by a dramatic drop in the quality of its contents and production values, the magazine gradually became more open to work by a new, post-war generation of writers, largely owing to the appointment of Fairburn as literary editor early in 1945. The present chapter in effect plots the rise and fall of Marris's influence as a literary editor as manifested through the pages of Tombs's flagship publication.

In the first issue of *Art in New Zealand* in September 1928 it was announced that the new magazine would be 'devoted to Art in its various phases in our own country,' an assertion which was welcomed by readers throughout New Zealand. Until its appearance, the promotion and criticism of local art and letters had largely been undertaken only within whatever little space the daily and weekly press could provide. Baeyertz's *Triad* (1893-1927) had shifted its editorial and publication base to Sydney in 1915, and subsequently wielded less and less influence over local literary and artistic taste. With the field therefore more or less open, *Art in New Zealand* rapidly established itself as a high quality quarterly devoted primarily to the visual and

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6 C.A. Marris, 'Reviews,' *Art in New Zealand* 10.4 (June 1938): 231.

plastic arts in New Zealand, with a secondary although not insignificant interest in the cultivation of local literary culture. Most significant New Zealand artists from the period and before, as well as a range of overseas practitioners, were featured in its pages, often in feature articles illustrated with mounted plate colour reproductions of their work. The activities of the regional art societies were chronicled, and the best of the material exhibited was reproduced. As a result, the magazine is an invaluable record of New Zealand's developing art culture during the period of its publication.

The first issue set a high standard for the magazine, with twenty full-page illustrations ranging from mounted plate four-colour reproductions to black and white woodcuts, drypoint sketches, and photographs of three dimensional work. Eric Lee-Johnson recently described Tombs's role in the editing of *Art in New Zealand* in the following terms.

He claimed no expertise in the fields his quarterly dealt with and distrusted his own judgement of paintings. But he naively appeared to trust everyone else's and in editing was always prepared to ask 'the experts' advice.8

It is unclear who these experts were, that is until the engagement of Lee-Johnson and Howard Wadman in the mid-forties, but several individuals are indicated through their authorship of articles, including the Englishmen A.J.C. Fisher and Christopher Perkins, both of whom were involved in the development of tertiary art education in New Zealand during the period. Fisher was head of Auckland's Elam School of Art from 1924 until 1959, while Perkins arrived in New Zealand from the Slade School in London in 1929 to teach at the Art School of the

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Wellington Technical College. Professor James Shelley was another whose writings on art and related subjects were an important component of *Art in New Zealand*'s critical content.
8.2 Literary Content

On the literary side, *Art in New Zealand* made a commitment from the first issue to publish 'works on art, original stories, plays, poems, essays, and articles of general interest written with distinction and authority - the best work of New Zealanders known and unknown.' Each issue featured a selection of literary items edited by Charles Marris. Literary critical matters were addressed from the second number of *Art in New Zealand*, in which J.C. Andersen contributed a short article on Māori literature while Alan Mulgan contemplated what he termed the 'Difficulties of the New Zealand Novelist.' In arguing for the very existence of 'Māori literature,' Andersen surveys the extent to which the oral tradition has been transcribed by scholars such as Elsdon Best and Percy Smith. He notes the intellectual achievements of Apirana Ngata, Maui Pomare, and Te Rangi Hiroa (Peter Buck), concluding with the prediction that 'in time to come Polynesian literature will be as largely drawn on [by poets] as was the Greek.' Twelve months later almost an entire issue of *Art in New Zealand* was devoted to Māori art, featuring numerous photographs of Māori artifacts, paintings with Māori subjects, as well as articles by J.C. Andersen and the popular historian James Cowan, and a poem entitled 'A Maori Lullaby' by Eileen Duggan.

In his 1928 article Mulgan considers the chief problems facing the New Zealand novelist to be a bias on the part of local readers against novels set in the

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9 Tombs and Marris, 'Publishers' Notice' 4.
10 J.C. Andersen, 'Maori Literature,' *Art in New Zealand* 1.2 (December 1928): 87-89.
11 Alan Mulgan, 'Difficulties of the New Zealand Novelist,' *Art in New Zealand* 1.2 (December 1928): 115-117.
12 Andersen, 'Maori Literature' 89.
13 Eileen Duggan, 'A Maori Lullaby,' *Art in New Zealand* 2.6 (December 1929): 102.
Dominion, and the drabness of the New Zealand environment, especially when compared to the landscapes of other former British colonies. The absence of a readership for novels set in New Zealand is connected in Mulgan's opinion to the absence of 'a national consciousness and individuality' in New Zealand. His own efforts in *Spur of Morning* and the narrative poem *Golden Wedding* may be read as attempts to address these problems.

The endeavour to give some account of New Zealand letters was continued in the following issue by Jessie Mackay. In this survey Mackay passes appreciative comment on a substantial list of poets and writers, many of whom are now almost totally forgotten, while at the same time assuring her reader that there is '[n]o room as yet for *vers libres*, cubism, and such treasons against eternal poesy.' Such judgements were to provide a foil for the new generation of critics in the 1930s. It is possible to trace mocking echoes of Mackay's allusion to New Zealand as a 'hinterland of Parnassus,' a cultural desert totally lacking in 'Belles-Lettres,' in an article by Blackwood Paul in *Art in New Zealand* exactly two years later, as well as in an article by Denis Glover

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14 Mulgan, 'Difficulties of the New Zealand Novelist' 116.


17 Jessie Mackay, 'Concerning New Zealand Letters,' *Art in New Zealand* 1.3 (March 1929): 161-165.

18 Mackay, 'Concerning New Zealand Letters' 163.

19 Mackay, 'Concerning New Zealand Letters' 161.

In *Tomorrow* in 1935, 'Pointers to Parnassus: A Consideration of the Morepork and the Muse.'\(^{21}\)

In his own article Blackwood Paul discusses at some length the state of New Zealand poetry in the early thirties. He announces the emergence of 'a definite school of young poets, with well marked characteristics,'\(^{22}\) thus effecting an early engagement in the Georgian-Modernist debate pursued through the literary columns of most of the New Zealand periodical press for at least the next decade. Paul, following D'Arcy Cresswell's lead, asserts:

> Those are the greatest enemies of poetry in New Zealand who are adept at turning a deft stanza from the pen in gentlemanly fashion . . . [or] who try to follow the devious ways in which the very modern hope to revive the failing strength of Georgian verse.\(^{23}\)

He also voices the complaint that poets who obey the 'critic's injunction to seek out the native wild flowers and there gather honey'\(^{24}\) fail to deliver what he terms the 'essence of poetry.'\(^{25}\) He commends, with some qualification, the poems of Geoffrey de Montalk, regarding de Montalk's employment of Māori place names as an application in verse of ideas first expressed by D'Arcy Cresswell.\(^{26}\) He suggests that in order to best utilise these 'long and musical'\(^{27}\) words the poet

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\(^{22}\) Paul, 'Our Poets' Progress' 181.

\(^{23}\) Paul, 'Our Poets' Progress' 183-184.

\(^{24}\) Paul, 'Our Poets' Progress' 184.

\(^{25}\) Paul, 'Our Poets' Progress' 186.


\(^{27}\) Paul, 'Our Poets' Progress' 187.
must amplify his orchestration to allow him to employ their peculiarly soft and silvery melody. . . give up the old strict metres - and adopt a freer, though not less delicately, [sic] rhythmical versification.  

Paul concludes his article with a pointed and amusing parable - a mixture of Bunyan and the Grail legend - which recounts the trials encountered by the Poet on his pilgrimage towards the 'Celestial City of Poesy'.

Paul and his fellow modernists received a reply in kind in the magazine some two years later, in the form of an article by J. Malton Murray reviewing Harold Monro's notable anthology of modernist verse, Twentieth Century Poetry. Murray is concerned that many poets in the anthology have ceased to 'provide the plain man with inspiration, images of beauty and solace.' Instead, the modern poet has become

a species of verbal conjurer [who] celebrates his escape from metrical requirements by ignoring the elementary demands of grammatical construction and insults our intelligence by verses lacking in common sense.

T.S. Eliot's 'The Hollow Men' is seen as exemplary, and the lines 'Shape without form, shade without colour, / Paralysed force, gesture without motion' dismissed as follows:

For all the rhythm there is to that, for all the melody there is in it, a single line would answer. For all the sense there is in it, the thought ought never have been written. There can be no shape

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28 Paul, 'Our Poets' Progress' 188.


31 Murray, 'Plain Man and Poet' 234.

32 Murray, 'Plain Man and Poet' 234.
Murray concludes by announcing that the criteria against which all poetry should be measured:

[D]oes the verse evoke an emotional response that gives pleasure, or that elevates the thought, or lifts the reader out of the mundane into the dramatic or ideal. If it does none of these things, but puzzles, irritates and offends the intellect, it is not poetry. Doubtless prosody may undergo mutations and modifications, but as a plain man, it seems to me that the anarchical experiments of ultra-modern writers are deplorable.34

In November of the same year Murray was responsible for two parodies of the 'ultra-modern' poem published in the New Zealand Mercury, a periodical which, like Art in New Zealand, also entertained debate on the merits and demerits of the new forms of poetry.35 In the same issue of Art in New Zealand in which Murray's article appeared, Charles Marris reviewed the third number of Phoenix, the first edited by R.A.K. Mason. He dismissed it as generally 'dull,' although he exempted poems by Fairburn and Brasch and the 'typographical enterprise of the magazine' from this overall ban.36

One of Marris's chief outlets for his critical pronouncements, in addition to his extensive reviewing in Art in New Zealand, was the series of competitions in the genres of verse, short fiction and the one act play which he organised and judged between 1931 and 1938. While this provided an important stimulus to new work, it was also an ideal medium through which Marris could foster his

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33 Murray, 'Plain Man and Poet' 234.
34 Murray, 'Plain Man and Poet' 236. Original punctuation.
36 Charles Marris ('Prester John'), 'Reviews,' Art in New Zealand 5.20 (June 1933): 233.
particular poetic agenda. The winning entry in each competition was published in the magazine, as were Marris's judgements on the best of the material submitted. An analysis of these comments and of reviews written by Marris of such works as Allen Curnow's *Valley of Decision* and the third and fourth numbers of *Phoenix*, reveals a great deal about his critical perspective and may be cited as representative of the taste which dominated New Zealand literature until the ascendancy of Curnow, Charles Brasch and their fellow modernists from about the mid-1940s. Marris and other conservative editors such as G.G. Stewart, Patrick Lawlor, and J.H.E. Schroder, acted as literary gatekeepers to the few large circulation periodical outlets publishing New Zealand literature during the twenties and thirties. It was in many ways their limited and at times reactionary standards of literary excellence that forced certain of the younger generation of poets and writers to begin publishing their own magazines.

However, among the bulk of minor poets and versifiers to be published in *Art in New Zealand* it must be acknowledged that there were some distinguished names. The most important of these was Robin Hyde, a regular contributor to both Marris's publication and to several other mainstream periodicals discussed in this thesis. Her poetry in particular was featured in *Art in New Zealand*, although she also published a short story there and several articles. A

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37 One member of this younger group was D.H. Monro. In his autobiography Monro identifies himself as 'David Redmarsh,' author of an article in *Art in New Zealand* on the work of the English sculptor William Wright, who was appointed as a lecturer at the Elam School of Art in Auckland in the early thirties. An extensive search of *Art in New Zealand* has failed to locate this article. Hector Monro, *Fortunate Catastrophes: An Anecdotal Autobiography* (Melbourne: Quokka Press, 1991) 45-46.

38 See Chapter Seven, above, for a discussion of Hyde's contributions to the *Mirror* and Chapter Nine, below, for her involvement with the *New Zealand Railways Magazine*. 507
survey of her poetry, from 'Over the Fields'\(^{39}\) in the first number of the magazine to 'Ku Li,' published posthumously in December 1940,\(^{40}\) can be read as tangible evidence of her development into a poet of considerable talent. As was the case with several other editors, most prominently J.H.E. Schroder of the Christchurch Sun, Marris acted as a mentor to Hyde, consistently encouraging her to submit material for possible publication. In 1936 he reviewed her second volume of poetry in typically ebullient terms, declaring the volume to be 'demonstrably the most effective, the most arresting book of verse this country has yet brought forth.'\(^{41}\) The fact that Marris was responsible for first editing and then submitting the collection to the publisher may have some bearing on the enthusiasm of this opinion.\(^{42}\)

At different times Marris awarded Hyde first prize in both the short story and poetry competitions. He regarded 'Aria With Insects,'\(^{43}\) winner of the verse competition for 1936, as 'further proof of Robin Hyde's steady progress in the field of poesy':

> Her imaginative qualities are more penetrative and clear cut. there [sic] are fewer emotional overtones in her work, and more restraint in her sometimes too exuberant diction. In other words, she has learned to discipline her art, and her art profits thereby.\(^{44}\)

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\(^{39}\) Robin Hyde, 'Over the Fields,' *Art in New Zealand* 1.1 (September 1928): 56.

\(^{40}\) Robin Hyde, 'Ku Li,' *Art in New Zealand* 13.2 (December 1940): 89.


\(^{43}\) Robin Hyde, 'Aria With Insects,' *Art in New Zealand* 8.4 (June 1936): 205-206.

\(^{44}\) C.A. Marris, 'Poem Competition,' *Art in New Zealand* 8.4 (June 1936): 204.
Marris’s comments accord with Allen Curnow’s opinion of the improvements made by Hyde in her poetry, expressed in his introduction to the 1945 Caxton anthology. Her prize winning story, a fantasy about social alienation entitled ‘Lonely Street,’ was published in the issue for March 1935. It was one of a number of stories published by Hyde during the nineteen twenties and thirties in a range of newspapers and magazines. None of these were republished, although a number were assembled for a proposed collection, to be entitled ‘Unicorn Pastures.’

Hyde’s sole piece of journalism in *Art in New Zealand* was an article entitled ‘Poetry in Auckland,’ contributed to the issue for September 1936. This responds to a lecture by A.R.D. Fairburn on the poetry of R.A.K. Mason given during the recent Authors’ Week and is partly based on research undertaken by Hyde in the Auckland Public Library. Fairburn had previously contributed

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47 Including both *Tomorrow* and the *Mirror*. Also identified in the course of researching this thesis are five stories by Hyde published by Patrick Lawlor in the *New Zealand Artists’ Annual*. These were, in order of appearance: ‘The Past,’ *New Zealand Artists’ Annual* 1.3 (October 1928): 65-67; ‘The Ninepins,’ *New Zealand Artists’ Annual* 1.4 (August 1929): 34-35; ‘The Harvest Song,’ *New Zealand Artists’ Annual* 2.1 (December 1930): 69-71; ‘Waters of Lethe,’ *New Zealand Artists’ Annual* 2.2 (November 1931): 44-45; and ‘A Tree Falls,’ *New Zealand Artists’ Annual* 2.3 (December 1932): 34-36.

48 Patrick Sandbrook notes the existence of sixty short stories by Hyde, ten of which were gathered into the ‘Unicorn Pastures’ manuscript. Patrick Sandbrook, ‘A Descriptive Inventory of Some Manuscripts and Drafts of the Work of Robin Hyde,’ *Journal of New Zealand Literature* 4 (1986): 41.


a seminal article on New Zealand literature to *Art in New Zealand* in mid-1934, and Hyde's essay must also be read in the light of that earlier piece. In 'Some Aspects of N.Z. Art and Letters' Fairburn articulates ideas increasingly current among younger New Zealand artists and writers, including Frank Sargeson, arguing that

> the 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, he felt, untenable. These included the slavish imitation of English models, specifically Georgianism, ironically the prototype for much of the verse published by Marris in *Art in New Zealand*. 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. He criticised Australian literature as too much influenced by *fin-de siècle* decadence, 'to this day overrun with fauns, satyrs, dryads and all the paraphernalia of a shoddy paganism,' a comment which elicited a speedy response in the pages of *Tomorrow* from immigrant Australian academic Winston Rhodes.

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53 Fairburn, 'Some Aspects' 216.
54 Fairburn, 'Some Aspects' 216.
55 Fairburn, 'Some Aspects' 217-218.
In her turn, after a brief account of the work of Auckland’s nineteenth and early twentieth century bards, Hyde proceeds to survey, necessarily superficially although not without insight, the work of several poets associated with the city in the early thirties, including Fairburn, Allen Curnow, R.A.K. Mason, J.C. Beaglehole, W. D'Arcy Cresswell, Eve Langley, and Gloria Rawlinson. A 'propagandist trend'\(^{57}\) evident in much of the poetry discussed is attributed by Hyde to the combined influence of the Depression and a prevailing philistinism in New Zealand. In passing, and with typically colourful phrasing, Hyde also trenchantly captures the fate of so many poems submitted for publication in the periodical and daily press:

> while the corset factories supply the dailies with all the sex appeal of twill breasts and rubber buttocks, bestriding whole pages, poetry appears hunched in a corner, mean, shabby, dark, and generally misprinted.\(^{58}\)

Hyde concludes her 'rough geography' of Auckland poetry with an (unfulfilled) promise to provide a more detailed account of what she terms the 'inex-tinguishable effort' of recent years.\(^{59}\)

Another now notable name to appear in *Art in New Zealand* in the early thirties was Allen Curnow. His poem 'At the Brink' appeared in the issue for June 1932,\(^{60}\) prior to the development of the critical schism which ostracized him and other members of the group of poets more usually associated with *Tomorrow* from the pages of Marris's magazine. 'At the Brink' was taken unchanged into

\(^{57}\) Hyde, 'Poetry in Auckland' 30.

\(^{58}\) Hyde, 'Poetry in Auckland' 31.

\(^{59}\) Hyde, 'Poetry in Auckland' 34.

\(^{60}\) Allen Curnow, 'At the Brink,' *Art in New Zealand* 4.16 (June 1932): 256.
his *Valley of Decision*,\(^{61}\) and then altered considerably for inclusion in the *Collected Poems*,\(^{62}\) including the deletion of the third verse paragraph and changes in wording and punctuation to all but the second stanza. The publication of *Valley of Decision* was taken by Marris as an opportunity to decry the lamentable influence of the 'Waste Land school' on the younger generation of New Zealand poets:

> Curnow's muse moves stiffly and joltingly, making difficult reading. His lines are lacking in elasticity, his imagery imprisoned in stiff tense phrases which tend to befog the argument - an effect which is not abated by a somewhat baffling system of punctuation.\(^{63}\)

Marris only slightly modified this opinion in his 1935 review of Curnow's *Three Poems*.\(^{64}\) For his part, Curnow added his own modicum of disdain to the condemnation of Marris's editorial preferences so frequently expressed in *Tomorrow*, in an article reviewing Fairburn's *Dominion*.\(^{65}\) It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the poet's only other contribution to *Art in New Zealand* came in 1945, when Fairburn himself was in charge of the magazine's poetry content.

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\(^{63}\) Charles Marris ('Prester John'), 'Reviews,' *Art in New Zealand* 6.3 (March 1934): 150.


Chapter 8.2: Art In New Zealand - Literary Content

This was 'At Dead Low Water,' the title poem of Curnow's important 1949 collection.

Despite his undeniably conservative taste in poetry, Marris must also be credited with occasionally publishing innovative and notable pieces. One such item is J.C. Beaglehole's 'Meditation on Historic Change,' one of the first really successful poems of its type published in New Zealand. This poem appears to have been dedicated privately to R.P. Anschutz, Lecturer in Philosophy at Auckland University College and mentor to many of the students involved in the production of Phoenix. A copy of the poem as published in Art in New Zealand was bequeathed by Anschutz to the Auckland University Library in 1961, annotated by Beaglehole 'To Anschutz, male and female.' In all, Beaglehole contributed seven poems to Art in New Zealand between 1932 and 1935.

Late in Marris's term as literary editor for Art in New Zealand, he selected two poems by Charles Brasch for inclusion in the issue for June 1939. Both were republished by Marris, first in his 1940 edition of the annual Best Poems and then in the anthology largely selected from that series, Lyric Poems 1928-


67 Allen Curnow, At Dead Low Water and Sonnets (Christchurch: Caxton Press, 1949).

68 The importance of this poem was pointed out to me by Kendrick Smithyman, telephone interview, 10 February 1995.


1942. A more typical poet to be taken through such a route by Marris was C.R. Allen, whose contributions to *Art in New Zealand* began with the first issue. Marris also reviewed in very favourable terms volumes of poetry and fiction published by Allen during the early to mid-thirties.

*Art in New Zealand* underwent a series of radical changes in design as a result of the appointment of Howard Wadman as Assistant Director in September 1942. Harry Tombs had met with increasing difficulties in the production and editorship of the magazine after the onset of World War Two. Despite surviving and even thriving during the Depression, by 1939 *Art in New Zealand* had lost a great deal of its impetus and appeared old fashioned in both design and critical attitudes. War time shortages of the high quality paper used in its production made the refurbishment of the magazine a matter of urgency. Its trans-Tasman counterpart, *Art in Australia*, had suspended production for the duration, and it was clear that Tombs's publication had to do likewise or adapt to the new conditions. Howard Wadman and his newly engaged Auckland correspondent, Eric Lee-Johnson, set about redesigning the magazine to make it more economically viable. Lee-Johnson later recalled the response of Harry Tombs to their proposed new format.

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72 This was his otherwise unpublished play 'Will and the Witch,' *Art in New Zealand* 1.1 (September 1928): 21-25.

He was visibly shocked. . . . The changed size was unpalatable enough, but Harry belonged to the printing school that believed paintings must always be reproduced on art paper, and our plan was to print the whole magazine on cheap newsprint.\textsuperscript{74}

Their proposals were accepted, however reluctantly, and the first number of Volume Fifteen (dated September 1942) appeared in a radically changed format. The editorial to the issue announced that 'art is more than painting, and we have revised the basis and layout of our paper to admit more drawings, engravings and lithographs,'\textsuperscript{75} thus legitimising the limiting of colour reproductions to one or two per issue.

David Ballantyne, at the time one of the most promising of the emerging generation of writers, contributed an article to this first issue of the revamped quarterly reflecting on the condition of literature in a world racked by war.\textsuperscript{76} Otherwise, the literary component of the magazine was dominated by the same poets cultivated for so many years by Marris, despite the disappearance of his name from the list of editorial staff members with the issue for March 1943. His resignation may have been due to the engagement of Wadman and Lee-Johnson, although his increasing age may also have been a factor (he was in his late sixties at the time). It was not until the appointment of A.R.D. Fairburn as Verse Editor in 1945, at the beginning of the magazine's final year of publication, that the flagging literary content of the periodical was to any extent revived.

\textsuperscript{74} Lee-Johnson, \textit{No Road to Follow} 51.

\textsuperscript{75} Howard Wadman, 'Shall we go on publishing \textit{Art in New Zealand}?' \textit{Art in New Zealand} 15.1 (September 1942): 3.

\textsuperscript{76} David Ballantyne, 'Outlook for Writing,' \textit{Art in New Zealand} 15.1 (September 1942): 9-10.
Fairburn had appeared in *Art in New Zealand* as a regular commentator on the arts from mid-1944, and his increasing involvement with the magazine was consolidated with his appointment as Poetry Editor on the new *Year Book of the Arts in New Zealand*, founded by Harry Tombs and Howard Wadman in 1945. The *Year Book*, or *Arts Yearbook* as it was renamed in 1950, at first supplemented and then, from 1946, replaced *Art in New Zealand* as the most prominent national magazine of its type. During its final twelve months of publication *Art in New Zealand* had appeared as a bimonthly in a smaller and far less costly format. Again it was Howard Wadman, with the assistance of Eric Lee-Johnson, who initiated this radical reformatting of Tombs's magazine, which even extended to its renaming as *The Arts in New Zealand*.

As well as leading to the publication of poetry by several of the most promising young talents writing in New Zealand at the time, Fairburn's involvement in the magazine also resulted in some controversy. An article by him on the Elam School of Art\(^77\) prompted an immediate response from the then Director of Education, Dr C.E. Beeby.\(^78\) Fairburn argued, among other things, that Elam should be freed from the stifling control of the Education Department and absorbed into the Auckland University College. Despite an apology printed with Beeby's response in the following issue, the Department of Education


\(^78\) C.E. Beeby, 'The Auckland School of Art,' *Arts in New Zealand* 17.2 (February-March 1945): 29-30.
cancelled its multiple copy subscription to *Arts in New Zealand*, a severe blow to a publication already in a very parlous financial state.\(^9\)

Fairburn published a range of writers who had not previously appeared in the magazine, including James K. Baxter, G.R. Gilbert, Basil Dowling, Kendrick Smithyman, Louis Johnson, Bruce Mason, Ian Gordon, and Denis Glover. In addition, as noted above, Allen Curnow reappeared with his poem 'At Dead Low Water.'\(^80\) Several of these poets, including Fairburn himself, also appeared in the ongoing annual editions of the *Year Book*, which succeeded *The Arts in New Zealand* until 1951.


\(^80\) Allen Curnow, 'At Dead Low Water,' *Arts in New Zealand* 17.3 (April-May 1945): 30-31.
8.3 Conclusion

*Art in New Zealand* ceased publication with the issue for January-February 1946, without warning although perhaps not unexpectedly. The final number featured two poems by James K. Baxter, a story by G.R. Gilbert and articles by Kendrick Smithyman and J.G.A. Pocock. The valiant efforts of Howard Wadman and Eric Lee-Johnson to avert closure of the magazine had allowed it to continue publication well beyond the date at which it might otherwise have folded. Ultimately however, its ability to adapt to the new post-war conditions was limited. The reaction of many older, long term subscribers to the way in which the magazine had changed must also have been a factor in its declining viability. Over the last four years of its publication *Art in New Zealand* changed almost beyond recognition, from a conservative, high quality magazine of the arts, carrying some pleasant, mostly Georgian verse, to an outlet for a new *avant-garde*, artists such as Eric Lee-Johnson and poets writing in that 'ultra-modern' style so disliked by commentators in the magazine in the early thirties. Its role as a review of art and literary activity in New Zealand was continued to some extent by the *Year Book* until its own cessation of publication in 1951, despite substantial financial support from the Literary Fund during the final year of its production.

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CHAPTER NINE

NEW ZEALAND RAILWAYS MAGAZINE (1926-1940)

'[R]acy of the soil to which we belong.'\(^1\)

9.1 Introduction

A long-running and very popular mainstream monthly comparable to the Mirror was the New Zealand Railways Magazine, published between May 1926 and June 1940 by the New Zealand Government Railways Department.\(^2\) While initially an in-house journal for Railways' staff and customers, it soon developed into an interesting local example of the travel magazine, published to inform its readers about Railways Department activities, to promote tourism by rail in New Zealand and to entertain passengers during their journeys with poetry, fiction and articles on New Zealand history and other subjects. Other magazines of a similar nature were published by railway companies in Britain and the United States, including the British Railway Magazine, published in London from 1897.

The genre of the travel magazine has a long history in New Zealand, beginning with the Red Funnel, published by the Union Steam Ship Company in Dunedin between 1905 and 1909. Announcing an initial 'preliminary sale' of fifteen thousand copies, the Red Funnel's editor asserted that his magazine was first and foremost a literary magazine.

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\(^1\) J.G. Coates, 'To the Staff of the Railways: A Talk with our Minister about our Magazine,' New Zealand Railways Magazine 1.1 (May 1926): 4.

\(^2\) For an author, personal reference and subject index to the Railways Magazine, see Bertha Whyte, 'New Zealand Railways Magazine Index,' (Wellington: National Library School, 1942).
It is not its purpose to be a guide-book, time-table, or a hand-book of excursion routes. That it is published by the U.S.S.Co. of N.Z. (Ltd) is merely an incident. The Co., realising the necessity of an up-to-date popular magazine in Australasia, undertook the work. . . . The magazine is intended to be more than a local production. It is the ambition of the publishers to extend its circulation throughout the Empire. Its success means much for New Zealand, for where-ever the magazine may be read the place of its publication will become better known.³

Dominated by a mix of articles and syndicated fiction by Australian, British and American writers, the Red Funnel failed to provide a venue for local writers, although it did feature work by several authors later associated with the New Zealand Railways Magazine, including James Cowan, Isabel Maud Peacocke, Edith Howes, C.R. Allen, Dulce Carman, and Alice A. Kenny.

Since the closure of New Zealand Railways Magazine in 1940, the travel magazine has become the province of the airline industry, mirroring a shift in the dominant form of inter-city travel. Your TEAL Flight Companion, published by Tasman Empire Airways from 1951, was succeeded by South Pacific TEAL Flight Companion in 1964, while the National Airways Corporation's magazine Jetaway appeared from 1966 until 1983. These magazines are continued today by Air New Zealand's Pacific Way (1984-) and Ansett's Southern Skies (1987-).

Unlike the Red Funnel and the various in-flight magazines, the New Zealand Railways Magazine began as an internal company journal for the consumption of Railways' staff and commercial customers, presenting a mix of technical articles and promotional material advertising rail travel, before developing into a highly successful national magazine publishing a wide range of short fiction, poetry, and articles. Under the able editorship of G.G. Stewart

it provided an increasingly valuable outlet for a number of New Zealand writers, despite a conservative editorial policy which led it to focus for the most part on already established literary names.\(^4\) In addition to Stewart, one of the primary influences behind this literary conservatism was the journalist Patrick (Pat) Lawlor. From 1933 Lawlor contributed a regular book column to the magazine, written under his favoured pseudonym 'Shibli Bagarag,' in which he gave his support to a limited range of New Zealand writers.

Another major contributor to the magazine was James Cowan, whose long-running series of articles 'Famous New Zealanders' constitutes an important contribution to New Zealand biographical journalism. From May 1933 a column entitled 'New Zealand Verse' encouraged a number of poets to submit work for publication, although typical contributions were thoroughly conventional, both in form and in the inoffensive and uncontroversial nature of their subject matter. Regular contributors included C.R. Allen, O.N. Gillespie, Winifred Tennant, Will Lawson, and Alan Mulgan. In addition, work by Denis Glover, Robin Hyde and Eve Langley appeared in the column. For her part, Hyde contributed both poetry and journalism to Stewart's magazine, much as she did to both the \textit{Mirror} and \textit{Art in New Zealand}.

Comparisons of the \textit{Railways Magazine} with the \textit{Mirror} and \textit{Art in New Zealand} are fruitful. Each fulfilled similar and to some extent complementary roles in the New Zealand periodical scene. The \textit{Mirror} and its competitor of the

late thirties, the Monocle, are likely to have had a very similar readership to the Railways Magazine, particularly after the latter become a 'National Monthly' from April 1933. Certainly, the Railways Magazine played an increasing role as an outlet both for budding New Zealand literary talent and for numerous freelance journalists. Its almost exclusive use of locally produced material made it especially significant as one of the few outlets which rewarded its contributors financially. While its conservative editorial line discouraged work in the more modern forms or subject matter which was to any degree controversial, it did provide encouragement to a large number of writers. Its status as a government sponsored publication must have excluded many writers with radical political leanings from its pages. Evidence for this is discernible through a comparison of the author indices to the Railways Magazine and the radical fortnightly Tomorrow, which clearly indicates that writers who appeared in both magazines are the exception rather than the rule.

The Railways Magazine was founded as part of a wide ranging attempt to stimulate the economy initiated by the Reform Party following its election to the Government benches in 1925.5 The Prime Minister and Minister of Railways, J.G. Coates, determined to improve Railways' service, image and profitability, and thus counter the rise in road transport and private vehicle use. Among other initiatives he revived the plan for an Auckland to Wellington Limited Express which was to become the standard means of travel between the two centres for the next forty years or so. Coates founded the Railways Magazine as

part of his strategy, primarily as a means to improve relations between Railways' management and staff, and hence increase the efficiency and profitability of the organisation.

An announcement published on the title page of the first and subsequent numbers stated:

The New Zealand Railways Magazine is delivered free to all employees of the Railways Department, and to the leading firms, shippers and traders doing business with the New Zealand Railways.

It is the officially recognised medium for maintaining contact between the Administration, the employees, and the public, and for the dissemination of knowledge bearing on matters of mutual interest and of educative value.6

These objectives were closely echoed in Coates's statement to Parliament reporting the establishment of the Magazine.

With the object of facilitating the interchange and dissemination of railway knowledge amongst the employees of the Department, and of making the rail-using public better acquainted with the aims of the management and with the services available, I have recently arranged for the issue of a monthly magazine.7

In an interview in the first issue, probably conducted by the newly appointed editor, G.G. Stewart, Coates elaborated upon his objectives for the magazine. Such a publication was regarded by the Minister as the most up-to-date strategy in staff and public relations, and was to play a major part in improving the profitability of Railways. For Coates,

[the object of the Magazine should be to bring more interest into Railway life; to expand its possibilities not only for personal profit but for public appreciation; to help toward conditions which make for satisfaction in all ranks within the Department, by reciprocal


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and mutual service, benefiting each other by the improvement of the conditions of service for all.\textsuperscript{8}

Contributions were invited from employees and the general public, particularly articles bearing on railway affairs, news items of staff interest, suitable short stories, poetry, photographs, pen and ink sketches, etc. The aim of the contributors should be to supply interesting topical material tending generally towards the betterment of the service.\textsuperscript{9}

With time, payment was offered for such contributions and the magazine became a major outlet and source of income for a considerable number of New Zealand freelance journalists, writers and poets. Brief paragraphs were paid for at two pence per line, while more substantial items, including poems, earned what was termed 'a living wage scale.'\textsuperscript{10} The inclusion of a railway theme or setting in the piece submitted was preferred, as were items set in New Zealand. Indeed, in common with most if not all mainstream periodicals in the period, \textit{New Zealand Railways Magazine} explicitly solicited fiction, poetry, illustrations, and articles on New Zealand subjects from its readership.

Initially, the content of \textit{Railways Magazine} was dominated by articles of technical and educational interest to the seventeen thousand Railways' staff, as befitted a 'shop-organ.' It should be noted that throughout the period of the magazine's publication New Zealand Railways was the largest single employer in the country. Most of the early technical articles were written by senior members of staff, exemplified by a series of articles in the early volumes on production engineering contributed by the Superintendent of Workshops, E.T.

\textsuperscript{8} Coates, 'To the Staff of the Railways' 4.

\textsuperscript{9} \textit{New Zealand Railways Magazine} 1.1 (May 1926): 1.

\textsuperscript{10} Gillespie, 'The Growth of the New Zealand Railways Magazine' 13.
Chapter 9.1: New Zealand Railways Magazine - Introduction

Spidy. Other articles with titles such as 'Engineering and Labour Problems,' 'Store-keeping in the Railway,' and statements of Railway Policy were only gradually replaced by articles of more general interest.

Although no explicit literary objectives were expressed in the first issue, Coates did voice the hope that New Zealand Railways Magazine would 'in self-expression, be racy of the soil to which we belong.' Clearly he saw the magazine as having a role to play in the development of New Zealand's cultural identity, although its primary function was utilitarian, serving the commercial and administrative needs of Railways. In fact, the history of the magazine is a history of the broadening of its appeal, signalled by the growing range of subject matter treated in its articles, and, of particular interest to this study, the varying proportion of space devoted to fiction, poetry and articles on literary matters.

As an in-house publication, it was important that New Zealand Railways Magazine be seen to pay its way, particularly during the difficult economic times of the thirties. As with any public relations or advertising programme this was difficult to judge. Its value as a medium for the practice of the new discipline of 'industrial psychology' was argued for by its supporters. In references to the magazine in thirteen successive Government Reports, its increasing cost effectiveness is plotted and indeed emphasised. With the increasing generation of revenue from non-Railways advertising from 1928, and the decision to offer copies for sale to the public from 1935, the cost of the magazine to New Zealand Railways began to fall. A rise in circulation from about twenty thousand copies per issue to a peak of twenty-six thousand copies in the mid-thirties assisted this

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11 Coates, 'To the Staff of the Railways' 4.
Chapter 9.1: New Zealand Railways Magazine - Introduction

process. At no time however did the magazine appear to make a profit, and this factor may have been a determinant in the decision to suspend publication after the outbreak of the Second World War.

Directly coincident with the life of the Magazine is the later career of its editor, G.G. Stewart. Stewart had joined the New Zealand Railways as a cadet in Westport in 1898, and after a wide ranging career in the Department was appointed Editor of the new journal in 1925. The following year he was given the task of implementing another Coates initiative, the Railways Publicity Branch, an extension of the Railways Advertising Studio. Stewart was appointed Publicity Manager in 1927. Since the final issue of New Zealand Railways Magazine carried news of his impending retirement after forty-two years with the Department, it is likely that his departure was a further factor in the closure of the magazine. Shortages in the supply of paper and other essential printing commodities during the period were also clearly a factor, and it is conceivable that a decision was made to dispense with the magazine, at least for the duration of the war, on the grounds that it was not an essential item of expenditure.

The first issue, published on 1 May 1926, carried a distinctive cover illustration depicting a steam train crossing the Makohine Viaduct in the Rangitikei Valley, considered one of the triumphs of New Zealand railway engineering. The illustration is highly stylised in the manner of the poster art popular at the time, and set a standard for New Zealand Railways Magazine covers sustained through much of its publication. Covers appear to have been generally the work of the Publicity Branch. A major contributor of both cover and advertising designs, especially poster advertising, was Stanley Davis. It is
likely that he was responsible for the first cover, and he was certainly responsible for the distinctive cover used between July and November 1927. This featured a stylised impression of the famous central North Island Raurimu Spiral. The cover for the first two issues of Volume Six was an especially popular example of Davis's work, being a celebration of the 1931 Rugby Union tour of New Zealand by the British Lions. It was described as showing 'the crowds surging across the playing field between the goal posts, the only portion which they had not invaded being in the shape of New Zealand.' After his death in early 1938, Davis was eulogised in the Magazine as an 'Artist and Idealist' much admired for his illustrative and poster work.

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12 *New Zealand Railways Magazine* 6.2 (June 1931): 17.

9.2 Literary Content

The second issue carried the first literary item in the magazine, a ballad by the popular poet and story writer Will Lawson. This is typical of many subsequent stories and poems contributed by Lawson and other writers to the New Zealand Railways Magazine, set in the stations, rail yards or along the 'permanent way' of New Zealand and overseas rail systems. Lawson's 'The Bridge Builders' celebrates the heroism which attended the construction of the New Zealand railway network through difficult mountain terrain. The third issue featured another ballad of railway heroism, 'When the North Express Comes In' by John Maclennan, a regular contributor of such poems through Volumes One and Two. Volume one, number five saw the appearance of the first two stories in New Zealand Railways Magazine. 'How Mackechnie Bumped a Borrower,' a humorous railway yarn spiced with some fairly credible Scots dialect, is attributed to 'Fishplate,' while The Wig-Wag' contributed 'When Greek Meets Greek.' As yarns both these stories are typical of the form of popular genre short fiction and narrative poetry which predominated in the Magazine. Throughout the publication of the New Zealand Railways Magazine the vast majority of literary material was locally written, although occasionally a well known British or American railway poem or story was published, such as

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14 Will Lawson, 'The Bridge Builders,' New Zealand Railways Magazine 1.2 (June 1926): 38.

15 John Maclennan, 'When the North Express Comes In,' New Zealand Railways Magazine 1.3 (July 1926): 5.


17 The Wig-Wag, 'When Greek Meets Greek,' New Zealand Railways Magazine 1.5 (September 1926): 30-31.
Harold Monro's amusing poem 'Journey,'18 or the popular American humorist Ellis Parker Butler's story, 'Pigs is Pigs,' described in the editorial by-line as 'a classic among railway stories.'19 Australian settings were common in the stories of Will Lawson, but it seems that for the readership of *New Zealand Railways Magazine* this factor was all but irrelevant. Certainly, but for the naming of indigenous species, the bush and railway settings were more or less interchangeable.

One sign of the *New Zealand Railways Magazine's* growing commitment to a wider audience was the appearance of a column for women readers. This long running column appeared in the first of its several incarnations as 'Of Feminine Interest' in June 1927.20 The editorial to the issue noted that the column was directed towards the 'lady members of the service, of whom there are now eighty-five' (out of a total staff of seventeen thousand), although Stewart also acknowledged the needs of the wives and daughters of the 'twelve thousand married members' who he hopes 'will appreciate the regular appearance of a page devoted to feminine and household matters.'21

The column was initially written and illustrated by women staff members. Its contents were to alter little over the years from the recipes, fashion, handy hints and society notes of this first instalment, although with time individual women took over responsibility for the column. From November 1929 until May

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19 Ellis Parker Butler, 'Pigs is Pigs,' *New Zealand Railways Magazine* 2.5 (September 1927): 36.
21 G.G. Stewart, 'Editorial,' *New Zealand Railways Magazine* 2.2 (June 1927) 3.
1933 Sheila G. Marshall 'conducted' the column. In addition to the familiar items, Marshall added the occasional self-penned poem or short genre romance. Marshall also often used the column to comment editorially on New Zealand society, applauding in florid terms the positive qualities of 'the young Dominion' which render the place and its people distinct, or commenting on matters related to women, such as health and beauty, although she also presented several mild arguments supporting women's presence in the workplace. A contributor signing herself (or himself) merely 'Helen' took over the column from June 1933, retaining the same title and format although without the editorial commentary. 'Helen' ran the column until the final issue of the Railways Magazine.

A few months after the establishment of the women's column, a children's page was established and appeared irregularly for several years over a number of by-lines, though without settling into a regular column.22 Sheila Russell contributed a serial, 'The People of Pudding Hill' from December 193523 and Nellie Donovan contributed an infrequent series of children's stories beginning in the same issue.24

The first attempt in New Zealand Railways Magazine to assess the quality of local literature was an article by Winton Keay published in July 1928.25 This single page survey is arranged around a photograph of The Thames express

22 Commencing with the unattributed, 'For The Children: The Story of Snuff,' New Zealand Railways Magazine 2.8 (December 1927): 16.


25 Winton Keay, 'New Zealand Literature,' New Zealand Railways Magazine 3.3 (July 1928): 44.
leaving Auckland (approaching the Parnell Bridge), of no relevance to the article it accompanies but wholly typical of *Railways Magazine* layout. Keay, a journalist and short story writer, supports the then current belief that the nineteen twenties were witness to the latest stage in the development of a new literature, a clean, healthy, wholesome literature characteristic of and a credit to 'The New Race.'

For Keay it is inevitable that there will soon emerge 'a writer of outstanding merit to place New Zealand's name upon the literary honours' board.' What mystifies him, however, is the predominance of women in the list of New Zealand's successful authors. Both Rosemary Rees and Edith Howes figure high in his estimate, although 'Miss K. Mansfield,' who, unfortunately, 'died before her undoubted talents had fully matured' also rates a mention. Keay refrains from actually naming any poets of note, being content to assure his readers that 'relatively more of their verse is worthy of preservation than that of any other English-speaking country.'

It is for those writers who devote their efforts to the recording of the unique features of the Dominion that Keay finds most enthusiasm. James Cowan receives special mention as a chronicler of New Zealand 'natives and their lore,' either in the form of popular ethnographic articles or short stories based on 'some old superstition of the Maori.' Cowan's popular *Travel in New Zealand*, published in two volumes, receives special praise. Elsdon Best is cited as 'our greatest authority on the history and folklore of the Maori.' Keay's brief and superficial survey is characteristic of the type of uncritical literary

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26 Keay borrows this phrase from Pember Reeves.

27 Keay, 'New Zealand Literature' 44.
parochialism which dominated New Zealand literary commentary throughout the inter-war period and beyond.

Five years elapse before a comparable article is again published in the magazine. Edith Kerr, M.A., contributes her own more substantial two part survey of New Zealand Literature in late 1933.28 As with Keay, Kerr's objective is little more than the naming of those writers whom she regards as significant contributors to the literature. Her historical survey begins with Edward Gibbon Wakefield's 'Letter from Sydney,' the first item by several colonial writers whose works are, in Kerr's opinion, of interest from both historical and literary perspectives. Maning's *Old New Zealand* stands out for special recognition. Kerr quotes without comment Pember Reeves's judgement on Maning as, among other things, the writer most able to capture that 'strange medley of contradictions and caprices, the Maori mind.'29 Bracken and Reeves are also acknowledged before Kerr goes on to mention writers of more recent vintage.

She explains the small number of women poets in the colonial period as due to the fact that the 'women pioneers' were 'too busy with many things to write more than their long letters Home.'30 Jessie Mackay, Dora Wilcox, Mary Richmond, and Eileen Duggan all rate a mention as do Johannes Andersen and Arthur H. Adams. Alan Mulgan's *Golden Wedding*31 is regarded as 'a con-

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30 Kerr, 'New Zealand Literature: Part I' 11. Although, as Morag Mackay has pointed out to me, at least forty-nine novels by New Zealand women were published prior to 1900.
siderable addition to our poetic achievement.' C.R. Allen is also singled out for special mention as a 'subtle, musical, thoughtful and stimulating' writer. At her most optimistic, Kerr sees New Zealand as a place where 'authentic poetry' will most likely survive, remote as it is from the literary 'cliques' of London whose 'self-sufficient iconoclasm' threaten the 'true tradition' of English verse, an obvious attack on the emerging modernism promoted by critics and anthologists such as Harold Monro. Kerr concludes the first part of her survey with a selection of extracts from poems she regards as 'authentic' expressions of New Zealand literary endeavour.32

In her second instalment, Kerr refers briefly to the work of Butler and Mansfield before discussing Jane Mander, Nelle Scanlan, Rosemary Rees and G.B. Lancaster in more detail. In common with most commentators at this time, Kerr is concerned to speculate on the reasons for the lack of a 'literature thoroughly characteristic of New Zealand.'33 She notes with some regret that '[o]nly by place names, or by descriptions of certain trees or foliage, could a critic recognise a New Zealander to be a New Zealander,'34 and attributes this in part to 'an excess of one of our virtues':

We are more British than Britain herself. We are so satisfied with British models and standards that we are in no haste to establish a school of our own.35

31(...)continued)
32 Kerr, 'New Zealand Literature: Part I' 11.
33 Kerr, 'New Zealand Literature: Part II' 51.
34 Kerr, 'New Zealand Literature: Part II' 51.
35 Kerr, 'New Zealand Literature: Part II' 51.
This situation is simply something that must be accepted, and Kerr offers no hint as to how a national literature might be developed, aside from the slow effect of time. She seems quite unaware of any alternative to traditional literary forms, although it must be admitted that in 1933 such alternatives were only just beginning to appear in New Zealand. Kerr concludes her survey by expressing the sentimental hope that

in another century or two, when our two races shall be blended into one . . . a race may evolve that will achieve unity with the spirit of the place, just as the union of Norman and Saxon gave birth to all the glories of English poetry. A national literature, like the Kingdom of Heaven, cometh not with observation, but as a thief in the night.36

The existence of *Phoenix* goes completely unremarked, despite the interest it had aroused among even the most conservative commentators. Certainly, the *New Zealand Railways Magazine* was not the venue for more than a hint of this alternative poetic, found almost solely in certain of the poems published in the 'New Zealand Verse' column, discussed below. Furthermore, as a Government publication it was unlikely that the *New Zealand Railways Magazine* would carry anything critical of the officially sanctioned line on cultural development, as expressed in such events as the 1936 Authors' Week. Stewart's own editorial preferences are only occasionally articulated in any overt way, most clearly in the 'Answers to Correspondents' column initiated for a brief run from the first issue of *New Zealand Railways Magazine* published as a 'National Monthly' in April 1933.

Some years after Kerr's article, in the issue for July 1938, O.N. Gillespie, a regular contributor to the magazine, presented a review of literary activity

36 Kerr, 'New Zealand Literature: Part II' 52.
during 1937 and early 1938, illustrated with photographic portraits. Gillespie wrote numerous articles for the Magazine, on a wide range of subjects, from the attractions of Palmerston North to the celebration of New Zealand’s rail network in poetry and prose. In the 1938 article, in what is little more than an uncritical listing of personalities and publications, such discussion as is entered into is reserved largely for the work of Eileen Duggan and Robin Hyde. Gillespie does however make passing mention of ‘the vigorous younger men such as R.A.K. Mason, Denis Glover, A.R.D. Fairburn, D’Arcy Cresswell and others,’ indicating at least an acknowledgement of their presence, perhaps anticipating growing mainstream acceptance for these poets.

A more significant contributor to this discourse was the prolific and influential literary journalist Pat Lawlor. A veteran of several New Zealand and Australian newspapers and periodicals published during the twenties and early thirties, Lawlor joined the New Zealand Railways Magazine as literary columnist and Advertising and Sales Representative early in 1933. His employment by Railways was part of the re-presentation of the magazine as a ‘National Monthly’ from April of that year. This was a major moment in the development of the periodical, and Lawlor’s appearance in its pages was just one among several notable changes. Writing under the pseudonym ‘Shibli Bagarag,’ which he had used in both the New Zealand edition of Aussie, edited by Lawlor between 1925


39 A name taken from one of George Meredith’s oriental tales, The Shaving of Shagpat (London: Constable, 1914).
and 1931, and in his New Zealand Artists' Annual, published and edited by Lawlor from 1926 until 1932, Lawlor took over responsibility for the previously irregular column 'Among the Books.'

This column had first appeared in the third issue of the magazine where it dealt with two technical books of interest to Railways staff: Freight Trains and Terminals and a text on industrial psychology, the very latest staff management technique. It was not until the fifth instalment of the column in May 1929 that space was given to literary comment. For this issue the column, subtitled 'Our Book Causerie,' was devoted to an unattributed article providing guidance to readers of 'Literature.' New Zealand literature does not rate so much as a mention. The article is largely devoted to recommending W.A. Briggs's anthology Great Poems of the English Language and the novels of one Mrs Webb, attested by the 'Right. Hon. Mr Baldwin, the Imperial Prime Minister, [as] a writer of genius strangely neglected.

While retaining the title design and illustration, Lawlor added the subtitle 'A Literary Page or Two' used in both his previous 'Shibli Bagarag' columns, and used the now monthly Railways Magazine column to give his support to what he perceived to be the most promising elements of the New Zealand literary scene. In his first appearance Lawlor sets out his parochial brief with no apologies.

Mostly I will deal with literary endeavour in our own land, of writers you have met, of those who have had their first stories...

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40 Unattributed, 'Among the Books,' New Zealand Railways Magazine 13 (July 1926): 27.

41 Unattributed, 'Among the Books: Our Book Causerie,' New Zealand Railways Magazine 4.1 (May 1929): 31. Professor Terry Sturm suggests that Mrs Webb is likely to be Mary Webb, the author of rural romances parodied by Stella Gibbons in Cold Comfort Farm.
accepted, of local newspapers, of reporters, of coming or present endeavours in local print, of local cartoonists and caricaturists.  

He then proceeds to survey literary activity in each of the four main centres, paying particular attention to the newly emerging women writers’ groups such as the Auckland based Penwomen’s Club, and the Wellington based Society of Lady Writers and Artists, or as it was later known, the New Zealand Women Writers’ and Artists’ Society, publishers of *Quill* (see below, Chapter Ten).

In a column consisting largely of literary news and gossip, interspersed with some mainly descriptive literary comment, Lawlor attempted to keep his readership informed about the activities of well-known journalists, cartoonists, publishers, printers and popular authors such as Hector Bolitho and Nelle Scanlan. His columns in *New Zealand Railways Magazine* and elsewhere form a valuable archive of popular New Zealand literary taste during the twenties, thirties and forties. He often records pieces of literary news such as the movement of local personalities between New Zealand and 'Home,' or the appearance of new publications, including periodicals. In April 1935 he recorded the following snippet of literary gossip on a matter which has now passed into the literary mythology of the 1930s: 'Publication of R.A.K. Mason's collected poems has been held up owing to some uncertainty as to the style of binding.' A caricature of Mason was published in the column in June 1937 as part of a series of largely unattributed literary caricatures, other examples of

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42 Pat Lawlor ('Shibli Bagarag'), 'Among the Books: A Literary Page or Two,' *New Zealand Railways Magazine* 7.9 (April 1933): 43.

43 Pat Lawlor ('Shibli Bagarag'), 'Among the Books: A Literary Page or Two,' 10.1 (April 1935): 55. The collection was *No New Thing: Poems 1924-29*, prepared for the press by Robert Lowry and published in Auckland by Spearhead Publishers. Although the edition of 120 copies was dated 1934, because of problems with the special hand-woven cloth binding only a few copies were in fact issued.
which included Johannes C. Andersen and Ken Alexander, the latter a self-caricature.

References to members of the group of poets associated with *Phoenix* were few and far between. The appearance of Curnow's *Not in Narrow Seas* was noted in the column for May 1939, where Lawlor attempted to silence Curnow's voice of protest by reducing it to an expression of youthful complaint, 'the "straining heart's despair" of a visionary who can see little but sordidness and distress in the manner in which the Dominion has progressed.'44 The effect of Curnow's despair, he suggests, might be ameliorated by the mere act of examining the typography and format of the publication: '[a]t least in one place in "James Cook's pig farm" (as he calls New Zealand) there is the art and beauty of creation.'45 Typically, Lawlor is not concerned to comment critically on Curnow's style.

Frank Sargeson's collection of stories *Conversations With My Uncle* received a nine line notice by Lawlor in December 1936. He notes the quality of the Unicorn Press production but dismisses the stories as being 'full of a quaint philosophy,' although he does applaud their 'artistic simplicity.'46

Lawlor was more interested in encouraging mainstream literary activity than in supporting the efforts of the literary *avant-garde* or the use of prose or verse as outlets for political protest or social criticism. While he did encourage


45 Lawlor, 'Among the Books' 45.

46 Pat Lawlor ('Shibli Bagarag'), 'Among the Books: A Literary Page or Two,' *New Zealand Railways Magazine* 11.9 (December 1936): 83.
youthful literary enterprise, this was restricted to the efforts of conventional narrative story writers or to poets whom he regarded as working within the acceptable tradition of metrical verse. Warwick Lawrence was one such poet. More significantly perhaps, Robin Hyde was also favoured with Lawlor's attention. Hyde's career had been greatly assisted by the efforts of first J.H.E. Schroder of the Christchurch *Sun* and later Charles Marris of *Art in New Zealand*. In his turn Lawlor supported her to a considerable degree, in part it would seem because he perceived her as a young and talented journalist with literary inclinations, as he had once been himself.

Poetry and articles by Hyde appeared in the *New Zealand Railways Magazine* as they had in *Art in New Zealand* and the *Mirror*. Her contributions to Stewart's magazine were numerous, and ranged from poetry to journalism, particularly articles on travel within New Zealand directed towards promoting the use of the national rail passenger system. Her poetry, well crafted if conventional in form, was occasionally featured in the 'New Zealand Verse' column which ran from mid-1933, her activities were frequently commented on in Lawlor's column, and her published volumes were noted and reviewed positively as they appeared. After her unexpected death in August 1939 Lawlor joined with many journalists and writers in eulogising her. In common with many, Lawlor greatly admired Hyde's courage, and in promoting her *Dragon Rampant* he wondered, perhaps a little patronisingly, 'how this frail, crippled girl managed to traverse the whole ghastly theatre of war - and survive the

experience." While he seems to have been unaware of the details of Hyde's personal struggle against considerable odds, his support and that of other influential editors like Marris and Schroder must have made some difference both to her financial security as a freelance writer and to her career as a creative writer.

Another of Lawlor's interests which is of particular significance to this present study is his collecting of the first numbers of new periodicals, several of which appear to be unrecorded outside his columns. He also discusses his involvement in the New Zealand branch of P.E.N. and the New Zealand Ex Libris Society, both of which he was instrumental in establishing. In the 'Among the Books' column he published a long running series of Book Plates, many of which were designed by local artists, including Leo Bensemann. Lawlor was not above taking advantage of his relative anonymity to promote his own publications, as he does in noting the appearance of his *Confessions of a Journalist*, which he describes as 'the autobiography of a New Zealand journalist who has been associated with every literary movement in the Dominion for twenty odd years past.' Lawlor also employed the column to support what he considered to be worthy ventures in New Zealand literary publishing. *Art in New Zealand* received special mention, each issue being noted as it appeared. In the second instalment of his column he wrote an appreciative and promotional paragraph


50 Pat Lawlor ('Shibli Bagarag'), 'Among the Books,' *New Zealand Railways Magazine* 10.6 (September 1935): 54.
on the issues for December 1932 and March 1933, identifying the poets Eileen Duggan and C.R. Allen as literary contributors of special note. Harry Tombs received further mention in the next issue, as 'a literary and art prospector who has discovered rare and prodigious nuggets - that is speaking in literary and not commercial values.' The role of Marris as Literary Editor and the extent to which Tombs deferred to the judgement of others in his editing of the art component of the magazine, indicates either that Lawlor had little knowledge of the day to day running of Art in New Zealand, or (perhaps more likely) that he was judiciously using his column to curry favour with the prominent literary publisher.

In the same issue Lawlor applauded the efforts of Noel Hoggard in editing and cyclostyling Spilt Ink, the monthly journal of the 'Spilt Ink Clubs,' an initiative Lawlor heartily approved of, noting incidentally that the cartoonist and humorist Ken Alexander was President of the Wellington Branch of this club. Alexander was another member of Lawlor's group, accompanying him through the pages of both Aussie and the New Zealand Artists' Annual, as well as the New Zealand Railways Magazine, where, as in Aussie, Alexander had a long running and popular column of humorous anecdotes, jokes, nonsense verse and cartoons.

Most significant moments in New Zealand literary life were noted by Lawlor during the period of this and his other columns. Usually these

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51 Pat Lawlor ('Shibli Bagarag'), 'Among the Books,' New Zealand Railways Magazine 8.1 (May 1933): 55-56. The issues of Art in New Zealand referred to by Lawlor are those for December 1932 and March 1933.

observations amounted to little more than the naming of texts and individuals but in doing so Lawlor repeatedly revealed his own conservative literary taste, and his remarks provide insight into the mainstream response to the new avant-garde impulses of the 1930s. His comments on the Caxton Press anthology *New Poems*, edited by Denis Glover and Ian Milner, are representative:

If it is only because of the fact that it contains three or four outstanding poems by A.R.D. Fairburn, *New Poems*, recently published by the Caxton Club Press of Christchurch, fully justifies its appearance. His 'Winter Night' is a simple theme on which is built a peculiarly beautiful melody. This poem brought back to my mind an observation made many years ago by Zangwill: The true dignity of the artist is to be sublimely simple rather than simply sublime.' Other contributors to this book of verse, and the work is mostly more than mediocre standard, would do well to commit this great advice to memory. Lovers of New Zealand verse should add this dainty little volume to their collection.53

It is interesting to compare this with Glover's description of at least one of the objectives behind the anthology.

*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.*54

Clearly, the degree of divergence between Lawlor and the younger group of poets associated with the Caxton Press was considerable. That Lawlor had access to and influence over a regular mainstream outlet like the *Railways Magazine* helped to maintain popular support for his favoured forms of literary endeavour. The efforts of the Caxton poets, while acknowledged by Lawlor, were never cited as suitable models for aspiring New Zealand writers. Lawlor seemed to see literature as little more than a medium for the expression of


positive attitudes to life, and the troubled murmurings of literary malcontents were largely dismissed as fleeting aberrations on the surface of New Zealand literature. For Lawlor, literature's purpose was the elevation of the spirit, and should not be tainted by expressions of political protest. He judged both poetry and prose according to the success with which it expressed what he termed 'the music of our own land."

Glover's satirical attack on C.A. Marris, *The Arraignment of Paris*, provoked a predictable reaction from Lawlor.

Denis Glover of Christchurch is a clever young writer, but not clever enough yet to flash the rapier of satire. He has attempted this in his lampoon *The Arraignment of Paris*. He attacks one or two unnamed gentlemen in the New Zealand literary world, but after a few lines drops the rapier and seizes the bludgeon. He then becomes somewhat crude in his attack. This is a pity, for Denis Glover is meant for, and is capable of, much better things.

That Lawlor felt himself to be implicated in Glover's attack is hinted at in his reference to the 'one or two unnamed gentlemen.' The relevant passage is the second to last verse paragraph in which Glover satirises critics of the Marris type:

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We've far too many critics - all bow-wowsers
who pump up praise from platitudinous bowsers,
inflate flat tyres, wipe windscreens, quickly jump
to pour their oil in anybody's sump.
Our local critics cut most curious capers:
they search for truth, yet work for daily papers.
They're something strange, a kind of currant bun
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57 Pat Lawlor ('Shibli Bagarag'), 'Among the Books,' *New Zealand Railways Magazine* 12.11 (February 1938): 54.
of journalese and poetry in one.
The magpies and the starlings of the race,
there's nothing that their efforts don't deface.\(^58\)

In fact, Glover explicitly attacks only Charles Marris (who is identified clearly in several passages), Robin Hyde and several other women writers sponsored by Marris.

The same issue which had seen Lawlor's first appearance (April 1933) also saw the consolidation of James Cowan's relationship with the magazine. Cowan was one of the most prolific and notable contributors to *New Zealand Railways Magazine* over almost the entire span of its publication. His long running series of articles, 'Famous New Zealanders,' published in forty-eight instalments between April 1933 and June 1937, constitutes an important early contribution to New Zealand historical biography, predating as it does Scholefield's *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*.\(^59\) Among the subjects chosen by Cowan were several literary figures including F.E. Maning, Alfred Domett, William Pember Reeves, Samuel Butler, and Jessie Mackay.\(^60\)


\(^59\) G.H. Scholefield, ed., *A Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* (Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1940). Instalment thirty-seven of Cowan's series of biographies featured Cowan himself and was written by Oriwa Keripi, possibly a pseudonym. 'Oriwa' is a Māori rendering of 'Olive,' while Keripi may be a Māori version of a European surname. Una Currie is one possible candidate. She contributed numerous poems, stories and some articles on New Zealand poetry and related subjects to several magazines during the period, including *New Zealand Railways Magazine*, sometimes under the pseudonym 'Nora Stacey.' Oriwa Keripi, 'Famous New Zealanders No.37: James Cowan,' *New Zealand Railways Magazine* 11.1 (April 1936): 25,27,29.

As a journalist and writer with a keen interest in New Zealand history and Māori culture, Cowan produced over twenty books, including the Government commissioned *The New Zealand Wars,* long regarded as the authoritative text on the subject. Much of his writing was anecdotal in nature, dependent less on documentary or archival research than on first or second hand accounts of events. In addition to 'Famous New Zealanders' he contributed some seventy-five other items to *New Zealand Railways Magazine.* For the most part these consist of articles on New Zealand history or landscape, especially those parts of the country traversed by New Zealand Railways. Some were either serialisations of work already published by Cowan or formed the basis of later publications. His first major contribution to the *New Zealand Railways Magazine* was the series 'The Romance of the Rail: A descriptive and historical story of the North Island Main Trunk Line,' begun in May 1928, an issue which also saw the expansion of the magazine from forty-eight pages to sixty-four. This four part article was also published in book form by the Publicity Branch of New Zealand Railways.

Cowan also contributed an instalment to the satirical mystery serial 'The 13th Clue,' written in fourteen parts by twelve different writers. G.G. Stewart prefaced the first instalment of this parody of the serial story with these words:

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Mystery stories and criminal detectives hold pride of place in popular fiction, but here is a new combination which points the way to brighter things.

The characters in the story are so far from being unfictitious that a number of leading and following writers [sic], whose 'Murder by Twelve' is soon to be published, have volunteered to tell their side of 'The 13th Clue,' from a more or less personal knowledge of the case as outlined in this first chapter.63

He then names twelve writers, including himself, who will 'carry on' the tale, which is to be written in thirteen monthly parts. Many of these writers were already familiar to readers of New Zealand Railways Magazine, but not all were in fact able to contribute. In the same issue, Pat Lawlor, one of the future writers of the serial, gives an account of the genesis of the enterprise, concocted over drinks in his office. He also gives his own somewhat different list of contributors.

Over the course of the serial certain writers dropped out and others were recruited. One who failed to contribute was Victor Lloyd, scheduled by Stewart to write the concluding episode. A delay in the course of the serial may have been the cause of Lloyd's resignation although he may also have been irritated by the satirical use of contributors' names, or homophones of them, for characters in the story. Impskill Lloyd is the name given to the main butt of the story, the super-Holmesian detective who leads the investigation into the death in the Matamata railway signal box (by twelve separate causes) of Pat Lauder (Pat Lawlor).

As might be expected in any story written by committee, the plot becomes more convoluted and farcical with each successive episode. The tale of the

search for the thirteenth clue which might shed light on the original twelve is told by the following authors in this order: G.G. Stewart, C.A.L. Treadwell, Eric Bradwell, Wilson Hogg, Pat Lawlor, C. Stuart Perry, Redmond Phillips, James Cowan, C.A. Marris, Stewart again, Leo Fanning, O.N. Gillespie, Alan Mulgan, and, for the third time, G.G. Stewart. Several of these authors were central figures in the prevailing literary establishment. Most appear to have been literary journalists or editors, with varying degrees of prominence. Pat Lawlor, Charles Marris, and Alan Mulgan were well known. O.N. Gillespie had, among other work, edited the anthology *New Zealand Short Stories*, published in London in 1930.64 C.A. Treadwell was a prominent lawyer, an O.B.E. and president of the writers' group P.E.N., who serialised his book on famous New Zealand trials in nineteen instalments in the *New Zealand Railways Magazine* from April 1933 until October 1934. Eric Bradwell was best known as a playwright, having had his experimental nine-scene piece *Clay* performed in 1936.65 Leo Fanning was a regular contributor to the *New Zealand Railways Magazine* from 1928, mostly articles on railway subjects or aspects of New Zealand society, but also the occasional story and at least one poem.

Another regular contributor who increased his presence in the magazine as a result of its transformation into a periodical available for purchase by the general public was Will Lawson, then resident in Sydney. Again, beginning with the issue for April 1933, Lawson contributed a series of railway stories to each number until February 1934, most with an Australian setting. Lawson was

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regarded as one of the liveliest historical romance writers in Australasia in the 1930s and like several other writers and poets (Douglas Stewart, to name one) held a sort of dual literary nationality during the period. Lawson was described as 'Our Trans-Tasman Writer' by the journalist Tom Mills in an article published in the *New Zealand Railways Magazine* in 1934. Mills provides a basic biography of Lawson before concluding appreciatively with the comment that 'whether he [Lawson] puts it in verse or in prose, he gathers a tale that thrills as only the emotionalist can impart impressionism [sic] to another,' a rather extreme example of the standard of literary analysis generally provided in the *New Zealand Railways Magazine*.

As well as fiction, a 'New Zealand Verse' column appeared regularly from May 1933, encouraging a huge number of local versifiers to submit their work for possible publication. In content, the column has much in common with a similar one which appeared on an irregular basis in the *Mirror* from 1931. Significant among the more conventional balladeers and versifiers to find publication in the column were Will Lawson, James J. Stroud, Douglas Stewart, J.R. Hervey, and the indefatigable C.R. Allen, one of the most prolific contributors of poetry to such venues as this. Many women poets associated with the New Zealand Women Writers and Artists Society successfully submitted work to the column, including Isabel Maud Peacocke and Isobel Andrews.

In addition to Robin Hyde (discussed above), Denis Glover and Eve Langley also offered poetry to the *New Zealand Railways Magazine*. Glover contributed five poems, all published in the 'New Zealand Verse' section. These

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were: 'Landscape of Change';67 'A Summer Day' which, with some rewriting, became the first section of 'Root, Crop and Stone';68 'Estuary Change';69 'Snowfall at Night';70 and 'Waitaki,' a longer version of 'Waitaki Dam.'71 His association with Tomorrow and his preference for social comment and topicality (exemplified by his satirical attack on Charles Marris) made much of his work unsuitable for the more sedate pages of the New Zealand Railways Magazine.

Langley contributed four poems and three pieces of imaginative prose. The latter were not fictions so much as impressionistic and highly romantic accounts of railway activities. The first successively likens a steam engine to a racehorse, a medieval charger, and 'the lordliest Her' its driver and fireman will ever know.72 The second records a visit to a signal box, concluding with the author's vision of the driver in his cab, who 'seemed to be standing in the cell of a Titan's brain,'73 while the third of Langley's prose pieces describes her fellow

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passengers aboard a night train.74 Her poems are equally romantic (if generally somewhat more effective) evocations of man and nature.

9.3 Conclusion

The New Zealand Railways Magazine closed without warning with the issue of June 1940. Following the outbreak of war the Magazine was increasingly utilised as a medium for Government propaganda, climaxing in a 'Flags for Freedom' issue of March 1940. This issue carried articles and patriotic poems by G.G. Stewart, Alan Mulgan, and Leo Fanning, among others. The final issue gives all indications that the magazine was performing well, with no letup in the quality of its format or contents. The retirement of its founding and sole editor, G.G. Stewart, announced in this last number of the magazine, is the only real hint of the imminence of the periodical's demise. Contributions were still being called for and regular columns appeared as usual, including Lawlor's 'Among the Books' and Ken Alexander's long running column of humour and cartoons. A few months later, Lawlor, having found yet another outlet for his 'Literary Page or Two' in the N.Z. Magazine, claimed that it was paper shortages occasioned by the war which brought an end to the New Zealand Railways Magazine.75 Pressure brought to bear on the Railways Department to curb expenditure in the face of war-time exigencies may also have been a factor in the decision.76

Over the more than fourteen years of its publication the New Zealand Railways Magazine developed from a limited interest in-house magazine to a major monthly outlet for New Zealand journalism, fiction and poetry. Its significance as a contributor to the development of indigenous popular literary

75 Pat Lawlor ('Shibli Bagarag'), 'A Literary Page or Two,' N.Z. Magazine 19.5 (September/October 1940): 29.

76 See, for example, a speech in the Debating Chamber on the subject by the Hon. A. Hamilton, Opposition Member of Parliament and member of the War Cabinet. Parliamentary Debates, Second Session, Twenty-Sixth Parliament: Legislative Council and House of Representatives Vol. 257 (30 May - 30 August 1940): 324.
culture was considerable. During the mid to late nineteen thirties its commitment to publishing material of literary interest produced in New Zealand was unmatched by any other monthly outlet. Only *Art in New Zealand* provided a comparable although less frequent venue for poetry. In addition, the magazine's payment for contributions must have been a welcome source of income for writers struggling to practice their vocation, particularly during the late twenties and early thirties. Its popularity with the reading public and its status as a government sponsored 'national monthly' combined to make it a coveted outlet for numerous writers and poets.
CHAPTER TEN
MINOR LITTLE MAGAZINES ACTIVE 1932-1947

10.1 Introduction

Prior to the appearance of Phoenix in March 1932 the little magazine was a more or less unknown species on the New Zealand literary scene. Several small literary magazines had been produced by various writing groups but for the most part writers and poets in search of magazine outlets for their work had to rely on mainstream periodicals and the literary columns of the daily or weekly newspapers. Noel Farr Hoggard's Maorilander (discussed below) may be regarded as the sole little magazine published in New Zealand before Phoenix, if only on the grounds that it prefigures Hoggard's later efforts in the field. However, Maorilander was aimed at a juvenile audience and so was far from being any sort of predecessor to the more famous periodical. Phoenix modelled itself on overseas magazines such as Middleton Murry's Adelphi, while aspects of its contents were prefigured locally only in one or two key issues of the university college annual Kiwi, the quarterly Art in New Zealand, and other similar mainstream magazines.

Phoenix was published in reaction to the conservative literary press, the monthly and quarterly periodicals and weekly literary supplements to the daily press, which were the main venues for the discussion of New Zealand literature prior to the mid-thirties and which were to continue to dominate the scene for several years to come. The effect of its appearance was soon evident, most

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1 Including the Auckland based Atom Club's Atom Quarterly (1899?-1902?), produced by club members who were required to be unmarried 'girls' resident in New Zealand. Contributors included Jessie Mackay and Isabel Maud Peacocke.
obviously in the publication of the student magazines *Oriflamme* and *Sirocco* by Denis Glover and his Caxton Club Press. However, generally during the thirties *Phoenix* tended to be taken as a model for publishing ventures which were, in both literary and political terms, somewhat more conservative.

Foremost among these are the series of five little magazines produced by Noel Farr Hoggard, beginning with *Maorilander* and culminating in *Arena*, the longest running publication of its type in New Zealand after *Landfall*, and certainly the one with the widest range of contributors. In *Spilt Ink*, *New Triad*, and especially *Arena* (titled *Letters* for the first ten issues), Hoggard established a reputation as an editor and publisher of several successive generations of promising young writers and poets, many of whom continued to support his magazines long after the need for such an outlet had passed. Hoggard's magazines are the subject of the first part of this chapter.

In addition to *Phoenix*, one of several events which encouraged Hoggard to persist in publishing his magazines of poetry and fiction was the appearance of Helen Longford's *New Zealand Mercury*, the subject of section three of this chapter. During the mid-thirties, the *Mercury* was the best New Zealand example of what A.R. Orage termed a 'representative' type of little magazine, one concerned primarily with maintaining established literary standards, with only a subsidiary interest in new or experimental forms of writing. Naturally conservative in her literary taste, Longford nevertheless attempted to accommodate what she termed 'ultra-modern' poetry, despite censure from several key supporters. Like Hoggard, she encouraged a large number of new writers into

print, working tirelessly and with little material reward for what she hoped would be the betterment of New Zealand literature.

In doing so, both she and Noel Hoggard worked in concert with several literary clubs and societies which were active during the thirties. The Spilt Ink Clubs, established by Hoggard to support younger writers, spread rapidly throughout the country, promoted by Hoggard's magazine of the same name. The Penwomen's Club founded in Auckland in 1925 and the New Zealand Women Writers' and Artists' Society, established by Nellie Donovan in 1932 encouraged women poets and writers to take their work seriously. The Writers' and Artists' Society's irregular annual publication, generally titled Quill, has been selected for discussion in section four of this chapter.

Another venture in little magazine publishing was Tony Murray-Oliver's Oriflamme, produced in Wellington during the early years of World War Two. Murray-Oliver had contributed poetry to later issues of the New Zealand Mercury, and was well aware of the tradition of the little magazine in New Zealand literature, as evidenced by his choice of title, which evokes Denis Glover's first foray into the field. Murray-Oliver's venture was somewhat less noteworthy, being duplicated on the Alexander Turnbull Library roneograph machine and containing verse by the editor and his associates.

One of these was Ronald Castle, who, like Murray-Oliver, had also contributed to Longford's Mercury. Castle's Chapbook is a unique local example of the private magazine, a miscellany published largely for the benefit of the Chapbook Society, a group which appears, at least initially, to have consisted largely of members of the multi-talented Castle family and their associates.
Chapter 10.1: Minor Little Magazines - Introduction

Typewritten and duplicated, never printed, *Chapbook's* main legacy is its encouragement of a youthful Louis Johnson, who later acknowledged the value of such literary miscellanies for their creation of, as he put it, 'a sense of literary community.'

The final title to be discussed in this chapter is the left-wing Auckland journal *Anvil*. Hindered by war-time paper restrictions administered by a government reluctant to allow any expression of dissent, it appeared only twice, the second issue printed by Noel Hoggard's Handcraft Press. Somewhat reminiscent of *Tomorrow*, *Anvil* sought to publish articles, poetry and fiction which critically examined the state of New Zealand society.

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At the same time that James Bertram and his fellows were publishing the first issues of *Phoenix* a much humbler but ultimately longer lasting literary venture was getting under way in Wellington. At first merely a one leaf pamphlet, Noel Farr Hoggard’s *Spilt Ink* soon developed into a regular monthly and then bi-monthly publication. As a teenager, Hoggard had published a magazine of creative writing for children and adolescents entitled *Maorilander: A Monthly Magazine for N.Z. Boys and Girls*. He later described this as a successor to a magazine entitled *Youth*, edited by Joan Banks of Wellington.4 *Maorilander*’s initial issue run of two hand written copies grew to the cyclostyled production of one hundred copies by its closure in mid-1932. Hoggard’s ability to solicit material from older writers such as Dulce Carman gives this juvenile enterprise more significance than it appears to deserve at first sight, a comment which also applies to later Hoggard publications.

Hoggard’s second venture into publishing took its title from Pat Lawlor’s column of literary news and gossip, ‘Spilt Ink,’ written under the pseudonym ‘Shibli Bagarag’ in the by then defunct *Aussie*. As well as following Lawlor’s lead in reporting news about local and overseas literary events and personalities, Hoggard’s *Spilt Ink* published poetry and short fiction by C.R. Allen, Jean Boswell, Dulce Carman and others. As with *Maorilander*, contributions to *Spilt Ink* by a number of more established writers give depth to a periodical essentially devoted to publishing the work of unknown, often adolescent contributors.

EILEEN DUGGAN, New Zealand poet, who was awarded the O.B.E recently.

Literary Articles—News, Reviews, Notes—Readers’ Forum—Verse, Song News, The Stage, etc,
Literary news and gossip were submitted by a range of correspondents, many of whom were associated with the Spilt Ink Clubs, set up by Hoggard, S.G. August and others throughout the country to foster literary activity among the growing numbers of younger writers and poets.\(^5\) August owned the Georgian Bookshop in Invercargill and was a major supporter of both Hoggard and Helen Longford of the *New Zealand Mercury*.

Following a break of a few months in mid-1937, and after almost five years of fairly regular publication, *Spilt Ink* reappeared incorporated into the more substantial *New Triad*. The new title was suggested to Hoggard by the popular writer and balladist Will Lawson, who thought it to be 'less flippant and more dignified'\(^6\) than its predecessor. It deliberately recalls C.N. Baeyertz's very successful monthly, the *Triad*, founded in Dunedin in 1893, and later published in Wellington (with several provincial New Zealand editions). The *Triad* made an important contribution to the cultural life of New Zealand, publishing comment on local music, drama and other endeavours, as well as a substantial amount of poetry and fiction by Alice Kenny, Will Lawson, A.A. Grace and the magazine's co-editor Frank Morton. Its base of publication shifted across the Tasman in 1915 before it finally ceased production in Sydney in 1927, although the last owner-editor, L.L. Woolacott, briefly revived the magazine as a fort-nightly, renaming it *New Triad*. This last version ceased publication in July

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\(^5\) By late 1934 Spilt Ink Clubs had been formed in Wellington, Auckland, Hastings, Gisborne, Napier, Dannevirke, Nelson, Dunedin, Gore, and Invercargill. N.F. Hoggard, 'Do You Belong to Spilt Ink Club [sic]?' *Spilt Ink* 3.5 (September 1934): 1.

\(^6\) N.F. Hoggard, 'Editor's Note-Book,' *New Triad* ns 1.2 (August 1937) 3.
Hoggard's *New Triad* was the first of his periodicals to appear with the imprint of his Handcraft Press, a name previously used by MacKellar Giles for the printing of the first issues of his *New Zealand Verse*, a little magazine produced by Giles in Temuka and Oamaru between January and September 1934. Giles was an unemployed printer and amateur versifier who briefly sought to support himself by editing, printing and publishing a magazine of poetry written by himself and others, including Hoggard and the popular Oamaru songwriter James J. Stroud. It seems likely that Hoggard appropriated the name of Giles's by then defunct press in much the same way that he appropriated the titles of his magazines. It is also reasonable to speculate that the effort by Giles to make a living publishing a little magazine may have had some influence on Hoggard's long term choice of career.

Hoggard edited the *New Triad* with the assistance of Lindsay Constable, like Hoggard another regular contributor of poetry to a range of periodicals published during the period. In an early editorial Hoggard expressed the ambitious hope 'that those New Zealanders of some years ago who supported the original *Triad* in its heyday will be interested in this new venture.' While the *New Triad* was later described as 'an atrociously printed journal,' it was certainly an improvement on its predecessor. Among

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writers who found support in its pages were David Ballantyne and Keith Sinclair, both of whom saw first publication in Hoggard’s little magazine. Ballantyne’s 1941 story ‘Cold Pie and William Saroyan’ fictionalises the author’s initial response to Saroyan. His essay the following year in Art in New Zealand confirmed the influence of American writers on his work, particularly Saroyan, whom Ballantyne regarded at the time as nothing less than a literary genius. In the same year Ballantyne was reading an even more important influence, the American realist James T. Farrell, with whom he was to correspond on and off from 1946 until shortly before Farrell’s death in 1979.

In 1942 the New Triad also ceased publication, but again its editor-printer managed to sustain his ambition to support New Zealand writing when he founded the long running Arena the following year. Initially titled Letters, and renamed Arena from the eleventh number in March 1946, it more or less flourished in the shadow of Landfall until 1975. During that time it published a long list of new and established writers. Hoggard’s commitment to New Zealand literature cannot be faulted for persistency, although some may question his editorial acumen. A review of the editorial component of his publications does not reveal any specific critical agenda beyond providing space for poetry and prose which he himself deemed to be of a high enough standard. Over the years in Arena Hoggard printed material ranging from traditional ballads and


innumerable unoriginal prayers to natural beauty to the more sophisticated poetry of Kendrick Smithyman and Louis Johnson. Other noteworthy contributors include Keith Sinclair, David Ballantyne, Fiona Kidman, and Ian Wedde. Many writers continued to contribute material to Hoggard's periodical long after its role as an outlet for unknown poets had been rendered unnecessary to them. Dennis McEldowney, writing in the *Oxford History*, suggests this was due to 'genuine affection and admiration [for Hoggard] possibly tinged with pity.' One of the most prominent of Hoggard's contributors, Kendrick Smithyman, gave another reason: *Arena* had an international readership and for its contributors to have been limited to new, inexperienced and minor poets would have given a very imbalanced picture of New Zealand literature.

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10.3 *New Zealand Mercury* (1933-1936)

Helen Longford's *New Zealand Mercury* was published in Wellington between April 1933 and March 1936; three full volumes, thirty-six regular monthly issues, a remarkable achievement under any circumstances, and particularly so considering the austerity of the period and the magazine's almost total reliance on subscriptions and its editor's small income for funding. Longford had worked on the *Otago Daily Times* before moving to Wellington to become private secretary to the former Dunedin lawyer and academic Sir John Findlay, Attorney General in the Ward government. Born in Invercargill in 1878, Longford was in her mid-fifties when she launched the *Mercury*, making her an almost exact contemporary of Charles Marris, literary editor of *Art in New Zealand* and the series of annual anthologies entitled *Best Poems*. In 1927 she joined the staff of the newly founded *Radio Record*, forerunner of the *New Zealand Listener*. On the *Record* she edited a fortnightly column of poetry and comment, signing herself 'John O'Dreams.' She was to use another male pseudonym, 'Antonio,' in early issues of the *Mercury*. In 1931, as 'John O'Dreams' she edited a *Gift Book of New Zealand Verse*, an anthology of prize winning poetry from her column in the *Radio Record*, compiled very much in the tradition of Quentin Pope's *Kowhai Gold*, published the previous year. The *Gift Book* featured work by C.R. Allen, Arnold Cork, Douglas Stewart, and several other poets who were to become major contributors to and supporters of the *Mercury*.

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Helen Longford initially edited and published the *New Zealand Mercury* with the support of a Mrs Bryant, owner or co-owner of the Bryant Duplicating Bureau, producers of the first seven issues of Longford's magazine. The partnership faltered when, according to Longford, Mrs Bryant 'lost her job' around the time that the third issue was being prepared.\(^{17}\) During the same period, the *Mercury* suffered the first of several financial crises, possibly owing to an increase in the cost of production after Mrs Bryant's departure. After some months Bryant was eventually replaced by Violet Foote, a young journalist who had recently moved to Wellington from Wanganui. Foote remained Secretary and Business Manager of the *Mercury* until its demise in 1936.

Longford's little magazine was modelled in more than just name on the influential *London Mercury*, established by Sir John Squire in 1919. Squire was a tireless champion of Georgian poetry and campaigned diligently against what he regarded as the more obscure manifestations of modern verse. He published poetry by Thomas Hardy, Rupert Brooke, Walter de la Mare, Siegfried Sassoon, and W.B. Yeats, although by the early thirties he had begun to open his pages to newer poets including Hugh MacDiarmid and Cecil Day Lewis, Aldous Huxley and Edith Sitwell. The epigraph to Longford's magazine promised a surfeit of the kind of verse to be found in the *London Mercury* of the nineteen twenties:

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Winged-heeled he bore his message from the Gods.
From the realms of golden dawns and moonbeamèd mists;
Some few of us half-heard him as he passed . . .

In the same month in which the *Mercury* first appeared (April 1933) the third issue of *Phoenix* was published in Auckland, the first edited by R.A.K. Mason. The two magazines could not have more dissimilar. In June 1933 Longford remarked in a letter to C.R. Allen:

A Communistic friend showed me a copy of the *Phoenix* in a picture theatre: my glance was necessarily rather hurried, but the get-up was excellent – so good that I felt somewhat cast down when I thought of the little *Mercury*.

Longford was probably shown the fourth issue, which had been published earlier in the month. Allen had the second of his two poems in *Phoenix* published in the June issue and may have drawn Longford's attention to it for that reason.

Her downcast reaction on seeing a copy of *Phoenix* was not without cause. At this early stage, the *Mercury* was produced by a duplicating process (cyclostyle or gestetner), and described by one of Longford's correspondents as a 'type-script magazine of coterie circulation, . . . unpretentious from the production point of view.' Only with issue nine, dated December 1933, did the *Mercury* begin to be produced by a professional printery, Reynolds Lewis Henderson Limited, of Bond Street, Wellington. By then it appeared to be well established, having been mentioned favourably by several commentators, most

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18 Epigraph, *New Zealand Mercury*, cover page.
notably in an article on New Zealand poetry by Una Currie in the *Auckland Star.* Currie's favourable remarks led to new contributors and new subscribers, and, more significantly, to the sale of the magazine in branches of the nation-wide bookseller Whitcombe & Tombs. However, this was not enough to prevent another crisis of funding. In February 1934 Longford advised poet Helen Wheeler that while she could accept a subscription for the three months to March, 'it is doubtful if we will be able to continue the *Mercury* after that time.'

Contributors and subscribers were no doubt initially attracted by Longford's reputation as a literary journalist and editor, as well as by her continuation of the *Radio Record* tradition of offering a cash prize for the best poem in each issue. Over time this competition was extended in the *Mercury* to prizes for work in other genres, including short fiction and one act plays. In September 1933, C.R. Allen suggested Longford send copies of her magazine - 'accenting the lure of half a guinea - to 'D'Arcy Creswell [sic], R.A.K. Mason, A.R.D. Fairbairn [sic], and Alan [sic] Kernaw [sic] all care of the *Phoenix,* University College, Auckland.' Whether she did so is unknown.

That Longford could not afford to pay for all items published in the *Mercury* initially alienated some potential contributors, including members of the recently founded Women Writers' and Artists' Society, publisher of the irregular

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21 Una Currie, 'New Zealand Poetry: A Defence and a Plea; Gifted Local Writers,' *Auckland Star* 21 September 1933: Magazine Section: 1.


With time, however, Society members became among the most consistent contributors to the *Mercury*, as did members of the Spilt Ink Clubs, represented in print by Hoggard's magazine of the same name. Indeed, a considerable number of poets and writers contributed to both the *Mercury* and to these other publications, as well as to several other magazines from the period, including the *Mirror* and *Art in New Zealand*. Noel Hoggard himself had work published in the *Mirror, New Zealand Verse*, the *New Zealand Railways Magazine*, *Anvil* and the *New Zealand Magazine*, as well as in his own magazines and the *New Zealand Mercury*. His sister Roma, an active member of the Women Writers' Society, contributed poetry to its publication *Quill*, as well as to the *New Zealand Artists' Annual*, the *New Zealand Railways Magazine*, *New Zealand Verse*, and the *New Zealand Mercury*. For her part, Helen Longford attended at least one Spilt Ink meeting in Wellington, where she heard a lecture on an unspecified topic by a 'discursive and charming' Charles Marris.

Longford's ambitions for the *Mercury* were expressed in early issues in terms of, as she put it, 'gather[ing] into a close companionship those who are interested in poetry for the art's sake.' Her main commitment was to encourage the publication of work by younger poets and writers, in the hope of discovering 'another Katherine Mansfield . . . [or] a New Zealand Keats or

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26 Helen Longford, 'Editor's Notes: Why?' *New Zealand Mercury* 1.1 (April 1933): 1.
Shelley.27 One correspondent's approval of her efforts explicitly linked the *Mercury* to *Kowhai Gold*.28 Another correspondent to the first issue (possibly Longford herself) insisted that Poet Laureate John Masefield was the most suitable poet to 'sing the beauties of Wellington in rhythmic metre.'29 Nevertheless, like Pope's anthology, the *Mercury* was not entirely composed of the sort of light verse usually condemned by association with that collection. While Longford confessed to having been educated on, as she put, the 'Victorian giants,'30 her publication of the *Mercury* 'for the art's sake'31 led her to open its pages to contributions ranging from the 'traditional stanza to the most audacious of *vers libre*.'32 She assured her subscribers that in the *Mercury* 'the modern craze for incoherence and uncouthness,' would be avoided.33 Nevertheless, the magazine rapidly developed into something of a skirmishing ground in the emerging controversy over the merits of modern verse.

Longford's willingness to publish what were essentially experimental pieces soon led to complaints from her more conservative readers and contributors. Recognising the value of controversy, Longford called for short essays on the subject of 'ultra-modern verse' for the eighth issue. This was run

27 Longford, 'Editor's Notes: Why?' 1.
30 Helen Longford to Mary Gurney, 27 October 1933. *New Zealand Mercury* Papers, Folder 1.
32 Helen Longford, 'Editor's Notes: The Little Leaven,' *New Zealand Mercury* 1.2 (May 1933): 1.
33 Helen Longford, 'Editor's Notes,' *New Zealand Mercury* 1.1 (June 1933): 1.
as a special theme in the ongoing non-fiction prose competition. An entry submitted by Hawkes Bay poet and short story writer Mary Gurney demonstrates the intensity of opinion engendered by the subject.

Deplorable, too, is the publication of stuff 'conceived' in minds that must endow even things inanimate with sex. This curious malady, hailed by the unthinking as 'intensely realistic,' is an indication that the writer, if not exactly degenerate, is at least mentally deficient.34

Longford chose not to publish this contribution, preferring less strident offerings from Douglas Stewart, Ronald Castle, S.G. August, and others.

Stewart is certainly the best remembered of these, later going on to make a noteworthy career for himself across the Tasman. He contributed to all but eight of the thirty-six issues of the Mercury, twenty-nine poems in all. Only two of these were republished in his first collection, Green Lions,35 probably because during the early to mid-thirties he sent his best work to the Bulletin. In a letter to Longford in August 1933, he remarked: 'I make about £20 a year [from poetry], and if it weren't for the Bulletin, I'd make about £2.'36 After an attempt to join the staff of the Bulletin in 1934, Stewart eventually managed to do so four years later. Subsequently, he was responsible for editing the weekly's famous 'Red Page' literary column from 1940 until 1961, during which he established himself as a prominent poet, playwright and critic in Australia.37

34 Mary E. Gurney, 'On Ultra-Modern Verse,' New Zealand Mercury Papers, Folder 1. 1853-1


36 Douglas Stewart to Helen Longford, 29 August 1933. New Zealand Mercury Papers, Folder 1.


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In his paragraph in the *Mercury* on 'ultra-modern' poetry, Stewart noted that there had always been resistance to progress and change in art:

The critics screamed at the poets who broke away from the amiable amblings of Pope; now they scream at E.E. Cummings for putting a comma in the middle of a word; some day they'll scream at a poet for not putting a comma in the middle of a word. And Cummings is the genius who made the phrase 'lewd fat bells.' Masefield would have taken two stanzas to explain that the sound of bells made him think of lewd fat monks.38

Furthermore, for Stewart a sense of humour was a prerequisite for the appreciation of modern verse:

T.S. Eliot talks of the 'damp souls of housemaids.' The unintelligent will say 'that is not poetry;' the intelligent reply, 'No, but it's amusing.' That 'it's amusing' baffles and annoys the old in spirit, who don't realise it is a cry of sheer white agony. We have been hurt so much that we have gone beyond tragedy into laughter. To condemn modernity is to lack understanding.39

For his part, the avid Georgian S.G. August asserted that 'the ultra-modern movement is useful as a scaffold during the erection of a building, when the building is complete the scaffold must come down.'40 In his opinion, T.S. Eliot, D.H. Lawrence, Ezra Pound, Laura Riding or any of the other new names in literature had failed to displace those of Robert Browning, Matthew Arnold, Charles Dickens, Walt Whitman, and others, simply because 'they are not big enough, not capable enough.'41 August concluded:

Art must have form, and although ultra-modernism, exemplified in Post-Impressionism, Futurism, Vorticism, Dadaism, etc., may

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39 Stewart, 'Modern Art: In Defence' 12.


41 August, 'Ultra-Modernism' 16.
introduce new angles of vision, it cannot dodge the great end of Art. The scaffolding has nothing to do with the completed house.\textsuperscript{42}

Having judiciously selected two winners in the competition, one from each camp, Longford's own opinion on the topic is indicated in her award of that month's half guinea prize to what she termed Arnold Cork's 'scholarly poem entitled "Ars Poetica."'\textsuperscript{43} Cork was a regular winner of the poetry prize, and was referred to by Longford as the \textit{Mercury}'s 'high priest.'\textsuperscript{44}

Douglas Stewart's poem in the same issue was entitled 'Desire by the River.' Typical of his early work, its sensuality is perhaps the sort of thing that Mary Gurney found so offensive.

\begin{quote}
Green melody
ripples and eddies, sings and shivers beyond my tent
where the water is emerald flutes.

White faces, white arms
float in a mistier whiteness; thirteen girls
aerily beckon, ecstatically beckon and whisper.
Their raiment quivers like wings.

I am drunk with their whiteness, and rise
and stumble towards them.

The night is negro,
silky and black with white teeth
that flash in sardonic laughter.

The girls dissolve in the mist,
the water whispers, the flute-green water,
and the negro laughs. . . [sic]\textsuperscript{45}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{42} August, 'Ultra-Modernism' 16.
\textsuperscript{43} Arnold Cork, 'Ars Poetica,' \textit{New Zealand Mercury} 1.8 (November 1933): 1-2.
\textsuperscript{44} Helen Longford to Arnold Cork, 20 October 1933. \textit{New Zealand Mercury} Papers, Folder 1.
\textsuperscript{45} Douglas Stewart, 'Desire by the River,' \textit{New Zealand Mercury} 1.8 (November 1933): 7.
An untitled poem by Stewart in the following issue prompted a mixed response from the Spilt Ink Club of Gisborne. Some members were mystified by certain phrases - 'white water smashed' and 'blood bursts' - asking 'what does it mean.' Others felt the poem to be 'the best thing that the Mercury has published.'

Another poet usually associated with Australia also made a considerable contribution to the Mercury. Eve Langley had moved to New Zealand in 1932 and contributed to a wide range of periodicals in several genres. She was a regular prize winner in Longford's magazine, and caused quite a stir among readers. Her first contribution, a poem entitled 'Jason of the Argo Laughs,' was published in the fourth issue and prompted this response from Arnold Cork: 'Is this the Lesbian mind after all these centuries? That splendid poem ruined me for a day's work, ringing in my ears until I had memorised the words and absorbed its beauty.' Another correspondent, 'Ramame' of Christchurch, described the poem as 'classically perfect and sensually satisfying in rhyme, rhythm and reason.' G. Lincoln Lee went so far as to address a poem 'To Eve Langley,' subtitled 'and may she never grow old nor vain nor write vers libre.' Likewise, Douglas Stewart dedicated his poem 'The Imperishable Image' to

46 Douglas Stewart, ('Look in my eyes'), New Zealand Mercury 1.9 [December 1933]: 10.
Chapter 10.3: New Zealand Mercury

Langley, one of the few poems from the *Mercury* which he reprinted in his *Green Lions.*

Other prolific contributors to the *Mercury* range from the well known C.R. Allen to many who are now totally forgotten, such as an English poet Geoffrey Pollett who resided in New Zealand twice during the thirties before returning permanently to England where he committed suicide late in the decade. Among the now famous, Denis Glover contributed two items to the issue for February 1934, doubtless in the hope of winning a few shillings. These were an otherwise unpublished poem, 'Last Night,' and a descriptive paragraph on the Rangitata River and its margins. Earlier, Ian Milner had contributed a single poem to the third issue and in volume three there appeared several by Basil Dowling. In April 1935 Isabel Peacocke won the one act play competition with a play entitled 'Relief,' one of the few items in the magazine to address explicitly the economic and social conditions of the period.

By Volume Two Longford had almost completely erased herself from the pages of the *Mercury,* publishing little editorial matter and only occasionally printing the comments from contributors and readers which had been a feature

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53 Denis Glover ('D.G.'), 'Last Night,' *New Zealand Mercury* 1.11 (February 1934): 15.

54 Denis Glover, 'Landscape, South Canterbury,' *New Zealand Mercury* 1.11 (February 1934): 12.


of early issues and which may be read as a valuable, if not entirely reliable, indicator of the sort of poetry these commentators found acceptable. The last two volumes increasingly featured poetry which - according to a private correspondent to Longford - was notable only for its 'puerility and preciousness.'\(^ {57}\) Nevertheless, there are still to be found regular contributions by competent versifiers such as Arnold Cork, Douglas Stewart, and C.R. Allen.

In 1937, following the demise of the *Mercury* owing to overwhelming financial difficulties, Helen Longford attempted to recoup some of her considerable losses through the publication of another anthology entitled *Here Are Verses*, featuring poems culled from the *Mercury* and the pages of the Christchurch *Sun* and the *New Zealand Railways Magazine*.\(^ {58}\) C.R. Allen wrote a 'Foreword' to the collection in which he paid tribute to Longford's efforts both in the *Mercury* and as 'John O'Dreams' in the *Radio Record*, concluding:

> The good anthologist, one supposes, aims at imparting a definite cachet to his bouquet - for, after all, that is what the Greek parental substantive means. Whether the editor has made her bunch redolent of New Zealand posterior to Thomas Bracken and anterior to *Verse Alive* it is for the reader to decide.\(^ {59}\)

Despite the grotesqueness of his last sentence, Allen does indicate the place the *Mercury* tried to occupy in the 1930s, closer to Marris's *Art in New Zealand* than to the *Tomorrow* of Glover and Rhodes, but also clearly occupying a space of its own.

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\(^ {57}\) Peter Middleton to Helen Longford, 9 June 1935. Peter Middleton Papers, Alexander Turnbull Library MS-Papers 899, Folder 1.

\(^ {58}\) Helen Longford, ed., *Here Are Verses* (Wellington: South's Book Depot, 1938).

\(^ {59}\) C.R. Allen, 'Foreword,' *Here Are Verses* 4.
If it did nothing else during its three years of regular monthly publication, the New Zealand Mercury recorded something of the shift between, to paraphrase James K. Baxter, a tradition dominated by rhetorical gesture, optimism and sentimentality, and something tougher, something more sensual and direct.60 Most of the poets published in the Mercury may be poor practitioners of even the former tradition, their efforts preserved only within its pages or within the pages of a few anthologies or self-published collections. However, a number of others found through its pages an enthusiastic readership, even to some extent a community of interest, and were consequently encouraged in their careers as poets and writers. If Longford failed to supply the need identified by other commentators during the period for an informed and vital criticism in New Zealand literature, then at least her decision to open the magazine to work from as wide a range of poetic taste as possible performed a great service to poets such as Eve Langley and Douglas Stewart.

10.4 New Zealand Women Writers' and Artists' Society: Quill (1934-1948)

Writing in the Communist Party monthly the *Working Woman* in 1936 Robin Hyde described the dominant group of women writers in New Zealand as

those who make a hobby of writing . . . producing, perhaps, a playette, an occasional and extremely conventional short story or article, or verses which are standard specimens of prettyish mediocrity. . . .

For some obscure reason - perhaps the sheer need of banding together in back-patting societies - this type of hobbyist-writer is invariably gregarious and runs to the pastime of forming clubs . . . [where] actual production or appreciation of literature comes a very, very meek second to chatting over cups of tea.⁶¹

Hyde here directly criticises two organisations established during the period to foster women's writing: the Penwomens' Club and the New Zealand Women Writers' and Artists' Society. The series of magazines produced by the latter of these groups forms the main subject matter of this section of Chapter Ten. However, some preliminary on *Working Woman* itself, and its successor *Woman To-day*, is required.

Edited and published by Elsie Freeman (Elsie Locke), *Working Woman* (1934-1936) preceded *Woman To-Day*, which was edited by Locke and other women activists between April 1937 and October 1939. While *Working Woman* espoused an unambiguously Marxist agenda under its motto 'Workers of the World Unite,' *Woman To-day*'s editorial line was less partisan. As Raewyn Dalziel notes:

The magazine had thoroughly eclectic editorial and advisory boards, including Labour supporters Emily Gibson and Sarah

Saunders Page, National's Berta Burns, and the Communists, Joy Stock and Elsie Freeman.\textsuperscript{62} In maintaining this broad political perspective for much of the magazine's life, the editors of \textit{Woman To-day} achieved what Kennaway Henderson had failed to do in \textit{Tomorrow}. However, even \textit{Woman To-day} was subject to internal divisions, eventually resulting in the resignation of Berta Burns and several others from the editorial board.\textsuperscript{63} In addition to articles on a wide range of women's issues, including birth control, abortion, divorce law reform, and education, \textit{Woman To-day} published fiction and poetry by Robin Hyde, Gloria Rawlinson, Jessie Mackay, Dulce Carman, and Isobel Andrews. \textit{Woman To-Day}'s closure with the onset of war in 1939 was largely owing to a lack of funding and a growing shortage of voluntary labour.\textsuperscript{64}

The object of Hyde's criticism, the women's writing groups, had been a feature of middle-class New Zealand society since the late nineteenth century. The Rata Club of Christchurch, established in 1897, and the Atom Club of Auckland, active around the turn of the century, both published their own magazines. The first women's writing group with a national focus was the New Zealand branch of the Penwomen's Club, founded in Auckland in April 1925. The second, the New Zealand Women Writers' and Artists' Society, was established in Wellington on 11 July 1932 at the instigation of a young literary

\textsuperscript{62} Raewyn Dalziel, 'Political Organizations,' \textit{Woman Together: A History of Women's Organisations in New Zealand}, ed. Anne Else (Wellington: Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs; Daphne Brasell, 1993) 61-62.

\textsuperscript{63} Elsie Locke, interview with the author, 21 November 1991.

\textsuperscript{64} Elsie Locke, interview with the author, 21 November 1991.
aspirant, Nellie Donovan, then aged eighteen. Both groups published their own periodicals, ran competitions for members, and attracted the patronage of prominent writers. The Penwomen's Club published several annuals, beginning with *Flight* (1932-1934), the 1933 issue of which was edited by Hilda Carr Rollett and Jean Boswell and included work by Ruth Park. The *Penwomen's Journal*, published in November 1938, August 1939 and November 1940, was edited by Una Craig, a member of the advisory board of *Woman To-day*. The *Penwomen's Journal* ceased production owing to war-time paper shortages and the rising cost of printing.

For its part, the Wellington-based Women Writers' and Artists' Society produced an irregular periodical entitled *Quill* between 1934 and 1948. In a letter inviting prospective supporters to a meeting to discuss the setting up of the Society, Nellie Donovan described its proposed function as being primarily 'to stimulate and encourage creative work in literature and art amongst the members and to foster comradeship.' The inaugural meeting was addressed and chaired by Pat Lawlor, regarded by many members as the 'father of the Society.' He and several other figures in the male literary establishment -

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66 Between 1966 and 1969 a third journal emerged from the Club, entitled *Penpoint*, sponsored by the Rothman's Sport and Cultural Foundation.


including Charles Marris, G.G. Stewart, Alan Mulgan, Johannes Andersen, and Professor James Shelley - gave considerable encouragement to the Society, often addressing the monthly meetings or judging work submitted in competitions organised by the Society. Despite their involvement, and an apparent deference to their judgement in matters of literary taste, a move to extend membership to men which was tabled at the first Annual General Meeting in July 1933 was defeated, although in 1944 it was decided to admit men to meetings. An elderly Pat Lawlor was elected Honorary Vice President in 1977 in recognition of his continuing support.

Among the Society's founding members were Nelle Scanlan, Jessie Mackay, Dora Wilcox, Jane Mander, Isabel Cluett (Isabel Maud Peacocke), and Eileen Duggan, all of whom were appointed honorary vice-presidents. Edith Lyttleton (G.B. Lancaster) became an honorary vice-president in 1938. Many other members present at the first meetings of the Society became familiar to readers of a wide range of mainstream periodicals including the Mirror, the New Zealand Railways Magazine and the literary pages of the weekly and daily press. In concert with the Penwomen's Club, the Society supported an enormous number of women writers, many of whom went on to make significant contributions to the national literature. The Society ceased to exist in 1991, fifty-nine years after its inception, wound up in recognition of the fact that its objective of elevating the status of women writers had been more than achieved. Its membership over the years had included Joy Cowley, Yvonne Du Fresne, Lauris Edmond, Janet Frame, Patricia Grace, Keri Hulme, Elizabeth Messenger, Grace Phipps, and Mary Scott.
From the earliest months of the Society's existence, competitions were organised among members. For the first, judged by C.A. Marris, editor of *Art in New Zealand*, fifty two entries were received. A monthly news bulletin was also produced from these earliest days, in part to keep country members in touch with Society events in Wellington. More substantial publishing ventures were discussed as early as August 1932 but it was not until April 1934 that the first cyclostyled issue of the irregular annual which was to become known as *Quill* appeared. In the meantime, members were encouraged to offer work to a wide range of publications and to enter public competitions whenever possible. Pat Lawlor, in his capacity as literary columnist for the *New Zealand Railways Magazine*, promoted the Society as an important component of the local literary scene. Encouraged by his support, several members made regular appearances in the *Railways Magazine*, including Isobel Andrews, whose detective story 'The Romantic' was published in the issue for April 1934. This story had been awarded first prize for work in the genre in the Society's 1933 competition.

In all, five issues of *Quill* were published between 1934 and 1948. The first was entitled the *Women Writers' and Artists' Journal* and was edited by

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70 The final issue of the Society's *Bulletin* appeared in July 1991. This was a special issue celebrating both the Society's fifty-ninth anniversary and its closure.

71 See, for example, Pat Lawlor ('Shibli Bagarag'), 'Among the Books: A Literary Page or Two,' *New Zealand Railways Magazine* 10.12 (March 1936): 39 and *New Zealand Railways Magazine* 11.3 (June 1936): 49.

Nellie Donovan and Isobel Andrews, with prize winning contributions judged by Will Lawson. The then president of the Society, N.E. Coad, contributed some introductory comments explaining the motivations behind the Society and its members.

The contributions are the work of writers who have high hopes of playing their part in creating a distinctive national literature in this beautiful country where the field is so rich, and the labourers and facilities are so few.

The poems and stories published in the *Journal* tend towards the conventional in form and sentimental in subject matter. The most significant name to appear among the contributors is that of Isobel Andrews, soon to be well known as an award winning writer of popular one-act plays. She was a founding member of the society and went on to publish poems and stories in several subsequent issues of *Quill*. Her story 'The Haven' was judged second in the senior competition by Will Lawson. The cliches in this genre romance are so dense that the reader is led to wonder whether the story may have been deliberate satire. New Zealand motifs abound, from the sprig of rata blossom suggestively 'twirled' by the hero at his first appearance, to his position as the man alone,

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73 Barbara Brownlie, Ephemera Librarian at the Alexander Turnbull Library, has informed me that her Library holds an undated dummy magazine cover with the title *Kowhai: The Magazine of the N.Z. Women Writers' and Artists' Society*, offered to the Society by Mary Blair, possibly as part of a competition to find a suitable title for the magazine. Blair was a life long member of the Society from soon after its inception in mid-1932. Alexander Turnbull Library, Drawings and Prints A-285-024, Negative number C-17951. France, et al, eds., *The History of the New Zealand Women Writers' Society* 27.


'the roving type,'\textsuperscript{77} restrained in the course of the story by the genre's inevitable movement towards his romantic union with the heroine. Press reactions to this first issue were encouraging, as they had been in response to news of the Society's formation. An anonymous reviewer in the \textit{Dominion} observed that:

More for the promise they show of better things to come in the future than for any intrinsic merit they possess, it is right that these works should be given a much wider circulation than is possible to them in manuscript.\textsuperscript{78}

The second issue, entitled \textit{Quill}, was published in December 1935. It carried material of similar quality to that found in the first issue. Prize winning work was judged by C.A. Marris, and it was his involvement with this and similar ventures which led Denis Glover to complain that under Marris's influence,

\textit{Alas, New Zealand literature distils an atmosphere of petticoats and frills}\textsuperscript{79}

Contributors to \textit{Quill} were repeatedly encouraged by mentors such as Marris, Pat Lawlor and the senior members of the Society, to produce work suitable for inclusion in the pages of the mainstream periodicals. Literary experimentation was not encouraged, although it should be noted that as the thirties progressed a slight politicisation of the Society did occur. This is manifest in the decision to donate 5/- to \textit{Woman To-day}.

\textsuperscript{77} Andrews, 'The Haven' 9.

\textsuperscript{78} \textit{Dominion}, 5 May 1934, quoted in France, et al, eds., \textit{The History of the New Zealand Women Writers' Society} 36.

Andrews's story in the second issue of *Quill*, 'Ultimate Achievement', was awarded first prize by Marris. It deals with another familiar theme in the New Zealand literature of the time, the realisation by the emigrant that, if not for her, then certainly 'for her son and for her son's son - this [and not England] ... already was Home.' Again, familiar New Zealand motifs abound. Of the poetry in the second issue, a typical contribution is the following piece of light verse by E. Chatfield, entitled 'Trees.'

```plaintext
The trees are great companions,
    They nod, and smile, and sigh,
They stoop to cheer some lonely soul
    Who passes by.
They understand man's sorrow,
    They understand his mirth,
They sympathise, congratulate,
    These offerings of the earth.
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Alternatively, contributions run towards the laboured and sententious, as in Enid Phillips's poem 'Nocturne,' published on the same page, which opens

```plaintext
There will be other sunsets. Bright cloud-fires
    Of hyacinth and gold
Will smoulder in greyness as the light
    Departs above the cold,
Austerely silver line of sea.
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The poetry in *Quill* abounds with Georgian and Victorian poetic mannerisms and subjects. Nature is a favoured theme, as is friendship. Unsophisticated responses to familiar experiences typify the subject matter of most poems.

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80 Isobel Andrews, 'Ultimate Achievement,' *Quill* 1935: 2-4A.
81 E. Chatfield, 'Trees,' *Quill* 1935: 4A. The anomalous brevity of line four is as printed, although the possible omission of a suitable adverb may be a typographical error.
82 Enid Phillips, 'Nocturne,' *Quill* 1935: 4A.
A third issue was produced to coincide with the 1936 Authors' Week, a nation-wide, government-sponsored promotion of New Zealand writing. This issue and the next (that for 1938, of which three hundred and fifty copies were printed) presented material previously published in such periodicals as the *New Zealand Mercury*, the *New Zealand Herald*, the *New Zealand School Journal*, the *New Zealand Railways Magazine* and *New Zealand Best Poems*. The fourth issue was prepared for a wider readership than the Society membership, and publication was intended for late 1937, in time to take advantage of the Christmas market. The issue eventually appeared in early 1938. Copies at 1/3d each were sold by the Society and by the booksellers Whitcombe & Tombs and Souths. Reviews in the *New Zealand Herald*, the *New Zealand Railways Magazine* and the *Evening Post* were, as usual, supportive of the venture.

With the onset of the Second World War the Society reduced its activities and *Quill* went into recess. Meetings still took place, although with some difficulty in the face of the blackout and transport restrictions. There was some involvement in the Centennial Celebrations. Paper rationing was no doubt a major factor in the suspension of *Quill* 'for the duration,' but with the easing of restrictions in late 1945 the Society once again considered publishing work by its members. Quotes were obtained for the printing of a short story anthology, including one from the Progressive Publishing Society. However, Harry Tombs, publisher of *Art in New Zealand*, was also consulted and advised the Society not to proceed with the project.
Finally, in mid-1947 a proposal was made to publish an issue of *Quill* designed 'on similar lines to *Penguin Parade* and *N.Z. New Writing*.' This was to be published in a similar size and format to *New Zealand New Writing*: eight inches by five, seventy-two pages, with a two colour cover. Following a meeting of the Society held on 12 September 1947, an application was made to the recently established Literary Fund Advisory Committee, to which Pat Lawlor had been appointed Secretary. A grant of £20 was received in early 1948 and a sub-committee of the Society was convened to oversee the production of the proposed magazine. *Quill* was offered for sale to the general public in September 1948, in time for the Christmas market. One thousand copies were printed by Wright & Carman of Wellington, six hundred of which were distributed by the Society, and the remaining four hundred by Gordon and Gotch, magazine distributors.

Prize winning poems, stories and articles made up the bulk of the slim, twenty-eight page issue. Any aspiration to emulate *New Zealand New Writing* was over-ridden by the decision to publish work already approved by the Society's conservative mentors: Stuart Perry, L.J. Cronin and Colonel Bennett, judges of the Society's prose and poetry competitions over the previous twenty-four months. The issue opens with 'Hymn For New Zealand' by Margaret Kelly. This was the final section of her poem 'New Zealand', which had won a national competition run by the Society in 1943 for a nine part epic poem

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84 Edith Kerr, 'Foreword,' *Quill* 1948: 3.

85 Margaret Kelly, 'Hymn For New Zealand,' *Quill* 1948: 4.
to be devoted to: the stirring story of New Zealanders and their boundless love and devotion to their land; to voice our aspirations and hopes for generations to come; to be a hymn of true patriotism, bringing out purity of soul, courage, wisdom and valour.86

The very specific nature of this brief, augmented by strict structural requirements (the poem had to be in seven parts plus an introduction and conclusion), seems to have been typical of competitions set by the Society, as was the emphasis on patriotism, no doubt reinforced by the Second World War.

Of more lasting significance, Ruth Gilbert contributed her poem 'Lazarus' to this final issue of Quill.87 An editorial note informed the reader that this three part poem had been published in the issue of Landfall for March 1948, had been awarded the Jessie Mackay Memorial Prize in June of that year, and had subsequently been published in the American quarterly, Voices. In 1949 'Lazarus' became the title poem of Gilbert's first collection.88 Gilbert had joined the Society in 1947 and was National President from 1954 to 1956.

Attempts were made to publish a further issue of Quill in March 1949 and again in 1950 but these were abandoned when requests for further assistance from the Literary Fund were declined. In 1953 an anthology of poetry by members was produced with the help of a grant of £25 from the Fund.89 This publication celebrated the twenty-first anniversary of the Society, but had no tangible links to Quill. The Society's Bulletin, which developed in the early 1940s...
from a cyclostyled circular, was an important link between the Wellington and regional branches as well as providing information on potential outlets, awards, and other matters and recording the growing list of work by members accepted for publication.90

From 1959 the Society was instrumental in establishing an award for writers in honour of Katherine Mansfield, sponsored by the Bank of New Zealand. This eventually developed into the prestigious Katherine Mansfield Memorial Fellowship. The fiftieth anniversary of the Society in 1982 was celebrated with the production of a jubilee history and an anthology of writing by members, edited by Joy Cowley and Margaret Hayward.91 By the early 1990s, it was clearly felt that the Society had more than achieved its original purpose and a decision was made to disband. As a remit to the final Annual General Meeting of the Society stated:

There was a time when women writers were discriminated against and regarded as hobbyists. They needed encouragement, guidance, fostering. But now, women writers are in the forefront of literature here - so the society has extinguished itself.92

In 1991, to mark the closure of the Society, a final collection of stories and poetry was published and a special expanded twenty-four page issue of the Bulletin was

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produced featuring reminiscences and creative work by present and former members.\textsuperscript{93}

10.5 *Oriflamme: A Literary Journal of Youth and the Fine Arts* (1939-1942)

A second periodical entitled *Oriflamme*, and subtitled *A literary journal of youth and the fine arts*, appeared from the premises if not under the direct auspices of the Turnbull Library between 1939 and 1942. The editorial to the first issue makes reference to the Auckland University College *Phoenix*, stating that:

> Many of our ideals and aspirations will be found, expressed much more happily than we can hope to expound them, in the first editorial of *The Phoenix*.94

This affiliation through both title and editorial was by no means accidental. However, it appears that no-one associated with either *Phoenix* or the original *Oriflamme* lent any tangible support to the new venture. Certainly, apart from C.R. Allen, whose appearance in the pages of *Phoenix* now seems little short of anomalous, no writer published in the earlier periodicals contributed to the second *Oriflamme*.

The Wellington *Oriflamme* was largely the work of Turnbull librarian Tony Murray-Oliver, with the assistance of three 'co-directors': E.K. McCloud, Dorian Saker, and R.C. Wigglesworth. It was one of several periodicals published during the period by groups able to take advantage of the comparatively new technology of cyclostyling or gestetner machines, in this case, the Turnbull Library's own multigrapher.95 Prior to his appointment to the Turnbull Library in 1938, Murray-Oliver had edited and published several periodicals as a

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teenager in Christchurch,\textsuperscript{96} as well as a number of self-published collections of verse.\textsuperscript{97}

Ostensibly a quarterly but published only irregularly, the four issues of \textit{Oriflamme} carried the work of a fairly small group of writers. Prominent among these were Tony Murray-Oliver and Dorian Saker. As well as editing \textit{Oriflamme}, Murray-Oliver, under the pseudonym 'Anthony Murray,' contributed poems, stories and articles, eight items in all and the most by any single writer. Saker contributed three poems and two stories. During the same period, both Murray-Oliver and Saker were involved in the editing of \textit{Spike}, the annual review of Victoria University College of Wellington. Saker edited the issue for 1940 with the assistance of an editorial committee which included Murray-Oliver and Hubert Witheford. This was the first of a series of issues printed by the Caxton Press. It appears from comments in the editorial to the first issue of \textit{Oriflamme} that, at least initially, the magazine was closely associated with the Victoria University College campus. Several contributors were students at that institution, including Saker and Mary Boyd, editor or associate editor of \textit{Spike} between 1939 and 1941. It was certainly hoped that young people would provide most of the contents of the magazine, specifically, 'those coming writers between the ages, roughly, of seventeen and twenty-seven.'\textsuperscript{98} As \textit{Phoenix} had done eight

\textsuperscript{96} These were \textit{The Review: Grecian's Discussion Club} (Christchurch: 5 October 1934? - 13 November 1935?) and \textit{Wastepaper} (Christchurch: 1935). Diana Meads, 'Tony Murray-Oliver: a bibliographical salute' 35.


\textsuperscript{98} Murray-Oliver, 'Accent on Youth' 2.
years previously, *Oriflamme* declared itself to have a nationalistic literary objective:

> While looking at the University Colleges for a large part of our support, we appeal to all classes of the community. If we can do however little to help to advance the standard of New Zealand literature, we shall have achieved some part of our purpose.99

Despite their self-conscious attempts to carry on the work of the previous generation of poets, *Oriflamme's* editors clearly did not have the intellectual self-confidence displayed by the *Phoenix* group in 1932. Perhaps it was too much to expect that a second generation of writers with the same degree of ability and talent as those who coalesced around *Phoenix* in Auckland should emerge so soon after in Wellington. However, it should be noted that within a few years of *Oriflamme's* appearance, Victoria University College was to produce just such a group of writers and poets and not one but three such periodicals, *Broadsheet*, *Hilltop* and *Arachne*, discussed in Chapter Six, above.

Apart from the editors, other contributors to *Oriflamme* included C.R. Allen, Ronald Meek, Lindsay Constable, and Ronald Castle, all of whom participated in various ways in a range of literary periodicals during the period. C.R. Allen was certainly the most established writer to be associated with *Oriflamme*. Always quick to make the most of any new outlet for his work, Allen contributed a total of four poems distributed through the second, third and fourth issues. Ronald Meek, at the time a student at Victoria University College and later to become Professor of Economics at Glasgow University, also contributed work to *Spike, New Zealand New Writing, Here and Now*, and the *New Zealand Railways Magazine*. Lindsay Constable was an associate of Noel

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99 Murray-Oliver, 'Accent on Youth' 2.
Hoggard's, assisting him in the editing of the *New Triad*. Later in the decade Ronald Castle edited and, with the assistance of members of his family, produced the little magazine *Chapbook*.

As with many publications of the nineteen forties, *Oriflamme* suffered from the paper shortages occasioned by World War Two. Despite an expressed hope that a further issue would be forthcoming, to be printed by the Caxton Press in November 1942, the issue for March of that year was in fact the final number, largely owing to Murray-Oliver's departure from the Turnbull Library for war service.
Chapbook, initially subtitled A Private Magazine of Poetry, Music and Art was first published in 1945 by a group calling itself the Chapbook Society, apparently made up largely of members of the Castle family. Chapbook's average of ten pages per issue carried poetry, articles, criticism and reviews as well as music and lino and woodcuts. An editorial note informed the reader that the Chapbook was 'a continuance of the vigorous Old English Ballad and Chapbook' tradition, and reproductions of original ballads were a feature of early issues. Younger writers were encouraged, although much of the material published seemed to emanate from the multi-talented Castle family. Issue six announced that Chapbook was also the 'official Journal of the Zillah Castle Chamber Music Society and the Zillah Castle Student String Orchestra.' The publisher and author F.W. Reed contributed a series of articles on Alexander Dumas, supplemented with translations of the French writer's work. Most issues featured poetry by Ronald Castle, but Chapbook's main literary interest lies in the regular contributions of poetry from Louis Johnson between November 1946 and May 1949, none of which, however, he saw fit to collect for republication. Chapbook ended with issue number twenty-eight in July 1950, little improved in either format or content over the five or so years of its production.
First published in September 1945, the Auckland magazine *Anvil* was published very much in the spirit of *Tomorrow* by the Anvil Club, the members of which appear to have been largely journalists, teachers, and trade union members and officials. It was edited by a former co-editor of *Kiwi*, Rosemary Seymour,\(^{100}\) and a call for contributions declared:

> [A]nything bearing on New Zealand life is of interest to us . . . trends in New Zealand politics; problems of the soil, and of our agriculture and industrial conditions; our impact on our neighbours, at home and abroad; our culture, our health, our institutions, education and morals.

'Good criticism,' it was also noted, 'can very well be fiction.'\(^{101}\) The publication of the first issue of *Anvil* was delayed after a misunderstanding with the Paper Controller, the official responsible for the distribution of precious war-time stocks of printing paper.\(^{102}\) In the light of the fate of Kennaway Henderson's *Tomorrow*, the labour and left-wing affiliations of *Anvil* (clearly indicated in its title) are likely to have compounded both this delay and that which extended until the second issue appeared, some nine months after the first, printed by Noel Hoggard's Handcraft Press.

Of lasting literary interest in *Anvil* are two early short stories by Maurice Duggan, a poem by G.R. Gilbert, and stories by Werner Droescher and Greville Texidor, both of whom had fled to New Zealand to escape the war in Europe.

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\(^{100}\) Michael King, *Frank Sargeson: A Life* (Auckland: Viking, 1995) 247. While there is no internal evidence in *Anvil* for Seymour's editorship, King bases his attribution on an unspecified letter from Sargeson to Seymour which led to the publication in *Anvil* of Maurice Duggan's story 'Machinery Me.' King also asserts that the membership of the Anvil Club 'was based largely on staff and students at Auckland University College.' King, *Frank Sargeson* 247n.

\(^{101}\) Unattributed, 'Advertisement,' *Anvil* September 1945: facing page 36.

\(^{102}\) This first issue of *Anvil* was printed by Abel, Dykes Ltd under Consent No. 1850.
Other contributions include a survey of New Zealand literature by M.S. Eaton and an article on government intervention in business by W.B. Sutch.

Texidor's 'Elegy'\textsuperscript{103} was the last story published during her life and was later reprinted in the collection of her work edited by Kendrick Smithyman. This powerful story, set in a socialist future, would not have appeared at all out of place in the pages of \textit{Tomorrow}: days are made up of rewarding labour, and evenings are spent listening to Workers' Enlightenment lectures or Russian radio broadcasts, or reading Russian magazines in rooms lined with 'shelves of bright Penguins,'\textsuperscript{104} the pink or red volumes distributed by the Left Book Club. (The latter also featured in her novella, \textit{These Dark Glasses}, written about the same time as 'Elegy' and eventually published in 1949 by Caxton Press.) The narrator is also typical of Texidor, suffering from a deep sense of ennui brought on by the too ordered and purposeful lives of her hosts in a neutral and seemingly soulless environment where 'Eyes wandered. There wasn't any place they wanted to rest.'\textsuperscript{105}

The stories by Maurice Duggan in \textit{Anvil} were gathered into his \textit{Collected Stories}, edited by C.K. Stead, and appear there as the second and fifth stories in the chronological order of publication. They both fit well into the working class, socialist ambience of \textit{Anvil}. The first, 'Machinery Me,'\textsuperscript{106} features as narrator a dissatisfied factory worker who takes the afternoon off to read Hemingway, a

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{103} Greville Texidor, 'Elegy,' \textit{Anvil} September 1945: 29-31.
  \item \textsuperscript{104} Texidor, 'Elegy' 29.
  \item \textsuperscript{105} Texidor, 'Elegy' 29.
  \item \textsuperscript{106} Maurice Duggan, 'Machinery Me,' \textit{Anvil} September 1945: 9-13.
\end{itemize}
writer who is an obvious influence in this and other early stories by Duggan. The narrator meets an Australian tramp, a 'sundowner,' to whom he gives more money than he can afford and who encourages in him a sense of discontent. The story appeared in the same year as Speaking for Ourselves,\textsuperscript{107} in which the editor Frank Sargeson included Duggan's 'Notes on an Abstract Arachnid.' The second story by Duggan in \textit{Anvil} is 'Old Man'\textsuperscript{108} and carries as epigraph several lines by the American poet Delmore Schwartz: 'Decide that you are dying / Because time is in you, ineluctable / as shadow, named by no syllable.'\textsuperscript{109} This story is much more impressionistic than the first, an example of what C.K. Stead later described as Duggan's early 'slow and painstaking exploration of the fictional mode.'\textsuperscript{110}


\textsuperscript{108} Maurice Duggan, 'Old Man,' \textit{Anvil} June 1946: 29-34.

\textsuperscript{109} Duggan, 'Old Man' 29.

10.7 Conclusion

Although the quality of the material in the minor little magazines discussed in this chapter is very uneven, as is the quality of their production, their value in providing publication opportunities for aspiring authors, and for particular interest groups, should not be underestimated. Among many names now forgotten, are a number who were later to gain national prominence, including Louis Johnson, Maurice Duggan, Eve Langley, and Douglas Stewart. Fundamentally, however, magazines such as *Spilt Ink*, the *New Triad*, the *New Zealand Mercury*, and *Quill* articulated well-established values which continued to flourish during the 1930s and 1940s, providing outlets for work composed by members of the literary clubs and societies founded by Noel Hoggard, Nellie Donovan and others: the Spilt Ink Clubs, the New Zealand Women Writers' And Artists' Society, and the Penwomen's Club. Literary journalists and editors, including Helen Longford, Pat Lawlor, Charles Marris, and Alan Mulgan, supported these literary clubs, addressing meetings, judging work, and generally giving encouragement to aspiring writers, in the hope of stimulating into print, as Longford put it, 'a New Zealand Keats or Shelley.'

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111 Helen Longford, 'Editor's Notes: Why?' *New Zealand Mercury* 1.1 (April 1933): 1.
CHAPTER ELEVEN
CONCLUSION

For over two hundred years most writing has been published in periodicals. Literary history and criticism have not been comfortable with this fact though they have not completely ignored it. Their anxiety is itself traditional: the book has long been set against the journal in an opposition which helps draw boundaries around 'literature' or 'polite letters' within the mass of print. Yet the field of modern writing, and, indeed, of representation in general, has been structured by the limits, needs and effects of periodical publishing.¹

Describing the task which faced the contributors to the 1991 *Oxford History of New Zealand Literature in English*, Terry Sturm observed that much of their research was 'of an exploratory nature, designed to open up territories which need further investigation, to provide the beginnings of a more broadly based and diverse critical discourse.'² That initial research has seeded this present thesis, which directly expands on aspects of two chapters of the *Oxford History*: Dennis McEldowney's discussion of New Zealand literary periodicals and John Thomson's bibliographical survey.³ In a similar manner, the annotated bibliography appended to this thesis (Appendix One) constitutes the first stage

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of an extension and deepening of the work undertaken in the early 1960s by Iris Park. Her *New Zealand Periodicals of Literary Interest* remains the only comprehensive survey of the genre compiled to date.⁴

In presenting the results of my research I have provided local confirmation of Simon During's assertion, quoted above, of the centrality of the periodical in the history and development of modern literature. Without doubt, literary periodicals have been a major venue for the development of New Zealand poetry, fiction, and literary criticism. Moreover, they have performed a similar role in the wider cultural and intellectual life of the country. In describing the contents, significance, and circumstances surrounding the publication of a wide range of magazines, the importance of the medium in the cultural life of New Zealand has been amply demonstrated.

The tracing in Volume One of what has been termed 'the genesis of *Landfall*,'⁵ from *Phoenix* through *Tomorrow*, *Book* and *New Zealand New Writing*, has been more fruitful than previous studies of this type seemed to promise. *Tomorrow* in particular yielded a large volume of long-overlooked contributions. Among the more noteworthy of these are several important poems by Allen Curnow (including an early version of *Not in Narrow Seas*)⁶ and several interesting forays into the genre of short fiction by Denis Glover, Allen Curnow, and R.A.K. Mason, work which has been over-shadowed by Frank Sargeson's

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⁴ I have identified over three hundred magazines for inclusion in a proposed bibliography of New Zealand periodicals of literary interest published to 1995.


own numerous and highly significant contributions to *Tomorrow*.

The extension of the study beyond *Landfall*'s direct lineage has focussed on three other categories of magazines: the university-based periodicals; the mainstream magazines; and the conservative little magazines. The detailed survey of the university based magazines in Chapter Six (the final chapter of Volume One) illustrates the significance of the universities as venues for the *avant-garde* little magazines and the young literary talent they so often showcased. *Phoenix* itself is the best known of these little magazines, but eighteen others (plus the four official Students’ Association annuals) give ample proof of the importance of the universities in our literary history.

The mainstream magazines discussed in first three chapters of Volume Two (the *Mirror*, *Art in New Zealand* and the *New Zealand Railways Magazine*; Chapters Seven, Eight and Nine), published numerous authors whose names are largely absent from previous accounts of New Zealand literature. The conservative little magazines discussed in Chapter Ten featured many of the same writers. While no claims are made for the wholesale elevation of these writers to the status of those usually regarded as canonical, it is clear that they made an important contribution to the development of New Zealand’s cultural identity. In particular, the editors and publishers of these conservative magazines, including Charles Marris, Noel Farr Hoggard, Patrick Lawlor and Helen Longford, deserve recognition for their tireless promotion of New Zealand literature, however misguided posterity may have determined that effort to be.

The period since 1947 has been dominated by several literary magazines, the most prominent of which remains *Landfall* itself. During *Landfall*'s first year,
Brasch published work by most if not all the prominent writers active during the period, the majority of whom had previously appeared in print in one or several of the magazines surveyed in this present thesis. Poets Allen Curnow, James K. Baxter and James Bertram appeared in the first issue of *Landfall*; issue two opened with 'Poems for Lili Kraus' by Bertram, Curnow, A.R.D. Fairburn and Denis Glover, while Keith Sinclair was the first representative to appear from the rising generation of younger poets; Hubert Witheford, Kendrick Smithyman and Arthur Barker were added to this group in the third number while W.H. Oliver and Basil Dowling added their names to the fourth. In fiction, Janet Frame, John Reece Cole, James Courage, R.M. Burdon, and Bruce Mason are the most prominent contributors during *Landfall*'s inaugural year.

As a result of this immediate occupation of a central position in New Zealand literature and wider culture, Brasch's magazine stimulated the publication of numerous other magazines, many of which set themselves up in opposition to *Landfall*'s perceived occupation of the literary mainstream. During the fifties *Here & Now, Numbers, Mate, Hilltop*, and *Arachne* were the most prominent of these, while subsequent decades have continued to produce succeeding generations of little magazines, attesting to the health of New Zealand literary culture.
APPENDIX I:

AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF

NEW ZEALAND ENGLISH LANGUAGE

PERIODICALS OF LITERARY INTEREST

ACTIVE 1920s-1960s
## Contents

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Preface

The following bibliography annotates the fifty-two periodicals discussed at length in the preceding thesis. The majority of these were published during the period March 1932 to March 1947, between the publication of the first issue of *Phoenix* and the first issue of *Landfall*. A number of university based magazines which were entirely published either prior to or following these dates have been included in order to give a comprehensive account of literary periodical activity at the four original Colleges of the University of New Zealand (Auckland, Victoria, Canterbury and Otago.)

It was also decided to examine the complete issue runs of all periodicals selected for discussion. This has involved surveys of several magazines with publication runs beginning well before or ending well after the fifteen year period on which this thesis has focused. Chapters Six through Nine, on the university magazines, the *Mirror*, *Art in New Zealand*, and the *New Zealand Railways Magazine*, benefit from this decision in the more comprehensive nature of the resulting discussions.

The following annotations are supplemented by select or complete author indexes for those periodicals not previously indexed. These indexes constitute works cited bibliographies for the specific periodicals, and therefore include some items which would not normally be listed in an index with a literary focus. In addition, they also contain many more items of literary interest than are referred to in the main body of this thesis. There are three exceptions to this general rule. In the case of *Tomorrow*, for which a comprehensive index already exist, the index provided here extends no further than a listing of the items cited in the discussion of the periodical in Chapter Three. For the same reason, the select author index provided for the *New Zealand Railways Magazine*, indexed by Bertha Whyte in 1942, is largely restricted to those contributions cited in the discussion of the magazine in Chapter Nine, although it also extends to a listing of significant contributions by the authors indexed. The already existing index

to the first seventy issues of *Arena*\(^3\) is supplemented here with a select author index to the final eleven issues, numbers 71-81 (August 1969 - February 1975). In the case of *Book*, the existing index was deemed inadequate for the needs of this study and is supplemented here by a full author index.\(^4\) Except in the case of short-run little magazines such as *Book* and *Phoenix*, the author indexes supplied here are partial indexes only, with attention focused on contributors of significance either to New Zealand literature as a whole, or the particular periodical under examination.

The author indexes are as accurate as is reasonably possible when dealing with such a large volume of serially produced material. I apologise in advance for errors of commission or omission. While every attempt was made to view all published issues of each magazine, gaps in nation wide library holdings have prevented this, particularly in the case of some little magazines. The main sources for the majority of the magazines examined were the Alexander Turnbull and National Libraries, supplemented with the collections of the main university and metropolitan libraries. Readers are referred to the *Finding List*\(^5\) and individual library catalogues for holdings of specific titles.

All contributions to the magazines by prominent literary figures have been listed, although the extensive use of pseudonyms prior to about 1930 (and straightforward anonymity, particularly editorial, at all times) has made this difficult to achieve consistently. Several criteria have been applied when selecting contributors for inclusion in the complete or select author indexes. Firstly, as a general rule, contributions are listed by writers (in whatever genre) whose name is included in the index to the *Oxford History of New Zealand Literature in English*,\(^6\) the most comprehensive survey of New Zealand literature published to date. Secondly, and especially in the case of mainstream magazines such as the *Mirror* and the *New Zealand Railways Magazine*, this list of names is

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supplemented by authors listed in Bagnall’s *New Zealand National Bibliography to the Year 1960*, the focus of which is far wider than the purely literary. Finally, a third group of authors indexed are those deemed significant to the individual magazines. These include foreign literary contributors and local contributors of non-literary material glossed as part of the discussion of the magazine in the body of this thesis.

It is intended that this appendix will form the basis for a much wider chronological survey of New Zealand periodicals of literary interest. A preliminary list of over three hundred titles has been compiled as a first step toward this larger project.

The bibliography is arranged on the following matrix.

Field 1 [Title: subtitle]
Field 2 [Motto or epigraph (dates employed)]
Field 3 [Imprint]
Field 4 Proprietor(s):
Field 5 Editor(s):
Field 6 Printer(s):
Field 7 Frequency of publication: numeration (dates of publication)
Field 8 Illustrations:
Field 9 [Contents]
Field 10 Noteworthy contributors:
Field 11 Noteworthy artists:

Field titles in square brackets are deleted from the completed entry. Fields which are irrelevant are also deleted; for example, when a periodical has no motto or epigraph, or when the proprietor is also the publisher, as recorded in Field 3: Imprint. Where there is any uncertainty about the details provided

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8 This matrix owes a debt to that designed by Lurline Stuart for her *Nineteenth Century Australian Periodicals: An Annotated Bibliography* (Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1979) 4-5.
(often due to incomplete library holdings), these details are enclosed in square brackets or tagged with a question mark. The contents of each field are described in the following glossary, as are other conventions employed in the compilation of the bibliography and indexes.
Glossary

Abbreviations for months: Ja, F, Mr, Ap, My, Je, Jy, Ag, S, O, N, D.
Abbreviations for seasons: Au, Wn, Sp, Su.

Alphabetization: the titles of contributions are indexed in strict alphabetical order, including definite and indefinite articles. Thus a poem by Brian Turner in the *Otago University Review* entitled 'The Dark' is listed after one by him entitled 'Romeo and Juliet' and before one entitled 'Tremor.'

Anonymous contributions: see 'Unattributed.'

Articles: prose contributions which are not primarily fiction, including factual statements, biography and autobiography, interviews, criticism, editorial comments, reviews, and letters.

Contents: a brief description of the periodical, including the main forms of writing published, significant alterations to format, and issues of particular literary significance.

Editor(s): where successive editors are involved, these are recorded with dates. Where long running magazines such as the university annuals have new editors more or less with each issue, only significant editors are noted.

Frequency of publication: fortnightly, monthly, bi-monthly (every two months), tri-annually (three time per year), bi-annually (twice yearly), annually, or otherwise. Where the achieved frequency of publication differs from that intended this is noted as, for example, 'Monthly (but irregular).'. Where the frequency of publication varies over time, the dates of these changes are noted.

Illustrations: significant mediums are noted; for example, linocuts, wood-cuts, wood engravings, photographs, line drawings, cartoons. Advertising illustrations are not noted.

Imprint: information usually appearing on the title page, specifically, place of publication, publisher, and dates of publication, in that order. Further information of this nature may also be included in a colophon, which was usually printed on the last page of the periodical.
Letters: letters with distinct titles are indexed with other articles; untitled letters are indexed in chronological order at the end of the list of other articles, including untitled reviews.

Motto or epigraph: usually appearing on the title page, these were only rarely employed but may indicate something of the objectives of the publisher.

Notation: the location of items in the periodicals has been reduced to a standardised notation. The following is an example from the select author index to the *Mirror*:


This identifies an article by Hector Bolitho published in two parts; part one in Volume 29, number 2, dated August 1949 and printed on pages 14-15 and 32-34, and part two in Volume 29, number 3, dated October 1949 and printed on pages 23 and 33-34. When, as occurs in the case of later issues of the university annuals, no volume numbers are supplied then the year of publication is given followed by the page or page numbers: for example, '1945:12-14.'

Noteworthy artists: artists significant to the individual periodical or to New Zealand art as a whole.

Noteworthy contributors: significant New Zealand literary and non-literary contributors including those deemed to be of interest for their wider historical or cultural significance. This may include, for example, individuals who later became important in fields other than literature.

n.d.: no date given.

n.p.: no publisher stated.

N. pag.: no pagination supplied.

Printer(s): often stated in the colophon, printed on the final page of individual issues. Where successive printers are involved, these are recorded with dates. Where numerous printers are involved with succeeding issues of long running magazines only those of wider literary interest are noted, with dates.
Annotated Bibliography: Glossary

Proprietor(s): listed only when the proprietor differs from the publisher, as recorded in the imprint entry of the annotation.

Pseudonymous contributions: pseudonyms and initials which are not able to be linked to known authors are indexed by their first letter. For example, from the select author index to the *Mirror*:

Ye Gentyle Knighte, article: 'How to Educate Your Wife,' 1.6(D'22):34;

Where initials or pseudonyms were used by known authors these are recorded before the item contributed. For example, from the select author index to *Spike*:

Beaglehole, J.C.B., poetry: (J.C.B.'), 'Tramping Song,' 43(Je'23):45;
(Junius Brutus'), 'Valedictory Sonnet to Rev. B.H. Ward, B.A.,' 40(S'21):27;

Reviews: reviews with a distinct title are listed alphabetically by that title with other articles by the same author; untitled reviews are indexed in chronological order at the end of the list of other articles.

Title and subtitle: as recorded on the title page. This often differs from the cover page title, and/or the running title, and/or the bastard title. Major variations on the main title are recorded, as are variations in subtitles, with dates. Variations too frequent to record are simply noted as: (Title and/or subtitle varies.)

Translations: these are prefaced with the abbreviation 'trans.' For example, from the select author index to *Spike*:

Barker, Arthur, poetry: trans., 'Rondeau,' by Guillaume de Machault, 72('44):18;

Unattributed contributions: anonymous items which are not able to be attributed to known authors are listed under the heading 'Unattributed.' The term 'anonymous' is used to describe unsigned items by known contributors.

Untitled contributions: poems and other items without titles are identified and indexed by the first line or phrase, printed within round brackets.
Annotated Bibliography: Otago University Review


Dunedin: Otago University Students' Association, 1888 -.

Editors: various, including Dan Davin (1933-1935), C.M. Passmore (1939-1940), and Dorian Saker (1950-1951).


Monthly (1888-1913); bi-annually (1914-1922); and annually (1923-): Vol.1, no.1 - (August 1888 -).\(^9\)

Linocuts, photographs, line drawings.

Early issues featured amateur verse as well as lists of graduands, and social and club news. From the mid-thirties the Review became a more exclusively literary annual. Dan Davin's early story 'Prometheus' appeared in the issue for 1935, the first of several contributions. James K. Baxter began a long association with the Review with several poems in the issue for 1944. With the establishment of the Burns Literary Fellowship in 1959 a tradition was initiated of Fellows contributing work to the Review, raising its standard and helping to ensure its continued appearance. Burns Fellow contributors include Baxter, Ian Cross, Janet Frame, Hone Tuwhare, Witi Ihimaera, Maurice Duggan, and Brian Turner. A shift to a more regional focus has enabled the Review to survive well beyond the life-span of similar university based magazines.


Noteworthy artist: Ralph Hotere.

Select Author Index

Adams, Arthur H., poetry: 'Consummation,' 7.3(Ag'1894):94-95;
Adams, Geoff, play: 'Fragments from a planned play, "Upon My Words". . . [sic],' 1954:21;
article: 'Editorial,' 1954:6;

Annotated Bibliography: Otago University Review

Adcock, Fleur, poetry: 'Poem,' 1961:28;
'Water,' 1993:13;


Baxter, Hilary, poetry: 'A Place to Return to,' 1968:31;
('H.B.'/ 'Hilary Banter'), 'Chariots of Defence,' 1967:13;
'Suburban Autumn,' 1968:41;
'While the Rain Falls Before the Fruit,' 1968:7;

Baxter, James K., poetry: 'Convoys,' 57(S'44):13-15;
('J.K.B.'), 'Poem' ('I had thought the sun's speech'), 1948:5;
('J.K.B.'), 'Prelude New Zealand (In Syllabic Verse),' 57(S'44):24-25;
('J.K.B.'), 'Song' ('White roads ascend'), 1948:8;
'Spring Sonnets,' 1969:23-25;
('J.K.B.'), 'Xerxes and Homer,' 1948:facing p.41;
fiction: 'Bulls and Cows: An Extract From an Unpublished Work,' 1966:19-29;
articles: 'Kiwi Habits,' 1967:3-10;
'Property and Poverty,' 1968:26-30;
reference to: John Paisley, 'James K. Baxter, Student and Poet,' 1963:74-78;


Brasch, Charles, poetry: 'Eternal Questions (to Nicholas Zissermann),' 1971:23;
'Memory or Dream,' 1952:27;
'Night-Piece,' 1951:25;
'Not be a Ghost,' 1954:29;
'Physics of Love,' 1963:20;
'Reel for the Fifties,' 1964:17;
'Revolving,' 1963:21;
'The Voyage,' 1953:28;
and Peter Soskice, trans., 'Evening Now' and 'Gazing at You,' by Sergie Esenin, 1969:26-27;
articles: 'Twenty Years Hard,' 1966:5-7;

The initials 'H.B.' appear below the poem, while 'Hilary Banter' is used on the contents page of the issue.
Annotated Bibliography: Otago University Review

'Macbeth' in Lower Union Street,' review of Macbeth, performed by the Teachers' College Drama Society, 1951:29-30;
Bridgman, W.W., poetry: 'The Jubilee of Otago University,' 35.1(Jy'22):29-31;
Cross, Ian, fiction: 'Three New Zealand Fathers,' 1959:51-60;
Crump, Barry, fiction: '... that way [sic],' 1962:10-19;
Cunningham, Kevin, poetry: 'Bergman,' 1964:36;
  'Inconsequential Ballad,' 1965:43;
  'Lines for a Chorus,' 1965:42;
fiction: 'Fragment of an Epic,' 1964:35-36;
Dallas, Ruth, poetry: 'Black-backed Gulls,' 1975:29;
  'Haiku,' 1993:47-48;
  'On the Plains,' 1968:35;
  'On the Road,' 1964:26;
  'Poet and Reader,' 1980:5;
  'Prayer,' 1968:35;
  'The Net,' 1987:7;
  'Valley,' 1964:27;
fiction: 'Escapers,' 1969:15-20;
  'From a Note-Book,' 1968:32-34;
reference to: John Gibb, 'Ruth Dallas: An Interview,' 1975:24-29;
Davin, D.M., poetry: ('D.'), 'A Sweet and Gentle Ballad of Youth: Chorus of Nymphs and Swains,' 47(O'34):38;
  ('D.M.D.'), 'Deity,' 48(S'35):5;
  'Exiled,' 51(S'38):20;
  'Galway, 1936,' 51(S'38):20;
  'Harmony,' 51(S'38):21;
  'Knowledge,' 51(S'38):21;
  ('D.M.D.'), trans., ('Morpheus fills the mind with winds'), by 'Anon., 12th-13th cent.,' 46(O'33):28;
  ('D.M.D.'), 'Standstill,' 48(S'35):43;
  ('D.M.D.'), 'Sunday,' 48(S'35):6;
  'The Far-Away Hill,' 51(S'38):20;
('D.M.D.'), ('There is about your silence the air'), 48(S'35):5;
fiction: ('D.M.D.'), 'Prometheus,' 48(S'35):26-29;
article: ('D.M.D.'), 'Remarks on the Decadence in English Poetry of the 1890s,' 47(O'34):22-25;
references to: Peter Lusk ('P.L.'), 'From Log Cabin to White House,' review of Roads from Home, by Dan Davin, 1949:18-19;
photographic portrait, 'D.M. Davin, Rhodes Scholar,' 49(O'36):frontispiece;
Dowling, Basil, poetry: 'Process and End,' 1951:16;
'The City by Night,' 1951:5;
articles: 'Literary Society Verse Competition,' 1948:29;
'Literary Society Verse Competition,' 1949:25;
Eggleton, David, poetry: 'Clove,' 1980:11;
'Easter's Black Joke,' 1982:20-21;
'Holiday in the Hurricane Season,' 1989:46;
'Memorial Lurex,' 1990:31-33;
'Moonlight Picnics Numbers 25 and 26,' 1979:38-42;
'Watching a Television Commercial in a Backwater Otago Town,' 1980:10;
fiction: 'Banana Republic,' 1979:34-37;
'Don't Junk,' 1981:55-56;
'Wiping Out,' 1981:31-33;
Farrell, N.V., article: editorial, 52('39):3;
Frame, Janet, poetry: 'Sublimation,' 60(47):14;\textsuperscript{11}
fiction: 'Extract,' 1965:4-10;
French, Blair, poetry: 'Kidneys and all that jazz,' 1989:60;
'Not the extended dance mix,' 1989:60;
Annotated Bibliography: *Otago University Review*

'Payoff' 1989:59;
Gaylene, poetry: 'A Silly Little Ditty,' 1991:9-10;
'Gillespies Beach,' 1989:48;
'Me a Man?' 1990:33;
'Travelling to Christchurch,' 1989:48;
article: 'New Zealand's Foreign Policy,' 51(S'38):22-24;
Gee, Maurice, fiction: 'Extract From a Novel,' 1964:6-16;
Gibb, John, article: 'Ruth Dallas: An Interview,' 1975:24-29;
Glover, Denis, poetry: 'At Baxter's Funeral Wanganui River,' 1975:17;
'British But a Foreigner,' 1975:18;
'Fiddle-Dee-Dee for a Ph.D.,' 1975:18;
('W.K.G.'), 'Defeat,' 48(35):29;
('W.K.G.'), 'In His Own Image and Likeness,' 48(35):62;
'Morning Terror,' 48(35):21;
('W.K.G.'), 'Top Dressing,' 48(35):18;
fiction: 'Compounds Strange,' 45(O'32):9-12;
Gough, Barbara, poetry: 'First Light,' 1960:40;
'It is necessary, I Know, for men to die,' 1958:25;
Griffiths, George, poetry: 'A Song Before Spring,' 1953:48;
'Delight in Subdued Colours,' 1954:52;
fiction: 'Just My Cup of Tea,' 1954:51-52;
Guyan, Alexander, poetry: 'Clown,' 1962:37;
'Eight Lines,' 1962:37;
'Winter Afternoon,' 1962:36;
fiction: 'And Whatever Happened to Dog,' 1962:71-75;
'Change of Mind,' 1962:43-47;
'Short Fiction,' 1961:54-60;
'The Countess,' 1961:5-19;
play: 'Modern Man At Breakfast,' 1963:22-30;
Hall, David, article: 'Francois Mauriac,' 1953:43-44;
Annotated Bibliography: Otago University Review

Hall, Roger, article: 'Notes on the Breakthrough in New Zealand Drama,' 1977:20-23;
Henderson, L., play: 'The Opal Ring,' 49(0'36):50-54;
Hilliard, Noel, fiction: 'Nothing They Won't Come At,' 1971:5-9;
Hotere, Ralph, illustrations: (Two untitled female nudes], 1971:19-20;
Hunt, Sam, poetry: 'Caroline,' 1975:23;
  'Christina,' 1975:22;
  'Of Dan and the Peacock,' 1975:21;
  'Otakou,' 1976:9;
  'Peeping-Tom-A-Cold,' 1976:10;
  'Young Man Shy on Scaffold,' 1976:9;
  'Airmail Letter,' 1984:52;
  ('Beyond the cabbage tree . . .'), 1981:5;
  ('In the high pass . . .'), 1981:6;
  'Muscular Dystrophy,' 1982:39-40;
  'Song,' 1984:53;
  'The Same,' 1985:26;
  ('The season's clock . . .'), 1984:51;
Johnson, J.A. and W.A. Sim, 'Introduction,' [1.1](Ag1888):3;
Jones, Lawrence, articles: 'Some Second Thoughts on New Zealand and American Literature,' 1966:39-51;
Kirkland, Hilaire, poetry: 'Song for my Love (1),' 1964:33;
  'Song for my Love (2),' 1964:33;
Linn, Colin, fiction: The Knife,' 1959:31-32;
Loney, Alan, poetry: 'From Where I Speak,' 1974:52;
  'Of Flowers,' 1974:14
  'Poem,' 1971:26-7;
Lonie, Iain, poetry: 'Academic Architecture,' 1965:24;
  'April the First,' 1987:5;
Annotated Bibliography: Otago University Review

'In the Lounge,' 1965:22-23;
'Kallimachos of Kyrene,' 1965:25;
'Lines on a Photograph,' 1987:5;
'Lullaby for a President,' 1953:14;
'My Toaster Tells the Time,' 1987:6;
'Scottish Mill Towns,' 1951:19;
'Sonnet' ('I said fairwell to every self-wove love'), 1951:30;
'Wickliffe Bay,' 1952:25-26;

Lusk, P.M., poetry: ('P.M.L.'), 'Mood Indigo,' 50(0'37):12;
'Requiescat,' 51(S'38):58;
'The Warriors,' 49(O'36):46;
fiction: 'Antipathy,' 49(O'36):40-43;
'Morning Sunshine,' 47(O'34):39-42;
'Public Opinion,' 48(35):23-25;
'Snow on the Ground,' 48(35):41-43;
articles: ('P.L.'), 'From Log Cabin to White House,' review of Roads From Home, by Dan Davin, 1949:18-19;
'James Branch Cabell,' 49(O'36):59-61;

M, article: 'New Zealand Literature,' 57(S'44):16-17;

Manhire, Bill, poetry: 'Adam to Eve,' 1965:30;
'After All,' 1967:25;
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Printers: various, including Caxton Press (1940-1945).

Biannually (1897-1904, 1910-1921, 1924-1929); seven, six, and five times during the university session (1904, 1922 and 1923 respectively); tri-annually (1905-1909); and annually (1930-1945): No.1 - n.n. (May 1897 - 1945).

Line drawings, lino and woodcuts, photographs.

Established to promote the interests of students and of little literary interest until the late 1920s when a number of students who were later to have a large influence on the development of New Zealand literature became involved. 1930 saw the first appearances of Eric Cook and Ian Milner and the following year Denis Glover began to contribute. Reviews of Phoenix and Kiwi hint at the degree of communication between the Auckland and Christchurch student literati, contacts well documented in the autobiographical writings of Charles Brasch, Glover and others from the group. Many of the contributors to the Review in this period were also involved in the extra-mural and short lived student publications, Oriflamme and Sirocco.


Noteworthy artists: Kennaway Henderson and Albion Wright.

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13 Peter Simpson has suggested that the majority of poems attributed to Lawrence Baigent were in fact penned by Charles Spear. Peter Simpson, interview with author, 23 November 1993.
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*Collegian*

Auckland: Auckland University College Students' Association, 1898-1902.
Editors: Alan Mulgan, Frederick Sinclaire, and M.A. Hunter (1900).
Printer: Brett Printing Co.
Not illustrated.
College news and some unattributed verse, mostly humorous in tone. Only one copy of *Collegian* was able to be sighted, 3.2 (September 1900), held at the University of Auckland Library.
Noteworthy contributors: none identified.

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Spike: or Victoria University College Review (Subtitle varies.)
Editors: various, including F.A. de la Mare (1902-1904), J.C. Beaglehole (1921-1925), E.H. McCormick (1930), Hubert Witheford (1940-1942, 1944), Eric Schwimmer (1942), W.H. Oliver (1946), and Charles Doyle (1957).
Bi-annually (1902-1930) and annually (1931-1961): Vol.1, no.1 - n.n. (June 1902 - 1961).\(^{15}\)
Line drawings, lino and wood-cuts, photographs.
Spike began life as a bi-annual in 1902, four years after the establishment of the Victoria University College of Wellington. The June issue was largely devoted to creative work, the October to official records. Early issues featured verse by writers such as Hubert Church, F.A. de la Mare, and Seaforth MacKenzie, much of which was collected and published in The Old Clay Patch: A Collection of Verses Written on and Around Victoria University College.\(^{16}\) With the appearance of Smad in 1930, predecessor of Salient,\(^{17}\) Spike was released to devote its energies to promoting a local voice in literature. From 1931 Spike became an annual devoted equally to recording University activities, lists of graduands, reports of clubs and societies, and literary and other creative effort. It was not until the forties, however, that Spike really began to be a venue for significant work. It was supplemented by special literary issues of Salient in 1952, 1953 and 1955.

\(^{15}\) As with many periodicals produced over a long period by a huge variety of individuals, the numbering of Spike alters considerably. For example, a dual numbering system runs from Vol.3, no.1 (June 1904)/No.5 until Vol.18, no.2 (October 1919)/No.36. Vol.19, no.1 (October 1920) is also counted as No.36. An unnumbered 'War Memorial Number' was produced in August 1920, between Vol.18, no.2 and Vol.19, no.1. If this is taken to be No.37, then Vol.19, no.1 can be taken to be No.38, not No.36. The next number is No.39/Vol.20, no.1 (June 1921). This particular form of dual numbering ends with Vol.26, no.1 (June 1927)/No.51. Thereafter the volume and running numbers are combined so that No.52 is also numbered Vol.27, no.52 (September 1927). With Vol.33, no.61 (1933) the parallel numbering is also dropped. Similar permutations continue until the final demise of Spike in 1961.

\(^{16}\) (Wellington: New Zealand University Press, 1920).

\(^{17}\) Anton Vogt reviewed the literary issue of Salient for 1953 in Here & Now, under the title 'University Writers,' Here & Now 4.1 (October 1953): 34-35.
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18 A complete index to Spike is held as a card file in the Beaglehole Room of the Victoria University of Wellington Library, compiled by Kathleen Coleridge. A number of attributions of anonymous or pseudonymous items made in the following index are based on the Beaglehole Room card file.

19 This review was accompanied by two satiric poems headed 'Two Translations [Little pieces of tender thought translated from "The Phoenix," Vol.1, Number 1, March 1922] (sic). These were "The Tunes Inside," from "The Wetting of Arno Shoutz," a parody of James Bertram's translation of 'The Dunes Outside,' by Arno Holz (Phoenix 1.1 (March 1932): N.pag.), and "Hunting Horns," from "Thought of Bill Apollo," a satiric translation back into French of Bertram's translation of 'Cors De Chasse,' by Guillaume Apollinaire (Phoenix 1.1 (March 1932): N.pag.). Both parodies are unattributed, but may be the work of H.R. Bannister.
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Auckland: Auckland University Students' Association, 1903-1904.
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Printers: Free Press (July 1903) and Geddes and Blomfield (October 1903 - May 1904).
Published by a group of 'Militant' women,\textsuperscript{21} \textit{Marte Nostro} featured college news and some poetry, mostly humorous and unattributed. Like its predecessor \textit{Collegian}, a lack of support led to its demise.
Noteworthy contributor: Alan Mulgan.

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Mulgan, A.E., poetry: ('A.E.M.'), 'Villanelle,' 1.2(O'03):32;

Annotated Bibliography: *Kiwi*

*Kiwi: Official Organ of the Auckland University Students' Association* (Sub-title varies.)


Linocuts, woodcuts, line drawings, and photographs.

After over two decades of bi-annual publication, with the establishment of *Craccum* in 1928 *Kiwi* was freed from the need to report student activities, and became an annual largely devoted to literary work. Over the next six years there appeared a series of issues featuring the work of those poets and writers also associated with *Phoenix*, including A.R.D. Fairburn, R.A.K. Mason, Allen Curnow, and James Bertram. The issue for 1948, edited by Maurice Duggan and printed by Robert Lowry, drew on more than just local student contributors to feature the work of Fairburn, Denis Glover, David Ballantyne, James K. Baxter, John Reece Cole, Kendrick Smithyman, Keith Sinclair, G.R. Gilbert, and Duggan himself. *Kiwi* was replaced by *Craccum Literary Supplement* in 1962, *Crucible* in 1964, *Te Maarama* in 1975, *Bright But Invisible* in 1978, and *Tango* in 1982.

Noteworthy contributors: David Ballantyne, James K. Baxter, James Bertram, John Reece Cole, Allen Curnow, Maurice Duggan, A.R.D. Fairburn, Maurice

^22 Lowry is also credited with the typography for the issue for 1963, and his daughter Vanya Lowry with that for 1965. Lowry was also to varying degrees involved in the Griffin, Pelorus and Pilgrim Presses.
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23 Two poems signed 'J.B.,' 'The Lover Speaks' and 'Nocturnal, Albert Park,' appeared in \textit{Kiwi} 25 (1930) (pages 8 and 20 respectively), but do not seem to be the work of James Bertram.
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24 Both this poem and 'The Harbour' became part of the *Sings Harry* sequence, published in 1951.
25 Harvey became Kay Holloway.
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Printers: Whitcombe & Tombs (July 1922 - June 1923 and December 1924 - November 1926), Abel Dykes Ltd (July 1923 - November 1924), and Dawson Printing Co. (December 1926 - March 1963).


Photographs, line drawings, engravings, art reproductions, advertising illustrations.

In its more than five hundred monthly issues, the Mirror published an enormous amount of fiction, poetry and other material of literary interest by a wide range of local and overseas writers. Many notable New Zealand authors of popular fiction appeared in its pages and it played an important role in the fostering of several significant careers, including that of Dorothy Eden. Verse, often penned by the magazine's readers, was also a regular feature, as were regular items of literary news, including some reviewing but little criticism of any substance.


Noteworthy artists: Carl Shreve, Kennaway Henderson, John Jamison, Pamela Kelliher, Peter McIntyre, T.S. Mackay, and Bernard Roundhill.

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27 An expanded version of this entry has been lodged with major libraries. Stephen Hamilton, 'An Annotated Bibliography and Select Author Index for the Mirror: New Zealand's National Home Journal: July 1922 - March 1963 (Vol.1, no.1 - Vol.42, no.9),' (Auckland: Department of English, University of Auckland, September 1993)

28 Named Art Director from Vol.14, no.1 (July 1935) to Vol.15, no.1 (July 1936). Shreve supplied full-colour cover illustrations for the magazine from Vol.14, no.2 (August 1935) until Vol.16, no.12 (June 1938). He also wrote and illustrated an adventure story, 'Kill or be Killed,' 14.7 (January 1936): 16-17,49-50.
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29 This issue was incorrectly numbered Vol.18, no.6.
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33 Warwick Lawrence was named Sub-Editor from Vol.16, no.9 to Vol.18, no.3.
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   'Southern Cross,' 22.6(D'43):52;
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36 One of several such articles by O'Connor published during this period.
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Wellington: New Zealand Government Railways Department, 1926-1940.
Editor: G.G. Stewart.
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Woodcuts, linocuts, line drawings, photographs.
Begun as a national railways magazine publicizing New Zealand scenery and rail travel with a strong emphasis on technical articles, New Zealand Railways Magazine soon evolved into a popular and successful national institution, committed to promoting not just the national railways but the country as a whole. Under the able editorship of G.G. Stewart it provided an increasingly valuable outlet for a number of New Zealand writers. Comparisons with the Mirror and Art in New Zealand are fruitful; each fulfilled different but complementary roles in the New Zealand periodical scene.
Noteworthy artists: Ken Alexander.
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This index lists only significant contributions by noteworthy authors. For a complete index refer to Bertha Whyte, 'New Zealand Railways Magazine Index' (Wellington: National Library School, 1942).
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38 Cowan contributed one hundred and twelve articles, a number of which were published over several issues, including his 'Famous New Zealanders' series of forty-seven biographical portraits, No.37 of which was on Cowan himself, written by Oriwa Keripi, as noted above.
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**Art in New Zealand: A Quarterly Magazine Devoted to Art in its Various Phases in Our Own Country** (Title and sub-title vary.)  
Editorial staff: Director: Harry H. Tombs; Literary Editor: C.A. Marris, (1928-1942); Assistant Director: Howard Wadman (1942-1946); Verse Editor: A.R.D. Fairburn (1945-1946).  
Printer: Harry H. Tombs.  
Mounted plate colour reproductions of oil paintings, black and white photograph and photographic reproductions of art work.  

*Art in New Zealand* is first and foremost an invaluable record of New Zealand visual and plastic arts, both for the period of its publication and before. In terms of its literary content, Harry Tombs's publishing power lent sustenance to the generally conservative poetic practised by his literary editor, Charles Marris, who by the mid-thirties had come to represent the old guard in New Zealand literature. However, Marris did foster new literary talent, partly through regular competitions in the fields of poetry, short fiction and the one act play. He published the work of Robin Hyde and several other of the poets more usually associated with *Phoenix*. From 1946 Marris was replaced by A.R.D. Fairburn in the role of Poetry Editor, whose influence revitalised the flagging literary content of the periodical in its final year.  
Noteworthy artists: numerous New Zealand artists of note from the period and before.  

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39 An index to the first fourteen volumes of *Art in New Zealand* was compiled by Elizabeth Arya in 1943 and is held as a typescript in the Alexander Turnbull Library. John Thomson, 'Bibliography,' *Oxford History of New Zealand Literature in English*, ed. Terry Sturm (Auckland: (continued...))
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39(...continued)  
40 N.G. may be Noel Ginn, a close associate of Baxter's throughout this period, although this is by no means certain.
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'Reviews,' includes review of Time and Place, by Ursula Bethell, 9.4(Je'37):191-192;

('Prester John'), 'Reviews,' includes reviews of Valley of Decision, by Allen Curnow, and Canterbury College Review (1933), 6.3(Mr'34):150-52;

'Reviews,' includes review of Vulcan Lane, by Warwick Lawrence, 9.3(Mr'37):164-167;

'Verse Competition,' 4.15(Mr'32):200-201;

Mason, Bruce, article: review of The Importance of Being Earnest, by Oscar Wilde, performed by Wellington Repertory, 17.5(S-O'45):27-28;

Mulgan, Alan, poetry: 'The Old Homestead,' 1.4(Je'29):253-55;
fiction: 'Three Generations,' 2.8(Je'30):255-58;
articles: 'Difficulties of the New Zealand Novelist,' 1.2(D'28):115-117;
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'Edith Searle Grossman, Pioneer,' 3.12(Je'31):278-80;
references to: C.A. Marris ('Prester John'), 'Review,' includes review of A Pilgrim's Way in New Zealand, by Alan Mulgan, 8.4(Je'36):233-237;
Eileen Duggan, 'Three New Zealand Books,' includes review of Spur of Morning, by Alan Mulgan, 7.2(D'34):89-95;
Mulgan, John, poetry: 'Faith,' 6.2(D'33):95;
reference to: C.A. Marris ('C.A.M.'), 'Reviews,' includes review of The Emigrants, by John Mulgan and Hector Bolitho, 11.3(Mr'39):149-153;
Murray, J. Malton, article: 'Plain Man And Poet,' 5.19(Je'33):234-36;
N.G., article: 'A consideration of the verse of James K. Baxter,' review of Beyond the Palisade, by James K. Baxter, 17.5(S-O'45):17-19;
Paul, Blackwood, poetry: 'Consideration on Certain Music of J.S. Bach,' 5.20(Je'33):213-218;
article: 'Our Poets' Progress,' 3.11(Mr'31):181-189;
Pocock, J.G.A., article: 'Historian and Poet in New Zealand,' 17.6(Jn-F'46):34-38;
Tracy, Mona, fiction: 'The Holiday,' 1.4(Je'29):225-231;
'The Powder of Grief,' 2.6(D'29):109-113;
'The Return,' 1.1(S'28):45-47;
Schwimmer, Eric, poetry: trans., 'Morning Hymn' and 'Song of Greatness,' by Joseph Poedjasoebrata, 15.4(Je'43):12;
Sewell, Arthur, articles: 'Auckland Society of Arts,' 17.4(Je-Jy'45):4-9;
'The Amateur Stage,' 17.2(F-Mr'45):10-13;
Smithyman, K., article: 'Luscombe Sonata,' 17.6(Jn-F'46):20-21,33;
Somerset, H.C.D., fiction: Twiddle-Twiddle,' 5.19(Mr'33):172-174;
Unattributed, articles: 'Mr Tosswill Woollaston,' 10.1(S'37):7-12;
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review of 'N.Z. Best Poetry of 1940,' 42 13.2(D.40):98-100;
Wadman, Howard, article: 'Shall we go on publishing Art in New Zealand?' 15.1(S'42):3;
Woollaston, Tosswill, article: 'Toss Woollaston Explains Himself,' 16.1(S'43):13;

41 Reprinted from The Bulletin.
42 Reprinted from The Bulletin.
reference to: unattributed, 'Mr Tosswill Woollaston,' 10.1(S'37):7-12;
Editor: N.F. Hoggard.
Printer: duplicated.
Not illustrated.
The first of the series of periodicals published by Noel Hoggard, Maorilander began with a circulation of two hand-written copies before growing to a run of one hundred by mid-1932. Hoggard's ability to solicit material from older writers gives this adolescent magazine more significance than it appears to deserve at first sight.
Noteworthy contributors: Dulce Carman, Audrey Drummond, Enid B.V. Saunders.
Select Author Index
Carman, Dulce, fiction: 'The Camp Raider,' I:1.4(Je'31):12-13, II:1.5(Jy'31):13-14;
'The Seventh Way,' I:1.4(Je'31):14, II:1.5(Jy'31):14;
Cook, Fred, fiction: 'The Cruise of the "Muritia,"
III:1.4(Je'31):5-6, IV:1.5(Jy'31):9;
Drummond, Audrey, poetry: 'A Frosty Morning,' 1.5(Jy'31):14;
fiction: 'Nitema's Ghost,' 1.4(Je'31):1-2;
Hoggard, Noel, fiction: 'The Greenstone Axe,' 1.5(Jy'31):1-3;
Saunders, Enid B.V., fiction: 'Cabbage Tree: A Maori Legend,' 1.5(Jy'31):4-6;

43 Pat Lawlor, Aussie: New Zealand Section, August 1931, p.52.
44 This index covers only those issues sighted: 1.4 (June 1931) and 1.5 (July 1931).
Phoenix: A Quarterly Magazine (Sub-title varies.)

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

Auckland: The Literary Club of the Auckland University College, 1932-1933.
Editors: James Bertram (1932) and R.A.K. Mason (1933).
Printer: Robert Lowry.
Woodcuts and linocuts.
The most significant little magazine produced during the 1930s, Phoenix was the seeding ground for group a of writers and poets who were to have a considerable influence on New Zealand literature through to the present day. The two volumes differ markedly in emphasis, in accordance with the differing concerns of their respective editors, James Bertram and R.A.K. Mason. Robert Lowry began his career as a fine printer with its production. From its four issues a line can be traced directly through several key periodicals of the thirties and forties to the founding of Landfall in 1947.

Author Index
Allen, C.R., poetry: 'Burnham Beeches,' 2.2(Je'33):39;
  'The Swan,' 1.2(Jy'32):24;
  article: ('C.R.A.'), 'Thoughts on the Function of Poetry,' review of Golden Wedding, by Alan Mulgan, 1.2(Jy'32):47-48,50;
Barwell, J.G., article: ('J.G.B.'), 'Contributors' Club: A Reply to Mr Brasch,' 1.2(Jy'32):41-43;
Beaglehole, J.C., poetry: 'Decline of the West,' 2.2( Je'33):11-13;
Bennett, J.A.W., articles: ('J.A.W.B.'), 'Contributors' Club: After Which,' 1.2(Jy'32):40-41;
  'The Necessity of Criticism,' 1.1(Mr'32):N.pag.;
  ('J.A.W.B.'), 'Remembrance of Things Past,' review of Life and Beauty: A Spiritual Autobiography, by P.W. Robertson, 1.2(Jy'32):44-47;
(‘J.A.W.B.’), review of New Zealand Best Poems (1932), 2.1(Mr’33):48-49;
(‘J.A.W.B.’), review of Sons, by Pearl S. Buck, 2.2(Fe’33):63;
(‘J.A.’), reviews of The Savage Pilgrimage: A Narrative of D.H. Lawrence, by Catherine Carswell, and Reminiscences of D.H. Lawrence, by John Middleton Murry, 2.2(Fe’33):64-65;

Bertram, James, poetry: trans., 'The Dunes Outside,' by Arno Holz, 1.1(Mr’32):N.pag.;
trans., 'Cors De Chasse,' by Guillaume Apollinaire, 1.1(Mr’32):N.pag.;
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'University Poetry 1931,' reviews of Kiwi (1931), Spike (1931), Canterbury College Review (1931), and Otago University Review (1931), 1.1(Mr’32):N.pag.;
(‘J.M.B.’), 'University Prose,' reviews of Kiwi (1931), Spike (1931), Canterbury College Review (1931), and Otago University Review (1931), 1.2(Jy’32):55-59;

Brasch, Charles, poetry: 'Cape Wanbrow: To I.M.,' 1.1(Mr’32):N.pag.;
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'Mountain Storm,' 2.1(Mr’33):34;
articles: 'Contributors' Club: Walter D'Arcy Cresswell,' 1.1(Mr’32):N.pag.;
trans., 'Letters to a Young Poet,' by Rainer Maria Rilke, 1.2(Jy’32):18-21;
The Challenge of Russia,' 1.1(Mr’32):N.pag.;

Brogden, S.M.W., article: 'Contributors' Club: Democracy: Bourgeois or Proletarian?' 2.1(Mr’33):45-46;

Cook, Eric, article: (‘E.K.C.’), 'Contributors' Club,' review of Phoenix 1.1 (March 1932), 1.2(Jy’32):34-36;

Cowie, D.J., fiction: 'Music at Home,' 1.2(Jy’32):28-32;

Cresswell, D'Arcy, article: 'Culture and Puberty,' 1.1(Mr’32):N.pag.;
references to: Charles Brasch, 'Contributors' Club: Walter D'Arcy Cresswell,' 1.1(Mr’32):N.pag.;

Curnow, Allen, poetry: 'Apocalyptic,' 2.2(Fe’33):41;
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'Egotism (As the Hebrew Poets Wrote),' 1.1(Mr'32):N.pag.;
'The Spirit Shall Return,' 1.2(Jy'32):33;
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('A.C.'), review of Sonnets and Studies, by C.R. Allen, 2.2(Je'33):57-58;
('A.C.'), review of Tom's A-Cold, by John Collier, 2.2(Je'33):63-64;
Fairburn, A.R.D., poetry: 'Deserted Farmyard,' 2.1(Mr'33):12;
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Firth, Clifton, articles: 'Russian Films,' I:2.1(Mr'33):17-22, II:2.2(Je'33):21-25;
and R.A.K. Mason ('Group A'), 'Free Man,' 2.1(Mr'33):38-43;
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Fowlds, George, article: ('Everywhere throughout the civilised world'), 2.1(Mr'33):4;
Froude, J.A., article: 'Know this place?' 2.2(Je'33):46;
Garibaldi, article: 'Contributors' Club: All Roads march on Rome,'
2.1(Mr'33):46-48;
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Grey, Sir George, article: ('Even in the case of the missionaries'), 2.1(Mr'33):16;
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Hamilton, Cicely, article: 'How Bill Adams won the battle of Waterloo,' 2.2(Je'33):20;
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Johnstone, Neil, linocut: 'Figurehead,' 1.2(Jy'32):N.pag.;
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Lowry, R.W., articles: 'Literature and Philosophy: a prospect,' 1.1(Mr'32):N.pag.;

45 An extract from J.A. Froude, Oceana (1886).
46 This is attributed to an 'Italian School Book (quoted in Cicely Hamilton's Modern Italy page 14) [sic].'
(‘R.L.’), review of *Introduction to Psycho-Analysis for Teachers*, by Anna Freud, 2.1(Mr’33):[49]-52;47
(‘R.L.’), review of *Ten Days That Shook the World*, by John Reed, 2.2(Je’33):60;
(‘R.L.’), review of *USSR in Construction*, 2.2(Je’33):60-61;
(‘R.L.’), review of *The Student Vanguard*, 2.2(Je’33):61;
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   'Stoic Overthrow,' 1.1(Mr’32):N.pag.;
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   'How it strikes a contemporary,' 2.2(Je’33):18-20;
   'Notes,' 2.1(Mr’33):5-9;
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(‘J.P.’), 'The New Economics Hits New Zealand,' review of *New Zealand Plain Talk: a National Journal to demand Currency Reform on Douglas Social Credit Lines*, 2.1(Mr’33):28-34;
(anonymous), review of *James Joyce and the Plain Reader*, by Charles Duff, 2.1(Mr’33):52;
(anonymous), review of *Hunger and Love*, by Lionel Britton, 2.1(Mr’33):53-54;
(anonymous), review of *Experimental Cinema* No.4, 2.1(Mr’33):54;
(anonymous), review of *Soviet Russia and the World*, by Maurice Dobb, 2.1(Mr’33):55-56;
review of *Light on the Legion*, 2.2(Je’33):54;
review of *The New Zealand Legion*, by D.G. McMillan, 2.2(Je’33):54-55;
review of *To The Workers of New Zealand*, 2.2(Je’33):55;

47 An error in pagination results in the following sequence: page 48; page 45; page 52. Pages fifty and fifty-one are skipped entirely. Page forty-five is here listed as page [49].
review of *Oriflamme* 1 (April 1933), 2.2(Je'33):55-57;
(anonymous), review of *Pomes Penyeach*, by James Joyce, 2.2(Je'33):65;
(anonymous), review of *Spacetime Inn*, by Lionel Britton, 2.2(Je'33):65;
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'We Will Remember Them,' 2.1(Mr'33):27;
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Monro, D.H., fiction: ('D.H.M.'), 'Portrait of a prodigy,' 2.2(Je'33):26-30;
article: and Blackwood Paul ('D.H.M. and D.B.P.'), 'Contributors' Club: We Critics,' 1.2(Jy'32):36-40;
Monro, Rona, fiction: 'Matins,' 2.2(Je'33):45-46;
'Twenty Years Ago,' 1.2(Jy'32):25-27;
Morrison, L.D., linocuts: 'For Phoenix and Oriflamme,' 2.2(Je'33):facing page 33;
'Matins,' 2.2(Je'33):facing page 45;
'Metroproletarian,' 2.1(Mr'33):44;
'Morning in Tuscany,' 1.2(Jy'32):17;
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'Tug,' 2.1(Mr'33):13;
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Paul, Blackwood, articles: and D.H. Monro ('D.H.M. and D.B.P.'), 'Contributors' Club: We Critics,' 1.2(Jy'32):36-40;
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('B.D.P.' [sic]), review of *Seven One-Act Plays*, by Violet Targuse, et al,
2.2(Je'33):58-59;
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Prince, J.W, articles: 'Art in the World Crisis,' 2.1(Mr'33):14-16;
'Maxim Gorky,' 2.2(Je'33):14-16;
Richmond, N.M., article: review of *The Coming Struggle For Power*, by John Strachey, 2.2(Je'33):31-33;
Annotated Bibliography: *Phoenix*

S.F.C., wood cut: 'Strictly Non-controversial,' 2.2(Je'33):frontispiece;
Stewart, J.S., article: 'Oxford,- red or yellow,' 2.2(Je'33):42-44;
Straubel, Carl, poetry: ('C.R.S.'), 'For Phoenix and Oriflamme,' 2.2(Je'33):facing page 33;
Sullivan, M.G., article: review of *The Dallimore Campaign Exposed*, 2.1(Mr'33):49;
Unattributed,\textsuperscript{48} articles: 'Our Universities: the point of view,' 1.1(Mr'32):N.pag.;
'Press Notice,' 1.2(Jy'32):43;
'The need for a new asceticism is upon us,' 1.1(Mr'32):N.pag.;
'Three Comments,' 1.1(Mr'32):N.pag.;
Whitmore, Cyril, linocut: 'Home,' 1.2(Jy'32):49;

\textsuperscript{48} These unattributed items consist of quotations from various sources.
Annotated Bibliography: Spilt Ink

Spilt Ink: A Monthly Pamphlet Issued in the Interests of N.Z. Writers (Sub-title varies.)
Editor: N.F. Hoggard.
Not illustrated.
Successor to Hoggard's Maorilander, Spilt Ink grew from a two page typewritten pamphlet to a substantial journal reporting local and overseas literary news and publishing poetry and fiction solicited from local writers, many of whom were members of the 'Spilt Ink Clubs.' These were established by Hoggard and others to promote New Zealand literature. Succeeded by New Triad.

Select Author Index
Allen, C.R., poetry: 'Christmas Dawn,' 2.8(D'33):7;
'Christmas Gifts,' 3.12(O-N'35):10;
August, S.G., poetry: 'Bracken's Grave,' 1.4(Ag'32):3;
'Chinee,' 2.8(D'33):5;
article: 'Is New Zealand Literature Decadent? A Reply,' 2.9(Ja'34):4;
Austin, L.D., article: 'G.B. Lancaster,' 2.11(Mr'34):5;
Ballard, Anne, poetry: 'Ake or Forever,' 2.8(D'33):9;
Boswell, Jean, fiction: 'Moonlight and Milkbottles,' 2.3(Jy'33):5-6,8;
Buchanan, D. Gordon, fiction: 'Summer Holiday,' 2.8(D'33):4-6,9-10,13;
Carman, Dulce, fiction: 'Gay's Lucky Day,' 4.4(S-O'36):N.pag.;
'Over the Wires,' 3.6(O'34):5-6;
'What the Postman Brought,' 3.12(O-N'35):6,8;
Drummond, Audrey, poetry: 'Swansong,' 3.12(O-N'35):5;
Glover, Denis, article: 'Problems for New Zealand Poetry,' 4.7(Ap-My'37):8;
Hoggard, Noel, articles: 'A Child Genius: Gloria Rawlinson,' 3.7(D'34):1;
'Do You Belong to Spilt Ink Club [sic]?' 3.5(S'34):1;
Hoggard, Roma, poetry: 'Under the Moon,' 4.4(S-O'36):N.pag.;
Igglesden, Olive E., fiction: 'Meadow Sweet,' 2.8(D'33):7;
   'The Road Home,' 2.1(My'33):5,8;
Jesson, Dorothy, fiction: 'The Book Store,' 3.5(S'34):5;
Keith, Joseph G., article: 'Is New Zealand Literature Decadent?' 2.5(S'33):4;
Kitching, Mary, article: letter,49 4.8(Je-Jy'37):12;
Lancaster, G.B., reference to: L.D. Austin, 'G.B. Lancaster,' 2.11(Mr'34):5;
Young, Phyllis, fiction: 'Accident,' 3.8(F-Mr'35):4-5;

Annotated Bibliography: *Oriflamme: A Spasmodical*

*Oriflamme: A Spasmodical*

Christchurch: Canterbury College Caxton Club Press, 1933.

Editors: Denis Glover, Ian Milner, J.P.S. Robertson, John Oakley, C.F. Hart,

Printer: Canterbury College Caxton Club Press.

Single issue: No.1 (April 1933).

Linocuts.

Featuring social and political criticism, epigrams and poetry of a political nature, *Oriflamme* was suppressed by the University College authorities for printing an article by J. Patrick Robertson advocating what he termed companionate marriage. Succeeded by *Sirocco* (July 1933). A second journal titled *Oriflamme* appeared in Wellington between 1939 and 1940.


Noteworthy artists: John Oakley and Leo Bensemann.

**Author Index**

Bensemann, Leo, linocut: 'Il Duce,' 1(Ap'33):N.pag.;

Brookes, Walter, article: 'Women at the University,' 1(Ap'33):N.pag.;

Cook, Eric, article: 'You and Politics,' 1(Ap'33):N.pag.;

Cresswell, D'Arcy, article: 'Of Disputing,' 1(Ap'33):N.pag.;

Efford, Lincoln A., article: 'For King & Country,' 1(Ap'33):N.pag.;

Glover, Denis, poetry: 'To Master ... : [sic] A Poet at the University,'
  1(Ap'33):N.pag.;
  article: 'Papology,' 1(Ap'33):N.pag.;

Milner, Ian, poetry: 'Crazy Fences,' 1(Ap'33):N.pag.;
  article: 'The Why and Wherefore,' 1(Ap'33):N.pag.;

Oakley, John, linocut: 'A Lino-cut;', 1(Ap'33):N.pag.;

Robertson, J. Patrick, poetry: 'No Concern of Ours,' 1(Ap'33):N.pag.;
  article: 'Sex and the Undergraduate,' 1(Ap'33):N.pag.;

  'For the Soc. Imp. Cult.,' 1(Ap'33):N.pag.;
New Zealand Mercury

Winged-heeled he bore his message from the Gods.
From realms of golden dawns and moon-beamed mists;
Some few of us half-heard him, as he passed . . . [sic]

Wellington: Helen Longford, 1933-1936.
Editor: Helen Longford.
Printers: Bryant Duplicating Bureau (1933-1934) and Reynolds, Lewis, Henderson (1934-1936).
Not illustrated.

Featuring poetry and prose but little editorial or critical comment, Longford's New Zealand Mercury is the best local example of the little magazine of conservative tendencies. While always open to experiments in 'ultra-modern verse,' a Georgian poetic dominates, as exemplified by the work of Arnold Cork and C.R. Allen. Longford's desire to provide an outlet for budding New Zealand literary talent bore fruit with the publication of work by several poets who were later to gain prominence.


Select Author Index

'April,' 3.12(Mr'36):3;
'At the Sound Film,' 2.3(Je'34):9;
'Atlas,' 1.7(O'33):2;
'Barrington Green,' 3.11(F'36):8;
'Autolycus,' 3.7(O'35):6;
'Duty,' 2.6(S'34):8;
'Echoes,' 3.4(Jy'35):4;
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Annotated Bibliography: *New Zealand Mercury*

'Jane,' 2.2(My'34):4;
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'Wordsworth,' 2.1(Ap'34):2;
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('C.R.A.'), letters, 1.3(Je'33):15; 1.8(N'33):10;
reference to: [Helen Longford], review of *Sonnets and Studies*, by C.R. Allen, 1.1(Ap'33):12-13;
Andersen, Johannes C., poetry: 'The Wanderer - Pipiwharauroa (The Shining Cuckoo,' 2.4(Jy'34):4;
Andrews, Isobel, poetry: 'Judas,' 3.12(Mr'36):21;
August, S.G., poetry: 'Birthday,' 2.1(Ap'34):8;
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B., article: letter, 1.11(F'34):18.
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   'Carol,' 3.3(Je'35):17;
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   'Dirge Autumnal,' 1.6(S'33):4;
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   'Idyll,' 1.12(Mr'34):6;
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   'Intrusion,' 3.12(Mr'36):4;
   'Landscape,' 2.2(My'34):18;
   'Long Ago,' 2.6(S'34):9;
   'Mosaic,' 1.2(My'33):6;
   'Near Belmont Tower,' 1.1(Ap'33):3-4;
   'Ode,' 2.4(Jy'34):5;
   'Ode,' 3.8(N'35):2;
   'Ode Antipodean,' 1.8(N'33):5;
   'Phoenicia,' 2.10(Ja'35):4;
   'Russian Corn,' 2.3(Je'34):3;
   'Silverstream,' 1.9[D'33]:2;
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   'Song,' 3.2(My'35):19;
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50 Dowling's authorship of this poem is asserted on an erratum slip in the issue.
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51 This is Janet Frame's mother. 'Mother began publishing her poems each week in the Wyndham Farmer and soon became known, with pride, as "Lottie C. Frame, the local poet."' Janet Frame, To the Is-Land (1983; Auckland: Vintage, 1991) 20.
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52 This attribution is based on the tone and intention of this item, and the fact that it also introduces another of Longford's probable pseudonyms, 'Antonio.'
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*Sirocco*

Christchurch: Caxton Club Press, July 1933.

Editors: Denis Glover, Ian Milner and members of the Caxton Club.

Printer: Caxton Club Press.

Single Issue: No.1 (July 1933).

Linocuts.

Direct successor to *Oriflamme*, and very similar in format and content, featuring articles, fiction and poetry.

Noteworthy contributors: Allen Curnow, A.R.D. Fairburn, and Denis Glover.

Noteworthy artists: F. Akins and Rita Cook.

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New Zealand Verse

Oamaru and Temuka: Handcraft Press, 1934.

Editor: Mackellar Giles.

Printers: Handcraft Press (January - February 1934) and The Advocate, Temuka (March - September 1934).


Linocuts and woodcuts.

A magazine of lyrical verse and song, much of it contributed by the editor or by the popular song writer James J. Stroud. In form and content this periodical was in a sense revived by the efforts of Donald H. Lea of Otaki with his Verse produced between June 1935 and March 1938.

Noteworthy contributors: Mackellar Giles, Noel Hoggard, Roma Hoggard, James J. Stroud.

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53 It appears that issue numbering skipped Volume 1, number 5.
Annotated Bibliography: Quill

Quill: Women Writers' and Artists' Journal (Title and subtitle varies.)
Editors: various.
Printers: cyclostyled (1934, 1935), Reynolds Lewis Henderson (1936, 1938), and Wright & Carman (1948).
Annual (but irregular): n.n. (1934-1948).
Line drawings.
Providing a valuable outlet for women's writing, the five issues of Quill featured poetry and prose by members of the Women Writers' and Artists' Society, which was dedicated to elevating women's writing from the status of hobby it held prior to World War Two.

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Annotated Bibliography: *Tomorrow*

*Tomorrow: A New Zealand Independent Fortnightly Paper* (Subtitle varies.)

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

Christchurch: Kennaway Henderson 1934-1940.

Editor: Kennaway Henderson.


Cartoons by Kennaway Henderson.

In addition to being a major outlet for radical political discussion during the period of its publication, *Tomorrow* was also an important site for new literary work. The state of the national literature was frequently discussed by critics such as Winston Rhodes, Frank Sargeson, Allen Curnow, and several very prominent writers and poets obtained significant early publication in its pages. If only for its publication of the early stories of Frank Sargeson, *Tomorrow* must be regarded as one of the most important periodicals published to date in New Zealand.


Noteworthy artist: Kennaway Henderson.

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Annotated Bibliography: *Verse*

*Verse*


Editor: Donald H. Lea.

Printer: Collins Print, Otaki.

Quarterly: No.1 - No.12 (June 1935 - March 1938).

Not illustrated.

The editor and sole contributor to this periodical displayed a talent for writing conventional verse.
Annotated Bibliography: Monocle

Monocle: The New Zealand Monthly Magazine
Editor: Oliver A. Gillespie.
Printer: C.M. Banks.
Photographic and art reproductions.

A glossy magazine styled on the Mirror and edited by former Mirror editor O.A. Gillespie, the Monocle solicited contributions from local writers and artists. Most fiction was syndicated from overseas sources, including stories by Thomas Hardy and A.J. Cronin. Of the few New Zealand writers to appear in its pages were Hector Bolitho, Eve Langley and Quentin Pope. After appearing in the Mirror from June 1934 to August 1937, a book column by Jane Mander reappeared in the Monocle from January 1938.


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New Triad With Which Is Incorporated Spilt Ink: N.Z. Literature Drama Music
(Sub-title varies.)
Editor: N.F. Hoggard.
Printer: Handcraft Press.
Linocuts and photographs.
The second of the series of periodicals edited by Noel Hoggard which culminated in the long running Arena. Described by Lawlor in 1951 as 'an atrociously printed journal' [Books and Bookmen:134], though certainly an improvement on its predecessor Spilt Ink, New Triad nevertheless failed to fulfil its intention to emulate the controversy of the original Triad (qv), published in Dunedin and later Sydney between 1893 and 1927.
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Allen, C.R., poetry: 'Heine,' n.s.1.10(N-D'38):18;
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*Oriflamma: A literary journal of youth and the fine arts*

'Aude Esse.'
Wellington: A.St.C.M. Murray-Oliver, 1939-1942.
Editor: A.St.C. Murray-Oliver.
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Named in emulation of Denis Glover's first little magazine, Murray-Oliver's quarterly featured poetry and some fiction by students and others.

**Author Index**

Allen, C.R., poetry: 'Andantino,' 1.2(Mr'40):N.pag.;
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Annotated Bibliography: Rostrum

Rostrum
Editors: various.
Printers: Caxton Press (1939-1940, 1942-1946) and Whitcombe & Tombs (1941).
Annual: No.1 - No.7 (August 1939 - September 1946).\(^5\)
Line drawings, lino and woodcuts, photographs.
Published during World War Two as the annual of the New Zealand University Students' Association, Rostrum featured articles on both student and university affairs and on a wide range of university disciplines as well as poetry, fiction, drawings and photographic studies. Contributors included both graduates and students of the University, as well as academic staff and members of the Senate.
Noteworthy artists: Hella Hoffman.

Select Author Index
Alpers, Antony, articles: 'Music for New Zealand,' [4](Ag'42):7-9;
'Musical Art and the Need for Integrity,' 5(Ag'43):11-14;
Baxter, James K., poetry: 'Blow Wind of Fruitfulness [sic],' 7(S'46):47-48;
('J.K.B.'), 'The Closed Picture,' 6('45):43;
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De la Mare, F.A., articles: 'Creed, Culture and Theological Degrees,' [4](Ag'42):35-37;
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\(^5\) No issue for 1944.
Annotated Bibliography: Rostrum

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Co-operative Book News: Organ of the Christchurch Co-Operative Book Society Limited (Subtitle varies.)

'Each for all, and all for each.'

Christchurch: Christchurch Co-operative Book Society, 1941-1943.

Editor: William L. Robertson.

Printer: Cyclostyled (1941 - May 1942, July 1942) and Caxton Press (June 1942, August 1942 - 1943).


Line drawings.

Initially consisting of four cyclostyled foolscap pages stapled in the top left-hand corner, Co-operative Book News carried Book Society reports, book lists, and reviews, although it was more concerned with international socialism and the fight against fascism than with local literature. Succeeded by the Progressive Publishing Society's Co-op Books.

Noteworthy contributors: Allen Curnow and Winston Rhodes.

Noteworthy artists: Leo Bensemann.

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*Book: A Miscellany From The Caxton Press* (Subtitle varies.)


Editor: Denis Glover.

Printer: Caxton Press.

Irregular: No.1 - No.9 (March 1941 - July 1947).

Line drawings, engravings, linocuts, photographs.

A miscellany from the Caxton Press featuring prose, poetry, essays, articles, criticism, engravings and other art work, *Book* is of interest as much for its design and typography as for its contents. An increasingly valuable outlet for Caxton writers during the war years and immediately after, it forms a tangible link between *Phoenix* and *Tomorrow* and the post-War publication of *Landfall*.


Noteworthy artists: Rita Cook, Leo Bensemann, and Mervyn Taylor.

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New Zealand New Writing
Editor: Ian Gordon.
Printer: Whitcombe & Tombs.
Annual: No.1 - No.4 (December 1942 - March 1945).
Not illustrated.
Highly emulative in both design and editorial objectives of John Lehmann's Penguin New Writing, New Zealand New Writing was one of the most significant little magazines published in New Zealand during World War Two. Featuring poetry, fiction, and criticism by a host of new and established writers, under Ian Gordon's editorship it developed into a very profitable venture for its publishers, thus ensuring it survived their initial intention that it be primarily an outlet for socialist realist poetry and writing.

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63 As Michael King points out in his biography of Sargeson, Wallace Gaitland was the nom de plume of would-be novelist Lionel Grindlay. Michael King, Frank Sargeson: A Life (Auckland: Viking, 1995) 242.
64 Hollyman's poems were given the collective title 'Five Poems from a Pacific Campaign.'
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Not illustrated.

Select Author Index
Cluett, Isabel, article: letter [New Zealand New Writing], 2.1(Ja'45):N.pag.;
Fairburn, A.R.D., article: 'Tips for Young Writers,' 1.12(O'44):N.pag.;
Gilberd, R., article: letter [New Zealand New Writing], 2.5(My'45):N.pag.;
Gordon, I.A., article: 'NZNW and its Critics,' 1.13(N'44):N.pag.;
Harris, James, article: letter [New Zealand New Writing], 1.12(O'44):N.pag.;
Harris, John and G.W. Parkyn, article: letter [New Zealand New Writing], 1.12(O'44):N.pag.;
Ingham, Gordon, article: letter [New Zealand New Writing], 2.1(Ja'45):N.pag.;
Locke, Elsie, article: letter [New Zealand New Writing], 2.2(F'45):N.pag.;
Mills, Tom L., article: letter [New Zealand New Writing], 2.4(Ap'45):N.pag.;
Parkyn, G.W., and John Harris, article: letter [New Zealand New Writing], 1.12(O'44):N.pag.;
Scott, W.J., article: review of New Zealand New Writing No.2, 1.1(N'43):6;
Rhodes, Winston, articles: ('H.L.R.' [sic]), review of Sailing or Drowning: Poems, by Allen Curnow, 1.2(D'43):4;
('H.W.R.'), review of Verses by Whim Wham, [by Allen Curnow], 1.3(Ja'44):4;
Verry, H.L, article: ('H.L.V.'), 'New Writing in Australia,' review of Australian New Writing 1, 1.3(Ja'44):5;
Unattributed, article: 'New Writing Editorship to Rotate? Tribute to Professor Gordon,' 2.1(Ja'45):N.pag.;
Annotated Bibliography: Arena

*Arena: A Quarterly of New Zealand Writing* (Published as *Letters* to No.10. Subtitle varies.)
Editor: Noel Farr Hoggard.
Printer: Handcraft Press.
Linocuts and line drawings.

*Arena* was a further continuation of Hoggard's valuable support of New Zealand writing begun in 1932 with *Spilt Ink*. Numerous young writers and poets obtained first or significant early publication in *Arena*, and several of the more prominent of these went on to support Hoggard's little magazine long after they required it as an outlet for their work, including Kendrick Smithyman, and Louis Johnson.


**Select Author Index**

The following index supplements that provided by P. Andrews in 'An Index to *Arena*, Numbers 1-70' (Wellington: National Library School, 1970) with a select author index to the final eleven issues, Numbers 71-81 (August 1969 - February 1975).

Beyer, Tony, poetry: 'Cold Night Road,' 75(Jy'71):17;
 'Your Small Warm Animals,' 77(Je'72):24;
Finlayson, Roderick, fiction: 'Another Kind of Life,' 75(Jy'71):2-6;
Glover, Denis, poetry: 'A Waiting Game,' 75(Jy'71):14;
 'Looking on Death,' 75(Jy'71):14;
 'On Looking Into Darwin,' 75(Jy'71):14;
Grace, Patricia, fiction: 'The Lucky One,' 78(D'72):19-21;
Habib, Rowley, fiction: 'Fragments of a Childhood,' 74(Ja'71):8-12;
Harlow, Michael, poetry: 'One,' 79(Jy'73):19;

Hilliard, Noel, poetry: 'Private,' 78(D'72):17;

Johnson, Louis, poetry: 'A Birthday in New Guinea,' 71(Ag'69):22;
   'Girlie Magazine,' 77(Je'72):26-27;
   'Gold in Them Hills,' 75(Jy'71):16;
   'In Memoriam: Adam Lindsay Gordon,' 74(Ja'71):13;
   'Khura,' 71(Ag'69):20;
   'Letter to Noel Farr Hoggard,' 81(F'75):11;
   'Nigredo,' 73(Jy'70):16;
   'The Lesson,' 77(Je'72):26;
   'The Mad Lecturer,' 81(F'75):12;
   'The Victim Always,' 78(D'72):27;

Kidman, Fiona, poetry: 'Awakeness,' 81(F'75):10;
   fiction: 'The Last Shot,' 76(D'71):2-6;

Langford, Gary, poetry: 'Evensong,' 76(D'71):9;
   'from "The Family,"' 79(Jy'73):25, 80(Mr'74):23;
   'In the Fields a Slow Drowning,' 76(D'71):8;
   'Leaving a Hard Country,' 74(Ja'71):27;
   'Sunday Morning,' 75(Jy'71):28;
   'The House,' 80(Mr'74):19;

Lasenby, Jack, poetry: 'Birthday in Wellington,' 72(D'69):11;
   'Hawker Street Sunday,' 79(Jy'73):8;

Long, D.S., poetry: 'Poem' ('Only the hollow part'), 77(Je'72):24;
   'Poems for a City: 1, 2, 3, 4,' 80(Mr'74):26-27;

Mitcalfe, Barry, fiction: 'Under the Breadfruit Tree,' 81(F'75):2-9;

Parmee, Frederick, poetry: 'Creation Myths - Volume One: New Zealand,' 73(Jy'70):22;
   'My Son's House,' 77(Je'72):7;
   'Searching for Childhood,' 78(D'72):7;

Paterson, A.I.H., poetry: 'A Song for Celia,' 79(Jy'73):6;
   'Amulet,' 80(Mr'74):8;
   'Apres le Nuit,' 73(Jy'70):21;
Annotated Bibliography: *Arena*

'Geraniums,' 74(Ja'71):14-15;
'Glow-Worms,' 77(Je'72):13;
'The Elevator,' 72(D'69):27;
'Waimea Bay,' 75(Jy'71):6;

Prescott, David, article: 'Aspects of the Poetry of Robert Thompson,' 76(D'71):10-13;

Reeves, Trevor, poetry: 'Dunedin Gardens,' 78(D'72):9;
'Goldminer's Place,' 77(Je'72):22;
'The Graft,' 77(Je'72):22;

Shaw, Helen, poetry: 'Playful Lovesong,' 80(Mr'74):20;
'The Imitation,' 79(Gy'73):26;
'The Stranger,' 80(Mr'74):20-21;
'This Duelling,' 81(F'75):26;

Smithyman, Kendrick, poetry: 'After the Last Examiner's Meeting,' 76(D'71):7;
'Aubade,' 72(D'69):9;
'Going to Hell,' 72(D'69):9;
'Haworth Church,' 76(D'71):7-8;
'Larkfall, Thunder,' 81(F'75):21;
'Not Beyond Hearing,' 78(D'72):9;
'Nouns Without Shadows,' 77(Je'72):19;
'Passing Time,' 72(D'69):9;
'Sympathies,' 81(F'75):21;
'Voyage to Laputa,' 79(Jy'73):6;

Southam, Barry, poetry: 'Cautious Lover Setting Self-fulfilling Prophecy in Motion,' 76(D'71):26;
'The Couple,' 76(D'71):25-26;
'The Pensioner,' 77(Je'72):20;

Summers, John, poetry: 'Bush Lawyer,' 75(Jy'71):7-8;
'Francis Comforts Members of Brother Body,' 80(Mr'74):22;
'Outstaring the Muse,' 78(D'72):22;
'Passover,' 72(D'69):26;
'Ringing the Changes,' 73(Jy'70):15;
Annotated Bibliography: Arena

'To Time, The Muse,' 81(F'75):23;
fiction: 'The Mask,' 77(Je'72):2-6,28;
Thompson, Robert, poetry: 'As Through a Prism,' 73(Jy'70):10;
 'For Good Friends,' 74(Ja'71):15;
 'For Greeks - and Wine,' 71(Ag'69):26;
 'In Brief Retrospect,' 75(Jy'71):22;
 'Love-Time,' 79(Jy'73):24-25;
 'Notes for a Young Poet in Despair,' 73(Jy'70):9;
 'Poems for Tony and Ivan,' 79(Jy'73):24;
 'Remembering How,' 76(D'71):27;
 'These Still Amaze,' 76(D'71):27;
 'This, Our Land,' 80(Mr'74):10;
 'This Room, We Said,' 73(Jy'70):9;
 'Unkind Words for a Prude,' 75(Jy'71):22;
 'Upon Whom Time Feeds,' 76(D'71):28;
 reference to: David Prescott, 'Aspects of the Poetry of Robert Thompson,' 76(D'71):10-13;
Trussell, Denys, poetry: 'Rock Artists: South Island,' 81(F'75):9;
Wedde, Ian, poetry: 'August, the Paired Butterflies,' 78(D'72):6;
 'Music Lesson,' 75(Jy'71):23;
Weir, J.E., poetry: 'The Waterfall,' 72(D'69):10;
Wilson, Phillip, fiction: 'The Woodshed,' 79(Jy'73):2-5;
Young, Mark, poetry: 'The Distances,' 72(D'69):25;
Anvil

Editor: Rosemary Seymour.
Printers: Abel Dyke Ltd (1945) and Handcraft Press (1946).
Quarterly, but irregular: n.n. (September 1945 - June 1946).
Not illustrated.
Published by the Anvil Club, largely comprising students and journalists, the
tone of Anvil's fiction, poetry, and articles indicates that it was an attempt to
revive the spirit of Tomorrow.
Noteworthy contributors: Werner Droescher, Maurice Duggan, Greville Texidor,
and G.R. Gilbert.

Author Index

Allender, R., article: 'Music a la mode,' 1946:25-29;
Allerton, Arthur, article: 'New Zealanders As They Don't See Themselves,'
1945:1-3;
Anderson, W., article: 'White-Anting in the Higher Education,' 1945:5-13;
Belshaw, Horace, article: 'Community Centres,' 1945:31-35;
Eaton, M.S., article: 'Recent New Zealand Literature,' 1945:17-21;
Droescher, Werner, fiction: 'The Circles, the Squares, the Heavenly Ether,'
1946:17-21;
Duggan, Maurice, fiction: 'Machinery Me,' 1945:9-13;
'Old Man,' 1946:29-34;
G.E.N., fiction: 'Fiction,' 1945:35-36;
Gilbert, G.R., poetry: 'Poem' ('Shout out the praises of these islands'), 1945:4;
Hogben, Margot, article: 'Whoops for us Women,' 1946:1-4;
Hoggard, N.F., article: 'Portrait of a Personality,' 1945:16-17;
McDougall, J.F., article: 'O.N.D. and T.V.A.: Planning and Democracy,'
1946:11-17;65
Murphy, R., fiction: 'Stoppage,' 1946:21-25;
Southon, R.M., article: 'The Eye of the Beholder,' 1946:5-11;

65 The initials stand for the Organisation for National Development and the Tennessee Valley Authority.
Sutch, W.B., article: 'Controls,' 1945:21-28;
Texidor, Greville, fiction: 'Elegy,' 1945:29-31;
Winterbourn, R., article: 'About Vocational Guidance,' 1945:13-16;
Annotated Bibliography: *Chapbook*

*Chapbook: A Private Magazine of Poetry, Music and Art* (Title varies.)
Editor: Ronald B. Castle.
Cyclostyled.
Bi-monthly (but irregular): No.1 - No.28 (1945 - 1950).
Linocuts, woodcuts, and line drawings.

*Chapbook* published poetry, articles, criticism and reviews as well as music and lino and woodcuts. Much of the material emanated from the multi-talented Castle family, including verse by Ronald Castle. Louis Johnson made regular contributions of poetry between November 1946 and May 1949 while F.W. Reed contributed articles on the life and work of Alexander Dumas.

Noteworthy contributors: Louis Johnson, Ronald B. Castle, F.W. Reed, Una D. Scott.

**Select Author Index**

Castle, Ronald B., poetry: 'A Carol for Christmas,' 14(D'46):82-83;

'An Old Fable,' 8(Ja'46):90;

'Boat Song,' 6(O'45):62;

'Deep in a Mist of Roses,' 17(Jy'47):26;

'In a Palace Garden,' 4(n.d):39-39;

'Landfall,' 7(D'45):72;

'Long Ago,' 24(My'49):135;

'Polynesian Ode,' 21(Je'48):32;

'Prelude for a New Era,' 13(N'46):57;

'Rendezvous,' 20(Mr'48):115;

'Sic Transit Gloria,' 18(O'47):48;

'Song of Homage to the Throne: Anno Domini MCMXLIX,' 25(Ag'49):23;

'The Coral Reef,' 9(F'46):100;

'The Fall of the Leaf,' 10(Ap'46):127;

'The House,' 12(Ag'46):26;

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66 The first and second issues of *Chapbook* have not been seen by this researcher.
Annotated Bibliography: *Chapbook*

'The Kingdom,' 26(D'49):22-23;
'The Unforsaken,' 16(n.d.):18-19;
'The Winged Horse,' 5(n.d.):46-47;
'Walking the Meadows,' 23(Ja'49):90;
'Zephyr,' 22(O'48):50;

articles: trans., 'Early Spanish Clavier Music,' by Joaquin Nin, 11(Je'46):4-7;
'Editorial,' 6(O'45):53, 7(D'45):63, 10(Ap'46):135, 14(D'46):65, 17(Jy'47):25,
'Editorial: Chapbook Passes a Milestone of Progress,' 21(Je'48):1;
'Folk Music and the Elizabethan Virginal Composers,' 16(n.d.):18-19;
'From the Editor's Bookshelf,' review of *Look to the Sun*, by Weston McDaniel,
21(Je'48):25;
'Notice to Readers,' 3(n.d.):N.pag.;
'The Toys of the Patrico,' 23(Ja'49):102-104;
'The Rebirth of a Harpsichord,' 15(F'47):107-108;
('R.B.C.'), review of *Poems 1938-1948*, by Noel Farr Hoggard, 22(O'48):64-65;

Castle, Zillah, articles: 'Ernest Jenner: An Appreciation,' 28(Jy'50):28-29;
'Handel's Original Music for Recorders,' 24(My'49):134;
'Opera Comes to New Zealand,' 24(My'49):108-111;
'The Corelli Violin Bow,' 20(Mr'48):117-118;
'This Ancestor Theory,' 21(Je'48):2-4;
'Where is New Zealand's Musical Museum[?] National Treasures Lying Idle,'
16(n.d.):1-3;
'Women in Music,' 17(Jy'47):39-41;

Johnson, Louis, poetry: 'April,' 20(Mr'48):114-115;
'Birds,' 13(N'46):46;
'Cubique,' 13(N'46):46;
'Interlude,' 15(F'47):105;
'Peter,' 23(Ja'49):93;
Annotated Bibliography: *Chapbook*

'Poem,' ('Desultory rain upon the harbour hangs'), 18(O'47):50;
'Song: 1948' ('Walking today, to press upon your arm'), 24(My'49):130;
'Sonnet to Orpheus,' 15(F'47):106;
'The Broken Mirror,' 21(Je'48):34-35;
'The Desert,' 19(D'47):84;
'The Undelivered Myth,' 17(Jy'47):27;
Reed, F.W., poetry: ('F.W.R.'), trans., 'A Quatrain,' by Alexander Dumas, 26(D'49):16;
('F.W.R.'), trans., 'From Dumas' Translation of "Rheinlied,"' by Nicholas Becker, 18(O'47):62;
('F.W.R.'), 'King Abib's Gift,' 12(Ag'46):26;
('F.W.R.'), 'The Bird and the Bow,' 11(Je'46):11;
trans., 'The Legend of the Aspen,' by Alexander Dumas, 26(D'49):20-21;
trans., 'The Sleeper,' by Merceline Desbordes-Valmore, 19(D'47):83;
'To the Ports of Granada,' 21(Je'48):31;
('F.W.R.'), trans., 'Two Impromptu Verses,' by Joseph Mery, 19(D'47):83;
'Two Scraps of Paper,' 22(O'48):44-46;
articles: 'A Bath May Spell Danger,' 10(Ap'46):137;
'A Wonderful Six Years,' 28(Jy'50):23-25;
'An Amazing Romance: Isaac Laquedum,' 26(D'49):13-16;
'Dumas the Poet,' 4(n.d.):(N.pag.);
'Dumas' First Book,' 25(Ag'49):9-11;
'Honour Where Due,' 23(Ja'49):87-88;
'On the Difficulty of Destroying a Book,' 24(My'49):112-114;

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Annotated Bibliography: Chapbook

'The Amazing Cagliostro,' 27(Mr'50):6-9;
'The Rev. S. Leigh's Visit to Whangarei Harbour in 1823,' 23(Ja'49):76-78;
'Where Stands Dumas?' 7(D'45):78-80;
Annotated Bibliography: *Egress*

**Egress**

Wellington: Patrick Hayman and Hubert Witheford, 1946.

Editors: Patrick Hayman and Hubert Witheford.

Cyclostyled.

Single issue: No.1 (March 1946).

Not illustrated.

A short lived attempt to produce a little magazine under clearly difficult conditions. The editorial sets out the problems facing such an enterprise in New Zealand in the late forties, including a lack of suitable contributions and public indifference.

Noteworthy contributors: A.G. Bagnall, Patrick Hayman, and Hubert Witheford.

**Author Index**

Aristarcus, article: 'Mr Mirams and the Popular Film,' 1(Mr'46):2-4;

Bagnall, A.G., article: 'An Incident in the History of New Zealand Exploration,' 1(Mr'46):4-7;

Hayman, Patrick, poetry: 'From a stanza by Guillaume Apollinaire,' 1(Mr'46):12;

'To Escape the Boredom of My Fear,' 1(Mr'46):11;

article: and Hubert Witheford, editorial, 1(Mr'46):1;

Jacobs, Keith, poetry: 'Lyttleton, Going South,' 1(Mr'46):7;

Peccator, article: 'Heavy and Faded Like a Flannel Swan,' 1(Mr'46):12-13;

Witheford, Hubert, poetry: 'Dust,' 1(Mr'46):11;

articles: 'On the Coast,' 1(Mr'46):7-11;

and Patrick Hayman, editorial, 1(Mr'46):1;
Canterbury Lambs

Christchurch: Canterbury University College Literary Society, 1946-1949.
Editors: E. Badian (1946), P.C.M. Alcock (1947), and James K. Baxter (1949).
Printer: Caxton Press.
Annual (but irregular): No.1 - No.3 (1946-1949).
Wood engraving, linocuts and photographs.
Poetry and fiction (and a single book review) by Canterbury College students
plus poetry by W.H. Oliver, Pat Wilson, and Alistair Campbell, then members
of Victoria University College and involved with their own little magazine,
Hilltop. The final issue was edited by James K. Baxter, then attending
Canterbury College.
Noteworthy contributors: James K. Baxter, Alistair Campbell, W.H. Oliver, Bill
Pearson, and Pat Wilson.

Select Author Index

Aiken, Shirley, illustration: 'Lino-cut,' 3(49):frontispiece;
Alcock, P.C.M., poetry: 'Journey, Incident, and Journey,' 1(D'46):11;
   fiction: 'Study,' 1(D'46):13;
Anderson, D.M., fiction: 'The Fourth Decade,' 2(Ag'47):N.pag.;
Badian, Ernst, poetry: 'Fantasy on an Autumn Evening,' 1(D'46):25-26;
   article: ('E.B.'), 'Salute to the Reader,' 1(D'46):6;
Baxter, James K., poetry: 'Poem by the Clock Tower Sumner [sic],' 3(49):10-11;
Brockett, C.S., poetry: 'To Those who undertake the Journey. You have been
   Warned,' 2(Ag'47):N.pag.;
Campbell, Alistair, poetry: 'The Statesman,' 1(D'46):28;
Catriona, poetry: 'Arrival by Ferry,' 3(49):30;
Cooke, D.J.R., poetry: 'St Peter to the Liar,' 1(D'46):12;
Cumming, R.S., poetry: 'Pantomime,' 1(D'46):12;
Delany, David J., poetry: 'Poem' (Winter had been kind to us this year'),
   3(49):14-15;
Erikson, J., poetry: 'Rehabilitation,' 2(Ag'47):N.pag.;
   'Shadows Live,' 3(49):25;
   'The Descent of a Man,' 1(D'46):19;
Annotated Bibliography: *Canterbury Lambs*

Free, Anne, poetry: 'Pastoral,' 2(Ag'47):N.pag.;
  'Weaver,' 1(D'46):28;
Furness, Molly, poetry: 'Nor-Westers,' 1(D'46):19;
Giles, Magdalene, fiction: 'Old Sam,' 2(Ag'47):N.pag.;
  'School,' 2(Ag'47):N.pag.;
Greenslade, Peter, fiction: 'Old Rarity,' 3('49):12-14;
Henderson, G.McL., fiction: 'Green Ties,' 1(D'46):18;
Jacobson, P.R., poetry: 'Reverie,' 1(D'46):15;
  'Strange,' 1(D'46):14;
  'Tea Party,' 1(D'46):14;
  'White Hands,' 1(D'46):15;
Kain, Judith, poetry: 'Regeneration,' 2(Ag'47):N.pag.;
McDonald, Malcolm, illustration: lino-cut, 3('49):11;
Margery, poetry: 'Body calling to Body,' 2(Ag'47):N.pag.;
Merise, poetry: 'Death of a Diplomat,' 3('49):9;
Oliver, W.H., poetry: 'Ballad,' 1(D'46):27;
  'Here is the Citadel of Silent Waters,' 2(Ag'47):N.pag.;
Pearson, Bill, fiction: 'Ain't gonna grieve ma Lord no more,' 2(Ag'47):N.pag.;
  'At Leicester's,' 3('49):17-25;
Pollard, J.S., photograph: 'Requiem,' 1(D'46):frontispiece;
Scarlett, Ron J., poetry: 'Canterbury Wheatfields,' 1(D'46):17;
  trans., 'In an Obscure Night,' by St John of the Cross, 2(Ag'47):N.pag.;
  'Seagulls fly far Inland,' 2(Ag'47):N.pag.;
Seely, W., illustration: 'Wood Engraving,' 1(D'46):10;
Seelye, Dick, illustration: 'From a Wood Engraving,' 2(Ag'47):frontispiece;
Simmonds, Rae, poetry: 'Night,' 3('49):9;
Titchener, A.L., fiction: 'Chrissie Chalmers,' 1(D'46):16-17;
Unger, H. Ralph, poetry: 'Thought and Melancholia,' 3('49):8;
Wilson, Pat, poetry: 'Dirge for Young Poets,' 2(Ag'47):N.pag.;
  'Excursus,' 1(D'46):27;
  'The Childhood Church,' 3('49):15-17;
Annotated Bibliography: *Canterbury Lambs*

Wilson, V.J., fiction: 'To Break on Other Sands,' 3('49):26-29;
W.K., poetry: 'Crash Drums,' 2(Ag'47):N.pag.;
Young, G. le F., fiction: 'Reward for Duty Done,' 1(D'46):7-10;
  'Saturday Night at the Vincents,' 1(D'46):20-25;
  'The Old Man's Food,' 3('49):7-8;
Annotated Bibliography: Broadsheet

Broadsheet: The Magazine of the Victoria University College Literary Society
Editors: W.H. Oliver, Pat Wilson, Alistair Campbell, Eric Schwimmer and other contributors.
Printer: Typewritten and duplicated.
Irregular: No.1 - Vol.2, no.5-6 (May 1947 - August 1948).
Line drawing.
The first of a series of literary journals to be produced by the Victoria University College of Wellington Literary Society during mid-century. Directly succeeded by Hilltop (1949) and Arachne (1950-1951). W.H. Oliver, Eric Schwimmer, Pat Wilson, and Alistair Campbell were the main individuals responsible for Broadsheet. Vol.2, no.4 (26 April 1948) carried the title First Placard of the Armadillan Absolutists and amounts to a minor literary hoax, supposedly inspired by the American poet Harry Roskolenko.

Author Index\textsuperscript{67}

'(Anon)' (sic), poetry: 'Poem,' 1(My'47):4;
Bell, Brian, poetry: 'Rumdangle-Sqelch [sic],' 2.4(Je'48):7;
fiction: 'Pater Noster,' 2.4(Je'48):2-6;
Brown, Denzil article: ('D.J.B.'), 'Ursula Bethell,' 2(Ag'47):5-6;
Campbell, Alistair, poetry: ('A.C.'), 'Love Poem IV,' 1(My'47):2;
('C.A.S.'), 'Poem,' 2.3(Ap'48):N.pag.;
and W.H. Oliver ('spud'), 'Mortality,' 2.5-6(Ag'48):18;
and W.H. Oliver, Eric Schwimmer, and Pat Wilson ('E.A.'), 'Death by Dissertation,' 2.3(Ap'48):N.pag.;
illustration: line drawing, 2.3(Ap'48):cover page;
Ecu, Claude, poetry: 'The Cat,' 2.3(Ap'48):N.pag.;
J.A.W., fiction: 'Short Story,' 1(My'47):5-6;
L.J.P.H, poetry: 'At Peace,' 1(My'47):4;

\textsuperscript{67} Attributions of anonymous and pseudonymous contributions based on information supplied by Pat Wilson, Eric Schwimmer, Bill Oliver, and Alistair Campbell.
McLeod, Bruce, poetry: 'Phoenix,' 2.4(Je'48):8-9;
McKenzie, M., poetry: ('M.McK.'), 'Depression,' 2.5-6(Ag'48):9;
M.M., poetry: 'Room of Death,' 2.5-6(Ag'48):12;
Murray-Oliver, A., poetry: ('a.'), 'Lines to My Son Unborn,' 2.5-6(Ag'48):12;
('a.'), ('For us the far journey'), 2.4(Je'48):2;
O.D., article: review of Bookie 1 (March 1948), 2.4(Je'48):9-10;
Oliver, W.H., poetry: ('W.H.O.),' 'Partial Eclipse,' 2(Ag'47):2;
('G.G.N.'), ('Samson came sailing the far horizon'), 2.3(Ap'48):N.pag.;
('J.D.K.'), 'The Rival Animals,' 2.3(Ap'48):N.pag.;
('J.D.K.Z.'), 'The Samuria,' 2.5-6(Ag'48):N.pag.;
and Eric Schwimmer ('G.G.N.'), 'Miracle,' 2.3(Ap'48):N.pag.;
and Alistair Campbell ('spud'), 'Mortality,' 2.5-6(Ag'48):18;
article: ('W.H.O.'), 'Editorial,' 1(My'47):1;
Quelqu'une, poetry: ('The young ash in the wood is very slender'), 2.5-
6(Ag'48):10;
Robertson, R.T., article: 'The Japanese Puppet Theatre - Bunraku,'
2.5-6(Ag'48):13-18;
Schwimmer, Eric, poetry: ('V.M.H.'), 'De Profundis,' 2.3(Ap'48):N.pag.;
and W.H. Oliver ('G.G.N.'), 'Miracle,' 2.3(Ap'48):N.pag.;
articles: ('E.S.'), 'Editorial,' 2(Ag'47):1-2
('E.S.'), 'Introduction to Camus,' 2.5-6(Ag'48):3-5;
('S.E.H.'), 'Harry Roskolenko,' 2.3(Ap'48):N.pag.;
Silenus, article: 'Discussion Groups,' 2.4(Je'48):10-12;
Sinclair, K.V., article: trans., 'The Actor,' by Albert Camus, 2.5-6(Ag'48):3-5;
C.W. Strathern, ('hic'), poetry: 'Immortality,' 2.4(Je'48):7;
'Night,' 2.4(Je'48):1;
Unattributed, articles: 'An Explanation,' 2.4(Je'48):N.pag.;
'Editorial,' 2.5-6(Ag'48):2;
Annotated Bibliography: Broadsheet

'Gordon on Mansfield,' 1(My'47):1-2;
'Introductory Phrases,' 2.3(Ap'48):N.pag.;
'On the Necessity for a National Literature,' 1(My'47):3;

Unger, Ralph, poetry: 'Flotsam,' 2.5-6(Ag'48):10;
'Strife,' 2.4(Je'48):2;
'The Sea is Passion,' 2.4(Je'48):1;

Wilson, Godfrey, poetry: ('G.E.A.W.'), 'Two Poetry,' 2(Ag'47):3-4;

Wilson, Pat, poetry: ('C.W.B.'), 'Homage to Roskolenko,' 2.3(Ap'48):N.pag.;
('P.S.W.'), 'Legend,' 2.5-6(Ag'48):11;
('J.H.T.'), 'The Quest That Never Was,' 2.3(Ap'48):N.pag.;
('P.S.W.'), 'Two Groups,' 1(My'47):4;
('P.S.W.'), 'Where the Schoolboys Walk,' 2.5-6(Ag'48):11;

fiction: and Alistair Campbell, W.H. Oliver, and Eric Schwimmer ('E.A.'),
'Death by Dissertation,' 2.3(Ap'48):N.pag.;

article: 'Study Groups,' 1(My'47):6;
Annotated Bibliography: *Hilltop*

**Hilltop: a literary magazine**
Editors: J.M. Thomson (April-June 1949), and W.H. Oliver (September 1949).
Printer: McKenzie Thornton Cooper, Ltd.
Not illustrated.

Successor to *Broadsheet*, *Hilltop* was professionally printed and deliberately extended its catchment beyond Victoria University College to feature work by an impressive range of contributors. It was succeeded the following year by *Arachne*.


**Author Index**
Ballantyne, David, fiction: 'Girls Have to Suffer,' 1.1(Ap'49):7-9;
Barker, Arthur, poetry: trans., 'On the Choice of His Burial-Place,' by Pierre de Ronsard, 1.2( Je'49):11-13;
trans., 'Sonnets for Helen, XLIII,' by Pierre de Ronsard, 1.2( Je'49):11;
trans., 'The Lark,' by Pierre de Ronsard, 1.2( Je'49):9-10;
trans., 'To His Soul,' by Pierre de Ronsard, 1.2( Je'49):11;
article: 'Poetry of Ronsard,' 1.2( Je'49):8-9;
  'Night in Tarras,' 1.2( Je'49):18;
  'Sea Change,' 1.2( Je'49):18;
  'Shakespeare,' 1.1(Ap'49):26;
  'The Bridge,' 1.1(Ap'49):26;
  'The Climb,' 1.1(Ap'49):26;
  'Wellington,' 1.1(Ap'49):27;
  fiction: 'Blue Peter,' 1.3(S'49):10-11;
  article: 'Why Writers Stop Writing,' 1.2( Je'49):26-27;
Benda, Harry, article: 'Criticism of Criticism [letter],' 1.3(S'49):36;
Boyd, Mary B., article: 'Pacific Review,' 1.3(S'49):12-16;
Annotated Bibliography: *Hilltop*

Brasch, Charles, poetry: 'Sea-gulls Among the Mountains,' 1.2(Je'49):16;
Campbell, Alistair, poetry: 'At the Fishing Settlement,' 1.2(Je'49):15;
   'Girl and Landscape,' 1.2(Je'49):14;
   'Landscape with Figures,' 1.2(Je'49):14;
   'IV' ('Meeting my childhood love one day in magnificent'), 1.1(Ap'49):17;
   'VII' ('Easily you move; and easily as a tree'), 1.1(Ap'49):17;
   'XII: For Bill Mabbett,' 1.1(Ap'49):17;
   'XIII' ('Evening through the gorge'), 1.1(Ap'49):16;
   'XV: The Girl at the Library,' 1.1(Ap'49):16-17;
   'At the Fishing Settlement,' 1.2(Je'49):15;
   'Girl and Landscape,' 1.2(Je'49):14;
   'Landscape with Figures,' 1.2(Je'49):14;
Caselberg, John, poetry: ('This tall mountain'), 1.1(Ap'49):30;
   'The Old Old Lady . . . [sic],' 1.1(Ap'49):24;
   fiction: 'The Fall,' 1.3(S'49):4-5;
Collin, B.E.F.S., poetry: 'Lissea Vara and the Fair Prince,' 1.3(S'49):21-22;
Drawbridge, John, illustration: line drawing, 1.1(Ap'49):cover page -
   1.3(S'49):cover page;
Hunter, Lois, fiction: 'The Home,' 1.3(S'49):23-24;
   'Chant for Ritual,' 1.1(Ap'49):31;
   'Poem About Who,' 1.1(Ap'49):31;
   'Twin Sons Were Born at the Eleventh Hour,' 1.1(Ap'49):31;
   fiction: 'The Eternal Female,' 1.3(S'49):19-20;\(^{68}\)
Jones, Raymond R.F., article: 'Idea of History [letter],' 1.3(S'49):32-34;

\(^{68}\) This story is attributed to 'Louis A. Johnston.'
Annotated Bibliography: Hilltop

McGorm, Frank, fiction: 'In the Beginning,' 1.1(Ap'49):23-24;
Middleton, O.E., article: 'Poetic Struggle [letter],' 1.3(S'49):36-38;
Miles, F.F., article: 'A Help to the Reading of Gerard Manley Hopkins,' 1.2(Je'49):35-37;
Moore, A.C., article: 'Idea of History [letter],' 1.3(S'49):28-30;
Munz, Peter, article: 'An Idea of History,' 1.2(Je'49):5-7;
Murray-Oliver, A.A., article: 'Film Notes: Soviet Youth Parade, 1945,' 1.1(Ap'49):37-39;
  'Advice at the Entrance to Purgatory,' 1.1(Ap'49):13;
  'Sea Legend,' 1.1(Ap'49):13;
  'The Old Stone House,' 1.3(S'49):7-9;
  'The Story of a Mermaid,' 1.1(Ap'49):12;
  articles: and H. Witheford, 'Editorial,' 1.2(Je'49):3-4;
  'Editorial,' 1.3(S'49):3;
O'Shea, John, fiction: 'The Ants,' 1.3(S'49):5-7;
Robertson, R.T., article: 'Early America - Early New Zealand,' 1.1(Ap'49):20-22;
Smith, J. Cameron, poetry: 'The Comic,' 1.3(S'49):18;
  'The Lullaby,' 1.3(S'49):18-19;
Smith, Ron, article: letter [response to A.A. Murray-Oliver, 'Film Notes: Soviet Youth Parade, 1945,' 1.1(Ap'49):37-39], 1.2(Je'49):38;
Smithyman, Kendrick, poetry: 'View of the City, in Oil,' 1.2(Je'49):15;
Summers, John, article: 'Idea of History [letter],' 1.3(S'49):32-34;
Sutton-Smith, Brian, poetry: 'Peter Pan,' 1.1(Ap'49):13;
  fiction: 'Before the Jubilee,' 1.2(Je'49):19-24;
  article: and Pat Wilson, 'Idea of History [letter],' 1.3(S'49):28;
Thompson, Barbara, articles: 'Marionette Theatre,' 1.2(Je'49):24-25;
  'The Tempest With Wood and String,' 1.3(S'49):25-26;
Annotated Bibliography: *Hilltop*

article: 'Half-Way House,' review of *The Middle of the Journey*, by Lionel Trilling, and *Other Voices Other Rooms*, by Truman Capote, 1.1(Ap'49):33-37;

Unattributed, article: 'The Stork,' 1.3(S'49):38;

Wilson, Pat, poetry: 'A Second Tableau,' 1.1(Ap'49):14;
'From an Old Portrait,' 1.1(Ap'49):14;
'Isabel and the Sea,' 1.1(Ap'49):14;
'Time For Bed,' 1.1(Ap'49):15;
'To Whom It May Please You,' 1.1(Ap'49):15;
'World Views of History,' 1.2(Je'49):28-34;
'Wrapped in Time's Veil,' 1.1(Ap'49):14;
and B. Sutton-Smith, 'Idea of History [letter],' 1.3(S'49):28;

Wilson, P. J., fiction: 'In the Tunnel,' 1.1(Ap'49):3-6;


Witheford, Hubert, poetry: 'Afternoon,' 1.2(Je'49):17;
'At the Cavern Mouth,' 1.2(Je'49):17;
'Lake Seen Through Pine Branches,' 1.3(S'49):17;
'Tempest,' 1.2(Je'49):16;
'The Magnolia Tree,' 1.3(S'49):17;
'The Words,' 1.3(S'49):17;
article: and W.H. Oliver, 'Editorial,' 1.2( Je'49):3-4;

Wright, Olive, article: 'Idea of History [letter],' 1.3(S'49):30-32;
**Conspectus: An Academic Publication** (Sub-title varies.)


Editors: various.

Printers: Griffin Press (1949-1952) and University of Auckland Bindery (1964).


Not illustrated.

Student essays, mostly on literary topics.

Noteworthy contributors: Charles Doyle and Murray Martin.

**Author Index**

Asher, J.A., article: 'French Conceptions of Goethe,' 1949:5-9;

Crawford, T., articles: 'Andrew Marvell,' 1950:5-12;

'Three Marxist Interpretations of Milton,' 1952:5-17;

Denham, Rodney, article: 'Florio's A Worlde of Words,' 1964:14-18;

Dennant, R.A., article: 'The Knight Auntrous,' 1952:19-27;

Doyle, Charles, article: 'Making it with the Muse,' 1964:1-13;

Fisher, Barbara, article: 'Shakespearean Tragedy in Maturity and Immaturity,' 1950: 13-21;

Forester, Alison, article: 'The Troilus and Cressida Legend,' 1949:17-21;

Harnett, Mary, article: 'Pushkin's 'Boris Godunov' and the Shakespearean Drama in Russia,' 1950: 28-39;

Hemus, G.A.H., article: 'Darkness and Light in the Bussy d'Ambois,' 1964:42-48;

Johnson, R.S., article: 'Facets of Catullus,' 1950:22-27;

Martin, Murray, article: 'The New Zealand Short Fiction,' 1949:10-16;

McCracken, G.A., article: 'Shelley,' 1952:41-55;

McFarland, Robyn, article: 'Chaucer's Debt to Dante,' 1952:29-40;

Tamplin, Ronald, article: 'Milton after Eliot,' 1964:33-41;

Waller, G.F., article: 'The Clash of Traditions In the Early Poetry of Robert Lowell,' 1964:19-32;

Wells, Tom, article: 'A Doctrine of Grace,' 1949:22-35;
Arachne: A Literary Journal

Editorial Committees: Hubert Witheford, Eric Schwimmer, W.H. Oliver, Lorna Clendon, 'and two anonymous co-editors'⁶⁹ (January 1950); W.H. Oliver, Eric Schwimmer, Hubert Witheford and the Victoria University College Literary Society (February 1951); Louis Johnson, Eric Schwimmer, Hubert Witheford, and the Victoria University College Literary Society (December 1951). Associate Editors: Helen Shaw (Auckland) and Basil Dowling (Dunedin) (1950-1951).


Not illustrated.

Immediate successor to Hilltop, Arachne further extended its range of contributors, in particular providing an ongoing venue for the continued development of a distinctive Wellington school of poets, centred on Louis Johnson, W.H. Oliver, Eric Schwimmer, Hubert Witheford, and Pat Wilson.


Noteworthy artist: E. Mervyn Taylor (cover illustration).

Author Index

Alcock, Peter, poetry: 'Chorus One,' 1.2(F'51):16;
'Dispossession,' 1.2(F'51):15;
'He Rests. He Has Travelled,' 1.2(F'51):16;
'Thunder in the Oaks,' 1.2(F'51):15;
article: 'The Gleaming Lens,' 1.2(F'51):32-35;

Baxter, James K., poetry: 'Elegy 1944,' 1.3(D'51):20-21;

Boyd, Mary M., article: 'Pacific Review: 2,'⁷⁰ 1.1(Ja'50):27-35;

⁷⁰ This is the second instalment of an article begun in Hilltop 1.3 (September 1949): 12-16, and offers tangible proof of the degree of continuity between the two little magazines.
Annotated Bibliography: *Arachne*

Brasch, Charles, article: 'Lebanon,' review of *Impressions of a Unesco Conference*, by M.H. Holcroft, 1.1(Ja'50):35-37;

Campbell, Alistair, poetry: 'Coming of Spring,' 1.2(F'51):4;
  'Death of Hylas: Nymphs' Song' 1.2(F'51):10;
  'From the Persian,' 1.2(F'51):10-11;
  reference to: Eric Schwimmer, 'New Attitudes in New Zealand Poetry,' review of *Shadow of the Flame*, by Hubert Witheford, and *Mine Eyes Dazzle*, by Alistair Campbell, 1.2(F'51):28-31;

Clendon, Lorna, poetry: 'To E. Expostulating on an Arrangement of Shakespeare's Sonnets,' 1.1(Ja'50):17;
  articles: 'Anarchism in New Zealand,' 1.1(Ja'50):8-9;
  letter, 1.2(F'51):36;

Dowling, Basil, poetry: 'The Morepork,' 1.2(F'51):13;

Du Presne [sic], Yvonne, fiction: 'Sunday,' 1.2(F'51):8-9;

Entrican, E.W., poetry: 'Poem,' 1.2(F'51):8-9;

Fraser, George, article: 'The Eclipse of the Market,' 1.2(F'51):17-20;

Hart-Smith, W., article: letters,71 1.1(Ja'50):22-24;

Hervey, J.R., poetry: 'On a Verandah,' 1.3(D'51):15;

Johnson, Louis, poetry:72 'Bells,' 1.3(D'51):17;
  'Dear Doctor D'Ath,' 1.1(Ja'50):15-16;
  'Dreams,' 1.3(D'51):17;
  'Some Held to Love by Hate: for Benjamin Constant,' 1.1(Ja'50):15;
  'The Children,' 1.3(D'51):18;
  'The Kiss,' 1.3(D'51):17;
  'The Music Teacher: Boarding School Sonnet,' 1.3(D'51):18;
  'What Frightens Most,' 1.3(D'51):16;

Lockett, Cherry, poetry: 'Legend,' 1.3(D'51):13;
  'Prayer for a Wanderer,' 1.3(D'51):14;

71 William Hart-Smith responds in this letter to W.H. Oliver's comments on Hart-Smith's *Columbus* (Christchurch: Caxton, 1948), printed in Oliver's editorial to *Hilltop* 1.3 (September 1949): 1. Oliver's response, printed after Hart-Smith's letter, was in turn followed by a further response from Hart-Smith.

72 The poems by Louis Johnson published in Vol.1, no.3 were published below the collective title 'Six Sonnets, Unpleasant.'
Annotated Bibliography: *Arachne*

Munz, Peter, article: 'The Lure of the East,' review of *Introduction to the Study of the Hindu Doctrines*, by R. Guenon, 1.2(F51):26-27;

Ngata, W.T., article: trans., 'Introduction to Maori Poetry,' by Sir Apirana Ngata, 1.3(D51):2-7;

Oliver, W.H., poetry: 'A Figure at the Window,' 1.2(F51):12-13;

articles: editorial, 1.2(F51):1-2;

('W.H.O.'), 'Pastor Niemoller,' 1.1(Ja'50):39-41;

'The Empty Country: An Attitude to Wordsworth,' 1.2(F51):2-7;

letter,73 1.1(Ja'50):22-23;

Rex, H.H., article: 'Concerning Sartre,' 1.1(Ja'50):18-21;

Schwimmer, Eric, fiction: 'I Want to Torpedo You,' 1.3(D51):19-20;

trans., 'The Convent,' by Marcel Bisiaux, 1.2(F51):23-25;

articles: 'Arachne: a literary paper [editorial],' 1.1(Ja'50):1;

'Diary Notes,' 1.1(Ja'50):13-14;

'The Place of Maori Poetry,' 1.3(D51):1-2;

'Valerius Flaccus as a Poet,' 1.2(F51):41-44;

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'New Attitudes in New Zealand Poetry,' review of *Shadow of the Flame*, by Hubert Witheford, and *Mine Eyes Dazzle*, by Alistair Campbell, 1.2(F51):28-31;

('E.S.'), 'Refuge in Craftsmanship,' review of *Poetry London* 17, 1.2(F51):31;

trans., 'The Actor,' by Albert Camus, 1.1(Ja'50):10-12;

letter, 1.2(F51):38;

Shaw, Helen, fiction: 'After the Dark,' 1.1(Ja'50):5-8;

'The Blind,' 1.3(D51):8-13;

article: 'I am the Dark: the Poetry of Ursula Bethell,' 1.3(D51):25-29;

Smithyman, Kendrick, poetry: 'Song' ('Nor separation nor nearness'), 1.1(Ja'50):16;

Spear, Charles, poetry: '1914,' 1.2(F51):11;

'Christoph,' 1.1(Ja'50):4;

73 W.H. Oliver's contribution to an exchange of letters between him and William Hart-Smith initiated by Oliver's comments on Hart-Smith's *Columbus* (Christchurch: Caxton, 1948) published in Oliver's editorial to *Hilltop* 13 (September 1949): 1.
'Die Pelzenaffen,' 1.3(D'51):7;

'Homecoming,' 1.1(Ja'50):2;

'Karl' ('Outside among the talking criss-cross reeds'), 1.1(Ja'50):2;

'Karl' ('All day he stood at Weeping Cross'), 1.1(Ja'50):3;

'Portrait,' 1.1(Ja'50):2;

'Promised Land,' 1.1(Ja'50):3;

'Tancredi,' 1.1(Ja'50):3;

'Vineta,' 1.1(Ja'50):4;


Summers, John, article: letter, 1.2(F'51):36-38;

Unattributed, articles: 'The Stork,' 1.1(Ja'50):43;

'Arachne Anthology,' 1.1(Ja'50):26;

Taylor, E. Mervyn, illustration: cover design, 1.1(Ja'50):cover page - 1.2(F'51):cover page;

Trowern, Lily H., fiction: 'Happiness to Mrs Flanagan,' 1.3(D'51):31-32;

Wilson, Pat, article: 'Blake on War and Hunting,' 1.3(D'51):22-24;

Witheford, Hubert, poetry: ('A harvest shaken on the axel-tree'), 1.3(D'51):15-16;

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('H.W.'), 'The Evaporation of Social Democracy,' 1.2(F'51):39-40;

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reference to: Eric Schwimmer, 'New Attitudes in New Zealand Poetry,' review of Shadow of the Flame, by Hubert Witheford, and Mine Eyes Dazzle, by Alistair Campbell, 1.2(F'51):28-31;
**Gaudeamus: An Independent Student Journal**


Editors: Michael Conway, Anne Osborn, and James Erikson.

Printer: Caxton Press.

Monthly (but irregular): No.1 - No.5 (April - October 1951).

Linocuts, woodcuts, engravings, photographs.

Established in response to a perceived threat to free speech on the Canterbury College campus associated to the nationwide suppression of information and opinion surrounding the 1951 waterfront strike. Published off-campus, and carrying some fiction and poetry, *Gaudeamus*' main objective was to provide an alternative voice to that of *Canta*, the official student weekly newspaper.


**Select Author Index**

Alley, Rewi, poetry: ('Forgotten are the old poets, sitting in gardens'), 1(Ap'51):7;

'The Accused,' 4(Ag'51):9;

('Words are poor things'), 1(Ap'51):7;

Baxter, James K., poetry: 'Tarras Moon,' 2(My'51):6;

Bell, Brian, fiction: 'School Dance,' 2(My'51):11;

Johnson, Louis, poetry: 'Somewhere along the line,' 3(Jy'51):7;

'The Conning-tower,' 3(Jy'51):12;

'The Holy Ghost of Arthur Rimbaud,' 5(O'51):8-9;

'Where you will find him,' 2(My'51):7;

fiction: 'Man in Darkness,' 5(O'51):8-9;


Wilson, Pat, poetry: 'Cuvier Light,' 2(My'51):7;

'Deliberation,' 2(My'51):7;

'Patience,' 5(O'51):11;

'The Precious Pearl,' 5(O'51):11;

Young, Guy le F., poetry: 'Light Summer Lover Song,' 1(Ap'51):2;

'Mowing a steep bank,' 4(Ag'51):5;
Salient: Literary Issue


Author Index

Adcock, Fleur, poetry: 'Moment,' 1952:2;
Barlow, G.W., poetry: 'A Little Knowledge is a Dangerous Thing,' 1955:31;
Baxter, James K., poetry: 'Desert Song,' 1953:N.pag.;
   'Eleven O'Clock Blues,' 1953:N.pag.;
   'Lancelot to Guinevere,' 1955:16-17;
   'Moa Hunter,' 1952:22;
   'Prose Poems; I-VI,' 1952:3-7;
   'Student's Song,' 1953:N.pag.;
   'Tantalus,' 1953:N.pag.;
   'The Lion,' 1953:N.pag.;
   '"The Return of Loneliness,"' 1953:N.pag.;
   'The Sealion,' 1952:7;
   fiction: 'Venus in Her Western Bed,' 1955:4-8;
   articles: 'Notes Towards an Aesthetic,' 1953:N.pag.;
   'The World of the Creative Artist,' 1955:20-26;
   reference to: photograph, 1952:32;
Brockie, R., illustration: cartoon, 1953:N.pag.;
Burns, Patricia, fiction: 'The Torchbearers,' 1953:N.pag.;
Cameron, B.J., article: 'Many Happy Self-Regards,' 1953:N.pag.;
Campbell, Alistair, poetry: 'Lament,' 1952:13;
Capie, James Hunter, fiction: 'Felo de Se,' 1955:27-30;
Clark, Russell, illustration: cartoon, 1952:14;
Cody, John, articles: 'An Introduction to Modern Art,' 1952:14-18;
   'Music Room,' 1953:N.pag.;
   'To "The Common Reader,"' 1953:N.pag.;
Crowe, Peter, article: 'A Major Development,' 1955:13-15;
Doyle, Charles, poetry: 'Poem (For F.C.L.),' 1955:31;
   'Sonnet,' 1955:9;
   'Streamers Waving,' 1955:12;
   'Three Aspects of a Poem,' 1953:N.pag.;
   article: 'Editorial,' 1955:2-3;
Dronke, Peter, poetry: trans., 'The Third Elegy,' by Maximianus, 1955:18-19;
   trans., 'Tristan,' by August Graf von Platen, 1953:N.pag.;
   article: 'Editorial,' 1952:inside cover page-2;
Garrett, Dennis, article: 'Philistines and Pharisees,' 1953:N.pag.;
Henrici, Jocelyn, poetry: 'Akatarawa,' 1955:26;
   'Dryad,' 1953:N.pag.;
   'Kapiti,' 1953:N.pag.;
   'Sestina,' 1953:N.pag.;
Hutchings, P.A., article: 'Chaucer and Courtly Love,' 1952:24-27;
Johnson, Louis, poetry: 'A Poet Addresses His Poem,' 1953:N.pag.;
   'A Woman's Work,' 1953:N.pag.;
   'Arrival from North America,' 1952:30;
   'For Speaking Out of Turn (To a Too-Cautious Editor),' 1953:N.pag.;
   'On the Winter Train,' 1955:15;
   'Poems in Prose: Enchantress; Property,' 1955:32;
   'The Game of Chance,' 1955:17;
   'The Sword Bridge,' 1955:12;
   'Those Thousand Women,' 1952:33;
   'To Venture With the Blood,' 1953:N.pag.;
article: 'Modern American Poetry and the Situation of the Writer,' 1952:18-20;
'The Shadow of Conservatism (Prospects for a Young Poet),' 1953:N.pag.;
reference to: photograph, 1952:32;
Mitcalfe, Barry, poetry: ('No God in mountains but in church'), 1953:N.pag.;
fiction: 'Dead or Alive,' 1952:8-12;
'The River and the Willow,' 1953:N.pag.;
'The Puppet-Master,' 1952:31;
'The Skull of the Clown,' 1953:N.pag.;
Polson, Ronald, poetry: ('The city sleeps'), 1952:18;
Ramson, W.S., poetry: ('The pollen plants or is sterile strewn'), 1953:N.pag.;
Rhind, Susan, article: 'Music and the Musician in New Zealand,' 1953:N.pag.;
Ryan, James, article: 'Artistic Ability: A Psychological Viewpoint,' 1955:10-11;
Scott, David, article: "Sings Harry": A study of some aspects of Denis Glover's Poetry,' 1952:28-30;
Taylor, E. Mervyn, illustrations: 'The Sword,' wood engraving, 1953:front cover page;
'Thea,' wood engraving, 1953:back cover page;
untitled wood engraving, 1955:front cover page;
untitled wood engraving, 1955:back cover page;
Thom, Margaret, poetry: ('Bright hair of the witch'), 1952:31;
Vogt, Anton, poetry: 'Flight from Eden,' 1955:9;
Annotated Bibliography: *Experiment*

*Experiment*
Editors: various, including Peter Bland (1957), Victor O’Leary (1958), Andrew Gurr (1959), Mark Young (1960), and Renato Amato (1963).
Biannual, annual (but irregular): No.1 - No.13 (1956-[1969]).
Line drawings.

Begun as the bi-annual of the Literary Society at Victoria, *Experiment* developed into an important periodical for emerging writers. Several established poets added weight to early issues, and after a slight loss of impetus in the mid-sixties, later issues were revivified by an influx of contributions from the group of poets associated with Freed.


**Select Author Index**

Allo, Elizabeth, poetry: 'An Explanation,' 9('62):13-14;
 'For Sun Appearing,' 9('62):12-13;
 'Requiem for Lost Time,' 9('62):13;
 'Urban Cemetery,' 9('62):14;

Amato, Renato, poetry: 'To a Still-born Hero,' 8('61):34;
 fiction: 'A Summer Night,' 6(Jy'59):11-22;
 'After the Party,' 7[60]:43-54;
 'Courting,' 8('61):44-47;
 'Gods had Feet of Clay,' 8('61):26-31;
 'The Many-Chequered Thing,' 8('61):48-57;
 'The New,' 8('61):21-24;
 'Window Watching,' 7[60]:55-59;
 article: 'Editor's Note,' 10('63):1;

Baxter, James K., poetry: 'The Admonition,' 5(Ag'58):9;
 Bell, Brian, fiction: 'The Trouble with Lofty,' 5(Ag'58):28-29;
Bilbrough, Norman, poetry: 'Fragment,' 8('61):59;
'BIn That Past,' 9('62):1;
'Two for the Same,' 9('62):2-3;
'Ward 1,' 8('61):59;

Bland, Peter, poetry: 'Again a High Wind Blows,' 1(Je'56):8;
'Breakfast Scene,' 6(Jy'59):51;
'Brigitte Bardot,' 6(Jy'59):52;
'Friday Night and Monday's Mourning,' 4(Jy'57):29;
'Mosaic,' 1(Je'56):7;
'Suburban Ballad,' 5(Ag'58):30;
'Sunday,' 4(Jy'57):30;
'Sunday in the Park,' 1(Je'56):6;
'The Angry Young and One Other,' 6(Jy'59):53;
'The Family Album,' 6(Jy'59):50;
'The Farmer's Funeral,' 2(Ag'56):16;
'The Picture Gallery,' 3(Mr'57):3;
'The Record Cover: Romeo and Juliet,' 3(Mr'57):28;
article: 'Editorial,' 4(Jy'57):1;

Boyd, John, poetry: 'Teddy Boy,' 4(Jy'57):18;
'Villanelle,' 4(Jy'57):19;
fiction: 'The Room Next Door,' 2(Ag'56):7-11;

Brunton, Alan, poetry: 'Stop Inside the Sun,' 13['69]:36-37;
'Wild Honey,' 13['69]:35;

Challis, Gordon, poetry: 'Birthday in Hospital,' 7['60]:34;
'Death of a Saint,' 6(Jy'59):5;
'Holiday,' 4(Jy'57):20;
'Poem for a Castillian [sic] Gentleman,' 6(Jy'59):4;
'Reminders on Footwear,' 3(Mr'57):7;
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Annotated Bibliography: *Nucleus*

*Nucleus*
Editors: Wystan Curnow, P. Crookes and Tony Hammond.
Line drawings and prints.
Published in parallel to *Kiwi*, *Nucleus* featured poetry, fiction and articles by Auckland University students and others.
Noteworthy artists: Don Binney.

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Binney, Don, illustration: untitled print, 4(Ag'61):20-21;
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  'Requiem,' 1('57):N.pag.;
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  and Tony Hammond, 'Mr Bland's Bloomer,' 3(Ap'59):2-3;
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Editor: Ian Pringle.
Printer: not stated.
Single issue: n.n (1962).
Photographs.
Produced in place of both Kiwi and Nucleus in 1962, this supplement to Craccum 27.12 (1 October 1962) consisted of eight pages of poetry, fiction and articles by students.
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   ('H. Searle'), 'Hilltop,' 1962:7;
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74 Terry Sturm points out that 'Currer Bell' was the pseudonym of Charlotte Bronte.
Craccum: Literary Supplement

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Editor: various, including John Parkyn (1962-1963), Mark Young (1964), and Blair Peach, Dennis List and Mark Rutherford (1965-1966).
Line drawings, photographs.
Published initially by the Contemporary Arts Group to provide a further outlet for creative and critical work on campus, Argot was published off-campus from early 1964 until March 1967 before being adopted by the Literary Society from issue No.17 (August 1967).
Noteworthy artists: Selwyn Muru.
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77 Although this poem was listed on the contents page of the issue as being printed on page thirty-one, it was accidentally printed upside down over a poem by Paul Evison on page thirty-nine.
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reference to: unattributed, *The Next Revolution* (an interview with the editors, Rhys Pasley and Brian Turner,' 23(Ag'70):42-46;
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  'The Woman,' 2.2(My'63):N.pag.;
  'Virgin Wise,' 1.4(n.d.):N.pag.;
Young, Mark, poetry: 'Bouquet,' 13(Au'65):14-15;
  'Epithalamium,' 2.4(63):N.pag.;
  'For Denise Levertov,' 13(Au'65):15;
  'From Another Night,' 2.4('63):N.pag.;
  'Instructions for Master Mariners,' 2.4('63):N.pag.;
  'This, the newest city,' 13(Au'65):14;
  'Through the Looking Glass,' 2.4(63):N.pag.;
trans., 'If You Love,' by Paul Eluard, 12(O'64):12-13;
trans., 'Liberty,' by Paul Eluard, 3.10(F-Ap'64):20-23;
trans., 'No One Can Know Me,' by Paul Eluard, 12(O'64):13;
trans., 'The Woman in Love,' by Paul Eluard, 12(O'64):12;
**Crucible**

Editors: Grant Hemus, Pamela Horne, and John Keene.
Printer: typed and photocopied.
Single issue: n.n., (1964)
Not illustrated.

Replaced *Kiwi* for the year and featured students' creative writing, although nothing of lasting interest.

**Select Author Index**

Troubadour

Editors: Nigel Wilson (1964), and Shona Grant and Rupert Glover (1965).
Printer: Caxton Press.
Line drawings.

Troubadour featured fiction, poetry and songs by students, with no editorial
   comment other than a preface of sorts in the first issue by R.A. Copland.


Select Author Index

Copland, R.A., article: 'how it strikes a non-contemporary,' 1964:1;
Glover, Rupert, poetry: 'the crossed,' 1964:28;
   'thought stem,' 1964:28;
Smith, Janet M., songs: 'hard times,' 1965:34-5;
   'taupo country,' 1965:32-3;
Weir, J.E., poetry: 'against imitators,' 1964:17;
   'elegy for the drowned,' 1965:22;
   'epitaph for a critic,' 1964:17;
   'on a literary critic,' 1964:17;
   'on a would-be poet,' 1964:17;
   'on a would-be poetess,' 1964:17;
   'on seeing a snapshot of my father,' 1965:23;
   'on the same,' 1964:17;
   'portrait from a family album,' 1965:22;
   'sunday walk,' 1964:19;
   'tv show,' 1964:18;
Hemlock


Editors: various.

Printers: various.


Not illustrated.

Established by the Canterbury College Socratic Society to 'stimulate thought and discussion,' Hemlock carried articles on philosophical, political and theological topics and no poetry or fiction.


Select Author Index

Locke, Elsie, articles: 'A Polaris for Christmas,' 4('63):11-13;

Pocock, J.G.A., articles: 'History and the Knowledge of Ourselves,' 4('63):5-10;

'Sexual Inadequacy in the New Zealand Novel,' 2.1(Ap'64):22-26;

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New Zealand Universities' Arts Festival Yearbook (Title varies.)
Photographs, linocuts, drawings, and other media.
Poetry, fiction and articles by university students, partly generated by activities surrounding the annual inter-university arts festivals, inaugurated at the University of Otago in 1959. Effectively published in parallel with several other student magazines, including Experiment, Argot and Freed, and featuring many of the same contributors, the Yearbook provided an increasingly valuable outlet for several generations of student poets and writers.
Select Author Index
Amato, Renato, fiction: 'Green Almonds, a Castle & a Couple of Horses,' 1963:46-54;
'Nightmare,' 1963:12-19;
'Window Watching,' 1960:5-8;
Arvidson, K.O., poetry: 'Fable,' 1963:21-22;
'From "The Gethsemane Window,"' 1962:42-43;
'Halceldama (from "The Gethsemane Window"),' 1962:44;
('No doubt about it, eye makes no mistake'), 1963:212
'To M.,' 1963:20;
'Crisis,' 1970:59;
'met, quoting texts in vulcan lane,' 1972:N.pag.;
'statues,' 1972:N.pag.;
'tahunanui beach,' 1972:N.pag.;
Annotated Bibliography: *N.Z.U. Arts Festival Yearbook*

'The Book,' 1970:60;
'the lion,' 1972:N.pag.;
'the mayor wants everyone to join a club,' 1972:N.pag.;
'theatre,' 1972:N.pag.;
article: 'Interview,' 1971:N.pag.;
'Notes,' 1970:7-8;
reference to: biographical note, 1970:58;
Beyer, Tony, poetry: 'God Planted this Tree,' 1970:49;
Introibo ad Altare Diaboli,' 1970:50;
'Orere,' 1971:N.pag.;
Bilbrough, Norman, poetry: 'Poem for Christina,' 1970:22;
fiction: 'The Game,' 1968:47-50;
'Epithalamia,' 1961:21-22;
Brunton, Alan, poetry: 'activity jack mad emu & the airplane [sic],' 1972:N.pag.;
'Dialogue for Two Players,' 1968:14-16;
'hanging out in a feudal place,' 1972:N.pag.;
in my wake & silent time,' 1972:N.pag.;
'london song of the black foreman,' 1972:N.pag.;
'Note D'un Poete,' 1968:14;
'novel,' 1972:N.pag.;
'Over Harbour and City,' 1968:17;
'The Lonesome Death of Alan Egg,' 1970:20-21;
The Winds Cry for Mary McTurk,' 1968:12-14;
'this town of hours,' 1972:N.pag.;
and Wayne Smith, 'Two Translations from Catullus: Poem XCVII and Poem XXXVII,' 1969:16-17;
fiction: 'The Thing of Michael Thing,' 1970:16-19;
articles: autobiographical note, 1970:15;
'Alan Brunton [self-conducted interview],' 1972:N.pag.;
Chan, Stephen, poetry: 'Final Postscript: for my father,' 1973:13;
'For Emma, at sunrise,' 1973:12;
Annotated Bibliography: N.Z.U. Arts Festival Yearbook

'Gentle Jesus,' 1973:12;
'My Grandfather's Wooden Planes,' 1973:13;
'Note,' 1973:15;
'poems before winter: somewhere it has turned; ngahuia is a woman; the last of autumn; richard i an [sic] aware of your heartache; anne my love for you; now the hours close; mary the reason i have come; maybe there's an end to the tether,' 1972:N.pag.;
'To Kaye,' 1973:15;
'To Kaye From Nandi Airport,' 1973:14;
'To Susan 6,' 1971:N.pag.;
'To Susan 13,' 1971:N.pag.;
articles: 'Editor's Indulgence,' 1972:N.pag.;
'Distractions,' 1967:28;
'For a Girl,' 1967:27;
'Kaikoura,' 1967:26;
'Learning' 1969:35;
'Up Kangra,' 1969:32;
'1950,' 1969:36;
fiction: 'from "29 Disturbing Damnations" (a novel in progress),' 1969:41-44;
Edmond, Murray, poetry: 'And the Wind Cries Mary,' 1970:73-74;
'Four Plus One,' 1971:N.pag.;
'Poem' ('I live out the nights'), 1969:61-62;
'Song of the Sun at Dusk,' 1969:63-64;
'the files,' 1972:N.pag.;
'Weekday,' 1970:74-75;
reference to: biographical note, 1970:72;
Eggleton, David, poetry: 'Before Crazy Eyes White Iris,' 1971:N.pag.;
Else, Chris, fiction: 'A Novel Beginning,' 1972:N.pag.;
'Ivars,' 1968:36-38;
Ensing, Riemke, poetry: 'Two Poems on Samuel Beckett: Come and Go; Act Without Words No.1,' 1968:18-19;
Gifkins, Michael, fiction: 'North-Easterly Weather,' 1968:57-63;

Glover, Rupert, poetry: 'Seven Love Poems: the wilted flower; pieces; love poem; four ways of looking at mt cook; from alford forest; a warning; next please,' 1972:N.pag.;
article: 'Strawberry Fields,' 1967:7-8;

Haley, Russell, poetry: 'Archway,' 1969:10;
'Chinese Boxes,' 1971:N.pag.;
'Composition Buttons,' 1971:N.pag.;
'Dangerous Games for Boys,' 1973:33;
'Hoardings,' 1970:66-71;
'Photo Falling,' 1969:10;
'Synthetic Cities,' 1972:N.pag.;
'The Balloon Factory,' 1969:7;
'Turtle Time,' 1969:8-9;
play: 'The Running European,' 1969:20-31;

Hunt, Sam, poetry: 'Flutemaker,' 1968:32;
'Invocation in Equinox,' 1968:30-31;
'Sunday Evening,' 1968:31;
'When Mornin' Comes,' 1968:33-34;

Jackson, Michael, poetry: 'Antipodean,' 1968:11;
'Couplets for a Guitarist,' 1968:10;
'Fable,' 1966:10;
'Paris, 1964,' 1966:9;
'Remembering the Wade,' 1968:9-10;
'To a Friend,' 1968:12;
fiction: 'The Rapids,' 1966:16-20;

Jones, Florence, article: 'The Universities' Literary Yearbook,' 1960:34-36;

Kemp, Jan, poetry: 'a covenant of witches,' 1972:N.pag.;
'in the begonia house,' 1972:N.pag.;
'the lit dome,' 1972:N.pag.;
Langford, Gary, poetry: 'from "Strange City,"' 1973:18-19;
'Horset Loose in the City,' 1973:20;
'Kitecrash,' 1973:21;
'Old Letters From War: Men & Animals are Buried in the Mud,' 1973:22;
'our house,' 1973:26;
'poem for everyone who wants a record,' 1973:26;
'poems from "bushido": part three the viking; part four old man of the mountains; part five the tartar; part six the samurai,' 1972:N.pag.;
'Short Story,' 1969:64;
'Through the Mist,' 1967:25;
'walter to his wife,' 1973:24;
article: 'Editorial,' 1973:3-6;
List, Dennis, poetry: 'A Death by Drowning,' 1970:23;
'In the Ethnological Garden,' 1967:39;
'In the Mhlahahabatini District,' 1970:24;
'New Light on Historical Figures,' 1970:26-27;
'Poem,' 1967:38;
'Snakes,' 1967:38;
'The Long-Lost Caterpillar Has Been Found,' 1970:25;
'Um,' 1967:37;
reference to: biographical note, 1970:23;
Loney, Alan, poetry: 'mahinerangi notes feb 1972,' 1972:N.pag.;
'VII: notes,' 1971:N.pag.;
'XIX: ho poietes,' 1971:N.pag.;
'New Zealand 1242 b,' 1973:27;
'New Zealand 1457,' 1973:28;
'The Stone,' 1971:N.pag.;
'1131,' 1971:N.pag.;
Manhire, Bill, poetry: 'Courtesy,' 1968:29;

These poems are prefaced by a letter from Langford to Stephen Chan, plus a brief autobiographical note.
'Being Forsaken of his Love, he Complaineth,' 1968:30;
'Growth,' 1968:29;
'Karitane,' 1969:51;
'Last Sonnet,' 1970:42;
'The Departure,' 1969:49-50;
'The Old Man's Example,' 1968:28;
'The Stillness: Karitane,' 1969:52;
'Turtle,' 1970:41;
reference to: biographical note, 1970:41;
McNaughton, Howard, poetry: 'Experience of the Promised Land,' 1967:52;
'Pat Cat LXX,' 1968:39;
'Pilgrim Moth,' 1967:52;
'Poem,' 1968:39;
'The Clown at the Death of His Wife,' 1967:53;
reference to: biographical note, 1970:43;
Morrissey, Michael, poetry: 'A Poetic Seventy Year Old Insurance Lawyer Surveys Himself in the Mirror,' 1964:34;
fiction: 'The Diminished Man,' 1964:8-17;
Neill, Michael, poetry: 'Cain,' 1963:267;
'death to jack the ripa,' 1972:N.pag.;
'end of a movie,' 1972:N.pag.;
'For Every Action there is an Equal and Opposite Reaction,' 1961:33-34;
'The Daedelus-Youth,' 1961:33;
fiction: 'Refraction,' 1972:N.pag.;
Noonan, Michael, poetry: 'Cameo,' 1963:20-23;
'Poem,' 1961:32;
O'Leary, Victor, poetry: 'Don Juan,' 1963:23;
'Medusa,' 1962:18;
'Three Questions Without Answers,' 1962:18;
O'Sullivan, Vincent, poetry: 'Danae,' 1961:1;
'Dream of Ulysses,' 1960:16;
'Empty Houses: Newton's Flats,' 1961:2-3;
'The Woman,' 1960:16-17;
'Three Men,' 1961:3;
Olds, Peter, poetry: 'At Wellington,' 1968:40-42;
'In Auckland,' 1971:N.pag.;
'talkin' where the warm winds blow,' 1972:N.pag.;
illustration: 'In Auckland,' 1971:N.pag.;
Orr, Bob, poetry: 'Autumn,' 1969:60;
'Cold Mirrors,' 1969:60;
'from "sonnets from the land": sonnet from the land no 7; sonnet from the land no 10; sonnet past xanadu no 12; sonnet no 13,' 1972:N.pag.;
'Metaphor,' 1969:59;
'Poem' ('Violets from a Chinaman'), 1969:59;
'Antediluvia,' 1969:19;
'Circle,' 1970:63;
'Epistle I,' 1968:71;
'Lotos,' 1970:64;
'The Blake-Palmer Report,' 1971:N.pag.;
'The Poets,' 1968:70-71;
reference to: biographical note, 1970:62;
Reeves, Trevor, poetry: 'christmas poems: first light; day; where passes,'
1972:N.pag.;
'Window Poem,' 1973:23;
Reid, Christopher, B.F. Babington, and David Williams, article: 'The Moa Against Glow-worms,' 1964:1-4;
Richards, Max, poetry: 'The Clouds,' 1962:29-32;
Sharp, Iain, poetry: 'At the Party,' 1973:37;
'Station Blues,' 1973:37;
Sinclair, Keith, poetry: 'fathers and sons night,' 1972:N.pag.;
'girl loved by the moon,' 1972:N.pag.;
Annotated Bibliography: *N.Z.U. Arts Festival Yearbook*

'history and the equality of women,' 1972:N.pag.;
'the green devil,' 1972:N.pag.;

Smith, Wayne and Alan Brunton, poetry: 'Two Translations from Catullus: Poem XCVII and Poem XXXVII,' 1969:16-17;

Smithyman, Kendrick, poetry: 'above telegraph hill,' 1972:N.pag.;
'the visiting professor's reception,' 1972:N.pag.;

Southgate, Brent, poetry: 'Circle,' 1970:63;
'Culture & Anarchy Revisited,' 1971:N.pag.;
'Lotos,' 1970:64;
'Studies, 1,' 1970:35;
'Studies, 2,' 1970:35;
'Work Day,' 1971:N.pag.;

Stead, C.K., article: 'Foreword,' 1968:7-8;

Trussell, Denys, poetry: 'Orpheus Bemused,' 1972:N.pag.;

Trussell-Cullen, Alan, poetry: 'A Stone's Talk,' 1968:65;
'Albert-Park-All-Time-Happening,' 1970:37-39;
'As I Was Listening To Charles Ives,' 1970:40:
'So Much Content . . .,' 1968:66-67;
'This Morning,' 1968:67-68;
'We Sing,' 1968:68-69;

reference to: biographical note, 1970:36;

Turner, Brian, poetry: 'Mirror Mirror on the Wall,' 1970:49;


Wedde, Ian, poetry: 'A Word in Your Ear, William,' 1969:13;
'Academies, Sex, Dreams, & So Forth,' 1969:15;
'An Even Number of Verses for Mrs Woolf,' 1968:51;
'At an Art Exhibition, February '68,' 1968:52-53;
'Pukeko,' 1969:11-12;
'Rappaccini's Daughter,' 1968:53;
'Solomon to a Friend,' 1969:14;
fiction: 'Belladonna,' 1970:29-34;
'Fantasia for Igor Stravinsky,' 1969:55-58;
article: autobiographical note, 1970:28;
'Introduction,' 1968:3-4;
Weir, J.E., poetry: 'Credo,' 1962:36;
'Journeys of the Heart,' 1962:40;
'Lines Upon One Recently Dead,' 1962:37-38;
'Pacifist,' 1962:39;
'Prayer to the Saviour,' 1962:41;
Wendt, Albert, poetry: 'I, God Upere,' 1963:6;
'In Exile,' 1961:42;
'Put on Your Mask of Manhood,' 1963:7;
fiction: 'Tagata, the Man Who Search for the Freedom Tree: a Fable for Our Times,' 1963:24-29;
'The Ring,' 1962:71-78;
Williams, David, B.F. Babington, and Christopher Reid, article: 'The Moa Against Glow-worms,' 1964:1-4;
Young, Mark, fiction: 'Asylum First Night,' 1961:9;
Annotated Bibliography: Freed

Freed (Title varies.)
Proprietor: Auckland University Students' Association.
Printer: Photocopied.
Line drawings, photographs.

Featuring poetry and prose strongly influenced by post-war American poetics, Freed was to the late sixties and early seventies what Phoenix had been to the early nineteen thirties. Fully utilising the new photocopy technology, it provided a valuable outlet for what was to become an important new generation of New Zealand poets and writers.


Noteworthy artists: Bruce Beresford and Pat Hanly.

Author Index
Auburn, F.M., poetry: 'hebrew words,' 2(n.d.):9;
   'anniversary,' 1(Jy'69):N.pag.;
   'gene, sketching,' 4(Je'71):6;
   'Kites . . . pray for a breeze,' 3(n.d.):N.pag.;
   'sunset,' 1(Jy'69):N.pag.;
   'unpo,' 2(n.d.):5;
Brunton, Alan, poetry: 'April I Saw a Black Hole in the Sky,' 5(Jy'72):8;
   'At Electricity & Water Installations,' 5(Jy'72):4-5;
   'America: A Vision (for sweet little sixteen),' 4(Je'71):22-24;
   'deor (from the anglosaxon),' 2(n.d.):11;
   'Lay of Judous: The Verbskewer,' 2(n.d.):3
   'Please Don't Shoot the Piano Player,' 1(Jy'69):N.pag.;
   'Shellback's address to the city,' 3(n.d.):N.pag.;
'Spinoza in Karlmarxstrasse,' 5(Jy'72):7;
'The Big Re-Think,' 1(Jy'69):N.pag.;
'The Self and the Circuit of Selfness,' 5(Jy'72):9;
'Wild Bill From a Third Class Winder,' 5(Jy'72):6-7;
and Wayne Smith, 'Gaius Valerius Poem VIII,' by Catullus, 2(n.d.):19;
article: 'One: The Word is Freed,' 1(Jy'69):N.pag.;
'Two: The Word is Freed,' 2(n.d.):3-4;
Cavell, F. Bruce, article: 'An Urban Project,' 2(n.d.):6-7;
C.M.T., poetry: 'Mother,' 2(n.d.):16;
Daly-Peoples, John, interview, 'Leon Narbey: real time,' 3(n.d.):N.pag.;
Edmond, Martin, poetry: 'in the graveyard of your songs,' 5(Jy'72):14;
Edmond, Murray, poetry: 'Affirmth His Roots at Her Wantonness,' 5(Jy'72):16;
'As I didn't like it,' 3(n.d.):N.pag.;
'Clouds Unfold,' 4(Je'71):19;
'fire,' 5(Jy'72):17;
'from "The Grafton Notebook,"' 4(Je'71):18-19;
'old man,' 5(Jy'72):17;
'Revolutionary Poem 5,' 1(Jy'69):N.pag.;
'the meaning of banana palms,' 5(Jy'72):18-19;
'the storm is words,' 2(n.d.):17;
articles: 'dave mitchell and [sic],' 3(n.d.):N.pag.;
'Three: The Word is Freed,' 3(n.d.):N.pag.;
and Ian MacMillan, 'Notes on film alone,' 3(n.d.):N.pag.;
False Donovan, poetry: 'Blue Streak Poetry,' 5(Jy'72):15;
'Morning Poetry,' 5(Jy'72):15;
Haley, Russell, poetry: 'Anatomical models,' 5(Jy'72):22-23;
'Inventory of a war gone wrong,' 2(n.d.):8;
'mary the terrible tree,' 1(Jy'69):N.pag.;
'Moeve, the Codes, & the Countercodes,' 2(n.d.):12;
'Narcissus' Shadow,' 1(Jy'69):N.pag.;
'Night Flying With Hanly,' 4(Je'71):20-21;
'Solomon Rhatigan and the I Ching,' 1(Jy'69):N.pag.;
Annotated Bibliography: Freed

'spanish city,' 3(n.d.):N.pag.;
article: 'Freed at last: Issue 5,' 5(Jy'72):3;

Hingley, Bert, poetry: ('H. Hingley'), 'onan,' 1(Jy'69):N.pag.;
article: 'Freed 1-4 Reviewed: Freed From Freed At Last,'
5(Jy'72):24-25;

Hopkinson, Jocelyn, poetry: 'The Philosopher,' 1(Jy'69):N.pag.;

Horrocks, Roger, article: 'Three Versions of the Avant-Garde,' 4(Je'71):10-16;

Kemp, Jan, poetry: 'Man Sings,' 1(Jy'69):N.pag.;
'article: 'pictureimage,' 4(Je'71):17;
'article: 'riddle,' 4(Je'71):17;
'article: 'the icemen,' 5(Jy'72):21;
'article: 'The old guard,' 4(Je'71):17;
'article: 'this current gazing,' 4(Je'71):17;

Lamb, Jonathan article: ('Q.D.L.'), 'headlands by headlight,' 4(Je'71):3-4;

Linton, Barry, poetry: 'Three Menscapes From A Mind,' 2(n.d.):21;

Long, D.S., poetry: '1187,' 5(Jy'72):24;
'article: '1420,' 5(Jy'72):24;

McDonald, Ian, poetry: 'mozart does not move us,' 2(n.d.):9;

MacMillan, Ian and M.D. Edmond, article: 'Notes on film alone,'
3(n.d.):N.pag.;

Manhire, Bill, poetry: 'The Token,' 1(Jy'69):N.pag.;

Mitchell, Roger, poetry: 'cycles,' 1(Jy'69):N.pag.;

Mitchell, David, poetry: 'Albino Angels,' 1(Jy'69):N.pag.;
'article: 'odalisque-mi lai,' 4(Je'71):25;
'article: 'the singing bread,' 3(n.d.):N.pag.;
'article: 'The Visitors,' 1(Jy'69):N.pag.;

Orr, Bob, poetry: 'after,' 2(n.d.):10;
'article: 'behind the wall,' 5(Jy'72):20;
'article: 'Days and Nites,' 4(Je'71):7;
'article: 'Last Poetry,' 4(Je'71):7;
'article: 'Pick-up,' 4(Je'71):7;
'article: 'Poem,' 4(Je'71):7;
'Poem for Bob Dylan,' 3(n.d.):N.pag.;
'prison days,' 5(Jy'72):21;
'Sailors' Song,' 3(n.d.):N.pag.;
'Sandals,' 4(Je'71):7;

Pasley, Rhys, poetry: 'A Song for the Muse and Dave,' 5(Jy'72):10;
'Homage to Guillaume Apollinaire,' 5(Jy'72):10-11;
'music man,' 1(Jy'69):N.pag.;
'Sonnets for the Snow Girl,' 4(Je'71):26;

Patterson, M., poetry: 'icarus,' 2(n.d.):10;
'moon walk,' 2(n.d.):10;

Pillsbury, Sam, article: 'Talking about that Swede, Ingmar,' 2(n.d.):13-14;

Reeves, Trevor, poetry: 'Chocolate Coating,' 1(Jy'69):N.pag.;
'garden fete,' 1(Jy'69):N.pag.;
'notice,' 2(n.d.):11;
'reckonsessional,' 2(n.d.):20;
'residual,' 2(n.d.):20;
'roost,' 2(n.d.):11;

Simpson, Hamilton-Fyfe, poetry: 'Za'oud Through the Mountains,'
1(Jy'69):N.pag.;

Smith, Wayne and Alan Brunton, poetry: 'Gaius Valerius Poem VIII,' by
Catullus, 2(n.d.):19;

Smithyman, Gerard, poetry: 'Love Poetry,' 4(Je'71):5;
'music broke over the city (night),' 4(Je'71):5;
'Radical Poetry,' 4(Je'71):5;

Taylor, Alan, poetry: 'Lament: Ihumatao Pa,' 3(n.d.):N.pag.;

Unattributed, article: 'Impresario Religioso: New Acts: The Death of the Mind,'
1(Jy'69):N.pag.;

Wedde, Ian, poetry: 'Because of Its Marked,' 3(n.d.):N.pag.;
'In Index,' 4(Je'71):8-9;
'Lone Thing Mind Play,' 2(n.d.):17;
The Dance,' 1(Jy'69):N.pag.;
Wilkin, Roger, poetry: 'Indescribable,' 3(n.d.):N.pag.;
'Scissor dance,' 3(n.d.):N.pag.;
Annotated Bibliography: *Te Maarama*

*Te Maarama*
Editors: Alan Bell, Jasmine Sampson, and Peter Webster.
Printer: Crown Print (typeset by Caveman Press.)
Photographs and drawings.
Appearing in place of *Kiwi*, *Te Maarama* featured poetry, short fiction, photographs and illustrations by students.

**Select Author Index**
Hunt, Mari, poetry: 'The Love of an Arab,' 1975:23;
Sharp, Iain, poetry: 'Cannibal,' 1975:18-19;
  'Fearful Symmetry,' 1975:16;
  'Lema Sabachthani,' 1975:19;
  'Nervous,' 1975:17-18;
  'Poem,' 1975:16;
  'Rush Hour,' 1975:17;
Von Sturmer, Richard, poetry: 'Friday Night in the City,' 1975:21-22;
  'War Hero,' 1975:22-23;
Hasard (sic)
Printer: photocopied.
Photographs and drawings.
A little magazine with ambitions beyond its university origins, Hasard recalls Freed in its format and dominant poetic, and featured several of the same contributors.
Noteworthy contributors: Arthur Baysting, Alan Brunton, Kevin Cunningham, Martin Edmond, Murray Edmond, and Ian Wedde.

Select Author Index
Baysting, Arthur, poetry: 'A Suit of Satin Diamonds,' 1(Ag'77):N.pag.;
and Alan Brunton, et al, 'Songs from "Cabaret Capital Strut,"' 1(Ag'77):N.pag.;
Brunton, Alan, poetry: 'before a journey by water,' 1(Ag'77):N.pag.;
and Arthur Baysting, et al, 'Songs from "Cabaret Capital Strut,"'
1(Ag'77):N.pag.;
Cunningham, Kevin, poetry: 'relativity: a ballad,' 1(Ag'77):N.pag.;
Edmond, Martin, poetry: 'Weather Report 17.4.77,' 1(Ag'77):N.pag.;
article: 'Of Wealth & Taste,' 1(Ag'77):N.pag.;
Edmond, Murray, poetry: 'Pieta, School of Avignon,' 1(Ag'77):N.pag.;
'Six for Mary,' 1(Ag'77):N.pag.;
Wedde, Ian, poetry: 'Get Up,' 1(Ag'77):N.pag.;
'Kali Yuga,' 1(Ag'77):N.pag.;
'The Party,' 1(Ag'77):N.pag.;


Editors: Jeremy Bartlett.

Printer: University of Auckland Bindery.


Photographs and drawing.

Replaced Kiwi in the year of its publication, and presented as a direct successor to Te Maarama, and featuring poetry, short fiction, and photographs by students.

Noteworthy contributor: Michael Morrisey.

Select Author Index

Duncan, Grant, poetry: 'In the Cathedral,' 1978:38;
'Coup de Grace,' 1978:39;

MORRISSEY, Michael, poetry: 'Opportunity Shop,' 1978:14;
Tango: 'a literary rage': auckland university literary handbook 1982: an anthology of new writing, new artwork
Editor: David Eggleton.
Printer: Scott Printing.
Photographs and drawings.
Replaced Kiwi in the year of its publication, and featured a similar range of poetry, fiction and articles.

Select Author Index
Duncan, Grant, poetry: 'Hitch-hiking,' 1982:13
Eggleton, David, fiction: 'Squid's Cookbook,' 1982:49-56;
Ensing, Riemke, poetry: 'calligraphy,' 1982:18;
    'chinese notes,' 1982:18;
    'n.z. winter landscape,' 1982:18;
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APPENDIX II:

ALLEN CURNOW'S

NOT IN NARROW SEAS
Preface

In a series of five instalments in *Tomorrow* between June 1937 and August 1938, Allen Curnow published an early version of his 1939 poetry and prose sequence *Not in Narrow Seas*, written in response to the approaching centenary celebrations. While not unique, this is certainly by far the most notable instance of Curnow publishing what amounts to a working draft of his poetry in the periodical press. The workshop nature of these instalments of *Not in Narrow Seas* give the reader a unique opportunity to witness to some extent the process of rewriting undertaken by Allen Curnow.

The 1939 version of *Not in Narrow Seas* opens with a new sequence of both poetry and prose, beginning with a 'Dedication' in four rhyming couplets, followed by four quotations from J.C. Beaglehole's *New Zealand: A Short History*. Curnow then supplies a 'Statement,' an unrhymed sestina which provides, from its first line, the final title for the work: 'In your atlas two islands not in narrow seas.' There follows a prose passage which prefaces the poem originally published in *Tomorrow* as 'Rats in the Bilge.' A further prose passage added to section twelve of the finished poem, prefacing the poem published in *Tomorrow* as 'Predestination,' is the only other major addition to the sequence.

In the 1939 version of the poem, the prose passages appear on the left hand page with verse on the facing page. Individual poems were numbered with an Arabic numeral in the top right corner of the first right hand page of the poem.

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These replace lower case roman numerals used in *Tomorrow*. 'Rats in the Bilge' and 'The Potter's Field' were printed in *Tomorrow* in double newspaper columns, with the exception of the title, epigraph and prefatory note to 'The Potter's Field,' which were printed across the width of the page under the title of the column in which the poem appeared: 'Life and Letters,' which was itself printed in block capitals in the top left-hand corner of the page, emboldened and underlined.

Although most differences between the two versions of the poem are the result of conscious attempts to improve the work in various ways, some are almost definitely due to the correction of compositor or typographical errors. Although this is not always certain, examples where the amendment adds no real meaning (such as the correction of 'cent' to 'cent.' in the final verse paragraph of section eleven of *Not in Narrow Seas*), are probably corrections of this type. Only one definite typographical error crept into the 1939 version: in the prose preface to Section Eight a comma was used instead of a full stop after the word 'heritage,' as noted below.

In presenting the two versions of this poem in this appendix, the following conventions were employed:

- The *Tomorrow* version of the poem is printed on the left hand side of the page, with the 1939 version (*Not in Narrow Seas*) printed on the right hand side.

- Text altered in the 1939 version of the poem is underlined with the alterations printed on the right hand side of the page. Where a section was deleted from the *Tomorrow* version, this is underlined and no corresponding
text appears on the right hand side of the page, as occurs with the final verse paragraph of 'Rats in the Bilge.'

- For purely practical reasons, the capitalization of the first letter of each line of poetry which was undertaken in the recasting of the *Tomorrow* text for the Caxton edition is not noted in this appendix.

- Page breaks in the 1939 text are marked by a horizontal line across the right hand side of the page.

- Lineation is retained in the poetry but not in the prose, with the exception of the title page and the colophon added to *Not in Narrow Seas*.

The following transcription opens with the title page from the 1939 edition, followed by the passages of poetry and prose which did not appear in *Tomorrow*. These are printed on the right hand side of the page. They are followed by a transcript of 'Rats in the Bilge.' For a discussion of the way in which the two versions differ in several important aspects, see Chapter Three, section four, above.
Not in Narrow Seas

Poems in prose by Allen Curnow

Christchurch
THE CAXTON PRESS
1939

DEDICATION

To him who can distinguish
In an unfeigned anguish
What is general
From what is personal;
Who has heard optimism
Crash in the last chasm
And knows hope more near
The straining heart's despair.
Towards mid-day, on December 13, in the year 1642 - the year of English revolution, of the death of Galileo, and the birth of Newton - the eyes of a sailor, straining over the water of the Pacific, saw about 60 miles to the eastward 'a great land uplifted high' . . .

. . . . The Dutch christened the shore this uncertainly glimpsed New Zealand . . . .

. . . . Canterbury (was settled) by J.R. Godley (later of the War Office) and an Episcopalian pilgrimage in 1850. For some years these provinces were proudly conscious of their nationality and their virtue; the obliterating passage of time, alas! has merged them with their fellows in a common mediocrity . . . .

. . . . Yet in the midst of converging cables, shipping and wireless communication, it has remained always isolated; and in that verdant isolation perhaps lies the remote secret - if there is one - of the national life . . . . and it may be that in the 20th century the making of a new nationalities is an anachronism, as it certainly is danger.


STATEMENT

In your atlas two islands not in narrow seas
Like a child's kite anchored in the indifferent blue,
Two islands pointing from the Pole, upward
From the Ross Sea and the tall havenless ice:
Small trade and no triumph, men of strength
Proved at football and in wars not their own:

So much and the soft weather you may call your own
And the week-end bach by the salt healing seas,
Deep soil and shingle-slide to try your strength
Under the sun or dark-to-thunder blue;
Beneath your impudent feet the glacial ice
Stirs like the hour-hand as you hurry upward.
In the little city's scattered smoke look upward
Feeling the various active fields your own
And your terrible equity in the blazing ice:
Forgetting the bondholder over the seas
And the foreigner's complaint of being blue
And fear in a motor-car aware of strength.

Look upward. Now comes near a test of strength,
O at the desk and in the street look upward
Both the county chairman and the airman in blue,
Take courage for these also are your own:
The pay envelope and the letter overseas
Shame at night and ambition that is like ice.

The girl's feet crackle on the pavement ice
A little warfare of fear against strength
To the Office. Enemies have crossed the seas
And hold the passes that enfold you upward,
Over Cook's peak and the Lakes still your own
The aircraft crawling in the map-like blue:
Appendix II: Not in Narrow Seas

Not in a life your triumph nor the blue
Empty of fear, from the high chasmed ice
To the sheep lands, cattle lands that are your own:
Sorrowing not rejoicing in your strength
Toy of the great markets you seek upward,
Suffering the imprisonment of seas.

Therefore I sing your agonies, not upward,
For the two islands not in narrow seas
Cringe in a wind from the world's nether ice.

In a little artificial port with five jetties, overseas shipping waits to be loaded with the primary products from which the Dominion derives its wealth. This is a natural point from which to begin a study of the birth, life and growth of a nation now nearly 100 years old. Attempts are being made to establish a culture similar to that which Europe has take 1,000 years to build; but the real ambitions of this people are naive enough - 'a radio, perhaps a car.'
Rats In The Bilge

(Unfinished)

PRELUDE

The water is burred with rain;
against iron men scrape, squatting
on the slung plank, setting
knee and toe to the ship's flank;
rust and dust and the keen
wind strapping the ankle;
chips from the chisels sprinkle
down to the blue mud.

There are five wharves.

Today the port is quite full.
They will load mutton and wool
as soon as the rain stops.

The Minister believes
the price is sufficient to cover
labour costs and something over
for a radio, perhaps a car.
At the time of writing it is more than 80 years since the Canterbury Province of New Zealand was settled. There arrived in the port (then not equipped for the handling of mutton carcases) in 1850, four sailing vessels, bearing the persons, livestock and other goods of the settlers. From the shore of the harbour, a seven-miles gulf of ancient volcanic formation, they climbed to the hilltop and looked over 100 miles of plain: a country they were to conquer without force or danger.

(1)

Eighty years since salted sails dropped among these hills and the iron water closed on the anchor's dry iron.

Bedding and tents and stores littered the frontiers of a country taken to be stripped and broken.

Not a leap of capture theirs, but as who safely dares, seizing without sword front garden and backyard.
For many months they had been at sea. It was a pilgrimage under the blessing of the Church of England, more definitely religious in its intentions, perhaps, than any since the Mayflower.

(ii)

Strut the beach loos'd sea-nerv'd limbs
and they praise God with bad hymns
quavering in a huge volcanic crack
with the iron water at their back.

Doubtless their liturgy had prayer
for stabilising truth and virtue there,
for the wind clipping the reverent scalps
howled the joke to the high Alps:

'We shall not blacken this land O Lord,
Thou hast given us without sword;
our weapon and our lust lie at home
and in peace for peace we are come.'
Appendix II: Not in Narrow Seas

Apparently there was a chance here for a clean break. The dark places of industrial England, its poverty and diseases, were left behind. Only the best had been taken, it seemed, of the English tradition. The liturgy of the Church of England, immigrants of picked stock, sufficient capital to provide for material needs and their development.

(iii)

Escape in seeming from smoke and iron, the hammered street and the hot wheels, clanging conquest of the deep-rich hills; left behind the known germ and poison breeding and soaking in decrepit soils.

Jerusalem is built as a city that is at unity in itself, built with liturgy and adequate capital, dwelling of the elect, the selected immigrants.

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?
"... and the chief priests took the silver pieces and said, It is not lawful for to put them into the treasury, because it is the price of blood. And they took counsel, and bought with them the potter's field, to bury strangers in..."

[To be read as a continuation of Rats In The Bilge which was given as a random title to verses in Tomorrow, Vol. 3 No. 16.1]

(iv)
Iron, first introduced to these islands when ships dropped anchor off shore, soon becomes more firmly established. It must be noticed that the traditional courage and enterprise of "pioneers" become, in social terms, merely the furious sorties of man confronted with the unknown. Frustration drives man to seek a new country; but the
savagery of the new country threatens an even more terrible frustration; so that fear swallows creative effort, and the only desire is to conserve and extend the illusion of life in the old world. So the cycle is completed in time and the old frustration is perpetuated.

Blood in the climbing limb, no fear checking the pulse, pulls mountains down flat, erects cathedrals: the superior race, Lo! the pass in a twinkling yields the advancing column a top-gear incline.

Green grows the bungalow at the courageous heels, valour makes home for fear under hesitant sails:
a beginning, a beginning
a fresh start in life

with a blue-new shovel
and a rusted belief:

iron for axe and hammer
iron for rod and nail
iron for the door-knocker
like the head of a bull:

where the first anchor's cable
slackened into sleep
iron threads rock for prison
bars on the harbour slope.

(v)

The Church is quick to follow the imperial lead. Shrewdly, she acquires property. Ownership is thus sanctified. The Gospel, it might be imagined, might find realisation in the building of a new nation: but the Church is chiefly concerned with re-establishing an order in which she has learnt to flourish. Any departure from that order is disquieting to her. Religion, she is aware, thrives among the poor in spirit and in body. It has been noticed that religion thrives best among
The Bishop boundary-rides his diocese 
carrying the Sacraments at saddle-bow; 
the Church Equestrian christens peak and river 
where land is cheap and the reapers are few.

Years after where his lordship braved the ford 
less hardy saints cross bridges in a gig: 
good rents assure their stipends, not even 
Judas so providently kept the bag.

A faith worthy of empire; ere the four 
earliest migrant vessels put to sea 
the wise Company granted God permission 
to work His passage to the colony.

Guaranteed seed in a prepared soil - 
that land would not bring the approved return? 
Here's no renewal of the world's youth 
but age-soured infancy, a darkened dawn.

(vi)

The pleasant work of exploring and 
building proceeds, making the country fit 
for civilised people to live in.
Woman who wakes beneath casewood and canvas
salutes sunrise excellently painted,
warm familiar among the unfamiliar
to which heart unwilling consented;
waking next morning moving curtain, she
sees front plot fenced, path in place,
the cloud, the mountain-terror tamed now,
framed to taste for parlour chimney-piece.
Not lessened the offensive against fear,
eye cracking distance, foot on ford and steep;
each to his tools his trade and his journey,
restoring reason, the known scene and shape.
For the young child a different destiny is expected. His surroundings are clean, hardly broken country. For that reason it is supposed that he has a rich, unassessed heritage. In fact, his heritage is already bought and sold at market price. If there is any gain, it is not here. Ownership and trade have established the old evil, which is even more powerful where there are fewer traditional 'escapes' from economic necessity.

Even those to whom they are politically sacred admit that ownership and trade have brought their inevitable attendant evils. They are more potent here, where there are fewer escapes by culture or tradition from the economic cycle of strength, work and food.

Child of the stolen country tumbling on the raw clay, by the fence of green wood given to play
With terrible idle earth,
mountains and two seas
opposing with patience
endless enmities -

child, old evil sprouts
along the new track
from home's front door to
door
privy at the back,
To privy
and where scrub is cleared
round the neighbours' shack.
neighbour's

Not your destiny nor
this land's your shaping:
the sowing yours.
yours
another's the reaping;
reaping.

the seed itself tainted
in the excited soil,
yellow the trampled ford
where the floods boil.
boil.

Cancel the vision, and
wipe prayer from lip:
God comes not to market
nor saints by ship.
In a brief dialogue, the Elder explains to the Novice the meaning of Empire. God and the Flag are one, national pride being the solution of all opposites. Only the wind remains to remind the patriot of the fight fought in the past. The Novice, dutifully convinced by propaganda, is still somewhat corrupted by the wind. The wind, it will be observed, has the last word.

ELDER:

Haul the flag to the top of the mast, let it break there proclaiming brightly the imperial message, for this is the day for remembering the Nation our Creator, honour the Motherland as privilege and duty.

Teacher: Haul message
nation our creator: motherland
NOVICE:

See how the racing gusts out of the mountain
snatch at the flag as if they hated it.

Pupil: See how the deep

ELDER:

Do not speak of hatred of the flag:
It has God's cross, see, in the white and the red.

Teacher: Do flag.

NOVICE:

It is a sinful wind that does not love
the flag that bears God's cross.

Eighty years ago this flag was brought
to struggle upon the pole today
over a million heads, microcosm
of the Nation which colonised these islands;
not by wind and ocean beaten off.

Teacher: That is today's lesson.

ELDER:

That is the lesson for today. Come now
and see the convenient state prepared for you
from the field the mountain and the shingly river:
walk by the sundial in the front garden,
the double garage the gravelled yard.

Move on please
NOVICE:
The flag high over that large building,
four floors glassed and terraced, idle lawns:
I suppose that is the Governor's residence?

ELDER:
That is the mental hospital where 5000 live, poor madmen, receiving the best treatment.

NOVICE:
God's cross above the kingdom of the mad.
The mad are a great nation to extend
their empire to the islands of the sea.

ELDER:
The wind blew out their brains. We take the tram to another quarter of the growing city,
the bungalows in rows cleanly painted
and the educated citizen returning
after work with a friend to make four at bridge.

Tourists have declared that the standard of living is higher than anywhere in Europe.
NOVICE:

Two rooms lift rusted iron, a kennel roof
by the fleshy brick of the twine factory.
This, I take it, the penal settlement.

ELDER:

That is the colony of those who heard
the subversive wind the flags enemy:
their strength and wit are blown about the streets
and are paid in dividends to better men.

NOVICE:

God's cross above the kingdom of the poor.

THE WIND:

The flag rides rattling at the hoist
at prison and at the madhouse door;
I swelled their sails and what's the end?
The poor insane and the insane poor.
This new country is nothing more than a flattery by imitation of the older world. Being a flattery, it tends to imitate in the grosser respects only. The street scene, the cheap entertainment, are all faithfully reproduced. The virtues whose death is celebrated everywhere under buildings of iron and concrete, are not apparent. There is reproduction, never resurrection. The new country must be aware of the dangerous extent to which it is only a flattery by imitation of the old world. Being a flattery it values are no more apparent here than in the old countries. There is reproduction but not resurrection.

A Loyal Show

Jaunty hopes that play
Against the cynical scene:
New land New Zealand
Dancing before the Throne.
Now while the gilt is fresh
In our intimate theatre,
Listen and you shall hear
The old old gags recur:
Apprenticed to this stage
We thumb the greasy script:
Here we foreknow laughter
There we shall have wept.

Who tinkers with the lines?
There's no difference:
The old play that catches
Nobody's conscience.

Allen Curnow, July 2, 1938.

Reproduction reproduction
of the curved the angled the tangible street measurable block by block:
never resurrection
of the entombed pity, only discernible
vanity of the practised trick.
Sensitive the film senselessly
unrolls the death-embracing images:

island and ocean a theatre
screening a weary self-flattery
where colour and where courage is
costumed secondhand for character.

Having matched itself against the rest
of the world in a game which the rest of
the world is naturally superior, the infant
nation suffers an increase of frustration.

Therefore it necessarily assumes a pro-
prietary pride in the natural phenomena of
the country. These, as well as the fruits
of the soil, must be sold, to enable the nation
to continue living just a little beyond its
means. Foreign films and motor-cars
(without which life is obviously intolerable)
must be paid for. Mountains and other
pleasant places must be, if necessary, blast-
ed with tourist facilities, to satisfy the
scenery-swallowing appetites of wealthy
visitors. With such assets, the Government
secondhand, in

(by experience)

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and the local authorities may borrow abroad to provide ever-growing facilities for civilised comfort - no other interpretation of civilisation is admitted.

Paradise O paradise of the South come O come Emmanuel to save us to dine on our high snows the eternal iced cake O come with adventurous traveller's cheques in convenient denominations.

O fizzing geyser rise that they no more despise our wounds our isolation; the jets and thunders of thermal wonders proclaim a nation.

O come fat purse and idle eye there's a price on the noble head of the immaculate peak: 12,000 feet h. and c. water and steam heat.

God for universal exhibition we are privileged to present.
Naked goes the land
under the sweating hand
of the lover of a night
while the procuress
has eyes on a dress
of innocent white.

You are on a holiday trip sir
and what do you think of our country?

O God tell me its beautiful
(pity our littleness)
tell me our Alps excel
Switzerland and the Rockies.

Interviewed by 'The Blast'
M. Arturo classed
our mountain scenery
with Switzerland's best
was deeply impressed
is at present the guest
of Dean Bone at the Deanery.

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.

(O lord, O lord, lord, O lord
Make them say the encouraging word)
The young athletes ran nowhere at the Games no sporting year-book lists their names overseas visitors are nevertheless polite they arrive in the morning and leave at night.

Spirit O spirit of the first-comers under sail where lost, you spirit? Under a movie-theatre seat later disposed of by the police at auction.

However there is ample pleasant distraction many arts of frustration to emulate at 3½ per cent on a borrowed smile.

JULIAN
Yet, out of the orgy of imitation, there will in time be born
men of spirit. So far the country has not been able to contain
its great spirits; that, perhaps, is because there have been none
great enough to expand the country till it is able to sustain
them. Poets, painters, musicians, scientists will suffer agonies
in a country serving under gross masters. But out of their
sufferings the wheat lands, the cattle country and the sheep
country, may be born again. At present, however, an artist can
only suffer, and record his suffering; hoping to make others
suffer with him the necessary agonies of first self-knowledge.

Predestination

Where Van Gogh struck his seed
Flat France twirled with pain:
To these Pacific boulders
There will come men

Put to such planting
After the rusted harrow
Mining among mountains
With their seed of sorrow:
The vertical ice, the dry
Shriek of the kea
A howl of misery like
The cornfields of Auvers.

**ALLEN CURNOW, JULY 3, 1938.**

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**Variations On A Theme**

Bring me an axe and **spade**
For this is insolent **country**
James Cook's pig-farm
Without rule or road.

Bring me a **winding-sheet**
For the brown singing people
Affront with death our triumph, an
Unangry death without fight.

When I my grave have made
I shall write to friends at **Home**
And with an English accent
How shall I be afraid?

Let winds and tempests beat
On **1000** bungalows,
To our suburban burial
Slouch followers on foot.
Appendix II: *Not in Narrow Seas*

Down I'll lay
As cold as clay
Thank God true love
Does pass away,
The empire and the empty lands
The iron and the golden sands
Dredged and dumped
With the wheezing sea clay.

ALLEN CURNOW.

Octet converted to two quatrains.

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