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‘Tourists like Ourselves’: New Zealanders’ International Travel Diaries and their Journeys, 1919–1963

Genevieve Catherine de Pont

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of a Doctor of Philosophy in History, the University of Auckland, 2014.
Abstract

This thesis examines international travel diaries written by New Zealanders between the end of World War I and the beginning of the ‘jet age’. These diaries functioned as communicative tools, connecting the tourists who wrote them with their communities at home. Equally, the words of the diarists emphasised the communities tourists encountered and entered abroad. Given its influence over the physical diary and its contents, I argue that ‘community’ should be central to the ways we understand the travel diary in this period. This unconventional approach to travel history allows us to assess the relative value of national or imperial allegiances while also exploring other ways tourists constructed emotional and behavioural connections.

Travel writing scholarship has not explored the ways that travel diaries functioned as a particular genre of travel writing, nor have the diaries’ material components been investigated at length. Here the diaries are treated as objects and text, providing novel insights into tourist subjectivity while also recognising their specific cultural functions, particularly with regard to community formation and strengthening. The diaries also reveal much about the material culture of mid-twentieth-century travel, and allow historians to tap into the thoughts, impressions, and rhetorical practices of a diverse group of New Zealanders.

Individual chapters in the thesis engage with tourists’ somatic, emotional and intellectual responses to writing practice, work and workers, religious spaces and services, shopping areas, natural environments and components of foreign cultures and technologies. The words used by the tourists in their diaries were both idiosyncratic and utilised cultural norms of expression and ideas about otherness and similarity. They allow us to reflect on the diversity and creativity of New Zealanders in a period often characterised as staid, and to assess broader cultural perceptions of the globe and New Zealand’s place within it.

This thesis suggests new ways of defining and engaging with genre. It inserts material culture, emotion, and bodily representation into travel history in new ways, redefines the activities which were understood as part of tourism in this period, and illuminates situations when the line between tourists and residents blurred. I argue that paying closer attention to New Zealanders’ travelling pasts adds complexity to existing national narratives, decentres the nation as an interpretive framework, and opens our eyes to the many communities New Zealanders formed at home and abroad.
Dedication

For Gran, whose gift prompted the beginning of this thesis but who left us abruptly right before its end, and for Matt, as always. Thank you for the adventures.
Acknowledgements

I have been the beneficiary of a diverse and supportive community during the writing of this thesis and before this project was commenced, and there are many people I would like to thank for their support, assistance and engagement with my project.

Caroline Daley and Joe Zizek have been superlative supervisors throughout the process of working on this thesis, and, despite their efforts to prod my prose towards greater precision over the past three and a half years, I remain unable to locate the words to sufficiently thank them for their many hours spent providing incisive commentary and professional advice. They have been ideal supervisors: responsive to my work habits, and champions of my work. The rigour with which they have approached my work has been matched only by the gentleness and generosity of spirit with which they have provided feedback and suggestions. Thank you both for being so utterly marvellous.

I also owe a great debt to those who read and commented on later chapter drafts, sharing with me and this project their time and intellectual energies: Jennifer Ashton, Felicity Barnes, Ryan Bodman, Ryan Bogardus, Jonathan Burgess, Matt Gabriel, Toby Harper, Elinor Harris, Ann Pistacchi, John Stenhouse, and Jennie Taylor. Charlotte Greenhalgh not only read several chapters for me, but researched on my behalf at Oxford in late 2010, and arranged and hosted an immensely valuable forum in which to present my research at Green Templeton College, Oxford, in June 2012. Following her return to Auckland during 2013, she has provided hours of support and encouragement, and is a truly inspiring example of an early career academic.

The Department of History at the University of Auckland has played an enormous part in shaping my experiences over the last thirteen years, as an undergraduate and postgraduate student, then as a tutor, and upon my return to postgraduate study from 2009 onwards. Contributing so valuably to my intellectual community throughout the writing of this thesis, my thanks go to all of the department’s fantastic staff. Special thanks go to my lunchtime companions, many of whom provided feedback on chapters. I value the friendship of Georgie Craw, Lily Emerson, Oliver Skinner, and Ross Webb, and the time we have spent talking and collaborating. To my co-organisers Charlotte Greenhalgh and Marianne Schultz, and the members of the New Zealand History Reading Group, I also offer my thanks. My warm gratitude to Maartje Abbenhuis, for forwarding on many recommendations located during her own research, and for being a wonderful friend and mentor, and to Malcolm Campbell, Barry Reay, and Jonathan Scott for their kind words of support over the course of this project. Debbie Dunsford, her husband Kevin, and his cousins very generously gave me access to a family travel diary of their own, in the process allowing me the luxury of reading, transcribing and
photographing the diary in my own space and in my own time, and my thesis is the richer for the words of Grace Vincent.

I have been the beneficiary of a number of grants and scholarships during the course of my thesis, for which I am grateful. Thank you to the University of Auckland for the University of Auckland Doctoral Scholarship, 2010–2013, and the Myra and Eric McCormick Scholarship in History, 2011–2014. The Department of History awarded me a PBRF grant in 2010, enabling research trips to Wellington and Dunedin; the Faculty of Arts awarded me a Doctoral Research Fund grant 2011–2012, funding further research to Dunedin, as well as research trips to Nelson, Christchurch, Canberra and Sydney. I was awarded a research grant by the Auckland War Memorial Museum Library in 2012, enabling further research and writing time for an article. I am particularly indebted to Anne Pelzel for the advice she offered on my applications for the Doctoral Scholarship and the FOA Doctoral Research Fund, as well as – once again – Caroline Daley and Joe Zizek for their advice and letters of support. Thanks also to Ian Brailsford and Fran Kelly, for their thoughtful mentorship within the Doctoral Academic Careers Module in 2012, and continuing interest in my career.

My research has been made much easier and more enjoyable by the stellar assistance I have received at a number of research libraries in New Zealand, Australia, and England. Thanks to the librarians at the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington; the Central branch of the Auckland City Libraries; the Auckland War Memorial Museum Library, particularly Diane Gordon and Simona Traser, who together arranged a borrowed laptop at short notice upon the internal combustion of my own in mid-2010 so that my work there would not be interrupted; the Garden Place branch of the Hamilton City Libraries; the Hocken Library, Dunedin, especially Ali Clarke for her source suggestions and for her own research and writing; the MacMillan Brown Library at the University of Canterbury; Dr. Robin Darwall-Smith, archivist at Magdalene College, Oxford; the Mitchell Library, Sydney; the National Library of Australia; Helen Pannett at the Nelson Provincial Museum Library; Marie de Jong at the Sacred Heart College Archives in Auckland; the University of Auckland Library, especially the wonderful Philip Abela, who contributes so much to the Department of History, and all those in Special Collections; and Kathryn Parsons at the University of Waikato Library.

I would like also to acknowledge those I loved who died during the time I was researching or writing this thesis. The lives of these people remind me of the great joys of human idiosyncrasy and human kindness, which I attempt to highlight and celebrate within this thesis. Dick Burns (1932–2010), Sanouk Phomsouvanh (1984–2011), David Clark (1947–2012), Judy Cunningham (1926–2012), Peter Gabriel (1978–2013), Kurt Williams (1987–2013), and Marjorie Bond (1921–2013) I am so fortunate to have known you all.
Finally, my thanks to my friends and family, and most especially my gem of a husband, Matt, for his many years of unwavering support.
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Note on Diarists’ Names and Diary Referencing Conventions

Several of the tourists whose diaries contribute to this thesis altered their names between one trip and another, due to marriage, or travelled under one name and changed their names subsequently, such that their diaries came to be classified in archives or libraries under names different to those they went by while travelling. In all instances, I have referred to diarists in the text of this thesis by the names they used at the time of their travels, where known. However, in the notes and bibliography, the names of the authors as listed in library or archival catalogues has been clearly noted. For example, one of the diarists was born Bridget Ristori, and she undertook some travel under that name prior to her first marriage. She married her first husband in 1937, becoming Bridget Tothill. Much of her international tourism was recorded in diaries under this name. Widowed in 1954, she remarried a farmer, Ron Francois, in 1959, and her diaries are archived under the name Bridget Francois in the Alexander Turnbull Library, as acknowledged in the footnotes and bibliography. However, she will be referred to within the body text by whichever name she used at the time she was writing the cited diary. Ruth Wilson will be called Ruth Wix throughout the body text, as she was known during the first eighty-three years of her life, including her travelling years. Other female travellers’ diaries were archived under the name they went by at the time of their travels.

Sir Peter Buck, another of the diarists, was also known as Te Rangi Hiroa by the time he wrote the diary I reference in this thesis. His 1934 diary, describing travels between Tahiti and the Tuamotu atolls, was written as a series of instalments addressed to his wife, Margaret. He signed ‘Peter’ at the end of each of these sections, so, in keeping with his own practice, I will refer to him by his birth name, Peter Buck, within the thesis text. In doing so, I do not intend to downplay Buck’s Māori or broader Polynesian identity, which he wrote about in his travel diary on a number of occasions, but to respect the name he used to refer to himself as the author of this diary. Hyam Brasch, another diarist, has his papers in the Hocken Library classified under this, his birth name, but changed his name to ‘Henry Brash’ by deed poll in 1936, in an effort to avoid anti-Semitic discrimination.1 He will be referred to as Henry Brash in the body text. Doing so also serves the useful function of distinguishing him from his son Charles Brasch, another travel diarist, who retained the original spelling of the family name.

Two of the diaries used in this thesis were written by persons unnamed by either the diaries or archives where they resided. One, a diary by a teenage girl travelling to England with her English-born parents in 1955, was misidentified as having been authored by Marion Knight,

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the author of five other travel diaries held by the Auckland War Memorial Museum Library, and
donated by the same source at the same time. The words of the diary contained sufficient
information about her family in England, and their names and origins, that, following
considerable detective work, I was able to discover her name: Jill Valerie Hobbs (1938–1967).
The author of the other diary remains elusive. The catalogue of the Hamilton City Libraries,
where his diary is held, describes the author as an ‘unidentified male school teacher’, and notes
that the diary was purchased from a second-hand shop in Hamilton. Within the diary, he made
no reference to his family’s names, locations or interests, and he visited no – even distant –
relatives who were resident in England.

The way the diaries are referenced in the footnotes owes most to my own classification
process rather than to archival organisation, though archival references are used to distinguish
items within a collection where possible. Millicent Boor’s diaries, for example, were individually
classified by trip and volume in the Nelson Provincial Museum Archive. I have attributed most
diaries by the same author a number, denoting the trip, in chronological order. As an example,
Bond’s first trip was in 1937; her diary of that journey has been called ‘Diary 1’. Some diarists
wrote multi-volume diaries, consecutively describing the same trip, and in those cases a volume
number has also been added. Bailey wrote five volumes of travel diaries, but the first four
described the same trip, and so are Diary 1, Vols. 1–4; the fifth volume accompanied her on
another occasion, and so is Diary 2. An exception to this is Arthur Messenger, who used annual
template diaries in which to keep his account and who travelled for some years. In his case, I
decided it would be easier for anyone wishing to follow my path if I indicated the diary year,
rather than assigning a number. If diarists titled their own diaries, their titles have been included
in the footnote references; otherwise the texts are all referred to as ‘diary’. Page references follow
diarists’ own numbering, if available. Otherwise, pages have been numbered from the first entry
in a volume. Date ranges, where possible, are included in first references to a particular volume,
and diary entries are titled in each footnote, following diarists’ own conventions (which were
often not stylistically consistent from entry to entry) for dating or naming entries. Several diarists
titled their entries with clear dates only some of the time – in particular, Henrietta Rothwell, Ruth
Wix, and Marion Knight – and so references to their diaries sometimes do not indicate the
specific date.

Finally, I have elected not to correct punctuation, grammar or spelling errors that occur
in the text of the diaries, and have not streamlined idiosyncratic stylistic practices either, with one
exception. Diarists used a range of characters to communicate the word ‘and’, many of which do
not have a typographical equivalent; all these have been written as ‘and’ in full. As I argue in this
thesis, one of the interesting elements of the diaries as a group is their diversity. Though their
transposition into modern (and uniform) typeface removes some of their individuality, I wanted to retain as much of a sense of each diary’s uniqueness and each diarist’s personality as possible. Grammatical or other errors often convey the piecemeal nature of the diaries’ composition, and the distractions clamouring for the diarists’ attention as they wrote on ships, trains, or in hotel rooms with friends or family. In the diaries which took the form of typescripts, typewriter keys hit in error and left uncorrected suggest something of their author’s facility with typing. The transcriptions have been made carefully, and errors in diary quotations are reflective of errors in the diaries themselves, but are not marked [sic] so as not to interrupt the flow or to unnecessarily or repeatedly emphasise a diarist’s lack of editorial attention. Where the meaning might be otherwise difficult to follow and the correction unobtrusive, missing letters or punctuation have occasionally been added in square brackets.
# Glossary

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<td>AWMML</td>
<td>Auckland War Memorial Museum Library</td>
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<tr>
<td>GG</td>
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<td>HC</td>
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<tr>
<td>HCL</td>
<td>Hamilton City Libraries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MB</td>
<td>MacMillan Brown Library, University of Canterbury, Christchurch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ML</td>
<td>Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NLA</td>
<td>National Library of Australia, Canberra</td>
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<tr>
<td>NPMA</td>
<td>Nelson Provincial Museum Archive</td>
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<td>NZJH</td>
<td><em>New Zealand Journal of History</em></td>
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INTRODUCTION

Affective History and Community: Travel Diaries and Travel Cultures, 1919–1963

My great-grandmother’s travel diaries spent many years on the bottom shelf of a small mahogany bookshelf in the bedroom my mother used as a teenager. Under the plaster ceiling roses I first opened them, a child sitting cross-legged on the pale carpet, baffled by the curling cursive script in which they were written, but certain these volumes were important. I found them fascinating because they were unexpected: in a large house that contained many old objects there were few which had been handmade by family members. These travel diaries were unusual in other respects too. They were not sub rosa in the way other kinds of diaries often were: they were written to be read and cherished, to teach and amuse, to think in and around. Successive generations of the Bond family lived their lives alongside these diaries.1 Written during five overseas trips taken between 1937 and 1961, the diaries remained resident at Evelyn (‘Eve’) Bond’s home long after her death in 1968. They were a material connection between her home and the world beyond, but also her family and a world both familiar and unfamiliar to us now. Several stores in which she shopped in Sydney and London (Burberry, for instance), are still there, and still synonymous with quality garments. Her devotion to religious practice, however, would be far more uncommon for a New Zealand tourist today than it was at the time. Like no other text I had seen before, these small travel diaries brought together the near and far, the past and the present, and connected the six generations of my family who moved alongside the diaries in this house.

For all the continuities and connections that these diaries represented, however, over time they were opened far less often. Neither my mother nor my aunts read them; if my grandmother ever had, she had forgotten details about their contents by the time I thought to ask her.2 The continued preservation but diminishing consultation of Eve Bond’s travel diaries was just one possible pathway that travel diaries written by New Zealanders could follow. Many other travel diaries ventured into archives around the country, often donated by their then-elderly authors or by family or friends who had the diaries in their keeping. As their authors aged or died, the value of these diaries appeared to shift. No longer considered just important to the communities for whom they were written, these travel diaries were donated in order to become part of a wider cluster of texts within the archives. They were understood as valuable outside a familial context.

1 Catherine Bond (née Barclay), Eve’s mother-in-law, lived in this large downstairs room from the time her husband died, in 1929, until her own death in 1938. She accompanied Eve, Elon, and Kitty Bond (their niece/her granddaughter) on the first of the trips described by the diaries, in 1937. After her death, the room remained unoccupied for thirty years until Eve and Elon’s son Bryce and his family moved in following his parents’ deaths in 1968. When she moved into the blue and white room, my mother, Margaret, was 17.
2 E. Bryce Bond (b.1921) died in 2000, and it is unknown whether he had read his mother’s travel diaries.
This is also the case for Bond’s travel diaries: though they contain many pieces of information lost to family memory over the years, and are interesting to her descendants for those reasons, they – and other diaries like them – should interest unrelated historians too.

My childish conviction that Eve Bond’s diaries were important has deepened into an abiding appreciation for the significant contribution travel diaries can make to historical scholarship. The voluminous travel diaries discussed in this thesis capture the experiential richness of twenty-eight travellers’ lives – many of whom travelled vast distances – in the mid-twentieth century. They suggest much about what tourists actually did and thought, a subject which has been speculated upon but little studied. They also provide a window onto the ways that New Zealanders understood the world beyond their own town, city or nation, the ways they shaped that world by describing it, and the ways they acted in it.

This thesis engages with the contents and material forms of travel diaries held in archives around New Zealand and Australia, along with several – including Eve’s – which remain in the care of their authors’ descendents. In doing so, this thesis brings into the light the words, ideas and elements of the material culture of international travellers, a group of New Zealanders who have not yet received sustained attention by historians, and illuminates early- to mid-twentieth century travel practices and relationships between travellers and non-travellers. These diaries can be read or applied by historians in a variety of ways; several have already been used as source material in other research. Historians have predominantly used travel diaries as repositories of facts and impressions: to illuminate a biographical subject, or to illustrate what a certain person or kind of person thought of a particular location. Here, by contrast, travel diaries are approached as texts constructed by individual authors for their own ends, but also as examples of a genre of writing with a long pedigree. Since genres develop and alter with time, this thesis considers some common structures, subjects, concepts and focal points of some New Zealanders’ travel diaries, and illuminates subjects this group felt were important and the ways in which they understood or expressed their experiences. Closely reading these travel diaries, I was repeatedly struck by the communal elements of travel in this period, and the importance of community and sociability for


4 Notman’s work is biographical; Brasch’s Indirections autobiographical. Felicity Barnes has also used New Zealanders’ travel accounts in her work on London’s cultural position in New Zealand, mainly written earlier than those discussed here (‘New Zealand’s London: The Metropolis and New Zealand’s Culture, 1890–1940’, PhD thesis, University of Auckland, 2008; New Zealand’s London: A Colony and Its Metropolis, Auckland, 2012).
these travellers. The chapters which follow detail the expressive practices and mores of the various communities these diarists belonged to and created.

Using community as the organising principle of the thesis chapters is responsive to the concerns of the authors of these travel diaries. It also offers a new way of conceptualising leisure travel in the mid-twentieth century. Rather than foregrounding national or imperial affiliations – a more common framework for historical studies of travel – we can see ways in which tourists crossed national and imperial borders to form communities with others, as well as ways in which they policed various communities (both in New Zealand and abroad) with which they were affiliated. Focussing on community as a model for understanding tourists’ experiences acknowledges that the rigid line between ‘tourist’ and ‘resident’ breaks down under close readings of these personal accounts. ‘Community’ also reflects the affective nature of these diaries, which connected their authors with the friends and family who comprised their intended audiences, and with new groups of people and anthropomorphised objects and places encountered on travel diarists’ journeys. Considering community sheds some light on the significance of imperial or national allegiances for travellers, and suggests that there were many moments when tourist experience was shaped by affective bonds formed or perceived outside empire or nation. New Zealand historians have tended to approach travel within the context of national history. This thesis has particular resonance for New Zealand national history, even as it moves away from an exclusively national paradigm. Before engaging further with the specific, diverse communities these tourists joined or from which they held themselves apart while abroad, we will turn first to their position within the community from which they embarked on their travels, and how international tourists from New Zealand have been understood at home.

Tourism and the New Zealand Nation

There has been little detailed engagement with New Zealand tourists who travelled prior to the introduction of regular jet services in 1963, and especially little with those who travelled

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internationally. Despite this, New Zealand historians have suggested that travel was vitally important to New Zealand's development into its contemporary form. The progressive New Zealand state has been understood as ground-breaking, in part because it took a leading role in tourism. This focus is important: tourism has been predominantly discussed within scholarship and popular writing interested in the establishment of the New Zealand nation and the development of national identity. Touring – a practice during which tourists are, by definition, physically away from home – has been harnessed to and made subordinate to home, to a version of New Zealand's past in which the nation takes precedence. To date, explicitly national narratives about New Zealand have played a disproportionate and limiting role in our understanding of New Zealand travellers and their creative responses. It is important to pay attention to the tourists themselves: to their words, ideas, and material culture. Doing so adds to our understanding of the way the New Zealand nation was constructed and perceived, but also shifts the focus of the conversation away from nation and towards other communities, the expression of affective bonds, and New Zealanders’ perceptions of politically or culturally ‘foreign’ places.

The economic prominence of New Zealand’s tourism industry through to the present day has shaped the places New Zealand scholars have looked for tourists. Pre-jet-age New Zealand has been understood as a location where tourism took place. Lydia Wevers placed the origins of this industry ‘at the end of the 1860s, when the Land Wars were over and steam succeeded sail as a mode of transport’:

New Zealand took its place on a round-the-world route that began in Europe, crossed North America, moved down through Australia, and travelled back to the northern hemisphere via Asia, a route reproduced in countless frontispiece maps with a red line snaking around the world.  

New Zealand was the first country in which the government established a Tourist Department, in 1901, a factoid which has been regularly cited as a sign of the long-standing value of tourism for the nation. Certainly, tourism remains vitally important to the New Zealand economy. Prime

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The ‘Tourist Department’ was originally called the Department of Tourist and Health Resorts when it was established in 1901: Margaret McClure, The Wonder Country: Making New Zealand Tourism, Auckland, 2004, p.2 (then-Minister of Tourism, Mark Burton, also began his Foreword to this book with reference to the New Zealand government’s foresight in establishing ‘the world’s first ever national tourism organisation’, p.vii). See also: Ian Conrich and Tim Youngs, ‘Travel Writing and New Zealand: An Introduction’, Studies in Travel Writing, 14, 4, 2010, p.340.
Minister John Key emphasised the significance of tourism to the nation’s GDP upon the election of the National-led coalition government in 2008, when he chose to take on the ministerial portfolio of tourism, and spending on tourism marketing has continued to be prioritised by the government through to the present. The importance of tourism to the state has been emphasised in social science research: it has been considered as a means of constructing national identity, and as an enactment of liberalism. Tourism New Zealand has commissioned a monograph about its past; the commercial art produced for the Tourism Department in the early-mid-twentieth century is also the subject of a recent book. This is a valuable subject for research, but it should not establish or comprise the limitations of the field.

It is vital to expand the field of research to include the experiences and ideas of New Zealanders who travelled abroad because of the many texts which claim that international travel by New Zealanders was significant. The impact of travellers has been linked to New Zealanders’ developing national self-identity, as well as the economic, social and cultural changes which took place over the course of the last fifty years. Like the study of domestic tourism, the nation has figured prominently in these narratives. Post-World War II commentators expressed anxiety over New Zealanders’ international travel via a series of metaphors of pathology, harnessed to explanations of what it was to be a New Zealander. John Mulgan’s posthumous Report on Experience (1947), described New Zealanders as ‘often wanderers and restless and unhappy men’, who ‘roam the world looking not for adventure but for satisfaction’. In 1961, Keith Sinclair diagnosed New Zealanders differently. They were not depressives who ventured into the world looking for a cure – travel was instead a symptom of disease:

Whim Wham has found a wonderful symbol for one New Zealand attitude in his term ‘Overseasia’. Our ‘norm’, he finds, is what is done overseas. New Zealanders not only judge by what is done in ‘Overseasia’ but, I may add, they suffer from it. It is one of our endemic diseases—‘overseizure’. We are probably the most travelled people in the world—we have to go so far to get anywhere. And at every gathering you may, as in West Africa, listen to the ‘Been-tos’—those who have ‘been to’ London or New York or Sydney. We are not

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supposed—at least until recently—to have our own ‘culture’. A cultured New Zealander is often taken to be one who has travelled.\textsuperscript{14}

Susan Graham began her 1963 travel book \textit{The Tender Traveller} with the claim: ‘We New Zealanders are compulsive travellers’.\textsuperscript{15} These pathological metaphors still faintly echo in popular texts about New Zealanders abroad. Jane Gilkison and Rachel Pether downgraded the desire to travel to the level of fungal infection in their 2009 book on the ‘Big O.E.’ (overseas experience): ‘Our fantasies about far off lands grew as we did, and our jandal-clad feet became itchy to explore those places we only knew through TV programmes and far-flung relatives’.\textsuperscript{16} Many of these commentators were employing these metaphors for humorous purposes. Nevertheless, they suggested some discomfort with the idea they expressed: that New Zealanders’ travel was abnormally frequent, and was a deep-seated national imperative.

More recently-published general histories of New Zealand differed substantially in their diagnosis and in their acknowledgement of when New Zealand travellers headed abroad in large numbers, but like Mulgan, Sinclair and Graham, they continued to suggest that travel was vital to New Zealand as a nation. New Zealand’s ‘national maturity’ has been attributed to its international travellers and to tourists visiting New Zealand. Michael King’s best-selling \textit{Penguin History of New Zealand} asserted that, by contrast with an earlier period,

in the 1960s television and cheap jet travel would open New Zealand to the world and the world to New Zealand. All kinds of domestic cultural features – from cuisine to clothes to literature – would change as a result of new global influences and of New Zealanders being able to travel widely and return home.\textsuperscript{17}

\textit{Frontier of Dreams}, the companion volume to a television series of the same name about New Zealand’s past, likewise connected assertions about the increased worldliness of New Zealanders with commercial air transport:

Jet travel took New Zealanders to the world, where they developed a taste for urban sophistication, and brought travellers there who already had it. The overseas tourists did not

\textsuperscript{16} Jane Gilkison and Rachel Pether, ‘Introduction’, in Jane Gilkison and Rachel Pether, eds, \textit{Jandal Prints on the Globe: Capturing the Overseas Experience}, Whanganui, 2009, p.7. Of course, ‘itchy feet’ commonly conveys restlessness as well as the more literal suggestion of athlete’s foot. Nevertheless, the anecdotes in Gilkison and Pether’s collection appear to have been selected because they were particularly unusual or revolting, so fungal infection is certainly not out of place in this context.
\textsuperscript{17} Michael King, \textit{The Penguin History of New Zealand}, Auckland, 2003, p.416.
want New Zealand ‘closed’; they wanted good food, slick entertainment and long shopping hours.\(^{18}\) Jenny Carlyon and Diana Morrow echoed such narratives in their postwar history of New Zealand, *Changing Times*.\(^{19}\) In a section titled ‘opening up and acting out’, Carlyon and Morrow introduced the jet age and connected it with changes in liquor licensing laws and restaurant cuisine. ‘Overseas visitors’, they claimed, ‘did not expect to find shops closed on weekends and a dearth of restaurants or bars’.\(^{20}\) In these accounts, international travel by New Zealanders is placed at the service of a narrative arc in which the 1960s were signposted as a decade of massive national cultural opening-up. These histories viewed tourists as a kind of national panacea to a postwar complacency and intellectual malaise. Similarly, the Big O.E. to the United Kingdom has been conceived of as specifically and uniquely a part of New Zealand culture in more focussed studies about this ‘cultural phenomenon’, and as a rite of passage for young adults, widening their horizons before they settled back at home.\(^{21}\) This connection between international travel and economic, social and cultural change deserves more interrogation, and travel diaries provide one way of doing so: they give some sense of whether travellers considered that New Zealand needed to change and what they admired about the objects or practices new to them which they encountered abroad.

This New Zealand scholarship is valuable, despite its fragmentary quality and apparently contradictory arguments. (This thesis does, as a side effect, forge a pathway through the conflicts in these existing narratives, showing that while they were active and dynamic like the tourists in King’s and Phillips’s accounts, many New Zealanders travelled abroad prior to the jet age, as Sinclair’s satirical pastiche and Mulgan’s gloomy prognosis each emphasised.)\(^{22}\) Importantly, all


\(^{19}\) In this thesis, ‘postwar’ is used exclusively to refer to the period following World War II, and ‘interwar’ signifies the period between the two World Wars.


\(^{22}\) It is not clear how many New Zealanders travelled abroad per year. Available figures seem to contradict each other. By 1913, the Union Steam Ship Company of New Zealand (1875–2000), the largest and most long-lasting commercial shipping company in New Zealand and one of the largest in the world in the mid-twentieth century, was transporting 250,000 passengers a year (this included both international and domestic routes, and New Zealand and foreign passengers). By 1951, despite greater competition for passengers from air travel, almost half a million per year were travelling on Union steamships. (Sydney D. Waters, *Union Line: A Short History of the Union Steam Ship Company of New Zealand, 1875–1951*, Wellington, 1951 lists a number of competitors throughout). By 1951, there were also 500,000 passengers per year flying out of New Zealand, and the numbers had increased to 1.3 million by 1959. (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, ‘1963 – key events’) The population of the country was 2.36 million by the end of 1959, and as James Belich claims there were only 36,000 overseas visitors to New Zealand per year by 1960, this suggests that 1 million New Zealand passengers – almost half the population – were travelling abroad by air each year of the early 1960s. (Statistics New Zealand, ‘Historical population estimates table’, 2009, available at: \[http://www.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/population/estimates_and_projections/historical-population-tables.aspx\] (Accessed 15 February 2011). James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders from the 1880s*
these texts consistently recognised tourists’ agency and power, and they suggested that there were a complex range of emotions and desires which motivated these New Zealanders to head overseas. By attributing widespread social, economic and cultural changes to tourists, King and Phillips emphasised the power and desires of tourists. Tourist longing and compulsion to move or to discover sits at the front of Gilkison and Pether’s and Graham’s characterisations. Sinclair’s ‘Been-tos’ were insecure or boastful, asserting their power and cultural belonging through tales of their activities abroad; Mulgan’s New Zealanders were neurotic and unhappy. Acknowledging such diverse emotions has not been the default approach of many scholars of modern tourism. Tourist desire – what motivates tourists to travel – has been at the forefront of tourism studies for a long time, but other emotions have been rarely considered.23 Many scholars have emphasised the passivity of tourists, by contrast with a group of people designated as ‘travellers’, and characterised tourists by the so-called ‘inauthenticity’ of their experiences.24 Though many of these New Zealand narratives engage with negative emotions – their authors’ own anxieties, tourists’ pathological or depressive motivations – the scholars discussed here also acknowledged that tourism can have positive side-effects. In New Zealand scholarship, tourists have been also allowed considerable power for good, rather than being characterised as the golden hordes, the ‘suntanned destroyers of culture’, many have written about.25 The emotions expressed in the diaries used in this thesis add still more complexity to this field.

As well as developing and extending our understanding of the emotional terrain of tourists in the mid-twentieth century, the diaries of these travelling New Zealanders did not engage with nation as much as we might expect, although they allow us to reflect upon it. They contribute to a national narrative that is more a composite or compromise than a reflection of those discussed above. The concerns of travel diarists suggest other avenues for our attention,
including the specific practices of international tourists in the period, and the ways in which tourists constructed and interacted with the places they visited. Even setting aside the emotional value of travel diaries for the families of their authors, these diaries give us some insights into an affective history, which only sometimes touches upon patriotism.

The period covered by this thesis intentionally begins after World War I, commonly understood by New Zealanders as the crucible of nascent national awareness and pride.26 By looking closely at the travel diaries as a source, we gain a sense of what was important to these travellers, but instead of nation, they were more often focussed on quite different imagined and real communities.27 The rest of this Introduction focuses on the communal elements of tourism, the communities these travel diarists were part of in New Zealand, and the real and imagined communities they engaged with while abroad. It also sketches out the community they entered into through this thesis: one comprised of people who travelled outside of New Zealand for leisure purposes between the end of World War I and 1963 and recorded their experiences as they went. Most of these communities would be recognised by the diarists themselves; this last is partly an interpretive overlay, reflecting the similarities in the ways their diaries functioned. The multiple ways ‘community’ was evoked in these diaries signals the ways in which travel has changed since the period of time covered by this thesis, contextualising the chapters which follow. It also shapes and confines the subjects of the chapters of this thesis.

**Community Values and Travel: Beyond Imperial and National Boundaries**

The words – and even the very existence – of these travel diaries emphasise the communal and community-orientated experiences of tourists in the pre-jet age. The diarists’ affective communities were often signalled even before the first diary entry began. Two of Marion Knight’s five travel diary volumes (1961–1962) were dedicated ‘To Ivy’; stuck into the inside front cover of her second volume was a three-page list of Christmas presents she sent to friends or family in New Zealand from the United Kingdom for Christmas 1961.28 Charles Brasch’s 1934 travel diary, describing a trip through the Netherlands and Germany to Russia, was prefaced by a brief list of dates chronicling the comings and goings of various friends and family members and their recent activities. These ranged from life milestones – ‘7.4.34 Bettine married’

26 King, pp.300–301.
27 Following Benedict Anderson’s seminal 1991 definition of a nation as ‘an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign’ (Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, 2nd edn, London, 2006, p.6), ‘imagined community’ has been memorably associated with nation. Imagined communities also formed along many other axes, however, including religious adherence, class, profession and race. Diarists also formed communities which were not imagined, comprised of those they knew personally.
– to educational decisions: ’9 Aug ’34 J. and Ian learning Russian’.\textsuperscript{29} First diary entries were also regularly given over to lists of the people who came to the wharf or train station to wave tourists off. Nancy Laurenson’s departure from Wellington by train in 1955 was typical:

At station. Easton and Winifred, Dorothy, Alan and Billy, Arthur and Ruth, Barbara, Mae and Joan McDonald, Lilian De Larss and Rachel Werner, Leo Knapp, Roma Riley and Ruth Wix.\textsuperscript{30}

Grace Vincent had a tripartite farewell from Auckland in 1948, with friends at the wharf waving streamers, a goodbye wave and salute from the tugboat driver, whom she knew, and a final send-off from her twin nephews and one of their wives who stood and waved off Takapuna Beach as her ship went by. She ‘consequently missed my breakfast but counted it well lost as I wanted to give the children a final farewell’.\textsuperscript{31}

The social worlds they operated within prior to their departure were not exclusively inhabited by New Zealand residents. Some diarists connected with members of their communities at foreign ports. C. W. Collins was met by two sets of family friends in Suva, and spent a few hours in their company (or in their shower) before returning to his ship and continuing on his voyage.\textsuperscript{32} Kathleen Bailey visited good friends in Sydney and Adelaide, and lived and travelled with her brother and sister-in-law on and off for more than six months during 1936 and 1937, and for almost a year during late 1950 and early 1951. Bailey served as a proxy in Perth for her friend, Mrs Haydon: she visited Mrs Haydon’s sister at the convent where she lived:

the door next to the grill opened and in gusted Sr. M. Joseph. She kissed us both soundly and took us into a much more comfortable room. She then asked us how long we could possibly stay and then rushed out and ordered the lov[el]iest afternoon tea for us. When it came she did the talking while we ate and then I was to talk (her arrangement to save all time possible). She talked at a furious rate admitting that she was really excited. [...] She told me that I was the second person (the first was a distant cousin going to the war) from home whom she had met in the thirty seven years she had been in Perth. No wonder she was excited.\textsuperscript{33}

Many tourists had considerable numbers of friends or family abroad, and they could be spread fairly far afield – both within and beyond the British Empire. Eve Bond visited family in

\textsuperscript{29} Charles Brasch, Diary, 18 August–11 September 1934, MS-0996-009/003: HC.
\textsuperscript{30} Nancy Laurenson, ’Wednesday 13\textsuperscript{th} July 1955’, Diary Vol. 1, 13 July–30 November 1955, p.1, NZMS 1447: GG.
\textsuperscript{31} Ruth Wix wrote travel diaries which are also discussed in this thesis.
\textsuperscript{32} C. W. Collins, ’Wednesday April 27\textsuperscript{th}, 1932’, Travelogue, 9 April–1 June 1932, pp.21–22, Accession MB 95 Box 1: MB.
\textsuperscript{33} Kathleen Bailey, ‘Monday, 23\textsuperscript{nd} March, 1936’, Diary 1, Vol. 1, 6 March–2 May 1936, p.56, 95/15: AWMML.

Tourist experiences abroad also immediately included the construction of new communities. Social events peppered the time tourists spent on steam ships, though the details differed depending on the shipping line, the available technology, and the age of the boat. All passengers dined communally at set times, and with pre-determined regular dining companions. Most shared rooms, even in first class; Charles Begg’s excitement at having his own cabin (his mother had to share her cabin with another woman) reflects how uncommon privacy was on board. Most ships provided entertainment in the evenings, from live musical performances, community singing, lectures and slide shows, to film screenings. Special occasions (the last night on deck, for instance) might call for special and particularly elaborate meals; fancy dress balls for both adults and children typically occurred once per voyage, including prizes for best dressed; ships with on-board swimming pools often performed rituals involving a passenger or officer dressed as King Neptune dunking passengers (or being dunked, or tried by a mock ‘court’) when the ship crossed the equator. Church services were on offer on Sunday mornings. Bailey’s ships to England in 1936, the Monowai and the Orion, offered Catholic masses on board, and Protestant services were standard across shipping lines, usually read by the captain. During daylight hours, many ships offered draws for competitions in various deck games, most commonly including quoits, deck golf, deck tennis, and bridge. Some ships held ‘horse races’ (or ‘frog races’) using dice to determine the speed and distances the ‘horses’ or ‘frogs’ moved. Some passengers might be invited to the captain’s cabin for pre-dinner drinks or supper once or twice during their

34 Charles Begg, ‘April 20th’, Diary, 17 April–14 September 1937, p.1, Misc-MS-2140: HC.
35 Community singing was less common than the other activities, but Millicent Boor mentioned its occurrence on her ship bound for Southampton, ‘Sunday 15th’, Diary 2, Vol. 2, 8–23 April 1928, p.17, AG 216 (A 2 a Letter 2): NPMA, as did Collins, ‘Monday, May 9th 1932’, p.46.
36 Bridget Tohill kept ephemera from ship life, including piano recital programmes and a number of menus. On 22 July 1952, the ship she was on, the Shaw Savill Line’s Dominion Monarch, held a ‘Landfall Dinner’, with an elaborate menu. (Bridget Ristori Tothill Francois, Supplementary material enclosed with Diary 6, Box 2, 85-098: ATL.) The only ships which did not hold fancy dress events were very small ones, such as that on which Johnston McAra travelled to the United Kingdom in 1935, when he was one of only five passengers (Johnston McAra, ‘Friday, 31st May 1935’, Diary Vol. 1, 31 May–3 August 1935, p.1, MS-0698-A: HC.) Collins was awarded the prize for ‘most attractive man’ for his outfit as a ‘Professor’, with homemade trenched and his MA gown, on the City of Los Angeles in 1932 (Wednesday, May 11th, 1932, pp.49–51).
40 Like the fancy dress balls, the ships which did not hold formalised deck games competitions were the exception to the rule. The ships Johnston McAra (1935) and Arthur Messenger (1957) travelled on were among the few which carried so few passengers that officers or other passengers did not organise their leisure.
voyage, as a sign of particular respect.\textsuperscript{42} Though the communities which formed could be ephemeral, some tourists made friendships on steamships which continued long after they disembarked. On board the \textit{Orion} Bailey was introduced to Dorothy Cliff, a New Zealand nurse, via the letter of a mutual friend, and they became close, spending time together at ports en route to England and on board, and socialising on numerous occasions after their arrival in England.\textsuperscript{43} Some tourists – especially those who travelled within Europe – went on to take overland tours, which placed them in close proximity to a fixed group of other tourists for weeks at a time.\textsuperscript{44}

How do we recognise and define ‘community’ within these travel diaries? The examples of community tourists encountered during ship voyages, when they were meeting with people they knew already or those they were placed into close proximity with as a result of their shared travel, are easy to spot. The failures of community in these spaces and circumstances are similarly clear. Bond punctuated the \textit{Strathnaver’s} docking in Marseilles in 1937 with a comment which drew a rigid racial line in the sand: ‘About 160 passengers and most of the Indians left the ship and everyone was very happy about it. The Indians in particular suffer from no inferiority complex!’\textsuperscript{45} But community (or its failures) were also evoked in various ways and in more foreign contexts than an international passage steamer. Community could be shaped or created by location (steamship, tour, home area) but also existed beyond place, as a metaphorical social space where peoples of different races, classes, religions, genders and especially ages could mingle through the written word. We can find community delimited through diarists’ performances of empathy and their emotive depictions of their own sensitivities and affinities with place, people, and pasts. Diarists also reflected on behaviours they observed or performed which placed them and others inside and outside communities: community was often defined by their perceptions of the appropriateness of behaviour. Tourists shaped the communities they claimed affiliation with, giving voice to our understanding of how groups and identities were understood. What the

\textsuperscript{42} Kathleen Bailey, ‘May 25\textsuperscript{th}, 1951’, ‘May 29\textsuperscript{th}, 1951’, Diary 2, 19 July 1950–23 June 1951, pp.311, 315, 95/15: AWMML.

\textsuperscript{43} Bailey, ‘Sunday March 15\textsuperscript{th}, 1936’, Diary 1, Vol. 1, p.35 she first met ‘Miss Cliff’; according to her entry ‘Monday 23\textsuperscript{rd} March 1936’ (p.57) they had toured Perth in each other’s company and Bailey was now calling her ‘Dorothy Cliff’; by ‘Saturday April 4\textsuperscript{th}, 1936’ she had become just ‘Dorothy’, and the next day Bailey said they were ‘the greatest friends’ (p.72).


\textsuperscript{45} Evelyn Weir Bond, ‘23\textsuperscript{rd} April’, Diary 1, 16 March–18 October 1937, p.53, Private Collection.
diaries reflected and comprised was affective history. For this reason, one of the touchstones of this thesis is emotional expression and the expression of thoughts and ideas. Barbara Rosenwein has argued that people moved through ‘multiple emotional communities’ during their lives, which they might shift back and forth between; the literal mobility of tourists would seem to make this starkly apparent.\textsuperscript{46} However, again parallels with non-travelling lives are quite clear. The way tourists expressed their emotions about shopping, for instance, were not the same as the emotions they felt during religious worship. The chapters of this thesis analyse described action – and the senses or perceptive modalities that tourists called upon to explain their knowledge – along with emotional expression and the ideas that lay behind tourists’ responses and judgements. The aim is to consider idiosyncratic responses from tourists while also outlining wider cultural expectations within these various communities – including expectations about travel diary writing itself.

Travel writing has been approached by literary scholars in various ways, but little detailed attention has been paid to the functional particularities of the travel diary.\textsuperscript{47} Communal experiences and sociability were constantly recurring themes in these travel diaries. The diaries also functioned, in part, to connect with others and to record the connections they made, old and new, with other people and places: they brought together pre-existing friend and family networks. This is quite different from the purpose of many other forms of travel writing. One of the most influential approaches to travel writing in the past twenty or so years – the analysis of its imbrication in Western imperial expansion – provides a counterpoint to these travel diaries. Mary Louise Pratt has argued, of travel writing by British explorers in the late nineteenth century:

> As a rule the “discovery” of sites like Lake Tanganyika involved making one’s way to the region and asking the local inhabitants if they knew of any big lakes, etc. in the area, then hiring them to take you there, whereupon with their guidance and support, you proceeded to discover what they already knew.\textsuperscript{48}

Regardless of the circumstances of the ‘discovery’, the purpose of the texts published by these explorers was to establish this knowledge in a Western context using recognised epistemologies. The stakes were high: ‘lots of money and prestige rode on what you could convince others to give you credit for’.\textsuperscript{49} The subject position of the narrator as authority and translator was crucial

\textsuperscript{46} Susan J. Matt, ‘Current Emotion Research in History: Or, Doing History from the Inside Out’, \textit{Emotion Review}, 3, 117, 2011, p.119. Rosenwein is a medieval historian, but as Matt indicates, her conceptual framework has been influential for the historians of emotions working outside these chronological limits.

\textsuperscript{47} An exception is Andrew Hassam, “‘As I write’: Narrative Occasions and the Quest for Self-Presence in the Travel Diary’, \textit{ARIEL}, 21, 4, 1990, pp.33–47, but his article engages with the travel diary of only a single traveller, written during the nineteenth century, so does not sketch the outlines of the genre as a whole.


\textsuperscript{49} ibid., p.204.
to the construction of such travel texts. The authors of the unpublished travel diaries discussed in this thesis were mobile – and writing – for different ends.

Travel writing given weight or attention by literary scholars is almost always that with an authoritative, first-person narrator.50 ‘Good’ travel writing (and assertions of literary quality are a preoccupation of literary scholarship) is associated with this narrative voice. James Buzard has noted that anti-tourist discourse by tourists emerged after the Napoleonic wars, as travel became more democratic than it had been earlier: ‘Travel’s educative, acculturating function took on a newly competitive aspect, as travellers sought to distinguish themselves from the “mere tourists” they saw or imagined around them’.51

Published literary travel writers, like the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century explorers in Pratt’s work, sought to harness an authoritative voice in order to be recognised. There were occasional moments of anti-tourism in the travel diaries discussed in this thesis, and education was deeply important to many of their authors, but for the most part these diaries do not try to leverage that kind of cultural authority. These New Zealand travellers were also not trying to publish or sell their diaries, as were the imperialist voyagers studied by Pratt and others. There are few things that would be equally true of all these diverse travellers, but community, sociability, and social experiences played a significant role in all of these travel diaries, both in terms of function and the descriptions of diarists’ experiences. We need to approach travel diaries with a clear awareness of their distinctiveness as a kind of travel text.52

Community and sociability may be a fair way to characterise not just travel diaries or travel diarists but tourism between World War I and the early 1960s. Certainly various technological requirements and ritual practices of this period – the wharf-side send-off, the relatively long travel time on steam ships – provided many social opportunities. Yet tourism has often been conceived of as a response to or as defined by the failure of community.53 Evelyn Waugh’s aphorism sums up the divisions and distance regularly erected between tourists and

50 The Granta Book of Travel (Bill Buford, ed., 2nd edn, London, 1998) reflects this narrative convention across its twenty-one contributions: of these, only one is written by someone travelling with companions the narrator treats as equally interesting or expert as themselves; it is almost the only one to use plural pronouns at all. That chapter is by Redmond O’Hanlon, and his companion is another travel writer – represented elsewhere in the collection – James Fenton.
52 Paul Carter, The Road to Botany Bay: An Essay in Spatial History, London, 1987, makes a similar claim, but in a different context, focussing on explorers’ journals in and around Australia. See for instance, Chapter One, which compares the purposes and epistemologies of James Cook’s and Joseph Banks’s journals of the same voyage.
53 Though Buzard argues that anti-tourism has been a unifying idea among tourists and tourism scholars across the last two hundred years, he also argues that it drives tourists apart, encouraging them to understand others in similar situations as different from themselves (The Beaten Track, especially pp.1–11.) Anti-tourism precludes community, because it emphasises that the differences between the tourist adopting this position and the tourists he or she criticises are fundamental and intractable. Tourists become ‘the other’, outside the community of the tourist who criticises them.
others (including other tourists): ‘The tourist is the other fellow’.\textsuperscript{54} We can see failure of community at home in Dean MacCannell’s highly influential argument that tourism is a reaction against modern society, which he portrayed as fundamentally ‘differentiated’ and fragmented.\textsuperscript{55} He presented tourism as a search for a unified community which he did not recognise in daily life in the West. Yet while it is significant to acknowledge that these diarists understood tourism as a collective and sociable practice and that their tourism involved maintaining links with community at home, it is not necessary to characterise almost half a century of developing tourism with a single summative paradigm. There is no doubt that many other tourists in the same period manifested signs of the anti-tourism that Buzard has analysed and Waugh described.\textsuperscript{56} Some tourists (though none of these diarists were among them) did, perhaps, seek communion with others because such community was absent from their non-touring lives. The travel diaries, whether reflective of the zeitgeist or not, consistently described engagement with community, reflecting that these particular travellers wanted to perceive and present themselves surrounded by and interacting with other people. They reflect a style and perspective on tourism which has not been subjected to scholarly attention before.

Travel diaries were not just the genesis of this thesis. They are its focal point.\textsuperscript{57} By focussing closely on the words and ideas of their authors, this thesis contributes to a growing international body of historical scholarship which takes tourists seriously, operating from the premise that tourists, like other people, had interior worlds of their own, and did not simply parrot tourist industry clichés.\textsuperscript{58} Travel diaries have been previously used as source material, in combination with other sources, by a number of historians wanting to engage with questions of national and imperial identities across the British Empire. Felicity Barnes’s work, which draws on published travel narratives and the diaries and letters of soldier-tourists, as well as advertising and promotional material, is one of the most recent of several studies written about tourists from the British settler colonies visiting the United Kingdom.\textsuperscript{59} Angela Woollacott and Richard White have looked at Australian tourist impressions and identity performance; Canadian tourists have been

\textsuperscript{54} ibid., p.1.
\textsuperscript{55} MacCannell, \textit{The Tourist}, pp.12–13, 41.
\textsuperscript{56} Crick, pp.307–309.
\textsuperscript{57} A diary was the starting point for Morgan, but not the only kind of source she used (‘A Happy Holiday’, pp.3–4).
\textsuperscript{58} As obvious as this may sound, when written out like this, many scholars have written about tourists as though they are entirely unreflective and uninformed. A discussion of various artists, writers and scholars who denigrate tourists, subtly or overtly, is present in Crick, pp.307–309 and Kasia Boddy, ‘The European Journey in Postwar American Fiction and Film’, in Jaś Elsner and Joan-Pau Rubiés, \textit{Voyages and Visions: Towards a Cultural History of Travel}, London, 1999, pp.232–251.
the subject of monographs by Eva-Marie Kröller and Cecilia Morgan. Much of the work by these scholars has been grounded in an investigation of tourist experiences, responses and ideas about certain places, particularly London, in the second half of the nineteenth century, often into the interwar years of the twentieth. Morgan has also considered other parts of the British Isles and Europe, and Woollacott has looked at encounters en route to London from Australia in addition to the United Kingdom. All of these scholars have closely engaged with the words and impressions of tourists themselves.

This thesis takes a new approach. It departs from the models and chronological frameworks these scholars have established because the primary focus of this thesis is travel diaries as opposed to questions about empire or nation. In general, these historians have started with questions like: ‘what did London [or England, the United Kingdom, Europe] mean to x national group of people?’ All end their investigations at or before World War II. Rather than beginning with an historical question about the significance of a politically-bounded space for a nation or empire, I ask: ‘What do the behavioural and expressive norms or unique expressions in these travel diaries reveal about tourists’ ideas, perceptions and identities?’ Accordingly, this thesis is structured into chapters which focus on tourist activities and the communities they suggest or describe: writing, work, worship, shopping, admiring or reviling environments and cultural practices and products. Geography remains significant to this project, but the emphasis on action enables comparisons between activities tourists undertook in many places, and reflects the fact that these tourists were constantly on the move. They constructed place through behaviour and travelled widely beyond empire. And though, as we shall see, the world shifted its borders, regulations, and conflict zones dramatically over the period in which these travel diarists journeyed, their desires and the functions of their diaries did not shift as dramatically as we might expect between the interwar and postwar years.

Tourists’ accounts of sensory and emotional engagement with the world tell us much that we cannot otherwise find in either historical research into tourists or the sociologically-dominated tourism studies scholarship. Most obviously, perhaps, reading tourists’ descriptions of their sensory engagement decentsire sight as the exclusive or central sense engaged by tourists. Judith Adler has pointed out that:

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60 White, ‘Bluebells and Fogtown’; White, ‘Cooees Across the Strand’; White, ‘The Soldier as Tourist’; Woollacott, “All This is the Empire, I Told Myself”; Woollacott, To Try Her Fortune in London; Kröller; Morgan, ‘A Happy Holiday’; Morgan, “A Choke of Emotion, A Great Heart Leap”.

61 The date ranges of their studies are mostly listed in the titles. White’s ‘Cooees across the Strand’ mostly focuses on the nineteenth century; Woollacott’s range was 1870–1940 (To Try Her Fortune in London, p.3).

62 Erik Cohen and Scott A. Cohen have argued that considering mobility ‘implicitly destabilizes some of the basic common-sense binary concepts on which the sociological approach to tourism has been unreflectively grounded’: ‘Current sociological theories and issues in tourism’, Annals of Tourism Research, 39, 4, 2012, p.2180.
In a convention of Western tourism which has become so taken for granted that it risks passing without remark, it is often said that people travel to “see” the world, and assumed that travel knowledge is substantially gained through observation.63

She concludes her subtle and brilliant reading of the process by which ‘sight’ became a crucial actor in tourist epistemology with the caution that we should not draw:

any exclusive link between a single sense modality and an age, the same historical period easily accommodating several distinctive travel styles, each of which may deploy the senses in different ways.64

Despite Adler’s warning, many of the most influential tourism theory texts focus almost entirely on vision, and scholars of photography have gone so far as to conflate tourism with sight. MacCannell’s The Tourist, and John Urry’s The Tourist Gaze, centre the act of seeing and the ‘sites’/‘sights’ tourists visited.65 Susan Sontag has reduced tourism to an act of ‘accumulating photographs’; Timothy Mitchell has argued that the world was constructed as an exhibition in the nineteenth century; Jonas Larsen even points out that Walter Benjamin’s conception of photography, transplanted to tourism, suggested that corporeal travelling was no longer necessary.66 Closely reading the diarists’ descriptions of their experiences exposes a much broader sensory paradigm and set of emotions. Empathy was more often exhibited in accounts involving not only what tourists described seeing, but what they touched, or heard, or tasted. Along with empathy, tourists displayed joy, disgust, irritation, sensitivity, pride, embarrassment. As well as describing what they saw, tourists gestured at what they felt, learned, heard, or touched. These diaries do not allow us an unmediated account of the full range of emotions tourists felt or the senses they engaged, but the ways they described their experiences reflects that they understood and were confident expressing their experiences in a multi-dimensional way.

The three main arguments I have made here run through the chapters in this thesis: we need to pay closer attention to the specific functions and purposes of particular travel texts, and the ideas and descriptions tourists produced; tourist community-forming calls into question the binary division between life ‘at home’ and life as a tourist; and tourists engaged with multiple senses and explored multiple borders, not only geographical ones, to produce meaning for themselves and their audiences. Chapters advance these arguments from a range of angles.

64 ibid., p.24.
Chapter One focuses on the diaries themselves, both as textual objects and as material ones which call into question the value of the visual for tourists, and exist as a bridge between tourists and home communities. Chapters Two and Three look at two different communities – defined by behaviours and interpersonal interactions – which existed as much at home as overseas: communities of work and of religion. Both chapters are concerned with continuities and ruptures between travelling and non-travelling lives. Working tourists and worshipping tourists (in the twentieth century, at least) have been rarely acknowledged or closely engaged with in existing scholarship: both have been dissociated from touring. These chapters show that elements of specifically-tourist behaviour were considered by these tourists to be work, and religion played a vital role in the imaginative ways tourists responded to new places abroad. These travel diaries give us insights into these New Zealanders’ perceptions of fairness in social organisation, and holiness, and engage with tourists’ expressions of empathy. Chapters Four and Five shift gear slightly, to focus on the ways tourists’ descriptions of their activities – in these chapters, shopping and viewing natural environments – shaped place. Through their descriptions of purchasing or window-shopping, and their admiring or disdainful accounts of natural features, we see these tourists both consulting and constructing global maps for themselves and their audiences. Some of their activities or their descriptions reflect tourists making themselves at home abroad. Finally, Chapter Six looks at the ways these tourists perceived or represented New Zealand while they were overseas. Often New Zealand was appealed to when tourists felt alien in their surroundings: nation could represent the failure of tourists to join other communities.

Outlining the community

It remains, then, to introduce these tourists, and to reflect on the tourist community these travellers enter into in this thesis: the company of one another. Some of the diarists knew each other when they were alive. Keith Pike, Marion Knight and Jill Hobbs all lived near each other in Devonport, Auckland, and all kept diaries of trips they took abroad between 1955 and 1962. All three sets of diaries were kept in the possession of Keith’s wife Ivy until her death. One of the daughters of Edwin Howard, who diarised his travels to South Africa in 1924 and to England in 1937 in his capacity as Labour Member of Parliament for Christchurch South, Mabel Howard, herself later became an MP. She was a friend of Bridget Tothill, a very widely-travelled and prolific diarist. In reading travel diaries and researching their authors, I came across connections which might have been purely coincidental, but which demonstrate that diarists were likely to

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67 So intertwined were they that Hobbs’s 1955–1956 diary was classified with Knight's five-volume account of a trip between 1961–1962, under Knight's name, in the Auckland War Memorial Museum Library; a receipt for Ivy Pike’s 1990 doctor’s visit was slipped into the back of Hobbs’s diary.

have been aware of the existence of other travel diarists, even if they did not know them personally. On the back of a newspaper clipping in Brasch’s papers was the engagement notice of Louise Sutherland, who had just completed a round-the-world cycle trip, and who kept a diary of the Canadian and Scandinavian legs. Individual diarists will be introduced during the subsequent chapters (and brief biographies are in the Appendix), but before turning to their idiosyncrasies and commonalities, I will quickly sketch some information about the group as a whole, emphasising both the diversity of these travellers and the ways in which they were similar. Adler has observed that ‘it has never been irrelevant whether a traveler set out in a male or female body’; as well as gender, the age, race, religious affiliations, and wealth of these tourists affected their subject positions, experiences and sensory acuity, and thus shaped the observations and experiences which will be analysed in this thesis.

These travel diarists were impelled overseas by a range of motivations and had to have had certain opportunities in order to travel, but broadly speaking they were all leisure travellers – tourists – and their diaries were unpublished. ‘Tourist’ is used here to indicate a type of traveller who was not compelled to travel by force or threat of force. This is an expansive definition of ‘tourism’, and one which differs from that of many earlier scholars. Paul Fussell, for example, has argued that ‘travel’ became impossible following World War II, and ‘we are all tourists now’, citing – and lamenting – the reach of the modern tourist industry. This division attributes far too much agency to pre-war or earlier travellers and to the postwar tourism industry. As we shall see, the differences of opinion or experience between interwar and postwar travel diarists in this thesis was not enormous in most instances, and they all had considerable agency, just as they were all influenced by their pre-existing ideas about place and practice. Other scholars have produced a more narrow definition of tourism by declaring it exclusive: if one is a tourist one cannot simultaneously be a pilgrim, for instance. This approach, in effect, renders tourists more uniform, by limiting who can be called a tourist. It also does not take into account the different roles tourists slipped into, depending on context. In a church, a tourist could be a believer; that does not mean that the entirety of their trip had a religious purpose or goal, any more than that their faith was not genuine because they took a few snapshots. These travel diarists were not representative of all tourists, but this is because tourists were as diverse and reflective as any other group of people might be.

69 ‘To Marry’: Louise Sutherland and Pat Andrew, Otago Daily Times, 19 July 1956, in Charles Brasch Papers, MS-0996-008/025: HC.
71 Fussell, pp.37–50; Lévi-Strauss, p.15.
There was considerable diversity across the core group of twenty-eight travel diarists discussed in this thesis. Both men and women travelled, and wrote diaries, across the entire period. Diaries written by women tend to be more verbose and detailed, on the whole, but many observant and descriptively-inclined men also produced travel diaries. Though there were no diaries written by small children, the youngest traveller, Jill Hobbs, was sixteen when she departed Auckland in 1955 with her parents, Thomas and Muriel; the oldest, Henry Brash, was still travelling at seventy-eight (in 1951). More people left on their travels in their sixties than any other decade, followed closely by those in their forties and fifties. Though there was considerable diversity in the age of tourists, the travel diaries have been analysed with an eye to the middle or old age of more than half these diarists, the ways overseas travel and novelty might function in the context of a long life, and the ways age was performed or (more commonly) underplayed by older travellers.73 These tourists’ bank balances also ranged considerably. Some, like Bond, were quite wealthy. She and her husband took five round-the-world trips of around six months’ duration each between their late forties and early seventies, often staying in prominent and glamorous hotels, and buying many luxury objects including Burberry suits, gold watches, and Italian marble sculptures. In 1953, they flew most of their international legs.74 Many others needed to be extremely cautious with their money. Arthur Messenger kept careful track of the funds he had available and budgeted rigorously during his travels in Europe 1957–1959.75 A number of tourists had to work for periods of time to finance their continued travel, as Chapter Two will discuss. Yet though the jobs they had held and their financial situations were widely variable, all those who worked or spoke of their work were clearly engaged in white collar professions: there were no unskilled labourers or factory workers amongst them. Various tourists were Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, Anglican, Methodist or Jewish, with a few remaining largely silent about their religious views. These tourists’ homes were distributed around New Zealand as well: almost half hailed from either Auckland or Dunedin, and almost all spent time living in these or other regional centres (Christchurch, Whangarei, Hamilton, Wellington, Nelson) but many tourists dwelled for a time in less-populated areas: Miles Greenwood grew up in Havelock North; Henrietta Rothwell in Waihola, Otago.

73 Little historical work has been done on the experience of old age. Charlotte Greenhalgh, ‘An Age of Emotion: Expertise and Subjectivity in Old Age in Britain, 1937–1970’, DPhil thesis, Oxford University, 2012 is a notable exception. Particularly relevant to this project are her insights from Chapter 6, which analyses life narratives of older Britons from Mass Observation questionnaires and published autobiographies, finding that the experiences of old age were incorporated into a narrative of an entire life, rather than focussing on decline and nostalgia.


75 For one example of many, Arthur Messenger, ‘Monday 5 January’–‘Friday 9 January’, Diary, 1959, pp.5–9, MS 1581 (1): AWMM.
Race was one area in which there was more uniformity among the diarists, by one measure at least. Three diarists, Brasch, Brash and de Beer, were Jewish, of mainly German descent, and Rothwell's father was also German; Tothill's father was Italian, and Sir Peter Buck's mother was Māori. Otherwise, where known, these travel diarists were of predominantly British origin. A few diarists were born in the British Isles, and all with known ancestry had one or more parent or grandparent from England, Scotland, Wales or Ireland. Though the diaries which ended up in archives were written almost exclusively by Pākehā, that is not to say that there were no travellers of other ethnicities coming out of New Zealand in this period, nor that these travellers did not write about their experiences. Some work has been done on other Māori travellers, though not their travel diaries. Aside from work by Tony Ballantyne and Brian Moloughney which focuses on South Asians who travelled to New Zealand in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, there has been little research done which considers travel undertaken by other ethnicities resident in New Zealand. Because research on Pākehā ritual and culture has tended to focus on those Pākehā from the British Isles, it is also difficult to assess how, for instance, German or Italian heritage might have influenced the readings of foreign place or custom these diarists produced. This thesis deals largely with the history of Pākehā experiences by default; this is a feature of the contents of public collections. Hopefully in time other scholarship will engage with a more racially-diverse group of New Zealand travel writers.

All of these travel diarists were affiliated with New Zealand in some way, and this needs some comment, given my argument that nation played a less significant role in tourists’ accounts of their overseas travel than we have been led to expect. It was this geographical limitation which has enabled such an argument. In order to keep the number of diaries manageable, and control one common factor beyond the fact of their international travel, the diaries were identified and selected because their authors were New Zealanders. Since travel was attributed such

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78 Some work, particularly that of Lyndon Fraser and Angela McCarthy, has engaged with the cultural specificity of immigrants to New Zealand, from Ireland (Lyndon Fraser, ed., A Distant Shore: Irish Migration and New Zealand Settlement, Dunedin, 2000); Lyndon Fraser, Castles of Gold: A History of New Zealand’s West Coast Irish, Dunedin, 2007), Scotland (Angela McCarthy, Scottishness and Irishness in New Zealand since 1840, Manchester and New York, 2011), and England (Lyndon Fraser and Angela McCarthy, eds, Far From Home: The English in New Zealand, Dunedin, 2012).
transformative power in New Zealand history, looking at travellers from New Zealand was one way of determining the extent to which these travellers wished to apply the new experiences or ideas they had to New Zealand upon their return. But the criteria for inclusion as a ‘New Zealand travel diarist’ were broad. The majority of these tourists were born or brought up in New Zealand, but some were born overseas. In those cases, their diaries were included if they lived most of their lives in New Zealand. ‘New Zealand’ retains a place in this thesis but not in an exclusive or consistently central way. These tourists’ experiences or interpretations might have been quite different from those of tourists normally residing elsewhere, but they also might not have been. (The models for reading travel diaries in this thesis might be extended into a comparative study on tourist perspectives from different nations.) It is quite likely that there are many similarities between these tourists and tourists of other nationalities: Miles Fairburn has argued that perhaps the only ‘unique’ thing about New Zealand culture is the high degree to which cultural commodities and language were borrowed from other countries. On the occasions I use ‘New Zealand’ in relation to these tourists’ words, I indicate points of cohesion across this group, rather than suggesting that they represented all New Zealanders. The goal of this thesis is not to produce a national story about what ‘all New Zealanders who travelled did or thought’, but to acknowledge trends and common ideas or attitudes, and to discuss and describe the messy realities and individual, dynamic responses of these particular travellers to the worlds and communities they encountered.

Though the number of diarists discussed here might seem small, between them they produced 165 volumes – several of them longer than this thesis – describing over sixty distinct trips, totalling thousands of pages of transcript. They travelled through every continent except Antarctica and South America (though Johnston McAra’s ship took an unconventional path past Tierra del Fuego). Many of them travelled extensively within continents, particularly Europe, Australia and North America. Their demographic profile suggests far greater diversity among New Zealand’s pre-jet-age tourists than many have presumed, focussing the spotlight upon older, poorer tourists more prone to expressing religious rapture than cultural cringe. These diaries contained and created worlds, and maintained and recorded affective bonds; they connect the familial and the global. It is time to open these diaries once more, to enter the community spaces they shaped and influenced, and to explore the intellectual, bodily and emotional journeys taken by these tourists.

79 Miles Fairburn, ‘Is There a Good Case for New Zealand Exceptionalism?’, in Tony Ballantyne and Brian Moloughney, eds, Disputed Histories: Imagining New Zealand’s Pasts, Dunedin, 2006, pp.143–167. Whether or not this cultural pastiche is, indeed, unique to New Zealand (Canada, for instance, was also shaped by multiple neighbouring and imperial cultural influences, and Fairburn does not use it as a comparative example in his chapter), Fairburn’s argument about the vast array of cultural influences from Australia, Britain and America in New Zealand in the mid-twentieth century is compelling.
SECTION ONE: A MATERIAL CULTURE OF TRAVEL
CHAPTER ONE

The Travel Diary as a Functional Genre: Artefact and Practice

The travel diary is a chameleonic genre, though unlike the chameleon itself, it has not been subjected to sustained definition or study. Library and archival records, no matter how detailed or precise, give few clues as to what each diary will look like when it emerges, perhaps for the first time, from the stacks. Some bear the hallmarks of a letter, typed on loose paper, addressed to friends or family. Some have been kept inside annual appointment diaries, manifold books, small notebooks, or monogrammed folders, both large and small. They might be handwritten – by one or more person – or typed, decorative or plain. If the diary was kept after World War II, it was more likely to be contained within a commercially-produced template travel diary book, but the template pages provided no guarantee that the words would be corralled into the model suggested by this kind of volume, with its distinct sections of formatted pages delineating records from addresses or accounts, and its constant insistence that the author headed most pages with ‘place’ and ‘date’. Each diary did not maintain stylistic or physical uniformity either. Some diaries melded multiple purposes and forms together throughout, existing simultaneously as logbook and short-term memoir, or scrapbook, sketchbook, list, and record of their authors’ experiences. Other travel diaries shifted their shape depending on their authors’ changing available resources, moving from handwriting to typing and back again.

In this chapter, I argue that we need to recognise and analyse the multiple functions and forms of the travel diary: it is a genre that reflects both textual and physical creativity and adaptation. By acknowledging this, we appreciate the flexibility and innovativeness of tourists themselves, and we both utilise and move beyond the close readings of texts offered by literary scholars. Because the diaries examined in this thesis remain unpublished, they have been preserved in their original forms, which were constructed piecemeal over time rather than retrospectively edited into a coherent story or narrative. Their material form is relevant to a reading of their text in ways published narratives’ forms often are not. Considering the shapes and the functions of the travel diary gives us insights into the idiosyncrasies of diarists’ practice and experience, and reflects their responsiveness and adaptability. These diaries were produced through – and comprise – a conversation with home communities about what was ‘normal’, ‘ordinary’, expected and valued.

But where do we start – how do we define what is or is not a travel diary? I propose that we understand the travel diary as a product of a metaphorical ‘conversation’ between the author and audience. This metaphor is useful, not only because it would have been explicable to the diarists themselves and reflective of the ways they utilised their diaries as communicative tools,
but because it is an accessible way of conceptualising the process by which the travel diaries were created as a kind of text. The diarist set out, explicitly or implicitly, to write a travel diary, and what they produced was recognised as a travel diary by the community of readers. In this sense, the travel diary was created as a genre by dialogue, or mutual agreement, between writer and reader. Many of the authors explicitly referred to their productions as ‘travel diaries’. Peter Buck might have formatted his text as four (long) letters to his wife, complete with right-aligned notes about his writing location and the date and the salutary ‘Dear Margaret’ at the start, but he called it a travel diary (Fig. 1). Many other travellers who wrote referred to their travel diary by genre within its own pages. This self-referentiality has been understood in other ways by other scholars, but here it makes most sense to understand references to writing practice literally, as the author defining his or her practice. On the other side of the conversation, librarians and archivists working in various regions throughout New Zealand and Australia have classified these texts as ‘travel diaries’ in their catalogues.

The travel diary is similar to the way the genre of Gothic film has been defined: while there might not be much critical engagement with it as a genre, ‘we perfectly well know [it] when we see it’. What we ‘see’ could be hugely variable: the travel diary’s shapes and formats were diverse, as were the formal characteristics found in each, so this dialogic definition is most accurate and foregrounds the cultural function of these texts/objects. There is no Ur-travel diary, no Platonic form which defines the travel diary from another kind of travel text. A text functions as a travel diary within a culture.

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1 Peter Buck, Diary, 28 August–27 November 1934, pp.1, 18, 20, 21, 29, 30, 42, 47, 48, 54, 59, qMS-0294: ATL.
3 Andrew Hassam has interpreted equivalent examples of self-reference by travel-diary writers as a sign of the author's lack of things to do (therefore he or she wrote about themselves writing), but there was seldom a dearth of possible activities available to the authors of the travel diaries discussed this thesis. Andrew Hassam, “‘As I write”: Narrative Occasions and the Quest for Self-Presence in the Travel Diary’, ARIEL, 21, 4, 1990, pp.33–47.
Figure 1. Peter Buck, Diary, 28 August–27 November 1934, p.30, qMS-0294: ATL. This photograph shows the beginning of the third letter of four that comprise the diary. Letter formatting is clear at the top (and the top left corner displays evidence of rust left behind by paperclips used originally to bind the pages together). The final sentence in this excerpt refers to the text as ‘my diary to you’.

There are apparent difficulties with applying the concept of a ‘conversation’ to establish whether a particular text was understood to be part of a larger typology of texts. The conversationalists across the eighty-year period during which these diaries were written and classified were, of course, comprised of a disparate group of people; there was no guarantee that their understanding of genre markers would be the same as one another, nor written evidence that they had thought closely about minute distinctions between genres. For scholars who aim to distinguish between various types of related texts (Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson have summarised scholarship distinguishing sixty different genres of life writing alone), this potential imprecision might seem a fatal flaw.\(^5\) If we do not consider genre to be a tool of exclusivity,

however – in other words, declaring that a text is a letter does not preclude the possibility that it
is also a logbook – then there is less significance in small terminological differences. I use ‘travel
diaries’ throughout this thesis because it was the most common designation by both the tourists
who wrote them and by the archivists and librarians who classified them, but it was not universal:
one travel diarist called his product a ‘travelogue’; in a couple of cases travel diaries have been
archived as ‘travel journals’.

These terms have been treated as synonymous with ‘travel diary’ because there is no evidence that the use of different terminology reflected a qualitative
difference from the perspective of the tourist-author or the archivist. One definitional
complication remains: what if the conversationalists seem to disagree? The first words of a
volume by Bruce Godward read, ‘For the sake of pedantic post officials, Swiss or British, the
author would like to say at the outset that this is not a letter but a book (home-
made)’.

Godward seemed to align his text with published travel writing except for its lack of publication (though, as
we shall see later, he may have had financial reasons for doing so), but this volume and the
twenty-four others which followed it were described as ‘travel diaries’ in the Hocken Catalogue,
Hakena. This apparent difference of opinion reflects the diversity of the genre in twentieth-
century New Zealand, and expands our understanding of the ways these texts were read. The
multifarious forms of the diaries reflected the circumstances, preferences and ideas of the travel
diaries’ authors, but also their communities’ understanding of the travel diary.

Considering a genre to be delineated by a conversation is rare, though recognising that
author and reader might both be involved in a text is less so. Most notably, the great French
scholar of self-narrated genres (autobiography, diary), Philippe Lejeune, formulated and later
refined the concept of the ‘autobiographical pact’. This emphasised the importance of the
reader’s perception of the text’s relationship with its author; Lejeune argued that the act of
writing did not make a text autobiographical, but the reader’s recognition of the elision of space
between the author, narrator and protagonist did. The difference between Lejeune’s
autobiographical/narrative pact and my dialogic criterion is that Lejeune came to emphasise the
significance of formalist features of a text in determining whether or not it should be considered
part of a genre. These formal characteristics might be small in number – in Jeremy Popkin’s
summary, ‘the only constraint on the diary that Lejeune accepts is that of time: if writers do not

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6 C.W. Collins, ‘Saturday 9 April 1932’, Travelogue, 9 April–1 June 1932, p.1, Accession MB 95 Box 1: MB. Peter
Buck and Johnston McAra’s diaries have both been described as ‘journals’ in the Turnbull and Hocken library
catalogues respectively.


Minneapolis, MN, 1989, p.x.
date their entries, they are not keeping diaries’ – but they take primacy in his schema. The value of understanding the travel diary genre as determined by both author and reader is that this acknowledges that the precise blend of forms and functions could alter with time and develop in conjunction with changing external circumstances. All of the texts discussed here were understood to be travel diaries by design and/or reception, and that will remain the case even if someone were to discover a cache of very different travel diaries written by New Zealanders over the same period of time. Such a potential occurrence instead allows for the expansion of our understanding of the genre. Defining the genre as a product of a conversation enables us to easily account for – and indeed foreground – trends and shifts in the travel diary’s form over time. Lejeune recognised the mutability of genre:

Literary genres are not beings in themselves: they constitute, in each era, a sort of implicit code through which, and thanks to which, works of the past and recent works can be received and classified by readers.

This ‘implicit code’ does not determine genre, but understanding it helps us to recognise the way a genre functions. If these travel diaries have been understood as a particular kind of travel writing, what makes them distinct?

Three common components seem to form the foundations of this code: all the diaries were produced in instalments during the process of travel; none were published; all were understood to be non-fictional. For several decades, scholars have been chipping away at the idea that non-fiction expresses objectivity and truth any more than fictional texts do, and have argued that non-fictional narratives adopt fictional narrative techniques. Hayden White has been a particularly prominent proponent of these claims in the field of history. Though non-fiction is not free from bias and fiction and non-fiction may share narrative strategies and formal characteristics, recent scholarship influenced by cognitive science and developmental psychology, such as that of Paul John Eakin, has argued that narration is essential to the way humans

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11 This approach is my alternative to that taken by some studies of mainly-unpublished genres, which use a small number of examples in order to argue that certain formal criteria are held in common across the genre. The circumstances surrounding the study of personal diaries reflect a flaw in this approach. Lejeune has claimed that 85% of published diaries belong to men, ‘whereas it is a well known fact that most diarists are women’ (Maynes, Pierce and Laslett, p.90). Because these diaries by women have often been treated as private writing, they are not known. Using the formal characteristics of published diaries – an unrepresentative group – to define ‘the diary’ is the intellectual version of building a castle in the sand. Using my dialogic definition, new discoveries will not threaten the integrity of the genre, merely increase our depth of understanding about the ways it was understood.
understand the world and themselves.14 In this sense fiction – a ‘literary non-referential narrative’ – does not have primary jurisdiction over narrative, nor is narrative essentially ‘fictional’.15 We understand the world through narrative, and it can be put to non-fictional and fictional uses. It is important that these travel diaries be recognised as ‘non-fictional’ because, as scholars including Eakin, Dorrit Cohn, and Jerome Bruner have demonstrated, audiences react differently and have starkly different expectations of fictional and non-fictional texts.16 Cohn argues that audiences tend not to read texts as partly fictional’ or ‘mostly non-fictional’ but desire to locate them within one or other of these categories, no matter how many facts a realist fiction may contain.17 While these travel diaries sometimes contain information that is inaccurate or misinformed – something which would little concern the reader of most fictional texts – they were written as non-fictional texts that aimed to reflect the experiences of their authors and the realities of what they saw, and they would have been received as non-fictional texts by those who knew the authors and their travel plans.

Much scholarship on travel writing – even that which labels this as a distinct genre – approaches it in precisely the opposite way from scholars who concern themselves with the theory of genre. Rather than attempting to classify distinct types, defined in opposition from one another, ‘travel writing’ has frequently been understood in scholarship as a self-contained – or broad and all-encompassing – genre. Some scholars have recognised that travel has been treated as emblematic of narrative as a whole. Michel de Certeau claimed that ‘All narratives are travel narratives’.18 In a metaphorical sense this might be so. As James Buzard has observed:

For much longer than there has been a concept of “culture,” of course, travel has functioned as one of humankind’s most deeply naturalised metaphors for thought itself. To move from one point to another, we are accustomed to think, is to learn something.19

Even scholars with a far more circumscribed view of travel writing than ‘all narratives’ have often treated their limited subjects of interest as though they reflect the formal concerns of a very broad group of texts. The spectrum of work on historical travel writing makes claims about travel writing that are untrue of these New Zealand travel diaries: many over-generalise about the genre, use indistinct definitions, or build sweeping claims from narrow geographical or temporal

15 The definition of fiction – which I provide here to distinguish it from its pejorative denotation ‘untruth’ – is from Dorrit Cohn, *The Distinction of Fiction*, Baltimore, MD, 1999, p.12.
17 Cohn, pp.35–36.
samples. While travel writing scholarship contains many valuable insights and thoughtful analyses, the urge to generalise about travel writing as a whole limits our understanding of the culturally specific ways in which (and reasons that) travel texts have been produced and understood.

The travel diary is defined by the community in which it functioned: the specific functions of travel diaries for those communities are the focus of this chapter. In outlining these functions, I have taken inspiration from the approaches of Paul Carter and Judith Adler. Carter and Adler have each focussed on the epistemological philosophies of travelling writers and how these have affected the function of their texts. However, the authors they discuss are well-known: their purpose for travelling and their professions and experiences can be understood within intellectual and professional history. This was not the case for many of the travel diarists discussed here, so I work in the opposite direction, analysing the functions of these texts and what these tell us about the value travel and writing about travel was given in this community. Why did these New Zealand travellers write travel diaries, and what do their diaries tell us about their responses to the circumstances under which they constructed their diaries? Travel diaries had many functions – to communicate, educate, represent, remind, commemorate, contextualise, entertain and amuse – and these influenced the shape and contents of the diaries.

Adaptability and Creativity: The Multiple Functions of the Travel Diary

One of the most common and clearly elaborated functions of these travel diaries was to communicate, though this became less explicit over time. Millicent Boor wrote instructions on the inside cover of her first travel diary in 1924:

Please pass on to anyone who wishes to see it in Nelson and to Woodville and Napier returning to B.water as I want to keep it as diary of my trip.

Four years later, when travelling again, she provided a list (in order) of nine groups of people she wanted to read her diary, and instructions on who was to keep it for her when she returned home to Nelson. In 1936 Kathleen Bailey, like Buck, began her diary with a direct address – ‘My dear family and Mollie’ – and continued to appeal to her family directly: ‘Dad, do you remember the

22 Boor, Diary 1, Vol. 1, inside front cover.
23 Millicent Boor, Diary 2, Vol. 2, 8–23 April 1928, inside front cover, AG216 (A 2 a Letter 2): NPMA. This group of people were spread over small towns and cities in the middle of New Zealand, from Waihi, Te Kuiti, Woodville, Ashhurst, and Lower Hutt in the North Island and Seddon in the South Island, as well as Napier, Wellington and Nelson.
mountain behind the town [in Hobart]?; ‘So Molly don’t pack your woollies too deep when you come across here’; ‘I bought a box of 50 ‘Chesterfields’ for 1/- How would this suit you, Dad, Alf and Mary?’24 The inside front cover of Marion Knight’s first travel diary in 1961 contains a dedication – ‘For Ivy’ – and a customs declaration filled in for the diary’s voyage to New Zealand (Fig. 2). Direct addresses to family members and friends were scattered throughout many travel diaries, as were references to the more anonymous, but intimate, ‘you’. As well as placing their intended audience in a prominent position within many diaries, the shape and form of the diaries reflected decisions diarists made around how and when to communicate with their family and friends. In the postwar years, diarists became less likely to explicitly identify their audiences, and for a small, but increasing, number of travel diarists, communication became less important, or at least less explicit.

Figure 2. Marion Knight, Diary Vol. 1, February–May 1961, inside front cover, 93/121: AWMML, showing the dedication, ‘For Ivy’, and customs declaration.

A number of tourists sent their diaries home in instalments while they themselves were still abroad, trying to bring the diary-artefact into physical contact with their friends and family when they could not be. Confronted by occasionally-exorbitant postal fees and subject to various economic limitations, they came up with a diverse range of solutions to get their diaries to New

Zealand. Some diarists chose to diarise on loose leaf paper, which could be bound together at the
time or retrospectively in more or less permanent manners, and was light-weight for posting. This
was the only option for those who wished to use a typewriter. Sir Peter Buck, travelling to the
Tuamotu Island group and particularly to Magareva (in French Polynesia) in 1934, when he was
in his late fifties, used this method, typing up the pages in the evenings or on shipboard. Charles
Begg, a thirty-eight-year-old businessman travelling with his mother in 1937, did likewise. Ruth
Wix’s multiple diaries, kept during solo bicycle holidays in Scotland 1939 (when she was forty
years old), Germany and Holland in 1952, and Denmark, Sweden, Norway and Holland in 1953,
and for non-bicycle-powered trips to Cornwall and the Channel Islands in 1953, London day-
trips and a Grand Tour-style passage through France, Belgium, Luxembourg, Holland, Germany,
Austria and Italy in 1954, are also loose-leaf. Some tourists left home without a typewriter, but
acquired one soon after completing the main part of their sea voyage, handwriting on loose
leaves and then switching to typewritten leaves partway through. C. W. Collins did this in 1932
(Fig. 3); Bailey in the first volume of her 1936 diary.

The diaries also recorded the surprising contingencies travel threw in the way of the best-
laid plans, and the ways in which some diarists negotiated the unexpected. The cost of postage to
send letters to New Zealand from some parts of the world seems to have taken many tourists by
surprise. Buck had a good, if unpredictable, service in the boats which travelled between the
small atolls of the Tuamotu, trading and transporting goods and people. At the end of each of
the four instalments which comprised his diary, he explained how he had contrived to send it to
his wife in Tahiti.25 Established and formal postal services were another matter. Bailey at first felt
it was imperative to post sections home often, sending her first packet of thirty-seven pages off
nine days after her departure from Wellington: ‘Now I’ll get this instalment posted away from
Melbourne in the morning or you’ll be wondering what has become of me, won’t you?’ Three
days later she updated her family with the news that ‘This damnable Australian postage will kill
me!’ She put herself in this mortal danger once again, however, in Perth, and mentioned posting a
further packet in Aden, where no angst was apparently produced by postal fees.26 Either she had
grown accustomed to the charges, or Aden’s postal service was cheaper. The United Kingdom’s
Royal Mail was considered a high-cost service by several tourists in the 1950s. At the end of
Wix’s Cornwall diary (1953), she also noted the cost of postage and gestures towards the process
of producing and distributing her diaries:

Diary, pp.18, 29, 49, 54.
Diary 1, Vol. 1, pp.37, 40–41, 50, 73.
I feel very “flat” over my diaries. I think after this I’ll send just one copy to the family and to one or two others who do find them interesting. It costs me a lot in both time and money to write this up and post it (sometimes to pay to get it typed), and to get no comment or the bald statement that the diary has arrived is a bit off-putting²⁷

Godward’s careful notice to ‘pedantic post officials’ suggests that sending a home-made ‘book’ was cheaper than sending a letter.²⁸

Figure 3. C. W. Collins, Travelogue, 9 April–1 June 1932, p.1, Accession MB 95 Box 1: MB. Collins was fond of Roman numerals, using them to indicate months of the year (April is ‘IV’), as well as to number his pages. Because of the slightly larger dimensions of the typewriter pages, p.83 (‘LXXXIII’) – the first typewritten page of his diary – is clearly visible above this title page.

²⁷ Ruth Wix Wilson, Diary 4: ‘Cornwall’, September 1953, p.7, MS-Papers-5433-03: ATL.
Perhaps influenced by these economic concerns, some diarists sent home instalments written inside notebooks or exercise books, or they kept their options open and used manifold books: bound books designed to allow one or more detachable carbon copies to be made of each page. The widowed sixty-year-old Henrietta Rothwell and her sister Lil embarked from Auckland in 1927, taking in Australia, South Africa, Rhodesia, the United Kingdom, Belgium, France, Switzerland, Palestine, Egypt and Ceylon. Rothwell kept her diaries in small, soft-cover lined notebooks, and for a while she sent one off to her children at each port she stopped in, just before leaving it again. Her first volume (Sydney) concluded, ‘Just posting and then off to Botanical Gardens. Ta-ta. Good luck’; Vol. 5, part 2 (Great Australian Bight and Albany, WA) ended, ‘Our boat goes at 3 and I’m scribbling this in a ‘cafe’ so as to post before going to the boat. Au revoir’. While Rothwell made noises about the cost of sending letters and postcards from South Africa, she never noted the cost of sending her notebooks. Boor likewise used (twenty-nine) small, lightweight notebooks over the course of her three trips. Manifold books occupied a middle ground between loose-leaf diaries and bound volumes, since copies could be easily detached and posted away, or kept safely together in the binding and distributed later. They were popular throughout the period. Bridget Tothill used her manifold-book diaries as circular letters to update her friends on all of her doings. Nancy Laurenson used a series of seventeen manifold books as travel diaries 1955–1960. In other cases it is less clear when the copies were separated from the originals. Henry Brash utilised a manifold book when recording details of a trip to Africa in 1951, when he was seventy-eight years old. Sixteen years earlier, a retired fellow Dunedinite named Johnston McAra, in keeping with his military discipline, carefully kept his travel diary in two manifold books (Fig. 4). Sybil Mulvany, twenty-seven years old and travelling around Europe with her sister Josephine in 1926–1927, kept a manifold-book diary which covered three short trips. None of these diarists indicated when the copied pages were detached.

29 Henrietta Rothwell, ‘Tuesday’, Diary Vol. 1, 14 January–1 February 1927, p.28; ‘Thursday 3/27’, Diary Vol. 5, Part 2, 27 February–3 March 1927, p.28, MSC 249: HCL. One of the diaries’ recipients was her son Eric, because she refers to her sister as ‘Auntie’ instead of by name, Vol. 1, p.3, and because the diaries were donated to the Hamilton City Libraries with other papers belonging to Eric’s son, Richard Peter Gorton Rothwell.
33 McAra, Diary Vol. 1; Diary Vol. 2, 4 August–25 October 1935, MS-0698-B: HC.
34 Sybil Mulvany, Diary, 22 November 1926–10 February 1927, 2003/54: AWMML.
Figure 4. Johnston McAra, Diary Vol. 1, 31 May–3 August 1935, MS-0698-A: HC. This cover shows how sturdy manifold books usually were, with hard covers and rounded edges, making them easy to transport without suffering damage.

Over time, and especially following World War II, greater numbers of tourists preferred to use bound volumes in favour of loose pages for their diaries, leading to increased physical similarity between travel diary structures. Those who wished to could still communicate via their diaries while they were travelling, sending off volumes as they were completed, like Boor, Rothwell or Knight did. Increasingly, however, tourists kept single-volume diaries with them over the course of their trip, sharing them with others upon their return. The contrast between Bailey’s multiple-media, shape-shifting four-volume diary 1936–1937 and the single-volume diary she kept during her 1950–1951 trip shows this broader change in microcosm. The first volume of her 1930s diary began as handwriting on loose paper, and shifted to typing towards the end; the second was typed. Her third and fourth volumes were identical hardcover exercise books, and she returned to handwriting them, probably because she was working long hours in front of the typewriter for pay throughout 1937 and wanted to do something else in her leisure time. By the time Bailey returned to England in 1950, this time accompanied by her widowed mother, Frances, she used a small, hard-cover ‘On Record’ book, which was essentially an annual daily diary that could be begun at any point in the year, since the year and days of the week were not printed in the diary. The entire trip was confined to one, bound book. Though there are examples of the use of printed template diaries long before World War II – Edwin Howard used template daily diaries when he travelled in 1924 and 1937; Brash used them throughout the 1920s

36 Kathleen Bailey, Diary 2, 19 July 1950–23 June 1951, 95/15: AWMML.
and 1930s – in the postwar years, the adaptation of daily diaries or travel template diaries into travel diaries proliferated.\textsuperscript{37}

A variety of template travel diaries were on the market in the decades following the Second World War. Knight’s rather beautiful multi-volume travel diary, written over 1961–1962, demonstrates just some of the options available during the early 1960s (Fig. 5). The most popular template diary for these New Zealand tourists was titled ‘My Trip Book’ (Fig. 6). It came in a variety of colours, but with an unwavering interior format beginning with a foreword, followed by a printed section of travel information which included translations, suggestions of appropriate dress etiquette in different circumstances, and a map of the world. The majority of the volume’s pages were largely blank, for note-taking, and headed ‘Places Visited’; each page requested notation of the ‘date’ and ‘place’. Towards the back of the books, there were pages ruled up like ledgers, for keeping accounts, and address sections modelled after an address book. Grace Vincent took a ‘My Trip Book’ on her 1948 trip to the United Kingdom; Jill Hobbs, travelling via Malta to Devon and Cornwall with her parents in 1955 to visit their family, had one; Marion Knight’s second of five volumes was a ‘My Trip Book’; Keith Pike took one to Australia in 1959 and to Europe in 1962. An anonymous school teacher from Hamilton took one with him when he left for London in 1959. Arthur Messenger, an Auckland World War I veteran, commercial traveller, musical theatre and engine aficionado, and a lifelong diarist, primarily used daily diaries to make notes in during his travels in Europe in the late 1950s.

\textsuperscript{37} Edwin Howard, Diary 1, 17 July–10 September 1924, MS-0980/005: HC; Diary 2, 7 January–21 April 1937, MS-0980/010: HC. One example of Henry Brash’s use of the template daily diary is Diary, 1935–1936, MS-0996-010/005: HC, which is kept in a small volume produced, presumably as a client gift, by Dewars whisky.

However, the printed formatting of template volumes was far less significant than the agency of the diarist: the material format of the diary and the template itself often exerted less control over the way a diary was written than we might expect, though it did have an effect on the way a diary might be distributed. The use of template travel diaries and more generic daily diaries were part of the same trend: both provided a framed space for diarising, and in both cases
the printed formatting of the volume itself had limited influence over the ways tourists used the
diaries. Some tourists ignored section headings, as Pike did, filling in the spaces next to ‘date’ or
‘place’ in his My Trip Book only once.38 Knight ‘misused’ page templates in various template
travel diaries by continuing her narrative over the top of pages drawn up as account ledgers or
address book pages.39 In his annual daily diaries, Messenger simply added a note at the bottom of
a page where he had run out of room, moving the remainder of his commentary to a page with
less written on it.40

There was no universal correlation between diary shape and diary use. Not everyone who
wrote on loose pages used their diaries as letters. Eve Bond, who took five round-the-world trips
with her husband Elon and a changing cast of family members in 1937, 1950, 1953, 1957 and
1961, consistently used small, ring-bound, monogrammed, buckram-covered folders which she
filled with lined, blank pages (Fig. 7). These were clearly carried with her throughout each of her
trips. Yet the greater use of single, bound volumes after World War II did mean that diaries were
less able to act as a conduit between tourists and their travels, and their friends and families at
home during the time they were abroad, since diarists needed to keep the diary near their person
in order to keep updating it.

Figure 7. Evelyn Weir Bond, Diary 1, 16 March–18 October 1937, cover and p.265, Private
Collection.

of what Messenger did on that day, under which he drew a line. Below the line, he continued his description of what
he did on December 29, having filled up the page for that day.
Eventually, a few – male – travellers stopped using their diaries as a communicative tool at all. This development away from communication was subtle and certainly not universal. It was subtle because the audience for many diaries was not front and centre, and the fact that there was an intended audience sometimes emerged only following a close reading; other diarists sent what looked like mixed messages about who they wished to read their diaries. For instance, Bailey titled three of her four volumes from 1936–1937 ‘Diary “Private”’, but ‘private’ did not mean Bailey proscribed an audience, since she clearly and consistently addressed its members by name. Many diarists in the postwar years continued to expect that their diaries would be read, as Wix demonstrated she did. But by the postwar years there were also examples of the truly private travel diary. Walter Whittlestone’s diaries (1949) were almost illegible, which suggests that either his audience were extremely familiar with his handwriting, or he did not expect it to be read by others (Fig. 8). Redmond Phillips and the unknown male school teacher from Hamilton wrote nothing in their diaries that directly addressed an audience.\footnote{Redmond Phillips, Diary, 8 January–15 May 1948, MLMSS 6936/1: ML.} Messenger explicitly indicated that his diaries had no audience, though he lamented the fact. On January 15, 1959, he mused:

\begin{quote}
I was meditating on the things and places I have seen and the places still to go. Those places too, where I was 40 years ago – I have no one to tell about them all those I knew who would have been interested have died or dispersed.

What a horrible thing it is to grow old.\footnote{Messenger, ‘Thursday 15 January’, Diary, 1959, p.15.}
\end{quote}

Messenger’s sad soliloquy reflects how flexible and multi-layered these diaries were as a genre: they could also function as company for diarists who were alone.

Why was communication such a common function of the travel diary? Messenger reflected, in reverse, why many might have kept diaries: to stave off loneliness. He was the only one of the diarists who mentioned being lonely, and the only one to explicitly indicate that he had no intended audience in mind for his diaries other than himself.\footnote{Messenger, ‘Tuesday 20 August’, Diary, 1957, p.57. Of course, as indicated above, he was not the only one who appeared not to have an audience, but he was the only one who wrote about not having one.} Others used their diaries in order to maintain their relationships at home during their absence, and to share the joys of their experiences, by proxy, with those they loved. Rothwell, for instance, had a rhapsodic moment while standing with Lil at Victoria Falls in late March 1927:

\begin{quote}
When the sun strikes the rising spray in the afternoon there is the most beautiful continuous rainbow – there all the time – words fail to tell the thrill of that immense fall – \textit{over a mile wide} can you grasp it? A mile across and more – and this drop of 400 ft into the great canyon – narrow and high. A bridge spans the Zambesi below the falls and from that one looks into the depths and sees the swirling eddies as they rush thro the narrow canyon for 40
\end{quote}
miles on the way to the sea – wonders on wonders! I love Africa with all its glories and wish all my friends could be here to share the thrills of this new old world and realise how great a plan there is in it all and what a great mind must be at the helm. [...] Some day I hope you will all see this wonderful land.\(^{44}\)

Her breathless syntax, underlining of words, rhetorical interrogations, and exclamation marks combine here with her repeated appeals to ‘all her friends’ in order to represent her desire for these friends to understand and share her ‘thrill’, despite her fears that she had inadequately explained the experience. She aimed for an emotional connection with others, in conjunction with her ardent response to Victoria Falls.

\[\text{Figure. 8. Walter Whittlestone, ‘American diary’, 1949, W. G. Whittlestone Papers, 14/1a: UWL.}\]

The intention of some diarists to entertain their audience can also be understood as a means of preserving emotional connection with home. Wix took her ‘power cycle’ from England to Germany in 1952, after spending ‘weary days of struggle’ getting papers to allow this.\(^{45}\) On the train, after leaving Aachen, she began a long narrative which evoked both the visual images of the experience and the sonic qualities, and which aimed to amuse.

An officer came into the carriage and ‘shouted something quite unintelligible to me’, followed by “‘Munchen?’ (Munich, that is.) So I nodded vigorously, little anticipating what

\(^{44}\) Henrietta Rothwell, Diary Vol. 10, 29 March–11 April 1927, pp.23–26, MSC 249: HCL.

\(^{45}\) Ruth Wix Wilson, ‘Sunday night. 8 p.m. Munich [12 October]’; Diary 2: ‘Continental Journey’, 11–28 October 1952, p.1, MS-Papers-5433-03: ATL.
was about to happen. With a despairing yell he threw his hands above his head, excitedly waving papers... 46

The misunderstanding was a result of German attempts to attract her attention and check her papers at Aachen by shouting ‘‘Vykes! Vykes!!’—the nearest anyone could get to Wix’. Upon her continued absence, her bicycle had been impounded and left behind. Her tale, though clearly frustrating and confusing to her at the time – she described herself as ‘tottering on the verge of insanity’ – is told with great emphasis on the humour of the scene. She described ‘beautifully uniformed customs officials’ electrified into action by her ‘bloke’ (the customs officer who had found her), as

like a music hall variety act. The only thing that would have made it funnier would have been to have had twelve ‘blokes’ instead of six shouting, leaping to their feet and sitting down again, and snatching the papers from each other before anyone had had time to read any one paper intelligently. 47

The whole story was punctuated by the sounds of their words: ‘Vykes!’, ‘Komm mit!’, ‘dame’, ‘gefunden’, ‘Gute Reise’, ‘Auf Wiedersehen’. 48 Wix encouraged her audience to picture, hear and laugh at her predicament, sharing her own wry sense of humour about the vagaries of travel in countries with foreign languages and regulations. She and her audience could laugh at the same things, even while apart.

Both of these examples also reflect another function of many travel diaries: to represent. Diarists wanting to convey visual or material details of their experiences came up with a diverse range of solutions, among them pressing, photographing, sketching, collaging – or just verbally describing. In some cases wholly idiosyncratic, we can also track trends: some solutions gained greater purchase over time. Visual means were used to convey visual details far more often after World War II. One rare interwar example occurs in one of Henrietta Rothwell’s 1927 diaries. She wanted to show her children what certain Australian plants looked like, and so she pressed samples of them inside her travel diary and sent them home. 49 Pressing was an imperfect means of preservation (colours and scents faded, three dimensions became two), and it was only possible to send home small, light items like plants. In the interwar period, photography might be mentioned as proof or evidence of the existence of something or as an activity that the diarist engaged in, but no photographs were incorporated into the diaries themselves. Buck, who was collecting information about cultural practices that were no longer followed in the Tuamotu atoll group in 1934, was especially keen to locate visual evidence of those practices. In the case of tapa

46 ibid., p.2.
47 ibid.
48 ibid.
49 Henrietta Rothwell, Diary Vol. 6, 3–6 March 1927, pp.24, 26, 28, MSC 249: HCL.
cloth, he hoped to acquire some physical specimens, but when he found something too big to be
moved – decorative patterns made of shells on a church altar in Magareva – he mentioned
photography for the first time: ‘Before we leave here, I will take some close up pictures to convey
to you some idea of what has been done in shell work’. In 1937, Bond claimed that the bluebells
she saw in Queen’s Wood had ‘to be seen to be believed! We must return and take a colour film
for you to see’. Neither diary contained examples of these photographs. By contrast, a few
postwar diarists inserted photographs in their diaries as proof of a particularly striking visual
detail they had encountered. In 1950 Godward was so surprised by the existence of vendors at
the Milan Cathedral he assumed his readers would be equally disbelieving, so he stuck in a
photograph to verify his experience (Fig. 9):

If one stood on the Cathedral steps and looked across the square to the buildings opposite
you saw a mass of clotted and tangled advertising such as I’ve never seen disfiguring a city
before. It was so bad that I have photographed it lest I should not be believed.

Figure 9. Robert Bruce Godward, ‘The Grand Tour’, Vol. 1, August 1950, p.11, AG-347/001: HC.

Sketches and maps became far more common and more elaborate in diaries written after
the Second World War. Sketches were mainly used to convey visual or spatial details, especially of
architecture. Bailey was the only diarist who drew elaborate diagrams prior to World War II (Fig.
10). In the 1950s, Godward drew a number of diagrams throughout his diaries; one example –

50 Buck, ‘September 12th, Wednesday’, Diary, p.21.
depicting Italian modernist architectural design – can be seen in Fig. 11. Bridget Tothill’s drawings were even more elaborate than Godward’s, taking up entire pages, and utilising coloured pencils in order to better demonstrate the details of what she strived to show. In one of the images shown in Fig. 12, she intended to describe the visual details of certain plants, just as Rothwell had done in 1927. In the other, she depicted the clothing of different people she saw in Zanzibar in 1954, from ‘little girls’ wearing blue fezzes, to the costume of a coffee seller. Aside from a very faint and confusing map of the Metro sketched by Bailey in 1936, maps also made their presence felt almost exclusively in travel diaries written after World War II. Knight’s diaries are full of printed maps, either cut from tour brochures or printed in her template travel diaries (Fig. 13). Sketching had a long relationship with leisure travel, but usually as an adjunct to a travel diary, not as a part of one.53

Figure 10. Kathleen Bailey, Diary 1, Vol. 2, 2 May 1936–11 January 1937, p.301, 95/15: AWMML.

53 Jill Steward, “The Adventures of Miss Brown, Miss Jones and Miss Robinson: tourist writing and tourist performance from 1860 to 1914”, Journeys, 1, 1/2, 2000, p.44.
This sketch depicts Godward’s ‘first taste of what Italian modern architecture was like, and I enjoyed it greatly’.

Figure 12. Bridget Ristori Tohill Francois, Diary: Box 2, Vol. 11, 3 June–25 June 1954, pp.54, 72, 85-098: ATL.
The increasing prevalence of images incorporated within the pages of these diaries seems to reflect the growing significance of the visual in postwar travel culture. Even on a cursory comparison between interwar and postwar diaries, it is immediately clear that postwar diaries were more likely to contain collaged or pinned-in material of a visual (and sometimes also textual) nature. It is important not to overstate the significance of images in the diaries, however. Even if there is a long tradition, as Adler has argued, which privileges sight as the most prized and trusted sense by tourists, relying on the evidence of one’s eyes and relying on visual media to reflect it are quite distinct phenomena. Though scholarship, art, and particularly popular culture over the past forty or fifty years have constructed an iconography of tourists where the camera plays a central signifying role, these diaries contain very few images on the whole, and even fewer photographs.

These travel diaries tell quite a different story from those of scholars of photography and tourism, who have been inclined to emphasise the intertwining of the two activities over the twentieth century and the centrality of the photograph for a tourist’s experience. Susan Sontag’s influential On Photography argued in 1977 that photography had thoroughly taken over and shaped the tourist’s itinerary:

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[...] taking photographs is a way of refusing [experience]—by limiting experience to a search for the photogenic, by converting experience into an image, a souvenir. Travel becomes a strategy for accumulating photographs'.

Similarly, Peter Osborne has claimed that ‘tourist photography’ has both determined tourist behaviour and standardised tourists’ reactions to the things they viewed. That photography and tourism have been connected since the point photography came to exist is a common assertion. Yet while some diarists mentioned going back to several places in order to take photographs – photography ‘shaped their itinerary’ in this occasional sense – the diaries tell us far more about the limitations of photography for tourists than the limits created for tourism by photography.

From the 1920s to the 1960s photography was not an easy process for these tourists, nor one which interacted well with the ways travel diaries were produced. Though more than half of these diarists mentioned having a camera with them throughout their travels, they seemed to use the instrument quite sparingly. The Hamiltonian teacher took so few photographs – in 1959–1960, eighty years after the Kodak camera began to democratise photography – that he wrote a list in the front of his diary of shots taken. Cost and quality were often reasons for restraint. Messenger was a keen photographer, spending much time on his boat trip from Auckland to New York working on photograph albums, yet he was often thwarted in his desire to take photographs. In Panama, for instance, he was ‘sad that we arrived in dark and left in morning after refilling water tanks’, because this meant ‘no photos’. Even when there was daylight, the weather during his travels around France, Spain and Portugal two years later caused him enormous frustration, as he was frequently unable to photograph sights due to insufficient light. The same fate befell the Bonds in 1953, togged up for a Royal Garden Party before the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II. Pleased that they were not so gauche as to have taken a camera with them, since no other guests did so, they were left without a photographic record of themselves. By the time they returned to their hotel ‘the light was not good’.

57 Peter D. Osborne, Travelling Light: Photography, Travel and Visual Culture, Manchester, 2000, especially pp.79–91. Osborne’s book begins with a chapter on Victorian travel and photography, and ends in the present day, arguing for strong connections between tourism and photography throughout this period and throughout the book.
61 ibid., ‘Tuesday 23 July’, p.29.
Messenger noted the cost of film whenever it was necessary to stock up.64 Finally, there was a
time-delay between taking and developing the photographs, films were easier to transport than
printed photographs, and there was no guarantee that the hoped-for images would ‘come out’ as
expected. There was little motivation for diarists to leave spaces in their diaries to place
photographs in, especially when albums would provide a safer home for the precious few snaps.

Crucially, not all diarists wished to merely represent things as they looked, but instead
wanted to imbue them with significance and emotion, and indicate sound and movement.
Diarists could do some of these things with images: Bond used a sketch (a form more amenable
to caricature than photography) to insinuate the pernicious greediness of Catholic priests at the
Madonna del Sasso in Switzerland, while noting (out of a sense of fairness, perhaps) that ‘there
also some very kindly-looking Friars with long beards, who were quite spare’ (Fig. 14).65 The
point of her drawing was to show a visual characteristic, but she wanted to exaggerate it in order
to depict a moral failing. The dark nose of the priest might well indicate over-indulgence, in
much the same way as the red noses of cartoon drunks; certainly its length renders him
grotesque. Sometimes diarists used subtle visual codes to convey distinctions between places or
emotions. The third volume of Knight’s travel diary contains descriptions of three short trips she
took from England during 1961 and 1962. She distinguished between the shorter trips (to
Scandinavia, Switzerland, and Ireland) by using different coloured inks. Appropriately,
considering her commentary about the greenness of the Irish countryside, and the association in
Ireland between green and the majority Catholic population, she used green ink for the Irish
portion of the diary.66 Godward used coloured inks in quite a different way. Most of his diary was
written in blue ink, but he switched to black when writing about experiences he found
unpleasant:

For the sake of those who wish to read only the enjoyable parts I have printed the other
parts in black ink so that they can be skipped if this is preferred.67

Diarists often aimed to reflect what they had seen, but they did so by a complex and creative
variety of means. Rothwell at Victoria Falls, or Wix on the German train platform, did so with
words alone.

66 Marion Knight, Diary Vol. 3, 10–23 August 1961, 14–23 February, 18–26 April 1962, pp.51–80, 93/121:
AWMML.
We might understand the increased visual contents of the travel diary in the postwar period as part of tourists’ reaction against or response to the increasingly standardised shape of the travel diary. As the physical shape of the diaries became increasingly uniform, including collaged photographs, or clippings, sketches, or maps, was a new way for travellers to personalise their diaries. The sketchbook or the photograph album began to bleed into the travel diary. Though it became more regulated in the postwar years, it ironically became more expansive in its contents and in its purview: how the genre of the travel diary looked was expanded in one way as it contracted in another. Sontag’s argument about the function of photography in tourism posits that tourists are made uncomfortable by the foreign and that photography is a conservative response to their discomfort, a means of disengaging from the world in front of the lens. But including photographs, sketches or other visual items into a travel diary can also be understood as a radical, novel, and creative act.

Diarists also communicated with family and friends for other reasons and to ends other than representation. Some seem to have felt a social or moral obligation to keep in touch with family and – or – to demonstrate the value of their experiences. Many elements of Jill Hobbs’s diary suggest that she was impelled by duty. She filled her pages with platitudes; as one example, almost every day she commented that something was ‘lovely’, without going into detail. On 12 February she commented of the ship she was on, ‘Lovely meals and nice people’; 18 February she went for a swim at a ‘lovely beach’; on the 23rd she commented of Melbourne that ‘The Art Gallery had some lovely paintings’, and so on. Appropriately, considering her age (sixteen–seventeen), her diary had the air of a required school assignment. She may not have chosen the My Trip Book she wrote in, as she seems to have been surprised part-way through by the

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68 Sontag, pp.9, 12.
structure of its template pages. She began keeping her diary on the first lined page, ‘Itinerary’, and wrote through this and the ‘Memoranda’ section before suddenly realising that the book designer had intended these pages to be used for particular ends when she reached the pages headed ‘Hotels Visited’. After this discovery, she started her diary again on p.18, which is where the ‘Places Visited’ section began — the section designed for the kind of note-taking she had begun earlier. To be clear: she did not simply resume or continue her diary at this point, she started again from the beginning of her trip, dutifully rewriting information she had already recorded pages earlier. She was determined to use the book as it was designed, rather than bending it to her own needs like other diarists did.

If the only travel diarists who explicitly did not use their diaries as a means of communication were men, it follows that women travellers seemed most impelled to communicate via their travel diaries. While some travel diaries written by men did not have an explicitly communicative function by the 1950s, all diaries written by women addressed an audience. Some also contained evidence of additional communications as well. Knight kept a list of presents she had sent home for Christmas 1961 in the front of the second volume of her diary. Bond compiled (very long) lists of letters sent and received. During the 217 days in which she kept her 1937 diary, she recorded having written and posted 628 letters, postcards, and letter cards back to New Zealand. Several women travellers wrote of diary-keeping as ‘work’, suggesting that they either found it challenging or required; this will be discussed further in Chapter Two. Though the sample size is limited and so this observation is not definitive, these cases do provide some suggestive hints. For whatever reason, women tended to write more than men in their diaries, and to do so with an audience in mind.

Some diarists were perhaps compelled to write their diaries as a sop to their families, but some were determined to swing the balance of power in their own favour: a number of the diarists set their minds to educating their audience. Bailey adopted the voice of a teacher, tour guide or parent on many occasions. She tipped ‘Molly’ off about the kind of bag which she found useful and where to get it. She wrote down the information that she gleaned from priests who gave her church tours in Australia, and passed it on to her family: the size of altarpieces, the reasons they were built. Bond listed data points at most ports. In Colombo, during a description of a shop she had visited, she slipped in the exchange rates: ‘Rupee 1/6 100c = 1 r. 10.50 r. = £1

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70 ibid. She wrote 11pp before finding the Hotels Visited section on p.12, and several pages of ‘People Met’ and ‘Autographs’ pages, and began her diary again on p.18.
71 Bond, Diary 1, between pp.82–83 were four inserted pages with two columns in each, listing letters sent, and after p.273 were seven more pages detailing letters sent and received.
A week later, she began her entry on Aden: ‘And now Aden pop.56,500 Europeans, Arabs, Somalis, Indians, Jews and Parsees. Indian currency’. Indeed, much of the information present in travel diaries could have been intended to educate their audiences. Reflecting what they had seen could serve this purpose, too, preparing readers for what to expect if they followed in the diarist’s footsteps, or providing a perspective which was known and familiar for the reader to filter or understand the world through.

Not all the information, narratives and data points in the diaries were intended for an audience, however, or not exclusively so. One fundamental reason to keep travel diaries was intimately connected with diarists’ memories. Travel diaries were often shaped by the desire of their authors to commemorate, preserve, or remind themselves. As the printed foreword in My Trip Books indicated, this function was a major selling point:

Thousands of people lose half the value of their travels by omitting to keep a record of unusual incidents and scenes, new acquaintances, different customs and the thousand and one new experiences that occurred on a long journey during weeks or months of absence.

My Trip Book is arranged to facilitate the ready and easy recording from day to day, from town to town, or country to country, of all the details of your journeying, so that in later years you may have a Trip Book of ready reference.

The existence of travel diaries shows that travel was highly valued by these travellers for its own sake. Messenger and Tothill were lifelong diarists, and Brasch was a writer, but for most the keeping of a diary was as anomalous as their travels themselves. Their desire to create a reference book – a repository of memory, a collection of facts, a reminder of the way things looked to them – reflected the significance of their travels. Travel diaries were not only souvenirs of travel: they were containers for other small souvenirs. Hobbs collected autographs from those she had met on her boat journey. Pike pinned a brochure about a begonia festival he attended in Ballarat, Victoria, into his Australian travel diary. Tothill kept numerous ephemeral objects in the back of her 1952 diary: passenger lists, information about piano recitals or concerts performed on board, menus, even the card for the ‘race meeting’, which was filled with in-jokes (Fig. 15).

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75 ibid., ‘14th April’, p.36.
76 Knight, Diary Vol. 3, p.i.
77 Hobbs, Diary, pp.15–17.
78 Pike, ‘Sat. 12.3.60’, Diary 1, pp.55–56.
Many travel diaries were designed to be used after the travel they described was complete. Some diarists shaped their diaries in ways that made them effective as a reference tool; others left signs of their post-travel use of the diaries. The final volume of Bailey’s 1936–1937 diary was written in a hardcover exercise book. Printed on the inside front cover of this book were a series of squares, separating the page into small sections, each labelled with a letter from the alphabet. She used this to produce an index, writing the places she had visited into these squares, and providing a page reference, so that she could easily find her account of a particular trip or experience. Under ‘A’, for example, she wrote ‘Amiens 57, Angelsey 14, Valley of Avoca 39’. Bond hand-numbered each of her pages and labelled the top of them with the place described on that page. The place-name label, like Bailey’s index, made it quick to locate material she wished to

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Kathleen Bailey, Diary 1, Vol. 4, 12 July–14 November 1937, inside front cover, 95/15: AWMML.
read or re-read. It was clear that she did return to her diaries after her travels had finished. In 1953, the Bonds went on their third round-the-world trip, taking in Chartwell, the home of Winston Churchill, on 11 June. Carefully fortified with sellotape, Bond inserted, next to her account of this experience, a newspaper article about Chartwell published in the *New Zealand Herald* on 30 April 1955 (Fig. 16). Bond added a number of newspaper articles to her diaries retrospectively, treating her diaries as a repository of her memories about the places she had seen, as a site to keep information about those places, and as a record of the moments when she returned to her diaries or imaginatively to places abroad. The diaries were not always ‘complete’ when the traveller returned home.

![Chartwell, Rich in History, Home for Churchill](image)

**Figure 16.** Evelyn Weir Bond, Diary 3, 14 April–2 November 1953, Private Collection, showing pp.50–51 and the sellotaped article added on or after ‘30.4.55’.

Returning to re-read or add to a travel diary was one of many ways that travel, as extraordinary as it might have been, could be incorporated into these diarists’ quotidian lives. These diaries also functioned as autobiographical texts. On a simple level, travel diaries contained the experiences or ideas of the author over a period of time; diarists told the story of their lives over a period of weeks, months, or occasionally years, in these pages. But they also placed their

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80 Bond, Diary 3, in between pp.50–51.
travel experiences within the context of their other experiences. Tourists quoted literature they read and loved in response to places they saw, as will be discussed further in Chapter Five. They reminisced about places they had been before. Knight, for example, visited Venice en route to Greece in 1962, and went to find ‘the Regina Hotel where we stayed in 1930’. Messenger returned to the camp where he had been stationed at the end of World War I, and walked over the empty fields attempting to recreate long-demolished buildings and roads in his mind’s eye. They also contextualised new sights among those with which they were familiar. Wix in particular often described landscapes she encountered by comparing them with the landscapes around the Nelson area. On arrival in Jersey, she explained its size with reference to the area of her birth: ‘It is smaller than I thought – 9 miles by 5 – 45 square miles all told. Nelson to Richmond in length, Nelson to Stoke in width!’ and other places she encountered were also compared to the same area: ‘Bay after bay something like Kaiteriteri in rock shape but quite different in colour’. In Trondheim, Norway, she found scenery pleasing because it reminded her of home: ‘I found two little lakes away high up, and somehow the scenery reminded me of Lake Rotoiti, Nelson’. McAra favourably compared the Glencoe area in Scotland with New Zealand:

nowhere in New Zealand, and I have seen much of it, nowhere can we see within such a small compass of either space or time varied and beautiful scene as I saw today. Ancient towns, ruins of castles, lovely lakes, rivers and glens, beautiful countryside, quaint old farmhouses, wild and rugged mountains, noble country seats with their fine old mansions – yes it was a wondrous succession of beautiful sights.

McAra had begun the first entry of his travel diary with the sentence, ‘At last the desire of a lifetime is to be fulfilled’; he was sixty years old. Half of these tourists headed abroad in their fifties, sixties or seventies: they had already lived a long life in which to contextualise their travel experiences.

In many ways these travel diaries bear witness to the fact that travel became diarists’ ‘regular’ life, rather than insulating them from it, as some scholars of tourism have implied. Home life carried on in the absence of the travel diarist, and some of the memories recorded in travel diaries related to what would be happening to their friends and families in New Zealand while they were gone. Some diaries contained reminder lists: of birthdays that would occur while

84 Ruth Wix Wilson, Diary 3: ‘Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Holland’, 26 June–8 August 1953, p.15, MS-Papers-5433-03: ATL.
87 Though he does not describe individual experiences, Dean MacCannell has written in detail about tourist desire to transcend the realities of their ‘modern’ lives (The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class, New York, 1976); tourism is frequently marketed as an escape from mundane home life.
they were away; of letters written home or presents sent, as we have seen; of things to buy (Eve and Marjorie Bond despatched a requested rubber from London post-haste to three-year-old grandson/son Ian, in 1953); of films they had seen, or churches they had visited. Diaries took over the duties of other practical records from daily life: some incorporated address books; accounts could be included, either kept carefully or as small details scribbled down here and there. Vincent jotted down recipes for mock cream and ‘war time cake’. Bailey and Bond noted when they heard of deaths of family and friends in New Zealand; Bailey stuck in the newspaper notice of her nephew’s birth. And of course travel diaries reflected moments of boredom as well as high excitement. Some of the contents existed solely because writing occupied occupied tourists. Bailey’s increasingly frustrated complaints about her fellow passengers and the ship she was on, and Rothwell’s repeated description of meals she had eaten on board, suggest they were writing in those moments to entertain themselves, though they did not have anything new to say. Some tourists kept either a running tally or wrote out the daily tally of miles travelled when on board ship. Louise Sutherland noted her miles cycled per day and in total at the top of each entry. More travel diarists than not mentioned the weather in every entry. The travel diary recorded ‘ordinary’ as well as ‘extraordinary’ life, experiences that might have occurred at home or away.

Travel diaries were understood to be a particular kind of text in New Zealand over the course of the mid-twentieth century: from the 1920s to the 1960s they could be best characterised with reference to their adaptability, diversity, and the creativity of their authors. Rather than being limited to, or defined by, a range of formal characteristics, these diaries were hugely variable, combining in their own ways elements of sketchbooks, photograph albums,

89 Vincent and Hobbs both carefully used the address book section of their ‘My Trip Books’; Pike used his to a smaller degree in both Diary 1 and Diary 2, Vol. 1. Messenger, ‘Friday 27 September’, ‘Saturday 28 September’, ‘Saturday 26 October’, Diary, 1957, pp.94, 95, 103.
90 Vincent, Address book page ‘V’.
93 McAra, ‘Saturday June 1st 1935’–’Wednesday 10 July 1935’, Diary Vol. 1, pp.1–65, the final comment on each day’s entry was data on their current longitude, latitude, daily mileage and average speed, up until the point that McAra arrived in England and no longer had cause to record this information. Vincent wrote regularly about the daily mileage, and her ship ran a ‘tote’ to guess the distance travelled over the course of the day, for instance, ‘Friday April 9’ and ‘Saturday April 10’ she won, pp.13–14, 15.
94 Louise Sutherland, Diary, 12 August–26 October 1955, 25 June–late August 1956, MS-2882/165: HC.
mapbooks, logbooks, autobiography, account ledgers, address books, recipe books and encyclopedias. Judith Adler has suggested that travel itself can be performed art:

the traveler whose activity lends itself to conceptual treatment as art is one whose movement serves as a medium for bestowing meaning on the self and the social, natural, or metaphysical realities through which it moves.\textsuperscript{95}

These diaries are a piece of their authors’ performances. It is easy to find the tourist characterised as barbarian, blasphemer, idolator, destroyer, or, less dramatically, passive consumer, but through these travel diaries we see the tourist quite differently: as creator and creative.\textsuperscript{96}

Travel diaries also contained many voices. The voices of their authors were diverse in and of themselves, veering from matter-of-fact notations about distances travelled, the demographics of a particular town, or descriptions of the weather, to emotional responses to beautiful scenery or descriptions of moments of religious rapture. Comedic anecdotes sat alongside serious reflections on the passing of time which in turn were next to reviews of films, theatrical performances, restaurants. These were combined with the voices of others: information given to them by tour guides and copied or stuck in, clippings of newspaper articles. The ways these travel diaries were used – sent home to be saved and discussed, re-read by their authors years later – reflects how much these tourists valued their travel. They also indicate how important diarists found their communities at home, as they appealed to them for understanding, tried to teach them things, aimed to make them laugh.

These travel diaries demonstrate the permeability and flexibility of this genre; an awareness of the functioning of this genre underpins the chapters which follow. The communicative function of the diaries is perhaps the most significant. By showing the ways in which travel diaries were intended to connect with family and friends at home we see the emotional components of the travel diary, which emerged in other ways as diarists engaged with new communities abroad. The connection between home and away that these communicative texts represent can also be seen in travel diarists’ continuation of home behaviours abroad – working, worshipping, shopping – as the next three chapters discuss in detail. ‘Home’ is also central, in various ways, to Chapters Four through Six, which all touch on diarists’ emotional connections with overseas place. ‘Nation’ played a low-key role in the construction of home abroad. The non-fictional element of the diaries informs the ways that all the information within the diaries was read by its audience: travel diarists ‘constructed’ the world in a way that was meant

\textsuperscript{95} Judith Adler, ‘Travel as Performed Art’, \textit{American Journal of Sociology}, 94, 6, 1989, p.1368.

to be taken as reflective of reality not fantasy, and thus influenced their friends’ and families’ conceptions of the globe.

It is time now to turn more directly to the narrative contents of the travel diary, and analyse the ways narratives were constructed and shaped. We see recurring themes in these tourist experiences: they went on factory tours, shopping, to see art, theatre, ballet, music, cabaret, to restaurants and relatives’ homes, on buses, trains, funicular railways, bicycles, boats, cars; they admired natural beauty, and commented on architecture, accents, clothing, race or nationality, food, service. The list goes on; the diaries are full of observations and opinions tourists had about their experiences. Some of the things tourists did, however, were unexpected. The following two chapters engage with two modern tourist practices rarely discussed in travel scholarship but which these travel diaries frequently mentioned: working abroad and interacting with religion. As creative, adaptable, or part of an artful performance as they may have been, keeping diaries was understood by many as work, and it is to work we next turn.
SECTION TWO: THE EVERYDAY ABROAD
CHAPTER TWO
The ‘Toil of Diary’: Hard-working Tourists and the Presentation of Empathy

On 6 March 1936, Kathleen Bailey, aged twenty-five, departed from Auckland, arriving in London on 23 April after stops in Sydney, Hobart, Melbourne, Adelaide, Perth, Colombo, Aden, Port Said, Naples, Nice (with a side trip to Monte Carlo), and Toulon. At the Australian ports she visited friends and family friends, churches and parks; in Colombo, Port Said and Aden she wrote mostly about the shopping and the safety – or perceived lack thereof. In Naples she was awed by the ruins of Pompeii, and in France and Monaco she visited casinos, ate pastries and bought cosmetics. After disembarking in London, she toured the city, looking at the sights and museums, acquiring more clothes and hats, and visiting the ballet, cinema and many branches of Lyon’s teashops with family and friends. Throughout the months of August Bailey, her expatriate brother, and his English wife and mother-in-law travelled by car through Europe, approximating the ‘Grand Tour’ itinerary of Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Austria, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia. After spending early autumn in England, she stayed in Paris for three months, until late January 1937, and then spent another ten months based in London, during which time she also visited Italy, Ireland, Birmingham, Cornwall and the Lake District. She returned to New Zealand on the Arawa, a steamship travelling from Southampton via the Panama Canal, in November 1937.¹

These bare bones of Bailey’s travel itinerary focus on the places in which she stopped, the methods by which she moved between them, and some ways she spent her time or money. They tell only part of the story of her time abroad as a tourist. What this narrative omits is something that studies of tourism rarely explore; Bailey spent quite a lot of her time abroad working. By 15 June 1936, only three weeks after her arrival, she was applying for work in London. She secured a job within a week of her search. She worked for the Electric Lighting Co. of the City of London from 22 June until 18 July, when she left to prepare for the family tour of Europe. While in Paris she worked as an au pair for a wealthy French family, the Desagnats, with time away from their household only at Christmas, when her brother and sister-in-law came to visit. Once back in London in 1937, she worked long hours typing for her brother’s law firm. She wrote about all of these things in the volumes of her travel diary, though to varying degrees: she was circumspect about the content of the cases she was typing for her brother, due to their sensitive nature, and loquacious about her job in Paris. The language of work permeated her diary: she described her

own and others’ non-commercial activities in terms of labour. She also described work others did for pay, the details gleaned from observation or conversation. These interactions with others’ jobs or labour were often moments when she described her shifting attitudes and perceptions towards others. Working while abroad funded her travel and gave her independence; it also had an impact on other tourist activities. She was able to afford rent on her own flat soon after her return to London, and after her relocation there her diary began to discuss events and experiences with friends more than it had done earlier, when her descriptions were firmly focussed on her family in London.

Work formed a central part of many New Zealand tourists’ experiences abroad in the mid-twentieth century, and this work should not be divorced from tourists’ other experiences abroad, nor ignored entirely, as is so often the case in studies of travel. The way ‘work’ functions in these travel diaries adds much to our understanding of travellers and New Zealanders. Analysing the ways tourists discussed work in their travel diaries gives us insights into these writers’ ideas about what it meant to work, the significance of work, and what the role of government should be in making social provisions for workers and managing labour. By describing their own activities as labour, tourists asserted their value to their society or community – both as tourists, and as citizens – often outside the bounds of commercial formulations of work as paid employment. Tourists’ use of the language of work and their discussion of the work of others was one means of establishing and justifying tourists’ empathetic engagement with people they met abroad. But only some descriptions of workers were accompanied by moments of empathy towards workers. Close attention to these moments tells us something of travel diarists’ attitudes or prejudices, but also shows that tourists’ increasing familiarity with certain kinds of work led them to alter presuppositions or previously ingrained ideas. Descriptions of work in these travel diaries also provide opportunities to interrogate these New Zealanders’ views about the ethics of working, power relationships and identity. These were rarely simple.

Though these travel diarists wrote about work in a multitude of ways and to myriad ends, few scholars have considered how work functioned for tourists in the past. Many scholars of tourism have erected a theoretical barrier between tourism and work. They keep labour at bay,

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4 Bailey, ‘Saturday March 6th 1937’, Diary 1, Vol. 3, p.54 recounts the day she moved out. Though she had been flat-hunting with her sister-in-law, she selected her flat after visiting it with a friend, and put down a deposit immediately following this friend’s approval.
5 Few historical studies of tourists abroad have explicitly engaged with tourists working; Angela Woollacott’s To Try Her Fortune in London: Australian Women, Colonialism and Modernity, New York and London, 2001 is a notable exception. Working tourists might be largely absent because scholars’ sample groups did not include workers, though it seems unlikely that New Zealand travellers in this period were the only tourists who engaged in paid employment while abroad.
conceptualising a binary system where tourism exists and is understood as a leisured pursuit in opposition to work. As John Urry has argued:

Tourism is a leisure activity which presupposes its opposite, namely regulated and organised work. It is one manifestation of how work and leisure are organised as separate and regulated spheres of social practice in ‘modern’ societies.6

In a Venn diagram of this model, the circles – or ‘spheres’ – encompassing work and leisure would not touch. The tourist sitting on the outer edge of the leisure circle, however, might still see the worker in the distance. The observation of workers by tourists is the only means by which the worker and the tourist have been brought together by this framework, though not too closely; the gulf between the two archetypes has been emphasised. Dean MacCannell’s ground-breaking and still heavily-referenced The Tourist discussed tourists viewing the work of others, but did not countenance tourists who were employed during their leisure travel:7

The “class struggle,” instead of operating at the level of history, is operating at the level of workaday life and its opposition to culture. In the place of the division Marx foresaw is an arrangement wherein workers are displayed, and other workers on the other side of the culture barrier watch them for their enjoyment.8

Not only does this formulation disengage from questions about gradations of class or economic power within the group of tourists, it takes no account of the ways tourists conceptualised work. It is time to pay closer attention to both. As MacCannell has recently observed:

We know little more today about tourist experience and tourist subjectivity than we did thirty years ago. [...] Much is known about demographics, spending patterns, destination decisions, amenity satisfaction, and the like; almost nothing about the depths and intimate contours of tourist curiosity, subjectivity and motivation.9

If we redraw the Venn from the perspectives of the travel diarists in this thesis, in some cases we would see considerable overlapping between the work and leisure circles. For other tourists, however, the ‘tourism’ circle would sit entirely, or almost entirely, inside a much larger circle representing work. The language of work or labour was how tourists often made sense of or justified their leisure travel.

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6 John Urry, The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies, London, 1990, p.2. This book discusses tourism using details from the beginning of the twentieth century. Though Urry is not an historian, his text does make historical claims. The tourists whose travel diaries are discussed in this thesis are covered by his chronological rubric.


8 ibid., p.37.

Theories such as Urry’s and MacCannell’s presuppose a separation between leisure and work, yet historians of labour, leisure, and recent international travel by New Zealanders have shown that these categories were often intermingled. International labour historians including H. F. Moorhouse and Richard Whiff have long since challenged oppositional formulations of work and leisure, showing that values associated with work could be transferred to leisure pursuits, or that work and non-work time often overlapped even for types of work and in periods associated with rigid labour control.10 Caroline Daley has argued at length that ‘the ethos of rational recreation was at work in mid- to late-nineteenth-century New Zealand, just as it was in Britain’.11 Rational recreation was promoted by middle-class reformers following legislation limiting the length of the work week, in order to channel or control what working-class people did in their newly-allotted free time.12 This ethos was ‘enshrined’ in New Zealand’s Physical Welfare and Recreation Act (1936), which created local committees to organise ways for New Zealanders to improve their bodies, aiming to create physical fitness and ‘strengthen the moral fibre of the nation’.13 Crucially, rational recreation was a transnational ideology, tied in with other ideas about race degeneration and eugenics, and it did not just target the outward physical form.14 Libraries, institutes, museums and exhibitions were promoted as sites where people of all social classes could improve their minds during the hours they were not engaged in salaried occupations.15 When the New Zealand tourists whose diaries form the focus of this thesis read guidebooks and history books, visited museums and art galleries abroad, took guided tours and recorded their ideas, impressions, and lessons, they were performing recognisable forms of rational recreation. They understood themselves working hard at their leisure – and by doing so, as behaving appropriately.

Some might argue that once tourists began working for pay, they stopped being tourists and became something else – expatriates, perhaps, or short-term migrants.16 The working holiday, usually considered a postwar phenomenon, is another way of understanding the relationship

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12 ibid., p.427.
16 The United Nations’ 1963 definition of tourism explicitly includes work under tourism’s rubric: ‘a tourist is someone away from his/her residence for over 24 hours, who is travelling for either business or pleasure’ (quoted from Malcolm Crick, ‘Representations of International Tourism in the Social Sciences: Sun, Sex, Sights, Savings, and Servility’, Annual Review of Anthropology, 18, 1989, p.312).
between working and being a tourist.¹⁷ Usually associated with the young, because today’s working holiday visas require that applicants be under thirty-one, these travel diarists show that working holidays have existed much longer than is usually discussed (in the 1920s and 1930s) and were also taken by much older people. All of the travel diarists in this thesis travelled when New Zealanders were also British citizens, and they thus had no legal impediments to their employment in the United Kingdom. The fact that those diarists who did work for pay while abroad included commentary on their work in their travel diaries – especially in cases where there is no evidence that they kept diaries when they were not travelling – reflects the fact that diarists did not draw a rigid line between the work they participated in and their other touristic behaviours. Working abroad gave tourists the opportunity to engage with work cultures of different places: working could be a facet of broader experimentation or experience enabled by tourism. Contrary to the expectations of those who romanticise travel in the past as more ‘elegant’ than that of today, not everyone who travelled prior to the jet age was wealthy, and some needed to work to make their travel possible.¹⁸ There is no reason to assume that these tourists thought going abroad meant taking a complete break from their regular behaviours. In fact, the common references to work suggest that travel diarists wanted to emphasise their behavioural consistency.

We also need to consider what tourists said about work in order to understand the travel diary as it functioned for both writers and readers. As Chapter One argued, tourists’ travel diaries existed as partial autobiographies of their authors, describing parts of a longer life in which employment played various roles. Not all tourists worked for pay when they were at home. They did, however, understand themselves as meaningful contributors to their communities or families: many wrote of ‘working’ in far broader terms than the narrow sense of ‘working for a salary’. Some diarists were explicitly retired from their professions, including Keith Pike, who had been a banker, and Ruth Wix, a former schoolteacher; others hinted at their removal from regular employment. Henry Brash travelled into his late seventies, when it seems unlikely that he was still working; he was the oldest of the diarists, but Henrietta Rothwell, Millicent Boor, Johnston McAra, Edwin Howard, Arthur Messenger, Eve Bond, and Pike all travelled in their sixties or seventies. Their work life or training, nevertheless, often influenced the ways they made sense of

¹⁷ In the New Zealand context, the ‘OE’ (overseas experience) model of the working holiday is the most common, in which young New Zealanders went to live abroad, typically in London, in order to travel and work. The OE has been gestured at as beginning at various times between the 1950s and the 1970s, but is mostly understood as a postwar phenomenon. Jude Wilson, “Unpacking” the OE: An Exploration of the New Zealand “Overseas Experience”, PhD thesis, Lincoln University, Christchurch, 2006, pp.2, 48; Claudia Bell, ‘The big ‘OE’: Young New Zealand travellers as secular pilgrims’, Tourist Studies, 2, 2, 2002, p.144.

¹⁸ Nigel McCarter, The Big O.E.: Tales from New Zealand Travellers, Auckland, 2001, p.9. McCarter waxes lyrical about the elegances of steam travel, but his characterisation is puzzling, given that a page earlier he claimed steamship travel was often austere and tedious.
their experiences or the things they chose to do abroad. At the opposite end of the age spectrum, Jill Hobbs was still a teenager when she travelled, and did not appear to have had any experience with employment. Several other women diarists also did not appear to work for money when they were not travelling, in some cases – Eve Bond’s in particular – because they were wealthy. Others were clearly not affluent but still did not work immediately prior to their voyages, like Henrietta Rothwell and Marion Knight. Their travel was not a leisured break from employment. The fact that work was such a common theme speaks both to a broader conception of what it meant to work and reflects the rhetorical significance of work and workers for these travellers.

The Work of Touring

Looking at the moments travel diarists used the term ‘work’ indicates that these New Zealanders had a broad sense of what ‘work’ could constitute. They certainly did not restrict it to tasks which earned money, even when they were very conscious of their own dwindling funds. Diarists often spoke of their own housework or gardening as work. There are examples of this usage for both male and female diarists, those who normally engaged in paid employment and those who did not. Bailey often stitched tapestry or knitted jumpers for family members at their request, which she described as ‘work’; she also described household maintenance tasks like shopping, painting the house, car cleaning, and gardening in these terms.19 Knight, when visiting friends on their farm, helped harvest the hay; this was her ‘job’.20 Messenger not only wrote of house cleaning and gardening as work, he also wrote of keeping accounts of his expenditure in this way.21 Pike and his wife Ivy stayed with the aunt of a friend in Sydney, and Keith helped ‘Aunt Marion’ with her garden.22 The fact that three of these four diarists were retired or otherwise unemployed makes their emphasis on work striking. They represented their household tasks abroad as labour, and thereby emphasised their contribution to the households in which they stayed. These forms of ‘work’ were gifts to friends or family, easing their burdens and labours by sharing them. Many diarists also understood tourism in terms of labour; the diaries they went on to share with loved ones were among its products, and for this work they often expected their investment to produce dividends. The examples highlight why analyses that presume there was a diametrical opposition between work and leisure are of limited utility when


22 Keith Pike, ‘8/12/59’, Diary 1, 8 October 1959–27 April 1960, p.25, 93/120: AWMML.
interpreting these sources: such claims fail to capture the fluidity of ways that the experience of ‘work’ was rendered and represented.

Travel diarists understood the work of tourism as involving several discrete tasks, as well as on-the-job training and flexibility. It was not necessarily an entry-level position, either, as Rothwell understood in 1927:

as one lady said today – you are a tripper – (to be tripped) on the first tour – on the second you are a tourist – and know the run of the tripping and avoid it.23

That Rothwell understood the role of the tourist as something one might become as a result of experience emphasises her sense of her own fortitude and the difficulty of the tasks she found herself undertaking (she was on her first overseas visit: a ‘tripper’ trying to be a ‘tourist’).

MacCannell himself compared tourists with workers: he referred to tourists as his ‘colleagues’, and called tourism a ‘profession’.24 His explanation of tourism’s ‘professional’ status emphasised tourists’ special disciplinary epistemology:

Each special informational format presupposes a set of methods and has its own version of reliability, validity and completeness. Becoming a scientist or a politician means, in part, learning and adhering to, even “believing in,” the standards and techniques of one’s profession. The process of becoming a tourist is similar.25

The idea that there are universal standards of tourism ignores the diverse circumstances and practices of leisure travellers, but since tourists use the same language as MacCannell to describe some of their tourist behaviours, we can adapt this into a useful question: what did tourists themselves make of the tasks and duties of their ‘profession’?

Most notably, tourists’ jobs required communication, and though the communication was often desired – many diarists wrote of the joy with which they received letters from home – it was also considered hard work. ‘Hard work’ might be leveraged for a range of emotional ends: to amuse, plead with or tease the reader; to convey satisfaction or exasperation. Diary-writing and letter-writing was most often described as work. As Ruth Wix took off to fly from London to Sweden in 1952, she began writing: ‘Well, down to the toil again of diary’.26 Bailey noted one morning ‘I got a chance to tackle the diary this morning, so worked hard at it. I lunched at home with Margaret, and worked again on the diary’.27 Like work for pay, the diarists expected to receive something in return for their efforts. Bailey sent a pointed message to her family in her diary entry from 9 June 1936:

25 ibid., p.135.
I did letters nearly all day. Lord my mail takes me ages. If it is not the diary, then it is letters. I hope I reap the benefit of such labours before long. I work jolly hard on such letters, and so far have reaped very poor results.\textsuperscript{28}

Wix also wrote of her disappointed expectations:

I feel very “flat” over my diaries. I think after this I’ll send just one copy to the family and to one or two others who do find them interesting. It costs me a lot in both time and money to write this up and post it (sometimes to pay to get it typed), and to get no comment or the bald statement that the diary has arrived is a bit off-putting\textsuperscript{29}

Messenger and Bailey both ‘worked’ on postcard and photograph albums while abroad.\textsuperscript{30} Communication was also described as work for diarists in countries where the main language was not their own. Wix complained that the marketing of Sweden as a country without language barriers for Anglophone tourists was inaccurate, claiming it was ‘a job to find someone who speaks enough to enable to get the simplest necessities’.\textsuperscript{31}

Tourists also often considered the tasks of planning tours, stops, and itineraries – and even sight-seeing and souvenir shopping – as ‘work’. Wix described her sight-seeing tactics when in Scandinavia:

Yesterday, I took a round tour by bus, since when I’ve prowled on my own and have visited most of the places of interest. I find it best to work in this way—a prowl first, then a comprehensive trip, and then further visits to selected spots.\textsuperscript{32}

Bond often used the term ‘business’ to describe making arrangements for travelling: ‘consulted Cook’s about European tour did other business’.\textsuperscript{33} Soon after departing on her first voyage to England, Bailey concluded, ‘this sightseeing business is a tiring and hungry one’.\textsuperscript{34} Souvenir-shopping, that most quintessential and apparently leisured task of the tourist, could even be presented as a challenging and difficult task. Wix, looking for a piece of Swedish crystal, found that:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{28}ibid., ‘Tuesday June 9\textsuperscript{th}, 1936’, p.174.
  \item \textsuperscript{29}Ruth Wix Wilson, Diary 4, ‘Cornwall’, September 1933, p.7, MS-Papers-5433-03: ATL.
  \item \textsuperscript{31}Ruth Wix Wilson, ‘Wed. 15\textsuperscript{th} [July]’, Diary 3: ‘Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Holland’, 26 June–8 August 1953, p.11, MS-Papers-5433-03: ATL.
  \item \textsuperscript{32}ibid., p.10.
  \item \textsuperscript{33}Evelyn Weir Bond, ‘11\textsuperscript{th} [May]’, Diary 1, 16 March–18 October 1937, p.77; similar use Bond, ‘10\textsuperscript{th} and 11\textsuperscript{th} Aug’, ‘17\textsuperscript{th}, 18\textsuperscript{th}, 19\textsuperscript{th} [October]’, Diary 2, 4 April–28 November 1950, pp.126, 201, Private Collection.
\end{itemize}
with all the crystal on display in all the beautiful shops down the length of the Kungsgatan (main street), it was a job to find the perfect, the simple, the truly satisfying vase.\textsuperscript{35}

This terminology suggests that travel diarists took their travels seriously; they were not avoiding work by being tourists, instead they were carrying out comparable tasks of self-education, self-improvement, and educating their families and friends at home as well. They might occasionally have been poking gentle fun at their travails by using this language – Wix’s ‘job’ finding the perfect vase is a potential example of this. But whether diarists were emphasising the seriousness of their tasks or mocking themselves for taking them too seriously, the repeated verbal connections in the diaries between work and tourism demonstrate that these two experiences, far from being oppositional, were not separate in their minds and the boundaries between them were not fixed. We also gain some sense of diarists’ expectations around the rewards of hard work. They understood that their efforts should be rewarded with return communications from family and friends, with praise, with sympathy; ultimately, that they be acknowledged.

Travel diarists’ continued engagement with quotidian life and their consistent moral outlook was emphasised when they used the language of work to define their experiences as tourists. Literary scholar James Buzard has pointed out that:

\begin{quote}
travel has functioned as one of humankind’s most deeply naturalised metaphors for thought itself. To move from one point to another, we are accustomed to think, is to learn something.\textsuperscript{36}
\end{quote}

Learning might be a positive side effect of travel, as the metaphor Buzard identified implies, but change could also be feared as too profound. Yet another element of many travel narratives is the concern that travel will render the traveller eventually unrecognisable to their family and friends; that it will change their way of behaving. This anxiety around travel can be found in texts with as long and highbrow a pedigree as \textit{The Odyssey}, through to pop songs contemporary with these travel diarists.\textsuperscript{37} Some travel diarists expressed their own concerns that travel might effect unfortunate changes upon their person. McAra made sure to report, in his first diary entry, his

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{35} Wix Wilson, ‘Saturday morning’, Diary 3, p.7.
\textsuperscript{37} Odysseus finally returned to his home after a decade’s wanderings, and was unrecognised by his wife until he revealed himself through proofs only he and she would know. Homer, \textit{The Odyssey}, trans. Richmond Lattimore, New York, 1967, Book XXIII, ll.172–230, pp.339–341. The 1952 song ‘You belong to me’ narrates that anxiety directly to a traveller-audience, requesting continued connection and consistent behaviour.
\end{flushright}

\begin{quote}
\‘See the marketplace in Old Algiers
Send me photographs and souvenirs
Just remember, when a dream appears
You belong to me’
(Pee Wee King, Chilton Price and Redd Stewart, ‘You Belong to Me’, 1952, most famously vocalised by Jo Stafford, Dean Martin and Patsy Cline, but recorded by more than seventy other professional vocalists.)
\end{quote}
intended start to each day on board: ‘I have instructed my steward to call me at 6.30 am each morning. It will not do to lapse into lazy habits’. Even emphasising their consistent devotion to work even while at leisure may have provided a balm against this concern that travel would alter them for the worse.

Even if individuals’ use of a language of work to describe their tourism was a conscious or unconscious response to a fear of personal change, a side-effect to travel diarists’ self-identification as workers might be their increased affinity with other workers they encountered abroad. Of course, just as white collar management might not readily empathise with those beneath them in the employment hierarchy, diarists’ self-designation as workers did not result in universal sympathy to all workers they came upon. Tourists’ responses to other workers were complex, related to perceptions of class, race, gender, and religion, and to their sensory descriptions of difference.

Sensing Workers

The diaries contain some striking moments when tourists empathised with foreign workers across national, class, gender, religious or professional boundaries. They also, however, contain many examples of tourists dismissing, or at least erecting clear barriers between themselves and workers of other kinds, and these were often correlated with the sensory construction of their narratives. This section analyses moments where travel diarists were particularly empathetic and those during which they performed disinterest or constructed workers as different. These travel diarists recorded sensory and imaginative encounters with work and workers, often purposefully visiting factories, farms, shops, and they engaged with travel industry-related places of work like hotels, restaurants, tour buses or taxis as an occupational hazard. On the whole, when diarists emphasised interaction, sound, vibration, smell into the description of workers they became both more empathetic and less likely to idealise or condemn work or worker. However, that empathy did not, for the most part, place the workers they observed on an equal social level in the narratives of the tourists who observed them.

Much scholarship on tourists’ experiences focuses on just one of their senses: sight. This is clear from MacCannell’s work, for instance. He analysed ‘work displays’ and how they functioned for tourists as a visual experience. MacCannell argued that tourists could delight in the pre-modern and primitive represented by this work, or feel that they had accessed a kind of ‘authentic’ work which contrasted with their own working lives. This claim is limiting in terms

40 MacCannell, *The Tourist*, pp.5, 6, 91.
of its content; it suggests two main things about attitudes of tourists to workers abroad. First, it implies that what tourists saw when they visited places of work was always idealised: though they may not have wished explicitly to change places with the workers they watched, they saw in the work displays something which primarily induced nostalgia. Second, the workers they viewed had to have been ‘othered’ by the process of being observed by outsiders in order to remain distinguishable and distinct from the diarist and their society. This framing does not reflect the diversity of responses in the diaries. For instance, we can find examples of the othering of workers and the idealisation of their work in these diaries, but the two are not often combined. We can also find the exact opposite of nostalgia and idealisation in the diaries: tourists often empathised with workers when they perceived similarities between their own lives and those of the workers they observed. Some types of work were also criticised rather than celebrated. But this emphasis on sight as sensory modality also does not reflect how these tourists came to present their conclusions in their travel diaries. Travel diarists described work in terms of the things they saw only in some circumstances, and tales of watching workers were often quite different from stories diarists told after talking to workers. Tourists responded to workers or brought them into their diaries in different contexts, and travellers could use several distinct epistemologies to justify their readings.

The workers to whom diarists showed the most verbal sympathy were often not those whose work they witnessed directly. Workers who had been engaged in religious labours, the results of which might be visible, regularly received praise within diaries, though the work process itself was unseen. While on the island of Guernsey, Ruth Wix visited Vauxbellets chapel, and described it as a product of labour:

A tiny, tiny one with its walls outside and in completely covered with pieces of broken china in the way that old Mrs. Hart used to make the umbrella stands in our childhood. Not my idea of decoration but really beautifully worked out in colour and patterns and really rather touching as the life work of a dear old monk recently deceased.41

Even though she did not like the aesthetics of the decor, its existence and the tenaciousness and dedication she read in the story of the monk’s labours was enough to lead her to characterise him as ‘dear’. Bond visited a relative who was a minister in Northern Ireland, and judged his ‘work’ on the presence of groups he had established in the church: ‘A splendid congregation lots of young men! Bill has fine Sunday Schools and clubs for young people and is doing good work there’.42 These were a different kind of work display, where the products of the labour were on show, but the descriptions of it remained quite detached. Holy labour – quite unlike secular or

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41 Wix Wilson, ‘Wednesday [30 December]’, Diary 5, p.7.
42 Bond, ‘10th [September]’, Diary 2, p.170.
commercialised labour – was highly valued by these tourists, and judged by the worker’s perceived dedication to the work.

The role of government in supporting labour and labourers was assessed according to similar visual evidence – of objects, not the process of work – but accounts erected a large barrier between the narrator and workers. Government provisions for working class people in several European countries were commented on or praised by diarists with an air of detached interest. In 1934 in Austria, Bridget Ristori noted: ‘A good idea here – the factory workers are given 3 months leave and money to breast feed their babes’. Bond noticed these measures in a range of places and during different trips. In Stockholm, in 1950:

The blocks of flats seemed innumerable, 7 and 8 storeys high, tho’ the guide said there were 78,000 flats – many had playing grounds for chn. sand to play in, and many had also paddling pools; one had doll’s houses for the children and women to take care of the children, while the mothers worked all day.\(^44\)

In Berne during the same year, she drew attention to a ‘fine day nursery for children of working mothers, saw them eating their mid-day meal from the bus’,\(^45\) and in Amsterdam in 1937 she noted that ‘Wonderful blocks of flats for the working class have also been recently built. For £3 month they can have a flat with 3 bedrooms, sitting and dining rooms and kitchen’. The kind of information Bond and Ristori were reporting here was given to them by guides, rather than being observable, and it focused on governmental policy towards the working classes. These tourists were detached from the work these women were doing; in their accounts the women’s work was simply a necessary precondition which justified the provision of social services for their children and the housing of these families. These workers were the deserving poor. Their indirect observation on the interventionalist social policy of states gives us some insight into a common set of assumptions of the state’s role in providing for its less affluent citizens – services should be provided for the health and wellbeing of children. These observations also show that these tourists did not see themselves as comparable to these workers: they wrote as detached external observers.

Even where tourists saw centralised organisation of amenities for workers in detail and at close range, a focus on official information and the diarist’s own visual observations in their account resulted in the travel diarist making a distinction between themselves and those they watched. Charles Brasch’s description of a day tour of a textile factory he took in the USSR in 1934 emphasised the social experience of the workers in great detail. As he mentioned the

\(^{43}\) Bridget Ristori Tothill Francois, ‘29.7.34’, Diary: Box 1, Vol. 15, 23 July–5 August 1934, p.61, 85-098: ATL.
\(^{44}\) Bond, ‘29th June’, Diary 2, p.83.
\(^{45}\) ibid., ‘22nd Aug.’, p.139.
amenities workers could access – “There are schools for general education and special training attached to it; crèches, a clinic, and special living quarters though many of the workers have their own flats”; “The old parts were shabby the new airy and much better built and pleasanter; we saw also the clinic – free – and the Dining” – he prioritised the official data he had been given:

The factory belonged to a German until the Revolution and had only 1100 odd workers; now – nationalised after the Revolution – it was about 15000 and by the end of next year is to have 20000 – some 80% women: the director (who gets 600 roubles a month), and the representative of the Trade Union also being women. [...] Untrained new workers get a minimum wage of 80 roubles a month; and dresses were shown later cost, in the special shop for workers, 50 or 60 roubles. The average wage was about 150 roubles; engineers and skilled workers got more. [...] Dinner in the factory dining room – on the ground floor and not very attractive – costs about 1 rouble. [...] Men are pensioners (according to their salaries) from 55; for women the age was about the same but varied; those who want to can work longer.47

His own visual observations were dismissive. In addition to his critique of the ‘shabby’ parts of the factory, he criticised the product of the workers’ labour: ‘The finished socks or stockings, dresses that we saw were not of very good quality’.48 Though all these tourists seemed mostly supportive of the government-controlled amenities and rights they described, they expressed no empathy towards and limited awareness of the experience of the workers.

Impersonal concepts of ‘work’ and ‘workers’ were also used as markers of buildings’ or companies’ importance. When Bond visited Berlin, she repeated a range of statistics which reflected scale, one of which was work population:

Saw Martin Luther’s Church 1st Reformed Church, Sieman’s factory employing 120,000 workers passed. Saw the Olympic Stadium, the living quarters of the male and female competitors – the training grounds – swimming pools. Open air theatre seating 20,000. Continuation of Unter den Linden about 19 miles thro park-lands which comprise 600 acres – at one time the hunting grounds of the Kings.49

She seems to have forgotten how many workers were employed by the Bourneville Factory in the North of England, but left a space for the information, so relevant did it seem: ‘Then we called back to Bourneville near Birmingham. Employees number about ...’.50 It is perhaps testimony to the relative invisibility of the workers – regardless of the significance of scale that they represented – that Bond never filled in the blank. Marion Knight also used workforce

48 ibid., p.39.
numbers to indicate the size of Radio City Music Hall in New York, as the last word on her description of the place:

The Radio City Music Hall Lounge and lobby were sumptuous in black with a luxurious twilight effect. We were taken up to the top of the highest building and had quite a good view from there – almost a map-like view of Central Park. We could see the Queen Mary lying alongside her pier. At the base of the building a large plaza used for ice skating in the winter and as a restaurant in the summer. A golden statue of Prometheus forms a fountain there and flower gardens lead down to the plaza. In the entrance hall there is a very remarkable painting on the ceiling depicting the past, present and future and it changes as one moves along beneath it, the figures seeming to turn round. There are 200,000 people working here – a city in itself.\textsuperscript{51}

Diarists – and tour guides or guide books as the presumed source of these figures – used worker numbers as a useful indication of the scale and significance of a particular place. In this sense, workers appeared in travel diaries as ciphers to justify the location of the sites that travellers chose to tour.

When travel diarists did actually lay eyes on workers at their labours, their vision could function to cement their sense of the differences between themselves and the workers they looked upon. Eve Bond described watching Indian laundry workers in Bombay as part of a longer list of observations about Indian cultural practices:

The Hindus have the best method of dealing with their dead and it applies particularly in India where disease and pestilence abound. They cremate their dead in their burning bhat\textsuperscript{s}. We saw a small child being carried by its father for cremation. The Mohammedans bury their dead, all one family being put into one huge grave about four feet deep. The huge open air laundry with hundreds of Hindus working was most interesting. They beat the clothes on stones. The Holy Men or God Men were most repulsive-looking half-demented creatures sitting covered in ashes – they resented our looking at them and it is very fortunate that looks do not kill for one of them rolled his eyes round on us with a most venomous expression possible.\textsuperscript{52}

All was viewed with an air of supreme detachment and authority: Bond wrote about the small dead child being carried by its father (how could she know their relationship?) with less stated interest than she showed in reporting that Hindu laundry workers beat their clothes on stones to clean them. This work behaviour was one observation from a list of cultural practices and sights she considered unusual. The sights of burning bodies and ‘repulsive’ bodies covered in ashes sat in direct contrast to Bond’s repeated preference for cleanliness throughout her diary: these

\textsuperscript{51} Marion Knight, Diary Vol. 1, February–May 1961, pp.86–87, 93/121: AWMML.

\textsuperscript{52} Bond, ‘9th April’, Diary 1, pp.33–34.
people were visually different. She found this difference distasteful; she prefaced the above excerpt with the summary judgement, ‘If Bombay is India, we decided we did not like India’. Soon after this description she forcefully distinguished her behaviour from those she observed. Elon Bond had distributed money to some beggars via ‘money scramble’, a method which alarmed Eve enormously, and her response was instructive: ‘He got his coat so dirty with their filthy hands that it went straight to the laundry’. Bond employed laundry workers; she did not fill their shoes.

Relying on sight often maintained distance between observer and observed even when the travel diarist looked on workers and their labours approvingly. Travel diarists appealed to their visual sense when struck by something out of their ordinary experience. In 1961, Marion Knight was in Yugoslavia, and claimed to be startled by the following vision of women working harder in the fields than men:

We soon came to some quite good farming efforts and at last saw cows grazing but mostly being held on a lead. The men seemed to be doing this easy job while the women worked on the land. Some men were scything down the hay.

In fact, though the observations were Knight’s own, tourist comments on women’s agricultural field work in Europe occurred frequently in both interwar and postwar diaries. Arthur Messenger, in Spain in 1959, and Keith Pike, in Italy in 1962, restricted themselves to complimenting these women on their work: ‘The women work hard here – I see them in the fields carrying heavy loads’.

Saw women working in fields, in fact we saw this all thro’ Europe, sometimes four women and one man.

– They seemed pretty good with pitchforks

Ruth Wix, with her characteristic positivity, commented on the hard work of women workers but also gave male workers some credit when in Germany in 1952:

In the fields all the women with coloured scarves over their heads are hard at work gathering potatoes, drawing handcarts, driving two bullocks or two horses or a bullock and a cow in

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53 ibid., p.31.
54 ibid., p.35.
ploughs or manure carts or wood carts—incessant work and everywhere colour and more colour. I should say that the men are as industrious.\textsuperscript{58}

Bailey noticed a variation on this theme in 1936—‘In one little village we saw half a dozen nuns in work-a-day clothes raking and turning the hay. It seemed so strange!’—as did Knight twenty-five years later.\textsuperscript{59}

Though each of these ‘sights’ was presented organically, as though it had occurred to the diarists as they saw it, the repetition of this observation across so many diaries suggests that diarists were predisposed to notice the gendered division of agricultural labour in Europe. There were examples of women’s agricultural labour being described and discussed in the travel accounts of Canadian tourists, travelling between 1870 and 1930, who were the focus of Cecilia Morgan’s study, many of which were drawn from newspapers.\textsuperscript{60} New Zealand was part of an imperial system of news exchange and syndication, and New Zealand newspapers were supplied with material from throughout the British Empire, including serialised travel narratives.\textsuperscript{61} Of course, Canadians were probably not the only tourists to have noticed women working or to have included their observations about it in their published travel accounts. The consistency of the comments about labouring women in both Canadian and New Zealand accounts suggests that they could function as a performance of British or colonial identity. By repeating the substance of the observations, the diarists aligned themselves with the attitudes of other colonial or imperial actors. They also performed their expectations of what work was appropriate or exceptional for women to perform.

The repetition of a particular sight, however, could dissolve narrative detachment. The repeated viewing of women at work in the fields throughout Europe in 1937 gradually increased Bond’s mental and emotional engagement with the workers she saw. Her comments about women’s relative burden of work during June shifted from fairly neutral observations to outright disgust over the course of the month. At the beginning of a coach trip around Europe, she noted: ‘The women help the men in the fields all over France—even old women’.\textsuperscript{62} She neither consistently praised nor criticised the practice. In Switzerland she seemed to tend towards the complimentary:

\textsuperscript{59} Bailey, ‘Thursday, August 6\textsuperscript{th}, 1936’, Diary 1, Vol. 2, p.211. Knight, ‘Friday [6\textsuperscript{th} July]’, Diary Vol. 4, p.70.
\textsuperscript{62} Bond, ‘29\textsuperscript{th} May’, Diary 1, p.92.
All the way hay-making was going on, the majority of the workers being the women and the girls and all looking very contented and happy with their lot and many waved and smiled cheerfully as we passed.\textsuperscript{63}

In Italy, she became more reflective about women’s possible burdens: ‘Harvesting in full swing and women and girls doing much to help (I couldn’t help hoping the men “leant a hand” with the domestic work!)’\textsuperscript{64} By Czechoslovakia, her critique had become more strident:

And again the work in the fields was being done principally by women. We noticed (with disgust!) that in returning home from the fields the woman carried the load while the “lord of creation” walked idly behind her.\textsuperscript{65}

In Germany, she was openly disdainful of the gendered harvest roles:

And again women working! This time sometimes a team of seven or eight women with one man, and he not bending his back even. It makes us rather furious to think of how those poor things have to work!\textsuperscript{66}

This sight became familiar to her over the month of June, and once this was the case Bond began to project her own cultural expectations about gender, equity and labour onto these agricultural workers. That Bond empathised with the women reflects her own self-identification as a woman. In this case the visual markers of gender allowed her to develop an emotional affinity with these strangers that overrode the language and class barriers – she was the wife of a wealthy businessman – that would have been more apparent had she attempted to speak to these women. For the most part, however, diarists had to draw on more than just their sense of sight in order to justify their empathy for workers portrayed in their diaries. Tourists who reported entering into conversation with workers tended to engage emotionally with their work and working conditions. Verbal means of conveying information were prized in tourists’ accounts; they were seen as a good way of acquiring information. Bailey got talking to her steward on board the Orion as she neared England. She had been informed some days before that tipping of stewards was expected on board, and cried, to her family, ‘how that hurts the heart of a New Zealander’.\textsuperscript{67} Yet to put her tipping into perspective, Bailey recounted the steward’s tale at length:

Two or three mornings ago a Miss Graham and I had quite a chat with our table steward, and you will never believe it, I’m sure, but the stewards themselves have to tip the chefs 10/- or a £1 before they are given anything decent to eat. It was our stewards first trip from England and he said that he could not understand, on the way out, why he always seemed to

\textsuperscript{63} ibid., ‘June 4th’, p.105.
\textsuperscript{64} ibid., ‘14th June’, p.132.
\textsuperscript{65} ibid., ‘28th June’, p.159.
\textsuperscript{66} ibid., ‘30th June’, p.162. Emphasis in original.
get the scraps of meat and sometimes none at all, until one of the other men told him that he had better give the chef his tip or he would soon be left out altogether.\textsuperscript{68}

She went on to describe stewards’ methods of tricking food away from the chefs: asking for an extra boiled egg when a passenger ordered, and hiding it in a bucket of water for mopping the decks; taking uneaten fruit from the passengers’ tables and hiding it about their person or in pre-arranged hiding places. Likewise, Charles Begg spoke to the hairdresser and barber on board the \textit{Aorangi} in 1937, and discovered that they were self-employed and only made what they could ‘take’ from the passengers aboard.\textsuperscript{69} By contrast, Johnston McAra’s 1935 departure from Christchurch was delayed by striking dock workers, who refused to load a final shipment of cheese when some were ‘discharged’ in the morning.\textsuperscript{70} After having travelled on this small boat for several weeks, and being in contact with the sailors, he was told by the Chief Officer how much coal had been shovelled on the voyage. Taking the sailors’ side in an imaginary competition, he took the opportunity to criticise the Cantabrian dock workers he had never spoken with, insinuating that they were lazy: ‘I fancied to myself N.Z. waterside workers handling 8 tons of coal per man per day, which is what it worked out at’.\textsuperscript{71} Recounting conversations as sources of tourist education was one means of taking the worker seriously in these travel diaries.

Of course, conversation was not a panacea, especially when the tourist’s conversation partner was treated as symptomatic of a ‘type’ of work. In these cases, workers’ voices might be used to shore up the conclusions of the travel diarist, rather than being treated as providers of new information. Bruce Godward had such an encounter while in Milan in 1950:

Later I went back to the station stopping to talk with a man who was working on a fine modern building—he spoke a little German and told me that the building was for “the Capitalists”. Like so many of the workingmen of countries where there is no socialism, he was an enthusiastic Communist, and was very pleased over the astonishing victories that the Korean Communists were having over the American forces.\textsuperscript{72}

Godward’s emphasis was on the builder’s failings – he noted that the builder spoke a ‘little German’, rather than pointing out his own inability to speak Italian to this Italian man – and he quickly shifted from the particulars of the conversation to a generalisation about workingmen in other countries. Straight after this passage, he shifted away from the political content of the conversation to wax lyrical about the quality of Italian modernist architecture.\textsuperscript{73} Whether or not

\textsuperscript{68} Bailey, ‘Thursday, April 23\textsuperscript{rd}, 1936’, Diary 1, Vol. 1, p.116.  
\textsuperscript{69} Charles Begg, ‘Thursday April 29\textsuperscript{nd}’, Diary, 17 April–14 September 1937, p.8, Mise-MS-2140: HC.  
\textsuperscript{70} McAra, ‘Friday 31\textsuperscript{st} May 1935’, Diary Vol. 1, p.1.  
\textsuperscript{71} ibid., ‘Sunday 16\textsuperscript{th} June 1935’, p.29.  
\textsuperscript{72} Bruce Godward, ‘The Grand Tour’, Vol. 1, August 1950, pp.8–10, AG-347/001: HC.  
\textsuperscript{73} ibid., pp.10–11.
this was Godward’s intent, he reduced this worker to a colourful anecdote on the side of the inanimate object in which he was more interested.

For the most part, however, travel diarists mentioned conversations between themselves and others as a precursor to their empathetic reflections upon working life. It was also through conversation that tourists came to diagnose those they met with that particularly modern ailment ‘overwork’. Wix, with a mixture of sympathy and irritation, characterised someone she met in Jersey in 1953 as:

A most superior and cynical youngish Colonial administrator from Kuala Lumpur, suffering from a mixture of conceit, malaria, overwork, and loneliness and the old school tie, trying but quite amusing.

Bond eulogised a relative of hers, whose widow she visited in 1950:

Have visited Jim Weir's wife and found her just pitifully frail. We were amazed to see his Jim's plate still on the door “Dr. James Weir Physician and Surgeon” and he's been dead 2 ½ years. He really suffered a lot from overwork during the bombing. They were bombed out of their home but just stayed on without any windows or doors, sleeping in the basement on deck chairs. Jim wd. not leave his patients.

In both cases the experience of work was attributed to the physical result (death) or to the bodies or personalities of the worker, but the diarists themselves had not viewed the labour process personally. Their insights into the cause of these worn-down and fatigued bodies came from the contents of conversations they had.

Travel diarists were also more likely to feel empathy for workers with very different jobs from theirs when they inserted their own bodies into work sites. Grace Vincent, in Wales during 1948, took a hands-on approach to experiencing industrial production by touring a subterranean coal mine, and was primarily interested in what it was like to work underground. She described vividly the sensations – the feeling of a ‘current of air’ moving past her, having to walk ‘bent double’, her ears drumming, and the sight of pit stone which ‘looked like granite’ – and she imagined the ‘terrible dust’ which she expected was normally present, when miners were using rather than repairing the equipment. She found miners’ working conditions difficult and dirty:

75 Wix Wilson, ‘Saturday Boxing Day’, Diary 5, p.4.
When we came up after being down below for nearly 3 hours – it was lovely to be in the fresh air and to be able to stand upright – once more – we were as black as niggers. So we washed our hands and faces which really it was impossible to clean.78

Ultimately, she felt that the trip was transformative and gave her insight into miners’ experiences, expressing considerable sympathy for miners in general:

I think in future I shall never burn a piece of coal without thinking of all the effort that is required to get it – and really we may complain about the miners and their strikes – but I think if everyone had to go down a mine and to the (face) just once in their lives then we would have a lot more sympathy and understanding for the men who spend their lives underground.79

Placing her body in the same positions and similar contexts to these miners – hearing and feeling the effects of their environment – was the catalyst for Vincent’s empathetic response to coal miners.

When other workers intruded upon their space, the physical proximity and potential for conversation might not stave off their characterisation as interlocutors. When Kathleen Bailey arrived in England in 1936, she quickly grew accustomed to having live-in housekeepers (her brother John and sister-in-law Margaret employed a series of them). During a changeover period between household staff, Margaret and Kathleen cleaned the house one morning. Bailey explained her feelings:

I made beds and hoovered the floors until I was sick of it while Margaret got this couple’s room [the new housekeeper and butler] ready downstairs and did the necessary ordering. To make matters worse we had a carpenter in the kitchen doing work on a new wall cupboard. So when lunchtime came, and he was not finished, I had to go ahead and scramble us some eggs right under his nose.80

Bailey seemed concerned about the propriety of cooking in front of the carpenter, as well as finding it inconvenient for him to have inhabited the kitchen while she was trying to cook. Any conversation or other interaction between them has been left out of her description; all that is depicted is Bailey’s sense of awkwardness. Bond had increasingly projected her point-of-view onto female agricultural workers she never spoke to, with no prospect of miscommunication getting in the way of her interpretations; Bailey was in close proximity with this carpenter but the social and occupational differences between the two of them and the ways their jobs were at odds led to this moment of embarrassment. Physical proximity to work spaces, in this case, led to her

78 Vincent, ‘Sun: June 6th’, Diary, p.84.
79 ibid., pp.83–84.
resisting emotional connection with household staff. She never spoke about other staff except to say when it was their day off and the ways that was inconvenient for her or for Margaret and John.\(^{81}\)

**Working Holidays**

Some workers were not sought out by tourists so as to introduce them to work outside their experience, provide them with an anecdote or object lesson, or to use as metonyms for power. Some were sought out to provide tourists themselves with work. Many tourists worked while travelling abroad, and through their own paid employment some engaged with other workers as equals or subordinates. Some worked in order to finance their travels. Bailey’s savings, the generosity of her brother, and working abroad provided the funds for her to remain in Europe for almost two years in the 1930s, and Louise Sutherland (a nurse) and Arthur Messenger (a former salesman, with a keen interest in engines and motor racing) both worked out of some necessity as they travelled in the 1950s. In other cases, work provided the impetus for the travel, though the diarist did much else besides working while abroad. Among this group were several teachers – Wellington-based retired schoolteacher Ruth Wix (who represented New Zealand at an international conference in Sweden in 1953), Nancy Laurenson, who went to Canada to teach in 1955, and the unnamed London-bound schoolteacher from Hamilton in 1959–1960 – and a diverse range of other professions. Mission worker (and masseuse) Millicent Boor went to Fiji in 1924; Labour politician Edwin Howard visited South Africa in 1924 and London in 1937 on state business; librarian C. W. Collins went to the United States in 1932; anthropologist Sir Peter Buck spent some months of 1934 collecting ethnological material in the Pacific; the Dunedin music store owner Charles Begg visited the United States and Europe in 1937; actor Redmond Phillips headed for England in 1948; and dairy scientist Walter Whittlestone also went to the United States in 1949. Some tourists took brief opportunities to learn new ideas or processes which would assist the development of their profession or business in New Zealand. Eve Bond’s husband Elon used some of the time they spent abroad on their five overseas holidays to meet business contacts and acquire materials and expertise for his two companies, as did their son and employee Bryce when he accompanied them with his wife in 1953. According to Eve, Bryce’s motivations for coming abroad were business-related, as she reflected shortly before he and Marjorie headed to the United States together: ‘Bryce has had so much business to attend to, that they have had all too little time together round the town. Still, he came on business-bent’.\(^{82}\) Other tourists’ travels were heavily influenced by their profession: they sought out particular experiences because their interest had been piqued by experiences they had had in their working

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lives. The working holiday in the mid-twentieth century was diverse; it did not stem from the advent of the working holiday visa scheme. The range of responses to foreign workers reflects such diversity, and by looking at the ways tourists worked abroad, we gain some insight into the ways that working holidays added value to travel diarists’ lives, and ways their tourism was inflected by their occupations.

The financial security of tourists varied enormously. The idea that some tourists worked out of necessity – Louise Sutherland was so low on funds she ended up entering a television quiz show to finance her voyage from New York to London in 1955 (which, fortunately for her, she won, just covering the cost of the passage) – might disrupt our expectations of travellers in the past. Before World War II, in particular, travellers are usually presumed to have been far wealthier than the tourists of today. The master narrative about unforced international movement, as told by scholars including Paul Fussell, contends that travelling used to be ‘exclusive’, for those who were intrepid, brave, and often rich (or well-funded by rich patrons), until it gradually became more democratised, cheaper – and cheapened. This process of democratisation, which was complete by the end of the Second World War, redefined those who travelled as ‘all tourists’. Travellers had become extinct because the conditions which had made their practices possible had been removed. Fussell dates the decisive shift from ‘travel’ to ‘tourism’ at the outbreak of World War II. Given that New Zealand was still a four to six week boat trip away from the United Kingdom between 1919–1963 (if that was where the traveller was heading), it does seem reasonable to assume that tourists would have to be fairly wealthy to afford such a long time away from work, and to pay for such lengthy accommodation and service. Yet the diaries suggest it was possible to do so without enormous personal wealth, both before and after the war.

These travel diaries suggest that there is an unacknowledged history of diverse – but modest – travel by ordinary people. Some diarists travelled on little money, keeping records of their expenditure inside their travel diaries, as we saw in Chapter One. Arthur Messenger was the most rigorous. On almost every page in his 1957 diary he notes a cost of living. Most strikingly, he laboriously priced and totalled the amount of money he would need to spend to restore a

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83 A working holiday visa system was established between New Zealand and the United Kingdom following the British Immigration Act of 1971, which removed the previously-existing right of any Commonwealth citizen to live in the United Kingdom. Working holiday visa schemes were set up subsequently with other countries, including Japan, Canada, Malaysia and Ireland. Jude Wilson, “Unpacking” the OE: An Exploration of the New Zealand “Overseas Experience”, PhD thesis, Lincoln University, Christchurch, 2006, pp.66–71.

84 This was reported in a number of places, e.g., ‘Around the World on a Bicycle: Amazing Adventures of Fearless N.Z. Nurse’, New Zealand Truth, 10 March 1959, p.35. Sutherland kept scrapbooks of clippings of news reports from New Zealand and all over the world (MS-2882/149 and MS-2882/150: HC) many of which repeat this story (though the papers she sourced them from have not always been preserved).

85 Paul Fussell, Abroad: British Literary Travelling Between the Wars, New York, 1980, pp.41–42.

second-hand car he purchased in England.\textsuperscript{87} Henrietta Rothwell, travelling with her sister Lil in 1927, was similarly careful with her money. She found that they could not afford the amount of baggage they had taken with them:

We have a large suitcase we are going to send back to N.Z. It costs so much for carriage that we are going to wear things out and buy new.\textsuperscript{88}

She also reported a cost-saving culture among the passengers on board the ship she took out of Sydney: ‘Some people made their own tea for supper – and most folk will make aft. tea’.\textsuperscript{89}

Likewise, the occupational diversity of these tourists is far greater than we might expect. There have been several studies of antipodean expatriates’ work abroad, all focussing on those in the creative arts. Stephen Alomes has focused on the experiences of artists, writers, dancers and musicians, and Angela Woollacott’s study of Australian women abroad describes the experience of a group of women who had a professional impact on Australia, predominantly artists, models, actors, singers, musicians or writers.\textsuperscript{90} The narrative of New Zealand creative artists having to go abroad to develop their art is also common.\textsuperscript{91} Fussell’s work – and that of most scholars who focus on travel writing – takes writers and writing as its subject, though in terms of content, not to discuss producing-writing-as-labour.\textsuperscript{92} Charles Brasch was a writer, and Redmond Phillips and Miles Greenwood were actors, but among the other diarists were a banker, doctor, ethnographer, politician, scientist, librarian, art therapist, lawyer, masseuse, typist, and weaver, and several nurses, teachers, and farmers. These travel diaries and the professions and employments of the diarists who wrote them broaden the scope of what tourists did in exchange for money while abroad.

Tourists’ occupations influenced some of their choices of tourist activities. Many tourists visited places of work which had personal significance or correlation to their professions, and made particular comment about things in which they themselves had some expertise. Keith Pike, a former banker, visited people he knew through banking and visited various banks to meet staff, and also commented often on places in terms of their banks: ‘We think Sydney is a wonderful

\textsuperscript{87} Messenger, ‘Saturday 26 October’, Diary, 1957, p.103.
\textsuperscript{88} Henrietta Rothwell, ‘Feb 2\textsuperscript{nd}’, Diary Vol. 2, 2–6 February 1927, p.6, MSC 249: HCL.
\textsuperscript{89} ibid., pp.4–5.
\textsuperscript{91} Woollacott, \textit{To Try Her Fortune in London}, pp.207–221.
\textsuperscript{92} See, for instance, Michael King, \textit{The Penguin History of New Zealand}, Auckland, 2003, p.319, where he talks of the ‘exodus of much of the nation’s talent, which went abroad throughout this era [post-World War I] in search of more fertile soil in which to flourish.’ King also talks of the ‘exodus’ of scientists as well as of artists.
\textsuperscript{93} Steve Clark, ‘Introduction’, in Steve Clark, ed, \textit{Travel Writing and Empire}, London, 1999, reflects the dominance for analysts of travel writing of the text-as-it-exists, rather than the process of creating the text, in his argument that post-colonial analysis is not the only way of approaching travel writing. He argues that ‘The overall intention of this volume is not to reclaim travel writing for the literary, in opposition to the political, but rather to qualify and extend the insights of post-colonial criticism into its broader hegemonic functions’, p.28. Both the political – what the writer stood for and the consequences of the publication of the text (how it affected people’s attitudes and political policy) – and the ‘literary’, the words themselves, are ultimately content-focussed approaches to the texts.
City. I was struck by the large numbers of banks’.\textsuperscript{93} Charles Begg, owner of music store Begg’s in Dunedin, regularly noted store design, service and stock. In Fiji, he observed that ‘Burns Philip and Co.’s premises and shop are large of three or four stories, and their windows displayed modern goods as attractively as one could expect anywhere in the world’.\textsuperscript{94} By contrast, in Honolulu, he claimed:

Refrigerators and radio were well represented in the shops, but did not see any shop selling general drapery that from the outside greatly impressed. Many of the shops were small and even insignificant, judged by our standards, and none of them seemed to make a great feature of window display.\textsuperscript{95}

He wrote at length about the shopping culture and display in Los Angeles several pages later, which will be discussed in further detail in Chapter Four.\textsuperscript{96} The Bonds, who owned both Bond & Bond (a chain of stores originally established in Silverdale, north of Auckland, in the nineteenth century) and Choysa Tea, which Elon had founded as an ‘own brand’ tea for the Bond & Bond stores, commented on the tea service and quality while abroad, and were particularly fascinated by modern factory production, as the business moved into appliance sales as well as foodstuffs.\textsuperscript{97}

Tourists also visited workplaces specifically in order to compare them to those at home, intending to learn about alternative ways things could be done. Rather than seeing an idealised past in the work displays, they looked to a more perfect future. The unnamed Hamilton school teacher who visited England from 1959–1960 visited several schools, interested in the quality and the modernity of the teaching practice there.\textsuperscript{98} Being abroad gave some people the freedom to enter workplaces as they probably would not have done at home. There was little sense of competition between businesses if one was supplying Chicagoans and one was supplying Aucklanders, for instance, and visits seemed welcome. Begg, for one, also visited many stores in a formal capacity and made a range of business contacts.\textsuperscript{99} The Bonds were hosted on several occasions in the homes of people they knew through work connections.\textsuperscript{100} This work tourism could broaden the experiences of tourists who entered workplaces, and is an obvious way in which the fruits of travel could find their way into the lives of other New Zealanders who had

\textsuperscript{93} Pike, ‘Sunday 1 November’, Diary 1, p.20.
\textsuperscript{94} Begg, ‘Saturday April 24\textsuperscript{th}’, Diary, p.4.
\textsuperscript{95} ibid., ‘Saturday May 1\textsuperscript{st}’, p.10.
\textsuperscript{96} ibid., ‘Thursday May 5\textsuperscript{th}’, p.15.
\textsuperscript{97} Bond showed particular interest in factory production, for example, ‘25\textsuperscript{th} March’, ‘7\textsuperscript{th} April’, ‘19\textsuperscript{th} Aug.’, Diary 1, pp.16, 27, 222–223, but in other diaries also.
\textsuperscript{99} Begg, especially ‘Saturday May 1\textsuperscript{st}’, Diary, p.10.
\textsuperscript{100} Bond, ‘18\textsuperscript{th} May’–’20\textsuperscript{th} May’, Diary 2, pp.38–41; Bond, ‘2\textsuperscript{nd} May’–’3\textsuperscript{rd} May’, ‘6\textsuperscript{th} May’, Diary 5, 28 April–31 May 1961, pp.6–8, 8–11, Private Collection.
never left the country. Learning from the practices of others in areas like store design, merchandise display, service cultures, and teaching methods, as well as being exposed to new products which could then be imported into and sold within New Zealand, probably had a concrete impact on many more New Zealanders than those who travelled abroad in this period.

Professionally, travelling allowed tourists some fluidity and flexibility of employment. Working abroad gave some of these travellers an opportunity to try new kinds of employment or to return to earlier professions. When Bailey worked at the Electric Lighting Co., she did so in an administrative capacity, working in the correspondence department, ‘to which any of the heads of the various departments may come and dictate a letter’. This was not dissimilar to her employment in New Zealand; she described the work as ‘nothing out of the ordinary’. She did not seem to have had prior experience as an _au pair_, however. As the third of five children, Bailey may not have had a lot of recent contact with children in general. This was also the job to which she devoted the most diary time — it was full of new experiences for her, of which she kept note. Buck, rather than trying out new kinds of employment during his voyage through the Tuamotu atolls as an anthropologist, was asked several times to revert to an earlier profession. He had been a doctor, serving in that capacity in World War I, and was often called upon to give medical advice or treatment by the people whose cultures he had come to study. In Magareva, for instance,

> In the late afternoon, I had some time with John Mamatu'i and he wanted me to have a look at a grown up son of his who has been sickly for some time.

He was also asked for assistance by people with whom he had less of a direct relationship:

> I have been inveigled into seeing a patient through the begging of a loving mother relayed through Madame Brisson. The patient, a girl of 22 and the daughter of the owner of the locally built schooner, has had trouble with her menses and was in considerable pain. Madame Brisson accompanied me to the house as she does quite a lot of relief work amongst these people. I took the patient’s temperature which always has a comforting effect to the relatives as well as the patient. All I could do was to recommend hot applications, a hot water bottle (a glass bottle) to the feet, and the taking of a couple of cascara pills which I provided from my stock.

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102 _ibid._
103 Bailey stayed with her eldest brother, Ernest E. Bailey (known as John or Jack, 1907–1956), in London. The rest of her family were Alfred Aston (1908–1986), then Kathleen (1910–1983), Marie Eileen (1912–1930) and Douglas Claude (1916–1985). Though ‘Doug’ was more than five years younger than Kathleen, he was 20–21 while she was abroad: it had been some years since there was a child in the Bailey house.
104 Peter Buck, ‘September 3<sup>rd</sup> Monday’, Diary, 28 August–7 November 1934, p.10, qMS-0294: ATL.
105 _ibid._, ‘November 2<sup>nd</sup> Friday’, p.40. Cascara pills are made from the bark of a shrub, _Rhamnus purshiana_, and were typically used as a laxative.
Others developed new careers as a result of their experiences working abroad. Sutherland, the successful quiz show participant, had trained as a nurse in Oamaru. She left for England in 1948, soon beginning an enormous cycling tour of the world over six years, stopping for nursing work when she ran out of money. As an Italian newspaper article, originally published in Trento and reprinted in Dunedin’s *Evening Star* in the middle of her journey, put it:

We learned something more about this phenomenon in petticoats, so knowledgeable in geography, so enviably expert in organisation. You must know that Louise has not a brass farthing in her pocket. Yet she gets along very well. A nurse by profession, she is making for Jerusalem to take up a post at a large hospital there...106

Sutherland eventually published books of her travels, printing and selling some herself, and became a public speaker about various aspects of her travels, as well as, in the 1970s, an advocate and fundraiser for many of the peoples she met who were living in poverty in Peru and the Amazon. Travelling meant that she worked in her profession across a range of countries and cultures, but, also in order to finance her travels, she gave interviews on radio, television and in newspapers in the towns at which she stopped. Sometimes this was lucrative – in Toronto in October 1955 she noted, ‘Did 2 radio tapes and a T.V. got 25$ for it’ – but other times she made little money. These experiences prepared her for her later fundraising efforts.107

Expectations around employment could shift, as in Kathleen Bailey’s case. By 1950, when she returned to travel diary writing to record a trip with her mother to England, Bailey was no longer a typist; she owned a garden shop. Working experiences abroad could lead to a career change which in turn might affect the ideas of non-travelling New Zealanders, as Sutherland’s experiences nursing in Hong Kong and in South America led to her increased activism and publicising of their plight within New Zealand.

Looking at the employment of these diarists adds so much to our picture of travel before the jet age. The diaries, viewed together, complicate the widespread assumptions that travel prior to the 1960s was inaccessible to all but cultural or business elites, or that it was just creative artists whose professional lives were altered or developed by overseas travel. These diarists bring to light hints of a more diverse, more democratised, more labour-filled form of travel experience in the pre-jet age. Diarists worked amidst their other touristic activities for reasons ranging from

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106 ‘Italian Newspaper has Feature Story of Nurse from Dunedin’, *Evening Star*, 3 January 1952, p.5.
necessity to interest, stemming from a desire to assist their relatives or to develop new skills. Some diarists brought bits and pieces of their overseas work experiences home with them and allowed them to influence their future careers; others drew on professional knowledge they had not used in some time. Some travelled with work as a prominent goal or motivation for their tourism, shaping parts of their itineraries around information gathering. ‘Work’ had a broad remit, however; these travel diarists described many things in terms of work. More surprisingly, perhaps, these tourists frequently conceived of their tourism as a kind of work, in order to meet the duties they or others imposed upon them. Many other tasks were also understood as work, from knitting to gardening to shopping. Theories which posit strong differences between work and leisure do not help us to make sense of this nomenclature or the strong sense that tourists demonstrated that tasks they performed abroad were difficult, effortful and important. They also do not account for moments when tourism bled into employment, or where tourists’ professions informed their touristic interests: where the Bonds’ visit to a tea factory, drawn by their professional and personal connection with tea, led to Elon Bond unexpectedly purchasing a tea machine for his business; where Keith Pike’s banking career motivated him to visit banks in Sydney even after he had retired, because his interest in the sector remained.108

Once we recognise the many ways that work and leisure intersected within these travel diaries, we can contextualise ways diarists understood their own work and the labours of others. The senses diarists referred to in their accounts of foreign work displays were correlated with their ability to empathise with foreign workers. The more of their senses they mentioned engaging, the more sympathetic the account. However, their responses to workers were shaped by a huge range of factors. Tourist expectations about what they would see of work abroad and how it might differ or be similar from home played a role in their interpretations. The extent to which they were willing to recognise similarities between themselves and others’ working bodies – and the lines of class, race, gender, religion or occupation that they were or were not willing to cross in order to do so – were significant. As Chapter Five argues, these travel diarists were typically more willing to display empathy towards or ‘read’ the emotions of animals or landscapes than other people they encountered, but a number of them wrote with empathy about workers from utterly different backgrounds from their own. Next, though, we turn to another common activity of these travel diarists which has also been underexplored in travel scholarship: tourist interactions with religion. As with their impressions of workplaces and workers, tourists’ impressions of and engagements with religion are diverse and complex, and tell us much about both religion’s place in New Zealand society over the period, and its importance for tourists.

CHAPTER THREE

‘We felt that we, too, were pilgrims, as of yore’: Religion and Tourism

Eve Bond had been travelling through Canada and the United States for almost two months when she and her husband embarked from New York on the Queen Elizabeth, headed for England. Religious practice was much on Bond’s mind when she wrote:

Called to Church with the chiming bells as in the “Aorangi” and the people just flocked to Church. Seating was arranged with chairs as close as comfortable and the huge lounge was full. The ship’s organist (on Hammond organ) played “Jesu, Joy of Man’s Desiring”. Bach for the opening voluntary! Ship’s crew well represented in uniform, stewardesses nurses and all, but they did not march in, as in the “Aorangi” – just straggled in – but they came, wh. was the main thing. Captain took the service.

The discussion at lunch table, Mr. MacGregor told of the large church attendances they have and about the work done by able men in the congregation, in young people’s organisations. They have a large choir of 100 members in all grades with good attendances at practises and church. Mrs White said all the Pres Churches in Canada and U.S.A. seemed to be undergoing a revival in churchgoing. We had Mr Spackman and a friend up from Tourist class in the afternoon and he was telling of the very large congregation at First Church, New York (Pres.) He was amazed to see the huge church full to over flowing. Mr and Mrs Featherstone who came on the “Queen” the night we embarked (they were only visitors and we had met them on “Aorangi”) said they had been to yet another Church in N.Y. and told the same story of a full Church, splendid choir and very good preacher. It filled us with wonder and we wished we in N.Z. cd. experience such a “come back” when everyone wd. come and fill up our empty pews. Our population is smaller but then so are our churches, so they ought to be full.1

Christian practice was central to Western tourist transportation in the mid-twentieth century. Not only did the Captain on commercial lines such as Cunard, which owned the Queen Elizabeth, have charge of the ship, he also had charge of the souls on board. New Zealanders’ travel diaries are full of accounts of shipboard church services, almost always read by the Captain, except in separate services for Roman Catholics.2 Passengers were not required to attend, though as this

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2 For instance, see Kathleen Bailey, ‘8th March – Sunday’, ‘Monday [9 March]’, ‘Sunday April 19th 1936’, Diary 1, Vol. 1, 6 March–2 May 1936, pp.8, 10, 112, 95/15: AWMMML. On p.112 she indicated that three more priests had come on board her ship in the Mediterranean, and therefore there were to be three Masses held on board that day.
passage shows, many did. Deck games and sports were suspended on Sundays on some ships, so passengers could observe a day of (relative) rest. However, like tourists who worked, religious practice has been frequently polarised or excluded over the last forty years when speaking and writing about tourism. Sociologist Dean MacCannell repeatedly presented tourism as though it is and was a substitute for religious feeling, and implied that modernity had made religious practices obsolete. MacCannell claimed that ‘tourist attractions are precisely analogous to the religious symbolism of primitive peoples’, and that ‘throughout the world, churches, cathedrals, mosques, and temples are being converted from religious to touristic functions’. Literary scholar Kasia Boddy also played off the religious traveller, the pilgrim, against the tourist, claiming that the latter moves with ‘no specific destination in mind and does all he can to avoid any physical, far less psychic, disturbance’. Religious leaders have also made these distinctions. In the 1970s the Greek Orthodox Church saw tourism as a threat to religion, recommending to its adherents the prayer: ‘Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on the cities, the islands and the villages of this Orthodox Fatherland, as well as the holy monasteries which are scourged by the worldly touristic wave’. Robert Runcie, former Archbishop of Canterbury, coined the aphorism: ‘In the middle ages people were tourists because of their religion, whereas now they are tourists because tourism is their religion’.

At least two impulses or ideas are at play in these distinctions between tourists and the religious: the idea that pilgrimage has been superseded by tourism, and the idea that religious feeling was disappearing or threatened in the modern era, regardless of how ‘modern’ is defined. Though pilgrimages are still embarked upon today (Muslims are expected to travel to Mecca, for example), and overlap with and exist alongside tourism, tourism has been frequently conceptualised as fundamentally irreligious, secular and unholy by definition. In part this seems to be due to the close associations between tourism and modernity by scholars and non-scholars alike, and the corresponding inverse correlation which has been drawn between religious adherence and modernity. Tourism has too often been seen as modern, and ‘thus’ antithetical to religious feeling.

8 Another example is the Camino de Santiago de Compostela: in the present day adventure tourists walk alongside those who travel the route in homage to Saint James. Even the most secular and fitness focussed websites about walking the Camino take for granted that participants will attend the Pilgrim Mass at the Cathedral dedicated to St. James in Santiago at the end of their walk. For example: http://caminodesantiagoguide.org/history/credentials-and-compostela (Accessed 20 February 2012).
In fact, religion was involved in modern tourism in many ways, from its origins through to the end of the period this thesis covers, and tourism was no less ‘modern’ for it. Some of the most persistent features of contemporary tourism emerged from the mid-nineteenth century, in particular the guided package tour popularised by Thomas Cook, and the guidebook industry. This tourist industry was ‘modern’ – using new transportation technologies and industrialised planning, catering for increasing numbers of middle class tourists – but religion was not absent from either. Prior to establishing his organised tour business, Cook was a Baptist preacher and wrote and distributed temperance pamphlets; his first organised tour was in 1841, when he set up special trains to transport people to a temperance rally. The moral character of his company also positively affected its popularity with women, who maintained their respectability on chartered Cook’s tours. Popular guidebooks by Karl Baedeker and John Murray from the 1860s onwards contained surveys on religion, and recommended churches and sites of worship. Ships, as we have seen, provided for the Christian practice of their passengers. As historian Cecilia Morgan observed in her history of modern Anglo-Canadian tourists to Europe, ‘The modernity that [...] was central to transatlantic tourism did not preclude them from dwelling on spiritual matters and their religious heritage’.

Yet Bond’s description of the conversations which followed church service on the Queen Elizabeth seem to suggest a falling-off of Christian religious feeling by New Zealanders by the beginning of the 1950s. Callum Brown has argued convincingly that the distinction which has been drawn between modernity and religious adherence and belief is a result of historians focussing too closely on church attendance figures and on the rhetoric of churchmen, who began preaching that religion was in permanent decline in the early nineteenth century. It is not surprising, then, that the Bonds were both attuned to the sight of absent pews and ‘filled with wonder’ at the thought of religious revival, more than a century after secularisation theories – which typically measured adherence by church attendance – had become de rigueur. Bond explicitly drew parallels between the number of people in a church service and the revival of religious sentiment several times in this passage: the presence of the stewardesses and nurses was ‘the important thing’ rather than their engagement or attentiveness, the full lounge was a good sign, the overflowing churches she and others had witnessed in North America were cause for

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10 ibid., p.58.
11 ibid., p.75.

joy; the signs she had of religious decline at home were the ‘empty pews’ of ‘our churches’. Bond had imbibed the religious views and definitions of religious adherence of the Western Christian churches of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. New Zealanders’ attendance at church, and the role of churches in society have likewise attracted the focus and attention of the majority of religious historians in New Zealand.14

The travel diaries discussed in this thesis clearly reflect the Christianity-inflected culture of their authors: religious services on passenger steamers did not impose Christian practice on a secularised population.15 Rather, they allowed modern tourists to continue their religious practices while away from home. Of all the diarists discussed in this thesis, only the Hamilton schoolteacher disclaimed religious adherence and church attendance, was uninterested in visiting religious sites while abroad, and wrote nothing about religious ideas or religious symbols.16 The remainder all expressed some form of religious awareness, whether affiliated with Catholicism, Anglicanism, Presbyterianism, Methodism, or Judaism. Sybil Mulvany, Kathleen Bailey, and Bridget Ristori Tothill were Catholic. The largest proportion of diarists was Anglican: Hugh Acland, Millicent Boor, Henrietta Rothwell, Peter Buck, Charles Begg, Miles Greenwood, Grace Vincent, Jill Hobbs, Arthur Messenger, Keith Pike, and Marion Knight. Eve Bond and Johnston McAra were Presbyterian, Walter Whittlestone was Methodist, and Charles Brasch, Henry Brash and Dora de Beer – relatives of one another – were Jewish. A few diarists were vague about their denominational affiliations. Edwin Howard, C. W. Collins, Bruce Godward, Louise Sutherland, Nancy Laurenson and Ruth Wix all attended church services at various points during their travels, and expressed opinions about religious practice, but did not make the specific tenets of their faiths explicit in their diaries.17 Redmond Phillips had cross-sectarian heritage: an Irish


15 To an extent, they imposed a Christian worldview onto non-Christian tourists. For the three Jewish travel diarists in this thesis, however, this was nothing unexpected or unusual. As Charles Brasch wrote in his autobiography, Indirections: A Memoir 1909–1947, Wellington, 1980, p.17, ‘What I knew of Christianity came from the scraps I picked up, and of Judaism I knew nothing at all; no one in our family circle went either to church or to synagogue.’ Brasch’s upbringing made him more familiar with Christianity and eastern-inspired religions. He mentioned, pp.15–16, his grandmother’s theosophical interests leading to ‘the only formal religious instruction I had as a child’, he attended an Anglican kindergarten and a Presbyterian primary school (p.56), and he regularly went to church as a part of his high school education, p.63. While travelling, Brasch visited churches of his own accord as historical and architectural sights (for instance, ‘Monday 27th [August]’, ‘Tuesday 28th’, ‘Thursday 30th’, ‘Saturday 1st [September]’, ‘Sunday 2nd’, ‘Wednesday 5th’, Diary, 18 August–11 September 1934, pp.26, 29, 33, 46, 51, 52, 60, 85, MS-0996-009/003: HC).

16 Anonymous school teacher, Diary, 7 December 1959–31 December 1960, MS 219: HCL.

17 Though the details of their preferred sect are unclear, it is highly unlikely any of these six tourists were Catholic; the services they attended by choice were Protestant. Godward worked at a Quaker hospital in York for quarter of a century. He was quite positive towards Catholic individuals he encountered, but also clearly distinguished himself
Catholic father and an English Protestant mother. Diarists also reflected more fringe belief systems. Though nominally Anglican, Rothwell was highly taken with alternative spirituality. She reported having ‘historical’ visions at places she considered holy, met with a prominent Spiritualist in Melbourne, acquiring from him letters of introduction to one of the most famous Spiritualists of all, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, and described having her tarot cards read without scepticism.

To a modest degree, this chapter brings Jewish New Zealanders’ responses into the same conversation as those of Christian New Zealanders, which is rare in extant scholarship. The overwhelming focus of religious historians in New Zealand has been on Christian churches, and this characterises influential contributions to the historical literature. John Stenhouse and Jane Thomson’s edited collection of essays on religion in New Zealand contains one chapter on Judaism in Dunedin in the nineteenth century, but the chapters in the collection are discrete, not comparative or cumulative. Monographs have also been produced on Jewish experience in New Zealand, but the focus of these texts has not been comparative with Gentile experiences or ideas. The Braschs and de Beer did not attend synagogue in any of their diary descriptions, by contrast to some Christian travellers who were frequent churchgoers, and thus Jewish and Gentile experience cannot be compared in that way here. Instead, their diaries reflect the dominance of Christian culture within New Zealand at the time, and contribute to the group of New Zealand travellers who were highly aware and interested in the details of both Christian and non-Christian faiths.

from predicaments like that of two Australian Catholic tourists he met in Venice: ‘Both were in a turmoil of changing ideas—they had always looked on Italy as a sort of spiritual-home-on-earth, and now they were here they found that they were much more British than they were Catholic, and they were beginning to wonder if they were going to get out of Italy without serious mishap’ (Robert Bruce Godward, ‘Grand Tour Volumn [sic] 2’, August 1950, p.133, AG-347/002: HC).

Phillips wrote about the tensions—religious, national, but most particularly class—between the sides of his family in an unpublished autobiography, kept with his travel diaries in the Mitchell Library, Sydney: Redmond Phillips, Unpublished memoirs of his family and of Reefton, n.d., MLMSS 6936/1: ML. He was not an active church-goer, according to his travel diary, but his writing remained inflected by religion. Criticising some people he met in Wellington in 1948, he said ‘these are not the kind of people I greatly care for. They seem to live completely aimless existences, and money and possessions their God.’ (Redmond Phillips, ‘Sat. Jan. 31st’, Diary, 8 January–15 May 1948, p.6, MLMSS 6936/1: ML.)


Delowe, pp.37–38, notes that the percentage of Jewish population in relation to New Zealand’s total population was 0.2% between 1926 and 1966.
These diarists’ church memberships did not replicate in miniature the proportion of adherents of different faiths in New Zealand at the time. The Methodist and Baptist churches, major Christian sects in New Zealand, have little representation here, though some diarists clearly had attended Methodist or Baptist services before travelling, and some did so while travelling. Thus, as in the rest of the thesis, the conclusions in this chapter neither aim to be exhaustive nor fully representative of New Zealanders. However, the most general conclusion one can draw from these diaries – that New Zealand was not overwhelmingly ‘secular’ in this period – is consistent with the research of several historians. John Stenhouse has published many articles analysing religious practice and adherence by New Zealanders in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, especially in Otago, and has analysed through some striking case studies ways in which religion mattered to many ordinary people, especially women. A gendered divide is discernible in these travel diaries also: far more women than men wrote in detail about religious feeling and religious ceremony. Alison Clarke’s studies of New Zealanders’ practices of popular ritual and baptism, marriage and funerary customs have expanded our understanding of ways in which Christian practices could continue regardless of formal or consistent church attendance. She also indicated that Christian values were present even in New Zealand’s ‘secular’ school system. Children were exposed to information about Christianity even if their parents were not devout. Toby Harper has produced an in-depth study of the religious discourses in 1920s public life, adding considerable complexity to our understanding of the ways in which Christianity and ‘the Christian’ were used and understood in the period. This chapter charts some expressions of that religious culture, but adds to this picture by engaging with some ways in which those expressions changed over the course of the mid-twentieth century.

This chapter journeys with travel diarists outside Christian churches, into temples, synagogues, and mosques, and to places not set aside for worship. Next, we enter churches in company with both interwar and postwar diarists. The focus is the many ways that these tourists understood and related to the holy, and the ways religious adherence influenced their tourism. Itineraries were shaped by tourists’ religious interests, some diarists focussing their sightseeing around visiting certain churches and religious sites. Different religious expectations and various forms of belief informed diarists’ understanding of various church buildings; tourists’ responses

26 ibid., p.128.
to Christian churches were heavily informed by a sectarian divide between Protestant and Catholic. The religious rituals of tourists were in some cases shaped by the opportunities and limitations of being in certain places. Church rituals in new places could elicit surprise or attract notice, and national and imperial trends and ideas were often tied up with religious expectation and religious histories of place. Some diarists used religious language to describe places they encountered abroad, rhetorically emphasising their spiritual sensitivity and their emotional response to environments and histories. The religious beliefs and expectations of these tourists were integrated into their travel experiences in many ways and beyond designated places of worship. They saw no conflict between religious practice and modern tourism.

**Outside the Christian Church: Diffusion and Religious Subjectivity in the Interwar Years**

Sixty-year-old Henrietta Rothwell was more fascinated by the spirit world than by church attendance. She and her sister Elizabeth (Lil) Hilgendorf were travelling through Rhodesia (modern Zimbabwe) in April 1927, when they visited the ruins of Great Zimbabwe, a stone city inhabited between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries. Rothwell was convinced it was several thousand years old, and was very taken with the place. She announced, in her travel diary, ‘I felt I wanted to stay till the moon rose and feel the effect and see what I could get out of the vibrations of “this wonderful temple which is open to the sky”’. She reported to their ‘host’ that ‘I had closed my eyes a moment and then when I opened them for a second I saw a priestess in white near one of the monoliths’. She felt it was a ‘holy place’. The next day, she passed close by the Great Zimbabwe again, and this time she reported experiencing an extended ‘vision’:

> as we walked along the road, [I] suddenly felt rather than saw, a caravan winding its slow way along the pathway – headed by priests – with black gowns and as they walked in front they chanted or intoned and I could hear the low chanted notes. It was so clear I almost felt I was in the procession. Then I felt there were merchants there who came from far to receive gold or precious stones which were stored in “The Temple” or the “Acropolis” on the kopje near. And that a company of traders were left behind to guard the place and store the riches as they were brought in by the surrounding natives. Finally I saw the natives rise against these merchants and priests and drive them out so that they had to abandon the ‘now ruins’ but still the influence lingers of these “Isis” worshippers and I only longed to stay and try to get further into the conditions and vibrations which still linger about the stones.

While Rothwell’s belief that she had some personal insight into the history of a place as a result of this ‘vision’ is unusual, her strange little story contains several ideas circulating in various

28 Rothwell, 'Friday 8th April', Diary Vol. 10, p.49.
29 ibid., pp.49–50.
30 ibid., p.51.
31 ibid., pp.52–54.
forms in the diaries of New Zealanders travelling in the years between World Wars I and II.
Rothwell used language and concepts associated with the spiritualist and theosophist movements, as other diarists also did, though most did not seem to believe that they actually communicated with the dead or literally ‘viewed’ the past. This passage also emphasises the idea that certain places not designated holy by an established church could be recognised and sensed by the spiritually sensitive. Many interwar tourists felt that they encountered holiness outside of church spaces. Nationalist or imperialist ideas also intertwined with concepts of spirituality and religion: Rothwell’s vision attributes the provenance of the Great Zimbabwe to ‘Isis’ worshippers – from the Nile delta – rather than to the Shona people, native to the area, who she instead blamed for its destruction. This ‘vision’ of history conveniently dovetailed with that of the Southern Rhodesian government, which was bent on justifying the subjugation of the native people in the district by denying their capacity for ‘civilisation’ or creativity.32 Even her use of ‘host’ to describe her guide, a white Rhodesian, reflected her understanding of who had inherited or owned these ruins.33

This section focuses on supra-doctrinal religious belief among these tourists, the places – outside of churches – New Zealand tourists felt were holy, the connections between these places and nationalist or imperialist fervour, intellectual and imaginative curiosity about unfamiliar religious practice, and the effects of religious affiliation on tourist interpretations of people and places. It is, therefore, very diverse, just as the diarists themselves model diversity as religious persons. If we were to characterise them as a whole, however, we might note their frequent fascination with novel beliefs or ideas and consistent open-mindedness. As Harper and Stenhouse have shown, religious people have often been portrayed as conservative and restrictive by New Zealand historians, and the wowser has been treated as representative of the religious New Zealander in the early twentieth century.34 A far broader picture of religious understanding and practice emerges from these diaries.

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32 Even into the 1960s and 1970s, the Rhodesian government sought to suppress any archaeological claims that the Great Zimbabwe, or other zimbabwes which existed in the same region, were built by native tribes, in order to justify the white supremacist state. The archaeologist stationed there, Paul Sinclair, has spoken of the government censorship of archaeological findings, Julie Frederikse, *None But Ourselves: Masses vs. Media in the Making of Zimbabwe*, Johannesburg, 1982, pp.10–11.
33 We can also read this vision as an engagement with Theosophist thinkers such as Annie Besant, who had toured New Zealand in 1894. Theosophy understood history in *longue durée*, perceiving ‘nations, empires, races and even worlds and galaxies [to rise and fall]’, much as Rothwell did here. However, Besant published a pamphlet ‘Theosophy and Imperialism’ in which she critiqued the British Empire’s behaviour in the East, and she became a proponent of Indian and Irish home rule, while Rothwell’s vision legitimised imperial rule. That Rothwell referred to Isis worshippers is striking, too: Helena Blavatsky, founder of the Theosophical Society, published her major work *Isis Unveiled* in 1877. Robert S. Ellwood, *Islands of the Dawn: The Story of Alternative Spirituality in New Zealand*, Honolulu, 1993, pp.115, 24.
Though Rothwell was the only diarist who seemed to have complete faith in or to experience any visions of ‘the past’, the conviction that to be present in a place could prompt insights into its past was not drastically removed from other tourists’ attempts to imagine the past of places they visited. Bond, on her 1937 trip, gave in to some fanciful impulses. In Versailles, she reimagined the space that she was passing through: ‘The Chambre de Députés sat in one of the Halls and one could shut one’s eyes and try to imagine it in those days, a scene of much animation and colourful dress and uniforms’.\(^{35}\) Upon arriving in Kansas City, she ‘tried to imagine the wild time, so often embodied in stories, of the Indians, fur-traders and cow-boys’\(^{36}\). Bailey felt that Biblical history was put into perspective for her and other Catholics on the *Orion* on Good Friday, 1936, as they journeyed past the geographical locations where Moses had lived.

By some strange coincidence at about 10 o’clock today, of all days, we passed (although, not within sight of) a place called Jeda (or Yeda) the old stopping off place for the Holy Land. And this afternoon we pass over that portion of the Red Sea which was divided to allow Moses (was it?) to cross from one side to the other. And then tonight (although again, not within sight) we pass the mountain which Moses climbed to receive the “Commandments”. All these Biblical connections make us Catholics on board realise much more the significance of this Good Friday.\(^{37}\)

Diarists’ physical presence in a place – not what their eyes perceived – was considered crucial in these examples. With her eyes closed, Bond imagined French politicians and the court; Bailey found significance in her proximity to Mt. Sinai, even though she could not, and would not, see it.

Gravesites or memorials were commonly understood as places of spirit during the interwar period, and many diarists expressed a strong yearning for spiritual connection when visiting those places. Bond, during her first trip in 1937, frequently expressed the feeling that war memorials, cemeteries for war dead, or catacombs of Christian martyrs were holy ground. The Bonds visited the Catacombs of St Callistus in Rome, and

We felt that we too were pilgrims, as of yore, because here were buried some of the glorious martyrs of the Christian faith and in some of the larger rooms we were told were the very spots where the early Xtians met secretly to strengthen their faith. How worthy they, and how unworthy we!!\(^{38}\)

Also in 1937, Bond travelled to a cemetery in Belgium on behalf of friends in order to find the grave of their son and brother, Rhys Perkins, killed during the Great War:

\(^{36}\) ibid., ‘26th Sept.’, p.249.
\(^{38}\) Bond, ‘14th June’, Diary 1, p.131.
peace seemed to brood there and how we wished all the relatives of those dear lads who slept there, could just visit the place once. It would be such a comfort. It almost seemed that Rhys knew we were there trying to make contact between him and his Mother and sisters.\textsuperscript{39}

Rothwell also visited Cecil Rhodes’s gravesite while visiting Rhodesia, ‘figuratively took the shoes from off our feet and [feeling] on consecrated ground’.\textsuperscript{40} She took from Rhodes the lesson that ‘no one life can be useless’, conceptualising individual lives as part of ‘the perfect pattern’, and then had another vision.\textsuperscript{41}

I closed my eyes as I stood at the last resting place of this great soul and first I saw two beautiful flowers – emblem of his dream vision and then I saw the fighter and battler – Rhodes with all his powers of concentration and purpose and then again I saw him crowned and happy in his work accomplished and I could feel his spirit thro’ 15 yrs translated, still brooding over the beautiful kopjes and fertile valleys and I felt if only to stand at that grave the trip was well worth while.\textsuperscript{42}

Though both diarists emphasised the spirituality of these places, however, the content of Bond’s and Rothwell’s ‘visions’ were significantly different. Bond was far more reticent in the claims she made – it almost seemed that Rhys was trying to use her as a medium between him and his mother and sisters, peace seemed to brood there. Her message – while suggesting her sensitivity – primarily aimed to comfort: Rhys was sleeping peacefully next to other ‘dear lads’, and she felt a sense of closure and satisfaction she was trying to convey to his relatives, to replace, perhaps, images of warfare and pain and destruction in their minds. In an effort to pass on this sense of peace and place, she photographed Rhys’s gravestone, and brought it home for his family to see (Fig. 1). Bruce Scates has noted that the families of many Australian and New Zealand World War I casualties longed for photographs of their loved ones’ graves; he argues that grave photography confirmed both death, and that the soldier had been laid to rest with dignity.\textsuperscript{43}

Bond’s narrative aimed for the same effect. Rothwell’s more lurid vision at Rhodes’s grave had quite a different function. Unlike Bond, she was certain she ‘felt [the] spirit’ of the person buried below her; unlike Bond’s visit to Rhys Perkins’ grave, Rothwell had never met Rhodes before his death. Rather than comforting others, she rhetorically emphasised her spiritual sensitivity by recounting this vision. Simultaneously, she elided her own part in constructing a hagiography of Rhodes – if this version of Rhodes’s life appeared to her in a ‘vision’, then it was external to her and to the natural world, and could be presented as objectively ‘true’. Just like her earlier vision at

\textsuperscript{39} ibid., ‘10th July’, pp.172–173.

\textsuperscript{40} Rothwell, ‘Mch 29/27’, Diary Vol. 10, pp.12, 11.

\textsuperscript{41} ibid., pp.12–13.

\textsuperscript{42} ibid., pp.13–14.

the Great Zimbabwe, her account of her experience at Rhodes’ graveside glorified the outcomes of colonisation and imperialism in Southern Rhodesia.


The terminology of psychics and spiritualists also appeared in several diaries written in the 1920s, and was used with varying degrees of seriousness. Mulvany (1926) wrote, casually and metaphorically, of having ‘tea at Overseas Club with Vernie – Nellie and Emily. Quite a séance’.44 Boor (1924) commented archly of a new acquaintance in Fiji, ‘our friend Mrs Toy is supposed to be psychic as well as Miss L. so those two have a great deal in common’.45 The ‘Eastern’-inflected rituals Rothwell engaged in also incorporated Christian protocols, and they most commonly expressed her thankfulness. On a train travelling through the ‘Valley of 1000 hills’, near Durban, Rothwell discovered she

had lost the scarab out of my ring. We searched everywhere and then decided to give it up as lost. Then Auntie looked in the luggage rack again and noticed something in a crack – my lost scarab!! We sang the doxology and I wrapped ring and scarab in paper and put it away. She was given a ‘mantra’ in Sydney, which despite the Vedic title comprised a Biblical text: ‘This is the day which the Lord hath made. Let us rejoice and be glad in it’. She reported with some satisfaction that this mantra had warded off her seasickness.

Following World War II, diarists no longer reported sensing spirits while visiting graveyards or monuments. Harper has argued that spiritualism, which boomed in the 1920s ‘as people sought reassurance of the existence of an afterlife and communication with friends and relatives lost during the war’, reflected the intersections of emotions with spiritual belief. Clearly, however, emotions and spiritual belief intersected differently for many people during the 1940s and 1950s than they had in the interwar years. In 1950, Bond visited the grave of her younger brother, who had been shot down over Winterswijk, the Netherlands during World War II. She had been extremely close to Wallace. Still-devout, Bond described her visit to Wallace’s grave very differently from her visit to Rhys Perkins’s. Only the visual and pragmatic details of her visit were noted.

Mrs. Ritsema […] took us out to the cemetery of wh. part is set aside for our airmen who fell, and there are about 50 graves. At the back of their section there is a big wooden cross wh. bears the inscription (in Dutch) “They fell for us”. Every grave has a miniature little hedgy border 6 in. high and at the foot of it, an Alpine cotoneaster. Each grave had a lovely big vase of fresh flowers, as the relations of one of them was visiting the cemetery. It was really very lovely and very touching. Then the President of the War Graves Committee, Mrs. Willinks, called to see us at Mrs. Ritsema’s and I was able to thank her for ourselves, and the relations of the other lads who fell there, for their touching and loving care of the boys’ last resting places.

Holy ground stayed nearer church buildings after World War II. Bond could still describe the gardens of the church of St. Just-in-Roseland (in Cornwall) as having an air of ‘purity and sanctity’ in 1950, though few similar comments exist in other diaries. Though individual diarists’ strength of belief in spiritual places varied – and of course many diarists indicated no affinity with this concept at any point – language and ideas about the permeability of the natural world by the supernatural were only included in diaries written during the 1920s and 1930s.

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50 Bond, ‘13.7.50 and 14.7.50’, Diary 2, pp.103–105.
The idea that spirits were diffuse and perceptible, which infused travel diaries during the interwar years, was accompanied by travel diarists’ interest in non-Christian religious practice. Yet while the visions travel diarists claimed to have – and their imaginative reconstructions of the past – effectively asserted the special insights or insider status of these tourists, at other times they were careful to distinguish themselves from people and places on religious grounds, even if they were very interested in them. Christian diarists’ attitudes towards Jews reflected both familiarity with stereotypes and their sense that Judaism was outside their experience. Though Jewish people have been central and significant to New Zealand society from the beginning of European colonisation, some New Zealanders were not free from anti-Semitic bias. The idea that Jewish people were different and dangerous was expressed by a number of diarists, including Bond. In Sydney in 1937 she and her husband Elon went for a walk around Kings Cross:

to see the different types of humanity – mostly European races – not one Chinese did we see many Jew types and the majority looked as tho’ they had seen only the seamy side of life. We were told to hold tight to our bags and to mind pockets.

Bond was by no means alone in expressing suspicion about Jewish people. Howard enforced the stereotype of the venal capitalist Jew when he heard the (for him, disappointing) news that the Labour Party had been defeated in the 1924 elections in Britain. ’Great rejoicing in the Saloon when the wireless told that Labour had been defeated in the old land. The jews especially seemed fevered’.

By contrast, Rothwell seemed to be trying to forestall any anti-Semitic responses that her readers might have had in her description of a Sydney synagogue.

Then we passed the Jewish Synagogue where a night wedding was in progress – we saw the wedding party away and then roamed into the church. It was beautifully decorated all in pink and green – and was itself beautiful. A Jew caretaker invited us to go to one of their services

52 Goldman, p.5, claims, ‘Nowhere else in the world have Jews, in proportion to their numbers, taken such a prominent part in local, municipal and public affairs as the Jews have done in New Zealand’. Leonard Bell made the same point, ‘Introduction’, in Bell and Morrow, pp.11, 19. The Brasch/de Beer family were among these prominent citizens, as descendents of the Hallenstein brothers who began one of New Zealand’s most successful clothing store chains. Robyn Notman, ‘A Privileged Life: Dora Hallenstein de Beer (1891–1982)’, MLitt thesis, University of Otago, 1999.


54 Edwin Howard, ‘October Friday 31’, Diary 1, 17 July–10 September 1924, p.107, MS-0980/005: HC. As Bell has argued, there were many prominent leftist Jewish people who ‘have been too readily written out of history over the last 30 or so years’ (Bell, ‘Introduction’, p.22).
or to another wedding next week – we found he had locked us in, but he was most courteous – opened up again and directed us to our destination.55

The emphasis on the caretaker’s politeness and encouragement assured her readers that she and Lil were not in danger, despite being briefly ‘locked in’. She also translated ‘synagogue’ into the more familiar term ‘church’.

New Zealanders abroad also came into contact with Hindus, Muslims and Buddhists and their buildings of worship during the interwar period; unlike with Jews, they rarely appealed to stereotypes in their descriptions and did not appear to have much knowledge of them.56 Dora de Beer was alone in recognising or even discussing non-Western religious iconography. Travelling in Ceylon in 1936, she visited a number of rock temples, noting that ‘The temples are Buddhist, but have statues of Hindu deities as well’.57 By dramatic contrast, on arrival in South Africa, Rothwell ‘passed a high domed white structure and on enquiry found it was a Hindu Mosque’.58 She later returned and received the news that the worshippers there were ‘Mohammedans’, though clearly this meant little to her:

They are Mohammedans and in March for 28 days, fast from sunrise to sunset – I asked him his religion – He said we are not Brahmans our creed is “There is one god – Allah – and his prophet was Mohamet” – He was very reverent.59

Some diarists were more interested in ritual practice than religious doctrine. Bond compared religions in India on a superficial level, contrasting ‘rich Parsees, a commercial race who worship fire, water, sun and air’ with poor Untouchables, and mostly producing a list of different ways Parsis, Hindus and Muslims disposed of ‘their dead’ (eaten by vultures, cremated in burning bhat, and buried, respectively) and judging which method was ‘best’.60 Boor described the ‘festival of Ramlila’ she witnessed in Fiji in detail, but did not mention that there was a religious element to it until eight pages into her account.61 Though these religions remained little understood by most of these travellers, the information they recounted in their diaries represented their interest in some non-Christian religious beliefs or cultures.

In a rare example, Peter Buck in 1934 criticised the practice of Christians and empathised with Pacific Islanders who had been subjected to imperatives from foreign church officials.

56 Why this was confined to the interwar period is unclear. It could be simply coincidental, or a result of changing popularity in shipping routes (only one of the postwar travellers took the eastern route to Europe, which stopped at Colombo, and sometimes Bombay and/or Aden, and then travelled up the Nile and through the Suez Canal).
60 Bond, ‘9th April’, Diary 1, pp.32, 33–34.
Though he became friendly with missionaries he met travelling through the Pacific, Buck was exceptionally critical of the effects of the church on the atolls he visited. On Magareva, where he spent most time, he observed the ruins of stone buildings with regret:

The palace is now roofless and its walls are falling to the ground. A similar tragic fate has befallen the tomb and the total air of desolation that pervades the stone structures inspired by Laval is symbolic of the rot and decay that overcame the native culture of Magareva. Through it all, the church still functions like some huge monster that has sucked the life blood out of a living organism and left nought but the decaying bones. It is unutterably sad.

He attended church on Magareva, but was unrelentingly critical of Laval, who had established a ‘religious government’ that ‘turned them [the native inhabitants] into stone masons for the purposes of building the cathedral and other religious outhouses’, though stone buildings were ‘absolutely unsuitable to the local conditions’. Buck was Anglican, and Laval was Roman Catholic, so there might have been sectarian motivation for his critique, but his attempts to recover pre-Christian stories and rituals from the Magarevan people reflects that he considered these valuable in their own right. By contrast, diarists did not acknowledge native African religious belief: not one mentioned it.

The religious affiliation of interwar tourists also affected their experiences in a small number of states with discriminatory religious policies. Three of the diarists travelled through Germany during the Third Reich, the Jewish Charles Brasch, Catholic Bailey, and Bond, who was Presbyterian. Their different religious affiliations affected their responses to this state. This is particularly striking, since their diaries also demonstrate how strong a generic ‘Christian’ culture was in New Zealand during the interwar years. Though Brasch was Jewish, he far more frequently commented on Christian motifs and turns of phrases than Jewish ones. He described a colleague of his friend in Berlin, Colin, as ‘safe as a church’ though he was a ‘Reichswehr man’.

He was emotionally touched by a ‘Beiweinung Christi’, which gave him ‘an extraordinarily vivid

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62 Peter Buck, ‘October 23rd, Tuesday.’, Diary, 28 August–27 November 1934, p.36, qMS-0294: ATL.
64 ibid., pp.19–20.
65 For instance, Bond, ‘16th April’, Diary 1, p.41, commented “Golly-wogs” very camera shy – couldn’t secure a “shot” at all unfortunately’, but said nothing about the particular African people she called by this name other than their appearance, nor did she explain or speculate on why they might have been ‘camera-shy’.
66 Brasch, ‘Friday 24th [August]’, Diary, p.14. The Reichswehr was the German Army, and thus had existed long before Hitler’s leadership coup in 1933. Less than three weeks prior to Brasch’s arrival in Germany, however (2 August 1934), Hitler had introduced a compulsory Oath of Allegiance for members of the armed forces, with loyalty to the Führer as a central component. This ‘safe’ Reichswehr man was not necessarily a Nazi, but existed in a position shored up by the Nazi state. For translated wording of this oath, see R. F. Holt and A. Pickard, eds, Democracies, Dictatorship, Destruction: Documents of Modern German History 1918–1945, Melbourne, 1991, p.187.
impression of – one man’s idea of it – what men then felt, after the night of the Cross’.\textsuperscript{67} He also compared the author of the book he was reading throughout his travels, von Hügel, to St. Christopher.\textsuperscript{68} That so many of his frames of reference were Christian conveys the influence of Christianity in New Zealand life more effectively than the words of Christian diarists; nevertheless, he was compelled to respond to Nazi Germany as a Jew.

Brasc\textsuperscript{h} was the only one of these diarists to visit family in Germany. His communication with relatives who lived in the Nazi state, and more particularly were Jewish in a state which actively discriminated against Jews, coloured his knowledge of the place before arriving there, and affected the way he saw Nazi rule. Before he even reached Germany, he met on a train a man who he described as

an exiled German, an almost ugly swarthy, slightly stooping, carelessly dressed man – a Jew
– but with such a gentle expression and such enthusiasm as he talked that his eyes and
mouth made him almost beautiful.\textsuperscript{69}

In Amsterdam, where he disembarked from this train, he was met by a relative, also described as an ‘exiled German’.\textsuperscript{70} His recognition of Jews as Germans, in defiance of Nazi state policy, and his recognition that many had felt forced to leave already – the year after Hitler became Chancellor – was clear from the beginning of his diary.\textsuperscript{71} He thought from the perspective of a Jewish person when expressing concerns for the wellbeing of his relatives in Hanover. They reassured him there were still many places they could go, that the other townspeople still greeted them, that nothing bad had happened to them in the street, yet he was hyper-aware of signs of Nazism.\textsuperscript{72} He pointed out little else, seeing ‘Hitler Jugend’, members of the \textit{Sturmabteilung} (SA, or ‘Brown Shirts’), and swastika banners in the streets, and noting that the Bahnhofstrasse had been renamed for Hitler.\textsuperscript{73} He never expressed fears for his safety; he dismissed the Brown Shirts’ menace – they wore ‘really only a brown khaki, with the same coloured trousers’, and ‘do not seem so very many’ – and the Hitler Youth as ‘boyscouts’.\textsuperscript{74} We might understand this as an

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{67} Brasch, ‘Friday 24\textsuperscript{th} [August]’, Diary, p.13. A \textit{Beinweinung Christi} is a conventional term in art history which refers to a lamentation painting depicting mourning over the dead body of Jesus Christ.
\item \textsuperscript{68} ibid., ‘Tuesday 21\textsuperscript{st} [August]’, p.8.
\item \textsuperscript{69} ibid., ‘Saturday August 18\textsuperscript{st}’, p.2.
\item \textsuperscript{70} ibid., p.3.
\item \textsuperscript{71} Technically, the Reich Citizenship Law, which explicitly excluded Jews from German citizenship, was not passed until 15 September, 1935, after Brasch had travelled through Germany, and so his recognition first and foremost of these people as \textit{German} Jews was not explicitly at odds with the Nazi state at this point. His use of the word ‘exile’, as opposed to ‘refugee’ respects the political agency of German Jews when the NSDAP had already taken measures to limit that agency, in their reform of the Civil Service in April 1933, excluding Jews.
\item \textsuperscript{72} Brasch, ‘Tuesday 21\textsuperscript{st} [August]’, Diary, p.9.
\item \textsuperscript{73} ibid., ‘Tuesday 21\textsuperscript{st}’, ‘Wednesday 22\textsuperscript{nd} [August]’, pp.8–11.
\item \textsuperscript{74} ibid., ‘Tuesday 21\textsuperscript{st}’, ‘Friday 24\textsuperscript{th}', ‘Wednesday 22\textsuperscript{nd} [August]’, pp.8, 15, 10. Though this parallel is not unwarranted because of the activities Hitler Youth undertook, ‘boyscouts’ is a more politically-neutral name, unaffiliated with a particular political leader and his anti-Semitic policies.
\end{itemize}
attempt to reduce or reject the menace of these organisations, or an adoption of the perspective held by his German-Jewish relatives – or both.

By contrast, Bailey travelled with family through Germany, and the itinerary they planned took them almost entirely through Catholic parts of the state. Though she noted that Hitler wanted to ‘stamp out Catholicism’, he did not plan to stamp out Catholics, and the kindness and pleasantness of German citizens was something she commented on and then took for granted. Nonetheless, she demonstrated a heightened awareness of state policy towards Catholicism, as well as showing that she was aware of German voting patterns:

Going through this city with its abundance of Catholic Churches I find it very hard to believe that Hitler can make any impression in his effort to stamp out Catholicism. And Munich is the foundation city of Hitler-ism! Everywhere in Germany the Catholic religion is very much in evidence. Certainly, by a strange coincidence we were travelling only through the Catholic portion of Germany, but also, our tour was taking us through staunch Hitler settlements. I fail to see how the two mix!76

She was also attentive to Nazi rituals and very aware of the state’s militarism. She commented on hearing ‘Heil Hitler’ frequently, and outlined the ways it was used. Bailey also described the ‘German salute’ and pointed out where she saw the swastika flying, and described the outside of the building housing the bodies of those who died in the Munich Putsch in 1925.77 Bailey was alone among these travellers in noting construction for Nazi ceremonies and military bases.

As you know, Nuremberg is the rally place for the National-Socialists, and their big rally was being held here on the 9th September. Preparations were going on all over the town, grandstands were in the process of erection in the town-square etc.78

She also observed:

We drove on, but on the way we passed huge building operations near which we were forbidden to stop. It was obviously military buildings that were going up. Notices forbade any motorist to stop and look on, so we kept the letter of the law and drove on, although slowly. Further on we passed the same sort of thing, this time it was an airbase, and once again we were forbidden to loiter.79

Bond, a Protestant unthreatened by the Nazi regime, was far less observant. She did not make any comment on religious or racial laws, except to say that:

76 ibid., p.251.
78 ibid., ‘Monday August 24th, 1936’, p.254. The Baileys were there almost a year after the Nuremberg racial laws were passed in September 1935.
The Jewish quarter wh. had been a menace to the town [Berlin] – it having been quite unsafe to venture there at night – has all been pulled down and replaced by very fine tenements and flats – it looks healthy and clean and other large cities wd. do well to do the same.80

Instead, the focus of her descriptions of Germany was the fertility of the soil, industry (the size of the Siemens factory), the construction of governmental buildings and banks, the size of the Olympic Stadium, the provision of public parks, and the efficacy of public transport. In other words, she focussed on public amenities and the functioning of the city or state without mentioning the racial hierarchies which underpinned it. This apparent indifference to the racial and religious victimisation of Jews by the state – she seems to have taken at face value that Berlin’s Jewish quarter had been a threat – can be understood in various ways. Both Brasch and Bailey travelled independently, whereas the Bond party was travelling through Germany (and other European countries) on a Thomas Cook tour. Bond was on a Berlin day tour when she made these observations, and the list seems a rather uncritical repetition, statistics included, of the information given by the guide. In addition, travelling in a tour group made it less important – though of course did not preclude the possibility – for her to do independent research in advance of arriving in a place. The significance of her description of Germany, and the things she did not say about it, is that she, as an ‘Aryan’ Protestant, had the luxury of not needing to be aware of religious discrimination there. Bailey, and especially Brasch, did not.

The picture painted here is a complex one. Diarists’ reactions to what they saw abroad were affected by their religious beliefs and affiliations, but were not determined by them. There was nothing to prevent Bond decrying the destruction of Jewish living space in Berlin, yet her Protestantism meant Nazi religious policy was far less personally significant for her than if she were Jewish. Thus, while it was possible to be Presbyterian and refrain from mentioning Nazi religious oppression, it was highly unlikely one could enter Germany as a Jew and not notice such things.

Discriminatory state policies continued to exist after World War II, but diarists tended not to comment upon them, or not to visit such places. I am not positing a causal link between the period and the beliefs of those who travelled in it. Religion and religious identity functioned as one vector through which diarists made sense of the world they found beyond New Zealand, intersecting with nationalism, empire, race, and governments, among others. Just as being Jewish did not prevent Charles Brasch from using Christian cultural paradigms, Christian New Zealand tourists refracted what they saw through various lenses and from various standpoints. In the interwar years, New Zealander travel diarists were prepared to look outside the Christian church

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80 Bond, ‘1st July’, Diary 1, p.163.
for spiritual experiences, and frequently sought to recognise the diversity of faiths they encountered, however critical they might be.

New Zealand Tourists and Christian Churches

In a small Renault named Christopher Robin, which she had recently purchased, the young Catholic weaver Sybil Mulvany left London with her sister Josephine (Joe) and friend Vernie at the end of October 1926, and headed north. Over the next fortnight, they stopped in a number of English towns and cities, small and large. Mulvany’s diary reflects how very church-focussed this trip was, as almost every stop they made was in order to view a church or religious building: a minster, a chapel, an abbey, a monastery, or the ruins of buildings which had formerly existed in one of these capacities. Mulvany had a close relationship with her Catholicism, attending Mass on a number of occasions in her account of her trip, and describing participation in Catholic organisations including the Catholic Women’s League and Nazareth House. The age of the religious buildings she visited, such as York Minster, meant that these had once been Roman Catholic spaces.

In this lobby [of the church building in York Minster] stand two ancient cope chests – made of solid oak with iron hinges and locks. Verger told us that “we” (cheek!) “had over 600 vestments here originally but of course in Cromwell’s time they were taken and sold”. Same thing happened to the inlaid brasses on tombs through Yorkshire. Brass ripped off and shipped away to make guns for the devout Roundheads. The high Ch. people don’t like to remember it and always speak of their unbroken succession since Norman times.

Her experience on this short trip raises a number of interesting questions about the ways tourism and religious belief, identity and practice intersected. What was Mulvany’s interest in these spaces, given that they were no longer affiliated with her church? In what ways did tourists react when in religious spaces? What kind of proprietary interest might they take? Would Mulvany have noticed the silences of the ‘High Church people’ had she herself been Anglican?

Christian tourists engaged with church buildings abroad in a diverse range of ways across the interwar and postwar years. Their sectarian affiliations informed the kinds of responses travel diarists were willing to acknowledge, and the reasons they admitted entering particular church buildings, as the following four case studies reflect. Sybil Mulvany, Kathleen Bailey, Eve Bond and Jill Hobbs mentioned visiting churches with great frequency in their diaries, both to see buildings and spaces, and to attend services, and all spent some or most of their travels in

81 The name of this Renault was also that of the son of author A. A. Milne, and a character in his book Winnie-the-Pooh, first published in London in the same month as Mulvany’s car purchase, in October 1926.
Europe. The breadth of examples of church visits in the diaries of these four women, and the roughly similar spaces they moved through, allows fair characterisations of their attitudes and fair comparisons between them to be made, showing where individual and denominational differences abided. Both Mulvany and Bailey took short tours of specific areas – Mulvany into Yorkshire and the East Midlands, and Bailey through France, Belgium, Germany, Italy, Austria, and Hungary – punctuated regularly by visits to churches. Their tours were a decade apart (1926 and 1936 respectively), though they shared other similarities: they were both in their mid-twenties when touring, and both were Roman Catholic. Middle-aged Presbyterian Bond’s (1937, 1950, 1953, 1957, and 1961) and teenaged Anglican Hobbs’s (1955) itineraries and commentaries also reflected that going to church while travelling was significant to them. Though two of these diarists were Catholic and two Protestant, and the diaries were split between the interwar and postwar periods, they were not selected on this basis, but because of the quantity of churches they visited. That they were all women reflects the particular engagement of women of various sects with churches throughout the entire period.

Mulvany focussed her descriptions on historical, architectural and other physical details of the religious buildings she visited and the objects they housed. Technical language – she wrote of ‘cope chests’ in York Minster, but elsewhere of ‘lancet windows’, ‘bas-relief’, ‘dropped arches’, ‘miserere seats’ – shows her understanding of what made each church significant architecturally or functionally, or different from others nearby.84 Her primary interest, however, appears to have been in the historical use of churches and other religious buildings. Her numerous historical anecdotes relate to the former uses of spaces and objects: she imagined royal barges and ‘Wolseley’s swans’ on the River Ouse, for example, and explained the positioning of stairs in the ruined Clifford Tower in terms of defensive manoeuvres (‘Four flights of stairs led up to the parapet so that in case of attack it could be manned immediately’).85 This interest in usage of church and castle space was primarily historical, but also deeply engaged in work of the imagination. Her church tourism was largely separate from her religious practice; Mulvany went to Mass in Catholic spaces (the Brompton Oratory, before leaving London; the Catholic church on Hyde Park corner in Cambridge; and the chapel at Selby presided over by Vernie’s uncle), and did not attend Anglican services in churches which had become part of the Church of England. It is clear, nevertheless, that her engagement with church practices informed her understanding of the historical uses of the church spaces she visited.

Bailey’s tour of European churches differed materially from Mulvany’s. Along her family’s route through Europe, many of the historical churches were still in use by Roman

84 ibid., ‘Tuesday [30 November]’, pp.10, 12, 13.
Catholic congregations. Perhaps for this reason, while she shared Mulvany’s interest in architecture and decoration, she also attended Mass at the churches she went to view, and was more focussed on present-day space and usage than the historically-focussed weaver. She made several bird’s-eye sketches of the layouts of particularly unusual churches in Freudenstadt and Salzburg, so that her family in New Zealand could picture how the spaces were arranged, in conjunction with her descriptions of how they were used (see Fig. 2). In Bruges, Bailey and her brother, sister-in-law and mother-in-law arose one Sunday morning, went to High Mass at the Cathedral of Saint Saveur, headed south to the church of Notre Dame to see the paintings held therein, and then travelled to the centre of town to the Chapel of the Holy Blood, where they hoped to view ‘the Relic’. She wrote in detail about the experience of Mass in the Cathedral, covering the unexpectedly different height of the kneelers from those in New Zealand and England, the lack of pews, the noise of chairs moving to make space for the Verger and Collector and for those who collected seat rents. She concluded:

I daresay one would become accustomed to this sort of thing if attending regularly in a church where it went on Sunday after Sunday. But as it was my first experience of the like, I can say that I never felt so distracted in all my life.

The Catholic Church, noted Bailey, was not internationally uniform in its religious services, despite its nominal claim to universality. Thus, like Mulvany, she noted differences between churches, but both architectural and liturgical ones. Yet her interest was in seeing these churches as functioning Catholic spaces, to see holy relics, and to worship: church tourism and religious practice were combined.

Bond visited numerous churches on her five long overseas trips, yet there were clear distinctions between the ways she narrated going to a church as a physical space, and going to church to attend service. Like Mulvany, she tended to describe churches’ architecture in detail only where she had no sectarian connection with the space. A characteristic example: in Milan, in 1937, she described the Cathedral as ‘the main point of interest from a tourist point of view’, and then followed that justification for her interest in a Catholic church with an elaborate description of the number of spires, towers, statues and types of construction materials. She treated Anglican churches similarly. Her interest was architectural and historical, not religious:

In spite of having done the Cathedrals in Europe and being rather tired of them, we took great joy in wandering thro’ the Canterbury Cathedral so full of historical interest and

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87 ibid., ‘Sunday August 2nd, 1936’, p.199.
importance, for its association with important national events and distinguished people of bygone days.\textsuperscript{89}

On the other hand, when she attended services in churches, she very rarely wrote about the space she was in, instead commenting on the spectacle, the singing and the sermon. Her focus and interest when worshipping at a church was the message sent and the tone in which it was expressed, rather than the physical space. In 1950, the Bonds’ first voyage since World War II, she noted:

\begin{quote}
Went to Regent Square Pres. Ch. of England and found it just a shell left from the terrific bombing round there. Church held in a hall in view with a Congregational minister in the pulpit – a strange eccentric type who for his sermon told three tragic stories wh. didn’t seem to have much of interest, let alone help in them at all. After Church, an Anglican vicar with a charge at St Bartholemew’s came to tell his story of his work of reconstruction there in the same area as Regent Square Presbyterian. He is a splendid consecrated Christian man, and is working under difficulty, as so many of the London ministries are with no Church since the bombing. He was asked if there was any plan for the re-building and he said “No!” They hadn’t enough money to pay for an architect’s blue prints, let alone to build a church, but that he believed in building a “Living Church”. Very fine indeed.\textsuperscript{90}
\end{quote}

In some ways she dissociated church buildings from what went on within them.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure2.jpg}
\caption{The left-hand image shows Bailey’s second attempt at depicting Aix-la-Chapelle, Charlemagne’s private chapel in Aachen (the first she cut off the page because she felt it was insufficiently accurate). The right-hand image depicts the layout of a church in Freudenstadt, a small town in Germany near the French border. Kathleen Bailey, ‘Monday August 3\textsuperscript{rd}, 1936’, ‘Wednesday August 5\textsuperscript{th}, 1936’, Diary 1, Vol. 2, 3 May 1936–11 January 1937, pp.203, 208, 95/15: AWMML.}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{89} ibid., ‘19\textsuperscript{th} [July]’, p.180.
\textsuperscript{90} ibid., ‘17\textsuperscript{th} June’, pp.59–60.
The most positive accounts Bond gave of churches were related to the people they were associated with. On arriving in London in 1937, she went to what she called ‘Dr. Bellhouse’s English Pres. Church in Regent Square’, and enjoyed the sermon so much (she described him, approvingly, as ‘just downright’) that she returned twice in the hopes of hearing Bellhouse preach again. She was disappointed both times. She spoke of her cousin Bill – who was a minister in Derry, Ireland in 1950 – and his congregation most approvingly. By 1957, Bill had emigrated to Canada, where Bond again visited him and again singled out his sermon and performance for praise. Though she found familial connections in churches she visited, she related to people, not buildings. Her dissociation between building and ‘church’ perhaps accounts for why she expressed no disappointment when she arrived at the church at which her father and ancestors had worshipped in Northern Ireland, to find that the building itself was new. It also explains her emphatic rejection of Lincoln Cathedral as a ‘House of God’:

How very wonderful that hundreds of years ago, Architects could conceive and builders execute a cathedral of such dimensions. They could never conceive tho’ that hundreds of years later, the House of God that they lovingly planned and executed could become as spiritually dead, as tho’ its chief glory had departed! Nor that it wd. become more or less a museum piece for tourists to admire. One had exactly the same feeling in Lincoln Cathedral as in Westminster Abbey and in a lesser degree in St. Pauls a sad feeling that here was a House of God, beautiful in structure and fine and rich in tradition, but it had lost its soul – it was dead – spiritually dead as a Dodo. What a responsibility is theirs who are ordained to minister if the people “ask bread and are given a stone”.

By contrast with the disembowelled churches of Regent Square Presbyterian and St. Bartholomew’s Anglican congregations, these grand cathedrals still stood, but she considered them inferior to those churches which lived on through their communities.

Bond and Mulvany visited one or two churches connected with family members, but Hobbs had a familial connection to many of those she visited: for her, family and church were inextricably combined. She and her parents spent most of their time abroad in the English counties of Devon and Cornwall, where her parents grew up, and where many of their siblings still lived. Touring the places her father remembered from childhood and visiting family frequently involved going to churches:

91 ibid., ‘16th May’, p.84.
92 ibid., ‘Sunday 11th [July]’, ‘29th August’, pp.175, 228.
93 Bond, ‘10th [September]’, Diary 2, p.170.
94 Evelyn Weir Bond, ‘26th [September]’, Diary 4, 6 May–8 November 1957, p.52, Private Collection.
As Ted (Dad’s other brother) was not home for lunch, we went on to Rock and went into St. Minver Church which is a country church where Dad used to go to when he was a boy. We were surprised to find Uncle Reg’s name on the roll of honour, as he joined up the navy from there.97

She was the bridesmaid at the church wedding of her cousin Tony and his fiancée Yvonne near Plymouth, and she regularly went to church with her parents and other family members.98 Many of the churches she visited were explained or introduced in terms of her family: “‘Maker’, a dear little church and yard where Dads Mother, Father and Sister were buried’, and again, “‘Maker Church’ on top of the hill where Daddys parents are buried’; ‘we went to a little country church at Bicklely, which is the Parish Church for Roborough, and where Tony and Yvonne are getting married’.99

Hobbs used a ‘My Trip Book’ to record her travels in, as we saw in Chapter One; unlike most tourists using this template diary, she completed the volume assiduously according to its design, dutifully filling in pages titled ‘Hotels Visited’ and ‘People Met’ with lists, and making use of both the autograph pages and the address book. ‘My Trip Book’ did not meet every one of her needs, however. She created a special list in the back of her diary to remind her of the names of churches she attended during her almost year-long trip. Their names were clearly significant to her, even though her descriptions of the buildings and the services in her diary entries were cursory (she tended to describe them in non-specific adjectives – ‘dear little church’, or ‘little country church’ – and she indicated no architectural or liturgical detail).100

There were a range of reasons New Zealand Christian tourists chose to visit churches, and these crossed sectarian boundaries, though individual reactions to various spaces were affected by denominational allegiances. Both Bond and Mulvany commented closely on church architecture only for churches outside their own denominations. This was not uncommon; Charles Brasch did the same when describing churches in Russia (and he never attended any services at all).101 Churches were visited in order to admire the architecture, or the art and art objects they held. They were visited to reflect on or give insight into the history of the place in which they were located, or to bear witness to the tourist’s own family history. They were also visited for worship, critiqued as spaces, and critiqued as representative of ministers, congregations and communities. The specific ways in which each church was approached

98 ibid., ‘7th August 1955’, pp.102–103 describes the weddings. Her entry for July 24, 1955, p.95, reads: ‘Sunday was another lovely day and we went to church at 8.o’clock with all the family’, but there are many other examples.
depended on the denominational affiliation of the diarist, but was not defined by that denomination: there was no specific ‘Catholic’ response to churches that can be distinguished categorically from responses by Protestants or Jews.

As Alison Clarke has shown, New Zealanders in New Zealand did not always attend religious service at churches of their own denomination, visiting other churches particularly at Easter and Christmas. New Zealanders abroad were presented with considerably more opportunities to attend new kinds of churches, hear ministers from a range of denominations, and see how services were run in different places. Depending on their location, if tourists wished to worship on a given day, they sometimes had no choice but to attend another denomination’s service. Some diarists took these opportunities up, and others chose not to go at all in those circumstances. The act of travelling could affect or alter tourists’ relationships with churches as institutions, and their expectations of religious services.

Tourists who attended services at churches outside their own denominations or cultural milieux were both apologetic and completely unembarrassed about their presence, depending on the person and the situation. Millicent Boor travelled to the Pacific in 1924 to work as a companion to the school teacher at an Anglican Mission School in Fiji for several months – the only one of these diarists who undertook travel for reasons explicitly tied to her faith. Yet, she maintained a personal distance from services at the ‘Fijian’ church (meaning a church for native Fijians, in which preaching was in the Fijian vernacular) when she attended them, in contrast to services held in English. Her rationale for visiting these churches was entertainment: she went to hear the singing. ‘I had [my dinner] with the two English fellow travellers and we went off to the Fijian church afterwards to hear them sing’. Other times were much the same: ‘This morning Mrs Elinor Mordaunt and I went to the Jubilee Fijian service to hear the singing, but we were rather disappointed’, or ‘...we were about to sit down with work when the church bell rang. The natives of Naduri are famed for their singing so we went over’. Bond felt the need to justify her attendance at a Catholic Mass in Vienna, appealing to the entertainment factor: ‘Went into a Church service on the hill – R.C. but the singing was simply lovely – so sweet and harmonic, we were sorry when the service ended’. Though these comments on the services were positive,

102 Clarke, ““Tinged with Christian Sentiment””, p.114.
both diarists distinguished themselves from the congregations; their attendance was presented as though they had attended a play or concert.

A similar attitude was taken by diarists towards evangelical celebrity preachers: attendance at their services was considered entertainment rather than worship. Louise Sutherland, in Toronto in 1955:

Went to hear Billy Graham quite a powerful speaker. Met Lillas’ Brown’s family (she is in Indore) went to church with them. Met a Kiwi chap from Dunedin a Canadian wife, very religious people, want to know, “what am I seeking in life?” have I “found” God? and shouldn’t I become a missionary?

Sutherland clearly did not think she herself was ‘very religious’, and her comment about the evangelical Graham appears to relate more to his style than his message. The Bonds went to the Angelus Temple in Los Angeles in 1937 to hear Aimee Semple Macpherson. They were also far more taken with her style than her substance:

We went expecting to see a frowsy specimen of womanhood but instead a most attractive vivacious and becomingly attired woman tripped, yes tripped, into view. She was dressed in a white close-fitting silk gown with a cloak with very wide sleeves thrown over her shoulders. A purple iridescent scarf with fringed ends worn in ecclesiastical style and on her breast a sparkling purple cross. She wore high heeled white satin shoes – her hair was perfectly coiffured and she carried a huge bouquet of red roses. We were well seated in the gallery – the orchestra was playing, the choir had marched in and then we noticed all eyes turned in one direction and then an enthusiastic greeting of clapping. A floodlight was thrown on Aimee and she gaily tripped down to the stage in front. This introduction to Aimee was positively breath-taking. She has a most striking personality – is absolutely full of vim and good humour and is a great actress and delivers her address with studied dramatic force. She “gets” a great following and is doing a tremendous amount of good no doubt, tho’ many of her followers seemed to have lost their mental balance we thought. There are hundreds of students preparing for the Mission Field. Elon kept on saying “She’s a lass! she’s a lass!” She just did not have any appeal to us, in her message.

The language Eve used made the connection between Macpherson’s preaching and popular entertainment plain: she commented on the quality of their seats, described the clapping of the audience, the staging and the lighting, and, perhaps most obviously, characterised Macpherson as a ‘great actress’ who delivered her ‘address with studied dramatic force’. It was not until the end of the passage that Eve acknowledged that there was a religious component to the show at all.

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106 Louise Sutherland, ‘29th [September]’, Diary, 12 August–26 October 1955, 25 June–late August 1956, p.31, MS-2882/165: HC.
The transcription of her husband’s enthusiastic endorsement of Macpherson’s femininity – though, at first glance, seemingly at odds with Eve’s final, sober dismissal of Macpherson’s ideas – is consistent with this passage’s focus on Macpherson’s appearance and not on the content of her sermon. Eve dismissed Macpherson’s message emphatically by refusing to repeat it at all.

Protestant travellers did not typically, however, display any embarrassment or distance themselves markedly from the messages expressed in established Protestant church services of other denominations which they attended; they approached those services with similar expectations to those that they brought to services within their own denomination. Boor noted that she attended a church service led by a Methodist minister, without commentary about ways in which it differed from her expectations. Bond went to several Anglican services and critiqued them much as she would a Presbyterian service. Sometimes she was acidic: ‘Went to St. Paul’s service in the morning good sermon on the need of getting back to the fundamentals of Christianity and to put aside useless ceremonial, etc. and never had it seemed to us more necessary than in the mediaval service preceding’. A more positive review, on the other hand, was:

Went to St George’s church in Portman Square Anglican very low church Evangelical – beautiful reader of Scriptures and prayers very good and intelligently put over not intoning whatever or the ministerial voice or anything. Very fine sermon on the “Digging Ditches” in Ahab’s time and application excellent. He has week night prayer meetings and Luncheon hour talks – A very live spiritually minded man.

Nancy Laurenson was keen to attend various churches when in the United States and Canada. As she passed through Colorado, she noted that they ‘Passed the dear little Methodist church just down from Y.W. and wished I had been there for the day so that I could go’. In Banff, Canada, she ‘went to my first service in a United Church of Canada. Church packed with tourists – many Americans of course’.

Both Presbyterian diarists, Bond and McAra, visited particular churches abroad because they knew personally or knew of the reputation of the minister who presided there. Bond went to the Metropolitan United Church in Toronto ‘because minister was the Very Rev. Peter Bryce D.D. etc.’ Her commentary indicated that she had no personal connection with Bryce, but knew of his reputation. She was disappointed with his sermon:

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109 Bond, ‘16th May’, Diary 1, p.83.
112 ibid., ‘Sunday 20th Aug.’, p.60. This shows – if there was any doubt – that it was not only New Zealand tourists who attended divine service.
113 Bond, ‘1st May’, Diary 2, p.27.
Dr Peter Bryce had only a message of one who had reached the end of a long life and was expecting to be called “Home” at any time – no vital message for the young and the impressionable age.\textsuperscript{114}

Clearly she hoped that Bryce would appeal to a broader spectrum of listener. McAra, in Edinburgh on 4 August 1935, ‘Attended St. Andrews Church in the morning and heard Rev. Tulloch Yuille preach’.\textsuperscript{115} Yuille had been minister of Knox Church, Dunedin, throughout the 1920s, but was living in Scotland by 1935, and McAra sought him out in determining which church to attend: ‘It was nice to be sitting under him again’.\textsuperscript{116} These ministers appealed not as entertainers, but as preachers: Bond and McAra were engaged in a kind of spiritual tourism, travelling to specific preachers in the hopes that hearing them would broaden their horizons and add to their experiences in a way that could not be experienced in New Zealand because those preachers did not reside there. They critically engaged with religious services, and thought hard about the ways these were relevant to their lives.

It appears some tourists attended church services at least in part in order to expand their ideas of possible ways of practicing their faith. As well as preachers’ messages, Bond was particularly interested in rituals, costumes and choral matters. She noted, of the Old First Presbyterian Church in San Francisco:

\begin{quote}
The voices in the distance softly chant the Choral Introit “The Lord is in His Holy temple...Let all the earth keep silence” during the silent prayer. Then the choir in gowns slowly march up the centre aisle singing the Processional hymn. Very fine effect, tho’ somewhat leaning towards the form adopted by the R.C. Church for Presbyterians perhaps!! and also perhaps not!! Service bright and attractive – fine solo.\textsuperscript{117}
\end{quote}

She frequently commented on the colour of choir gowns, the order of officials in processions, and the quality of singing; by her 1957 trip she had clearly been asked to put this interest to use, and was commissioned to outfit the choir at her church in Auckland. ‘Finally settled on “Mary Blue” material for choir gowns. It has been a long hunt’.\textsuperscript{118} Marion Knight was surprised, though not dismayed, at the practices of a church in Canada: ‘We spent Sunday in Calgary until late afternoon. We attended at 11 a.m. a very nice united church which had a splendid choir. It was more like a Methodist church than Anglican’.\textsuperscript{119} Bailey was highly impressed at a children’s Mass in a German town:

\textsuperscript{114} ibid., p.29.
\textsuperscript{116} ibid.
\textsuperscript{117} Bond, ‘10th Oct’, Diary 1, p.268.
\textsuperscript{118} Bond, ‘17th [August]’, Diary 4, p.27.
\textsuperscript{119} Marion Knight, Diary Vol. 1, February–May 1961, p.59, 93/121: AWML.
The children sang the Mass and sang it beautifully. None of them were afraid to stand up and sing at the top of their voices! They were perfectly trained and sang their hymns far better than many an adult choir in a New Zealand church. In between the hymns a small girl read prayers in German, in an exceedingly loud, clear voice, as if she meant them and as if it were an honour to take her turn like this. The rest of the children answered, and here, too, they were perfect, because they answered as if with one voice, there was no trailing one behind the other. I wonder why we never seem to acquire that technique in N.Z. 120

These services broadened the expectations of the tourists who attended them. Bond, Knight, and Bailey’s comments also show that services were judged according to how well rituals were performed by the congregations, not just the preacher. Bailey interpreted the clarity and volume of the little girl’s voice as a sign of her sincerity and dedication to faith.

Tourists did not just attend church services in the hope of entertainment or for spiritual stimulation. Just as in one’s home congregation, church attendance was a social occasion, though the social situations tourists found themselves in were often quite different from those at home. Sutherland went to church services with people who put her up for the night (she was travelling by bicycle, and with very little money, across the North American continent, reliant on the kindness of strangers for accommodation). 121 Peter Buck went to church with his hosts in Magareva, of whom he was very fond. ‘It so happens that Madame Brisson is an Episcopalian so Kenneth and I went with her and her maid Te Ra’i to the little church which serves the non-Catholics.” 122 The night after leaving his home in Christchurch, C. W. Collins stayed with friends in Wellington and attended church with the household; he also went while on the ship *City of Los Angeles* between Hawaii and Los Angeles along with some new friends and the ‘majority of the passengers’. 123 Edwin Howard went to a church service in Perth, for the ‘First time for 20 years last time for another 20 years. Song of hate sung by a parson’. 124 Yet sociability had drawn him back again before the end of his trip. Visiting Adelaide on his way home from South Africa, a city he had lived in twenty years earlier, he went ‘to Church with Lizzie in the evening’. 125 Boor noted, soon after arriving in Fiji, that

After church yesterday Miss Cobb introduced me to a Mr. Sealy, his wife and two boys, Grandson of Dr. Sealy, I suppose his father was one of the first family, he was very

121 Sutherland, ‘29th [September]’, Diary, p.31.
122 Buck, ‘September 14th, Friday’, Diary, p.22.
125 *ibid.*, ‘November Sunday 23’, p.130.
interested to hear all about Nellie, Edith and Fanny and I shall see more of them while here.\textsuperscript{126}

This meeting was important, because, as she noted soon afterwards, ‘Suva is said to be a very clicky place, and anyone not knowing the set can be very cruelly nicked’.\textsuperscript{127} Hobbs, as we have seen, attended services with her family, both those who were her travelling companions and family they visited, as did Bailey, Bond, and Johnston McAra.

Tourists’ attendance at church service was also not a one-way exchange where they took spiritual sustenance, entertainment, or company and left nothing behind: they contributed to the church communities via the collection plate or other means. Tithing or other financial contributions were usually only mentioned in their diaries if the experience was out of the ordinary. As Grace Vincent worried, while on the S.S. \textit{Akaroa} in 1948,

\begin{quote}
Forgot until it was too late about church service – but went in Evening instead – no collection at night, probably my acquaintances on board think that is why I prefer the later service.\textsuperscript{128}
\end{quote}

The thought that she would be perceived as miserly by her companions concerned her. Bailey found her experience of money collection in a Belgian church in 1936 more confusing and distracting than anxiety-producing:

\begin{quote}
Then the Collector came round with a money bag on the end of a pole. This was the first time I had seen this method of collection. It is a very good idea, but the pole must be handled by an expert or else persons behind or in front of the Collector would be getting hit in the head. As this operation was successfully completed, the next thing started. Half a dozen women, all dressed in black, black frocks, black caps and black aprons with huge pockets, started wending their way in and out of the congregation. And to my intense surprise I learnt that they were collecting small coins from everyone occupying a seat. It is the custom on the Continent, evidently, to pay for your seat. It is only a very small sum, starting with about 3d. (English money) and working down to ½d. according to whether you sit in the front of the church or not.\textsuperscript{129}
\end{quote}

Bailey went on to complain that these methods of collecting money took up most of the mass, and were distracting for the newcomer, but did not begrudge the cost itself. Tourists sometimes contributed materially to congregations in ways beyond the collection plate. Bond helped her American cousin with cooking for a church fundraiser in 1957: ‘There is to be a Church Sale of

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{126} Boor, ‘Suva May 12th’, Diary 1, Vol. 2, p.3.
\item \textsuperscript{127} ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{128} Grace Vincent, ‘Sunday April 11’, Diary, 25 March–22 September 1948, p.16, Dunsford Family Collection.
\item \textsuperscript{129} Bailey, ‘Sunday August 2\textsuperscript{nd}, 1936’, Diary 1, Vol. 2, p.199.
\end{itemize}
Work and a Chicken Dinner tomorrow and Sadie and I fried 38 lbs chicken’. "Tourists’ contributions to churches abroad connected them with the congregations which surrounded them, if only for a short while.

Circumstantial reasons for attending particular services could lead to tourists attending church either more or less often than they might have done when at home. Howard, as we have seen, did not consider himself a regular churchgoer in New Zealand; his travels led him to church services with far greater regularity than at home in Christchurch. Sutherland, likewise, when left to her own devices, did not report voluntarily going to church services. Language barriers, or the demographical concentration of denominations in certain places, could limit church attendance for periods of time: the Bonds went to church frequently in England, Scotland, Ireland, the United States and Canada, but hardly at all when visiting France, Germany, Austria, Italy, Switzerland or Scandinavia. Circumstances combined with the desires of tourists for entertainment or spiritual ‘bread’, as Bond called it, to affect church attendance, and individual tourists attended different church services for a variety of different reasons. Despite these diverse reasons for attending, what is notable – and counter to expectations in scholarship on tourism – is that they did attend. Religious participation forms an integral part of the travel experience conveyed by these diarists.

The diarists drawn upon here were often enthusiastic adopters of ‘the new’, commenting excitedly on the latest transportation technologies – ever-larger ocean liners, escalators, commercial jet flights – and other technologies like neon signage. In other words, they existed in and some embraced a modern Western world. That world was also saturated with what Callum Brown has termed ‘discursive Christianity’. Their diaries reflected this, showing a facility and familiarity with Christian motifs, figures, architecture, ritual and scripture. Christian language underpinned Rothwell’s ‘spiritualism’, and was a part of the culture of even Jewish New Zealanders. Diarists also contributed to this discourse, using language and concepts to explain their experiences abroad. Where they felt a connection with a place, religious feeling could well from their pens to demonstrate this. Where they wished to present themselves as separate, they might use Christianity as a shield. They often used their Christian cultural standpoint imaginatively, creatively, and critically, reflecting their individual receptivity to and intellectual engagement with strangeness. As well as using religion to ‘read’ places and peoples, the religious

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130 Bond, ‘17th [October]’, Diary 4, p.55.
identity of these tourists could be ‘read’ by states they visited and people they met. The ‘modern
tourist’ and the ‘religious traveller’ in the interwar years were often one and the same.

Their own denominational affiliations affected the significance travel diarists attributed to
different religious buildings and objects, and to church services; their status as insiders or
outsiders within a given church space impacted the analyses they made. Sometimes they became
insiders, at least for a short time, by connecting with locals, friends and family through their
attendance at church service or their visits to church buildings. Tourists found new and
unexpected ways of conducting, choreographing, scoring and outfitting religious services; they
were entertained, educated, and sometimes emotionally touched by their experiences. Yet as
situational as their experiences could be, their religious affiliation did not determine these tourists’
responses to what they saw abroad. There was no single ‘Catholic’ response to church spaces; no
united ‘Presbyterian’ response.

There were, however, some time-bound trends in these tourists’ relationships with
religion; one of the few instances we can see clear shifts in tourist practice between the interwar
and postwar years. There are some striking differences between the interwar and postwar periods
in the ways travel diarists expressed religious sentiment, and in the locations they described in
religious terms. In the interwar years, there was a geographically-diffuse fascination with the
spiritual and religious. Not only did some travel diarists claim to sense the presence of spirits in
diverse locations and imagined the long-dead in the present, but many tourists seemed deeply
interested in non-Christian religions they encountered during their travels. From Rothwell’s
spiritualist leanings to Dora de Beer’s interest in the hybrid Buddhist/Hindu temples she found
in Ceylon, the boundaries between religions fascinated many travellers. By contrast, the postwar
period saw something of a ‘retreat’ into Christianity and into the church. Just as in the interwar
years, many diarists continued to strongly identify themselves by church allegiances, and they
were still well-versed in Christian teachings, doctrine, and rituals, but no longer did they write
about moments of communion with the dead. Religious commentary was used more exclusively
to refer only to church buildings or church officials, and none of these travel diarists showed
interest in the doctrinal or ritual elements of non-Christian religions. Religion became more
bounded, geographically and metaphysically. The religious beliefs of these travel diarists affected
their encounters with foreign cultures in heterogeneous and unpredictable ways.

Travel diarists maintained quotidian, familiar practices in work and religious practice
while overseas in order to engage emotionally, intellectually and materially with the people and
places they encountered abroad. The following three chapters shift focus very slightly away from
tourist behaviours and towards the ways these New Zealand tourists constructed the world: their
imagined geographies. The next chapter, on shopping, does engage with tourists’ behaviour, but
does so as a way of understanding the global map of commodities these tourists tapped into and constructed. Much as with the experiences of work and religion, the relationship between tourists’ sense of New Zealand and their sense of the foreign is at its core, but place comes increasingly to the fore.
SECTION THREE: AT HOME OVERSEAS?
CHAPTER FOUR

The Dainty and the Dirty: Tourist Shopping from Local to Global

Charles Begg received several gifts as he travelled between Dunedin and Auckland at the beginning of a long international trip in 1937. Begg was the third-generation owner of the Dunedin-based music chain store Beggs, and he visited business contacts as he journeyed up the country in April.1 A business associate in Wellington gave him a pen and pencil set; his Wellington staff gave him ‘an attaché case, equipped with writing material, brushes, razor, etc.’; staff in Auckland ‘presented me with a Rolls Razor, which will be most useful, and should last me for many years’.2 Friends and family had also showered gifts on Kathleen Bailey the year before, as she made her inaugural departure from New Zealand:

I rang for the steward to see if he couldn’t do anything with my seven bouquets. He told me I was the only person on the ship who had as many bouquets. Some will be on my table at breakfast time. I got six before the ship sailed and another was delivered just before dinner from Maisie Johnston – home grown flowers out of her own garden and very beautiful. There was a nice long letter with these[,] two telegrams were also delivered (Grandma and Mrs Graham) and a nice long letter from Macy. Helen left me a bouquet and the love[liest] three chiffon evening handkerchiefs. I have now five huge boxes of chocolates. Lord help me!!!3

Eve Bond was likewise overwhelmed with gifts in 1937: ‘Cabin just a mass of books, chocs and flowers on each bed – both beds completely covered. All I could think of was “The Lady of Shalott floating down to Lancelot.”’4 The bestowing of gifts upon travellers was not confined to the interwar years: Keith and Ivy Pike were given the travel diary in which he recorded their journey around Australia in 1959, as well as telegrams and flowers.5 Nancy Laurenson, like Bailey and Bond, emphasised her friends’ generosity in 1955:

Came on board (and got passes for Jean and Laura) and found cabin a positive power of flowers and mail. Flowers from Jack and Margaret, Dorothy and Alan, “Harry, Ilene and the Littlewood boys!” Simply no room to move, so Jean and Laura did not stay long.6

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1 Beggs, founded in Dunedin in the early 1860s, was then a store selling instruments and sheet music; it had expanded considerably in stock diversity and geographical reach by 1937, with branches around New Zealand and an office in London. Gordon Parry, ‘Begg, Charles – Biography’, Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 1 September 2010, URL: http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1b15/1. (Accessed 17 April 2012.)
Despite the varying tones of amusement and mock horror with which these gifts were reported, the recipients understood that they were intended to be useful or comforting on the long travels to come, and they read them as signs of the strength of their bonds with members of their communities in New Zealand. Givers and recipients could attach an enormously wide range of meanings to these gifts. Among other things, gifts appeared to prompt further shopping and gifting. As Bond commented, immediately after her cryptic and ominous summoning of the spectre of the Lady of Shalott, ‘A sheaf of wires and letters must be acknowledged’.

Acknowledgement required the purchase of postage; as Chapter One noted, that could be quite expensive. Reciprocity, a desire to continue their involvement in annual milestones such as the birthday and Christmas celebrations of friends and family at home, or a desire to communicate their travel experiences through material objects, also impelled tourists to shop for gifts while travelling.

Shopping was both the quintessential ‘tourist’ activity and its most quotidian. Yet while shopping has been consistently acknowledged by historians of tourism – particularly those who have written on tourism in London – it has been little explored. Travel diaries are a rich resource for such an exploration. Diarists wrote about shopping constantly. The diaries are packed with descriptions of shopping for a variety of goods, in a huge range of places, and to multiple ends. To meet tourists’ own needs, clothing, food, and money in different currencies needed to be purchased. Often tourists shopped for souvenirs or bought films to create their own memorial images of their voyages. Some tourists purchased items which they could not get in New Zealand, or bought specialty items on behalf of family and friends. In short, tourists purchased items large and small, cheap and expensive, from handkerchiefs to cars, gold watches to newspapers, and they wrote about these purchases. Shopping began as preparation for the voyage and remained a constant activity for every diarist. Even if they had limited funds, tourists shopped throughout their trips. Purchases which might be understood as mundane when done in New Zealand – buying something sweet at a bakery, for instance – could be recorded in travel

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7 The words Bond used were not a direct quotation from Alfred Tennyson’s 1833 poem The Lady of Shalott, nor does that poem mention flowers or chocolates accompanying the dying Lady, while her boat drifted down to Camelot. Possibly Bond was thinking of the John William Waterhouse painting The Lady of Shalott (1888), in which items spill over the edge of the Lady’s narrow boat. Bond, ‘16.3.37’, Diary 1, p.1

8 Marion Knight, Diary Vol. 2, 17 May 1961–9 August 1962, 93/121: AWMML; the inside front cover of this volume contains a long list of presents bought for particular events, and sent to family or friends in New Zealand.

9 Cecilia Morgan, ‘A Happy Holiday: English Canadians and Transatlantic Tourism, 1870–1930’, Toronto, 2008, pp.192–195, 293, 337–338 mentions how much of a draw shopping was in London, and briefly indicates some of the purchases made by these tourists in other European cities, but in a 461 page book, these few pages do not represent an in-depth consideration of the subject. Likewise, Angela Woollacott indicated the attraction of the London shops, but this was not the focus of To Try Her Fortune in London: Australian Women, Colonialism and Modernity, Oxford, 2001.
diaries, transformed into something noteworthy through locale, novel currency or shopping practice, or by the unfamiliarity of the goods purchased.\(^{10}\)

Because many kinds of items and practices were included in travel diaries’ descriptions of shopping, this chapter analyses a broad range of examples. This is not without precedent: scholarship which focuses on tourists’ consumer behaviour in the present has understood shopping or consumption in similarly expansive ways. Though their work is largely focussed on optimising the effectiveness of marketing strategies, John Swarbrooke and Susan Horner cast a very wide net when considering tourist consumption, including paying for transportation and accommodation.\(^{11}\) Dallen J. Timothy does likewise, looking at tourist \textit{shopping} (as distinct from the larger category of consumption) in particular.\(^{12}\) The diarists described some of their actions in a similar spirit of inclusivity to these scholars’ definitions of ‘shopping’, though the diarists’ applications are slightly narrower. Looking closely at the diaries allows us to see the ways tourists understood shopping. I have drawn on examples where diarists explicitly described themselves shopping (which included entering stores but not buying anything and window shopping), or where they use a form of the verb ‘to buy’. Actual purchasing did not define shopping, but diarists frequently connected ‘buying’ with their shopping practice (‘I went shopping and I bought...’), and used this verb as shorthand when they bought without having intentionally set out to go shopping.\(^{13}\) Passages on shipboard or occasionally aircraft were infrequently described in these terms (diarists typically ‘got’ or ‘reserved’ a passage), so are excluded here.\(^{14}\) However, the purview of this chapter is far broader than in many histories of shopping, including most kinds of tourists’ expenditure.

Tourist-shoppers’ own testimonies are central to this chapter. Most histories written about shopping and studies of tourists-as-consumers do not focus on the experiences of shoppers themselves, or on what determined their shopping decisions or defined their experiences. Tourism Studies, which largely focuses on contemporary tourism, has favoured modelling and theorising over studying tourist subjects. Swarbrooke and Horner gesture at the insufficiency of consumer behaviour models as they have been applied and adapted to tourism, describing them as ‘linear and rather simplistic’ and rarely supported by empirical research.\(^{15}\) The voices of tourists – and, in large part, shoppers of all kinds – are also under-represented in histories of shopping. This has perhaps been a side-effect of the evidence most readily available

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\(^{10}\) Bailey, ‘Friday April 17th, 1936’, Diary 1, Vol. 1, p.109.

\(^{11}\) John Swarbrooke and Susan Horner, \textit{Consumer Behaviour in Tourism}, 2\textsuperscript{nd} edn, Oxford, 2007, p.3.


\(^{13}\) For example, Bond, ‘30\textsuperscript{th} Sept.’, Diary 1, p.258.

\(^{14}\) Begg, ‘24\textsuperscript{th} [April]’, Diary, p.5; Kathleen Bailey, ‘Friday December 22\textsuperscript{nd}, 1950’, ‘Wednesday December 27\textsuperscript{th}, 1950’, Diary 2, 19 July 1950–3 June 1951, pp.157, 161, 95/15: AWMML.

\(^{15}\) Swarbrooke and Horner, p.47.
to historians. The records of various kinds of businesses (department stores, chain stores, cooperatives, independent stores, supermarkets and others), including their advertisements and self-aggrandising media, have provided a wealth of material to analyse. Media representations of shopping routes and prescriptive literature about what to wear were prolific, and have formed the basis of excellent work as well. But individual responses to, experiences of, and decisions about shopping are generally not brought to the fore in these histories, perhaps because the commonplace nature of shopping excursions did not inspire large numbers of non-travelling shoppers to record their feelings. Instead, studies have tended to foreground discourses, displays, representations and marketing of specific shopping locations or particular kinds of goods.

Shoppers making their own sense of these experiences provide a necessary counterpoint and corollary to histories focussed on projected images by stores and prescriptive journalism. We also gain a holistic sense of some shoppers’ behaviour from these diaries. For instance, the many studies which look at the West End of London as a shopping destination have variously considered the ways in which it was constructed for a certain class and gender of shopper, the ways it was marketed and selectively mapped, the reputations of various stores, the architecture of shops, and discourses around window displays and service culture. Shoppers in the West End have also been identified by social strata; Erika D. Rappaport has argued that West End merchants began courting the middle classes from the middle of the nineteenth century, and that the upper classes had long been comfortable there. She emphasises the figuring of the West End also as a tourist sight:

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Foreign and colonial tourists also spent a good deal of time and money in this neighbourhood. This region thus became an international center catering to Britain’s aristocracy and bourgeoisie as well as to wealthy colonials, Europeans, and Americans.  

Yet what did being a ‘wealthy colonial’ or a middle-class tourist-shopper mean when it came to purchases made? Bailey, who shopped in the West End for quality tailor-made garments from the first week of her arrival in London, in late April 1936, at other times bought primary products – wool, fabric – and made her own garments, or employed a dressmaker to make them. By contrast Bond, another West End clothes shopper, exclusively bought tailor-made. As well as demonstrating diversity of shopping practice within the same location, travel diaries allow us to see how shopping was understood or rhetorically constructed in different places. By the time Bailey had reached the West End, for instance, she had experience shopping in not only New Zealand, but in ports in Australia, Asia, Africa and elsewhere in Europe, and the ways she wrote about her shopping experiences differentiated these sites. These diaries enjoin us to consider transnational shopping experiences, showing the ways parts of the world were constructed and judged by individuals as shoppers.

The foci of this chapter are the meanings shoppers attached to their purchases and the places from which they bought. Though women’s voices might be more often heard in this chapter than men’s, gender is not an organising theme, as it has been in many other histories of shopping, because these diaries allow us the opportunity to sketch responses to quite different questions. Through these travel diaries we gain a unique insight into shoppers’ decision-making

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20 Bailey, ‘Friday, 24th, April, 1936’, ‘Saturday, April, 25th, 1936’, Diary 1, Vol. 1, pp.121, 123 for early shopping in London; p.12 is the earliest reference she makes to purchasing wool to knit a jumper with, but there are many more throughout her 1936–1937 and 1950–1951 diaries.
22 Women spent more time writing about their visits to shops, though clearly, the diarists did not report on everything they did, and usually did not provide the precise amounts of time they spent doing them. There were other gendered trends: the most obviously enthusiastic shoppers among the diarists, Bailey and Bond, were both female (though they were also among the most verbose diarists on most subjects), Some women (particularly Bailey and Marion Knight), but no men, mentioned purchasing wool, patterns and fabric which they used to make clothing and to pass the time on long journeys. Women were also much more likely to buy high-end, ‘dainty’ ornaments. The only example where a male tourist purchased something ‘delicate’ was when John Bailey bought china statuettes for his wife and his sister in Vienna: Bailey, ‘Monday, August 24th, 1936’, Diary 1, Vol. 2, pp.252–253. But many women did not buy china, porcelain or crystal either. Henrietta Rothwell and Louise Sutherland bought very little that they could not consume or wear. A typical entry about shopping for Rothwell: ‘Went to dinner at Cafeteria – Had breakfast in our room – roll – butter – marmalade – pears – dinner cost 1/- braised steak and pastry – rolls blancmange and jelly cup of tea’. Henrietta Rothwell, ‘5.20 p.m. Tuesday [1 February’], Diary Vol. 1, 14 January–1 February 1927, p.26, MSC 249: HCL. Louise Sutherland, ‘3rd Sept’, undated entry c.25 October, Diary, 12 August–26 October 1955, 25 June–late August 1956, pp.10, 38, MS-2882/165: HC mentions buying food. However, both male and female diarists described shopping without embarrassment. Families travelling together often consulted one another, regardless of gender, on their purchases; men were just as likely to be asked for their opinions of a wife, sister, or mother’s hat or dress as women were asked to consult on the fit of a suit. Bailey, ‘Saturday, April, 25th,’
processes under duress and into their perceptions of the globe as comprised of a series of shopping destinations, not just the imaginative shopping geography of a city. These diaries give us important insights into diarists’ decisions about purchasing items abroad and the relative values they assigned to certain commodities. Despite all tourists having the wherewithal to get themselves overseas, their budgets varied wildly. As Chapter Two showed, many tourists needed to work in order to fund their travels, and both employed and unemployed tourists often had to budget stringently. Regardless of tourists’ bank balances, they sometimes found themselves without sufficient funds in the particular currency they required. This meant that almost all tourists found themselves in circumstances where they had to weigh up the relative value of goods or curtail expenditure, and these diaries suggest ways that certain items were prioritised by tourists. We see their preferences, desires, and decision-making processes, as they tossed up whether to buy or not.

What we find is extraordinary diversity in the ways these New Zealand tourists approached shopping in different parts of the globe, and striking consistency between tourists and the ways they valued particular items or places. Some parts of the world were figured as little more than global shopping emporia plugging internationally available goods. For the travel diarists in this thesis, shopping in these places took precedence over experiencing almost anything else of the histories, cultures or architecture, and so they were predominantly depicted as interchangeable and globalised. Other parts of the world were valued for the particularity of their artisanal production and so shopping became one means among many of engaging closely with the individual cultures and practices – perceived as national or local – that persisted there. Imagined geographies emerge from these diaries, and the shopping map which these tourists rhetorically constructed or supported sometimes connected spaces across vast distances into an enormous region, and in other places zoomed in to focus on the local minutiae of difference. This map stayed remarkably constant throughout the diaries; it was not substantially redrawn in the postwar years, though so many political borders shifted during this time. It was predominantly shared – the same parts of the world were understood in the same ways by various tourists – but at other times became more personal and idiosyncratic. The meanings of shopping shifted as diarists arrived in a desired destination. Tourists’ descriptions of their purchases could also signal the spaces in which they set themselves up as ‘at home’ abroad; the geographical locations of those ‘homes’ varied substantially, including London, Devon, the western United States, Magareva, Fiji, or Sydney.

Worlds of Shopping

Because these tourists travelled so widely, their testimonies allow us to contrast the ways they connected shopping with different sized units of place. ‘Place’ has been attributed considerable sway in histories of shopping. John Benson and Laura Ugolini have suggested that ‘consumers’ and observers’ attitudes towards sellers and towards the places where commercial transactions take place are inseparable from their attitudes towards the goods that are for sale’.24 Rappaport made a similar point:

As it does today, shopping in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries implied more than merely purchasing goods in the shop. As one recent theorist has remarked, it is not so much the “objects consumed that count in the act of consumption, but rather the unique sense of place.”25

These assertions emphasise the importance of shoppers’ attitudes to place and downplay the significance of the objects of desire. But what are the limits of ‘place’? In the contexts of their discussions, Benson and Ugolini and Rappaport suggest that shoppers’ perceptions of place stretch from the immediate environs of the point of sale to the surrounding streets, and perhaps the district. Yet these travel diarists mentioned local conditions only on some occasions. At other times, they interpreted the shopping cultures and shopping environments they encountered in terms of nation, continent, or region. Tourists connected countries, cities, or towns together into broad regions. Conceptualising places as part of a region rendered them uniform in these diary accounts. When travel diaries named individual shops, shopping areas, and emphasised the closeness between objects’ place of production and their place of purchase, as they did within parts of Europe, they leveraged cultural values of quality and high status to accrue to their purchases.

Regional patterns of shopping practice emerged from the diaries which described long oceanic travels.26 Shopping practices in the first port cities visited by tourists, usually Sydney or Suva, depending on whether they took a westward or eastward route from New Zealand, were presented as remarkably similar despite enormous divergence in the size of shopping districts and goods availability. Both ports took ships between three and four days to reach throughout the period. Many tourists visited large department stores in Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide, although few mentioned making durable goods purchases in these establishments.27 Instead,

25 Rappaport, Shopping for Pleasure, p.5.
26 This comprised about two thirds of all of the trips described in the diaries in my sample.
perishables such as fruit were the main purchase of these tourists, particularly in Hobart and Perth, but also in Sydney. Tourists eagerly visited shops in Suva also, and again bought little; most of their acquisitions were also fruit or other food. Begg was an exception, buying ‘a white mess jacket for wearing in the saloon’ from an ‘Indian tailor’. In both places, the diarists also spent time with friends or family, visited cathedrals or Fijian villages, and admired natural beauty.

By contrast with these early port visits, shopping was a crucial – sometimes the only – component of mid-journey port stops. For travellers on the Suez Canal route to Europe, these ports were in Asia (Colombo and perhaps Bombay), and then Aden followed by North African ports (Port Said, Port Sudan, Port Suez and Cairo). Those who took eastward routes stopped in Panama City, Cristobal, Colon or Curaçao, and also treated the ports as shopping locations, though this became less pronounced in the postwar years. Though tourists bought a range of things at these different ports, and had varying opinions of the bargaining cultures which predominated there, they frequently understood these ports in relation to one another. Colombo was often used as a ‘standard’ against which ports including Aden and Port Said (and if the tourist returned via different routes, Panama City or Penang) were compared. Bailey, who had travelled previously via the Suez route, described Panama shopping in terms of her experiences eighteen months earlier in Colombo and Aden: ‘Panama city was rather Eastern in its shops, because it[s] biggest were the same sort of silk shops as abound in Colombo, Aden, and such ports’.

These mid-journey ports were understood as shopping destinations and judged accordingly. Colombo’s bazaars were not well-regarded by Bond (though she enjoyed one of their ‘better’ shops, Hirdaramani), but Bailey had great fun bargaining with shopkeepers and bragged of her successes:

29 Most tourists made no mention of purchases made in Fiji, for instance: C. W. Collins, ‘Wednesday, April 27th, 1932’, Travelogue, 9 April–1 June 1932, pp.21–22, MB 95 Box 1: MB, or Marion Knight, Diary Vol. 1, February–May 1961, pp.1–2, 93/121: AWMML. Bond visited on Good Friday 1950 and found the shops closed, ‘7th April’, Diary 2, 4 April–28 November 1950, pp.2–3, Private Collection, but was given a basket of fruit by a niece who met her there.
30 Begg, ‘Saturday April 24th’, Diary, p.4.
I bought the most beautiful handmade and hand embroidered nightgown I’ve ever seen. It is a champagne colour and fits me beautifully. I paid 8 rupees for this (12/-) and I know that others were asking £3/3/- for one almost the same.34

Several tourists commented on the absence of duty in Aden, and it was regularly figured as a bargain-hunter’s paradise.35 Bailey thought cigarettes inexpensive, and described plentiful cheap silk garments and linen handkerchiefs.

Handworked Chinese Tussore Gowns sell for 11/6 and are a lovely lightweight summer gown. And a really heavy shantung (handworked plentifully) one costs only 6/6. If you bought these in N.Z. you would pay about 25/- and 30/ to 35/-. The heavy Shantung would never wear out. Reversible printed Crepe de chine ones, really good quality, are from 10/- to about 20/-. Of course all these are rock bottom prices. We beat them down from about half as much again.36

Hobbs purchased ‘2 blouses, a camera, binoculars, a moving bear, scarves, and small conway stewart pen’.37 Marion Knight looked for a slide projector and binoculars there, though was warned off about buying lenses in ‘humid countries’.38 Keith Pike still found Aden notably cheap in 1962, enough to overcome his dislike of the shopping culture there: ‘Came to Aden, went ashore and did some more buying up. Goods very cheap here being duty free – I’m afraid I don’t enjoy bargaining –’39 In Port Said Bailey visited Simon Arzt, a department store she compared with ‘Milnes’ (Milne & Choyce, Auckland).40 Tourists bought fruit and items of clothing (including stoles and skirts) in Caribbean ports.41 Bailey found Willemstad (the capital of Curaçao) enticing in 1950, but her spending capacity was curtailed:

The shops were filled with most attractive china, jewelry, antiques etc but all beyond our pockets because of the lack of dollars. The prices are over 100% dearer to us because of the exchange not being in our favour. I bought some American Magazines with cost me 2 ¾ dollars (22/6) – one or two odd things I needed. I got Margaret’s Revlon lipstick for her out of my precious dollar funds.42

Two commonalities are particularly striking among all these examples, reflecting the ways these places were mostly stripped of individuality in these travel diaries and figured instead as part

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34 Bond, ‘6th Apr.’, Diary 1, pp. 25, 26; Bailey, ‘Wednesday April 1st, 1936’, Diary 1, Vol. 1, p.70.
36 Bailey, ‘Tuesday April 7th, 1936’, Diary 1, Vol. 1, p.76.
41 Bond, ‘24th [May]’, Diary 4, p.2; Anonymous school teacher, ‘Monday – 7th December’, Diary, p.5.
of an equatorial shopping region. First, the goods these tourists bought were mostly made by international or foreign brands, or made of imported materials: Chinese silk garments, Revlon lipsticks, Goldflakes English cigarettes, Conway Stewart pens. Only a couple of tourists wished to purchase something particular to these places. The unnamed Hamilton-based school teacher who travelled to England in late 1959 felt his efforts towards purchasing ‘a souvenir typical of Curaçao’ were in vain. In the end, he bought ‘a scarf and 3 postcards only!’ and paid using foreign currency. Even Panama hats, recommended in the printed information of ‘My Trip Book’ template diaries, were not purchased by these diarists when in Panama. Only a few shops were mentioned by name, and these had a strong reputation for catering to pausing steamships. For the most part, tourists used currency not particular to the countries in which the ports were located: the pound sterling or the US dollar. Sometimes they did not even need to set foot on the ground and observe the particularities of place in order to shop; as Bailey exclaimed, merchants would row out to the boats from ‘Eastern ports’, including Aden. She thought that ‘buying at the ship’s side is good fun where done from a ship as high out of the water as this’.

Second, the distinctions made between places were almost entirely comparisons of price and quality, and the only comments which distinguished these places from previously-encountered shopping districts was the occasional comment on the experience of bartering. Some diarists took to bargaining, others did not; that they mentioned it at all was sometimes the only sign that they might not have been shopping in New Zealand. The acquisition of cheap goods took prominence in most diarists’ accounts over a desire to learn about the history or cultures of these places. This was, of course, not always the case: Ceylon was of interest to some travellers for other reasons, including Bond and Dora de Beer, who both ventured beyond the bazaars. After World War II, more diarists were interested in Caribbean ports beyond the marketplace, perhaps because the pound was weak against the dollar, which meant cheap shopping was harder to come by. But in the interwar years, Bailey was one of a very few diarists

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43 Revlon is an American brand; Conway Stewart is an English one.
45 Grace Vincent, Diary, 25 March–22 September 1948, p.iii, Dunsford Family Collection.
47 Bailey, ‘Tuesday April 7th, 1936’, Diary 1, Vol. 1, p.75.
48 Bond, ‘6th Apr.’, ‘7th Apr.’, Diary 1, pp.24–30; Dora de Beer, Diary: Ceylon, 17–25 October 1936, MS-1392/040: HC. Bond was especially interested in the tea plantations and gardens, probably in part because her husband imported tea and she was a keen gardener; de Beer knew some people in Ceylon and also had a long-standing interest in mountain climbing, so she stayed with friends for a time and walked in the hills for several days.
49 Redmond Phillips, undated entry, Diary, 8 January–15 May 1948, p.15, MLMSS 6936/1: ML: “We were forcibly reminded of Britain’s dwindling power and influence by the extreme difficulty we had in getting dollars for sterling.
who went to look at the architecture in one of the Caribbean ports, and she did so only after, forlorn, she found that most of the shops in Panama were closed because it was Sunday.\(^5\)

Knowing little of Panama City, she was flabbergasted to discover most things about it:

I can honestly say that the private houses here would compete with any others in the world for beauty of architecture, originality, and lovely colour. They were masterpieces, and came as such complete surprises.\(^6\)

These ports existed for most of these tourists predominantly as large shopping emporia catering directly to them. Almost none of these diarists commented on the display of goods, the service they received, or the individuality of shops or stalls: the details of these shopping places largely seemed irrelevant for them. They rarely made distinctions between places in this equatorial region, understanding their ‘real’, distinct, destinations as yet to come.\(^7\)

That equatorial ports were understood as global shopping emporia is particularly clear when we compare travel diarists’ responses to later ports in which they spent brief periods of time. Once the westward-travelling ships had moved into the Mediterranean, shipping routes varied quite substantially, but most stopped at Marseilles and Gibraltar, and some took in Malta, Naples, Genoa, Nice, or Toulon. Shopping was not at the forefront of most tourists’ agendas in these places, aside from the intrepid Bailey, who purchased silk stockings, pastries, face cream and powder, and helped a friend select a French umbrella in the latest style.\(^8\) East-bound ships often stopped in Vancouver, San Francisco, or New York. Likewise, instead of racing into the shops, diarists visited churches, parks, looked at architecture, admired views, and visited the theatre (especially in New York) or met friends.\(^9\) Those who did look at the shops tended to buy little in these North American capitals. The shopping practices of these tourists reflect both


\(^6\) ibid., p.153. Phillips also commented on the visual appearance of the houses in Willemstad, undated entry, Diary, pp.15–16.

\(^7\) Colombo, Aden, Panama City and Curacao inhabited the same region, if longitude is ignored. For instance, while Colombo and Panama City are more than 10,000km apart, they are at similar latitudes (6° 56’ N and 9° 00’ N respectively), and significantly for these tourists, were approximately the same distance from New Zealand along the sea routes. Though boats stopped in ports for varying lengths of time en route, and there were many more ports between Auckland and Colombo than Auckland and Panama (or Cristobal or Colon), interwar diarists arrived at each place an equivalent amount of time after departing from Auckland. Bond, in 1937, took 21 days to reach Colombo from Auckland (Diary 1); Edwin Howard took 22 days to reach Panama from Auckland in the same year (Edwin Howard, Diary 2, 7 January–14 April 1937, MS-0980/010: HC.) The sea routes changed in the postwar years, with the route to Colombo lengthening, to allow longer stops at the Australian ports, and the Panama route, with fewer options for stops, reducing. Bailey took only 16 days to reach Panama in 1950 (Diary 2), making it only slightly longer than the time taken to reach Hawaii from Auckland.

\(^8\) Bailey, ‘Friday April 17\(^{th}\), 1936’, ‘Sunday April 19\(^{th}\), 1936’, Diary 1, Vol. 1, pp.109, 112–113.

distinctions made between place and the ways it was conceived, and that these tourists were confident consumers in a global commercial culture.

When tourists visited cities or countries in which they recognised shopping as one possible activity among many, the ways they wrote about the experiences changed. Shopping shifted from being described in ways that suggested it could be done anywhere, involving products available in many parts of the globe, to an activity through which tourists could claim to better engage with or understand the particularity of a locale and its inhabitants. Accounts of shopping in Europe tended to emphasise the uniqueness of the products available and the specialisation of the places which produced them. They also emphasised that production and purchase happened in the same location. The more precise tourists were in their descriptions of place (naming particular shops or small shopping districts rather than entire cities) the more highly did they usually seem to regard them, and any purchases they might have made there. Though we can still find varying responses to certain kinds of shopping areas, diaries all focus on the particularity of those places and the experiences tourists had there. Comparing accounts of shopping in Europe and just north of the equator also shows that travel diarists’ ideas about place predated their arrival in those places. Stores’ names were dropped into some diaries in ways which suggested that their authors had heard of them before and expected their audience to know of them. The facts that goods were inexpensive and selling practices were different were not what led these travellers to characterise Aden as a shopping destination above all.

This is apparent when we compare travel diarists’ accounts of equatorial ports with those of the Caledonian Market or Petticoat Lane in London, both also renowned for the cheapness of their goods. Rather than focussing almost exclusively on the items they purchased there, these tourists tried to evoke the experience of being in these street markets. Bailey visited the Caledonian Market several times; the first time in May 1936 she expended nearly 500 words describing the experience. She found it extremely amusing, noting that:

There is a comical mixture of cockney people and others with their chaffeurs in attendance (to carry the basket of purchases). Everything is very fresh and exceedingly cheap. The cockney salesmen, and women, when selling their wares have a never-ending flow of talk,

55 The Caledonian Market was a livestock market established near the Caledonian Rd in London in 1855. In the early twentieth century, it became a bric-a-brac or antique market.
calling every prospective buyer “darling” or “dearie”, or cursing you heartily if you turn them
down or pass them by. It is too funny to listen to them.56

She then went on to describe flower sellers and their business practices at length: the flowerboxes
on which they stood, the number of flowers they had for sale, the time the market closed, the
noise of the sellers’ calls, the division of labour within stalls, and how busy the sellers appeared to
be.57 Though she did purchase items from the market (three dozen tulips and a bunch of roses),
and returned several other times during her stay in London to buy more, this information was
not the focus of her report.58

Other diarists presented London street markets as exotic spectacles, symptomatic of the
diversity of this large city. Eve Bond visited ‘Petticoat Lane’ in 1950, and like Bailey, commented
on her amusement and the noise:

Went to Petticoat Lane now called Middlesex St. Literally hundreds and hundreds of people
milling along the Street and in and around the stalls – it was a case of who could shout the
loudest proclaiming their merchandise – the women’s voices unbelievably were strident and
metallic. Very amusing facial expressions too, all helping in selling their wares!59

Keith Pike took advantage of Sunday trading in this majority Jewish area, and also described his
trip in terms of the experience (he did not mention having bought anything):

One Sunday morning we went down Petticoat Lane – a worthwhile experience – crowd was
dense and all kind of Salesmen were had stalls – things were cheap and nasty in the main –
the shops near by also were open while market was on —60

In these instances, the atmosphere of the marketplaces was hugely significant to diarists’
descriptions. Tourists were sensitive to the exoticism of these street markets while downplaying
the novelty or individuality of equatorial ports. It is striking that ‘the exotic’ was most readily
recognised as existing within the interstices of the modern city.

Europe was understood, in travel diaries’ accounts of shopping, as a series of distinct
countries or regions filled with small-scale artisan production of high quality goods. Many travel
diarists sought out local products, others merely commented upon them and longed to be able to
buy. In either instance, the closeness between the place of production and the place of purchase
made these special souvenirs. In Florence in 1937, the Bonds bought a large number of marble
sculptures by a member of a famous sculpting dynasty:

57 ibid.
pp.32, 130, 95/15: AWML.
Bought “Aviation” and 2 bowls [...] and “Minerva”, “Beatrice”, “Rachel” and the “Lovers” at Romanelli’s. Having them shipped to N.Z. direct to arrive about the end of Oct. or beginning of Nov.\textsuperscript{61}

Depicting recent technological innovation (which the Bonds had first experienced a month earlier), as well as classical, Biblical and Renaissance themes, these sculptures reflected the Bonds’ sense of Italy. In Venice, several days later, the Bonds visited the glassblowing island of Murano, describing its products in superlatives:

went to a glass factory and saw them blowing and making wine glasses etc. Then we were led in to the warehouse, where we nearly lost our eyesight with exquisite and dainty goods. I’m afraid more than eyesight was lost – we went thro’ all our remaining lire in buying presents for NZ which are being sent direct to save further bother.\textsuperscript{62}

In Brussels she bought lace.\textsuperscript{63} In Munich, Bailey had her eye on some china figurines:

Lunch over, we drove to the “Nymphanburg” china shop, which had a fatal attraction for all four of us. This china is famous the world over, and is perfectly exquisite! Its price is positively prohibitive. John bought Margaret the daintiest model of a lady (named Julia), and then as the two of us loved the animal models so much, to my surprise, he presented me with the most perfect model of a roebuck. It is really the most exquisite little chap, and very typical of our tour since we have been touring through roebuck country.\textsuperscript{64}

Ruth Wix was particularly interested in Swedish crystal and bronze sculpture. After a radio interview in Stockholm, she was paid 50 kronor, much to her surprise.\textsuperscript{65} With this,

I bought a piece of Swedish crystal—a vase of elegant lines and proportions, with an engraving of a naked Leda and the swan who seduced her. But with all the crystal on display in all the beautiful shops down the length of the Kungsgatan (main street), it was a job to find the perfect, the simple, the truly satisfying vase.\textsuperscript{66}

Ornaments described as ‘perfect’, ‘exquisite’, or ‘dainty’ were only acquired by diarists in European countries, and many of Bond’s marbles and Wix’s vase referenced very old Roman, Greek or Biblical stories, stories used in or emanating from ‘high’ pan-European culture. The

\textsuperscript{61} Bond, ‘11\textsuperscript{th} June’, Diary 1, p.123. Judging by the year they visited, these would have been made by Romano Romanelli (1882–1969), whose father Raffaello (1856–1928) and grandfather Pasquale (1812–1887) had both been famous sculptors before him.

\textsuperscript{62} Bond, ‘19\textsuperscript{th} June’, Diary 1, p.136.

\textsuperscript{63} Bond, ‘9\textsuperscript{th} July’, Diary 1, p.172.

\textsuperscript{64} Bailey, ‘Monday August 24\textsuperscript{th}, 1936’, Diary 1, Vol. 2, pp.252–253.

\textsuperscript{65} Approximately £3/10/10 at the time, which works out at over £60 in today’s currency, according to the British National Archives currency converter: [http://www.nationalarchives.co.uk/currency/](http://www.nationalarchives.co.uk/currency/) (Accessed 1 May 2012). As Wix had little money on this trip, cutting back on meals in order to afford accommodation, this represented considerable expense for her.

\textsuperscript{66} Ruth Wix Wilson, Diary 3: ‘Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Holland’, 26 June–8 August 1953, p.7, MS-Papers-5433-03: ATL.
specific European locales – and the ‘European culture’ signified by the subjects depicted in many items – were significant in justifying the value of these purchases, all of which were expensive for the diarists who bought them, and easily breakable and thus high risk for travellers.

In all these descriptions of high status purchases, descriptions of salespeople faded away to nothing in favour of more precisely locating the point of purchase, something which was consistent in their accounts of luxury shopping around the world. Bond was a serial store and brand name-dropper, and bought many luxury goods on her five round-the-world journeys. In 1937, on the occasion of her first visit to Switzerland, she already knew where to acquire gold watches, and made sure to mention it each time she visited: ‘Bought Elon a wristlet watch – also one for Rhys Joy Pam and Joy Potts at Golay’s’. The next day she ‘Went back to Golay’s and got three more gold watches for presents for the nieces.’ Again, in 1953, she ‘Took Elon’s watch to Golay’s (where he bought it 15 years ago) to be overhauled and cleaned and bought an expanding gold wristlet for it’ In 1953 Lucerne, she also noted buying an ‘Omega watch’ for Lesley, her niece. If she knew about Swiss watches before she left New Zealand, she also knew of stores in Australia before arriving there, mentioning going for a ‘short canter thro’ Anthony Horderns and Farmers’ in Sydney, and to ‘Myers Emporium’ in Adelaide. She recognised the names of large department stores in Canada and the United States (Marshall Fields, Eaton’s, Hudson Bay Company) and knew about exclusive clothing and department stores in London. Dropping these names into her diary without further explanation indicates that she expected her readers in New Zealand to have heard of these stores as well.

Even when tourists were buying ephemeral or globally-available items in Europe, such as fuel, stamps, or newspapers, they sometimes linked these objects or their attempts to get them with their perceptions of national traits in the country of purchase. Bailey and her family travelling party bought petrol in Hungary in 1936, and this experience led her to draw conclusions about the Hungarian character. The pump spilled over while the owner’s small nephew and sister-in-law were helping them with it, which resulted in their meeting its owner and offering to pay for the wasted fuel. The owner proceeded to invite them into his house, pour glasses of Tokay, drink toasts to their health, and then send them on their way with a freshly roasted leg of suckling pig. Rather than seeing this man and his family as personally agreeable, Bailey enthused about national characteristics: ‘These Hungarians are a very charming people, most friendly and most hospitable!’ She also understood newspapers in national terms. During

68 ibid., ‘1st June’, p.98.
70 ibid., ‘12th Sept.’, p.146.
three months she spent in Paris, at the end of 1936, she interpreted French news articles about England as inaccurate and ill-informed:

I had to buy an English newspaper to get all the news about the King of England. The French papers in the house are far too critical of the whole thing, and are blaming Baldwin straight out for this state of affairs. 73

From perishable items like flowers or newspapers, to high-status, high-cost ‘dainty’ souvenirs, European markets were understood through the uniqueness of items purchased there and the circumstances of production and purchase, and connected to their perceptions of distinct national or local characteristics.

Bailey’s response to newspapers abroad introduces another way New Zealand tourists could imagine parts of the world through their accounts of shopping: as home. She read newspapers to feel closer to home in England and home in New Zealand, and the experience clearly brought out complex feelings about New Zealand's place in the world. For other tourists as well, the purchase of particular kinds of objects, or the ways they wrote about purchased objects, reflected that they had established a temporary proxy ‘home’ space outside of New Zealand. These purchases were not as straightforward as tourists buying the same items they might buy at home, such as groceries or newspapers; they bought those kinds of items in many parts of the world, including some from which they were profoundly disengaged. Instead the purchases which signalled tourists were (often briefly) ‘at home’ prepared them for activities during which they joined a community abroad or participated in shopping practice as residents did – though the details of participation could vary considerably. Felicity Barnes has shown ways in which London was understood as part of New Zealand by New Zealanders in the ‘recolonial’ period up to World War II. 74 In line with her conclusions about the special place of London for New Zealanders, the travel diarists discussed in this thesis were more likely to create a home away from home in England. But this was not exclusively the case. The locations of these ‘homes’ was more idiosyncratic than the consistent ways travel diarists represented equatorial ports or European cities. Shopping ‘at home abroad’ is another way of understanding the intersections of place and shopping in the past.

Among other reasons for their purchases, the act of buying a car marked tourists as ‘at home’. Most of the diarists who bought cars did so in London or southern England, though C.

73 ibid., ‘Friday, December 4th, 1936’, p.301.
W. Collins bought his in Los Angeles, took it to Mexico, then headed to Ann Arbor, Michigan, where he planned to spend a year. The United States and the United Kingdom had strong driving cultures, and many tourists commented on the quality of the road surfaces in England, by contrast with New Zealand; buying a car fitted the owner into the culture of the place they were visiting perhaps more than that of New Zealand, particularly in the interwar period. However, travel diarists purchased cars abroad during both the interwar and postwar years. Sybil Mulvany’s 1926 diary commenced with a description of her new car, a ‘Renault YR7505’ on which she had managed to ‘wangle’ a lower price ‘although [the] order had gone through before it had become officially lowered’. Collins bought his Ford Tudor in 1932, though he ‘hankered for a baby Austin’ until he indignantly reported that the ‘Americanised’ Austin was ‘vastly inferior’. The Hobbs family bought a 1938 Rover in England in 1955, and Jill used it to learn how to drive. In 1957, Arthur Messenger purchased a used car which he could tidy up and maintain himself (he had a great interest in motor racing and extensive knowledge of engine mechanics), and the following year bought a caravan in which to live and travel through England and onto the European continent.

As well as participating in driving cultures usually only available to residents, car purchases were often linked to their lives at home in New Zealand. Many tourists explicitly justified their purchases or attempted purchases of cars as things they needed at home. In 1937, Begg also bought a car for the explicit purpose of touring – in his case, touring Scotland. After various conversations, Charles Begg reported that ‘Everyone says that the only way to do Scotland is by car, and as I really need a car in N.Z. I propose to buy one’. When Bailey returned to England in 1950 with her mother, she wanted to purchase a car to export back to New Zealand. She gave a great deal of thought to the matter: ‘I studied all the small cars and

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75 As Ryan Bogardus has discussed, though car ownership in New Zealand increased from the interwar years, in 1924 there was one car per 17.2 people and cars could still be understood as luxury items. By 1945, New Zealanders owned one car to every 8.4 people. ‘The DIY Man: Do-It-Yourself Culture and Masculinities in Post-war New Zealand, 1945–1976’, MA thesis, University of Auckland, 2013, pp.62–67. Bailey, ‘Sunday, April 26th, 1936’, Diary 1, Vol. 1, pp.126–127 remarked on the smoothness of English roads and the comfort of ‘bowling along’ on them in a car.


79 Arthur Messenger, ‘Wednesday 24 July’, Diary, 1957, p.31, MS 1589 (1); AWMMML he describes helping the engineer on the ship in which he was a passenger to fix a lifeboat engine. On p.81 (‘Saturday 14 September’) he described watching a race meeting in Goodwood, near Chichester; p.99 (‘Tuesday 8 October’) he described looking for a car, and pp.102–109 (‘Friday 25 October’–‘Sunday 3 November’) he described at length the purchase of a car, the cost of repairs and maintenance, and what he managed to fix and replace immediately.

80 Begg, ‘Thursday July 22nd’, Diary, p.43.
decided that family finances would suit an Anglia Ford or its equivalent." However, in this period, export quotas were in force, and she had to test numerous avenues of enquiry:

We went to see Noy Reed at the N.Z. Tourist Dept at N.Z. House to see if he could give us any pointers about this car business. He informed us that there was nothing to be done but apply to comptroller of Customs, Wellington, for a non-remitting license to bring the car into N.Z. if we are allowed to buy one.\(^{82}\)

In the end, she could not secure a car that she was able to export.

For Peter Buck ‘home’ became Magareva, for Millicent Boor it was Fiji, and for the Pikes on their first trip, ‘home’ was with ‘Aunt Marion’ in Sydney – and shopping behaviour became qualitatively different in these ‘homes’. Though New Zealand tourists only bought cars when ‘at home’ in certain places (a boat would have been more useful to Buck or Boor), their ‘homes’ were the only stops where tourists bought clothing in order to fit in at social events. Within days of arriving, Bailey had been taken in hand by her sister-in-law Margaret, and visited the ‘real London shops’.\(^{83}\) Bailey spoke wryly of the decisions made about her fashionable garments:

By this time we had decided just what I was to have in the way of a new outfit. It was to be a navy blue frock and three-quarter coat with a touch of white. Here in London women are still wearing dark colours. Everyone seems to be dressed in either navy blue or black. [...] On the way back we stopped at Sloane Square, an excellent shopping area fairly near Pelham Crescent. Here, Margaret had planned to pick a hat for me. After about the first two dozen I got fed up with the idea and let Margaret and the assistant do the picking. They seemed to know, better than I did, just what we wanted. I let them go ahead. Finally Margaret saw the hat that she considered was too, too, smart, Modom.\(^{84}\)

Despite her mockery and exasperation, she soon leapt vigorously into event-specific fashion purchases, buying frocks and accessories for all manner of events, including a Garden Party at Buckingham Palace following the Coronation of George VI.\(^{85}\) Eve Bond and her daughter-in-law, Marjorie, likewise purchased garments to wear to a Garden Party after Elizabeth II’s coronation, and hired a suit from the famous Moss Bros for their son/husband, Bryce.\(^{86}\) Boor was invited by the Acting Governor of Fiji to attend an ‘At Home’ in 1924, and acted quickly to acquire appropriate clothing, purchasing a white dress, slip, stockings and gloves to supplement her

\(^{81}\) Bailey, ‘Thursday October 19\(^{th}\), 1950’, Diary 2, p.93.
\(^{82}\) ibid., ‘Monday December 4\(^{th}\), 1950’, p.139.
\(^{83}\) Bailey, ‘Friday, 24\(^{th}\), April, 1936’, Diary 1, Vol. 1, p.121.
\(^{84}\) ibid., pp.121–122.
\(^{86}\) Bond, ‘2\(^{nd}\) May’, ‘5\(^{th}\) May’, ‘14\(^{th}\) May’, Diary 3, pp.15, 16–17, 23. Moss Bros was ‘one of Britain’s most famous outfitting chains [...] The company started by specialising in the hire of ceremonial dress from the turn of the twentieth century’, Horwood, p.28.
Buck’s clothing purchases were for different purposes, but also represented his engagement with the community in Magareva, his home for several months in 1934. He bought some ‘dress pieces’, in consultation with his hostess Madame Brisson, to give to the women who had looked after him in the homes where he stayed, and also for the pastor’s two daughters after they gave hats to him and a colleague. He participated in and understood the reciprocal gifting culture on this small atoll.

Bond mentioned clothing purchases in conjunction with the stores she bought them from in every instance in London, but not elsewhere. More significant than the name dropping, though, she and her family regularly based themselves in London for weeks at a time, so she was able to return to stores for fittings, obtaining tailor-made clothing not available to short-term visitors. Entries across all her diaries saw her return over and over again to the same stores over the twenty-four years between her first and last visit to London, and she emphasised her regular history of shopping there, demonstrating strong store and brand loyalty. Take these complete diary entries over four consecutive days in 1950:

16th Oct. Got a very nice black frock at Netta’s 95 New Bond St.

17th, 18th, 19th. Bits and pieces of business, fittings for navy costume at Burberry’s and Persian lamb and Smith’s wholesale Regent St. – all shaping up well

As well as Netta’s and Burberry, her most regular haunts, she visited Harrods, Harvey Nicholls, Selfridges, Derry and Toms, and Jays frequently. Just as she had done with Golay’s, she mentioned her history of store loyalty when buying new items. In 1953, she went back to Burberry’s and ordered a grey suit and got measured up – same tailor is making it who made my navy one in 1950 wh. same he is refitting the back wh. did not please me at all.

A week later she mentioned this again: ‘Went to Burberry’s for a first fitting for my suit – Mr. Castle, the tailor, made my navy suit in 1950’. Every time she named Netta’s, she emphasised also its West End address; for example ‘Went to Netta’s, New Bond St. and bought a blk. frock with grey beading’. That she was able to go there again and again marked this city as her home abroad. Though Bond’s brand-loyalty across time was exceptional, this reflected her ability to travel repeatedly to London and her consistent access to plentiful funds more than it suggests

88 Peter Buck, ‘September 29th. Saturday’, ‘October 1st. Monday’, Diary, 28 August–27 November 1934, p.28, qMS-0294, ATL.
92 ibid., ‘18th Sept.’, p.152.
that her connection to her home-away-from-home was any deeper than that of Hobbs, Bailey or Buck.

**Values of Tourist-Shoppers**

Accounts of shopping in these diaries were constantly punctuated by tourists making judgements about products and places, whether they bought or not. Timothy has argued that the ‘act of consuming objects itself [...] is a sign of personal and social identity’, but I suggest that how tourists understood this act was more significant than the act itself. The circumstances of their shopping might have been different at times from those in New Zealand, but in the same way that many tourists recommenced work and continued their religious practice abroad, they often emphasised that their attitudes to shopping were unchanged since their departure from New Zealand. Tourists sometimes had to weigh up one necessary purchase against another. Their accounts of shopping reflect their ideas about goods – items’ intrinsic monetary value – and shoppers’ rights. They also commented on shop environments in terms of cleanliness, service and, occasionally, design. Values associated with shopping by travel diarists underpinned and interacted with their ideas about shopping and place.

Travel diarists, regardless of their budgets, found themselves in situations where their purchase of one item might preclude other important purchases, or regretted that they were unable to purchase an object they desired or needed. Bond’s frantic spending of lire on delicate Venetian glassware indicated a fat pocketbook, but she did not always have money in the appropriate currencies. In 1937 she noticed that Berlin’s ‘Leather goods [were] very cheap if buying with registered marks’. However, because her mother-in-law was taken ill there, and her husband had to be given ‘a tonic to buck him up’, she concluded: ‘Unfortunately all the reg. Marks going to pay two Drs. so no buying at all!!’ For others, low funds had higher stakes. On their last morning in Italy, the Baileys:

> went back to the hotel to breakfast and then packed our goods into the car while Jack settled the bill. But here we found ourselves in the most awful predicament! The Italian money we had was just short of the bill and we did not have any more to buy benzene with, which we had just found was necessary in order to get us to the Austrian Frontier about fifty miles away. Italian hotels are not allowed to change foreign monies unless they have a permit.

The hotel arranged for them to send the remaining money once they had returned to England, but they still needed petrol for the car. The story ended happily: they reached the top of the

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93 Timothy, p.4.
95 ibid., ‘2nd July’, p.165.
mountain pass and then coasted down the other side, out of gear, and ‘just managed, with scarcely a drop over, to reach the frontier’.98 The legal complications around currency exchange in Italy caused enormous practical difficulties on this occasion. As Bailey herself commented, ‘It was rather comical for the four of us to sit in that huge luxurious car and not to have a single lire amongst us with which to buy any benzine’.99 Even the wealthiest tourists found themselves short of funds at times; all tourists had to be careful with money and consider their purchasing decisions.

Other tourists found themselves in dire financial straits for longer periods of time. Wix had to make a drastic choice while in Scandinavia in 1953. The fifty-four-year-old began to find Youth Hostel accommodation difficult, and so tried to stay in hotels where possible. In order to do so, however, she had to cut into her food budget:

I am now reduced to cutting out a meal now and again, but I buy strawberries and raisins and milk, and that is much better for me than some of the Scandi[n]avian food, especially the sweet bread and smorsbrod, which I don’t like very much, and which certainly doesn’t like me.100

She reflected on her decision towards the end of her six weeks in Northern Europe, and decided she had made the right choice:

I have now firmly set my face against accommodation that is too austere, even though it has meant my having to forego the buying of souvenirs. If I use Youth Hostels exclusively, my strength gives out, and if I use hotels my currency disappears, but I use hotels when I can. Anyway, I have my films as a record and they should be worth any numbers of souvenirs. But oh dear, I should dearly have liked to buy some of the very delicate things in the shop windows. But there it is.101

Henrietta Rothwell decided just days after her departure from New Zealand that carriage costs for baggage were too high for her budget; she and her sister resolved to send home some of their items, then ‘wear things out and buy new’.102

These priorities were these tourists’ own, rather than decisions all tourists in their circumstances would have made, but travel diarists all demonstrated a strong sense of the appropriate monetary value of a wide range of staple items, and expectations about relative cost informed their choices as they travelled. Food, films, stationery and stamps were objects about which diarists had a clear sense of value. Some tourists developed an almost-encyclopaedic

98 ibid.
99 ibid.
100 Wix Wilson, “Tues. 21st”, Diary 3, p.16.
101 ibid., undated, p.19.
knowledge of relative cost in different countries. Messenger, travelling on a tight budget, kept up a litany of comments comparing costs in France, Spain and Portugal with those in England (where he had just left). Arriving in Montreuil-sur-Mer on 26 October 1959 he was excited: ‘Bordeaux Vin Rouge at 150 frs! 2/3!!’; on the 27th he noted ‘I went shopping and bought a demi Kilo of Tomatoes 100 frs and a wedge of Roquefort cheese 70 frs. Prices on par w/- England’; a couple of days later in Le Mans, ‘I bought a metre of French bread for 33 frs and very nice too’. In Portugal, however, he was both taken aback by the expense of film and amazed at the cheapness of cameras:

I could not resist a few exposures, but ran out of film – found a shop – he charged me 275 ptas for 20 exp! Still there was no one else so I paid up. He showed me a Rolliflex, 8500 ptas! About ½ English price.

Even diarists who were not counting their coins as religiously as Messenger kept notes on exchange rates and relative costs of small items. In Switzerland, Bond visited a street market in Berne and noted:

The pigs brought very high prices – 10 weeks old piglets brought £7 in our money – ordinary meat brought just over 5/- lb and eggs about 5/- dozen. Boiled ham 10 frs. a kilo (10/- a lb.)

The changing costs of staples marked the diarists’ changing location in cities or countries, but they also influenced their readings of place in terms of good value.

The ways that tourists described or justified their purchases were remarkably consistent: value for money was enormously important to them all, and ‘excessive’ expenditure caused anxiety – thought what was valued and what was excessive varied from person to person. Rather than treating their time abroad as a once-in-a-lifetime buying experience, these tourists did not become spendthrifts when they travelled. The way they wrote about most purchases drew attention to their restraint. In almost every situation, travel diarists emphasised the quality of the goods they purchased and their relative cheapness or value-for-money (excepting necessities, which they sometimes had to buy regardless of the price). Bailey’s purchase of silk items in Aden was accompanied by a cost comparison, showing how much she had saved by not acquiring a similar item in New Zealand in its place, and emphasising its particular loveliness. When Messenger bought his Lagonda car, he accompanied this news with a cost breakdown over several pages detailing how much he would spend, and emphasised that he would make a profit

104 ibid., ‘Monday 7 December’, p.341.
106 Bailey, ‘Tuesday April 7th, 1936’, Diary 1, Vol. 1, p.76.
on its resale: ‘I can get my money out of it and a bit besides’. Bond emphasised, of Prague, that ‘Shoes here are excellent quality and very cheap’. Johnston Mc&Ara was impressed with the costs of items in the store on his ship. It was clearly important to the diarists that they be perceived as careful and thoughtful shoppers, whose prudence and eye for quality justified their expenditure. The only items exempted from the criterion of demonstrating diarists’ thrift were objects considered of such great quality that cost (within the diarists’ budgets) was overridden: ‘delicate’, ‘exquisite’, ‘dainty’ and breakable artisanal products of Europe. Even so, diarists’ desire to buy these items was often described in dangerous terms. Bond ‘nearly lost her eyesight’ when confronted with the beauty of Murano glass; Bailey succumbed to a ‘fatal attraction’ to the Nymphanburg china shop in Munich.

Attitudes towards shops themselves and individuals’ rights to shop in particular ways were also consistent. Across the board, diarists rejected objects and places of sale which they perceived to be dirty and smelly. Wix was least judgemental of all the diarists (perhaps because there was no olfactory offence), quite neutrally describing Wurzburg’s unusual juxtapositions in terms of ‘the market places and the dirt, the most modern of plastics cosmetics on display in the queerest of ancient shops (the American influence)’. More common was palpable disgust, like Begg in New York:

> On the return north we saw the foreign quarters squalid dirty, crowded and smelly. Here live many Jews, Italians, Chinese, Greeks etc. etc. Many of the streets were lined with barrows and stalls on which everything under the sun seemed to be sold.

Bond’s dislike of Colombo’s bazaars echoed this:

> Their bazaars, with the shops that open from the narrow streets like dirty dens of iniquity, were as obnoxious to our noses as well as eyes, that we were thankful to be in a motor car to hurry thro’ quickly.

Bailey’s experience in Naples confirmed the popular joke ‘Smell Naples and die’:

> After lunch we strolled back into the city to see the shops. The shops were very ordinary indeed. The streets were very untidy and the rows of horses and cabs added so much to the general smell that I would never not be sorry if I never saw Naples again.

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108 Bond, ‘26th April’, Diary 1, p.60.
113 Bond, ‘6th Apr.’, Diary 1, p.25.
New Zealand tourists emphasised that they would shop only in clean, fresh-smelling places with quality goods, preferably at below the market rate, and frequently rejected outdoor small-scale selling models – unless they were in London. Shopping was a somatic experience for these tourists.

Travel diaries emphasised the ways in which tourists preferred to shop, and their acts of resistance in order to get what they wanted while abroad. Bond had a very clear sense of shoppers’ rights. She took umbrage when surrounded by bazaar cultures, not just bazaar sights and smells, irritated that purchases felt forced upon the passerby. In Colombo, she reacted against “Tamils and others all clamouring for “buckshee mem-sahib” pushing flowers into your hand “for luck” and holding theirs out for the money!” She described stallholders at bazaars in Cairo as ‘pestilent’. According to her, shoppers had the right to choose what they liked and shop unimpeded – and thus this paragon member of the Presbyterian Women’s Missionary League thought herself perfectly justified in smuggling nylon stockings across the border from the Republic of Eire to Northern Ireland:

There is plenty to buy in Eire of commodities wh. are in short supply in N.I. and one is allowed 2 lbs. sugar ea. a tin or so of fruit and other small things and the car is likely to be examined on returning – ours was and Joyce had her handbag examined for cigarettes wh. she didn’t have, and then boot was opened but nothing there. Two pairs of nylons increased my bust measurement! No nylons to be had in N.I. but plenty over the border so—! What would you—?

Not buying – as she did in the bazaars – was one option. Smuggling was a more extreme response, but one that tourists regularly feared, as evidenced by the many anxious accounts of passing through customs points around the world, concerned that they might have to pay duty on their possessions.

Perhaps because of these tourists’ desire to get good value for money, and their sense of what was fair to pay and to buy, travel diaries also contain many examples of mockery or trickery against salespeople – especially non-white ones. As their adversaries in the quest for a great deal, and with the potential to disrupt their sense of shopping propriety, sellers could threaten tourists’ sense of justice – and they were ‘punished’ for it in travel diaries, or occasionally outside them. The amusement with which Bailey and Bond surveyed the ‘cockney’ sellers in Petticoat Lane or

115 Bond, ‘6th Apr.’, Diary 1, p.25.
116 ibid., ‘18th April’, p.44.
118 Henrietta Rothwell, Diary Vol. 16, 2–12 July 1927, pp.38–39, MSC 249: HCL provided an example of what tourists feared: ‘We had to pass the customs officers – Show passports – and some suit cases were opened but we all got thro all right tho one lady had 3 silk shawls 2 scarves – lace – kid gloves other things – Lucky for her, it was not her suit case or the whole party would have had their stuff overhauled because she did not ‘declare’ what new things she had’.
the Caledonian Market represents some fairly good-natured examples of this. At other times, things got nasty. Marion Knight described a ‘trick’ played on shipside merchants in Port Said in 1962:

> We then turned our attention to the floating shops below and watching people having goods sent up along with the basket for the money but as like as not the article was returned without any money in the basket. The crew had been teasing these fellows on this and evidently on previous visits by getting goods sent up and keeping them till the last minute. They tied the rope to the ship by tangling it about and had the Wogs screaming mad as the ship began to move.\(^{119}\)

These shipside sellers were teased unmercifully by crew, yet Knight presented this as an amusing anecdote: she was utterly without empathy. The only mention of shopping-related courtesy in any of the diaries, across the entire period, was in Bond’s 1950 diary, referring to service in Honolulu:

> all the shops are staffed with them [‘half-castes’] and very efficient and courteous and pleasant they are. We were very struck by their efforts to please and their apologies if they were unable to suit us. We found it so very attractive after the “take it or leave it” style wh. has developed in our own shops at home.\(^{120}\)

Salespeople were far more likely to be vilified or laughed at than admired.

In the kinds of shops tourists were familiar with from home – businesses in permanent buildings – travel diarists rarely commented on what the shops looked like or how travel diarists were treated there. This puts into perspective the debates raging in trade magazines over display techniques and the cultures of ‘courtesy’ impressed upon sales staff by shop owners in the twentieth century. Joy Cushman has analysed the discourse of retail commentators, who alleged a ‘decline in standards of salesmanship’ during and after the Second World War; she questioned whether this decline was ‘real’.\(^{121}\) These tourists did not seem to notice it. Diarists who owned retail stores in New Zealand were most inclined to write about the atmosphere, architecture and display of goods in stores, but even they mostly did so sparingly. Begg spoke highly of the shops in Los Angeles. ‘There are some magnificent buildings in Los Angeles, and some wonderful shops. It would take days however to see them properly.’\(^{122}\) In Vancouver, 1950, Bond (whose husband Elon owned the chain of stores Bond & Bond) described the appearance of a shopping district:

> We did the shops in the morning – they are wonderful – far ahead of anything we have in N.Z. Plate glass over entire front of shops – everything dearer than in N.Z. (except perhaps

\(^{119}\) Knight, ‘Tuesday [21 August]’, Diary Vol. 4, pp.121–122.
\(^{120}\) Bond, ‘14\(^{th}\) April’, Diary 2, p.7.
\(^{121}\) Cushman, especially pp.185, 187, 188.
\(^{122}\) Begg, ‘Thursday May 5\(^{th}\)’, Diary, p.15.
nylons wh. we do not have anyway in any quantity) Hudson Bay Coy. about covers an entire block – escalators up and down.\textsuperscript{123}

Bailey, who bought a flower shop sometime between 1938 and 1950, was already attuned to store evolution by 1936, in London:

I was making for a shop called Barker’s. This is really a huge group of shops owned by these people and it spreads a long way down on both sides of the street. Each department is really a separate shop. There are connections from one shop into the next. The main shop of Barker’s is a wonderful place and as they had no other way of extending their business this is the method they used. This is the way shops in Melbourne and Sydney have had to expand also.\textsuperscript{124}

The only refrain about store appearance common to more than one diarist was a lack of verandahs on most overseas shops. Begg noted the lack of verandahs in 1937 Los Angeles, twice, and when summarising his memories of the United States listed ‘shops without verandahs’ near the top.\textsuperscript{125} Keith Pike, in 1962 London, summed up his view of the shops succinctly: ‘big shops without verandahs’.\textsuperscript{126} He returned to this theme later, since while his wife liked the London shops, ‘I thought they could have been easier to get at if they had had verandahs like Aust or NZ shops’.\textsuperscript{127} Wix noted an absence of verandahs on shops and houses in both Sweden and Norway in 1953.\textsuperscript{128} Messenger, by contrast, felt at home when commenting on Southport, in 1957, because the shopping street he visited was ‘Tree lined, and with shop verandahs (like N.Z.) Reminded me of Fenton St, Rotorua’.\textsuperscript{129}

Diarists rarely mentioned display unless it was particularly different from their expectations. Even then, it was not simply ‘display’ that was commented upon. For instance, Bailey in Toulon in 1936:

Both sides of the street had queer dirty little shops lining it but down either side of the street again (this time on the gutter) were rows of street vendors with their goods displayed on tables. It was a filthy conglomeration. There was a high wind blowing which continually blew dirty pieces of wet paper in our faces. Scent and powder were dispensed alongside peeled potatoes and awful looking pastries, clothing was half on the table and half in the gutter, and everywhere people were shouting their wares.\textsuperscript{130}

\textsuperscript{123} Bond, ‘22\textsuperscript{nd} April’, Diary 2, p.11.
\textsuperscript{124} Bailey, ‘Tuesday, April, 26\textsuperscript{th}, 1936’, Diary 1, Vol. 1, pp.130–131.
\textsuperscript{125} Begg, ‘Thursday May 5\textsuperscript{th}’, ‘Tuesday June 29\textsuperscript{th}’, Diary, pp.15, 36.
\textsuperscript{126} Pike, undated entry, c. early August, Diary 2, Vol. 1, p.39.
\textsuperscript{127} ibid., p.69.
\textsuperscript{128} Wix Wilson, undated, ‘Tues. 21\textsuperscript{st} [July]’, Diary 3, pp.9, 14.
\textsuperscript{129} Messenger, ‘Sunday 1 September’, Diary, 1957, p.69.
The noise, the filth, the flying wet dirty rubbish was as much part of this scene as the vendors’ display practices. The debates Susan Lomax has described among adherents of the old ‘massed’ display patterns in department stores, and advocates of the newer ‘open’ window dressing, did not seem to enter these tourists’ consciousness at all. As she notes, the actual responses of customers was little considered or researched at the time – claims were made about the effectiveness of window displays in selling goods, but without any attempts made to actually prove what was more effective and to whom. Display techniques might have subconsciously affected diarists’ sense of quality, since, as Helen Laurenson has shown, New Zealand department store owners stayed abreast of the latest trends in the United Kingdom, United States and Australia. Diarists tended to use store names and shopping districts as metonyms for quality, rather than describing those specific environments in detail – and this was true even for those travellers whose livelihoods depended on maintaining quality store environments in New Zealand.

Accounts of shopping in these travel diaries allow us to recognise the varying ways in which places around the globe were understood and communicated to New Zealanders. Erika Rappaport has suggested that the relationship between London and consumers was reciprocal – ‘If the city helped produce shoppers, it was also produced by consumers’ – and this reciprocity is also true of the relationship between tourists’ shopping and the places in which they shopped. The significance tourists attributed places affected their impressions of what they purchased or saw available for purchase, and what they brought home or consumed while travelling helped shape understandings of place for themselves and others at home. Ports north of the equator were mostly understood as branches of a global shopping emporium in which tourists sought the best deals for a range of imported goods using international currencies. By contrast, tourists shopping in European and North American cities or towns tended to treat shopping as another means to engage with the specificities and unique qualities of the place they were visiting. Descriptions detailed the uniqueness of goods, the purchase from the source, and the high quality of the materials or crafting. If these areas could be drawn into a map of cultural imagining that would be recognisable to all these tourists, other parts of the globe were constructed by individual tourists as homes away from home. In those places, their shopping practices were

131 Lomax, p.283.
132 ibid., p.290.
133 Laurenson, Going Up, Going Down, pp.7, 30.
134 Rappaport, p.6.
different, fitting into the home culture either through the items they purchased, the events those purchases enabled them to attend, or the circumstances through which they were able to purchase them. Shopping which marked tourists ‘at home’ involved purchasing, whereas tourists constructed other places through their shopping accounts without necessarily buying anything.

Accounts of shopping in these travel diaries also provide insights into quite different perspectives and value systems than the analysis of didactic literature, trade journals, and advertising produces. These particular travellers prioritised thrift, quality and goods’ availability, and their understandings of shoppers’ rights meant that they were prepared to depict themselves smuggling objects across borders, or participating in the mockery of salespeople, without shame. The environment of a store and the politeness of the sales staff were less noteworthy to these shoppers than to those who wrote trade literature or advertisements – unless either was smelly or dirty, or was participating in a shopping culture which tourists found confronting. Tourists focussed on emphasising their discernment as shoppers, describing their special purchases and detailing the good deals they had snapped up or negotiated. They presented themselves as shoppers unchanged or unaffected by the differences in shopping cultures around them; they emphasised the continuity between their shopping behaviour at home and abroad; they still recognised ‘quality’ and ‘good value’.

The significance of the consistency of shopping values across the diaries and of diarists’ ideas about place is that we can see the extent to which New Zealanders – even those who had never before travelled – were informed about parts of the globe, as well as the ways they contributed to cultural knowledge of geography and worth. They had pre-formed ideas about the activities which were available to them in certain places and their relative importance, and they gifted their own characterisations of the places through the activities they undertook and the ways they represented them to family and friends in New Zealand. They were occasionally surprised, like Bailey in Panama City, but that surprise itself speaks of the consistency of cultural messages New Zealanders received and produced about the world beyond their own shores. But tourists did not exclusively respond to foreign place in terms of consumerism or cities and towns: they constructed another kind of map when responding to natural environments. Just as with shopping, the ways diarists wrote about natural environments could represent them as ‘at home’ abroad. It is to descriptions of ‘nature’ we next turn.
CHAPTER FIVE
Gong-Playing Frigate Birds and Smiling Corn: Active and Homelike Natural Environments Abroad

In 1936, the price of fresh flowers in London was high by New Zealand standards. This was one of the first things that Kathleen Bailey noticed upon her arrival in the United Kingdom:

[O]ver here such things cost much more than our own in New Zealand [...] This rate for lilies (3d. per bloom on each stalk) gave me rather a shock; and as for Arum Lillies, oh Lord!!!

In response, throughout the summer of 1936 Bailey and her sister-in-law picked flowers growing wild, typically travelling substantial distances to reach them:

we were just setting off on a 25 mile run to get wild rhododendrons. We were going back to the same place in Bracknell where we had got the last lot. Here in England one can do this 50 miles for wild flowers simply because the roads are so excellent and it is no hardship. We found the place easily enough and once again filled the car with the most perfect specimens. They were marvellous!

Bailey’s account gestures at the environmental costs of her tourism – from a contemporary perspective, at least. Not only did she deplete or exploit a natural resource (albeit a sustainable one), but, since collecting the rhododendrons involved a fifty-mile-round car trip, she subjected the countryside to the noise and air pollution of her car use.

This basic narrative – tourists extracting from and polluting the environments they visited to admire for their beauty – has long been a recurring motif within studies which consider the interrelationship between tourism and environmental change. In 1978, Jafar Jafari suggested, ‘That “each man kills the thing he loves,” as Oscar Wilde observed nearly a century ago, should perhaps be engraved over the doors of national and regional tourism offices’. In the early 1990s John Urry summarised ongoing contemporary concerns about tourists’ relationships with natural environments, pointing at ‘the increased use of fossil fuels to fly people there, as long-haul holidays become widespread, and intense shortages of clean water’. Historical research also acknowledges tourism’s imbrication with environmental change: as one example, roads were built over the Dolomite mountain range 1891–1909 to respond to ‘the growing need for concrete

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1 Kathleen Bailey, ‘Friday, 24th April, 1936’, Diary 1, Vol. 1, 16 March–2 May 1936, p.121, 95/15: AWMM.
infrastructure to support the burgeoning number of Alpine tourists.\textsuperscript{5} Studies which expose and discuss the environmental costs of tourism have been enormously valuable in showing the ethical complexities of infrastructural development to tourists and tourism providers.\textsuperscript{6} The studies’ awareness of issues of social justice in particular communities or places has meant that their approaches tend to be localised and stationary in focus, and consider the effect of tourists en masse. Indeed, scholars taking this approach have sometimes consciously marginalised the significance of individual tourists. Erik Cohen has argued that ‘a lone drifter [...] will have no effect whatsoever on the environment’.\textsuperscript{7}

Tourists did, however, affect the environments through which they moved in small and individual ways, as well as in cumulative, culture-wide ones. Over the last twenty years, influential scholars including environmental historian William Cronon, cultural historian Simon Schama and art historian and theorist W. J. T. Mitchell have advocated that we recognise the ways environments are made sense of within cultures. As Schama contends:

Before it can even be a repose for the senses, landscape is the work of the mind. Its scenery is built up as much from strata of memory as from layers of rock.\textsuperscript{8}

Cronon has argued, similarly, that even landscapes perceived as civilisation’s opposite are understood as such due to culture:

wilderness is not quite what it seems. Far from being the one place on earth that stands apart from humanity, it is quite profoundly a human creation – indeed, the creation of very particular human cultures at very particular moments in human history. It is not a pristine sanctuary where the last remnant of an untouched, endangered, but still transcendent nature can for at least a little while longer be encountered without the contaminating taint of civilisation. Instead, it is a byproduct of civilisation, and could hardly be contaminated by the very stuff of which it is made.\textsuperscript{9}

When we understand the environment as culturally constructed we recognise that though many tourists recounted tales of moving, removing, or working parts of the earth outside New Zealand,


\textsuperscript{7} Cohen, ‘The Impact of Tourism on the Physical Environment’, p.220.


even those who did not do these things made their mark on the environment by representing them in their travel diaries. There is far more to the story of tourists’ relationship with the environment than destruction or extraction. Bailey’s description of her flower-gathering excursion, along with many other examples in New Zealanders’ travel diaries, represents nature as something that can be domesticated and which exists for the benefit of humanity.

The travel diaries extend our existing understanding of the ways New Zealanders conceived of the natural environment. In one respect, these diaries reflect the rhetoric of the prescriptive or official sources many environmental historians have used to engage with attitudes to landscape features. They allow us to understand the ways these ideas were applied and extended by ordinary people: the diaries reflect individuals’ responses to and constructions of environmental ideas. The pedagogy of nature study between 1880 and 1914 has been subjected to some scrutiny by scholars Colin McGeorge and Kirstie Ross; this is also the period during which the vast majority of these travel diarists attended primary school in New Zealand. McGeorge has analysed textbooks used in New Zealand primary schools in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, and there are many parallels between his findings and the descriptions of environments in these diaries. In both diaries and school textbooks, animals were regularly personified. Yet these non-fictional diaries frequently personified not only animal life, but plants, waterways, mountains, and other non-sentient natural objects. In the textbooks, plants and animals were presented as having been created for human use: the natural environment was understood in a very anthropocentric manner.

The environments these tourists understood as ‘natural’ included the tended and domestic – farms and gardens – as well as mountains, waterfalls, rivers, valleys: spaces often understood in literature and art as part of a sublime wilderness. This broad definition of the ‘natural’ also correlates with primary school pedagogy of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: Kirstie Ross found that ‘Nature Study’ and school gardening were often conflated by teachers in the early twentieth century. Through these many varying accounts we can expand the ways these New Zealanders attributed value to ‘the natural’. Wilderness has, as Cronon has discussed at length, been understood as the antithesis of the domesticated, but these tourists described tended and ‘wild’ in similar terms, and rejected what they perceived as truly wild or free from human presence. It was in signs of the domestic among the ‘wilderness’ that Eve Bond,

10 Keith Pike, Grace Vincent and Edwin Howard attended primary school outside of New Zealand, in Australia and England respectively; Henrietta Rothwell was born in 1866 and could not have been at primary school in this period, Miles Greenwood was born in 1914, and Jill Hobbs and Louise Sutherland were born considerably later. Otherwise, the other diarists went to primary school during at least part of this period. See Appendix for brief biographies of the diarists.


12 Ross, p.33.
travelling in Switzerland in 1950, thought the greatest natural beauty and ‘romance’ in the world resided:

Now we know why the Canadian Rockies are not really like Switzerland, except in the mt. tops. Canadian Rockies are shaggy and rough – Switzerland is full of the romance of man wresting his living, lovingly, from nature and being one with nature and creating beauty and making parks of the mt. scenery – there is that wonderful attuning and communing with nature that is only to be found in Switzerland.\(^{13}\)

Bond’s preference for environments where human presence was apparent was consistently held by these travel diarists. Environments which did not appear hospitable to human life – for these diarists this meant oceans, prairies, steppes, and deserts – were either ignored or disparaged. Each diary reflected and contributed to a shared environmental imaginary that prioritised the earth’s value as a home for humans.

By analysing their accounts, however, we find that travel diaries also reflected a paradoxical understanding of the relationship between humans and the things around them. Though diarists were especially attracted to landscape features which reflected human interaction and human-effected change, they tended to present themselves as at nature’s mercy. This was the case even if the diarists were engaged in quite physical experiences in the environments they described, like hiking, mountain-climbing, skiing, gardening, or hay-baling. They did not understand their activities in terms of environmental harm, and condemned that when they (very occasionally) recognised it, in the postwar years. There was little sign of the environmental anxiety that James Beattie located in official discourses.\(^{14}\) In fact, in travel diarists’ appreciative accounts of some natural environments they encountered abroad we find the most joy, excitement, and comfort of any moments in the diaries, aside from their reports of receiving mail from New Zealand.\(^{15}\) Nature was an actor and could be a kind of emotional home abroad for these diarists.

Like Chapter Four, this chapter covers an enormous amount of ground. Geographically, it ranges globally and across a huge variety of environmental features: from the watery to the earthy, to their animal and plant inhabitants. Again, this breadth is cued by the diarists themselves. If they understood the Swiss Alps as tended land and celebrated them because of this, then distinguishing these mountains from farms they admired would be an imposition of alternate cultural assumptions about what comprises the ‘natural’ or the ‘wild’. For this reason, the subject of this chapter is ‘natural environments’, rather than ‘landscapes’, or localised and

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\(^{15}\) As we shall see in the following section, both experiences connected them with home.
specific parts of the environment such as ‘mountains’ or ‘forests’. This focus provides new opportunities: the broad range of examples allows us to compare the points at which diarists admired one part of a vista – the river, the tree, some rocks – and the times they considered the whole.16 ‘Natural environment’ also disengages from the genre conventions implicit in the term ‘landscape’, and thus from ways of representing particular kinds of natural environments.17

Though ‘landscape’ will occasionally appear in this chapter to refer to land-based environments which diarists described as vistas, because the heavily visual nature of environmental descriptions in the travel diaries makes the connection plausible, this chapter is not limited to a discussion of landscapes.

Looking at tourist descriptions of natural environments extends our understandings of the way that tourists could construct homes abroad, and the ways in which they conceived of parts of the globe more generally. Bailey was able to bring flowers to a house where she had the freedom and resources to display them, aligning her with residents of England; this is similar to Bond’s emphasis on her ability to shop for clothes in London as a resident might, as we saw in Chapter Four. In both cases, their behaviour signalled that they were able to respond to place in similar ways to the people who lived there. However, this was rarely the method by which other tourists depicted themselves as ‘at home’ in natural environments abroad. They utilised a range of rhetorical strategies to emphasise their emotional connections with environments, rather than gesturing their belonging with their behaviour. In addition, political borders – of cities or countries – were only sometimes relevant to tourists’ perceptions of natural environments. There was more often a striking correlation between particular typologies of environmental feature (rivers, mountains, prairies) and tourists’ approbation or disapproval than there were region-specific behaviours. What distinguishes this chapter from other histories which investigate tourists’ responses to environments is its different scope.18 As well as allowing us to assess the

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16 There are many studies which look at particular kinds of natural environments in New Zealand, like Ross’s Going Bush, or Pawson’s chapter on ideas associated with mountains; Pawson and Tom Brooking called for more detailed, localised environmental histories in their introduction to Environmental Histories of New Zealand (p.14) and scholars including Jonathan West have responded (‘Owning the Otago Peninsula: The Role of Property in Shaping Economy, Society and Environment, 1844–1900’, NZJH, 46, 1, 2012, pp.52–80). In one sense this chapter is localised – it looks at very specific examples of environments admired by tourists – but these diaries do not make the study of a particular locality very easy, as they did not all visit the same places; instead it looks at the significance of locality for these tourists’ understandings of the globe.


18 Many historians have presumed that the national location of a landmark or landscape was certain to have been significant in determining the tourist’s response to it. Richard White has researched Australian responses to the English landscape with sensitivity, and has specifically engaged with the literary expectations and knowledge tourists had about that landscape. Richard White, ‘Bluebells and Fogtown: Australian First Impressions of England, 1860–1940’, Australian Cultural History, 5, 1986, pp.44–59; Richard White, ‘The Ideal Landscape: English Nature and Australian Tourists’, Conference Paper, Travel Ideals: Engaging with Spaces of Mobility, Travel Research Network Conference, Melbourne, 18–20 July. His work focuses on the Australia/Britain relationship, so gives no detailed attention to Australian tourists’ ideas about other countries and how they might differ, only briefly comparing their
ways in which nation, empire and other loyalties influenced tourist readings of environments, the
global focus enables us to shine the spotlight on oceans, which are rarely mentioned in tourism
history or New Zealand environmental history. If we were to map the globe based on the travel
diaries’ responses to natural environments, it would look both more localised and more dispersed
than the one they constructed through shopping.

Domestic Bliss: Environments and ‘Home’

Henrietta Rothwell and her sister, Lil Hilgendorf, arrived at Victoria Falls at the end of
March 1927. Rothwell was astounded by the scale and magnificence of the falls, and wrote that
this visit confirmed her sense of the glory and power of a creator. But her account did not
entirely evoke the sublime, which celebrates the isolated, the dangerous and the untouched along
with the grand and beautiful.

We wandered off to view the scene – and words fail when one tries to describe the grandeur.
The Zambesi just above the falls is a wide quiet river – then comes the 400 ft drop into the
canyon below. It is thrilling to watch the dash of the water but also it is very “damping”. The
spray blows long distances and the bush on the edge is called “the rain forest” and sure it is.
The spray comes down in a sharp shower “all the time” in some parts more than others. For
about a mile one can go thro this forest with gum boots and rain coats or umbrellas.

When the sun strikes the rising spray in the afternoon there is the most beautiful continuous
rainbow – there all the time – words fail to tell the thrill of that immense fall – over a mile
wide can you grasp it? A mile across and more – and this drop of 400 ft into the great
canyon – narrow and high. A bridge spans the Zambesi below the falls and from that one
looks into the depths and sees the swirling eddies as they rush thro the narrow canyon for 40
miles on the way to the sea – wonders on wonders! I love Africa with all its glories and wish
all my friends could be here to share the thrills of this new old world and realise how great a
plan there is in it all and what a great mind must be at the helm. When one realises that these
mighty rivers and falls – and kopjes may have been here perhaps millions of years and realise
what peoples have come and gone and still the same wonders go on, one stands still – and
we take the shoes from off our feet and worship the great creator of so much grandeur.

Rothwell brought her elaborate, breathless description to a close with a grand pronouncement
about wonderment and worship – but one which amounted to her desire to perform a simple

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responses to other countries and then concluding, ‘It was only in England that the emotion reached such a pitch that
words failed them’, ‘Bluebells and Fogtown’, p.48. Cecilia Morgan has written about Canadian tourists’ responses to
landscape in Western Europe, but her book is divided into chapters which focus on a specific country at a time
(England, Scotland, Ireland and so on), and contains few comparisons between these different landscapes. Her work
tacitly takes national distinctions between natural environments as a given for tourists (‘A Happy Holiday: English


Henrietta Rothwell, Diary Vol. 10, 29 March–8 April 1927, pp.22–26, MSC 249: HCL.
gesture: to touch the ground with her bare feet. There are many other quotidian touches in her description. She and Lil could simply ‘wander off’ to the falls because the train had dropped them off so close by, attired in prosaic gumboots and carrying umbrellas. And rather than reading Victoria Falls as exclusive of or separate from humans, she recalled the people who had visited over ‘millions of years’, thereby recognising its entire history of human interaction. This excerpt contained a striking departure from the narrator’s positioning in much sublime description – dwarfed and alone – she was with a family member and wished all of her friends could visit. In other words, she hoped for a shared sense of communion between a ‘creator’ and her community through the medium of this landscape. In lieu of this possibility, she shared her knowledge and viewpoint of the sight, bringing her friends there in her diary account.

Rothwell’s preference for a domesticated, inhabited environment reflected the predilections of all these travel diarists. Many of these tourists expressed strong emotional connections with natural environments which showed signs of human presence. Tourists who wrote positive descriptions of places which contained no human inhabitants – and sometimes also places which did – regularly anthropomorphised animals or non-sentient life forms in their descriptions: travel diarists rhetorically populated the landscapes they found comforting, lovely, and homely. There were many such environments. On one level, we can categorise the environments these tourists loved or hated according to typologies of landscape features. These travel diarists were most likely to admire dynamic and uneven landscapes: river valleys, waterfalls, melting glaciers, mountains so large they had to swivel their heads to take in the view, gardens, orchards and farms. They ignored or despised large, flat spaces inhospitable to human life, including oceans, prairies and steppes. However, the environmental features with which they expressed the greatest affinity, going so far as to invoke how much they felt at home in that place, seem to have depended upon a matrix of imperial, national, metropolitan and religious loyalties particular to each writer. Travel diarists created emotive environments of their own based on common ideals about landmarks, and they did so in a variety of creative ways.

Nature could be made familiar by tourists through metaphor. In 1950, Bond not only anthropomorphised elements of landscape but framed these within a narrative drawing on family relationships, aging, and journeying:

Saw the waters of the Aare just released from the glacier, where they had been imprisoned for many many years – they had been born again and danced and gambolled and laughed and sang as they went like millions of lovely little sprites. They were a grayey white, with glacier

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21 This desire seems to have remained unrealised. She could not ‘take the shoes from off [her] feet’ because the excerpt suggests she’s wearing gumboots; the phrase is also almost certainly metaphorical because it is a favourite phrase of hers throughout her time in Africa, and on other occasions (notably at the grave of Cecil Rhodes) she is explicit about not actually removing her shoes (Diary Vol. 10, p.11).
deposits, but they cared not — they were free, with wonderful adventures ahead. Soon they rushed into L. Brienz who really cleaned them up like a fond aunt, and sent them out at another door in whitey-blue colours and away they danced again, tho’ not so wildly and hysterically as before. They passed beneath our bedroom window at the Du Lac Hotel and we gazed fondly at their joyous-
ness abandon and exhilarating anticipations of the adventures ahead. Soon they were in the arms of another fond “aunt”, Lake Thun, who also cleaned them up for the next stage of their journey, and this time they passed thro’ the outer door with clear blue frocks, still dancing and laughing when we saw them at Berne. I’m not sure if there wd. not be still another “aunt” to call on, but they were in a hurry to reach the Rhône — thence to the ocean — and afterwards they knew not where — maybe Italy — maybe N.Z. — they ed. not know where, but that also was a joy.

Bond’s elaborate designation of emotion to various bodies of water, and her imaginative projection of their future voyaging, demonstrates her emotional investment in this scenery. Like Rothwell, she connected an environment situated at a considerable distance from New Zealand to New Zealand, though Bond suggested a physical connection between the two areas of land. The community to whom she wrote her diary was here introduced to a community of waters, anthropomorphised and interrelated to one another through idealised family connections. Bond placed herself in a similar familial role to that which she assigned the lakes (‘fond aunts’), as she ‘gazed fondly’ at the waters under her hotel room. She also aligned herself with the ‘waters’: when she was no longer certain of their movements, she attributed that uncertainty to the waters, joyously travelling (also like she was doing). In both cases, these landscapes put tourists in mind of home, and they responded by verbally bringing friends and family together with landscape features far distant from New Zealand.

These specific places had individual resonance for these tourists. Rothwell was an ardent imperialist, who eulogised Cecil Rhodes at his graveside (where she also ‘discovered evidence’ of the existence of a ‘great plan’ and which she described as ‘holy ground’), so her presence in Southern Rhodesia might have predisposed her to feel strongly about Victoria Falls. Certainly her description sits comfortably alongside her other thoughts about Africa, which, as at Victoria Falls, she spoke about as a continent. Bond, on the other hand, had a strong affinity with Switzerland, visiting it on all five of her round-the-world trips. Both stories demonstrate an aesthetic preference for uneven, mountainous ground offering broad views and vertiginous drops. Contrary to Monte Holcroft’s 1940 claim that New Zealanders were not particularly interested in alpine scenery (‘If there is a sentimental interest in the country for its own sake, it

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23 Rothwell, Diary Vol. 10, pp.11–15.
remains more or less inarticulate’), these tourists actively admired uneven landscape features, and thoughts of home sprang into their minds while reviewing their experience of these places.\textsuperscript{24}

Tourists sometimes also situated themselves ‘at home’ in a slightly different way in their descriptions of landscape by demonstrating their knowledge of human history in those places, and acknowledging and performing the ongoing emotions of the inheritors of that history. In September 1950, Bond visited the Valley of Glencoe, in Scotland. In 1692, members of the Macdonald clan were killed there by a regiment of soldiers affiliated with the Campbell clan, following the Glorious Revolution and the quashing of the subsequent Jacobite Rebellion. The knowledge Bond demonstrated was not only of the location or existence of an important historical event, but also of Sir Walter Scott’s interpretations of this past. She read the landscape for lingering effects of treachery, and described the entire scene using emotive language:

> Then on we sped to Glen Coe where “The Three Sisters”, the name given to three grim stony mountains at the entrance to Glen Coe where, in 1692 the Campbells turned on their hosts, the Macdonalds, and murdered them in cold blood. It seems to still bear the imprint of that treachery – it’s a sinister looking glen today, tho’ nearly 300 years have passed by. Of that incident, Scott wrote

> “The hand that mingled in the meal
> At midnight drew the felon steel
> And gave the hosts’ kind breasts to feel
> Meed for his hospitality”?\textsuperscript{25}

The ethical position taken by Sir Walter Scott’s poem and that taken by Bond are similar, and Bond’s use of Scott’s poem shores up her emotional reading of the landscape, though the stanza she cited does not describe the Valley of Glencoe itself. Bond found the mountains ‘grim’, ‘sinister’, and ‘imprinted’ with the Campbells’ cold-blooded acts; Scott’s verse similarly emphasised the treachery and the criminality of the Campbells (‘felon steel’). It might seem counterintuitive, perhaps, to describe Bond as ‘at home’ in the Valley of Glencoe, given her apparently visceral rejection of its appearance. Certainly, she made no connection with New Zealand itself in this passage, as she did watching the Aare waters or as Rothwell did at Victoria Falls. By engaging with the story and its setting using such affective language, however, and by aligning herself with one of the most popular interpreters of Scotland’s history, she showed both intellectual and emotional engagement with this past and this environment.\textsuperscript{26}

\textsuperscript{24} Cited in Pawson, p.143.
\textsuperscript{25} Bond, ‘19\textsuperscript{th} Sept.’, Diary 2, pp.177–178.
\textsuperscript{26} Morgan, pp.71–72, 59; Lydia Wevers, \textit{Reading on the Farm: Victorian Fiction and the Colonial World}, Wellington, 2010, pp.186–187 notes that Scott’s oeuvre was one of the canonical components of a Victorian library.
Bond often demonstrated her literary knowledge in her descriptions of natural environments, using quotations or anecdotes to play with her sense of belonging to a place by invoking the emotional tones of other writers. Her knowing and mocking reference to a best-selling memoir as she approached Ceylon in 1937 is another example: ‘Due to reach Colombo in the p.m. tomorrow. Full of anticipation and sniffing for Frederick Hamilton’s “Spicy breezes.”’ She referred, here, to a practical joke played by Frederick Hamilton (1856–1928), as a young man, recounted in his memoir *The Days Before Yesterday*, of which several editions were published throughout the 1920s and 1930s. Hamilton described travelling towards Ceylon in 1870s in the company of several American ladies who were enamoured with the missionary Bishop Reginald Heber’s hymn ‘From Greenland’s icy mountains’ (1819), and particularly the lines:

What though the spicy breezes
Blow soft o’er Ceylon’s isle.

Intensely irritated by the repeated lyric, and annoyed by the literal manner in which they had interpreted the hymn, he went down to the galley, grated nutmeg and pounded cinnamon, and then wandered the deck releasing it in front of their noses, upon which they were greatly excited. By placing herself in the role of these American tourists, sniffing eagerly at the breeze, Bond both played up to her role as a tourist, engaging in some self-mockery, and suggested her superior knowledge from that of those credulous earlier tourists. Here, because Hamilton was not from Ceylon, her playful reference to his trick did not place her ‘at home’, as aligning herself with Scott’s perspective did at Glencoe.

Another tourist made himself physically at home in natural environments abroad. Miles Greenwood was twenty-four when he travelled to Ireland to meet his friend (the future pioneer of the field of Pacific History, James W. Davidson), in the summer of 1939. He did so by cycling from London to Cardiff, camping in the open air at night. We can discern subtle hints of his New Zealand connections as we read his account of cycling into Wales:

And so the Valley of the Wye. Ah me. Even as I saw it, in cloud attaining rain at times, it was absolute glory of gentle, mud banked river (at times there were rocks), on both sides of its ravine forest or bush of the most breath taking.

His translation of ‘forest’ to antipodean ‘bush’ is perhaps not enormously significant as a means of establishing whether he felt at home there; more important was the fact that he domiciled

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29 Miles Greenwood, ‘Tuesday 4th July’, Diary, 2 July–4 August 1939, p.12, MS 9805 Folder 2: NLA.
himself within it. Later the same day, after visiting Tintern Abbey and other picturesque spots, Greenwood:30

Found soon afterwards a forest where I decided to lay me down. Not the best: but I could do no better, and I required rest. So I wrote to Mum by the ebbing light, and was abed while yet a solitary cuckoo sang himself to sleep.31

The anthropomorphised bird, the writing home to his mother in New Zealand, describing himself ‘abed’ creates a cosy, domestic scene for the reader. He played on this idea again the following day, more ironically:

As one was not led to expect I awoke not to a gorgeous sunrise but to rain, and with the rain thunder, and thunder not unaccompanied by decidedly spectacular lightening. This was a rather surprising morning cup of tea32

He continued to sleep rough most nights, despite the frequent rain, once he arrived in Ireland, making a home for himself where he could in the bush, valleys and fields. Like Bond at the Valley of Glencoe, he was familiar with the Valley of the Wye and Tintern Abbey before he ventured there – he saw the latter ‘in all its well known skeleton’.33

As well as admiring uneven landscape scenes of valleys and mountains, New Zealand tourists displayed strong emotional responses to tended land abroad, especially farmland and gardens. Those tourists who gardened made themselves at home as a result of this activity, because of the relationship gardening implied between the gardener and their plot. Bailey spent considerable time gardening on her brother’s Surrey property during 1950 and 1951:

[I] bought some bulbs to put in the back kitchen garden for a treat for all who work in the kitchen and this means pleasure for Lady M., Mum, Margaret, Kath, Nanny and Miss Peto so that we shall all enjoy them. The front gardens are beautiful but our view is of course from the distance. After lunch I hoed into the garden and cleared it up, putting in my best bulbs which, I hope will be a success. I got tulips, hyacinths, crocus and daffodils.34

Keith Pike, a sixty-one-year-old retired banker, helped ‘Aunt Marion’, the aunt of a friend with whom he and his wife Ivy stayed in Sydney during parts of 1959 and 1960:

I have been assisting her in the garden and have done the spade work and cleared up a lot of weeds and grass which was heavy for her. I planted a doz tomatoes and some beet root and

30 Andrews, in The Search for the Picturesque, has discussed the establishment of certain parts of the British countryside as Picturesque (capitalisation his) by poets, artists and tourists in the late eighteenth century. These included the Lake District, Scottish Highlands, and the Wye Valley.
33 ibid., ‘Tuesday 4th July’, p.13.
dwarf beans, put up a line under back porch to dry towels etc in winter and many other little jobs. I know she appreciates it and I like to do it for her.35

Gardening is the antithesis of expected tourist behaviour. In part a performance of ownership or guardianship, it is typically conceived of as something done at home: there are, for instance, no examples of tourists gardening at hotels or public gardens in these travel diaries, nor are any tourists described as gardening in studies of other tourist narratives.36 Through gardening, tourists made themselves at home, beautifying and clearing foreign landscapes.37 Others who presented themselves ‘at home’ in foreign gardens used varying combinations of the same strategies as those who presented themselves at home in uneven landscapes (and, of course, sometimes gardens were located in uneven landscapes).38 They might anthropomorphise the organisms in the gardens, cite and echo a local textual authority, compare the space directly with New Zealand, describe their exalted feelings.

Gardens provide a good site to demonstrate the difference between landscapes tourists felt at home within and those they merely found attractive. Most gardens described by tourists were considered attractive, some especially so, but just as Bond’s disgust and horror at the landscape of Glencoe did not preclude her performance of being at home in Scotland, other tourists’ admiration of natural beauty did not mean they necessarily felt it was familiar or that they belonged in it. Millicent Boor, in Fiji in 1924, visited the Botanical Gardens at Suva:

I admired the many strange and different trees – 3 kinds of hibiscus, an enormous pink one, an equally large flaming red, and a double crimson, large poinsettias, breadfruit, strange flowers I did not discover the names of.39

Her repeated use of the word ‘strange’, and the fact that she could only name three of the flowering plants she saw, reflects that while she might have ‘admired’ the gardens, she certainly was not at home there.

Sending seeds and clippings to New Zealand – as several tourists did – also did not necessarily reflect a desire to incorporate foreign plants into the familiar spaces of home.

36 Other studies which make substantial use of travel diaries or published travel narratives by colonial tourists do not mention those tourists gardening while abroad. For example, Morgan, ‘A Happy Holiday’; Angela Woollacott, To Try Her Fortune in London: Australian Women, Colonialism, and Modernity, Oxford, 2001; White, ‘Bluebells and Fogtown’.
37 Though there is not space to go into this here, it is notable that these two examples complicate the received wisdom about the gendered and functional division of mid-twentieth century home gardening in New Zealand, like the case studies present in Kate Jordan, ‘Golden Weather Gardening: New Zealand Home Sections, 1945–1970’, MA thesis, University of Auckland, 2010, pp.15–38. Bailey brought decorative elements into the productive kitchen garden at the back of the house; Pike ‘assisted’ Aunt Marion with her vegetables. Though he performed the heavy ‘masculine’ tasks, his account suggests that when he was not present, she undertook to do these things herself.
38 Bond, for example, was enraptured by the steep churchyard of St-Just-in-Roseland, a small parish in Cornwall, ‘Aug. 4th’, Diary 2, pp.120–121.
Sometimes, as with Rothwell in Western Australia, they functioned as portable souvenirs of things seen or proxies for interpersonal connections. She sent her children plant material: ‘The pink berries enclosed are peppertree berries’, and ‘I enclose several samples of Kangaroo’s paw green – yellow – black – and there are several other colours’; this inclusion seems to have been educational in purpose. The next day she added that she had visited the garden of the Governor of Western Australia and ‘I enclose a flower from His excellency’s garden’. The vagueness (‘a flower’) of the last example suggests that the significance of this object was its former proximity to a powerful person.

Tourists’ responses to farmland they encountered abroad are particularly interesting, as the national location of the farms played a role in determining how tourists read those landscapes far more clearly than it seemed to affect their more idiosyncratic and personal interpretations of uneven landscapes. The more that a tourist felt culturally comfortable in a locale, the less likely they were to describe the human inhabitants or workers of the farms they saw, though they could empathise with them by anthropomorphising non-human residents; farmers or farm workers were described only where their behaviour was different from tourists’ expectations. Almost all diarists expressed a clear preference for farms in Great Britain. Bond, in 1957, described her view between Cambridge and Lincoln as ‘ever and anon smiling cornfields in various stages and much hay-making’.

By contrast, near Perth in Scotland, she perceived the landscape and its animal inhabitants as depressed:

Such immense desolations could not well be imagined. Hills utterly and woefully barren and useless, tho’ there was some beauty to be found in clean outlines of hills against the white clouds and the miles of purple heather. Sad sheep, often with long tails, ruminated slowly and sadly amongst the heather, about an average of 1 sheep to 10 acres!

‘Smiling cornfields’ and ‘sad sheep’ were present in her descriptions, but though she saw ‘much hay-making’ in the first example, she mentioned nothing of the hay makers. Marion Knight, despite the fact that she briefly worked on a farm, stacking hay at a friend’s ‘pretty’, ‘charming’, ‘lovely’ Habberley Valley farm (near Shrewsbury) in 1961, mentioned little of other workers’ behaviour, appearance, or practices.

What is most notable about these New Zealanders’ landscape aesthetics, however, is that they read farmscapes as ‘landscapes’ at all. Raymond Williams has argued that ‘a working country is hardly ever a landscape’, and suggested that the admiration of much scenery as ‘natural’

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suppresses the contribution of human labour. To a certain extent, by not mentioning the hay-makers, balers, and farmers they passed during harvest, the diarists sidelined these workers’ labour, as Williams suggested. It seems likely, though, that the familiarity of that labour, the tools, the processes, the appearance of the labourers might have rendered this description unnecessary, because farming practice which deviated from tourist expectations was described. Where tourists described farming in practice, the geography or botany tended to be suppressed in favour of a description of that labour: labour and landscape were not wholly integrated in their descriptions. In one respect, this is in keeping with Felicity Barnes’s observation about the divided geography curricula in New Zealand schools until the 1940s. Geography was split in two: physical and commercial. Yet it was clear the division between physical and commercial geography was not rigid in these tourists’ minds. They found beauty in farmlands and were openly aware of these places as both tended environments and sites of labour.

The value placed on farmscape reflects the importance of farming for the New Zealand economy and the family connections of many diarists to Britain. As Tom Brooking, Robin Hodge and Vaughan Wood point out, ‘51 per cent of New Zealand’s surface area [had been converted] to grasslands by the 1970s’, exceeding ‘the world average of 37 per cent’. Pastoral landscape was the goal of much swamp drainage and bush clearing in New Zealand; the Department of Lands in 1907 described mountainous national parks as being a way to ‘embrace country that can never be suitable for close settlement, but is of world-wide fame as the home of scenery’. In Eric Pawson’s words, ‘Mountainous national parks were the bits left over, those that could not be made to fit into the pastoral vision of Britain’s southern farm’. This conversion of land to agricultural ends was precociously swift by global standards, and in process throughout the entire period these diarists travelled. It is not surprising, then, that many New Zealand tourists found beauty in farmscapes. Ruth Wix in 1952 claimed the very sight of fertile farmland in Belgium was a reward:

this journey right through rich, well cultivated farm land with farms, homes, towns and cities that gave the impression of productivity and prosperity in such rich setting of Autumn-toned bus—sorry I mean forest, was a complete surprise to me and made my weary days of struggle in London getting my papers in order seem worth while.

47 Pawson, p.148.
48 ibid.
Many tourists also had family or personal connections with farming. Jill Hobbs and Bond visited farms owned by family members in England and Northern Ireland; as we have seen, Knight had friends with an English farm. Bond and her husband owned a farm in New Zealand, Greenwood replaced his acting career with farming while in England. John Acland, a farmer and son of a farmer, who later became Chair of the New Zealand Wool Board, commented authoritatively as a twenty-one-year-old in Suffolk, 1925: ‘Passed a gorgeous field of Trifolium clover very good Suffolk Punches and sheep’; he also displayed preferences for English farming produce while abroad. For some tourists, there was a strong family connection which drew them to British farmland. Many tourists found ‘joy’ and wonder in the sight of fertile farmland abroad, especially that which was familiar enough for them to confidently ‘read’.

Diarists’ family origins – more than New Zealand’s imperial relationship with Britain – are crucial to understanding the ways that emotional descriptions of farmscapes and imperial, national and religious allegiances aligned. Bailey was a Catholic of Irish descent, and exclaimed, on her first visit there in 1937, ‘I fell in love with the Irish countryside’. Despite the religious connections between herself and those she watched working in Switzerland, on the other hand, the cultural differences of farm practice startled her: ‘In one little village we saw half a dozen nuns in work-a-day clothes raking and turning the hay. It seemed so strange!’ The Presbyterian Bond, like Bailey, found farming practice in Europe peculiar. As we saw in Chapter Two, she criticised the gendered division of farm labour she noticed in Europe. She was less enamoured with farming or landscape in the Republic of Eire than Bailey, though, and very critical of the role that the Roman Catholic church played in Irish society (‘Priests everywhere here, looking well fed and well dressed, even in the poverty-stricken parts – the old old story it seems still holds.’). Though she recognised some beauty in some Irish landscape, she was more inclined to descriptions like this:

50 Jill Hobbs, ‘Tuesday 3rd May’, Diary, 7 February 1955–13 January 1956, pp.41–43, 93/121: AWMML, (this is the first time she visited Broadley Farm; she spent considerable time there over the following months); Bond, ‘11th Aug.’, Diary 4, pp.25–26.
51 Miles Greenwood, Letters from James W. Davidson, 31 May 1939, MS 9805 Folder 1: NLA, mentions Greenwood’s uncertainty over the career he wished to pursue. Two later letters, written during October and November 1939, contain Davidson’s reaction to Greenwood’s decision to take up farming.
52 Hugh John Dyke Acland, ‘Friday 5th [June]’, Diary, 23 February–26 July 1925, p.29, MB44, Box 48: MB. Acland was very complimentary about ‘English and Scotch lamb’ in contrast with others elsewhere in his diary, but his diary does not describe travels outside of England, so it is difficult to say whether he felt more or less strongly about farming elsewhere.
53 Bond used this term constantly; yet another example of her love for English countryside is from 21 July 1950: ‘Oh! how we do enjoy “This beloved plot, this earth, this realm, this England” as good old Shakespeare said! And how we are loving the Cotswolds in particular with its gently rolling hills and dales, well-clothed with ripening grains, as well as hay-fields, sugar-beet crops, and lovely pastureland.’ (Diary 2, p.106.)
Had glimpses of the ocean in various places and just occasionally some arable country—otherwise very small holdings of very poor land, made a very scanty living for the obviously poor folk. The cabins were small, thatched and white-washed with a half-door in front and the farmyard hens all round the door, in almost every case—the half-door would keep them out of the house. The tiny patches of corn were hand-reaped and tied in sheaves. 58

This is a far cry from her descriptions of the ‘incomparable’ English countryside she so admired. 59

By contrast with dynamic, uneven, inhabited landscapes, environments these diarists considered inhospitable and uninhabitable were shunned, which also complicates the relationship between environmental ideals in Britain and in New Zealand. In the preface to her seminal work on the changing taste of the English for mountains over the eighteenth century, Marjorie Hope Nicolson described the original purview for her study:

I planned to consider equally attitudes toward mountains and toward ocean—the two “grandest” phenomena of Nature known to man. I found, however, that there is comparatively little “ocean literature” in comparison with “mountain literature”, for reasons that are obvious enough. Insofar as “ocean” attitudes can be isolated, there are parallels, though the English—an island people and a seafaring race—never seem to feel the same distaste for the sea as for the “hook-shouldered” hills. During the 18th century ocean came to share with mountains the “sublime.” 60

She narrated, in the book, the ideological shift in England from seeing mountains as ‘Nature’s Shames and Ills’ in the seventeenth century, to the nineteenth-century view that they were ‘natural cathedrals’. 61 Nicolson suggests that oceans never inspired in the English the revulsion that mountains did; this is strikingly different from New Zealand tourists’ responses to oceans. Though New Zealand, like Great Britain, is an ‘island’ nation, and every one of these tourists spent some time on shipboard, the ocean was frequently ignored or figured only as space, not place. Diarists represented themselves as alienated from very large uninhabited landscape features. As well as oceans, prairies, steppes and other vast flat places were seen by these tourists as wastelands at best, and, at their worst, as dangerous and horrifying.

61 ibid., p.2.
Some tourists had good reason to feel revolted by oceans. C. W. Collins became violently ill when he felt their movement. As he worriedly noted, following an overnight leg from Christchurch to Wellington at the outset of his voyage to the United States in April 1932:

if I still was affected in the head by a calm trip on a good boat, with the hitherto-unknown luxury of a saloon cabin, and on a cool night, it was not a good augury for the future.62

He almost never described the ocean – not whether it was rough or still (he attributed these characteristics to the boats he travelled on), not how it looked, not what he might have seen on, in or above it (other ships, birds, flying fish). He turned his back on the sea; it functioned as a blank. But most other tourists did the same, despite seasickness only striking some of them. Most complimented or critiqued the boats they were on for the stability and efficiency of their voyage, rather than the oceanic conditions. Charles Begg was very fond of the ship he took between Auckland and Honolulu in 1937:

The more I see of the AORANGI the more I like her. The motor engines drive her very steadily, and there is very little vibration. They say she is an excellent sea boat and I can well believe it.63

Labour MP Edwin Howard was less complimentary as he headed for England and the coronation of King George VI: ‘We are plodding on like an old duck. Yesterday something went wrong in the engine room and we lost 300 miles or there abouts’.64 Predominantly, diarists focused on the social worlds of their ship communities rather than describing what the ocean looked like at any given point.

Instead of considering oceanic aesthetics, diarists perceived oceans as spaces to get through. I use ‘space’ in W. J. T. Mitchell’s sense:

“Space” only becomes a predicate as a metaphor for displacement and disorientation (one can be “spaced out” or “space” objects by widening the distance between them, so that the verb “to space” seems directly counter to the action of placing).65

Oceanic space was often referred to in these travel diaries. Some diarists noted the daily distances travelled by the ship they were on.66 Occasionally this intersected with the social life on the ship – some ships had sweeps or ‘totes’ where passengers guessed the daily mileage travelled and won money if they were correct. Grace Vincent was particularly successful at this, winning numerous

63 Charles Begg, ‘April 23rd’, Diary, 17 April–14 September 1937, p.3, Misc-MS-2140: HC.
64 Edwin Howard, ‘Wed March 31st’, Diary 2, 7 January–21 August 1937, p.10, MS-0980/010: HC.
days running during her 1948 voyage from Auckland to London, by herself and in syndicates, up to £5 at once.67 Begg explained the rules on board the *Aorangi*, in 1937:

Every day there is a “sweep” on the ship’s run, i.e. for a shilling each you can have a guess as to how far she has gone in the twenty-four hours. Had a pop this morning, but was no where near it, thank goodness, because she did more than twenty miles further than the previous two days.68

His concern clearly lay more with the hasty passage of the ship than his success in the sweep, and this reflects most diarists’ view of the ocean as a barrier of a certain – considerable – size which they had to cross, not a place where they or anything else was living, nor an environment they could appreciate visually or experientially.

Ignoring oceans appears to have been common for tourists from around the British Empire in this period. Certainly tourists’ attitudes to oceans have not been frequently discussed.69 This scholarly silence about oceanic environments could be a result of their absence from the source materials, or of a focus on nation or empire and thus a distinction between lands, not oceans. One might expect New Zealand tourists to have a more intimate connection with the ocean than Canadian or Australian tourists, given the ocean’s close proximity to most settlements in the country, and New Zealand’s island, not continental, geography, but this was not the case.70

According to T.H. Scott, this went back a long way: ‘In the earliest accounts of New Zealand the dominant theme was not sea or coast but mountains’.71 Landscape – particularly forest landscape – dominates New Zealand’s environmental history as well, which as an oeuvre lacks widespread considerations of its oceanic sphere of influence.72 Libby Robin and Tom Griffiths argue, in Australia’s case, that the oceanic colonial economy which once intimately connected it with New Zealand has been largely forgotten, and following New Zealand’s decision not to federate with

68 Begg, “April 23rd”, Diary, p.3.
69 Morgan’s study of Anglo-Canadian tourists considered ‘the practices of middle class tourism’ by focussing on shipboard life on voyages across the Atlantic, but the state of the sea or the things on it (aside from one story of an Irish girl from steerage being buried at sea) were not mentioned by any of the Canadian tourists she quoted; ‘A Happy Holiday’, pp.31–57; the story about ‘Mary’, the doomed consumptive Irish girl, is pp.38–39. Angela Woollacott described the voyages of Australian women to London in the early twentieth century as a series of port stops, rather than focussing on the state of the ocean: ““All This Is the Empire, I Told Myself”: Australian Women’s Voyages “Home” and the Articulation of Colonial Whiteness’, *American Historical Review* 102, 4, 1997, pp.1003–1029.
Australia, ‘The new Commonwealth retreated to its definition as “a continent for a nation”, and Australia turned its back on the sea and found its national imaginings in its own interior’. New Zealanders appear to have done likewise, without the slogan.

There are two main points to take away from this. Despite the significance of Britain’s relationship with the ocean in its self-definition as ‘island’ by contrast with ‘continental Europe’, and its naval dominance, those in its settler colonies did not share in any particular fondness for the ocean as an environmental feature during this period. The metropolis did not always take the lead on defining the emotional responses of New Zealanders to environmental features. Second, despite the proximity of the ocean to all major New Zealand settlements (and many smaller settlements), this proximity did not necessarily lead to familiarity. Though New Zealand contained many farms and many mountains, it was not their mere presence which led to many New Zealanders’ emotional affinity for these environmental features. We can understand that the ocean was ignored or rejected at least in part because humans were unable to survive there, and probably because it was so large, making the situation of travellers upon it more precarious.

Other large-scale environments perceived as anathema to human life were also rejected by tourists, including the Canadian prairies and the Russian steppe. Bond travelled across the Canadian prairie, by train, for over a day in 1950, but spent only an extremely brief time describing what she saw. What she did write emphasised the colourlessness, vastness and lack of diversity of the prairies.

as for “wide open spaces”, I know now that I never knew the meaning of it, that whereas I thought I liked them, now I know that I do not.

Her brief description mentioned ‘thousands of miles of stubble’, expressed horror that women or children could live in such places, that there ‘was not a green thing or any colour at all’, and that there was ‘scarcely any sign of either humans or animals’. She rejected the prairies in general in a way she did not reject the poor Scottish sheep farming she commented upon a few months later: she did not take issue with a perceived lack of fertility in the prairie; she simply did not recognise the value in it as a place to live. As she saw environments’ value in their capacity to sustain and nurture human life – with the Swiss Alps’ chalets and the smiling prolific corn of the English countryside as her ideals – the idea of living somewhere so inhospitable filled her with abject disgust.

Charles Brasch wrote a poem at the end of his travel diary (the diary described a trip through Holland, Germany, Poland, Lithuania and Latvia to Russia in 1934), based on his

73 Robin and Griffiths, p.441.
74 Scott, *When the Waves Ruled Britannia*.
76 ibid., pp.24–25.
observations of the Russian steppe, which expressed similar dismay at the vastness and inhospitable nature of the elements there:

The Steppe

Where the white skies end
(There) Russia ends;
Where the wind is caught
And tethered underground
And the clouds break and the sun descends,
Where men cry out
At the bare sea and choking sands

Beyond the farthest lands
And the blank frozen shore –
The world is Russia no more.

Men and horses on the steppe
Ride till night, ride till death
Where no voice is but the wind
And no feature but the sharp cloud and sudden slanting searchlight
From the sun’s cloud softened wrath –
A bath, a halo on the plain.
Over them the steep sky bends
And the earth is but a rim
Endless, boundless, narrow; dumb
But for the rider in the sky
The wind that makes the grasses sing,
And dwarfed by man’s old enemy
The cold and empty heaven hung
over Russia like a down
Continuing when men come
To Russia’s edge and end
Sea and ice and sand
And the fettered wind.77

77 Charles Brasch, Diary, 18 August–11 September 1934, pp.121–122, MS-0996-009/003: HC.
The cries of men, the emphasis on ‘choking sand’ and riding ‘till death’, contribute to Brasch’s
creation of an apocalyptic landscape, as does the ‘wrath’ of the sun and the vertiginous bending
sky. This is a landscape of terror, of silence, of brutality – and it is endless and boundless, a
nightmare environment where, nevertheless, ‘men’ inexorably come. That same lack of
homeliness which drove Bond’s disgust for the Canadian prairie was present in Brasch’s
evocation of the Russian steppe.

The Environment as Actor

If human presence in natural environments was so important to tourists, how did they
understand their presence there? The travel diaries suggested tourists’ considerable interactions
with foreign environments: they both removed things from the land and added to it physically as
well as rhetorically. Gardening is the most obvious example of this we have seen so far. Yet while
tourists acknowledged this activity and the multiple other ways in which they moved through and
interacted with natural environments – hiking, swimming, skiing, climbing, cycling – their
descriptions emphasised the dynamism of the environment and its effect on their bodies or
emotions far more than their own movements or effects. Sheep were depicted moving
mournfully, glacial streams danced, corn smiled, forests became bedrooms, and travel diarists
represented themselves responding with empathy, gazing fondly, or falling in love. Likewise, in
Brasch’s poem the sun was wrathful, the grasses sang, and the wind was restrained underground;
in response, men choked, cried and died. Thus, though it was through their writing that the
landscape was attributed such dynamism, travel diarists suggested that the power ran the other
way around, and they predominantly responded to environmental actions rather than acting upon
them. The gardeners among them hoped to have a small, positive impact on the localised
landscape, but only at the very end of the period did any hint creep into the diaries that humans
could have a negative impact upon natural environments. Tourists themselves took no credit for
such changes.

Though travel diaries did suggest their authors’ alterations of the environments they
travelled through, they did not represent these actions as damaging or, sometimes, as alterations
at all. As well as collecting English rhododendrons for visual consumption and appreciation in
London, Bailey transported plant material between countries, but did not comment on the
possible outcomes in her diary. In August 1936, while travelling over the Julier mountain pass in
Switzerland, she described picking wildflowers, and managing to get ‘a few roots of the wild
mountain rose’.78 She also imported seeds and bulbs to New Zealand. On a second trip to
Europe in 1950–51, she recorded in her travel diary that she had been poring over specialist seed

catalogues while in Surrey, and that she had managed to acquire a permit allowing her to import bulbs to Auckland from Holland. By this time she was the owner of a garden shop in Otahuhu, Auckland, so these seeds and bulbs were likely distributed over an area larger than that of her own garden. Her importation of seeds also participated in the imperial movement of the seeds of British and European plants into New Zealand home and public gardens, which had been interrupted by World War II. Rothwell, Jill Hobbs and Knight all included pressed flowers or other plant matter in their travel diaries.

Tourists also suggested their interactions with natural environments through their descriptions of their own ‘adventure tourism’: long-distance cycling, swimming, skiing, mountain climbing and hiking. Both men and women undertook substantial bicycling trips alone. In 1939, Greenwood cycled from London through Wales, caught a boat to Ireland and then continued cycling around Ireland, sleeping outdoors much of the time to save money, and travelling with a companion only some of the time. In the same year, forty-year-old Wix cycled alone through Scotland. She undertook two further trips, also alone, on bicycle and power cycle in 1952 and 1953 in Western and Northern Europe. Louise Sutherland spent the early years of the 1950s completing a round-the-world cycling trip alone, while in her mid-twenties. Tourists also engaged in sports involving mountains and hills. Dora de Beer undertook many mountaineering expeditions, often with other women climbers. Boor went hiking and swimming in Samoa in a group in 1924, while Knight tried skiing with her friend Lucy in Switzerland in 1962. By performing these activities, they engaged with touristic practices which had existed in both Europe and New Zealand for several decades. Clubs for trampers, skiers, and mountain-climbers had increased substantially in the early decades of twentieth-century New Zealand, and alpine adventuring in New Zealand was marketed to both domestic and international tourists.

Mountain climbing and bicycle touring both became popular among middle-class tourists in

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81 Tourists before World War II were rarely considered ‘adventurous’. ‘Travellers’ might have been conceived of this way, for instance, Paul Fussell, Abroad: British Literary Travelling Between the Wars, New York, 1980, but because Fussell saw a qualitative difference between the ‘off the beaten track’-type traveller and the ‘common’ tourist, he was not interested in adventurous elements of tourism per se.
82 Greenwood met with Davidson in Ireland.
83 Ruth Wix Wilson cycled on each of her first three extant travel diaries, through Scotland (1939), Belgium, Germany, Holland (1952), and Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland (1953).
84 Louise Sutherland, Diary, 12 August–26 October 1955, 25 June–late August 1956, MS-2882/165: HC.
85 Dora de Beer, Climbing diary, 1915–1931, MS-1392/013: HC.
Europe during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Physical culture movements, including swimming, swept the Western world in the early twentieth century. Whether moving through landscapes in a new way or not, many tourists left the confines of the hotel, train or tour bus, and touched the natural environment.

Yet while it was clear that these tourists touched, smelled, and sweated in foreign landscapes, their descriptions of these experiences represented their bodies only through their sense of sight and the effect of the environment upon them. They presented the environment as active and themselves as passive. De Beer’s entry on 5 August 1922, during a climbing holiday in Switzerland, is a good example:

Rose at 3 A.M. Left at 4, with Maurice Fauchère and I arr. on top of the Pigne d’Arolla at 8.30 A.M. In spite of a good deal of cloud we could see the Matterhorn, etc. and over Italy it was beautifully clear. Too cold to linger, so down we came – another way, to the Pas de Chèvres, 11 A.M. where we stopped an hour for lunch, and then picked edelweiss on the way home.

Though de Beer had climbed an almost-4000m high mountain, she focussed not on that, but on the view from and flora of the mountain, and the effect of the temperature on her activity. In Ireland, on 14 July 1939, Greenwood noted:

A short day, and in parts very damp. We got only to Killarney. But regretted not our slow progress. It was mountain scenery seen under what must be the typical conditions – cloud, mist, rain and a fair wind. But it did clear too. And we enjoyed it all.

Again, the scenery, the temperature and weather formed the focus of this entry. Greenwood suggested, though did not state outright, that they had travelled slowly due to the weather conditions. Sutherland noted her daily distances and her total distances at the top of most entries, but otherwise did not really discuss her experiences on the bicycle itself. The contrast between the diary, in which her body is barely mentioned, and other accounts of her progress (she gave many interviews during her long trip) is clear. A New Zealand Truth article from 1959, written after she had completed this trip, provides a salacious example. Under the headline: ‘Around The World On A Bicycle: Amazing Adventures of Fearless N.Z. Nurse’, Truth began:

91 Greenwood, ‘Friday 14th July’, Diary, p.52.
THE ATTRACTIVE BLONDE GIRL from Dunedin screamed in terror when two Indian lorry drivers threw themselves upon her as she cycled along the lonely jungle road. But there was no one to hear her cries.  

Not only does this excerpt focus on how her body appeared to others, the environment exists as just a backdrop to an attack, rather than the focus of the description. Wix travelled through hilly Scotland, but aside from indicating the presence of hills, she never spoke of her difficulties in ascending them. Like de Beer and Greenwood, she was more interested in the aesthetic of the scenery and in recording her route.

The tourists who tried new pursuits for the first time while abroad – and might therefore be expected to remark upon the new ways of moving – also described little of their physical experiences, aside from their perceptions of temperature. In 1924 Boor set off from her ship, docked in Samoa, in a party of hikers and swimmers. Once again, she described the temperature and the physical surroundings:

Then at the bottom what do you think we did!

There is a stream, a lovely waterfall and deep pool – the two gentlemen and 3 of us went in and had the coolest and most refreshing bathe you can imagine. I have never or never expected to enjoy a bathe like that, lovely cool water, the first time I have been cool since a few days after leaving Auckland. I can’t tell you how we loath we were to leave it. Mr C and Mr H and Mrs A could swim, Miss J and self could only wallow in the shallower part.

Boor noted that another passing walking party looked at their bathing with great disapproval, and it appears that this contributed to her sense of daring. She suggested that her physical behaviour signified transgression, but there were many bodily sensations she might have experienced – how the bottom of the pool felt against her feet, or the way her brand-new swimming dress moved when it was wet – and did not describe. Knight’s ski trip showed her surprise at the consistency of snow; she was predominantly concerned with how it affected her ability to walk. Though it appears that diarists neglected to describe their physical experiences of cycling, climbing, skiing or swimming, the diaries make clear that they were intimately engaged with the elements and terrain through their tourism. Even where they marked or shaped the landscape with tyre tracks or pickaxe dents, they presented the environment as something observed and powerful, not

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94 As Ross has shown, especially p.63, there were concerns in New Zealand during the 1920s and 1930s that tramping was ‘disreputable’, both because it was often done in groups of both men and women, involving clothing not considered appropriate outside the bush (shorts for women), and often involving overnight stays. Boor’s experience did not include the last of these components, but ticked the other two boxes.
96 ibid., p.22.
something they could control. They downplayed their own roles as active users of the environment.

Even tourists who demonstrated enormous control over parts of the environment might represent their descriptions as responses to actions of something natural. Peter Buck was travelling towards Magareva past the Tuamotuan atolls in 1934 when he described the catching of frigate birds to feed the crew and passengers on the *Moana*. One young bird was caught but kept alive as a pet, and, later that night on the ship, Buck described it hungrily watching another passenger eating dinner (of fish, not one of its relatives):

it opened its beak wide and then by snapping it together quickly a number of times, it played brief tunes all of the same rhythm, much as someone might play short spasms on a **pate** wooden gong. I imagined it was playing a dinner call of the following nature:

“Officers’ wives get puddins and pies
And frigate birds – get nothing.”

His mental connections are contained within his words: the frigate bird reminded him of someone playing a gong; gongs were often used to call those for dinner; the lyric he adapted is based on the Officers’ Mess bugle call from the Army. He further anthropomorphised the bird by imagining its sense of injustice at not being fed on demand. His adapted quotations contribute to producing a very vivid sense of the bird’s manner, noises, demeanour and behaviour. His high-spirited and creative description of the bird made it the actor in the scene, even though it was captive.

Even imagined environments might be presented as actors. Brasch set out from England for Russia in 1934, and the view of Regent’s Park he saw on the dawn of his departure put him in mind of Walter de la Mare’s poem ‘Alexander’. He used the poem to connect the landscape he could see, and the oceanic environment of the English Channel, which he could not. Brasch commenced his diary-keeping with some poetic observations of his own about the park:

Early a soft horizon mist hid all the town beyond Regent’s Park and the farthest trees there were only outlines, shape by shape. On the grass in the reservoir lay a darkness of dew that deepened in colour, and the poplars and small rounded willows stood quite leaf still, green living statues springing from the grass

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98 Peter Buck, ‘August 30th, Thursday’, Diary, 28 August–27 November 1934, p.5, qMS-0294: ATL. The ‘lyric’ he adapts, according to a *Sydney Mail* article, was a set of words applied to army bugle calls by soldiers. This one, the Officers’ Mess Call, was ‘Officers’ wives have puddings and pies, while soldiers’ wives get skilly. (Repeated twice.) But puddings and pies don’t together comprise to make officers’ wives any better a prize than soldiers’ wives who get skilly.’ Dec. 19, 1891, p.1361.

In the midst of this, he wrote the first stanza (a slightly misremembered version of it, at least) of ‘Alexander’:

Twas the great Alexander  
Capped with a golden helm  
Sat in his ship, in ...  
In ardent calm

He concluded: ‘Over Ormonde Terrace the sun came Turnerish from beneath a darker smoky layer of cloud. The sea, with this, must be smooth’. Not only did Brasch focus on the movement and actions of the park which he could see, but the stanza of de la Mare’s poem he quoted presented the elements controlling Alexander the Great’s movement. Even the conquering hero was brought to a standstill by the uncooperative wind. This passage emphasises the power of natural elements, and depicts Brasch reading his surroundings to predict the elements’ future effect on his own journey.

That diarists typically presented themselves as observers of rather than actors upon foreign environments is important: very few diarists considered natural environments in flux or discussed pollution and environmental degradation at all, let alone in a way which implicated visitors. Sometimes this required a literal turning-away from less-than-beautiful sights. In 1948, Grace Vincent began to describe the land around Rhymney, a former mining town in Wales:

Coal mining was also carried out here – but the mines are finished now – altho’ one can still see large hills of ash and slag at the tops of the disused mines

Immediately after this comment, she stopped describing these signs of industrialism and commented on the beauty of the hills and the animals which lived in them. Bond, alone of the diarists, included a clipped newspaper article in the back of her fourth travel diary, written in 1957, which directly discussed pollution. This article, from an unnamed newspaper, is titled ‘Lovely Lake is in Disgrace’, and describes the pollution from ‘tons of chemicals and other types of toxicants and sewage’ causing the lake to be slowly killed ‘by poison’.

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100 ibid. The actual stanza of this poem reads: It was the Great Alexander, Capped with a golden helm, Sate in the ages, in his floating ship, In a dead calm. Walter de la Mare, ‘Alexander’, Walter de la Mare: Poems, e-publication, 2004, p.3. Accessible at: http://www.poemhunter.com/i/ebooks/pdf/walter_de_la_mare_2004_9.pdf
102 Wind is important as a propellant for sailboats, of course; the point is that Brasch quoted a stanza that emphasised its power at the expense of Alexander, reflecting his own hopes about its effect upon him. The wind is the most powerful actor in this entry.
journalist’s emotive language about ‘poor Constance’ being victimised by ‘assassins’, he commented on its significance as ‘one of the jewels’ of tourism. Rather than suggesting that pollution resulted, in part, from fuel and emissions from boats pulling waterskiers or the ‘pleasure transport boats’ which took tourists to see ‘mountains, orchards and picturesque towns on its shore’, he cited these uses as reasons to maintain or rescue the lake. Tourists’ focus on vision or the effect of the environment upon them – not the other way around – did not encourage the expression of environmental anxiety or guilt.

This chapter has sketched out some contours of an environmental imaginary which appears consistent across the diaries, and thus while individual responses to place reflected personal preferences and ideas, a broader ‘New Zealand’ response to natural environments emerges from these travel diaries. By looking at the responses to environments by ‘ordinary’ people, rather than government ministers or school textbook writers, we can see both the kinds of environments which were valued, and the reasons they were valued. This environmental imaginary appears to have been influenced by a combination of ideals which reflected national policy towards farming, national parks, and the education of children, as well as imperial and religious loyalties. Mountains and farms, crucial elements of economic production through agricultural exports and tourism, were highly prized by tourists, while unproductive ‘wide open spaces’ were shunned. Though this appeared to be a pragmatic, use-based, improvement-focussed view of nature, in which natural environments and their inhabitants could be understood in terms of human society, simultaneously these tourists presented nature as powerful, benevolent and affective. Nature was at once comforting in its malleability by human industry and presented as a far more powerful actor than humankind. Tourists did not often engage with the prospect of its disorder or damage as a result of their or others’ behaviour. Much of this discussion has reflected New Zealanders’ attitudes to landscapes at home as much as it has their relationships with the foreign. Often interactions with landscape represented a rhetorical denial that they were away from home, just as the letters they received with such joy brought them emotionally closer to their friends and family at home.105 The next and final chapter likewise tells us a lot about New Zealanders’ sense of home, but deals with moments when they were more often alienated than at ease: tourist responses to foreign cultures.

105 Bond described the urgency of her desire for letters on “7th July [1950]”, Diary 2, p.99: ‘an almost indecent rush to N.Z. House and the Bank for home letters – over thirty so we had a few very happy hours devouring them all’.
CHAPTER SIX
Amused and Cosmopolitan Kiwis: Perceptions of ‘the Foreign’ and New Zealand’s Place in the World

Eve Bond and her husband Elon left New Zealand in March 1937 with his mother and their niece. Within three and a half months they had raced through a succession of cities and towns: Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide, Fremantle, Perth, Colombo, Kandy, Bombay, Aden, Port Sudan, Cairo, Malta, Marseilles, Gibraltar, London, Amsterdam, Paris, Geneva, Lausanne, Lucerne, Milan, Florence, Pisa, Rome, Naples, Venice, Innsbruck, Munich and Vienna. At their next stop, Prague, Eve reported on the relative uptake of neon lighting technology across the many places they had visited. ‘Best Neon Lighting seen since leaving A.K. – next best was Vienna. Very little in London and on the continent altogether. Auck. much more than anywhere so far.’ Eve’s diary emphasised that New Zealanders were surrounded by technology at home. Certainly she had access to very recent technologies: the Bonds left Auckland in possession not only of a photographic camera – and some experimental colour film – but also a ‘ciné’: a movie camera.

Thirteen years later, the Bonds were travelling again, and continued to understand New Zealand in terms of technological developments. A 1950 poem written about and for the Bonds by Sir Norman Nock, former Lord Mayor of Sydney, with whom they travelled on the R.M.S. Aorangi from Auckland to Victoria, B.C., suggests as much in its second stanza:

> They sparkle with love and in a friendly tone.
> Tell us of the wonders they’ve kept at home
> There’s washers and Ironers and gadgets for diners.,
> There’s Pavlova Pie and Rice and Cream.
> In fact there’s no doubt it’s near to a dream

Nock wrote this poem with his tongue lodged in his cheek – but he emphasised the Bonds’ own sense of New Zealand’s access to modern labour-saving technology.

The Bonds were not alone in their understanding of New Zealand as a gadget-filled paradise. Ruth Wix smugly reported back about New Zealand’s relative technological advancement after a trip to Scotland in 1960. She was staying on a farm in Fyfeshire, and

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1 The Bonds also travelled through a series of bodies of water, but Eve did not comment in detail on those.
3 Over half of the diarists – distributed fairly evenly across the period – travelled with still cameras. As indicated in Chapter One, using a camera as a tourist could be fraught with difficulties and obstacles, and during this period a camera was not a necessity for tourists wanting a photographic record of the places they had visited – or even themselves in those places. Professional photographers and postcard sellers could provide those. Bond was the only diarist who mentioned travelling with a ciné, however.
4 Kept in an envelope in the front of Bond, Diary 1.
The farmer and his family were in a great state of excitement over the big milk van which had only recently been introduced into this part of Scotland, and made us poor colonial s come out to see this wonder. It was my old Scottish farmer friend, from Central Otago, on whose relations’ farm we were staying. He let them talk, and then said, “We’ve had these since----I forget when.” Dead silence. To ease the situation, I said to the driver of the truck, “Where does this stainless steel come from?” “The vat or whatever comes from Sweden” he said, “but the machinery in the big separator etc. comes from N.Z.”

Despite the awkwardness of the situation, Wix concluded that she ‘didn’t mind the collapse of a little of the Scottish ego’. In this passage, Wix ventriloquised and scorned these Scots’ understanding of New Zealanders as ‘poor colonials’, based on assumptions about what New Zealanders had access to. Significantly, she also emphasised that New Zealand not only contained technological wonders, but created them.

These accounts are, in some ways, unexpected. Much writing about New Zealand since the late 1950s has taken a position akin to the Fyfe farmer in Wix’s account. In debates over the late-1950s proposals to introduce television into the country concerns were raised in parliament and the press that New Zealand had fallen behind the technological benchmark of the rest of the world. Publications as different as New Zealand Truth and the Listener made the claims that without television, New Zealand ‘was in danger of becoming “a real cultural backwater”’. New Zealand’s lack of television was criticised in similar terms during parliamentary debates. Ideas about New Zealand’s relative backwardness in the mid-twentieth century have bled into much subsequent historical writing about the nation. Eminent historians Keith Sinclair, Michael King and James Belich have each anthropomorphised the nation mid-twentieth century as a young person on the cusp of a new stage of life. Accompanying this metaphor of maturity has been anxiety about whether – or simply denial that – this youngest sibling was meeting age-appropriate milestones. As Belich memorably put it, ‘no-one likes snapshots of them clinging to mother being displayed at the twenty-first birthday party, especially if the snapshots were taken at age nineteen’. Other

5 Ruth Wix Wilson, Diary 3: ‘Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Holland’, 26 June–8 August 1953, pp.12–13, MS-Papers-5433-03: ATL. This anecdote, from 1960, was inserted into her diary of this earlier trip through Northern Europe.
6 ibid., p.13.
8 Keith Sinclair succinctly summed up Britain’s joining of the EEC in three words: ‘Mother had deserted’ (A History of New Zealand, revised edn, Auckland, 2000, p.367). As well as a mother, New Zealand was attributed a wider family and a developmental life narrative: he argued it shared ‘fraternal similarities’ with the United States and Australia, and that it ‘grew up like its colonial brothers’ (p.362). The title of Michael King’s chapter about New Zealand’s entry into the Boer War and World War I asks whether these comprised a ‘baptism of blood?’ (The Penguin History of New Zealand, Auckland, 2003, pp.284–304). James Belich developed the metaphor into perhaps its most extended form, in a section of Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the Year 2000, Auckland, 2001 in which he described the country’s coming to ‘national maturity’ as ‘New Zealand’s twenty-first birthday’ (p.547).
9 Belich, pp.547–548.
historical texts have adopted the narratorial position of the older sophisticate, amused or dismayed by the folly of New Zealand’s younger years. David Burton maintains that in the 1950s, 

The citizens of Nelson were mildly shocked at being presented with such French abominations as snails, Périgord truffles, frogs legs [sic], fillets of anchovies, pies in the shape of violins and whole, gleaming suckling pigs decorated with swirly white piping, complete with apples stuck in their gobs.10

He announced, with some condescension, that ‘Even such basic menu items as hors d’oeuvres, olives and salami were unknown in provincial New Zealand of the time’.11 From television to travel to culinary construction, New Zealand in the mid-twentieth century has often been understood as unfashionable, unimaginative, and technologically behind the times.

Yet this position has been powerfully challenged in recent work by scholars who have shown New Zealanders engaged with particular ideological and technological developments occurring concurrently elsewhere in the Western world. Caroline Daley has looked at twentieth-century New Zealanders’ leisure pursuits and attitudes to the body, finding conversations around eugenics, fashion, bodily display and bodily care which were also occurring in other countries at the time.12 Charlotte Macdonald has tracked the application of similar legislation encouraging physical culture across four countries, including New Zealand – the second of the four to adopt it.13 Helen Laurenson has argued that by the 1920s, New Zealand department stores were ‘up to the mark with major retailing developments overseas’ including window dressing fashions and pneumatic cash desk systems.14 Some New Zealand innovations in shopping were also exported to Australia and the United States, such as ‘Pixietown’, which debuted at Farmers in Auckland in the 1930s.15 (Pixietown involved small wooden ‘pixies’ doing tricks and playing games.) Perrin Rowland placed the New Zealand restaurant in both international and local contexts, suggesting the awareness of New Zealand restaurateurs of some overseas dining trends and styles.16 Felicity Barnes has argued that New Zealanders came to understand New Zealand as ‘new’ in the early twentieth century, by contrast with ‘old’ ‘mother’ England.17

These travel diaries shift the conversation. Though these New Zealand tourists were more likely to understand New Zealand as technologically advanced rather than backward, they rarely utilised this discourse of advancement when describing recently-developed objects they

11 ibid., p.67.
15 ibid., p.110.
17 Barnes, *New Zealand’s London*. 177
encountered abroad, or new experiences they had, instead appealing to other ideas and focussing on other things. Because, as we have seen, tourism has been credited with the dramatic cultural and economic changes in New Zealand concurrent with the beginning of the jet age, tourists’ relative lack of interest in advancement or development is striking. This chapter focuses on the ways tourists made sense of New Zealand’s cultural place in the world. There was more interest in learning about the world and difference than in altering New Zealand. We look to a range of encounters – with place, with technologies new to these tourists, with artistic expressions, with rituals they considered unusual – through which these tourists revealed their expectations and their responses to the foreign. Charles Brasch, writing his memoirs in the late 1960s, looked back upon postwar New Zealand with dismay: ‘most people’s view hardly strayed beyond their own street and they had forgotten the sea and mountains almost at the end of the street’. These New Zealanders not only ventured much farther than the end of their streets, but they had confidently-expressed opinions not just about natural environments but about subjects as diverse as modern art and theatre, the big city, dining rituals, and technological developments including electric trains, steamships, aeroplanes, and escalators. Brasch’s statement questioned the sensory awareness of New Zealanders; these diarists (including Brasch himself) confidently relied upon their somatic perceptions. These diaries show what tourists did value, as well as how they understood their position as New Zealanders in a global context. They show us what their authors considered ‘foreign’ and in what circumstances.

Rather than concerning themselves with ‘advancement’, for the most part diarists were fascinated with the details and rituals of others’ lives. They centred bodily and social experiences in their narratives. This is particularly clear when diarists described entering spaces which were unexceptional either for themselves as tourists or for more permanent inhabitants of that place: local homes, hotels, restaurants, factories, and ship anterooms. While New Zealanders could construct themselves ‘at home’ in natural environments or through shopping practices while abroad, it was often in the actual homes of strangers that they made clear distinctions between themselves and what they perceived to be foreign customs. Regardless of what else might go on in these spaces, tourists tended to value and emphasise the social, using their observations about social worlds to construct their sense of national, continental, or professional cultures. When they represented experiences which were new to them, they were confident assessors of their experiences, applying their own aesthetics, emotions and criteria of comfort and usefulness. They were not Belich’s timid teenagers. Rather than seeing things which originated overseas or were very new as automatically worth emulating and importing home, they thought critically about them, sometimes concluding that they were valuable and other times rejecting their utility. The

last part of this chapter turns to look at three ‘modern cities’ – Sydney, London and New York – and the ways that tourists represented their quick mastery over those spaces. These New Zealanders displayed little cultural cringe; they represented themselves as modern citizens with a rapid facility for adapting to larger, faster-paced cities. Despite their excitement at some elements of the modern city, for the most part they did not find New Zealand wanting in any regard. These tourists already understood New Zealand to be part of a modern world.

The Value of the Social

We might expect to read narratives of progress and advancement after tourists visited factories or other industrial sites, such as mines, which many tourists did during the interwar years. The sorts of factories these New Zealand tourists visited predominantly produced consumer items, and we also might expect that it was the product itself which drew tourists’ interest. Certainly the product featured prominently on occasion – Bond exclaimed, in August 1937:

> Got an appointment to be shown thro’ Horlicks Malted Milk Factory and we like it even more than ever! They wd. think we were good customers cd. they see those Hosp. size [tins] arrayed on our cupboard shelves at home.19

But we would be wrong to jump to such conclusions. Though tourists responded to factories they visited abroad in a range of ways, it was the human experience of the factory worker and innovations in their care and conditions which most interested many of them. Bond, for example, took a detailed interest in working conditions when visiting Cadbury’s Bourneville factory:

> Splendid working conditions, health of employees well watched and maintained. The village, a model one, provides fine cottage and villa homes; the single women can rent rooms all complete with home comforts; the aged have separate complete flats; all have their own little well-kept gardens streets laid out with beautiful avenues of trees. Extensive playing fields, parks, lake for model yachts, churches and schools are provided. The children employed at the factory have one day a week to attend school to further their secondary education and they are encouraged and helped if they wish to pursue a University course. They have fine swimming pools, a large social hall which is used for any entertainments which their dramatic or literary and debating society might put on. Also for lectures pictures etc. Each party had a girl to guide thro’ the works. We saw the manufacture of chocs and cocoa from the cocobean to the packet-for-market goods. Most interesting and most efficient, and labour-saving devices.20

The infrastructure and amenities of the chocolate town – particularly because of the comfort these provided for the workers – were the most novel or interesting aspects of the tour for Bond.\(^{21}\)

Sociability and working towards understanding or fostering social relationships was more important to many diarists than new technologies for their own sake. Postwar travellers occasionally found television a source of social information, and discussed it in those terms. Marion Knight described her experience of television as a means of finding out about the society she was in during her account of her time in New York City, in 1961:

Our room had a television set and we often turned it on out of curiosity and when we had gone back and forth through all the channels we settled for channel 13 as being the best. The advertisements were a nuisance but some of them were quite funny. There was a panel to answer questions sent in and this was very interesting. The panel was changed every day. There seemed to be an endless supply of people suitable or willing to appear in this session – professors, psychiatrists, spiritualists, rabbis, lawyers, parsons, etc. Often there is a mystery story and very often a robbery of some kind. Then if it was at all interesting the ads were a curse.\(^{22}\)

New Zealand had television by 1961 – though it is unclear whether Knight herself owned one – but in any case her interest was in the way television showcased and mediated between different sectors of this society. Her description also suggests watching television could be a sociable activity.

Yet most diarists who encountered television conceived of it outside the context of sociability, and, perhaps for this reason, said little else about it. In 1955, the teenaged Jill Hobbs reported rather blandly, upon arrival at the home of friends of her parents in Bridgwater, Somerset, ‘They have a television set which is nice to watch when the weather is cooler’.\(^{23}\) Arthur Messenger responded with self-effacing humour to the closed-circuit television he found in New York, ‘Another day through Rockefeller Centre. Most interesting. Saw myself on television most disappointing hope I don’t look like that but believe I do – hell!’\(^{24}\) Nancy Laurenson experienced television alone in her Y.W.C.A. hostel in Colorado Springs, noting that she ‘Paid 25¢ to watch television for an hour’. She apparently enjoyed it sufficiently to repeat the experience the following day, but left her diary free of effusions or details.\(^{25}\) One side of the public debate

\(^{21}\) See also Chapter Two: Charles Brasch’s visit to a textile factory in the USSR in 1934 was described in social terms, and there are other examples – such as Grace Vincent’s account of Welsh coal mines – in the discussion of tourists’ responses to workers abroad.

\(^{22}\) Marion Knight, Diary Vol. 1, February–May 1961, pp.83–84, 93/121: AWML.

\(^{23}\) Jill Hobbs, ‘12th and 13th July’, Diary, 7 February 1955–13 January 1956, p.84, 93/121: AWML.


around television in New Zealand in the 1950s was concerned with social ramifications – whether or not TV would have a deleterious effect upon the nation’s youth – but none of these travellers seemed to find this a concern. Though television was new to many of these travellers, few of them seem excited by it or its potentials (even those who would later sell televisions); certainly they were not as exercised as the politicians or journalists about what television’s absence from New Zealand meant for New Zealand’s cultural power or the functioning of society.

The importance of sociability for these New Zealand travellers’ experiences abroad can be seen clearly in their descriptions of food. The stories they mostly told about food were quite different to those common to histories of food in New Zealand and elsewhere, which have often focussed on what was eaten: which ingredients were used, which dishes were cooked and what they were named. In part, this is because source material such as cookbooks and restaurant menus focus on ingredients and dishes, and many historians have used these rich sources to investigate how New Zealanders ate in the past. Travel diaries tell a different story. Diarists also sometimes indicated ingredients they consumed while travelling, yet they did so in the context of dining cultures. In the new environment of the R.M.S. *Orion* in 1936, Kathleen Bailey added a complaint to a long list (some of her other complaints will be addressed later in the chapter) when she addressed the food offered on board:

The meals on this ship are very poor. You have only a choice of two things at each course and for the last two days I haven’t struck a sweet I liked. Just imagine this for a choice – semolina pudding and stewed rhubarb. They’re both rotten!!

Peter Buck was more detailed when describing his meals as he travelled between Magareva and Tahiti in 1934 on a French-run steamship:

The meals are quite good and of course on the French pattern. We have morning coffee with a biscuit at about 7 a.m. Breakfast comes on at about 11-30 a.m. It consists of some vegetable such as peas or beans served as a distinct artefact. Then follows some fish that has been confined in a tin and some meat with a vegetable in the form of macaroni. Cheese, fruit, and coffee come along. Red wine is the lubricating fluid and two of us share a bottle of which little is left when our hunger is assuaged. Tea is served in the dining saloon at 4 p.m. and it is stronger, if anything, than the American type. I miss the placenta, however, with the

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26 Gorringe, p.21.
27 An advertisement for ‘Majestic’ televisions and radios in the *Auckland Star*, 3 May 1962, p.43, indicates the Charles Begg and Co. Ltd and Bond & Bond Ltd both offered these high end products. Charles Eric Begg, the author of the diary used in this thesis, had died in 1948, prior to the introduction of television to New Zealand, but Elon Bond was still Chairman of the Board of Bond & Bond. Eve’s 1961 diary mentions nothing of television.
29 Kathleen Bailey, ‘Saturday March 14th 1936’, Diary 1, Vol. 1, 6 March–2 May 1936, pp.32–33, 95/15: AWMM.
umbilical cord hanging over the edge of the cup or the teapot. We have the last meal whose name I do not yet know, at about 6-30 p.m. This also consists of red wine with soup as the first extra, followed to-night by pork chops with potato chips of a crisp and delectable flavour. We had asparagus before the chops, all the way from California and in the usual American container. We wound up before the coffee and inevitable cheese, with large segments of solid rice pudding which reminded me of the halcyon days of my early childhood. Without thinking that I had grown up, I took a full cube of large cubic contents and had some difficulty in reaching the ¾ mile post.30

Twenty-five years later, Keith Pike also encountered ‘the foreign’ on board ship, using his observations of dining practices on shipboard as an introduction to national ritual differences:

The Americans use the fork to eat most foods and eat from side dishes during their main meals – Mixing sweets with meat and vegetables is quite common. We like the American people very much; they are friendly and kind and are not skites as we were led to believe.31

We can find a number of ideas in these excerpts which reflect in interesting ways on New Zealanders’ dining expectations in the 1930s or 1950s – which only rarely involved the ingredients of the food on offer. Bailey felt two choices per course was hopelessly limiting. Buck experienced meals at different times to the way he was accustomed; he identified certain dining behaviours or service styles as ‘French’ or ‘American’. Pike, likewise, considered unusual the composition of meals he observed American travellers consuming, and noted unexpected uses of cutlery and serving plates. Despite Buck providing national labels for a schedule of mealtimes or the presentation of tea, thereby emphasising the difference between these practices or rituals and those he was most used to, it is striking to note his moment of nostalgia brought on by food. Fifty years was erased as he reached for the rice pudding, flooding back when he found he could not eat as much as he had once done. Dining abroad, even in circumstances beyond these travellers’ control and according to different cultural traditions, was not entirely ‘new’, but often involved engagement with perceived foreignness.

However, eliding ingredients or the dishes on offer was common within the diaries, suggesting that it was the ritual elements of dining and the quality of cooking methods that tourists chiefly noticed and used to distinguish their dining experiences, and, sometimes, the nations in which these occurred. As an example, several diarists had a strong interest in outlining the ways French dining cultures differed from their own, though their moral interpretations of these differences could differ widely. Buck described ‘the French pattern’ of dining on shipboard as he returned to Tahiti, but prior to this voyage he had spent a couple of months as a guest in

30 Peter Buck, ‘November 21st, Wednesday’, Diary, 28 August–27 November 1934, p.54, qMS-0294: ATL.
the home of Captain Brisson, an official of the French Government on Magareva. He also mentioned the meal schedule in this household, and attributed it to the French:

We have meals with them and the household is run along French lines. We have coffee and bread and butter at 6-45 in the morning and breakfast at 11 a.m. consisting of soup, fish, meat, and vegetables, with a glass of wine. We have dinner at 5 p.m. as Captain Brisson has to go on wireless duty at 6 p.m.  

He looked upon the French culinary traditions very positively, claiming towards the end of his time away that ‘I have become French gastronomically and for a while I can see myself wanting red wine with two meals’. He also emphasised constantly the kindness of the Brissons, and the officers on shipboard with whom he dined:

The conversation is almost exclusively in their mother tongue which doesn’t happen to be related to mine. The result is that I must miss a good deal of what a meal is supposed to consist of. I attempt to remain looking intelligent and accept with gratitude any expected crumbs in English that may chance my way at rare intervals. They are not rude. On the contrary, they are all very nice and polite to me but the vessel is a French ship. The two men nearest the wine bottle are ever ready to replenish my glass before their own and no man could ask for anything more courteous than that.

Buck tied courtesy to generosity with food and wine. Crucially, he also considered discussion to be central to ‘a meal’, even using a culinary metaphor to indicate that he was starved of conversation.

Buck’s interpretations were strikingly at odds with those of Bailey, who lived in Paris as an au pair for several months at the end of 1936. Like Buck, she noticed many differences between her own expectations and the ways food was served by French people. On arrival she viewed meals very positively, if she found elements of them rather odd:

It was a typical French evening meal, served and eaten in the real French style. Thank goodness I was more or less prepared for this. Until you have sampled French cooking and eaten a meal in France it is very difficult to understand just what I mean by that. I will try to explain somewhat. Every course is served to you twice so you take the two portions accordingly. In between the two servings the whole dish is reheated and re-served by the servants, making the second helping just as attractive as the first. Meat is never eaten at the evening meal; it is always part of the luncheon. The evening meal consists of this sort of a menu...soup, two courses of something like a hot cheese or the like, and then two courses of the same vegetable. After this one eats two, or even three, varieties of fruit with nuts to

33 ibid., ‘November 23rd, Friday’, p.55.
34 ibid., ‘November 21st, Wednesday’, p.54.
follow. Wine is served with both the lunch and the dinner. But what is most amusing is that even though you might go through course after course, (two lots of cheese and two lots of vegetables) you are given only the one knife and fork. While the plates are being changed you take your knife and fork and place it on a silver rest at the side of your table mat, and then pick it up again to eat the next thing with it. It is the strangest habit, but it is always done in France. A sweet is never eaten in place of the fruits but once since I have been here we have had some dates in a thick syrup which is eaten with walnuts. Lunch, to me, is just as strange. Vegetables are eaten alone before the meat and then a different one, or two, is served with the meat. I suppose that I will get used to this cooking, which is truly excellent.  

Bailey was much more detailed about the contents of meals than most diarists, but it was the ritual element of dining she was focussed upon – the multiple plates but single set of cutlery, the fruit instead of pudding, the timing of vegetable courses. A month later, she appeared to be chafing against some elements of French mealtime rituals, complaining that meals always lasted at least 45 minutes, and despairing of the conversation topics.

If one of the family has been absent for a meal the night before, we are always sure to hear everything about it at the mid-day meal the following day. It’s an awful habit! They are very frankly greedy.

Unlike Buck, Bailey interpreted French attitudes to and behaviours around food as a sign of avarice, not graciousness. Yet for both, it was not French gastronomy which they found most significant in defining a French meal, but the rituals and dinner-table discussions. (Incidentally, it became more about the food for Bailey as soon as she tasted an ‘awful English meal’ again on the ferry to Dover.)

Dining cultures were more commonly conceived of as representative of a nation when tourists ate in foreign homes, or ate food prepared there, than when dining in restaurants. Perhaps this is because, per Rowland’s argument, New Zealand restaurants were up with the play internationally and these tourists found restaurant dining familiar. In any case, Bailey drew many conclusions about Hungarian character following an experience with a petrol pump owner on a national feast day. Having shown interest in a ‘sucking pig [...] perfectly roasted’ by his wife, which was carried across the road in front of them, the Baileys were invited inside the home of this man:

we were taken back to the dining room where a cloth was spread and a big glass dish of lovely cakes were standing in the middle. Then the man of the house opened two bottles of

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36 ibid., ‘Friday, November 27th, 1936’, p.297.
Tokay and filled glasses for us. We were asked to draw our chairs up to the table and to drink with them on this great feast day.\textsuperscript{38}

She concluded, as a result, that

These Hungarians are a very charming people, most friendly and most hospitable! We said goodbye to them all and the man escorted us to the car, but as we were leaving the hostess handed us a fairly large parcel wrapped up in greaseproof paper. It was the most perfect leg of sucking pig!! And it was still hot from the oven. We had never met with such charming hospitality before!\textsuperscript{39}

The parting gift of food, and the preceding sharing of wine and cakes, seems to have cemented this rosy picture of Hungarians in a way that the dining culture of the French did not, for Bailey. In both cases, it was the connection to home-cooked meals which prompted these claims of difference.

Often, however, culinary cultural difference was not tied to nationality by diarists, but to certain milieux. Bond was extremely interested in hotel restaurants where wine was served, and the rituals surrounding the service:

We have been much amused in the bigger hotels with the waiter who, having fulfilled your order, brings it, with much flourish on a silver salver and presents it for approval. It makes one feel what a joke it wd. be to say “Awful – take the stuff away” just to see what wd. happen – the shock to the waiter might be disastrous. That’s to those who “dine”? But to those who “wine”, the champagne or otherwise is opened with much ceremony and popping of corks, the bottle-top carefully wiped with a fresh table napkin, and just the merest taste for he who “shouts” the rest of the table, the waiter watching his face the while, to see what he registers. Mostly it is passed with a smack of the tongue, and then the waiter serves the guests first, and then the host. The other night we saw a host ordering it to be put back into the ice-bucket for awhile!! If it were presented to Elon for approval he’d shock the waiter by shuddering visibly, and saying, “Oh – er – rather – er – sour – er – take the beastly stuff away.”!! But as we only “dine”, it is not likely to happen.\textsuperscript{40}

‘Those who wine’ were not presented here as English – though the Bonds were in England at the time – or as necessarily very different from the Bonds themselves, except in their consumption of alcohol.\textsuperscript{41} Bond was not overtly making a moral judgement on those drinking wine with dinner, but she clearly distinguished their behaviour from her own, and her amusement at their rituals.

\textsuperscript{38} Bailey, ‘Saturday, August 16th, 1936’, Diary 1, Vol. 2, p.227.
\textsuperscript{39} ibid., p.228.
\textsuperscript{40} Evelyn Weir Bond, ‘4th Sept [1950]’, Diary 2, 4 April–28 November 1950, pp.159–161, Private Collection.
\textsuperscript{41} Licensing restrictions in New Zealand were relaxed almost a decade after this account was written, in 1961, allowing some restaurants licences to serve alcohol with food (Rowland, p.2). The Bonds, however, were teetotallers, so even had they been able to witness similar rituals around wine service before this time, they would not have partaken.
indicates distance. Similarly, three years later when abroad again, the Bonds stayed with Eve’s
cousin Sadie in Poplar Grove, IL, and Bond described a church supper they attended:

Attended a Church Bazaar and Chicken Dinner where over $1000 was made. They had fried
200 chickens and served them with giblets and gravy, squash, cranberry jelly, mashed
potatoes, biscuits (which were round scones cut in half and served with gravy. For dessert
pumpkin pie, lemon pie, mincemeat pie, apple pie and coffee. Such a huge meal for $1.50
(about 10/6) and most people had two helpings all round and some greedy beggars had 3
helpings and all for $1.50 too. Again, Bond did not describe this as representative of an American
church bazaar, but did
distinguish the behaviour of other attendees and her own. The experience was obviously unusual
for her, and the triple helpings seemed immoderate to her: it was dining rituals which attracted
commentary, and these were judged against Bond’s cultural expectations.

The Assured Tourist

If social rituals, experiences and opportunities were significant for New Zealand travellers
when observing the lives of others abroad, these tourists were also confident assessors of their
own new experiences. Here too, rather than utilising discourses of advancement or
backwardness, tourists applied their own criteria, regularly centred around their bodily and
sensual responses and grounded in emotion. Sometimes quite unexpected things evoked strong
emotions. Avocados were not introduced to New Zealand until after the Second World War, so
several diarists first encountered them abroad. They discussed the fruit in terms of texture, shape,
size, temperature, taste. Millicent Boor’s first breakfast in Suva, in 1924, was avocado:

I should mention that at breakfast I had avocado pear that had been sitting on ice. It is eaten
with pepper and salt, but it certainly is an acquired taste.

Three years later, Henrietta Rothwell and her sister first encountered avocados in Sydney:

Coming down to Cremorne Wharf we saw some pear shaped green fruit and enquired what
they were – alligator pears – the queerest thing. A very hard kernel inside the size of an egg –
the whole fruit the size of a winter pear – came from Honolulu – in the States they give 4/6
a pear – we paid 6d. They are eaten with pepper, salt and sauce sometimes – supposed to
restore youth etc. We cordially disliked the slimy stuff and left most on our plates.

These tourists were curious about this unfamiliar food, but did not appreciate it.

43 Burton, pp.80–81; Yeart, p.247; Rowland, pp.147–148.
The same day as her first experiment with avocado, Boor was prevailed upon to try kava. As well as describing the social rituals she observed and her attempts to navigate them without giving offence, she presented her experience in terms of look and taste – and considerably less open-mindedness than she had exhibited about the avocado:

One native sat in front and kept it stirred and another filled a gourd drinking cup with the kava, carried it to Mr. C sat down in front of him and clapped his hands twice. Mr C. drank it to the dregs with a sign of disgust; Horrors! were we all to do the same for [we dar]est not refuse for it offends them! Yes, first the same process took place with each man, then came the ladies turn, and I one of the first. I sat up and looked as pleased as possible, and swallowed the fluid that looks and tastes like dirty dish water. I drained the cup without a grimace and handed it back with (I hope) a smile of gratitude! 46

As well as asserting their taste in food, these travellers confidently assessed developments of transportation against their own criteria and experiences, and sometimes found them lacking. Bailey departed from Sydney March 1936, reflecting on her two days there as the R.M.S. Orion steamed out of the harbour:

...these electric trains – Lord preserve us from them! I’d go really stark staring mad if I had to put up with that roaring noise of the underground. I disliked intensely the speed at which they travelled as well as the rapidity with which they started off again after stopping at a station. The speed might be handy and all that but it makes travelling in those trains so uncomfortable that I prefer less modern modes of travel.47

Rather than being awed by the developments in train design which enabled greater speed and travel underground, or finding the speed thrilling, Bailey’s bodily discomfort was the crucial criterion in her judgement. She felt similarly about the Orion itself, at the time a very new ship.48 She described the many decks and amenities of the boat for more than two pages, lingering on her description of a writing room, which she admired as ‘beautifully furnished and looks like an hotel’.49 Yet her emotional response to the ship was critical, and she unfavourably compared it to the boat she had taken from Wellington to Sydney:

This ship is really too big and I don’t think I’m “over” thrilled with it. I think I really preferred the old “Monowai.” That sounds ridiculous to you, I suppose, but in the few days that I was on board that boat I made many friends. It is small enough to do so. On a small boat you meet the same people so often that you have to get to know them but on a boat like this you might go days and never see one particular person. My cabinmate being so

48 The Orion was completed seven months prior to the beginning of her voyage, in August 1935.
much in the first class has left me rather at a loose end. One depends more or less on the company of one’s cabin mate when aboard a liner like this.  

Her opinion of the *Orion* lowered further the longer she remained on board; she criticised the ship again for its size (she claimed its enormity prevented her from meeting others she knew of on board, required two sittings at mealtimes, and made locating her partners for a deck sports tournament difficult), for having multiple travelling classes, for allowing people to embark and disembark from various ports along the route, and for the stuffiness of her cabin, among other things. The *Monowai* was preferable for Bailey not because it was old (she was not anti-modernist in general), but because its size enabled greater bodily comfort and freer socialising.

The few diarists who flew during parts of their voyages also focussed far more on their physical comfort and the service received when describing their experiences than they did the technology itself – though they gave more positive reviews than Bailey did of either electric trains or the *Orion*. Bond first flew, from London to Amsterdam, in 1937 – it was ‘a tremendously all-day thrill!!’ She complimented the ‘Dutch service’ in particular, describing it as ‘the last word in efficiency’. In 1953, she and Elon, their son Bryce and his wife Marjorie, ventured considerably further by air, flying from Auckland to Honolulu via Nadi, then on to San Francisco the following day. Despite her constant indication that these flights were ‘smooth’, she found the experience exhausting:

> And so to bed in an unbelievably small area – twin beds tolerably comfortable if one cd. acquire the habit of climbing down into a chrysalis and being able to turn and twist inside. There was certainly more freedom than is allowed a Plunket baby but it wd. require time to get used to it.

Ruth Wix, flying from London to Jersey in 1953, also focussed on the experience:

> I must say I love flying – not only the actual experience, but the superior organisation and services that go with it. The new Air Station at Waterloo is so clean and smooth, so immediately handy to both railway and tube, and everyone so well informed and uniformed that, apart from the convenience of air travel, to take a flight is just one more pleasing experience.

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50 ibid., pp.22–23.
51 ibid., pp.35, 42, 47, 49, 59, 63.
53 Bond, ‘7 May 1937’, Diary 1, p.69.
54 ibid., p.70.
New Zealanders were confident about expressing their opinions about new technologies, which were neither uniform, nor uniformly positive.

Similarly, diarists were often confident when assessing modern artistic or decorative innovation they encountered abroad for the first time. Bailey, for instance, first experienced particular contemporary art practices in London in 1936:

After lunch, Margaret and I dressed in our best and set out to have a private view of the paintings and sculpting of a friend of Margaret’s. Art, as you know, has gone mad! Neither Margaret nor I could make head or tail of the figures and sketching exhibited. Why, in the name of Heaven, sculpt a man and knock off half way and leave his legs a solid block of stone or marble? And why sketch the figure of a man or a woman so that it might easily be mistaken for an animal? And this is considered wonderful art! It is really beyond me! I enjoyed, though, seeing just what an exhibition of modern art could be like. I am unable to appreciate it, though.37

The clause ‘as you know’ shows that she expected her audience (her parents and two of her brothers in New Zealand) to be aware of contemporary art trends in Europe; her rejection of these aesthetics was not a result of shock and surprise. She simply did not ‘appreciate’ them.

Hardly an unabashed aesthetic conservative, though, Bailey adored the contemporary ballet she witnessed for the first time in London, writing screeds describing the story, staging and costuming of each before concluding: ‘This was my very first experience of a Ballet and I enjoyed every minute of it. It was positively marvellous’.58

Other diarists were no less authoritative in the ways they presented their aesthetic judgments. Charles Brasch set out for Russia in 1934, in part to attend a theatre festival in Moscow but ‘above all to see the land of socialism’.59 He confidently assessed the performances he attended:

I was very tired after the Museum; so tired that when we went to the Bolshoi for Le lac des Cygnes I couldn’t keep my eyes open during the first act. But for the second, and all the rest, I was wide awake; and it is the most beautiful, with the loveliest music and the best dancing. It was a very large corps de ballet – nearly 50 swan maidens, I am sure, and very good. The Prince was a splendidly graceful dancer – he had one beautiful dance in the 3rd act, leaping and falling slowly – the rest of that act being rather so-so, and the scenery for it almost ugly. It was quite old conventional scenery. The Swan Princess I was not sure about; James still much prefers Danilova – this woman, Semenova, was very happy and self confident and just revelled in her applause; but she was fine in a distracted dame in the 4th act, before the flood.

59 Brasch, Indirections, p.235.
The ending of the full ballet, where the Swan music is played in a harsh key and very brassily I disliked strongly – then there’s a little lovely low reconciliation music, then the two are borne across the stage – all most unsatisfactory I thought, and preferred far the short ballet as given in London, which ends with the loveliest part of the Swan music.60

Ruth Wix, in Denmark in 1953, followed her assertions with a disclaimer that she was no artist, but her reflection on the drawing she saw was still self-assured:

I was really more interested in the modern painting. I’d been by no means impressed by what I’d seen of painting in Norway and Sweden, but here was not only colour, breadth of treatment and exciting techniques. but good Drawing; even wuth the most unconventional.61

Diarists praised and criticised forms of modern art (and new versions of classics, as with Brasch’s review of Swan Lake) and appeared unintimidated by it, regardless of their judgement. This not only demonstrates that these New Zealand tourists did not automatically assume that New Zealand and the technical and cultural products within it were inferior, but reflects a rich diversity of opinion and aesthetic judgements of innovation among New Zealanders at the time.

New Zealanders and Metropolitan Mastery

The overwhelmed colonial, astounded at the speed and bustle of the metropolis, is a common trope in the texts which inform scholarship about Australians, New Zealanders, or Canadians in London.62 If you look hard, it is possible to locate similar examples in these travel diaries. Henrietta Rothwell grumbled at the difficulties she encountered in London in 1927 at length:

we had to find our way about, and were frequently sent hither and thither in search of buses – only to find it was going the wrong way – or did not stop or was full up, it took us a long time to find anywhere. Finally we settled down to studying the ‘bus’ routes before we left home and wrote down the numbers and now we are faring better, but for days we thought London the most unmapped uncharted inhospitable place we had found – No one has any time for any one else – If you don’t know your way, you should etc etc.63

60 Charles Brasch, ‘Monday 2nd [August]’, Diary, 18 August–11 September 1934, pp.69–70, MS-0996-009/003: HC.
61 Wix Wilson, ‘Friday, July 31st’, Diary 3, p.21.
63 Henrietta Rothwell, Diary Vol. 11, 14–27 April 1927, pp.10–12, MSC 249: HCL.
However, Rothwell’s multiple-day anxiety and confusion is notable because it was so rare. In 1936, Bailey had similar trouble with the London buses, but she depicted herself as quite unfazed, even when she received similarly inaccurate advice:

> After making hundreds of inquiries we both got on separate buses and made our way home.
> Mine, incidentally, was the wrong one and I had to change at Hyde Park Corner, but even this did not worry me.

The London Underground, quite different to anything available in New Zealand, caused some consternation for tourists, but also tended to be used to indicate tourists’ self-sufficiency and ability to navigate London. In 1937, the Bonds were forced below during a bus strike:

> after nearly getting brain fever puzzling out the routes, we, somewhat fearfully took a tube and actually arrived at the right place! Thus encouraged, we tried again – and again we managed it!! And so we learn our London!

Analysing tourists’ first impressions of London is important, but we find quite different things when we look further forward in time – and further back. Not only were tourists’ developing perceptions of large cities important to a full understanding of the ways they represented their relationship to place, but their long voyages reflected a series of encounters with large cities, before and after they might have visited London. In addition to London, tourists were most likely to comment on metropolitan novelties in Sydney and New York. While their first impressions of these cities, or certain elements within them, could be rather overawed, most tourists quickly shifted tone in their descriptions, some emphasising their mastery of the city overtly, but often implying their quickly-acquired confidence without fuss. They presented themselves as habituated to cities that were frequently figured in newspaper articles or travel books as dramatically modern and fast-paced, often demonstrating their experience and comfort by representing their amusement. That is, in many instances diarists indicated how comfortable they were by describing themselves as amused at their initial, more tentative experiences in these places. They also used humour to contrast their own responses with less-successful attempts by others to navigate foreign novelty. Sydney, London and New York were clearly impressive for many of these tourists, but they depicted themselves as quickly adapting to fast big-city life. After

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64 As Barnes has shown, many tourists found London familiar, even if they had not personally visited it before, because media representations, family stories and other sources had informed their expectations quite thoroughly prior to departure, *New Zealand’s London*, pp.18–22.
67 Richard White has argued that: ‘First impressions are particularly interesting because they are the crucial bridge between imagination and experience. They form the basis, not always the best one, for later attitudes; they are also the culmination of prior expectations’ (‘Bluebells and Fogtown’, p.44). His point is valid, but in these particular instances, first impressions were often swiftly despatched with and replaced by far less awe-struck accounts.
World War II, travel diaries’ descriptions of Sydney and London were almost entirely free – even on first impressions – from any moments of tourist astonishment.

Sydney provided many interwar tourists with new ‘first’ experiences. Sometimes, as we have already seen in Bailey’s account of electric underground trains and Rothwell’s of avocados, these were not well regarded. At other times these novelties were cause for great excitement.

Bond laced her description of the pace of traffic with exclamation marks:

We were much amused with the speed of the traffic and the pedestrians certainly took the responsibility of getting out of the way! We felt that A. K. Pedestrians were far too leisurely and irresponsible after Sydney. We must attend to speeding things up all round when we return to A. K.68

The immediate amusement she expressed here reflects that the traffic differed from her expectations only in degree; it took most tourists at least the length of a ride to adjust to another common ‘first’ experience in Sydney: riding an escalator. The first escalator in New Zealand was installed at Wellington department store DIC in 1929.69 Two years earlier, Henrietta Rothwell had felt giddy after riding an escalator for the first time in Sydney:

An escalator led on to the wharf. Before I knew what was going to happen Auntie made me step on to this moving slide of steps and I almost fell, but a gentleman beside me caught my arm and laughed at me, steadying me all the time. The thing just slid down and we stood still and at the bottom stepped off – It was the suddenness make me nearly fall and when we got down we all laughed.70

By the end of her brief escalator ride, Rothwell was already laughing with the Sydney ‘gentleman’ at her own initial shock.

Perceptions of technological innovation could be dependent on the regional habitation of diarists within New Zealand. Aucklanders travelling in the interwar years were still having their first escalator experiences abroad in the 1930s and 1940s; Farmers did not install Auckland’s first escalator until 1954.71 Kathleen Bailey, upon arrival in Sydney in 1936, had to steady her nerves before she would attempt transit:

We made our way to the Railway Station and set off for Coachfield. I wouldn’t go on their escalator, for the first time, balancing a case so Phyl and I went down the stairs to the train.

69 Laurenson, Going Up, Going Down, p.48.
70 Rothwell, Diary Vol. 2, p.22.
71 Laurenson, Going Up, Going Down, p.48.
Phyl won't go on the escalators at all. (I tried them next day and got my first thrill from them.)

Tourists did first encounter escalators elsewhere in the world also. Even in 1948, the speed and suddenness of the appearance of an escalator in London disconcerted Auckland resident Grace Vincent:

Came home very tired – but quite happy – had quite a lot of fun on the underground – stumbled onto the Escalator – before I realized I was on it – was time to get off.

However, Sydney provided most tourists who commented on escalators with their first ride.

Throughout this period, tourists very regularly visited family or friends resident in Sydney and London, and this contributed to their sense of mastery and accomplishment in navigating these streets – even as it could limit their self-sufficiency. As Bailey recounted of Sydney, in March 1936:

Arriving at Burwood we tried to find our way home from there as we had earlier in the day but somehow the place looked so different at night with no-one about that we went clean out of our way and had to wander around until we could locate some spot by which we could find our way. We managed eventually and got home at 12.30. Mr and Mrs McKerr were quite pleased to hear us arrive home safely thinking that we were going to get lost permanently or something. Not bad for us after only one day in the city and that under such good guidance that we took no notice of which ways we were going.

Similarly, once she was in London, staying with her brother and sister-in-law, she described many instances of getting lost, without displaying much concern.

Following World War II it was rare for tourists to comment on novelties they encountered in Sydney or London, or to depict it differently in kind from any other large city they visited. This is not to say that these tourists did not have a particular affinity for certain sights resident in those cities, but just that they were less inclined to represent themselves as especially awe-struck by them, even on their first arrival. Redmond Phillips, arriving in London in 1948, emphasised the most dingy details:

At 9am we berthed at the Royal Albert Docks. The sun had disappeared behind a yellow fog, and London seemed cold, dirty, and repellent. The slow train journey from the Docks to Liverpool Station, through some of the blackest slums in London, deepened my personal gloom, and left me appalled and apprehensive.

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It is unclear whether there was any connection between knowing residents in these cities and their postwar dampening of excitement in tourist accounts of their first arrivals. After all, most tourists knew residents of Sydney and London in the interwar years as well. Nevertheless, initial and subsequent awe at the amenities or contents of these cities faded from the diaries after World War II.

New York City, however, maintained its aura of novelty throughout the period (and it was much rarer for New Zealanders to visit friends or family resident there). The Bonds marvelled at the innovations and sheer scale of the skyscrapers they viewed in New York in September 1937:

We were very intrigued with our first glimpse of skyscrapers. Looked out of our bedroom window and saw what we considered must be the highest ever but Elon counted it up and said “Why Eve, it’s just a baby – only about 46 storeys”! We did laugh!! However this morning we passed the Empire State 102 storeys, and believe it or not, the top was in a cloud and we could not see it. It has two storeys below street level. It stands on 2 acres ground is 1250 ft. high (twice as high as Mt. Eden) – has 63 lifts – is assessed at 8 million dollars. Elevators rise 1000 ft a minute.76

Knight was nervous on her arrival in New York in 1961:

The island of Manhattan looked rather forbidding at first glance but soon we were quite at home and before leaving we had explored it from end to end and side to side almost.77

Tourists commented frequently on television – broadcast and closed circuit – as they encountered it in New York right up until the early 1960s.

Yet New Zealand tourists did not long present themselves as over-awed by New York any more than they did London or Sydney, and they were considerably less amazed than media representations of the city might lead us to expect. A breathless article from the New Zealand Herald, which Bond inserted into her 1953 diary, reflects media representations of New York as ultra-modern, and ‘super-exuberant’. Aside from the ‘assault’ on eyes and ears, the police motorcade, and the flashing electronic signs in Times Square, J.C. Graham, the journalist, remarked particularly on shopping:

It is late at night, but the shops are still open and doing a roaring trade. Drug stores, once mere chemists’ shops with soda fountains attached, now sell everything from three-course meals to books, sweets, tobacco, stamps, “hang over packs” containing everything necessary for recovery after a heavy night, spectacles which reflect at right angles so the reader in bed

76 Bond, ‘13th Sept’, Diary 1, p.239.
77 Knight, Diary Vol. 1, pp.75–76.
need not hold the book up, chlorophyll patent foods to give the dog a sweet breath, roses
which never fade, helicopters, atom guns.

Everywhere automatic machines clang and rattle. It is cheaper to sell by elaborate
machines than to pay wages for attendants. By putting money into slots you can buy coffee
freshly made for each cup, black, white, with or without sugar; tea, hot or iced; a choice of
seven kinds of sandwiches, iced milk, drinks mixed to your own recipe from half a dozen
ingredients and served complete with straws; ice cream, books, magazines, nylon stockings,
handkerchiefs, cigarettes, peanuts, or a 10-cent spray of Chanel No.5. In the same way you
can make a gramophone record, take your own photograph, or enjoy half an hour’s
television. And, of course, there are the ever-present automats where the entire meal is
obtained by putting nickels into slots.78

As Graham took pains to assert, this experience was disconcerting for ‘the New Zealander’; he
argued that ‘travellers’ tales are not exaggerated’. Yet Bond’s own description of her time in New
York was far more matter-of-fact and prosaic, and considerably less wide-eyed:

Left for New York at noon, and arr. at 3.50p.m. (Eastern time) at Commodore Hotel – not
very good really tho’ just off Lexington Ave. Can see the Empire State Bldg from where I’m
sitting. Went to Radio City Music Hall first night – a wonderful programme as usual and
lucky for us the programme wh. lasts 6–8 weeks changes this week so we’re going again79

Laughter had followed quickly on the heels of the Bonds’ initial amazement at skyscrapers in
1937, an immediate means of distancing themselves from their astonishment. Arthur Messenger’s
first comment, upon disembarking in New York in 1957, tended to the underwhelmed:

After breakfast took bus (61 x town) to Borough Hall and thence by Subway to 42nd
Street. Surely these parts of N.Y. must be the most dingy and decrepit in the world.80

Though New Zealand tourists were often impressed by New York City in whole or in part –
Marion Knight was especially taken with Macy’s, Bond with Radio City Music Hall – they did not
describe themselves as overcome by their exposure to its modern innovations or technologies.81

Though these cities provided tourists with opportunities for quite new experiences, some
of which initially astonished, amazed or intimidated these diarists, travel diarists’ emphasis on
their swift mastery and comfort with those new technologies reflected their sense that they had
reached equilibrium. The ‘big city’ quickly became familiar, not foreign. Though they might have
expressed initial doubts, they became quite confident in these places, just as they evidently

Bond, Diary 3, enclosed loose at the back of the volume.
81 Knight, Diary Vol. 1, pp.82–83; Bond, ‘13th Sept.’, Diary 1, pp.239–240.
expected to do. Again, the way amusement was expressed in their diaries reflected their sense of self as modern citizens. Diarists often expressed their amusement or disgust when they perceived attempts by others to cross boundaries between tradition and modernity – especially non-white others. Bailey’s description of a concert she attended in London by the Waiata Māori Choir reflects this:

We were all going to hear a Maori concert given by the Waiata Choir in the Kingsway Hall. What Maori songs the choir sang were good but when they sang English songs I could have shot them. Is there anything worse in the world than a Maori girl sitting down at a piano, in her Maori dress, playing her own accompaniment and singing...“Danny Boy”. This finished us! Why are people such fools? Nothing does such concerts so much harm as this sort of thing. The choir was a Methodist Missionary crowd doing this singing for missionary funds. Their houses would have been much fuller had they kept to their own line.

Bailey’s scorn and her very emotional claim that concerts by Māori performers were ‘harmed’ by their English-language repertoire reflects that she saw the divisions between Māori and metropolitan cultures as something which should not be bridged.

Other tourists usually reacted to cultural juxtaposition with more equanimity than Bailey did here, but also often distanced themselves from people who had only partially adapted to modern conveniences or processes by emphasising their amusement at this kind of contrast. Millicent Boor stopped in Panama City en route to England in 1934, and emphasised the anachronism of the new amidst the old: ‘Such narrow streets and such quaint conveyances lovely cars, but also funny little chandredans drawn by horses, the driver sitting in front with a monstrous umbrella fixed over him’. The phrase ‘lovely cars’ is hidden amongst the ‘quaint’ and ‘funny little’ horse-drawn vehicles, and the umbrella has attained ‘monstrous’ characteristics in its unexpected location. ‘Funny’ was a common word used when people or places not conceived of as modern by diarists were juxtaposed with signs of modernity, such as cars, or in Nancy Laurenson’s case, a washing machine. Laurenson travelled by Greyhound bus through parts of the United States on her way to Canada in 1955; soon after leaving the Grand Canyon she continued, ‘All thro’ real Indian country with Indians living in their quaint mud houses (but it was

84 Willyams, p.129, suggests Bailey’s response owes something to her sense of cultural cringe, but given that Bailey was of Irish Catholic descent and nothing in this paragraph suggests that she saw herself as connected with the choir – to the contrary, she repeatedly indicated that its members were Māori, rather than calling them ‘New Zealanders’ – this seems unlikely. Bailey certainly cringed, but the effect was to distinguish herself from the choir, not as a display of Fremdshämen.
very funny to see a washing machine outside one of them)." The tone with which diarists wrote about the ‘quaint’ patronised the people they described; diarists thereby distanced themselves from the things they saw. Travel diarists’ amusement or disgust towards others they considered incapable of mastering the modern reflects their perceptions of their own place in the world. Their emotional performances could have had a number of motivating factors, but they emphasised their difference from those groups or places. These tourists saw themselves as heirs to the metropolis.

Quite unlike Brasch’s myopic, local-minded postwar New Zealanders, these New Zealand tourists demonstrated a clear interest in the outside world: they were cosmopolitan. They tried to understand the functioning of communities abroad, the rights, privileges and amenities available to people working in totally different careers from their own, in different countries, and under a variety of political systems. They elaborated on dining rituals and cultures which could be surprisingly similar or very different to what they were accustomed to, and they ran the gamut from welcoming some of those differences – like Buck and his acquired taste for red wine with lunch and dinner – to Bond’s firm disapproval of third helpings. They also frequently prioritised their own pleasure and comfort as a criterion for assessing the value of things or experiences. It did not matter to Bailey that the _Orion_ was new and impressively large if her cabin was stuffy, dinner was late to accommodate all the passengers, and social interaction was negatively affected by its scale. These tourists were not the astonished ingénues of Burton’s Nelson either. Their assessments were presented confidently and assuredly. Burton and the restaurateurs he interviewed had a vested interest in producing a narrative of New Zealand’s past which saw constant improvement in sophistication. The title of Brasch’s memoir, _Indirections_, referred to a line from _Hamlet_ ‘by indirections find directions out’. His own internal struggles and ‘indirections’ to discover his purpose might have made him more likely to see an external monolith of New Zealand society to struggle against. But these tourist voices demonstrate something quite different. There were other New Zealand voices speaking with confidence and interest about foreign communities, technologies and rituals. These tourists’ words demonstrate the limitations of looking exclusively at public discourse as a way of understanding New Zealand’s past, especially that expounded by those with a political or publicity-related agenda. These publically quieter, but confident voices belonged to New Zealanders too. New Zealand’s

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87 William Shakespeare, _Hamlet_, Act II, Scene I, line 65.
relationship with the world in the mid-twentieth century cannot simply be summed up by the metaphor of the youngest child, lagging behind his faster and older siblings and hoping for approval from mother. Some New Zealanders presented themselves as cosmopolites and grown-ups, and these travel diaries help us hear their confident voices.
CONCLUSION

Not with a bang but a whisper¹

Throughout her 1950 diary, Eve Bond inscribed her ravenous desire for news of family and friends. On 7 July, she wrote:

back to London and then an almost indecent rush to N.Z. House and the Bank for home letters – over thirty so we had a few very happy hours devouring them all.²

On 29 August:

About 37 or 38 letters awaited us and the reading time absorbed three hours but what delightful absorption! And still not enough, as no word from son or daughter. Aunt Molly gave a fine report of our grandchildren, particularly of Ian, wh. we read over and over again.³

By the next day, they had received still more from another location: ‘N.Z. House and 29 letters; and B of A and another 8, making great reading for three hours (the first reading). All were read over again later’.⁴ ‘The final line of her final diary entry showed her thoughts were again with her family: ‘only five more nights till we see our beloveds’.⁵ The homecoming and reunion were not described in this, or any of her other four travel diaries.

Her rather abrupt ending – devoid of reflection or conclusion – was typical of these travel diaries. The final words of Kathleen Bailey’s first travel diary were the beginning of a sentence: ‘We were’; she was in Panama en route to New Zealand in late 1937.⁶ Jill Hobbs, almost alone among these diarists, described her return to New Zealand in her final diary entry (early 1956), but her final sentence was also interrupted:

Landing beside the docks at 8 o’clock we saw the lovely harbour of Wellington surrounded by beautiful hills. As the sun was shining we were ashore and said goodbye to everyone by 10 o’clock and had a⁷

Grace Vincent in 1948 and Charles Begg in 1937 ended their diaries before their transport departed for New Zealand.⁸ The only diarist to finish a diary after his return home, with a full

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³ ibid., ‘29th Aug.’, p.153. Ian was 7 months old at this time; the Bonds departed when he was 3 months.
⁴ ibid., ‘30th Aug.’.
⁵ ibid., ‘28th [November]’, p.213.
⁷ Jill Hobbs, Undated entry, Diary, 7 February 1955–13 January 1956, p.179, 93/121: AWMML.
sentence, and providing some manner of reflection on his travels as a whole, was Keith Pike in 1962:

Met by Fred Gwen and Ross and Rupert who drove us home and thus ended our Global Tour to England, Scotland and Europe. A very enjoyable tour from start to finish.9

The ends of these travel diaries reflect both the differences between these texts and most travel writing – indeed, most published writing – and they emphasise the value of community for these travellers and their writing.10 As this thesis has argued, the two are related. Community and sociability is apparent in each of these endings. All of the quoted text above used plural, not singular, pronouns; Pike’s final entry emphasised his reintegration into the group of friends or family who collected him and Ivy and returned them home. The function of most travel diaries – as texts which communicated with a specific, beloved audience – meant that the homecoming itself was less important to this genre. Diarists no longer needed to communicate their overseas experiences to their networks at home once they had returned to live among them. The diaries were reflective as well as communicative, but in the short term rather than summative. In almost every case, travel diaries seem to have been completed by their authors’ act of stepping back onto New Zealand soil; diarists no longer updated their own narratives after that point.

The sudden endings of travel diaries might appear to thwart the historian who is interested in the ways tourists’ reflections on the world might change when they arrived home. If tourists saw few significant problems in New Zealand which they wanted to rectify by copying the way things were done abroad, did they change their minds once they were reminded of the reality of life in New Zealand? Did they long for the shows of Radio City Music Hall or the ballet in the West End, the escalators of Sydney and the waterfalls of Africa? As many of the chapters in this thesis have indicated, many diarists emphasised the ways they were unchanged, fundamentally, by their travels. Many continued or resumed working, worshipping, shopping, admiring landscape ideals, and asserting their tastes while abroad. They valued many things they discovered or experienced abroad, and often admired or were intrigued by difference, but that did not mean that they thought that New Zealand needed dramatic alteration. These endings were not always an individual diarist’s last word on the world beyond New Zealand’s shores; some ventured abroad and recorded their experiences there multiple times: Eve Bond, Kathleen Bailey, Ruth Wix and Bridget Tothill among them. These four tourists in particular each wrote travel diaries describing journeys during both interwar and postwar years. They had time to

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10 Occasional exceptions exist, such as unfinished texts which have been published; for instance Vladimir Nabokov, *The Original of Laura*, London, 2009.
reflect on what they might consider New Zealand’s failings between journeys, or changing position over time, but did not commit any such reflections to the pages of their later diaries.

In other words, as this thesis has argued, these diarists had quite a different sense of New Zealand’s within the wider world than many cultural commentators or historians now or since, and their ideas provide a salutary counterpoint to the established narrative of New Zealand’s cultural development. Though in some cases their voices partially echoed official discourse – Bond feared that religion in New Zealand was in decline because of reducing church attendance; tourists admired anthropomorphised landscape and environments that had been converted into the service of humans – the extraordinary richness and diversity of their thoughts and experiences also give us insights into quite different ideas or responses to the world than those present in prescriptive school textbooks or parliamentary debate. These diaries reflected deeply-felt emotional connections with religious experience and with landscape, and these tourists’ confidence in negotiating new shopping practices or assessing new flavours, rituals, technologies, and work environments. They represent one way that ideas about the globe were transmitted to those New Zealanders who did not travel in this period, and their contents suggest others: many diarists wrote letters that were intended to circulate among their circles of family or friends, which they noted in their diaries; diarists made mention of postcards and pamphlets sent home; they also quoted or referenced literary texts which were readily available in New Zealand, connecting their sense of the world with words and ideas that were already known to their audience. We cannot claim that the authorial voices of these travel diaries were representative of New Zealanders as a group, but they demonstrate that there were interwar and postwar New Zealanders who were outward-looking, globally informed, and confident. These sources add complexity and diversity to our picture of pre-jet-age New Zealanders.

The diaries also allow us to gain some insights into the emotional complexity and subjectivities of tourists in this period. In the travel diaries examined in this thesis, we can find expressions of empathy and longing, the desire for recognition and to please or amuse, assertions of spiritual connection and sensitivity, and embarrassment, disgust, shamelessness, love, joy, horror, confusion, and mirth. Some of those emotions were directed at the audience for the diaries, as when Wix or Bailey asked for acknowledgement of their writing efforts in kind, while others were present in narrative accounts of tourist experiences. Paying close attention to these sources, with their autobiographical elements and their communicative community-focus, has meant we gain a far greater sense of tourist subjectivity, and the embodiment of perception and
emotion, than is usually found in historical research on tourism and in tourism studies of present-day tourism.\textsuperscript{11}

Recognising the communities that diarists positioned themselves within is another way of understanding tourist subjectivity, and has allowed us to explore travel through multiple lenses and tell diverse stories. This thesis has focussed upon a range of communities, both real and imagined, communities comprised of friends and family, of tourists, of workers, of parishes, of modern urban citizens. The diarists belonged to communities enabled or demarcated by shopping practices (drivers, or West End shoppers, or soirée co-attendees), and landscape features. Not all of these tourists located themselves in each of these communities, and those who asserted their inclusion did not do so in a uniform manner. Yet these were communities that many of these tourists engaged in through their behaviour, emotional expression, and writing practice, and looking at so many of them in turn demonstrates the richness of these diaries as sources. Considering diarists’ interactions with communities of varying sizes also shows how much can be gleaned from these diaries by asking different questions of them. For instance, in the context of his work life and history, Begg’s commentary on shop design in the United States appears significant, as we saw in Chapter Two. As a comment among the other diarists as shoppers (Chapter Four) it is fairly anomalous. Or, to return to this example a final time, while individual diarists made changes to their employment following their travels, few expressed a desire to improve upon New Zealand society more generally, or to make changes beyond their own lives, as discussed in Chapter Six. Looking at these different communities has allowed me to zoom in and out of the diaries, now looking at their contents in terms of the individual particularities of each author, then looking at them as symptomatic or reflective of a wider set of ideas or expressions. These other communities can sit alongside larger frameworks like nationality or imperialism, some rivalling them in reach – religious affiliation, for example – others much smaller in number and more localised. Multiple filters have been applied to these sources, and multiple stories have been told, attesting to the value of travel diaries as historical source material and the flexibility of community as an interpretive framework.

But this thesis represents just some of the stories that could be told about travellers from New Zealand, or by utilising travel diaries. Many more journeys were inscribed in travel diaries by international travellers, and many more intellectual journeys remain to be taken. My own journey shows how these travel diaries continue to resonate into the present. The family home where I discovered Eve Bond’s diaries has been sold; all but two of the Bonds’ ‘dearly beloveds’ from

\textsuperscript{11} Cecilia Morgan, ‘A Happy Holiday: English Canadians and Transatlantic Tourism, 1870–1930’, Toronto, 2008, for instance, focuses her attention on the narratives told by English Canadians about various places within Europe. The emotional focus of her investigation into tourists is their desire for history, but otherwise her interests lie elsewhere. As Dean MacCannell pointed out, little attention has been paid by tourism scholars to tourist subjectivity (Ethics of Sightseeing, Berkeley, 2011, p.4).
1950 – and Eve and Elon themselves – have passed away. Yet Eve’s diaries persist as a tangible reminder of that home and those people, and they speak much more widely to a shared travelling past as well. The communities inscribed in these repositories of New Zealanders’ travelling pasts reflect the strength of New Zealanders’ global outlooks and networks in the mid-twentieth century, their bodies, their emotions, their rhetoric, their creativity, and their ideas. These New Zealanders may or may not have had loud public voices during their lifetimes, but their quiet confidence persists.
APPENDIX – Travel diarists’ biographies

**Hugh John Dyke Acland** (1904–1981), known as Jack, was born in Canterbury. He was a farmer; his grandfather had established the first high country sheep farm at Mt Peel, and Acland assumed sole management of this in 1933. Acland married in 1935, and became involved in local body government around the same period. In the early 1940s he was a National Party MP, and then was appointed to, and ultimately became Chair of, the Wool Board. His trip to the United States and England in 1925 appears to have been the only occasion on which he kept a travel diary, but he kept travel ephemera: pamphlets and itineraries relating to a 1963 trip to Fiji and a 1979 trip to Russia, China and Poland, all now held by the MacMillan Brown Library.

**Kathleen Veronica Bailey** (1910–1983) was born in Auckland, the third of five children and only daughter of Ernest Aston and Frances Eileen Bailey. Her family were Roman Catholic of Irish descent. Bailey’s eldest brother, Ernest Edmond (known as John) studied law in Auckland before he went to Oxford as a Rhodes Scholar in 1928. Kathleen also went to university in Auckland, before departing in March 1936 for almost two years to reside in London and Paris, living with John and his wife Margaret in London for long periods. Kathleen Bailey kept extraordinarily detailed accounts of her travels in 1936–1937 (4 volumes), and again in 1950–1951 (1 volume), at which time she returned to England with her widowed mother, and stayed again with John and Margaret, their four children, and Margaret’s mother Lady Morant. Bailey never married. She worked as a secretary in 1936 and 1937, but by 1950 owned a flower shop in Otahuhu, living nearby with her mother. Her diaries were discovered under a house in Northcote after her death, and are now part of the collections of the Auckland War Memorial Museum Library.

**Charles Eric Begg** (1899–1948) was the third consecutive Charles Begg to run his family business, Charles Begg and Company Limited. The company sold music and musical instruments, and had expanded from its origins in Dunedin to command a nationwide presence by the time Begg ventured abroad in 1937 with his mother, Katherine. Begg married Minnie Aburn in 1924, and, like his namesakes, he died while still in his forties. There is no evidence that he kept diaries other than the one travel diary now lodged in the Hocken Collections.

**Evelyn Weir Bond** (1888–1968), called Eve, was the second child of eight born to Andrew Potts. Her mother died soon after her younger sister was born, when Eve was two; her father remarried another three times and had five more children. Eve married Elon Bond
in 1919, and their only son Bryce was born in 1921. Her diaries recorded regular contact with her son, siblings, nieces, nephews, and later grandchildren, and she and Elon travelled with her brother Les in 1957 and 1961, visited her youngest brother Wallace in 1937 (and his grave in 1950), and met or stayed with various other close and distant family members in Northern Ireland, England, Australia, and Illinois. Elon was the second-generation owner of Bond & Bond, a prominent chain of stores across New Zealand until its closure in early 2013, and oversaw the business's expansion into electronics and appliances, as well as founding the tea brand Choysa to complement Bond & Bond’s original general-store business model. Eve was a prominent member of the Presbyterian community in Auckland. Bryce married in 1946, and he and his wife Marjorie accompanied his parents abroad in 1953. The five travel diaries discussed in this thesis seem to be the only diaries Eve kept.

Millicent Arnold Boor (1869–1963) was born in Wellington, but grew up in Nelson after her father was appointed the first medical superintendent of Nelson Hospital. She trained as a masseuse in England. She never married. She was a keen tramper, interested in native flora and fauna, and closely involved with the Church Missionary Society, travelling to work on their behalf in Fiji in 1924. She kept small, multi-volume travel diaries of this trip, which also took in Samoa and Tonga (8 volumes), a trip to England in 1928 (14 volumes), and a further trip to England and Jersey in 1934 (7 volumes). These are held in the collections of the Nelson Provincial Museum Archive.

Charles Orwell Brasch (1909–1973) was born in Dunedin to a wealthy Jewish family. His father, Henry (see below) was a lawyer, and his maternal grandfather ran the successful family clothing business Hallenstein Brothers, but he determined while boarding at Waitaki Boys’ High School to focus his attention on the arts. He went to Oxford University in 1927 with ambitions of becoming a poet, and after a year spent in Dunedin in 1931 he returned to Europe until 1946. He founded Landfall, a literary journal, upon his return to Dunedin in 1947 and edited it for twenty years. He published several volumes of his poetry, as well as an autobiography, Indirections, which was published posthumously in 1980. A prolific correspondent and writer, the travel diary recounting his travel to Russia is among his papers at the Hocken Collections.

Henry Brash (1873–1956) was born Hyam Brasch, and was the father of Charles Brasch. He spent most of his life in Dunedin, and anglicised his name as an adult in order to avoid anti-Semitic sentiment. After the sudden death of his wife Hélène in 1914 he travelled extensively, recording his experiences, for the most part, very sparsely in daily
appointment diaries. He had many contacts in Australia, and visited there often, including during World War II, but most of his records relate to golf, dinner engagements and any illnesses he suffered. In 1951, however, he visited South Africa and left a much longer and more detailed account of this trip. His diaries came to the Hocken Collection as part of his son’s papers.

**Peter Henry Buck, Te Rangi Hiroa** (c.1877–1951), Ngati Mutunga, was born at Urenui, Taranaki, to a Pākehā father and Māori mother. He attended Te Aute College in the Hawke’s Bay, an Anglican college for Māori boys, and from there gained acceptance into Otago Medical School. He married Margaret Wilson in 1905. After graduating in 1910, he became Māori Medical Officer, sharing jurisdiction over the North Island with Maui Pomare. They worked to improve sanitation and health within Māori communities before Buck was elected to parliament in 1909. Buck participated as a medical officer in the Gallipoli campaign in 1915, then transferred to combat duty and became second-in-command of the New Zealand Pioneer Battalion in action in France and Belgium. After World War I, Buck’s interest in anthropology grew, and in 1926 he became a research fellow of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum of Hawaii, undertaking field trips throughout the Pacific. In 1932, he was appointed Visiting Professor at Yale for two years. The travel diary discussed in this thesis was written during the brief interlude between the end of his appointment at Yale and the commencement of his new role as director of the Bishop Museum. Buck was knighted in 1946.

**Clifford Wallace Collins** (1909–1980) was from Clifton, Christchurch. He was awarded a Carnegie fellowship and so in 1932 departed for the University of Michigan, where he earned a Bachelor of Library Science degree. His only travel diary is an account of the first three months after leaving home, and is now held at the MacMillan Brown Library, where Collins became librarian upon his return to New Zealand in October 1933. Following his study in Michigan and before his return to Christchurch, he travelled through Europe by motorcycle, visiting libraries, but did not leave an account of these travels.

**Dora Hallenstein de Beer** (1891–1982) was born in Dunedin to a wealthy Jewish family, and was a cousin of Charles Brasch’s mother Hélène Fels. She, her sister Mary, and her brother Esmond spent most of their adult lives in the United Kingdom – though Dora also travelled widely on mountain-climbing expeditions – but they were notable benefactors of the Otago Museum and the Hocken Collections and remained attached to their birthplace. Many of her diaries were of the appointment-diary variety, though she
kept records of her life from 1902–1982, and particularly recorded her mountain climbing trips. The diary used most in this thesis is the one containing the most detail: it describes a short trip she made to Ceylon in 1936.

Bridget Madge Isobel Ristori Tothill Francois (1902–1992) was born in London to an English mother and Italian father, but spent more years living in New Zealand than anywhere else. She was orphaned while at high school, and her only aunt moved to New Zealand; she followed and trained there as a nurse. Before she married her first husband, Vincent Tothill – a doctor she met in Trinidad and wed in 1937 following his imbrication in a homosexual scandal – she had spent short periods living in Rome, Paris, Brittany, Kentucky, Los Angeles, Bermuda, and Vancouver. The Tothills moved to Nauru, then Australia’s Northern Territory, before settling in Russell, Northland (1945–1952). They were both Roman Catholic, and Tothill wrote, among other gossip and narrative, about the sectarian lines in small-town New Zealand in the postwar period. The diaries discussed in this thesis cover the Tothills’ emigration to South Africa in 1952 in an attempt to improve Vincent’s health, and, following his death from cancer, Bridget’s solo travels south to north through Africa, on to England and Scandinavia, 1954–1955 (11 volumes). Back in New Zealand, Tothill remarried in 1959 to New Zealand farmer Ron Francois. She was a lifelong diarist, maintaining detailed and frank diaries from 1914 until her death in 1992, which are held by the Alexander Turnbull Library.

Robert Bruce Godward (1916–1992; known as Bruce) was born in Invercargill, and studied fine arts and teaching before heading to Switzerland to undertake further study in psychotherapy in 1949. During World War II, he was registered as a conscientious objector and resided at the Riverside Community near Motueka. He worked in York as an art psychotherapist at a Quaker psychiatric hospital for twenty-five years, and undertook the ‘Grand Tour’, described in his many volumes of diary, in small stages, from 1950–1966. Godward returned to Invercargill in 1982 to live with his sister. He does not appear to have kept diaries other than these, but collected many books relating to the history of New Zealand, Australia and the Pacific which are now part of the Hocken Collections.

Miles Freeman Greenwood (1914–1992) grew up in the Hawke’s Bay but attended Waitaki Boys’ High School in Oamaru. He left for England in 1938, and acted Hamlet in London, but disliked the city. In the summer of 1939, he cycled alone from London to Wales, and then on to Ireland, meeting up with his close school friend James Wightman Davidson, who was studying at Cambridge at that time and later pioneered the field of Pacific History at Australian National University. Greenwood took up farming in England during
World War II, and married Cecilia in 1941. His travel diary is held by the National Library of Australia in Canberra, as are Davidson’s papers.

**Jill Valerie Hobbs** (1938–1967) was born in New Zealand to English parents who were raised in Devon and Cornwall. The youngest travel diarist in this thesis, she was sixteen when she travelled with her parents to England to visit their siblings and friends in 1955. Her diary appears to have been kept in the possession of Ivy Pike, Keith Pike’s wife (see below), along with those of Marion Knight; she and her parents lived near these other travellers on Auckland’s North Shore. She did not write her name on her travel diary and it is archived along with Marion Knight’s diaries at the Auckland War Memorial Museum Library. Little more is known about her after her return to New Zealand in early 1956.

**Edwin John Howard** (1868–1939) was born Edwin Harney in England, and made his way to the Antipodes in his late teens. He was a sailor from ages sixteen to twenty-one, and worked in the mining and metal industries in South and Western Australia for a while, before returning permanently to Christchurch in 1903. There he became a staunch union organiser, journalist and politician. He won the Christchurch South seat for Labour in 1919 and remained in parliament until his death in 1939. The two travel diaries discussed in this thesis are now held in the Hocken Collections along with other appointment diaries and clippings of his regular newspaper columns. His daughter Mabel Howard was New Zealand’s first female cabinet minister.

**Marion Knight** travelled in the 1930s through Europe, but her diaries of those trips (if she kept any) are not in public collections. The travel diaries she produced over the course of her 1961–1962 trip to the United States, Canada, much of Europe, and Africa, however, were preserved, and are now held by the Auckland War Memorial Museum Library. Little is clear about Knight: Jill Hobbs knew her (Hobbs had Knight’s address written in her travel diary of 1955) and she was friends with Ivy Pike, to whom she dedicated and sent her diaries. Keith Pike mentioned that Knight was present when he and Ivy left Auckland for a trip to Australia in 1959. Knight travelled with a companion named Lucy, and had many friends in England. Because of the popularity of her name, and the absence of details in the diary about her family, it has not been possible to establish her dates of birth or death.

**Agnes Elspeth (Nancy) Laurenson** (1906–1992) was born in New Zealand, the fifth of the eight children of John and Elizabeth Laurenson. She became a school teacher, and in 1955 set off from Wellington to Canada, where she worked for several years. She travelled through western Canada and much of the western and central United States
before reaching the school, and after her time there travelled on through Europe. She kept rigorously-numbered diaries in seventeen manifold books over the course of five years. These travel diaries are now part of the Sir George Grey Special Collections at the Auckland City Libraries.

**Johnston McAra** (1875–1967) was born in Clutha, to Scottish Presbyterian parents. He served in the Dunedin City Rifles, reaching the rank of Captain in 1904. At this point, he was working for the Dunedin import-export business Messrs A. S. Paterson and Co. McAra married Jessie Swanson in 1902, and they had two children, Edmund and Margaret. At the time Johnston left Christchurch for England and Scotland in 1935, both his children were in their late teens; he visited uncles and other relatives in Scotland. The two volumes of diaries he kept between May and October 1935 are now in the Hocken Collections, and there is no evidence he kept further travel diaries or that he travelled subsequently.

**Arthur Richard Edward Messenger** (1897–1980) had travelled prior to his departure from New Zealand in 1957, after he enlisted in the Army as a Private in 1918. He also visited Brisbane in 1928, but lived most of his life in Auckland. He was married in New Zealand in 1921 to Helena Butler-Jones, but was no longer married when he wrote the travel diaries now held by the Auckland War Memorial Museum Library. He worked in sales before his retirement and travel to Europe, and had strong mechanical knowledge of cars and cameras, and a passion for musical theatre, photography and car racing. Small appointment diaries from his time in New Zealand are also preserved with his longer and more detailed travel diaries, 1957–1963, in the Auckland War Memorial Museum Library.

**Sybil Mary Mulvany Wright** (1899–1983) was the second of Thomas and Mary Mulvany’s three daughters. She and her younger sister Josephine were both accomplished weavers, and they travelled together around England and through France and Italy in 1926–1927 with ‘Vernie’. They were Roman Catholic and they had a strong network of friends and family in Europe; Sybil’s diary of those two trips mentioned meeting with various cousins in England and visiting their aunt Amy, who was living in Italy. Sybil had returned to live in New Zealand by the early 1930s, and later married a Mr. Wright. She and Josephine continued to weave and to teach weaving in New Zealand; along with her diary, held in the Auckland War Memorial Museum Library, were some newspaper clippings describing their work and the work of their pupils.

**Redmond Bernard Phillips** (1912–1993) was born in Reefton as the youngest of three children. His father’s family was of Irish Catholic descent, whereas his mother was an English Protestant whose family considered themselves very genteel. He studied at Victoria
University College in Wellington, and was there inspired to take to the stage, heading for Sydney after his graduation. During World War II he wrote material for units entertaining troops in the Pacific. Once the war was over he wanted to return to the stage himself, so in 1948 he wrote the travel diary discussed in this thesis, as he travelled from Sydney to Reefton, Wellington, and then to England, attempting to establish himself as a working actor in the United Kingdom. He spent twenty years in the United Kingdom, acting onstage alongside Laurence Olivier, John Gielgud, Derek Jacobi, Albert Finney, Vanessa Redgrave and Christopher Plummer, and also working in television. He returned to Sydney in 1968. In addition to this diary, now held in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, in his later years he wrote an unpublished memoir/family history about Reefton.

Keith Melrose Pike (1898–1988) was born in Parramatta, N.S.W. to English parents. He married Ivy Jane Duncan in 1930 in Auckland, and had a career in banking. The Pikes travelled quite extensively following his retirement in the late 1950s. In 1959–1960 they explored Australia, and in 1962 they went on what he described as a ‘global tour’ centred on Europe. These are the only two accounts discussed in this thesis, but they also took a Pacific cruise in 1966, visited Asia in 1971, Perth in 1974 and California in 1976. Ivy Pike occasionally commented in Keith’s travel diary, rather than keeping her own, but she seemed to have been attached to travel diaries as objects. She had other travel diaries in her possession when she died, written by Marion Knight and Jill Hobbs (see separate entries), now all held at the Auckland War Memorial Museum Library.

Henrietta Frances Rothwell (1866–1937) was born to Karl and Elizabeth Hilgendorf in Waihola, Otago, the first daughter and second child of four. She married Benjamin Rothwell in 1891, and they had two children, Leah (1892–1964) and Eric (1901–1991). It is unclear where Rothwell lived from the time of her marriage until her extensive overseas trip began in 1927, but she began her diary on departure from Napier. Benjamin Rothwell had died in 1924. The only records of Rothwell’s international travel, which she undertook aged 60 and accompanied by her sister Lil, are the twenty-four volumes of travel diaries held by the Hamilton City Libraries.

Louise Juliet Sutherland (1926–1994) was born in Dunedin, and completed her nursing training there before heading to England in 1948. From England she set out to cycle around the world, financing her trip with periods of nursing work and by selling her stories to newspapers in the places she travelled through – and by relying on the kindness of strangers who offered her places to stay and meals. She married journalist Pat Andrew in London in 1956, and continued nursing, as well as giving lectures on her experiences.
Following the breakdown of her marriage in 1964, she continued to travel and nurse abroad, visiting Hong Kong, Russia, Iceland and Peru, and publicising her experiences through lectures and books. She raised tens of thousands of dollars for the provision of better medical care in the Peruvian (and broader) Amazon region during the 1970s. The travel diaries used in this thesis describe only scraps of the end of her original round-the-world cycle trip. This travel diary is held in the Hocken Collections.

Grace Hunnebell Hyatt Vincent (1891–1977) was born in Coventry, and lived there until she married her New Zealand-born first cousin, George Spencer Hyatt in 1918, and went with him to Auckland. They had just one son, Hugh (1920–1938) but simultaneously raised George’s sister Mildred’s twin sons Neville (1920–2007) and Noel (b.1920) from infancy, following Mildred’s death in childbirth. Hyatt died in 1935, and Grace remarried neighbouring farmer William Vincent sometime prior to her trip to England in 1948. This trip marked the first time she had returned to England in thirty years, and appears to have been her only return visit. The travel diary she kept of this trip remains in the keeping of her nephews’ children.

Walter George Whittlestone (1914–1985) was an agricultural chemist, dairy researcher and peace activist. He married Shirley Stewart in 1939. Active in the Methodist church, and opposed to nuclear armament on humanitarian principles, he focussed most of his intellectual attention on lactation, but occasionally combined this more explicitly with humanitarianism: he was involved in cooperative international collaborations enabled by the Colombo Pact. Whittlestone investigated the causes of mastitis in dairy cows and designed new milking machines to limit its development and spread, as well as designing breast pumps for human use. Much of his travel was related to his research interests. His diaries are often almost illegible, so are not heavily drawn on in this thesis. They are held by the University of Waikato Library.

Margaret Alice Ruth Wix Wilson (1898–1993) was the sixth of seven children, and was born in Richmond, near Nelson. She was known as Ruth or Wixie by her family and friends. She mainly worked as a sole-charge teacher at country schools, but prior to her retirement she became involved in training teachers at Wellington College of Education. In 1939 she travelled to Europe, cycling around Scotland in the summer of that year, until impending war encouraged her to return to London. She wrote a diary during that trip, and another six describing short European trips she took in the early 1950s; typescripts of these diaries are held by the Alexander Turnbull Library. She was one of Nancy Laurenson’s well-wishers at her departure from Wellington in 1955, and lived in Lower Hutt for many
years until she married ninety-one-year-old Alexander Wilson in 1982, and moved with him to Oamaru. After his death in 1985 she returned to Lower Hutt.

The unnamed male school teacher is something of a mystery. His diary covers just over a year, during which time he was on exchange to England. He is particularly attuned to the differences in discipline and pedagogy between England and New Zealand schools, and visited a number of schools as well as the one at which he worked. He seems to have been young, probably in his twenties. His diary was purchased for the Hamilton City Libraries in a second hand shop. He did not mention any family members whose names could provide a clue to his identity.
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