ART AND ORGANISED LABOUR

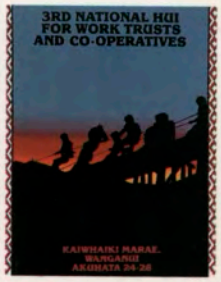
Banners • Badges
Photographs • Films
Cartoons • Posters
Paintings • Sculpture

Images of working and trade union life in New Zealand





























Edited by Gregory Burke and Ann Calhoun

ART AND ORGANISED *LABOUR*



ART AND ORGANISED *LABOUR*

Banners • Badges • Photographs • Films • Cartoons
Posters • Paintings • Sculpture

Images of working life and trade union life in New Zealand

Edited by Gregory Burke and Ann Calhoun

WELLINGTON CITY ART GALLERY

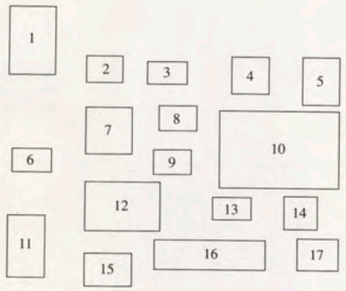
ART AND ORGANISED LABOUR
was published to accompany the exhibition organised by the Wellington City Art Gallery, 1990, and toured nationally during 1991-1992.
Wellington City Art Gallery:
20 October 1990 – 21 January 1991
Curators/Editors:
Gregory Burke, Ann Calhoun
Exhibition and catalogue design:
Leon van den Eijkel
Reproductions:
Neil Price unless otherwise specified
Typesetting:
TypeHouse, John van Hulst Limited, Wellington
Printing: Buttle Print Communications Limited, Printing Consultants and Media Managers
Colourcraft Reprographics (Photolithographers)
Bascands Commercial Print Limited (Four Colour Printers)

© 1990 Wellington City Art Gallery, essayists and contributors
This book is copyright. Apart from any fair dealing for the purpose of private study, research, criticism or review, as permitted under the Copyright Act, no part may be reproduced by any process without the permission of the Wellington City Art Gallery.

ISBN: 0-908818-11-4

Published by the Wellington City Art Gallery,
PO Box 2199,Wellington, New Zealand.

Cover



1. Wellington Media Collective, *Wildcat* film poster for Combined Council of Timberworkers Delegates. Courtesy Wellington Media Collective.
2. William Tighe, *Untitled*, 1920s. Oil on canvas. Courtesy Auckland Branch, New Zealand Seafarers Union.
3. Bruce Connew, *Karora Cemetary, Greymouth*, 1986. (19 coalminers were killed by an explosion in the Strongman State Coal Mine, January 1967).
4. John Le Cren, *Invercargill locomotive depot, young fireman at water crane, 1965*. National Archives.
5. Wellington Media Collective Poster, *3rd National Hui for Work Trusts and Co-operatives*. Courtesy Wellington Media Collective.
6. Trace Hodgson cartoon, *Future Employment*, (detail). Courtesy the artist.
7. Mary-Louise Browne and Frank Stark, *The Division of Labour*, 1990. Photo-mural: Triptych, right hand image. Photography by Neil Pardington.
8. C Hale, *Tukutuku panel workers, Otaki Church renovation*. National Museum of New Zealand, ref: B2797.
9. CPS Boyer, *Tramways employees, Wellington, 1944*. (Near entrance to Seatoun Tunnel). War History Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: F115784 ½.
10. Tramways Union banner, 1938. Courtesy Auckland Tramways Union.
11. Robin White, *Mere and Siulolovao, Otago Peninsula*, 1978. Silkscreen. Collection Waikato Museum of Art and History.
12. Dennis Knight Turner mural. *Engineers*. Courtesy Engineering and Related Trades Industrial Union of Workers, Auckland.
13. New Zealand 7¢ stamp. 1919-1969 International Labour Organisation. Colour photograph. Courtesy NZ Post Ltd.
14. Ans Westra, *Auckland wharves, 1971*. Courtesy the artist.
15. Christopher Perkins, *Employed*, c1930. Pen and ink with wash. Collection Auckland City Art Gallery. Presented by Dr RM Campbell, 1963.
16. W Beattie, Drivers Union banner in the Evans' memorial march in Auckland. *Auckland Weekly News*, 20 November 1913. *NZ Herald* photographic collection.
17. Trade Union History Project banner, 1990. Courtesy Trade Union History Project.

Background image
Harry Rose, Women head a unionist march up Queen Street, Auckland, 1 June 1951. Roth Collection.

Frontispiece
SC Smith, Strikers and sympathisers marching to Newtown Park. Maritime Strike, Wellington, 1913. SC Smith Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: G48932 ½ (cropped).

CONTENTS

6 Sponsors
7 Foreword
8 Acknowledgements
9 Art and Organised Labour: An introduction

ESSAYS

11 Athol McCredie: Picturing a Working Class
23 Herbert Roth: Union Banners in New Zealand
31 Peter and Dianne Beatson: Murals and Organised Labour
39 Rob Taylor: Dennis Knight Turner - Artist
47 Russell Campbell: Danger, Militants at Work: Union Struggles in Documentary Film and Video, 1976-85
55 Peter Adds: Art and Organised Labour in Maori Society
60 Ann Calhoun: Images of Women

EXHIBITION STRUCTURE

Historical Moment
66 1890: Maritime Strike and Sweating Commission
67 1912/13: Waihi and Waterfront Strike
69 World War I
70 Depression
72 World War II/Workers in New Zealand
73 1949/51: Disputes
75 Contemporary Issues
76 Unemployment/Temporary Work

Identity
78 The Hand: Symbol of Labour
80 Origins
82 Banners of Identity
86 Contemporary Photographers
101 Working Conditions
104 Historical Photographers
110 Murals
112 Domestic/Unpaid Work
114 Wellington Media Collective
117 Taonga Tuku Iho (The Gifts that are Handed On)
120 Ma Te Ohu E Whakāma Nga Mahi (A Group of Volunteers will Make Light the Work)
123 The Worker in Art
129 Picturing Workers
130 Contemporary Film and Video

Catalogue
131 List of Works and Images in the Exhibition

143 Wellington City Art Gallery Staff

ART AND ORGANISED LABOUR

was organised with the assistance of the

TUEA

Trade Union Education Authority and the **Trade Union History Project**

The exhibition and catalogue has been supported by the

New Zealand 1990 Commission

Principal Sponsors

CountryWide Bank

Radio New Zealand
Te Reo Irirangi O Aotearoa

Television New Zealand

Toyota

Major Sponsors

Ansett New Zealand

Data General

Kodak

Mobil Oil

Xerox

The exhibition, catalogue and tour has been further supported by the exhibition programme, visual arts,

Queen Elizabeth II Arts Council of New Zealand.

The exhibition tour has been sponsored by

Union Shipping Group Ltd and New Zealand Stevedoring Company Ltd.

FOREWORD

Art and Organised Labour testifies to Wellington City Art Gallery's commitment to explore the nature and diversity of contemporary visual art issues and activity.

This major and challenging thematic exhibition project is the first New Zealand survey of the rich, significant but largely undervalued and ignored body of visual art created within a specific social and cultural context. Working class artists, both individually and collaboratively, give expression to distinct traditions and values, providing a cultural perspective to conditions surrounding the art-making process. Issues of cultural identity are also articulated in the work of some of New Zealand's more significant artists.

The exhibition acknowledges often marginalised groups in society such as Maori and women and selected artworks depict working-class life in New Zealand, and incorporate imagery that has emerged out of working-class politics.

In the past official art historians would have seen no place for such work in their annals. In their vocabulary art and politics were mutually exclusive. Art was individualistic and somehow transcendent "above that sort of thing". That, of course, was their political stance.

An exhibition of this extent and complexity demands the willing support of many people and organisations.

Special acknowledgement needs to be made to the New Zealand 1990 Commission and the Queen Elizabeth II Arts Council for their substantial financial contribution to and enthusiastic endorsement and support of the staging and national tour of *Art and Organised Labour*. Our appreciation to Union Shipping Group Ltd and NZ Stevedoring Co Ltd for their generous sponsorship of the exhibition and its national tour.

We are grateful to the commissioned artists for their inspired response to a radical exhibition concept.

The gallery is indebted to artists, private collectors, and institutions who have so generously loaned work to make this exhibition possible. We also extend our thanks to the Trade Union History Project and Trade Union Education Authority whose involvement and co-operation throughout the planning and preparation of the exhibition has been invaluable.

Research for *Art and Organised Labour* began in 1989 under previous Director John Leuthart, and I would like to thank him for his contribution to the project.

Principal acknowledgement is due to the Exhibition Curator Gregory Burke and Research Curator Ann Calhoun, and to each member of the Wellington City Art Gallery for their individual and combined expertise.

Paula Savage

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Wellington City Art Gallery and the curators would like to thank all those individuals and institutions who so generously gave their art works and advice to ensure the success of the *Art and Organised Labour* exhibition, the publication and the national tour. Particular acknowledgement needs to be made to Miro Bilbrough, Cathy Marr, Joan McCracken, Athol McCredie and Bert Roth for their invaluable research for the exhibition, and to Irihapeti Ramsden the Maori curatorial adviser.

To prepare an exhibition of the size and complexity of *Art and Organised Labour* has involved the willing co-operation of artists, lenders, advisors, unions and organisations. We especially thank Paul Tolich and the Trade Union Education Authority (TUEA) and Francis Wevers and the Trade Union History Project who have greatly assisted in the organisation and development of the exhibition. To those others it has not been possible to list we also extend our thanks for your assistance.

LENDERS

JWT Adams Bequest & QEII Arts Council
Auckland City Art Gallery
Auckland Tramways Union
Rona Bailey
Max Bollinger
Eymard Bradley
Building Trades Union, Hamilton and Wellington
Carpenters and Related Trades Union
Dowse Art Museum, Lower Hutt
Engineering & Related Trades Industrial Union of Workers, Auckland
Dick Frizzell
Len Gale
Tim De Goldi
Govett-Brewster Art Gallery
Sally Griffin
Gil Hanly
Malcolm Harrison
Noel Hilliard
Trace Hodgson
Hospital, Hotel & Restaurant Workers Union, Northern Branch
Glen Jowitt
Labourers Union, Northern Branch, Auckland
Vivian Lynn
Media Collective, Wellington
Jan Nauta
Northern Distribution Union, Auckland
New Zealand Sugar Company
Therese O'Connell
Denis O'Connor
Public Service Association, Dan Long Memorial Library
Phill Rooke
Bert Roth
Rotorua's Art & History Museum
Sarjeant Gallery, Wanganui
Patricia Sarr
Seamen's Union
Trade Union History Project
Waikato Museum of Art & History
Alan Ware
Weekly Press
Wellington Waterfront Workers Union
Ans Westra
Working Women's Resource Centre, Auckland
Richard Wotten

FURTHER ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Lucy Alcock
Bill Anderson
Iri Barber
Wallis Barnicott
Peter Beatson
Dianne Beatson
Eymard Bradley
Warren Brewer
Broadsheet
Patrick Brown
Ronald Brownson
Joanna Buchanan
Jim Butterworth
Russell Campbell
Paul Chalmers
Pauline Clayton
Martha Coleman
David Colquhoun
Walter Cook
Grant Corbishley
Helen Courtney
Chris Dawe
Quentin Dukes
John Eaden
Brent Edwards
Ellen Ellis
Robert Erwin
Gerry Evans
Judy Evans
Peter Franks
Annette Fraser
Len Gale
Christine Gallagher
Margarita Gill
Tim De Goldi
Anna Green
Nicola J Green
Judith Grogan
Alison Hawkins
Tangi Huata
Colin Hicks
Gerald Hill
Richard Hill
Noel Hilliard
Graham Irving
Fiona Johnston
Christine Keir
Philip Kelly
Bob Kerr
Hasel Kerr
Robert Kerr-Hislop
Ron Lambert
Darcy Lange
John Lawrence
Robert Leonard
Gayle Lockwood
Hilary Low
Malcolm McAllister
Cathy McCarthy
Linda McIntyre
Tony Mackle
Gordon Maitland
Catherine Major
Emmanuel Makarios
John Martin
Bob Masefield
David Mealing
Bill Milbank
Neil Miller
Dave Morgan
Jan Nauta
George Newlands
Annie Newman
Melanie Nolan
Therese O'Connell
David Parkyn
Rod Prosser
Murray Reid
Patricia Sarr
Mike Scott
Bryce Redfern Hardesty
David M Sanders
Len Smith
Joy & Don Solomon
Terry Stuart
Jane Sutherland
Rob Taylor
Linda Tyler
Jane Vial
Pat Walsh
Maurice Watson
Catherine Wheelan
Richard Wolfe
Cliff Whiting
Vanguard Films
Rose Young
Alexander Turnbull Library
Auckland City Art Gallery
Auckland Institute & Museum
Auckland Public Library
Auckland University Library
Canterbury Museum
Dowse Art Museum
Govett-Brewster Art Gallery
Hocken Library
National Archives
National Art Gallery
National Museum of New Zealand
Nelson Provincial Museum
NZ Council of Trade Unions
NZ Herald
NZ Post
Petone Settlers Museum
Post Office Union
Rotorua's Art & History Museum
Sarjeant Gallery
Taranaki Museum
University of Canterbury
Waikato Museum of Art and History
Wellington Public Library

SOURCES

We would also like to acknowledge particular texts:
Bert Roth and Janny Hammond, *Toil and Trouble: The Struggle for a Better Life in New Zealand* (1981);
Ian F Grant, *The Unauthorised Version: A Cartoon History of New Zealand* (1980);
Herstory Diary (New Zealand) (1984);
Tony Simpson, *Sugarbag Years* (1974).

ART AND ORGANISED LABOUR: AN INTRODUCTION

Art and Organised Labour is the fourth in our series of 1990 exhibitions that focus on the relationship of art to contemporary New Zealand culture. The exhibition has grown out of an initial desire to examine the role that visual art has played in the history of the Trade Union movement in New Zealand. From this starting point the exhibition has developed its aims to cover the relationship of art to organised labour in a broader sense. This is a relationship that is certainly affected by the bi-cultural basis of New Zealand society, gender based divisions of labour, as well as differing class views of the value, functions and cultural determinations of what we term art.

The exhibition pivots around dual and overlapping concepts of *historical moment* and *identity*. Within the first category the exhibition presents art and imagery produced from and through significant historical moments in the history of the labour movement in New Zealand, often as the result of labour protest and struggle.

Our intention in isolating these historical moments is not to offer a history of the union movement in images, a seamless narrative illustrating the successes and failures of the union movement in overcoming the forces of capital. Rather we wish to indicate that much of the imagery associated with the union movement has been motivated as a result of flashpoints in history and that with this imagery issues of effective communication and the mobilisation of public opinion tend to overide conventional artistic concerns. It is through these moments that the power struggles resulting from ideological conflict become most visible. The factions engaged in conflict, from the union movement on the one hand, to those groups with an investment in the status quo on the other, marshall support through visual media including cartoons, graphics, photography, film and posters.

It is important to recognise that these key historical moments are not dead, rendered distant and inert by being in the past. Disputes and events such as those that occurred in 1890, 1912/1913, the 1930s and 1949/1951 continue to be central to the identity of the labour movement. The issues that were at the core of these disputes remain active today and include compulsory unionism, pay equity, the right to work, the right to strike, sick pay and overtime pay. The issue of the historical interpretation of these disputes needs to be added to the list for these disputes continue to motivate the production of media copy and in particular the production and distribution of images. The 1951 Waterfront Lockout, for example, has been an ongoing subject for vigorous reinterpretation, most recently in the film *Shattered Dreams* produced by the Trade Union History Project in 1990.

Identity the second category of the exhibition explores images produced from a range of cultural perspectives that have created a visual identity for working people and the labour movement. This category initially considers and presents images produced by organised labour and union groups to represent the ideals and aspirations of organised labour, in particular, and working class culture in general. This category is extended to consider art and imagery produced from outside traditionally organised labour groups.

This category presents murals, posters, banners and graphics originating from a union and collective labour context, documentary film and video that addresses working conditions and worker struggles, images by contemporary and earlier photographers who have documented aspects of work and labour history, and graphic images by artists sympathetic to the cause of unionism. Images drawn from popular culture as well as a range of images produced by artists recognised by mainstream New Zealand art history are also presented.

The range of images included provides a framework to investigate distinct cultural and ideological percep-

tions of organised labour and the working classes in New Zealand. It also encourages a consideration of issues of the visibility of working life within mainstream visual culture in general, as well as the exclusion and marginalisation of sections of society within the visual history of work in this country. For example, there is a clear male, pakeha and colonial bias in the most recognisable representations of working life presented here. We have responded to this bias by including lesser known images within the exhibition and in particular by commissioning two artist projects. The first by Ngapine Tamihana Te Ao addresses the nature of work in Maori society, while the second by Mary-Louise Browne and Frank Stark addresses gender based divisions of labour and their symbolic manifestation.

Presenting imagery that has not often been granted classification as art – banners, posters and cartoons, images that carry clear ideological messages – alongside mainstream artworks suggests that a definition of art as transcendent and individualistic is itself political and ideological. We hope that this exhibition and catalogue will provide a context for a reconsideration of the relationship of art to organised labour as well as providing a basis for ongoing documentation and research.

Gregory Burke



Christchurch Tinsmiths Display, Labour Day 10 October 1900. J Kinsey Collection, Canterbury Museum, ref: 22/2

PICTURING A WORKING CLASS

Athol McCredie

The existence of social classes in New Zealand has been vigorously argued by academics and others.[1] Whatever the social reality though, there has always been a persistent and widespread *belief* that we are not class divided but an egalitarian nation, where individual movement up the socio-economic scale is limited only by one's initiative and determination.

Such an egalitarian ideology means that working people tend to be depicted visually in ways which deny they might form a class – that is, a group permanently defined and constrained by economic and social conditions. This is done either by simply ignoring their existence altogether or by creating images, such as genres or character types, to suit upper and middle-class purposes.



New Zealand Clarion cover illustration, Vol 11 No 8, Wellington, November 1949.

Varieties of Invisibility

New Zealand's working people have little presence on our television. There *are* programmes such as *Coronation Street, East Enders* and *Bread* but these working class dramas are from the archetypal class-divided society of popular imagination, Great Britain, and neatly convince us that our own country is quite different.[2]

Workers are almost entirely absent from advertising, television or otherwise. This is hardly surprising given that advertisements aim to associate a desirable lifestyle – obviously not working class – with the possession of a certain product. If ad agencies do target lower socio-economic groups for certain product campaigns, for example, beer, they would appear to identify those groups through sport rather than work. A rare exception is a 1949 election advert for the Labour Party at a time when it had strong worker support.

When workers do appear in television, newspapers or magazines it is typically within journalism's definition of news – as disturbances to public routines by demonstrations and strikes. These are invariably presented as though they were some natural disaster, an unexpected and sometimes wilful act with little comprehendible cause. A prime example of this limited view of news occurred in the 1930s. At a time when news photographs appeared mainly in weekly magazines rather than newspapers, it is remarkable that the three major illustrated magazines of the day – the *Otago Witness*, *New Zealand Freelance*, and *Weekly News* – barely



Aka Aka, near Waiuku, Auckland Province. Useful drainage work being carried out at Aka Aka, near Waiuku, by relief workers from Wellington. *Weekly News*, 6 April 1932. Auckland Public Library, ref: A8091./

"Dramatic Police Charge Routs Unemployed Demonstrators in Wellington" [11 May 1932] ". . . workers & unemployed numbering about 2000 were put to rout in a lightning two-minute baton charge by 50 mounted and foot police under Inspector J Lander, during a mass meeting held in Cuba Street last week. The charge followed an outbreak of stone throwing by a section of the crowd which immediately scattered in all directions, many being injured in the stampede for safety ...". NZ Freelance Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: G101110 ½.



suggest the presence of a Depression, one of the most traumatic events in New Zealand's history. Of course, pictures of the brief riots in Auckland, Wellington and Dunedin in April and May of 1932 were splashed across pages throughout the country, but images of food queues, relief camps and work gangs seem virtually non-existant. The *Weekly News* did acquire a short lived fascination with the unemployed mining for gold at about the time of the riots and with relief camps (showing "sturdy and cheerful workers") during the month afterwards. However, the work camp tents and the family activity of mining in such photographs seem quite in place amidst the usual leisure and holiday tone of the *Weekly's* pictorial pages.

In general, a small quantity of photographs do exist which actually show people working. Often found in photo libraries, completely divorced from an original context of use, these are commonly published today to illustrate labour in history books and articles. The original intention behind the photograph though was usually to picture industry in some way, not labour as such. The photographers included workers in these images to create "human interest" for the viewer and because it is often difficult to signify industrial activity without workers being evident. Thus the workers are really only ciphers, not important in themselves, but there for pictorial reasons.

The Picturesque: Honest toilers, characters, men alone, and industrial aesthetics.

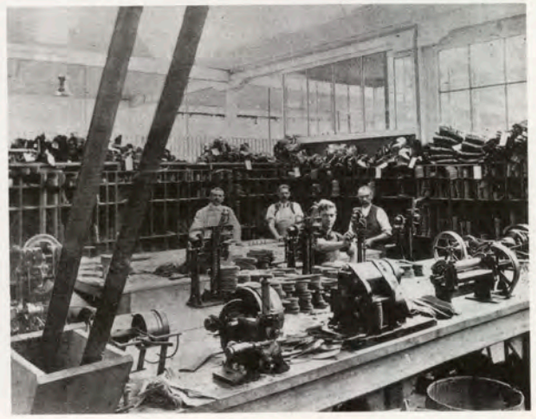
The focus in New Zealand art on landscape, and on portraiture to a lesser extent, has meant that by and large the depiction of work is also missing in our painting and drawing. Where labour is represented, the emphasis is on rural work of a romantic, rustic nature, particularly during the first half of this century. James Nairn's painting of the milk maid *Tess* is a prime example. It could be supposed that agricultural work would be a natural and inevitable subject in a country dominated by primary industry. New Zealand was, however, well urbanised from an early date (by 1911 just over 50% of the population lived



in towns and cities). This fact combined with the nostalgic tone of these rural depictions suggests that they were romantic fantasies of a lost innocence for an urban population, rather than simply "what was there". Such images have perhaps been more dominant in photography than painting: The *Weekly News* was running photos of rural idylls *ad nauseam* from the 1900s and Pictorialist photographer George Chance turned out thousands of soft-focus images of horse-powered farm work to huge popular demand from the 1920s. The Pictorialist concerns with rusticity and sentimental "characters" have also run through popular photography to the present day. In countless versions of the *This is New Zealand* book we've seen the happy, easy-go-lucky Maori farm or road worker with pot belly and tooth missing grin. Even in such a contemporary version as the 1990 edition of *New Zealand: Gift of the Sea* by Brian Brake and Maurice

Alfred Burton, Saw pit at Kauri Point Mill, Mt Roe, Auckland, 1884. National Museum of New Zealand, ref: 5881.

Boot and shoe making, Dunedin. *AJHR* 1910 H11. Wellington Public Library.



Shadbolt there are depictions of workers in soft-core Pictorialist "character" mode by Brake.

Add to these the shearers of Peter McIntyre, Russell Clark and Dennis Knight Turner, further backblock individuals by Turner (who illustrated Barry Crump's books) and Eric Lee-Johnson, as well as the more recent black singleted iconic figures by Garth Tapper (p.123) and Nigel Brown, and one begins to see something of a "type" being invented: the rural manual worker as a mythic other, a *nature* to middle class, urban *culture*.

This type may have originated in European depictions of the noble tillers and reapers of Millais and Courbet but it developed into a particular variant in New Zealand, more thoroughly in literature than painting. Stevan Eldred-Grigg[3] has noted that mid-twentieth century New Zealand writing (which was mostly by middle and upper class males) often centred on working class men, on "Kens, Toms and Neds" as Eric McCormick put it. However, Eldred-



George Chance, *Labourers of the field*, 1925. From the exhibition catalogue: *George Chance: Photographs*, 1985.

A Northwood, On the gumfields of North Auckland: Diggers having dinner at Houhora, Mangonui County. *Weekly News*, 17 November (c1908). Auckland Institute and Museum, ref: C12,083.



Grigg points out that these characters hardly represented a working class since most working people of the time earned money not as "footloose, casual labourers" but as "unwilling employees tightly tied to inflexible workplaces" – as process workers, shop clerks and domestics. There was little man-aloneness, many (20-25%) workers were women, and most lived in close proximity to others in crowded workplaces and densely populated lower income suburbs.

A few New Zealand artists have suggested industrialism in their work, but the unpeopled and highly aesthetic nature of their images invariably avoids any hint of an urban proletariat. The Tole brothers, Rita Angus on one occasion, and John Weeks (p.125) are amongst the more sophisticated and well known of those artists who have used factory buildings, construction sites and industrial equipment as subject for formal explorations in their paintings. (Some contemporary photographers such as Laurence Aberhart (p.86) have also been interested in the visual language of industrialism).

Christopher Perkins' aim to "turn the stark facts of life in this country, such as the tin dairy shed, into a unit of living design" had influenced both the formalists and the character painters in depicting the vernacular, turning them away from the earlier forms of sentimentality and nostalgia. Three of his works from the early 1930s incorporate urban workers within strong compositions: *Road gang, Employed* (further road workers) (p.70) and *Activity on the Wharf*.



Christopher Perkins, *Activity on the wharf*, 1931. Making New Zealand Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: F664 MNZ ¼.

Cover of the special fifth year anniversary issue of *The Spark*, August 1952. Roth Collection.



The view from within

If worker portrayals have tended to be of a symbolic rural. Other, then what about pictures made by workers themselves? These also have been few: art is usually a middle or upper class activity, and the media of television, newspapers and magazines are controlled by commercial interests. (When such interests direct themselves to a working class audience then it is with escapist entertainment – the court and sport reporting of *NZ Truth* for instance). There have been a number of small union and worker oriented left wing newspapers and maga-



zines in New Zealand[4] but aside from cartoons and the very occasional drawing they contain few illustrations. This may be due to the fact that photographically reproduced illustrations have, until recently, been expensive to publish, but a certain distrust of images (as province of the advertising man and other propagandists?) also seems to be involved in the socialist preference for word over picture.

Even if unpublished, some photographs have certainly been made of union activities, both business and social. Union picnics, sports teams, conference delegates, and parades have all been recorded for labour organisations and hung on the walls of offices and homes. Though without visibility in the wider world, these images do function to confirm a group identity for the people involved.

Of an even less public nature are the photographic and art works of a few individual workers. Albert Percy Godber was employed at the Petone Railway Workshops from 1890 to the late 1920s and besides his varied scholastic and community involvements he was an active and prolific photographer for at least the first 10 years of this century.

Besides many other subjects he pictured his fellow workers and photographed general workshop scenes – solely it seems out of personal interest. A sailor, William Tighe, of whom very little is presently known, similarly documented his environment in naively painted vignettes of seafaring life around the 1920s.

New Zealand never had a left wing art movement of the types found in Australia (where there were Workers' Art Clubs during the 1930s) or the USA (with the Artists' Union and Artists' Congresses of the same period). However, two local artists, Dennis Knight Turner and Judy Evans, did create paintings with socialist messages. Evans, with assistance from her father, Guy Harding, painted a sequence of Diego Rivera inspired murals for the Communist Party's Unity Centre in Wellington around 1944. In classic Soviet style they depict the defeat of fascism followed by the workers of the world uniting into an international brotherhood prominently featuring Stalin. Reflecting the wartime context, there is little reference to the struggle against capitalism and much on the dawn of a utopian era of peace and justice.

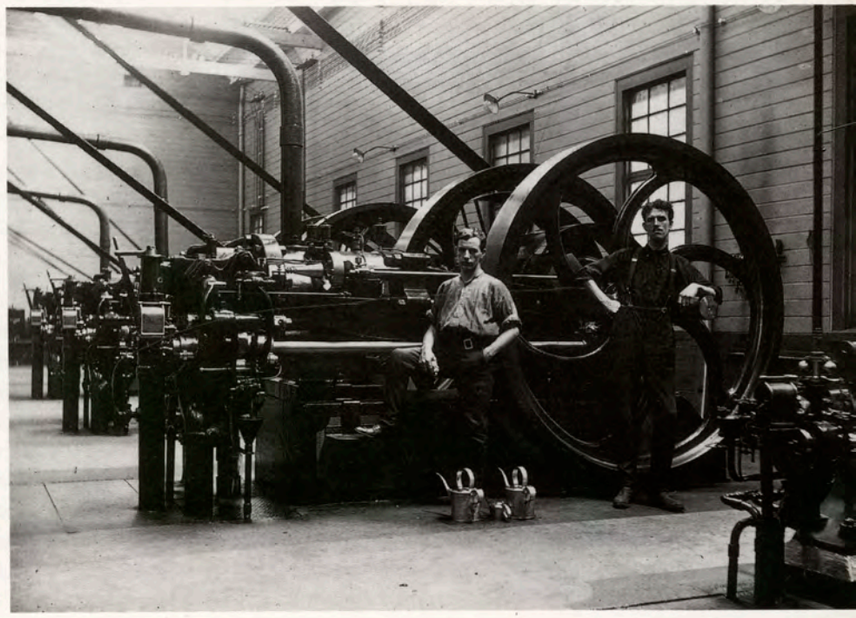


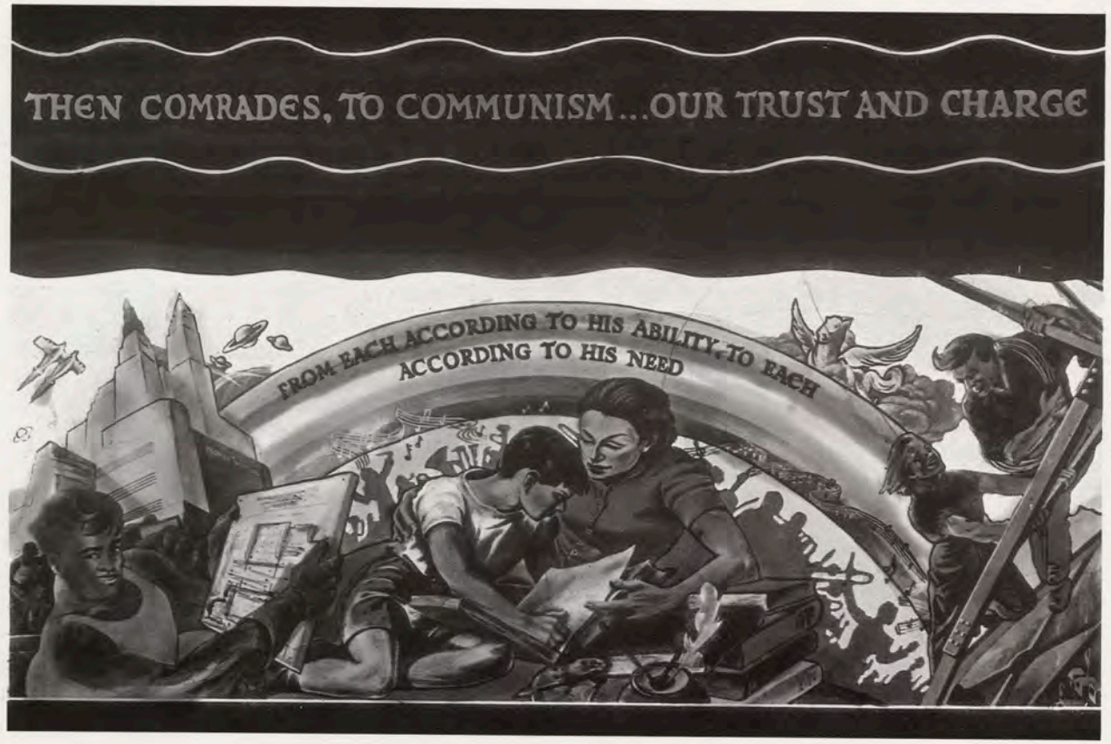
Dennis Knight Turner's paintings, made for various unions in the late 1940s, generally depict members at work (p.40-44). In a style recalling mural painting in its graphic and montage ehhects, Turner warmly presents harmonious scenes of worker industry. One of his few symbolic paintings, *Unity*, shows a worker holding a red flag in the Soviet "Forward" genre. However, unlike the traditional ver-

(Previous page)
Saddlers & Harness Makers at Labour Day procession, probably 10 October 1900. J Kinsey Collection, Canterbury Museum, ref: 22/2.

William Tighe, *Untitled*, 1920s. Oil on canvas. 546 × 747mm. Courtesy Auckland Branch, New Zealand Seafarers Union.

AP Godber, 75 HP Gas Engines used for driving the line shaft, Petone Railway Workshops.
AP Godber Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: G G430.





Lantern slide from Judy Evans and Guy Harding 10 part mural displayed in the Unity Centre building, Wellington, c1944. Section 9: *Then comrades to communism . . . our trust and charge*. Lantern slide courtesy Noel Hilliard.

sion, such as that painted by Evans, this painting is modest and diffident: only the central character gazes into the distance in the grip of a vision, three workers in the foreground simply smile with agreement and the rest grouped around display no emotion at all. Neither are the usual muscle-bound arms and bodies rigid with determination and inspiration evident.

Some art by "workers" has been created under a succession of Labour Department work schemes since about 1980. In ways reminiscent of the much more extensive and formally organised Federal Art Project schemes of New Deal 'thirties America, unemployed artists have been engaged to create murals, and work on other community art projects. However, due partly to the prescriptions of clients, and the fact that many of those employed were middle class artists, few depictions of workers have resulted. This is not to say that images conveying working class identity haven't been created: the graffiti bomber style of mural painting is surely a statement proclaiming working class (and Polynesian) youth culture.

The Documentary Movement

If there ever was state sponsorship in picturing a working class then it was through the National Film Unit during the late 1940s – and to a lesser extent, through the Department of Internal Affairs' wartime photographer, John Pascoe. The early imagery of the Film Unit and of Pascoe was strongly influenced by documentary notions of the period, in particular by those of John Grierson, leader of the British documentary film movement, who visited New Zealand in 1940 to advise on government film production. Grierson is also significant in that later documentary practice in film and photography, even if not directly influenced by him, often reflects the concerns and tensions found in his thinking.

Grierson saw the sole purpose of documentary film as educational: The modern citizen had lost a sense of community in the fragmentation caused by the industrial revolution. The documentary would equip people with information so that they could better understand and participate in society. However, this information tended to be less factual than inspirational, for Grierson was concerned with moral education, with "crystallising the emotions and directing men's loyalties". As such, he exploited the poetic, aesthetic and dramatic qualities of film despite an insistence on realism and fulminations against art for art's sake. Grierson and his co-film makers shared an urge, common amongst such middle class intellectuals of the time, to discover the hidden people of British society – the miners, train drivers, and industrial workers – to take an anthropological approach to aspects of a society foreign to them. (This British interest is also seen in George Orwell's writing and the Mass Observation movement of about the same period.) Grierson productions such as *Coalface* and *Industrial Britain* described heroic workers and the dignity of labour in a rather condescending manner and avoided crucial questions of wages and conditions. However, it must also be said that his films showed the working class for the first time as other than servants or figures of fun in feature films.

Of the National Film Unit's ten minute *Weekly Reviews* produced from 1941 to 1950, three films about transport and industry are notable for the way they make workers the focus of those industries: *Coal from Westland* (1943), *Railway Worker* (1948), and *The Coaster* (1948, on life aboard a coastal freighter.) Given that it was made during wartime when government propaganda was urging the nation to "pull together", it is not surprising that *Coal from Westland* is the film which most strongly emphasises what Grierson called "the high bravery of upstanding labour". The following extracts from the commentary are indicative: "Industrial civilisation makes no demands more difficult to meet than the hungry demand for coal. Nothing needs so much skill, so much heavy labour allied to skill . . .. £10 a week sounds very good, but as a reward for the energy expended in getting out the coal, £20 would be little enough. . . . Here then are the men who feed New Zealand with the raw material of industrial prosperity." Grierson's concerns are also present in the film's praise of close knit West Coast communities (partially due to a strong union, the film suggests) and the moral fibre of the workers: "The miner is strong on home life – children are well looked after and he consistently votes prohibition."

One spin-off from the National Film Unit was a unique film made in 1949 by a dismissed employee, Communist Cecil Holmes, with the assistance of Rudall and Ramai Hayward. Called *Fighting Back*, it was about the Auckland carpenters' dispute then current (p.73). Claimed in publicity to be "the first on-the-spot film of an industrial dispute ever recorded in the Southern Hemisphere", this was an agressive account from a union perspective for union audiences. (In fact, it is still used for union education today.) In a mix of dramatic reconstruction and documentary footage, the crushing of the carpenters' union by the combined forces of government, employers and Federation of Labour is told. A battle was lost but the film's message is that a "lesson is learnt: from unity comes strength and from this we can reshape the world." The final title reads: "Not the end, but the beginning".

A beginning of union film making, let alone of reshaping the world, was not, however, in the offing. Partly due to the high costs involved it was not until the 1980s, when film, and particularly video, technology became much more accessible that unions and left wing individuals took to these media to any extent. (Besides the purely instructional, most of these films are on the subject of a particular dispute – see Russell Campbell's essay in this catalogue.) And at the Film Unit, a change of directorship and the election of the National Party in 1949 meant that it never really again ventured into films about workers. There were, of course, more films on in-



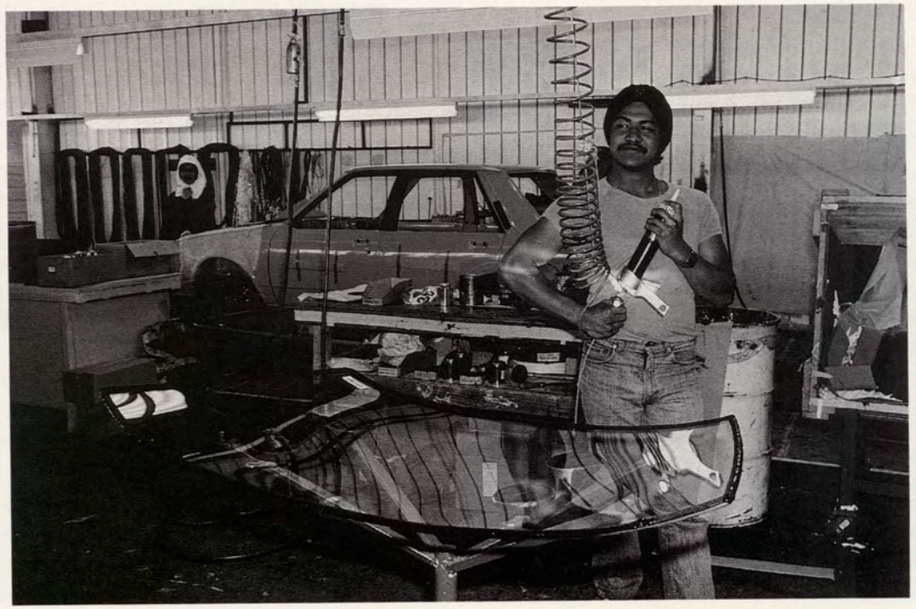
Miner working in a dry mine, Charming Creek, 26 September 1944. War Effort Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: F1224 ½.

dustry, but like the photographs discussed earlier, the topic was *industry* and workers appeared only in order to illustrate that topic. *Dustie* (National Film Unit, 1971) appears to be one of the few exceptions. Concerning a day in the working life of a Wellington rubbish collecting team, it unfolds like a school social studies film on occupations. As such, it is devoid of Greirson's heroic workers but by concentrating solely on their job it also evades any sense of the social context of being a dustman.

Returning to the 1940s and documentary photography, John Pascoe's concern with the ordinary man or woman meshed nicely with that of his employer, the government, in its desire to depict as broad a cross-section of New Zealanders as possible "doing their bit" for the war effort at home. Women, now being encouraged by the government to take up employment, were shown by Pascoe working in industry or on the land. His gallery of New Zealanders includes workers portrayed with dignity and often heroism in the low angled photographic style of the time.

When Pascoe ceased photographing for Internal Affairs in 1945, documentary photography, like film, underwent a hiatus in New Zealand for at least 20 years. (Ans Westra, and to a lesser extent Les Cleveland, remained lone practitioners through this period.) Beginning slowly in the mid-1960s and quickening during the 1970s and into the early 1980s, a deluge of young, middle-class, documentary photographers then began to emerge, often from the art schools.[5] They were inspired by a tradition of socially concerned photo-essays in the famous picture magazines of the 1940s and 1950s *(Life, Picture Post)* which brought the world into the living room in a pre-television age. This world was whatever subjects were exotic, foreign and Other to middle class Western readers. For New Zealand photographers, the Other took the form of working and/or Maori people. The wealthy, an equally foreign segment of society, have seldom been subject to photo-documentation projects in New Zealand. Some commentators such as Susan Sontag say this is because photography is essentially a voyeuristic activity, the less advantaged being easier targets for

Glen Jowitt, *Mazda Motors*, 1981. Ektacolour print. Courtesy the artist.



an outsider's unhealthy interest. But against this one could note that nearly all the New Zealand photographers have a vaguely, at least, left-wing outlook and consequently depict their subjects with respect and dignity, though no longer as heroic. Rarely too do they furtively snap and run – the tradition of documentary insists on building up rapport and trust.

This humanist approach tends to stop short of activist intentions, however, with overt policital *utility* rarely being envisaged. Glen Jowitt, for instance, has photographed Polynesian factory workers in Auckland with a keen awareness of the invisible migrant labour such people represent and their role in supporting the economy, as migrants do in all developed capitalist countries. Yet Jowitt has never made an overt statement of this situation, and has contented himself with presenting three or four of these factory images amongst the dozens on Island life in his art gallery exhibition *Polynesia here and there*.

Neither do the documentary photographers act politically by helping to empower their subjects – by letting them set up the shots or otherwise gain access to the medium. The camera always remains firmly in the hands of the photographer. This is because the main aim is to make *pictures* – images of formal integrity, and, sometimes, emotional charge. This emotion can range from warm feelings of community and camaraderie to the haunting/haunted otherness of characters in Anne Noble's *Chelsea project* photographs (p.87) or Glenn Busch's *Working men* (p.97). Again, workers are used to embody a sort of primitive condition, representing both human and not so human[6] qualities lost to the civilisation of white collar man. In this sense, if they didn't exist, workers would probably have to be invented.

In conclusion, the recent documentary photographers have probably been the most active in visually postulating the existence of a working class. However, they have sought support in the cultural prestige and power which resides with art galleries, turning their address to the gallery audience of cultural consumers. Prints are often taken back by the photographer to the subject but rarely is a body of work shown in venues such as community halls. Thus, like nearly all other visual depictions, their work is by, and for, the educated middle classes and what is represented is a *psychological* rather than *social* Other. If working people themselves have perceived a class identity it therefore seems that pictures of their own lives can have played little role in forming this image in New Zealand.[7]

NOTES

1. For instance: WH Oliver, "Reeves, Sinclair and the social pattern", *The feel of truth*, ed P Munz, (Wellington: 1968), pp163-178; Erik Olssen, "The 'working class' in New Zealand", *NZ Journal of History* 8, April 1974, pp44-60; Keith Sinclair and Wendy Harrex, "A classless society?", *Looking back: a photographic history of NZ*, (Wellington: Oxford University Press, 1978), pp147-176.
2. In reverse, the British have an enormous fascination with the middle-classness of Australian soap operas such as *Neighbours*. Also, New Zealand did have its own, short lived, version of *Coronation Street* called *Pukemanu*. It began screening in 1971 and was set in a fictional forestry township.
3. Stevan Eldred-Grigg, "Oracles and miracles: working-class novel, okay?" *Sites* 16, Autumn 1988, p111.
4. For example: *The Maoriland Worker* (1910-1924), *The NZ Worker* (1924-1935), *The Standard* (1935-1959); union papers: *The NZ Clarion, The NZ Transport Worker;* Communist papers: *Red Worker* (1929-1933), *Workers Weekly* (1933-1939), *Peoples Voice* (1939-present).
5. Examples include: Gary Baigent, Eymard Bradley, Glenn Busch, Fiona Clark, Bruce Connew, David Cook, Bruce Foster, Gil Hanly, Glen Jowitt, Chris Matthews, Jan Nauta, Terry O'Connor, Geoffrey Short, and Sally Symes.
6. Besides Noble's and Busch's work, consider the image of striker or rioter in the 1930s media as savage beast, hostile, unpredictable and unreasonable.
7. This does not mean that cultural representations have not been marshalled in other ways to define class identity. See the writings of Pierre Bourdeiu for a systematic examination of the function of cultural taste in supporting and signalling class identity.

UNION BANNERS IN NEW ZEALAND

Herbert Roth

Now, Marshal, start the music;
Let the banners be unfurled:
'Eight Hours' shall be our motto,
'Eight Hours' throughout the world.

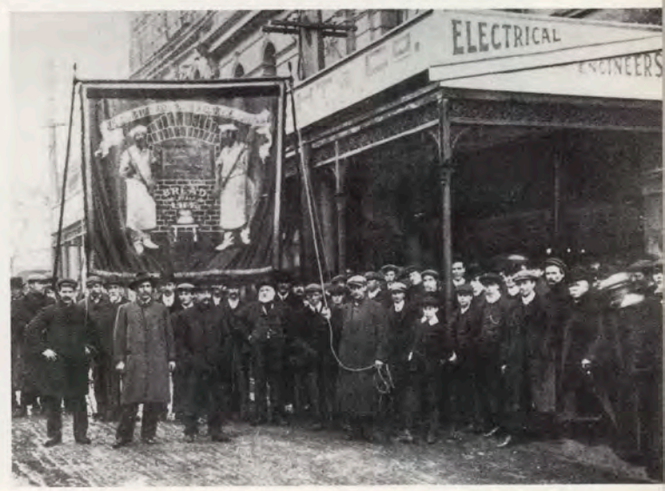
(From a handbill distributed during the 1886 Auckland eight-hour working-day procession)

The display of trade union banners, in New Zealand as in Australia, was closely linked to the annual processions commemorating and celebrating the introduction of the eight-hour working day. Such demonstrations had been held in Melbourne since 1857, in Sydney since 1872, but in New Zealand the tradition was not established until 1882. In that first procession, which took place in Auckland on 19 April under the auspices of the Eight-Hour Demonstration Committee, there were no banners. Each trade marched behind a man with a pole carrying a piece of white cloth with the union's name in large black letters. In the following year, however, four new banners were seen, carried by the painters, plasterers, bricklayers and bricklayers labourers societies. Two more banners were added in 1884, by the Federated Ironworkers and by the Eight-Hour Demonstration Committee itself.

The eight-hour demonstrations were at first confined to Auckland but in January 1885, in conjunction with the first meeting of the Trades and Labour Congress, Dunedin witnessed a union procession where, according to the *Otago Daily Times*, "the banners of the different organisations were flying". In 1890 Labour Demonstration Day was celebrated for the first time on a national scale, with union processions on 28 October in the four main centres, Napier and Palmerston North. 15 banners were observed in Auckland (where unions processed on 28 October as well as on 10 November), 12 in Wellington and 10 in Christchurch.

Most banners were homemade by gifted members of the union, or were the work of local signwriters. The Auckland painters' banner in 1883 was the work of JL Holland, the Wellington furniture workers' banner carried in 1890 was ascribed to one WG Baker, while another Wellingtonian, Walter Cantrell, was responsible for two banners in the 1890 procession, for the shipwrights' and tailors' societies. It is not clear whether Cantrell was an amateur or professional painter, but at least one professional artist, James Nairn, an instructor at the Wellington School of Design, was commissioned to design a new Wellington bakers' banner in 1892. Made of blue silk with a golden fringe, it depicted on one side two life-sized figures of bakers, peels in

Demonstration during the Wellington bakers' strike in July 1908. *Auckland Weekly News*, 16 July 1908. Roth Collection.





Exhibition installation view through banners. The verse introducing the Roth essay (see p23) is on the floor.

Seamen's Union Centennial banner, 1979. Courtesy Seamen's Union.



hand, working at a brick oven inscribed *Bread the Staff of Life*. The reverse side showed two young men weighing out bread. The size was 10 x 9 foot (3000 x 2750mm).

A good union banner not merely told members where to assemble at the start of the procession; it was also an affirmation of pride, a statement of purpose (often expressed in a short motto) and a call for support. The iconography had its origin in Britain where unions had adopted the imagery of ancient guilds, friendly societies and the church. Adam and Eve, for instance, the first people to wear clothes, figured traditionally on British tailors' banners: the image was derived, according to John Gorman, the historian of British union banners, from the armorial bearings of the Worshipful Company of Needlemakers. The biblical couple was shown in 1890 on the tailors societies banners in both Wellington and Auckland. Other biblical references were a text from Genesis to accompany Adam and Eve, and a picture of Noah's ark on a Dunedin shipwrights' banner in 1892.

Tradesmen, who were the first to gain the shorter working-day and who had initiated the eight-hour working-day processions, expressed pride in their craft with representations of their working tools and of the products of their skilled labour. Thus the Auckland iron workers' union banner of 1890 depicted an

1932 Christchurch May Day march. Caption: "Unemployed demonstration – Christchurch". *The Press*. Hocken Library, ref: E3254/72.







1938 Auckland Domain Labour re-election rally. Courtesy Auckland Tramways Union.

anvil, parts of a boiler and other articles typical of the metal trades. A painters' banner in 1884 showed brushes and palettes and the appropriate motto *We Strive to Adorn*.

In London at this time the firm of George Tutill dominated union banner production. Tutill visited New Zealand in 1881, but there was then no local union demand for his products. In 1896, however, the Tutill catalogue listed New Zealand among the many countries to which the firm exported banners, flags and regalia. The first New Zealand union body to place an order in London (presumably with Tutills) was the Auckland Eight-Hour Demonstration Committee, whose large square banner was unfurled in January 1884. Made of blue silk fringed with crimson, it showed a clockface emblazoned in gilt with an enormous figure *8* in the centre, surrounded by three segments labelled *Work*, *Play* and *Rest* respectively. The reverse side showed the same three divisions with appropriate emblems: a beehive for work, a billiard table for play and a bed for rest. The motto across the front read *United to Protest our Rights*, and across the back *United we Stand, Divided we Fall*. The cost was reported to be £60, a substantial sum in those days.

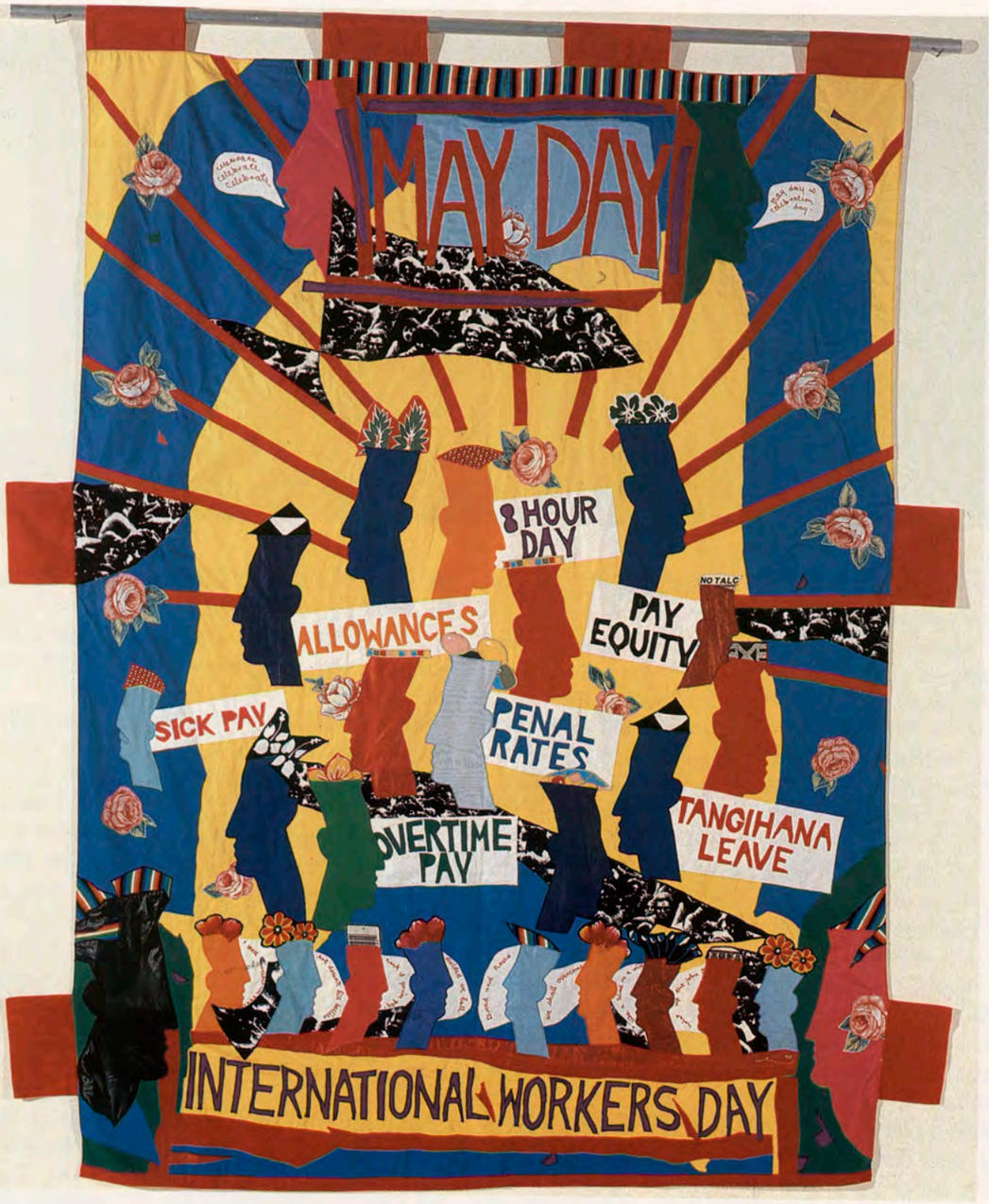
Two New Zealand unions, the carpenters' and engineers', operated as branches of large British societies and their banners used standardised designs from Britain. Local branches could order these banners from Tutills, merely adding their name at the bottom. Among the many figures shown on the engineers' banner was an angel holding laurel leaves above the heads of two tradesmen. The motto read *Be United and Industrious*. In May 1892 the Dunedin branch of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers ordered such a banner from London. The cost came to £25 3s and the new ensign was unfurled in the branch's club rooms that October, ready for the Labour Day procession.

The equally elaborate banner of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners featured Joseph of Nazareth at the top and the union's motto *Credo sed Caveo* (I Believe but I Beware). A banner with this design was carried by Auckland carpenters in 1890, but Wellington carpenters, though affiliated to the British society, carried a different design that year. Inscribed *Eight Hours a Day*, it showed two clockfaces, the hands of one pointing to 8 o'clock, the other to 5 o'clock, to indicate the standard working day from 8am to 5pm.

Unskilled or semi-skilled unions usually carried pictures of their place of work: ships for seamen, the wharf for watersiders, and goods sheds and vehicles for carpenters. A new banner of the Canterbury branch of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants in 1890 showed a railway engine, but also cameos of the different branches of the service: clerks, signals, engine-drivers, guards, maintenance and workshops. Three women symbolising wisdom, justice and truth presided at the top and clasped hands and with the motto *All Men are Brethren* proclaimed solidarity.

Banner mottoes too were largely derived from Britain. They frequently stressed unity, but the Christchurch Amalgamated Labour Union proclaimed in 1890 that *Labour is the True Source of Wealth*, while the Wellington Labour Union that year stated boldly, if in Latin, that *Labor Omnia Vincit* (Labour Conquers All). Clasped hands appeared as a symbol of unity, but not always of working class unity. The 1890 demonstrations took place in the dying stages of the great Maritime Strike, until then the most bitter industrial dispute in New Zealand. Wellington watersiders carried a banner with the clasped hands symbol and the motto *Defence not Defiance*, but the Lyttleton wharfies' banner, the work of a union member, showed a merchant and a labourer shaking hands and the inscription *Labour and Capital as They Should Be*.

Andrew Reeves, the historian of Australian union banners, noted the use of specifically Australian symbols, such as native plants and animals and the Southern Cross. It is not possible to tell from newspaper reports to what extent New Zealand symbols were used in this country. The inscriptions *Advance Auckland* (Plasterers, 1885) and *Advance New Zealand. 1840-1890* (Wellington bootmakers, 1890) were noted, and the banner of the Wellington railwaymen in 1890 incorporated a New Zealand flag. The Auckland tailors' banner in 1890 depicted a sheep carrying a New Zealand flag, a device possibly inspired by the lamb carrying a flag with a cross, which is traditional in Christian symbolism. The Christchurch Amalgamated Labour Union, on the other hand, was British to the core, carrying in 1890 a banner which incorporated the rose, shamrock and thistle. An example of the use of a Maori motif is a cameo in the 1889 banner for the Westport District Gold Miners' Industrial Union of Workers, which shows a miner shaking hands with a Maori chief.



Malcolm Harrison, Banner for Northern Hotel, Hospital and Restaurant Workers Union, 1990. Courtesy Northern Hotel, Hospital and Restaurant Workers Union.

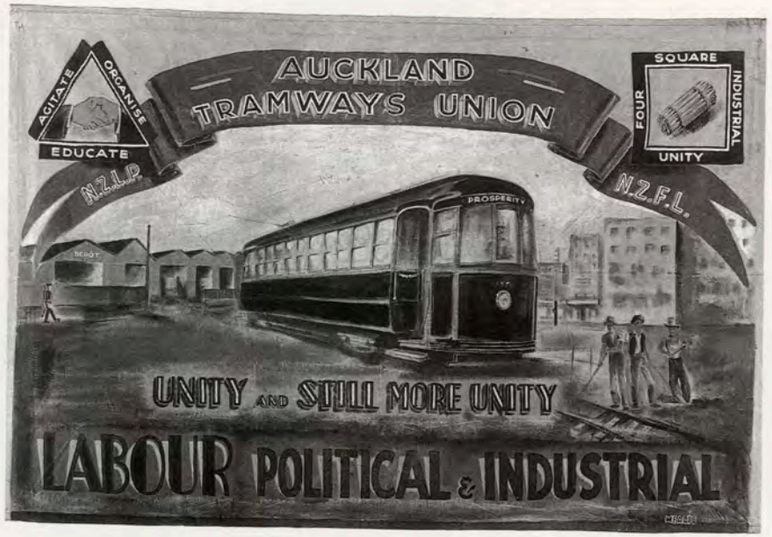


Christchurch Tinsmiths Union float, Labour Day procession, 10 October 1900. J Kinsey Collection, Canterbury Museum, ref: 19/2.

In the later 1890s the popularity of Labour Day declined. First Christchurch and then Auckland abandoned the processions and confined their celebrations to afternoon sports competitions and picnics, but in 1900, when Labour Day first became a statutory holiday, interest revived. Christchurch unions marched that year, Auckland resumed its procession, and soon smaller centres also took part: New Plymouth, Napier, Gisborne and the mining towns of Thames and Westport. The number of registered unions rose steeply, from 100 in 1898 to 202 in 1901, and new unions needed new banners.

The Westport gold miners' banner of 1889 is the oldest surviving banner. It was ordered from Tutills at a cost of about £40 and shows, beneath three symbolic goddesses, two miners with a Union Jack at their feet. This large silk banner was proudly carried in the Westport Labour Day processions, but even sixty years ago it had deteriorated to such an extent that it could be used for hall decorations only. In 1939 the Wellington Labourers' Union deposited the banner in the National Museum, where conservators are now working to restore it to its former glory. A banner of the Wellington Carpenters' Union, which was donated to the Alexander Turnbull Library, probably also dates from the turn of the century. A banner with the same (British) design was commissioned by the Auckland Carpenters' branch in 1903 from the local signwriting firm of Thomas Impey.

Labour Day processions were not the only occasions for banner display. In July 1908 the Wellington



Tramways Union banner, 1938. Courtesy Auckland Tramways Union.

Bakers' Union paraded its banner during a strike and Tom Mann, the British labour leader who happened to be visiting New Zealand, had his photo taken in front of the union ensign. Another photograph, taken at a dance in the Wellington Town Hall on the occasion of the 1913 Unity Congress, shows union banners hanging from the balcony, among them Nairn's bakers' banner.

During the 1913 waterfront strike Wellington seamen and watersiders paraded with their banners, while in Auckland a drivers' union banner led a procession to mark the first anniversary of the death of Fred Evans, who had been killed during the 1912 Waihi miners' strike. This drivers' banner is the oldest surviving banner in Auckland, still preserved by what is now the Northern Distribution Union. It carries the name of the union on both sides and a picture of a horse's head, which dates it to the time when most drivers drove horses rather than motorised transport. This is confirmed by the name of the makers, Williams & Green Ltd, a firm of signwriters active in Auckland before and during the first world war. The Auckland drivers' banner was brought out of retirement in September 1979 to head a general strike street march, but it is now in urgent need of repair.

The Labour Day processions ceased during the first world war, but the election of a Labour government in 1935 inspired the creation of some new banners. A few of them survive, but nearly all the hundred or more banners carried by New Zealand unionists over the past century have long disappeared. Very recently, however, there has been a revival of interest, partly inspired by an Auckland group, Art at Work, which has urged unions to commission banners from established artists.

Some of these new banners, the work of Malcolm Harrison and Sally Griffin, were carried in the Auckland May Day procession of 1990. They are modern in design, simple, almost bare when compared to the elaborate constructs of the Victorian era, but their function remains the same – to serve as a rallying point for union members and to proclaim the solidarity of labour in a society dominated by greed and selfishness. The call for unity is as relevant in 1990 as it was a century ago.

MURALS AND ORGANISED LABOUR

Peter and Dianne Beatson

Maori Wall Paintings

Maori cave painting, executed possibly in conjunction with the economic activities of hunting and gathering, has been preserved on our rocks for over six hundred years. Although its charcoal and ochre forms still largely remain as mysterious as the lives of those who painted them, they surely must stand at the head of the genealogy of this country's indigenous wall art.

Wall art, in the forms of tukutuku and carved panels in the whare whakairo, has also been a major feature of traditional Maori social and cultural life. In the nineteenth century, this traditional wall art was given a new vigour and new political urgency by the introduction of European techniques, technology and visual images as well as by the conflicts that arose when conventional patterns of Maori ownership and work were disrupted by the advent of capitalism.

For over a century, the walls of meeting houses, temples, churches and public halls have been inscribed with art which combines canoe legends, ancestral figures, local topography, vignettes from the tribal past, gods, spirits, monsters and symbolic geometrical patterns on the one hand with naturalistic Western images drawn from books, magazines and events of contemporary social and political life on the other. Under the influence of prophets such as Te Kooti, Rua Kanana and Ratana, defiant Old Testament symbolism, which links the struggles of the Maori against the British with the captivity and hopes for liberation of the Jewish people, are often woven into these wall paintings.

Such works combine a number of functions relevant to our theme. They preserve the continuity of Maori identity while at the same time revitalising that energy by absorbing Western influences and turning these to the ends of the tangata whenua. They represent points of resistance to the



Restored wall panels in Rongopai, Te Pao marae.

encroachments of international capital and its expropriation of Maori land. Finally, the very act of creating and subsequently restoring them is in itself an example of the communal organisation of collective labour required in all mural art.

One striking example is Rongopai which was created in the 1870s for Te Kooti, restored a hundred years later and enshrined in literature by Witi Ihimaera. Amongst its rich mixture of traditional Maori and contemporary European imagery, the house includes pictures of Hamiora Pere, hanged by the colonial government for alleged participation in



Mural, Te Arawa Maori Trust Building, Rotorua. The mural symbolises the voyage of the Arawa canoe from Hawaiki to Aotearoa.

Te Kooti's guerilla war, and Wi Pere, who took the fight against land confiscations into the Pakeha parliament.

Maori participation in the creation of public wall art has been given new, if backhanded, impetus in the prolonged economic recession that began around 1974. Having become both urbanised and in large part proletarianised, young Maori people have figured heavily amongst the major victims of contemporary unemployment, regional decline and urban blight. Being thus massively over-represented amongst the ranks of the dispossessed working class, young Maori people also figured largely amongst those targeted by temporary work or work training schemes whose activities included the creation of murals.

The most public of all mural statements of Maori identity, political struggle and drive for economic

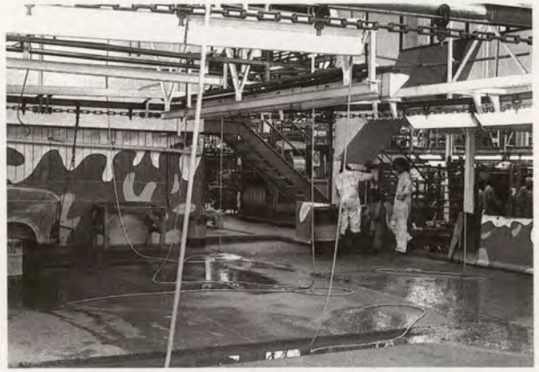
Mural, Naenae Railway Station, 1985-86. Strata Arts Work Trust. Design, Jeff Brown.



autonomy was painted by Para Matchitt in 1989 on the wall of the Pathfinder publishing house in New York (p.111). A 75-foot representation of Te Kooti's battle pennant *Te Wepu Kooti* is spread out amongst other images of defiance to Western colonialism and international capitalism in the very city which has itself come to symbolise Western and capitalist hegemony. Maori wall art today is less self-effacing than that of the ancestors who inscribed their enigmatic petroglyphs on remote rocks at the dawn of human habitation in Aotearoa.



Mural, Wainuiomata, Bus Shelter, 1986. Strata Arts Work Trust. Design, Para Matchitt.



Mural, General Motors, Trentham, 1982. David Waterman, Terry Archer, Environmental Art.

Subsidised Work Schemes and Community Art

Maori people comprised many but by no means all the clients of temporary work, job subsidies or work training schemes which were put in place to cope with the problem of rising unemployment. Particularly under the Project Employment Programmes (PEP) of the first half of the 1980s, there was a flowering of mural painting akin to that which occurred in the United States in the 1930s under the Federal Art Project of the Works Project Administration scheme and again in the United States and elsewhere from the late 1960s.

PEP involved the forging of various alliances between regional and community arts councils, local authorities, the Labour Department, business firms, art galleries, established artists and the unemployed. A number of different motives were linked, sometimes fruitfully, sometimes uneasily, in their conception and execution. These included developing craft expertise, learning skills of self and business management and promotion, keeping potential criminals occupied, brightening up urban concrete deserts, making institutions like hospitals more cheerful, promoting civic pride, attracting tourists and helping out impecunious artists. In some cases, as in the work co-ordinated by Gary Collins in Christchurch, the main beneficiaries were young art students. In other cases, as in the Hutt Valley schemes co-ordinated by Pauline Harper, the focus was more on the *hard core* unemployed from the manual working class. A team of the latter, having created a successful mural for the Naenae subway went on to form the Strata Arts Work Trust which amongst other work decorated the bus shelters of Wainuiomata on a contract administered by the local council and subsidised by the Labour Department. The Wainuiomata bus shelters, many of which were designed by professional artists, generated considerable local controversy and the first to be executed, designed by Debra Bustin, was vandalised.

In Auckland, the ARTWORK scheme which was active from 1982 included the painting of a number of murals, some on city streets, others in places like Carrington and National Women's Hospital.

The spate of mural painting generated as a by-product of mounting unemployment petered out

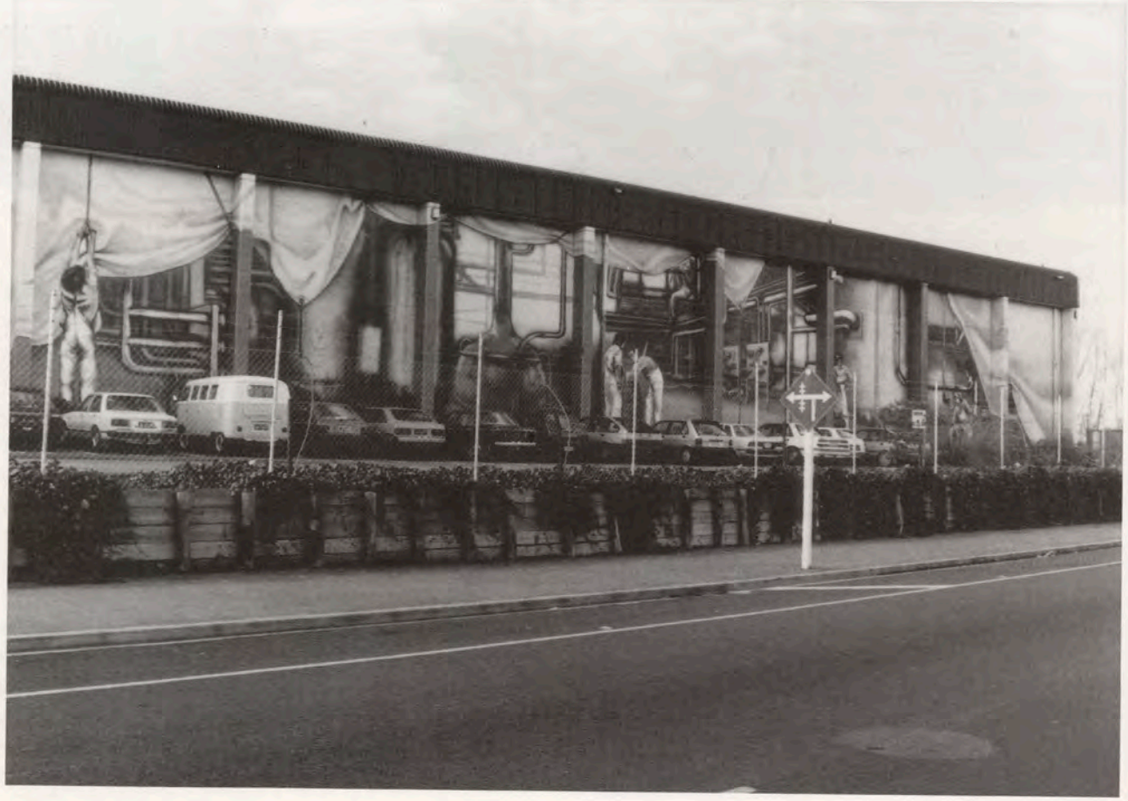
when PEP was replaced by work training schemes such as Access and Maccess, even though mural painting still on occasions figured on those programmes. In the PEP heyday the achievements were mixed. Murals – some splendid, some banal – were created, apprentice artists out of art school got work and learned practical business skills, a number of working class unemployed people developed talents, made contacts and gained self-respect, while communities and institutions started to get accustomed to encountering works of art in their everyday lives. Art, in fact, was given a helping hand out of its gallery ghetto and into mainstream social life.

At the same time, however, a number of problems remained unresolved. That mythic beast *the community* did not always appreciate the art that was foisted onto it. The socially dispossessed



Mural, Construction Site, Civic Centre Wellington, 1989. Ace of Arts, Pippa Sanderson.

Mural, Dominion Breweries, Christchurch. Tim Croucher/Richard Fahey.



Peter and Dianne Beatson

sometimes remained cynical of the attempts being made by the middle class establishment to offer them redemption through culture. Established artists on occasions continued to pursue private aesthetic lines of development rather than thinking and acting out the implications of community art. In spite of reservations, however, the country did benefit from these makeshift attempts to stay the wound in the flank of the work force. Indirectly, a little progress was made towards the acceptance of art as *real* work.

Murals at the Work Place

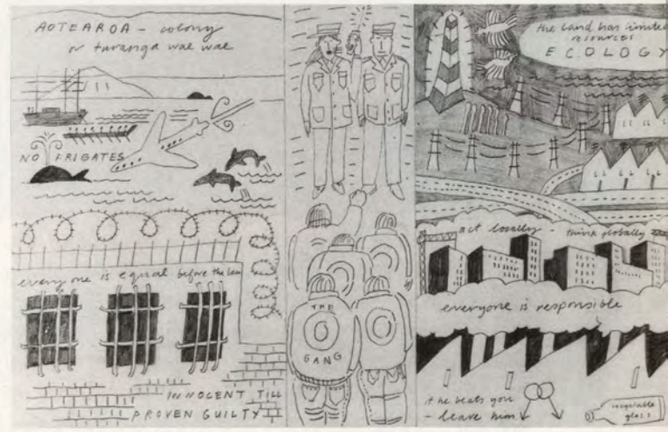
Murals have begun to proliferate particularly since the 1980s in the urban milieu which constitutes the immediate environment where organised labour is carried on. Sometimes instigated by public art galleries and local arts councils but also frequently promoted by business firms as a form of PR or commercial advertising, these murals are painted by a variety of different groups from school children to professional artists. In content they range from decorative whimsies to social and political statements but they do not as yet typically incorporate images of labour itself. A particularly well-known, if ephemeral, form of this art is that which appears on hoardings or fences around construction sites in our main cities. The Civic Centre construction site in downtown Wellington, for instance, is surrounded by a wide range of such murals, co-ordinated by Leanne Christopher. In style, some of these are reminiscent of the *bombing* and *writing* that had its origins in New York subways in the 1970s and has since become an international mode of urban folk art. It would seem, however, that unionists themselves – the people who actually work on the construction sites – have not tapped into the potential of this very public art form. The running is in large part still being made by the capital side of the labour/capital divide.

Men and Women at Work

A paradox of the murals just mentioned, like those surrounding construction sites, is that while they are part of the environment of people at work, their indirect function is to distract attention from the ugly,



Unions Are People, 1988. Mural, Trades Hall, Invercargill. Realised on a Department of Labour Access scheme through Southland Polytechnic. Photograph, Richard Fraser.



Sketch for unrealised Mural, Lower Hutt Police Station, 1990. Design, Basia Smolnecki.

raw facts of labour. A fourth category of murals, however, is explicitly intended to foreground the actual working lives of members of the labour force.

In Invercargill at the instigation of Mrs Illa Fraser, a mural on the theme *Unions Are People* was painted in the late 1980s by an Access team on a wall at the back of Trades Hall with the financial backing of the Southern Regional Arts Council and the Combined



The Beginning of Organised Settlement, 1940 (detail), Mural. Design, FH Conventry.

Trade Unions. The initial inspiration for this work came from an awareness of the exciting union murals which have been created in Australia. Local unionists were at first dubious about the scheme, sharing a widespread scepticism about the relevance of "Art" to the lives of real working people. Scepticism gave way to enthusiasm once the mural got under way.

A Lower Hutt Community Arts Council project had a less happy outcome. At the request of the local police, a mural was designed for a wall of the police station, depicting the realities of police work in a social environment where criminality is in part generated by unemployment. At the time of writing, this project had been stalled by an officer further up the line who apparently felt that the mural contained a political statement critical of government policies.

Industrial and Class Struggle

If the intention of the censorship of the police mural mentioned above was to avoid controversy, our final examples of mural art take controversy and conflict as their central theme. It is only a short step from depicting people's working lives to depicting the conflict which always potentially exists between organised labour on the one hand and organised capital on the other.

Some such works celebrate moments or leaders in the history of our local New Zealand labour movement. Sally Griffin and John Walsh, for instance, have turned Harry Holland and Jock Barnes into working class heroes who stand alongside other near-legendary giants of the liberation struggles such as Castro, Mandela, Malcolm X and even Marx himself on the wall of the Pathfinder building.

In other works, the indigenous class conflict in Aotearoa/New Zealand has been symbolically placed within a wider framework provided by the mythology of a cosmic struggle between the forces of oppression and those of liberation. Around 1943, Guy and Judy Harding executed a series of nine large panels in the Unity Centre in Wellington. Based upon Marxist-Leninist ideals of socialist liberation and in part inspired by the work of the Mexican Diego Rivera, they include a representative of the most exploited member of our own working class, the Maori woman (p.110). After the Second World War, these murals disappeared for many years to be rediscovered finally in a badly damaged condition. Other similar panels executed by Judy Harding for the Christchurch Communist Party



Mural, Pathfinder Building. New York, 1989 (detail). Harry Holland by Sally Griffin, Jock Barnes by John Walsh. Photograph, Sally Griffin.

were even less fortunate, consigned to a bonfire after being stored in a garage for many years. Lois White's 1945 mural *Controversy* (p.111) suffered the same fate when the Workers Education Association (WEA) building in which it was painted went up in flames.

Sally Griffin, influenced both by Latin muralists such as Rivera and by the local tradition of Maori folk art, has also created allegorical murals symbolising the universal struggle between the forces of oppression, as typified particularly by American imperialism, and socialism. In her mural *Birth of Our Power*, currently housed in the Auckland Trades Union Centre, the forces of destruction are slowly opposed, then transcended, by the forces of life and revolution which volcanically triumph in the final panel.

Griffin's own work has itself not been immune to the forces of destruction. A large historical mural she created at Forum North in Whangarei was destroyed when the wall on which it was painted was knocked down. In spite (perhaps because) of being so big, so bold and so public, murals are extremely vulnerable. The concern in conservation that is shown for *high* art is not always forthcoming when murals are at risk.

Almost behind our backs, a tradition of wall painting has developed in Aotearoa/New Zealand. We shall conclude by cautiously suggesting that while



Aotearoa Mural, Whangarei, 1981 (detail). Design, Sally Griffin.

commercial firms, as well as arts councils, artists and some community groups, have now become alive to the potential of mural paintings, trade unionists have not always been so enthusiastic about directing that potential to the ends of the labour movement. In spite of the fact that the arts are palpably a form of authentic human labour, unionists can still today be dismissive of what they alternatively regard as the frivolous or elitist connotations of art. On the other hand, artists themselves may be guilty of turning their eyes away from the concerns of those whose lives are so constrained by brute economic necessity that they have little time left to cultivate a taste for *fine* art. Yet the symbiosis of art and the union movement across the Tasman should encourage us to abandon our suspicions and create a working alliance in this country between the industrial and the aesthetic branches of organised labour.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. M Al-Chalabi, *Popular Mural Art in Venezuela*. (Caracas, Venezuela: BP, 1987).
2. Dianne and Peter Beatson, *Arts Database*. (Palmerston North, New Zealand: Massey University, 1990).
3. Ian Burn, *Working Art: A survey of art in the Australian labour movement in the 1980s*. (Sydney: Art Gallery of New South Wales, 1985).
4. Sylvia Calles (compiler and translator), *Art & Revolution, David Alfaro Siqueiros*. (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1975).
5. Henry Chalfant and James Prigoff, *Spraycan Art*. (London: Thames and Hudson, 1987).
6. Eva Cockroft et al, *Towards a People's Art*. (New York: EP Dutton, 1977).
7. F Coventry, "Murals for Government Court NZ Centennial Exhibition" in *Art in New Zealand Quarterly* vol XII no 1, pp30-35.
8. Charles Fearnley, "Sculptures and Murals in Public Buildings" in *New Zealand Institute of Architects Journal* September 1973.
9. Philip S Foner and Reinhard Schultz (eds), *The Other America: Art and the Labour Movement in the United States*. (Federal Republic of Germany: Journeyman Press, 1985).
10. Eric Lee-Johnson, "A Prophet with Honour" in *Art in New Zealand* vol 15 no2, pp16-17.
11. Ian McMillan, "Artwork: An Experiment in Art for the Community" in *Art in New Zealand* 28, pp40-41.
12. Sam Manuel, "Maori artist paints on New York Mural" in *The Militant* vol 53 no32, p8.
13. Philip Pocock and Gregory Battock, *The Obvious Illusion: Murals from the Lower East Side*. (New York: George Braziller, 1980).
14. DA Siqueiros, *Lectures to Artists: New University Thought*. (1962).
15. Orlando Suatez, *David Alfaro Siqueiros: A Guide to the Study of his Life and Work*. (Arte Publico, 1969).
16. Alan Taylor, *Maori Folk Art*. (Auckland: Century Hutchinson, 1988).

DENNIS KNIGHT TURNER – ARTIST

Rob Taylor

Information on Dennis Knight Turner, of Knight, as he often signed himself, is fragmentary. My purpose here is to draw wider attention to Turner's art. He has been treated as a marginal figure, a mere footnote in New Zealand's art history. Yet, for the 20 years to 1963, he should stand at the centre of the story. But just as ambitious artistic ideas were gaining a following in this country, Turner left New Zealand, bitter and disillusioned. Once gone, it would seem, he was soon forgotten.

The first subsequent effort to give Turner his due (that I am aware of) came from Peter Vuletic who, in March 1978 at his Petar/James Gallery in Auckland, presented *Dennis Knight Turner 1945-1962*, an exhibition of eleven small paintings. The check list states the artist "was born in 1924 in Wanganui. He was largely self-taught. In the 1940s and early 1950s he had close contact with Gordon Walters and Theo Schoon. In the mid/late 1950s he was very much part of the Auckland art scene. He left New Zealand in 1963 because of his lack of recognition as a professional artist. His present whereabouts are unknown. Turner must be ranked as one of the pioneers of abstract art in New Zealand."

"Whatever happened to . . ." opens TJ McNamara's review of that exhibition. He notes that Turner "dissatisfied . . . went to Australia, then to England and disappeared into obscurity." The reviewer concludes that "the show is interesting to historians of art in New Zealand as an indication of what might have been in several different ways".[1]

Vuletic wanted to promote Turner as a pioneer abstractionist which indeed he was. McNamara hints there were several significant aspects to his work which was true. *Art and Organised Labour* defines Turner as a painter close to the Trade Union movement which, indeed, he was. But just as Vuletic, an enthusiast for formal abstraction, was not interested in promoting Turner the unionist, so Turner, the abstractionist, could be overlooked by the union historian. Turner's art must be rediscovered in its entirety.

Turner sought to be a worker-artist. He wanted his art to matter socially and politically, yet also to be forward looking. He made art that spoke out on the social and industrial rights of ordinary folk, in a readily understandable illustrative story-telling style. He made other paintings utilising modern styles. In this he sought to define landscape experience in abstract forms and to develop a new art of bicultural influences, for a proud sophisticated modernism specific to New Zealand.

Dennis Knight Turner. Front cover illustration *People's Voice*, Auckland, 15 January 1947.





Dennis Knight Turner murals, 5 panels, 1948.
1. *Labourers*. Courtesy Northern Branch, New Zealand Labourers Union, Auckland.

Yet in the standard books on New Zealand art, only Keith and Brown's 1969 text, *New Zealand Painting,* makes any reference to Turner at all. Misspelling his name the reference reads: "Also active in these years was Denis Knight Turner. From 1947, he held a number of exhibitions which included landscape, portraits, drawings of animals and works based on Oceanic motifs. His style lent toward an expressionist type of realism with a disposition for the exotic. At the close of the 1940s he was living at Waitomo but later shifted to Auckland."[2]

That brief comment does not look beyond the check lists of gallery exhibitions and disregards the efforts Turner made to use his talents in the service of the union movement.

Turner drew many illustrations and cartoons for *Challenge*, the journal of the Labourers' Union, and designed covers for booklets published by that union, such as RAK Mason's commentary on the Cook Islands *Frontier Forsaken*. In the weeks following the end of war in Europe, he produced a series of three illustrations on "New Zealand at Work" for *The Peoples Voice*. And he painted the most ambitious large scale figural compositions then being attempted in New Zealand. Most of these were on the theme of work and work places. Turner's perception of the industry of the ordinary folk was global and multi-racial. Some of these paintings had an international cast of characters. Others were for specific local industries. Five that were done for trade unions in 1948 were shown together, for the first time ever, in the exhibition *Art and Organised Labour*.

Turner commenced his artistic career by running away from home, from Wanganui to Wellington, as a fourteen year old, in 1939.[3] He found work in commercial art, and attended evening art classes at the Wellington Technical College.



2. *Transport Workers*. Courtesy Northern Distribution Union, Auckland.

Gordon Walters, five years his senior, was also working in commercial art in Wellington, and attending evening classes at the Art School. In 1939 Walters exhibited for the first time (at the New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts in Wellington). That same year, following the outbreak of war, the Indonesian-born Dutch painter Theo Schoon arrived in Wellington from Java.

Walters had started evening classes in 1936, the year the National Art Gallery opened and – more importantly for this story – the Dominion Museum, with its Maori Hall. The impact of Maori art on Walters led him into books on African art, Surrealism, Paul Klee, and on the influence of Oceanic and African art on modern European artists. In 1941, Walters met the Dutch artist Theo Schoon in Wellington. Walters joined Schoon on two of the painter's expeditions to study Maori rock drawings.[4] A photo from about 1942 shows, grouped before an easel in the cellar of the Wellington YMCA, Schoon, Walters, and the young Dennis Knight Turner.[5] Turner had, therefore, from the outset of his career, the friendship of artists with interests in modern and Oceanic influences.

However, in the work, in which he placed his talents in the service of the wider public, the messages had to be intelligible and graphically clear. The British muralist Frank Brangwyn would typify the influences Turner looked to in developing his own boldly drawn and confidently figural compositions.[6]

Without equal among New Zealand artists for insightful skill in depicting *typical kiwis*, later, in the early sixties, Turner also painted rural labour, shearers and gum diggers. He was the obvious choice to illustrate Barry Crump's first four books.[7]

From the 1940s, he also painted Maori subjects. But where other Pakeha artists typically looked to Maori life and culture as a source for remote, exotic

or condescendingly quaint stories for stylised illustration, Turner could depict aspects of Maori life, work, and ritual, with genuinely dignified sympathy. In 1963, he exhibited a series of paintings which looked to the Maori view of European colonisation: *The Historic Defence of the Maori at Kororareka*. The present whereabouts of most of that series is unknown. In the same year he also published *Tangi*, a narrative sequence of 42 pages of drawings.[8] Meantime, from the early 1950s, he had also been painting his sophisticated blendings of Maori and other Oceanic and modernist influences.

Turner's solo shows included one in Wellington at the Centre Gallery in September 1956. In that same year he was one of the 112 artists in the 112 work survey *New Zealand Painting: 1788 to 1956*, presented by the Auckland City Art Gallery. But rather than selecting from his more recent progressive works, Turner was represented by a small oil, *Old Lady*, of 1947.[9]



3. *Unity*. Courtesy Northern Branch, New Zealand Labourers Union, Auckland.



Dennis Knight Turner, *Shearer 5*, 1962. Oil on hardboard. Eric Scholes Collection, The Bath-House, Rotorua's Art and History Museum.



4. *Carpenters and Builders*. Courtesy Midland Branch, New Zealand Building Trades Union, Hamilton.

Auckland's first contemporary art dealership was Peter Webb's Argus House Gallery which lasted almost a year from July 1957. This was followed by The Gallery (Symonds Street) which opened in May 1960 and changed its name to the Ikon Gallery the following year. Turner had a solo show at the Ikon in February 1961.

In the same year Michael Illingworth arrived in New Zealand for the second time. Back in England Illingworth had been attracted to painting while employed by an art dealer. In March 1962 Illingworth had a solo show at Ikon Gallery. Illingworth painted little figures not dissimilar to those first developed in Turner's Oceanic modernism a decade earlier. But where Turner's figures were painted with diversely subtle nuances of handling, emphasising the abstract flatness of the painted surface, Illingworth turned these figures into little gnomes in the soon so-popular smoothed and crafted local regional style typified by himself and others, such as Don Binney.

In 1968, the Auckland City Art Gallery presented a survey of *Ten Years of New Zealand Painting in Auckland, 1958-1967* with catalogue introductions by Hamish Keith and Gordon H Brown. Among the 96 paintings in that 1968 Auckland survey there were four by Binney, three by Illingworth, one by Schoon, two by Walters – and nothing from Turner.[10]

But by 1981, following Vuletic's insistent promotion of Turner in 1978, and the subsequent purchase of examples of Turner's work for some public collections, Turner, the painter, could no longer be overlooked. Turner was included in the touring exhibition *New Zealand Painting 1940-1960 : Conformity and Dissension*, selected by Gordon H Brown and James Mack. There, Turner was represented by a very fine 1952 example of his Oceanic style from the Dowse Art Museum collection.[11] Yet in Brown's text, Turner's name is only noted in a short list of some of the painters involved in the



Contemporary Artists group who had exhibited at the Auckland City Art Gallery in 1950 and 1951.[12]

In reviewing that group's first exhibition, ARD Fairburn suggested it offered "perhaps the first substantial evidence that the Victorian Age may be drawing to its close in New Zealand, and the 20th Century beginning." The commentary concluded: "Some of this work is merely 'promising'. Most of it shows a degree of achievement, and a liveliness of invention, that makes one think that something is really beginning to 'happen' in New Zealand painting."[13] But the short list of painters in Brown's brief reference to this group is misleading. It was not just a group of painters. Nor had it been initiated by painters. Its first president, W Mansill, and his successor, Frank Hofmann, were both photographers,[14] and, as a recent touring exhibition of his art should have made clear, Hofmann, a Jewish refugee from Czechoslovakia who arrived in 1940, had as advanced an understanding of modern visual art as anybody in New Zealand at that time.

5. *Engineers*. Courtesy Engineering and Related Trades Industrial Union of Workers, Auckland.

Hofmann's knowledge would have been of benefit to various progressive members of the group, including Milan Mrkusich. The extent and importance of Hofmann's diverse involvement in the arts is another matter yet to be recognised.[15]

Turner contributed six experimental collages to the group's 1950 exhibition. One of these – McCahon enthusiasts should note – was titled *I Am Lazarus*.[16]

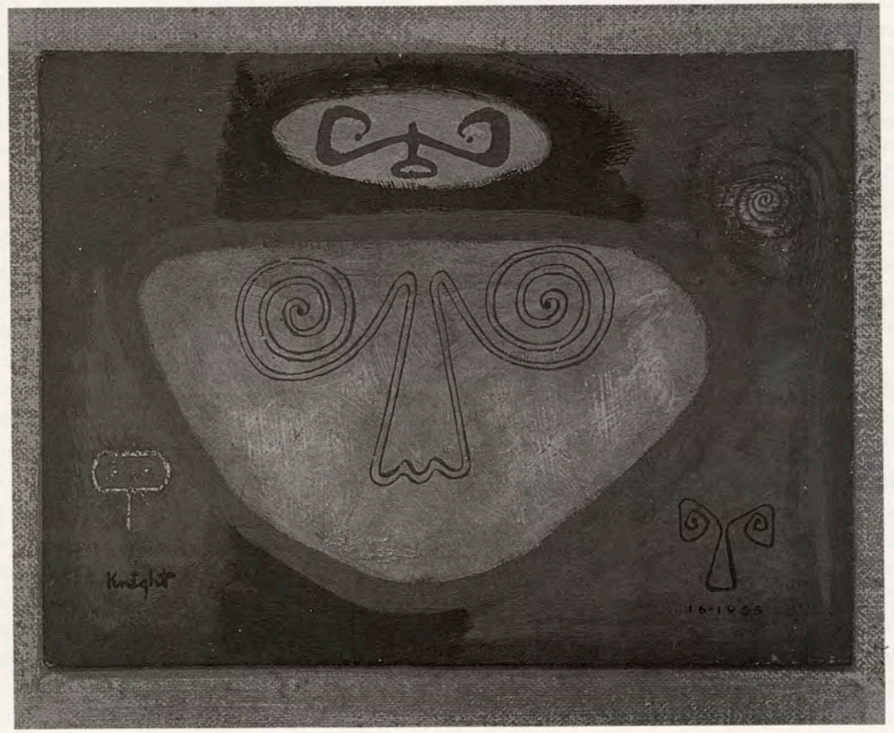
Concurrent with the formation of the Contemporary Artists group, various of its members and associates were also involved in setting up the challenging magazine *Here and Now*. Hofmann and Turner were both on its founding editorial panel, as was ARD Fairburn. Hofmann provided a photograph for its first issue, October 1949, and Turner provided illustrations, including, in collaboration with Eric Lee-Johnson, the cover.

My intention here has been to open a complex set of interconnected compartments that have been overlooked or inadequately considered in the preliminary writing of New Zealand's art history. From these mere preliminary glances inside, I hope it will be clear that the content of these compartments does warrant careful attention. And, of course, there are other complexities too. For example, Turner was fined for painting in public view on the sabbath, 24 June 1951 (working on a mural about public transport through the ages on the wall of a motorcycle shop in Karangahape Road). The judge had decided Turner was a tradesman rather than an artist.[17] The painter, of course, had originally planned a career in which he could simultaneously be both.

In January 1964, he and his wife went off into exile.[18] Turner left some 60 art works in Rotorua, in the care of Eric Scholes, who stored them in his garage, and eventually lodged them with the Rotorua Art and History Museum. Evidently, through this windfall of art (which I presume still actually belongs to the artist) that institution has been corresponding with Turner for the last five years. In London, Turner has continued his career, illustrating and painting. (The Rotorua Museum has photographs of his recent work.)

Dennis Knight Turner has been negligently disregarded in New Zealand's art history so far. Yet for an extraordinary diversity of reasons he has to be recognised as one of its essential figures. He has been marginalised. He belongs at the centre. He left vowing never to return. We need to invite him back. We need to honour him. And we need to hear his story. I trust this introduction will soon be hopelessly out of date. For once Turner's achievements are fully noted, it will be impossible to ignore him.

Dennis Knight Turner, *Abstract Painting with Polynesian Motifs*, 1953. Oil on board. 300 × 400mm, frame 480 × 530mm. Courtesy Bank of New Zealand, Wellington.



NOTES

1. TJ McNamara, "'Lost' Artist Showed Way", *New Zealand Herald*, 22 March 1978.
2. Hamish Keith and Gordon H Brown, *An Introduction to New Zealand Painting 1839-1967*, p147. For an example of the artist's portraiture, see "Portrait of Eric McCormick", *Art New Zealand* 33, p7.
3. Ann Somerville, "A legacy of art by NZ artist in exile", *The Daily Post*, Rotorua, 13 December 1989.
4. Michael Dunn, *Gordon Walters*, (Auckland City Art Gallery, 1983), p123.
5. Leonard Bell, "Putting the Record Straight", *Art New Zealand* 27, p43.
6. For comparison, there are six Frank Brangwyn murals in New Zealand. Dated 1916-17, they were bought in 1951. Four are in Dunedin, and two at the National Art Gallery in Wellington.
7. *A Good Keen Man, Hang On a Minute Mate, One of Us, There and Back.*
8. Leonard Bell, *The Maori in European Art* (1980), p130.
9. PA Tomory, *New Zealand Painting*, (Auckland City Art Gallery, 1956), p26.
10. The connection and contrast between Knight's and Illingworth's painting was recently illustrated in Wellington City Art Gallery's *Now See Hear*, with a typical Illingworth hung beside Knight's *Abstract Painting with Polynesian Motifs* of 1953.
11. Gordon H Brown, *New Zealand Painting 1940-1960: Conformity and Dissension*, illustrated p82.
12. Ibid pp47-48.
13. ARD Fairburn, "What Would Gladstone Say in 1950", *NZ Listener*, 7 July 1950.
14. Typed membership list of 12 July 1950, with handwritten alterations. (Copy: NAG Resource Centre).
15. Peter Ireland, *Object & Style: Photographs from four decades – 1930s to 1960s by Frank Hofmann*, national touring exhibition, 1989-90. (Wellington: National Art Gallery, 1989).
16. Contemporary Artists: Exhibition 1 catalogue, (introduction by MK Joseph). Exhibition 2 catalogue lists three works from D Knight Turner: *Tohunga*, and *Ruakutia* (oil), and *Toa* (coloured ink).
17. Jim and Mary Barr, *When Art Hits the Headlines*, (National Art Gallery, 1987), pp13,20.
18. Eric Lee-Johnson, (member of the Contemporary Artists group), a letter to the Secretary of the National Art Gallery, of *Dennis Turner Biographical Notes* from information supplied to Lee-Johnson by Eric Scholes, 11 November 1965. (This letter notes Turner's time at Waitomo, as a guide at the caves, as in 1954).

DANGER, MILITANTS AT WORK UNION STRUGGLES IN DOCUMENTARY FILM AND VIDEO, 1976-85

Russell Campbell

In *Lockout* (1976), the South Pacific Television documentary on the 1951 waterfront dispute, a sequence of photographs of police breaking up gatherings of unionists in the street is accompanied by a commentary which states: "In Wellington and Auckland there were ugly clashes with police." The voice is male, authoritative, anonymous. It conveys no emotion except a slight distaste for this disfiguring social spectacle. The phraseology betrays a perspective: "ugly" is a spectator's word, the sort of term sports commentators apply (or used to) to punch-ups on the field, not a word that's likely to spring to mind if you're being bludgeoned by a cop.

There are other aspects to this film by George Andrews which, admirable as it is within its context, mark it as a *television* documentary. The voice-over not only adopts a position outside the struggle, but also presumes to make judgements on the watersiders' leader: "the attitudes he represented did little to soften the bitterness or the drawn-out nature of the struggle"; "that same unyielding quality distanced Jock Barnes from the men he represented."[1] In the hierarchy of discourses this narration is at the top: interviewees, including Barnes himself, may proffer opinions, but the voice of the film itself knows the *truth*.[2] There is balance of a sort, too: opposite Barnes is the port employers' representative, a man of the other extreme who speaks of destroying the union as a necessary piece of surgery – leaving space at the centre, in a familiar liberal rhetorical ploy, for the voice of reason and moderation, in this case Jim Knox (revealingly applied with FP Walsh). And despite its title, this film is actually a specimen of that familiar journalistic genre, the personality profile: it shows Jock Barnes 25 years on as racing man at Avondale, family man on his wedding anniversary, and, its final devaluing of the historical and political in favour of the personal, Jock Barnes alone on the wharves, walking his dog under a ship called *Unity*.[3]

At Vanguard Films, a group which three of us in Wellington (Rod Prosser, Alister Barry and I) formed in 1979, we rejected television documentary as a form in the conviction that its apparent neutrality, objectivity, and balance disguised a class position: justification for and endorsement of the capitalist status quo. Seeing, with Marx, history as struggle, we were determined that the trade union films we had begun work on should wear their oppositional politics openly, be unequivocally committed – like the new documentaries coming out of the United States, *Harlan County USA, Union Maids, With Babies and Banners* – to the working class who were their subject.[4]

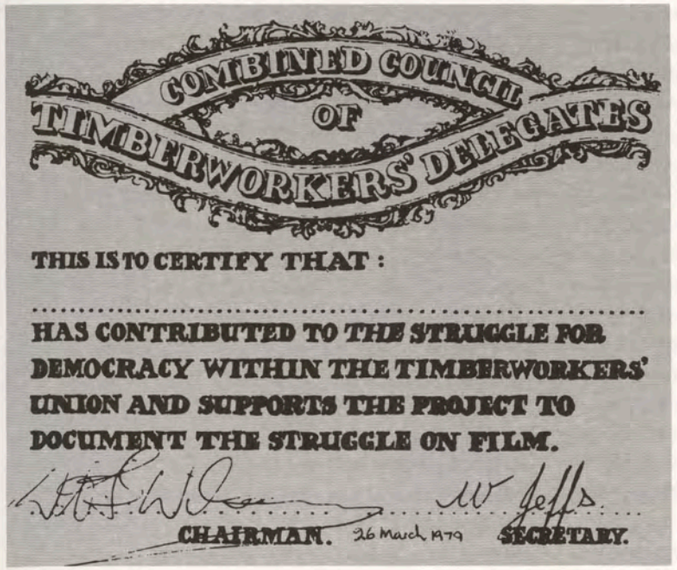
I don't recall now if we were familiar with *Lockout* at the time, but I do know that when we first saw *The Hammer and the Anvil* (Gerd Pohlmann and Merata Mita, 1980), "a trade union history of New Zealand", we reacted strongly against its know-it-all commentary, the presumption of that middle-class voice speaking for working-class experience. (Perhaps the fact that the film was largely funded by television had something to do with it.) The old-timers talking in the workingmen's club of hard times during the Depression and the battle of '51, Johnny Mitchell strolling round Freeman's Bay



Wellington Media Collective, *Wildcat* film poster for Combined Council of Timberworkers Delegates. Courtesy Wellington Media Collective.



Still from *Wildcat*, Vanguard Films NZ 1981. 73 mins. 16mm film. Courtesy Vanguard Films.



Contribution card for Combined Council of Timberworkers Delegates recording support for the *Wildcat* film project.

describing what a working-class community was like – these were marvellous; but that pompous, condescending voice-over almost cancelled it all out, telling us how confused "we" were, how we were faltering, "puzzled" by redundancy and retraining, condemned to "gluing old shibboleths to new reality". As if this weren't bad enough, the film repeatedly positioned workers simply as victims, likened, in the iconic images of the blacksmith's forge, to molten steel being pounded and flattened. (It was not even the forces of capital doing the pounding: the narrative tells us that at the start that for working men and women "the hammer is the world which confronts them and the anvil is the tradition which they inherit.")

In *A Century of Struggle*, which we made at that time for the New Zealand Seamen's Union, we adopted a different approach. While acknowledging the tremendous battering the union had taken in the industrial upheavals of 1890, 1913 and 1951 (as well as the more limited strike of 1922-23), we emphasised the resilience of the men and the staying power of their organisation. The narration was as if spoken by a militant seaman, passionate and partisan. Our ambition, in addition to providing a unionist perspective on the industrial struggles of the past and an analysis of organisational strengths and shortcomings (especially the dictatorship wielded by FP Walsh), was to document seamen at work. This was readily enough done for the contemporary sequences (even if on the more automated ships actual work took a bit of ferreting out). For the historical sections, however, we were dependent on a severely inadequate archive of drawings and paintings, still photographs and vintage film footage; in researching we were made acutely aware of what little this country has in the way of visual records of people's working lives. Were it not for some crucial footage of seamen aboard a coastal vessel filmed by Cecil Holmes for a National Film Unit documentary in 1948 we would have been really scraping the barrel.[5] Throughout the production the relationship with our sponsors was close and supportive. The film was completed in 1981, the only point of difference turning out to be the title: we suggested the less prosaic *Working to Windward* (referring back to Conrad Bollinger's history of the union, *Against the Wind)*, but on this the Seamen's Union got its way.

The problem with *A Century of Struggle* was trying to compress a hundred years and more into 40 minutes. History in being summarised was trivialised. For *Wildcat* the other film we made at this time, a study of the timberworkers' strike of 1977, it was different: being able to devote 73 minutes to the happenings of just a few months was luxury. In the film, not without a lot of hard work, we were able to dispense with voice-over narration entirely, and the effect was positive. The partisan politics were there, of course, in the structuring of the narrative and in the account of the struggle for democracy in the union put forward by our two main "characters", Willie Wilson and Bernie Hornfeck (both members of the Communist Party of New Zealand). But the audience were not force-fed the leftwing line, as they were in *A Century of Struggle*; instead they were able to accept or reject the interpretation of events offered, since all statements were made by identified individuals on-screen, and at times opposing viewpoints were also offered.[6] As with the seamen's film, we were determined to document working lives, which proved to be difficult when we were barred access to major sites; leading cameraman Alun Bollinger came to our rescue by masquerading as a still photographer's assistant and obtaining amazing footage with a camera concealed in a shoulder bag (the occasional 45 degree tilt, he assured us, was deliberate).

Wildcat was made for and with the complete cooperation of the Combined Council of Delegates, the rank-and-file grouping in the union, who raised half the budget by raffling off a car. Ray Hamilton, the union's national secretary – whom the 1977 actions had been designed to oust – declined our invitation for an interview, threatened to sue us, and once, to our delight, took a running shove at our camera. The conflicts were stark, and through our detailed narrative of the dispute (helped immeasurably by two lodes of news footage shot by the then competing networks) we were able to demonstrate how union bureaucracies, company managements

and the government co-operated in suppressing rank-and-file worker militancy.

In 1979 at the Kinleith pulp and paper mill we were ordered off the site; the following year Rod and I were back, collaborating with Gerd Pohlmann on *Kinleith '80*, and this time we had free rein. An important struggle had intervened: a 12-week strike which had not only succeeded in gaining the 21% wage rise originally demanded but had also achieved the repeal of the Remuneration Act (which Muldoon had used to knock back the increase). The backing of the Federation of Labour (under the new leadership of Jim Knox) was a crucial factor, and the film was made for the FOL with surplus funds donated for the strike cause. Once again we shot footage of workers at their jobs and interviews with the strike leaders but what we most enjoyed was three group discussions we set up, with delegates from the combined site committee, organisers of the welfare network, and the "roadrunners" – workers who had toured the country explaining the strike at other jobsites. In these discussions the atmosphere was relaxed and the anecdotes flowed; we were able to communicate something of the flourishing of working-class culture which had occurred. A narration was necessary to explain economically the background to the dispute and to provide transitions; we tried to keep it to a minimum, and the female voice worked against the grain of orthodoxy. Where *Wildcat* chronicled the defeat of a traditional, "all-out" strike, *Kinleith '80* analysed the victory attained through a canny, tactical campaign drawing on lessons learnt in recent disputes on this and other sites. It was a high point.

During the same period Gerd produced *The Bridge* (also known as *Men in Dispute)*, the film which captured with more immediacy than any other what it was like for workers embroiled in industrial strife, in this case carpenters and labourers laid off the Mangere bridge job. The cinema-vérité camera is eye-witness to events large and small, the workers' Christmas party as well as heated meetings, dashes to the picket line, and arguments in Parliament grounds. Confining its viewpoint strictly to that of the workers themselves and dispensing with interviews, the film observes but does not probe or analyse (again it may be important to note that funding came predominantly from television), and though its central "character", Chairman of the disputes committee Zac Wallace, provides a retrospective commentary, the style creates an unsettling effect in which the lines drawn are hard to discern and viewers are left uncertain as to whether to view the mammoth 2½ year struggle as heroic or futile.[7]

There is no such uncertainty in *Even Dogs are Given Bones* (Carole Stewart, 1982). An account of the 14-week sit-in for redundancy pay at the Rixen clothing factory in Levin, the video (made by an Auckland women's collective on a shoestring budget) is a celebration of women discovering togetherness in common struggle. The soundtrack songs by Mereana Pitman make the feminist agenda explicit ("With no men about you, you lived with your own") and the tape is especially strong in exposing how sexism becomes rife when female workers become militant, in the tales told of unsympathetic and violent husbands, foully abusive passers-by and a rudely offhand union official. Though *Even Dogs . . .* has been critiqued with some justification for a television-like detachment and condescension in its interviews and commentary[8], it is the only production of the early Eighties to offset the heavily male content of films such as those by Vanguard.

Vanguard's last foray of the decade into trade union territory was Rod Prosser's video for the Wellington Trades Council, *The Hatred Campaign*. Made as a tribute to caretaker Ernie Abbott, killed in the 1984 Trades Hall bombing, it blames the outrage on the hostility against unions which had been fomented during the Muldoon years, dating from the dancing Cossacks cartoon of the 1975 election campaign. Originating its discourse from totally within the union movement (although venturing out to interview a sympathetic academic, political scientist Les Cleveland), *The Hatred Campaign* emerges as an attack on the National Government, with anti-union rhetoric being explained as a form of scapegoating to divert attention from poor

economic performance. Like many union films (such as the American *Native Land, Salt of the Earth* and *Harlan County USA), The Hatred Campaign* also resorts to sacrifice mythology, asserting that the attack has left the movement not damaged but stronger than before, its footage of low-paid women cleaners striking to break the wage freeze backing up the claim (though not fully convincingly, given the failure of the strike).

Apart from their handling of the narrational voice, none of this cycle of documentaries was at all experimental in form. Although at Vanguard we were aware of the arguments that, as Roger Horrocks expressed it, "radical ideas deserve a more radical approach,"[9] we deliberately rejected formal innovation which would have made the films difficult to understand. This conservatism is no doubt partly linked to the funding of the productions (which was largely from union sources rather than, for example, the Arts Council) but it was also based on a sense of political priorities: we were unwilling to let a discourse on union struggle be sidetracked into a discourse on the nature of cinematic representation, as for example the British film *The Nightcleaners* had been.[10]

The documentaries I have been discussing are closely related to the contemporaneous "people's history" movement, particularly in its leftwing version dedicated to exposing structured exploitation and inequalities in society as they are experienced and fought against by working people.[11] This necessitates partisanship, but there are pitfalls in a committed stance which is not fully rigorous, and we at Vanguard at least did not always avoid them. *A Century of Struggle* is guilty of socialist sloganeering and an idealisation of the subject which caused us to gloss over less exemplary aspects of the union's history (for example, all the blame for the tyranny of the Walsh regime is pinned on the man himself); ultimately the film rings a little hollow, as most PR does. I do not think it is necessary to reject all history starring heroes and villains, as Peter Burke argues[12], but a totally one-sided story lacks complexity and conviction. *Wildcat* lets Hamilton have his say, if only to expose himself, and is the better for it.

The workers' films and videos of the late Seventies and early Eighties coincided with a wave of union militancy which has since receded. At the time hopes for a radical transformation of New Zealand society could be centred (with a little romanticism) on the industrial labour movement; for the past decade, however, that movement has increasingly been put on the back foot and forced simply to fight rearguard actions in the face of steadily mounting unemployment and devastating structural change. The numbers of seamen and timberworkers are a fraction of what they were a decade ago; the Shipping Corporation (claimed as a proud achievement of the union in *A Century of Struggle*) is privatised; the Kinleith workforce, in 1980 probably the greatest concentration of industrial workers in the country, has drastically shrunk; clothing workers like those at Rixen have been made redundant to the tens of thousands. The political filmmakers of the beginning of the decade have moved onto document other struggles: against racism, against nuclear weapons. But in recent years video has increasingly been used as an organisational tool by unionists themselves (especially through the Trade Union Education Authority), and a revived interest in the class conflicts of our past is evidenced by the recent documentary *Shattered Dreams* (Dean Parker and Francis Wevers, 1990). We are back at 1951; but this time, unlike in *Lockout*, the analysis proceeds from an unequivocal working-class perspective.

NOTES

1. Significantly, in the recent *Shattered Dreams*, criticism of Barnes comes not from the narrator but from other unionists.
2. Much documentary theory has commented on "voice of God" narration as conferring the authority of bourgeois, patriarchal society on the material presented. See Colin McArthur, *Television and History* (London: BFI, 1980), p22; William Howard Guynn, *Toward A Reexamination of the Documentary Film: Theory and Text* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1980), p206; and Russell Campbell, "The Discourse of Documentary: Narrational Strategies in *Bastion Point Day 507, Wildcat, The Bridge* and *Patu!*", *Illusions* No4 (1987), pp10-11.
3. As head of documentaries at TV2, George Andrews was later responsible for commissioning both *The Hammer and the Anvil* and *The Bridge*.
4. Another influence was radical American documentaries of the 1930s, which I had recently been researching. See Russell Campbell, *Cinema Strikes Back: Radical Filmmaking in the United States*, 1930-1942 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research, 1982).
5. Cecil Holmes deserves recognitiion as a pioneer of workers' films in New Zealand. A member of the Communist Party, he was dismissed from the National Film Unit in the notorious "satchel case" of 1948. He subsequently made an independent documentary of the 1949 carpenters' dispute, *Fighting Back*, which features in *The Bridge* in a sequence in which it is watched by the locked-out workers, and which is also heavily drawn on in *Shattered Dreams*. See Dean Parker, "Scoundrel Times at the Film Unit", *Illusions* No7 (1988), pp4-8; Russell Campbell, "Plain Hard Hazardous Work: Cecil Holmes at the NFU," ibid, pp9-13; and Cecil Holmes, *One Man's Way* (Ringwood, Victoria: Penguin, 1986).
6. For an account of "documentary montage" in the film, see Campbell, "The Discourse of Documentary", p13.
7. See ibid, pp 15-16, and Martin Long, "Whose Voice is it Anyway? – Six Films about Trade Unions," *Sites* No16 (Autumn 1988), pp123-24.
8. See Long, op cit, p123, and Andrea Bosshard, "Which Side Are You On?", *Illusions* No8 (1988), p19.
9. Roger Horrocks and Karl Mutch, "Political Films in New Zealand: From 'Liberal' to 'Radical'", *Alternative Cinema* Autumn/Winter 1982, p12.
10. *The Nightcleaners*, a 1975 film by the London Women's Film Group, is a feminist documentary about a strike of women cleaners which used Brechtian distanciation techniques in order to break with the "classic realist" form. Its approach was poorly understood and its makers admitted that the film was badly received in the women's movement and did not prove to be a useful campaign tool for the nightcleaners' struggle. See Claire Johnston and Paul Willemen, "Brecht in Britain: *The Nightcleaners* and the Independent Political Film", in Thomas Waugh, ed, *"Show Us Life": Toward a History and Aesthetics of the Committed Documentary* (Metuchen, NJ, and London: Scarecrow, 1984), especially p206. Conventionally-made workers' films are attacked from an anti-realist formal perspective in Noel King, "Recent 'Political' Documentary: Notes on *Union Maids* and *Harlan County USA*," *Screen* 22 No2 (1981), pp7-18.
11. See Raphael Samuel, ed, *People's History and Socialist Theory* (London, Boston and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981).
12. "[W]hatever group you take as the hero of your epic – bourgeoisie or proletariat, or the blacks, or womanhood – the result is always mystification. A history constructed round heroes and villains makes it impossible to understand how the past happened as it did." – Peter Burke, "People's History or Total History," in ibid, p8.

Filmography

Lockout (1976). 16mm. South Pacific Television. Written, produced and directed by George Andrews. Research: Liz Greenslade. Photography: Kevin Hayward. Graphics: Peter Gossage. 32 min.

The Hammer and the Anvil (1980). 16mm. A DFFB Production, in association with SPTV and AFTVS. Produced and directed by Gerd Pohlmann and Merata Mita. Executive Producer for SPTV George Andrews. Script: Merata Mita. Photography: Leon Narbey, Steve Newman. Sound: Steve Hope. Production assistant: Mark Derby. Editor: Gerd Pohlmann. Narrator: Tony Simpson. Song "Man of '51" composed and sung by Rudy Sunde. 1951 waterfront dispute footage: Rudy Sunde. 60 min.

A Century of Struggle (1981). 16mm. Vanguard Films, for the New Zealand Seamen's Union. Written, produced, directed and filmed by Alister Barry, Rod Prosser and Russell Campbell. Music: Alistair Cuthill, Alistair McQuillan. Narrator: Des Kelly. Scenes from *"The Coaster"* directed by Cecil Holmes. 1951 waterfront dispute footage: Rudy Sunde. Library footage: National Film Unit, Television New Zealand. 41 min.

Wildcat (1981). 16mm. Vanguard Films, for the Combined Council of Delegates, New Zealand Timberworkers' Union. Written, produced, directed and filmed by Rod Prosser, Russell Campbell and Alister Barry. Music: Stefan Tyler-Wright. Song "Bo's a Lumberjack" by Bo Diddley. Additional photography: Alun Bollinger. Additional sound: Lee Tamahori. Library footage: Television New Zealand. Made with the assistance of Queen Elizabeth II Arts Council. 73 min.

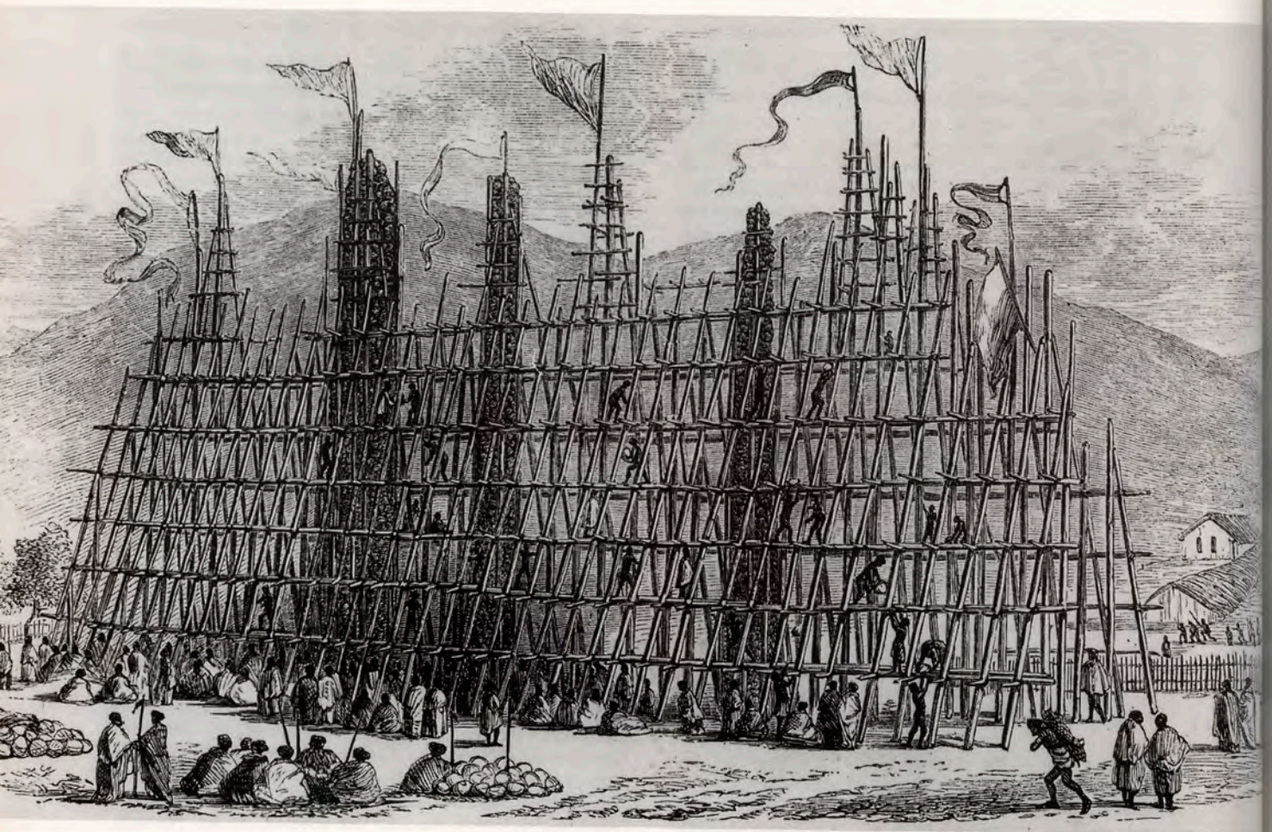
Kinleith '80 (1982). 16mm. Merger Films, for the New Zealand Federation of Labour. Producer: Gerd Pohlmann. Written, directed and filmed by Gerd Pohlmann, Rod Prosser and Russell Campbell. Narrator: Merata Mita. Music: Alistair McQuillan, John Vesey. Library footage: Television New Zealand. 38 min.

The Bridge/Men in Dispute (1982). 16mm. Merger Films. Producer: Gerd Pohlmann. Director: Gerd Pohlmann, Merata Mita. Photography: Leon Narbey. Additional photography: Steve Newman, Barry Harbert, Roger Donaldson. Sound: Gerd Pohlmann, Merata Mita, Russell Campbell, Steve Hope, Rod Prosser. Editor: Annie Collins. Narrator: Zac Wallace. Music: Fofoa'ga, Paul Nairn. 57 min.

Even Dogs are Given Bones (1982). Video. Dyke Productions, in association with Women's Community Video. Director: Carole Stewart. Research: Mari Hancock. Photography: Carole Stewart. Sound and interviews: Julie Lambie, Mari Hancock. Graphics: Chiara Corbelletto. Photographs: Patricia Sarr, *The Chronicle*. Narrator: Anne Crozier. Post production: Julie Lambie, Carole Stewart. Song composed and sung by Mereana Pitman. Piano: Julie Lambie. 35 min.

The Hatred Campaign (1985). Video. Vanguard Films, for the Wellington Trades Council. Written, produced and directed by Rod Prosser. Photography: Alister Barry, Brett Corlett, Barry Thomas. Music: The Pelicans. 36 min.

Shattered Dreams (1990). Video. Trade Union History Project, in association with the Short Film Fund, New Zealand Film Commission. Producer: Francis Wevers. Directors: Dean Parker, Francis Wevers. Script: Dean Parker. Photography: Peter Read, Alan Locke, Andrew Coleman, Michael Pickering. Sound: Anton Aerts, Raymond Bentjes, Kerry Coe. Production team: Paul Chalmers, David Filer, Mike Horton, David Pumphrey. Narrator: David Pumphrey. Additional narration: Bernard Kearns. Editor: Harry J Kokay. Music: Wamo. Sound mix: Michael Hedges. 46 min.



Stage for Hakari or feast given to Governor Grey in 1849 at the Bay of Islands to celebrate the peace between the two races. Published in The Story of New Zealand by AS Thompson, London, 1889. Making New Zealand Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: 219 MNZ ¼.

ART AND ORGANISED LABOUR IN MAORI SOCIETY

Peter Adds

Naaku te rourou, naau te rourou, ka ora ai te manuhiri
(With my food basket and your food basket, the guests will be fed)

Introduction

Like all Polynesian societies, traditional Maori society in Aotearoa was one in which the attainment and maintenance of mana was central to the health and well-being of individuals as well as the group. At an individual level mana was attained by serving the interests of the iwi (tribe). At an inter-iwi level it was attained by success in defence and warfare and the open display of wealth. The production of taonga (treasures) was one of the most emphatic ways for people and iwi to display wealth and gain mana. In fact so potent was it that even mundane utilitarian items were transformed into things of beauty which were seen as symbols of prosperity and self-esteem. Another important way to attain mana was to show manuhiri (guests) how good you were at providing for yourself by feeding them extravagantly. Even today Maori people expend great energy and resources in producing beautiful taonga and also in the manaakitanga (looking after) of guests as a way of maintaining and increasing mana. Given the importance of mana in traditional and contemporary Maori society then, it should be no surprise that people went to some trouble to organise themselves collectively around it.

Although it may seem rather obvious now, the notion that mana was one of the organisational cornerstones of Maori society did, however, elude the popular analyses of Maori and Polynesian culture for many years. It was not that long ago, for example, that a widespread perception of traditional Maori society was that it was simply *communist* or *socialist* – and violet at that. This was based on the observation that Maori people pooled resources and labour for many subsistence activities. The problem that colonial analyses of indigenous cultures typically suffer from, of course, is that they almost always lack an understanding of even the most simple structures and concepts associated with the society being analysed. The reasons for this were and are sometimes political and therefore devious and deliberate but mostly the myths are a product of simple ignorance. Thus Maori art, culture and society, although viewed as relatively *advanced*, was for many years seen as being inferior to all equivalent western Pakeha forms.

In order to shed some light on the relationship of organised labour to the visual manifestation of Maori culture, we need to look now at some of the key elements of the nature and history of Maori society.

Origins

The first settlers of Aotearoa were the ancestors of the present day Maori and they came from islands in east Polynesia. As such the first settlers arrived with a well defined and clearly identifiable culture. Today we generally describe this cultural pattern as *Polynesian* and the Maori of Aotearoa always retained a typical Polynesian lifestyle derived from this. Over time, however, it was modified and became *Maori* as people adjusted and adapted to the unique physical environment of our landscape which is unlike any other part of Polynesia.

One of the characteristics of Polynesian societies is that they are and were overtly hierarchical. In other words there were many different classes of people from chiefs and sub-chiefs to commoners



F O'Leary, Carving at Waiwhetu Meeting House (from left to right) Te Keri Ruru, J Taiapa, Ngata Ruru, Rangi Hetet, 25 February 1960. National Museum of New Zealand, ref: B9664.

and slaves. For each of the social strata status was ascribed rather than achieved. That is to say, chiefs were born – not made – and it was rare for common people to achieve chiefly status by their own special accomplishments. Indeed only the truly gifted were ever able to do this. The chiefs were the motivators – the mobilisers of the labour pool, but they were not exempt from the labouring themselves. Indeed one of the qualities of Maori leadership was to be seen working with the people. Nor was the chief infallible. If he was not seen to be performing for the well-being of the iwi then he could be ignored, or as was often the case, be killed!

By the time the first Polynesian settlers arrived here most, if not all, of the characteristics which typified later Maori society were in place. Polynesians had been transporting the Polynesian way of life out into the tropical islands of the eastern Pacific for two and a half thousand years before they arrived in Aotearoa. Thus we find that important Maori concepts such as mana and tapu are also key concepts, social regulators and motivators in all other parts of Polynesia.

Adaptation

One of the reasons that Polynesians were so successful at colonising the eastern Pacific is that they had an economy that was portable and a lifestyle which was adaptable. Early type artifacts in Aotearoa for example were fashioned in the same



Te Poho a Kahungunu. Porangauan dedication service, c1961. National Museum of New Zealand, ref: B14944.

shape as the east Polynesian varieties – they were simply made from different locally available raw materials. In other words, the first settlers tried to carry on the old way of life and used and adapted the new raw materials to do it.

The subsistence economy of Polynesian societies is based on gardening and fishing and together people devoted much time and energy to this. When the first settlers arrived here, however, a change was required. The non-tropical climate of Aotearoa and the unfamiliar soils meant that many of the food plants that the first settlers had brought with them would not grow here. Some of them like bananas and coconuts probably died immediately – some like the kumara and the yam grew. It probably took quite a few years for people to work out what the best growing conditions were so they had to find alternative ways to get food in the interim. Fishing they were able to continue in much the same way that they always had. For other sources of protein they turned to hunting moa and seals which occupied much of the time that gardening had. Over time as people discovered gardening and food storage methods better suited to the climate of Aotearoa, gardening again became more of a time-consuming and labour intensive activity displacing hunting in importance.

Division of Labour

Another of the characteristics of the hierarchical nature of Polynesian societies is the division of labour between the sexes. In the same way that



C Hale, Tukutuku panel workers, Otaki Church renovation. National Museum of New Zealand, ref: B2797.

status is rationalised genealogically by descent – from gods ultimately, the division of labour between the sexes was organised so that the tapu (also derived from gods) between men and women was not in conflict. This was especially evident in subsistence activities. For example, in Maori society gardening was women's work and fishing was men's work. Men were allowed into the garden to break and till the soil but planting was carried out by the women. Similarly men caught fish and women collected shellfish. Women who were menstruating were particularly tapu and had to be kept away from all subsistence activity in case their tapu inadvertently conflicted with and destroyed the tapu of the food.

Art

In Maori society there was no such thing as "art for art's sake". The nearest thing to the Pakeha perception of art in Maori culture would be the embellishment found on many traditional everyday items of technology. Embellishing and beautifying was done to enhance the mana of the people and iwi. Thus a simple stone adze was transformed from a mere cutting tool into an aesthetically appealing and attractive yet fully functional implement. Similarly a house was transformed by the addition of carving and painting into a work of *great art*.

By the nineteenth century after the arrival of the Pakeha there were a number of key taonga that Maori were pre-occupied with producing. These included wharenui (meeting houses), waka taua (war canoes), toki poutangata (ceremonial adzes), pataka (store houses) and fine cloaks of various types. These became to be perceived as the *classic* taonga which now fill our museums. They were appreciated as much by Pakeha as Maori for their beauty and gave mana to the owners and manufacturers of them.

The arrival of the Pakeha and a new technology allowed for a great expansion of other traditional pursuits, again they were those which tended to be associated with the acquisition of mana. Thus not only did the *"art"* traditions flourish, people were also able to modify and expand their subsistence activities to the point where they became involved in international trade. Some iwi even owned their own fleets of sailing vessels and traded freely with each other and with the Pakeha settlers. Other iwi had fields of wheat, maize and fruit and all participated in the harvesting.

In the mid-nineteenth century the application of traditional Maori organisational principles and the ability to mobilise labour based on those principles to produce food and other taonga was fabulously successful. Not only were their own needs met with the surpluses produced, they were able to cater for others as well.

Maori society flourished in the first instance in Aotearoa because it was based on a long tried and tested Polynesian foundation. Over time as the population increased the Maori pattern of mobilising labour as a necessary economic and survival strategy along chiefly lines developed. Culturally the maintenance of mana became paramount and people were organised socially to propagate and be receptive to this. This involved organising and dividing labour pools to produce sufficient food and taonga to impress other individuals and iwi. By the mid-nineteenth century the arrival of the new technology allowed for the unprecedented expansion of *art* and food production, the like of which Maori society had never seen or was to see again. For by the mid-1880s the mana of Maori society had been well and truly extinguished by Pakeha colonial attitudes and Crown rule.

IMAGES OF WOMEN

Ann Calhoun

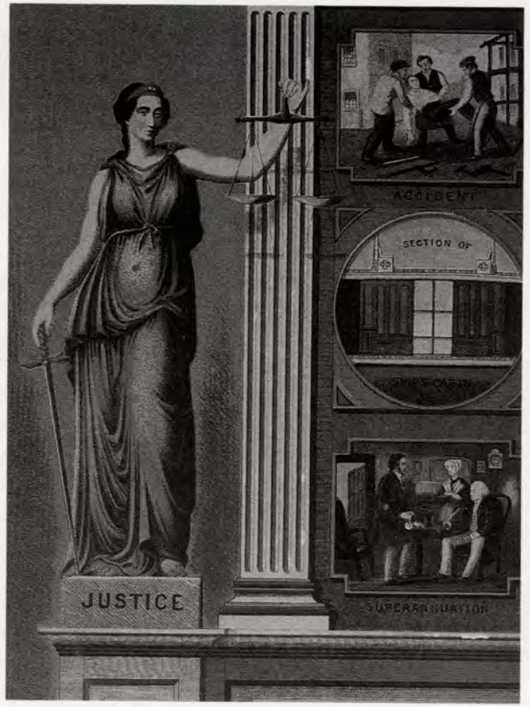
With the growth of the union movement in the nineheenth century, unions borrowed imagery from existing styles of art, from high Victorian art and the Freemasons. Female figures were used figuratively to symbolise concepts such as industry, art (see p80), justice and truth. With almost no exceptions, working women were not illustrated.

Later in the century, the English artist Walter Crane, on becoming involved with William Morris and his brand of socialism, modified the image of the symbolic woman. She became both sinner and saint and is similar to images of women produced by other Pre-Raphaelite artists at the time.

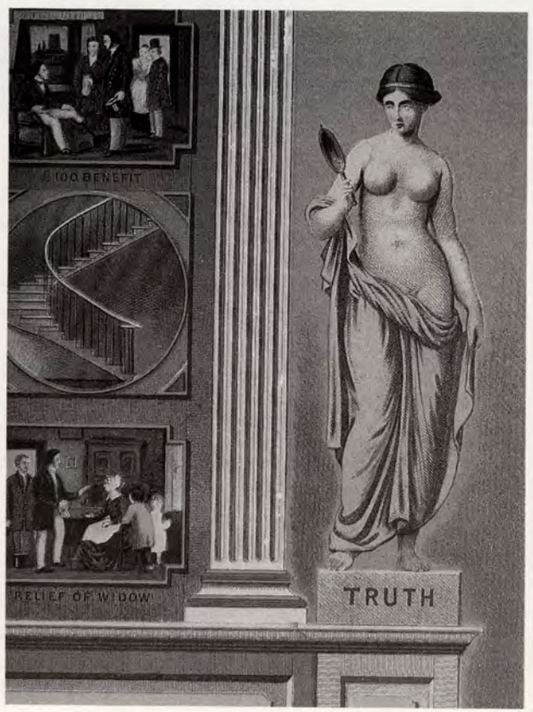
Crane's "angel of freedom" (defeating *The Vampire* below) was widely copied. Another Crane figure was used for the cover of the *Auckland Labour News*. These female types had a common parlance for many years, used by cartoonists, illustrators and unionists, even as late as World War II, with little consciousness of the associations suggested by the imagery.

For the Department of Internal Affairs during WWII, John Pascoe made honest attempts to record the female "war effort". (see World War II, p72). More recently, female photographers, in particular, are making candid images of women's lives.

Justice. From: Original Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners Union certificate, June 1860(p80). Courtesy Midland Branch, New Zealand Building Trades Union, Hamilton.



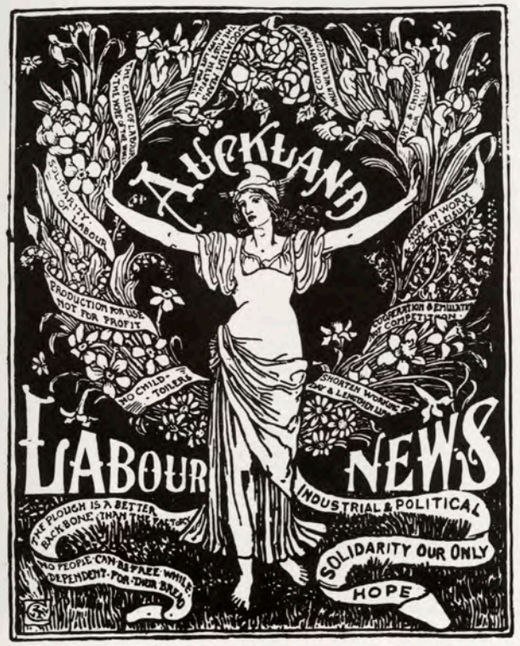
Truth. From: Original Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners Union certificate, June 1860 (p80). Courtesy Midland Branch, New Zealand Building Trades Union, Hamilton.





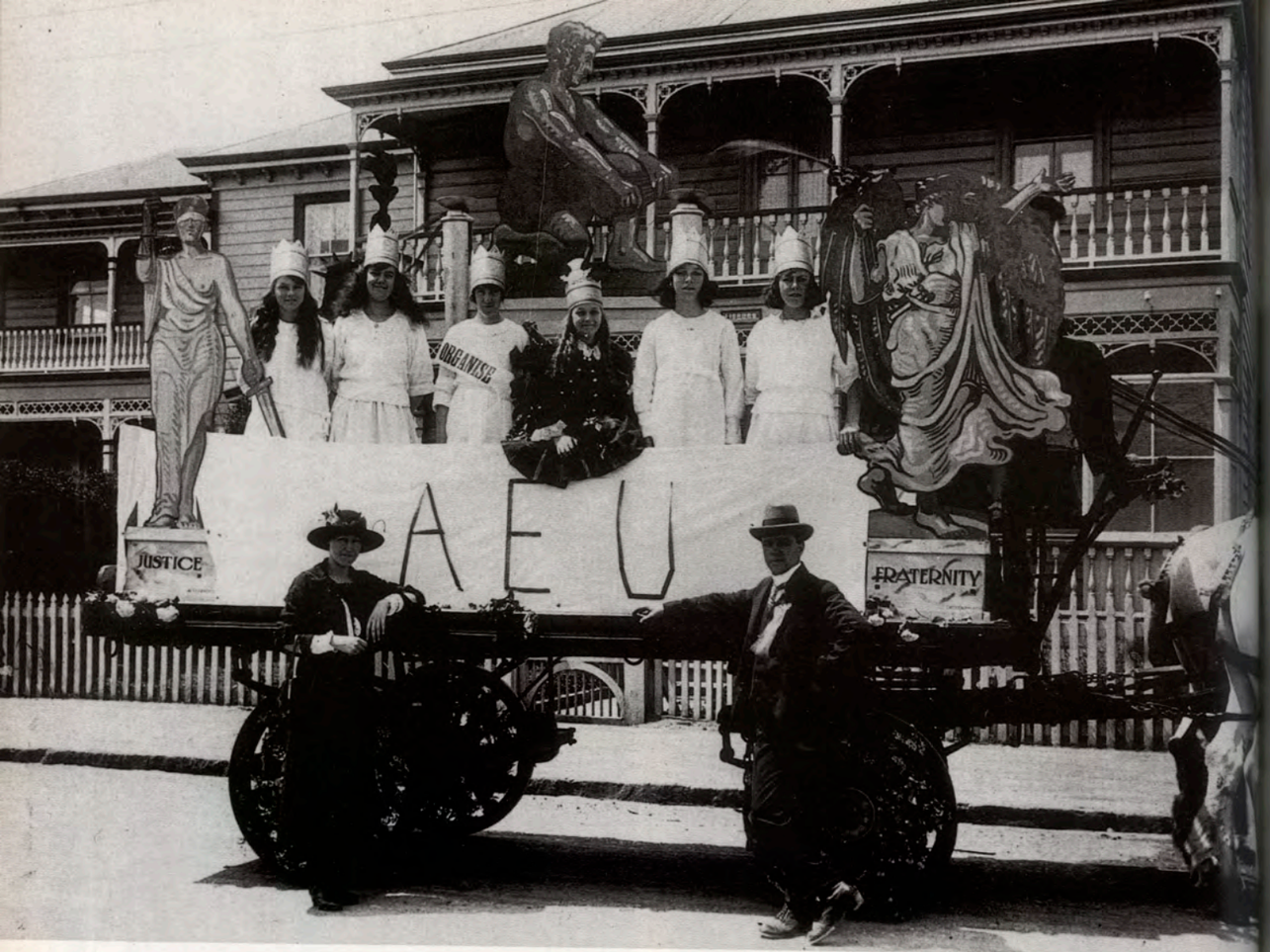
Walter Crane, *The Vampire*, 1885. Cartoon no III from *A Souvenir of the International Socialist Workers and Trade Union Congress*, 1896. Woodcut. Courtesy Rona Bailey.

Auckland Labour News cover (1915-27), using 1895 Walter Crane cartoon no XI, *A Garland for May Day*, from the 1896 *Souvenir* catalogue. From: Bert Roth and Janny Hammond *Toil and Trouble*, 1981.



William Blomfield ('BLO') cartoon: "Ready for the Grip – The Employer: I'm doomed when this great fist closes". New Zealand Observer, 20 April 1912. From: Bert Roth and Janny Hammond, Toil and Trouble, 1981.





Amalgamated Engineers Union float, (before WWI). Courtesy Waikato Museum of Art and History.


The NEW ZEALAND

Guaranteed Circulation 5,625 Copies

Clarion

Registered as a Newspaper — *Incorporating The New Zealand Constructor*

Official Organ of the Wellington, Nelson and Westland Local Bodies' Labourers', Other Labourers' and Related Trades' Industrial Union of Workers

Vol. 4 — No. 11. DECEMBER 16, 1940. PRICE THREEPENCE

THE SEASON'S GREETINGS TO ALL

"GUARD MY TOOLS TILL I COME BACK"

UNIONISM

We extend to all members and readers our very best wishes for Christmas and the coming year. We do not know what the future has in store for us, but the "Clarion" and the Union will endeavour to maintain and improve the lot of those for whom we speak. Our mates overseas will not be let down and we who are left will be able to greet them on their return and say:—

"You have protected our liberty — we have protected your conditions."

Cover *NZ Clarion* Vol 4 No 11, 16 December 1940. "The Season's Greetings to All" "Guard My Tools Till I Come Back".



Ans Westra, *Clothing manufacture, New Lynn, Auckland*, 1971. Courtesy the artist.

Gil Hanly, *Workers at Westfield Weddell-Crown freezing works, Otahuhu.*



Ann Calhoun

EXHIBITION STRUCTURE

HISTORICAL MOMENT

This area of the exhibition broadly titled *Historical Moment* focuses on a selection of key events, struggles and disputes in labour history that have and continue to motivate the making of images. Banners, photographs, films, cartoons and posters feature in this area. All images are black and white photographs unless otherwise stated.

1890 MARITIME STRIKE

The maritime unions were always New Zealand's more powerful unions, controlling as they did our exports and imports. By 1890 union membership was generally acceptable and "socialistic feeling" prevalent. The 1890 Maritime Strike seems to have been engineered by the employers but, despite defeat, resulted in renewed support for unionism. The unions formed their own short-lived steamship company, the Jubilee Steamship Company. To mark 1890 the union movement in this country has chosen to honour its centenary in 1990.



The flag of the Jubilee Steamship Company 1890. Courtesy NZ Seamen's Union.

1890 SWEATING COMMISSION

The tailoresses in Dunedin established the first trade union for women workers in 1889. Their long-time secretary, Harriet Morison, appears in the 1892 cartoon slaying the "sweating" dragon. A Sweating Commission had been established in 1890 to investigate the abuse of labour, particularly female labour, in New Zealand. A Second Sweating Commission in 1990 similarly examined "shop workers" hours of work, wages and conditions of employment



"The Sweating Crusade", *New Zealand Observer*, 25 June 1892. St George (with the face of Harriet Morison) slays the sweating monster. From: Bert Roth and Janny Hammond, *Toil and Trouble*, 1981.

1912/1913 – WAIHI AND THE WATERFRONT STRIKE

There were numbers of strikes from 1906 through to 1913 with the failure of the arbitration system. The first illegal strike, the Tramway Strike, started 14 November 1906. Other strikes followed involving slaughtermen, miners, tramway men again and labourers.

The Waihi strike in 1912 was the "most bitter industrial strike in New Zealand history and the only dispute in which a striker was killed". (Bert Roth, *Toil and Trouble*, 1981) A memorial march for Frederick G Evans was staged in Auckland a year later in November 1913.

In 1913 there were waterfront and other strikes. Mounted police and special constables were used to break the strikes.

1912
'A "Sqaure Deal" in Waihi as applied by Massey', *Maoriland Worker*, 1912. The Waihi Miners Union opted out of the arbitration system and joined the Federation of Labour. The mining company formed a new arbitration union, its award binding on all miners. Mine-owners brought in strike-breakers and Massey backed them with police. From: Ian F Grant, *The Unauthorised Version*, 1980.



"A SQUARE DEAL" IN WAIHI AS APPLIED BY MASSEY.



Unionists march through Auckland on the first anniversary of Evans' death in Waihi. *Auckland Weekly News*, 20 November 1913. Price Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: G186 ½.

1913
SP Andrews, Special constables, Wellington, during Maritime Strike, 1913. Earle Andrew Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: G14887 1/1.



Trevor Lloyd cartoon, "Another Hopeless Dawn". *Auckland Weekly News*, 1913. As the Wellington waterfront strike spread to other ports, farmers were recruited as "special constables". Known as "Massey's Cossacks" after violent street brawls, they kept wharves open and operating. From: Ian F Grant, *The Unauthorised Version*, 1980.



WORLD WAR I

The cartoons below illustrate the labour movement's resistance to conscription. Other images presented in this section of the exhibition were of men at Gallipoli, the reality at home, and Ettie Rout and other nurses in Egypt.



MJ Cartoon, "Instead of Conscription of Wealth". *Maoriland Worker*, 1916. The militant wing of the Labour movement wanted wealth conscripted before people, as a more or less logical extension of the belief that the war was being fought primarily in the economic interests of a capitalist ruling class. From: Ian F Grant, *The Unauthorised Version*, 1980.

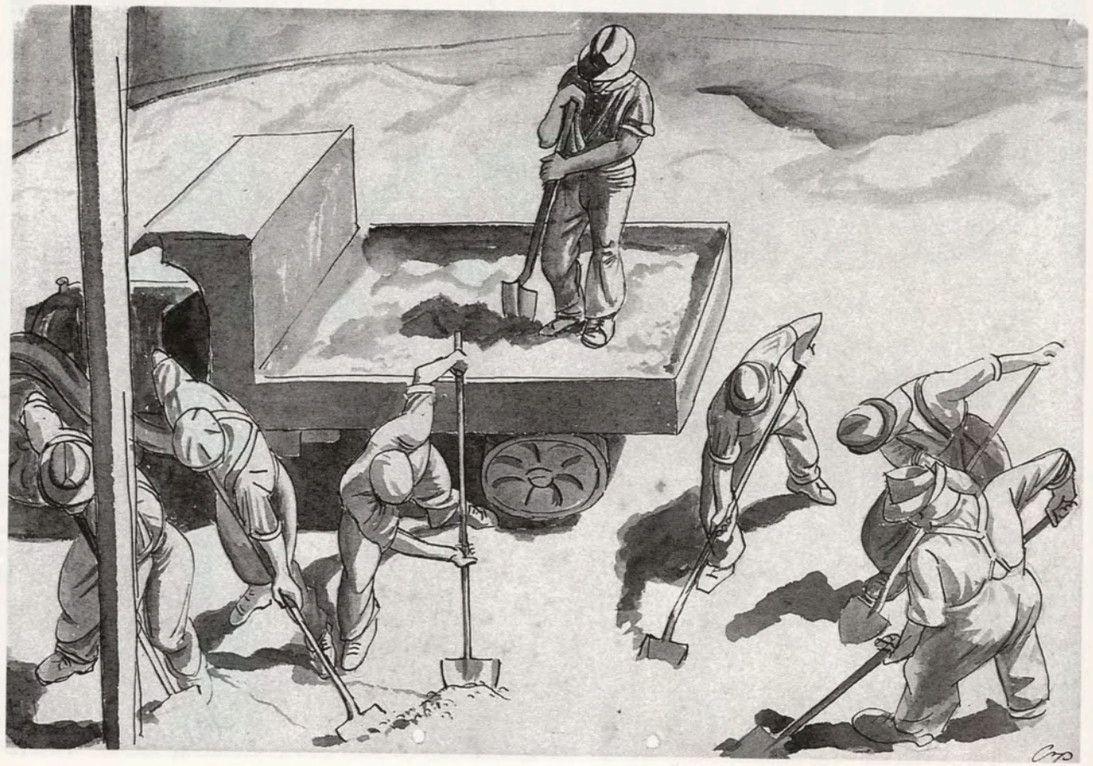
BB cartoon, "YOU GO!", *Maoriland Worker*, 1915. From the Maoriland Worker viewpoint, the working man, frontline soldier in the developing class war, was being pressured to fight instead for King and Country in a war of capitalism's making. From: Ian F Grant, *The Unauthorised Version*, 1980.



DEPRESSION

In New Zealand the Depression had become a reality by the mid-1920s. The worst of the Depression occurred in the early years of the 1930s. Labour came to power in 1935. The euphoria this created continued and can be seen in the pizzazz surrounding the re-election of the Labour Government in 1938.

Christopher Perkins, *Employed*, c1930. Pen and ink with wash. Collection Auckland City Art Gallery. Presented by Dr RM Campbell, 1963.





Labour Party advertisement 1931. From: Tony Simpson, *Sugarbag Years*, 1974.

Relief Workers Cheaper THAN HORSES!

"So far as men engaged on Roadwork are concerned, the ideal" must be to move them 'over the fence' on to the land."

THUS spoke the Rt. Hon. J. G. Coates, who with the Rt. Hon. G. Forbes is joint leader of the Government in Parliament. The above photograph is of relief workers working under his department, and shows what he means.

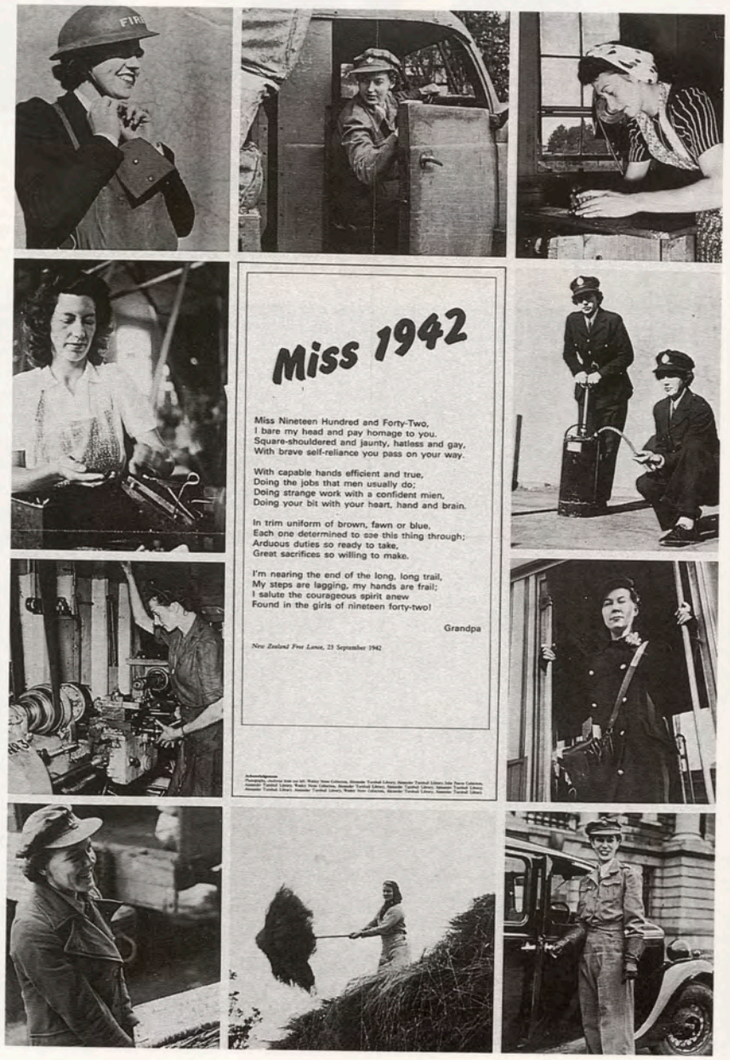
Women of New Zealand!
WILL YOU STAND FOR THIS?

This Government professes to save your country, but reduces your sons, your husbands, your brothers to the cheapness of horses. It is in YOUR power to effect a change in Government by voting **LABOUR** and let New Zealand be once again *"God's own Country."*

'This!—In God's Own Country!' The Shade of R. J. Seddon watches relief workers dragging a chain harrow. The highlight of Labour's propaganda in the 1931 *election campaign*

WWII/WORKERS IN NZ

The trade unions backed the Labour Government's call to fight, quite the opposite of the reaction to conscription in 1916. A few, like the artist Rita Angus, were pacifists. For women workers, in particular, the war period allowed them to take up work not previously available to them.



Poster, Miss 1942. Courtesy Therese O'Connell.

1949/1951 DISPUTES

With "cold war" and anti-communist sentiments so strongly held, Unions, such as the Carpenters, were on a conflict course with both the government and the employers in 1949. The Watersider Workers Union became involved and in 1951 the watersiders led a major union/government show-down. Emergency regulations were invoked and troops were brought in.



1949

Still from *Fighting Back*, 16mm film, 1949. Courtesy NZ Building Trades Union.



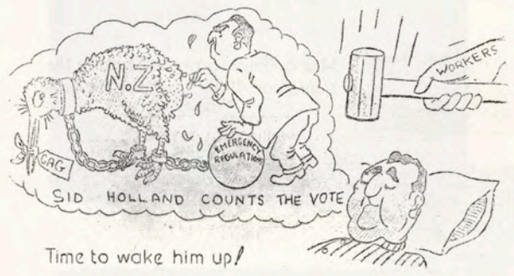
Dromgoole cartoons, *Home Brew: Selected cartoons from the People's Voice*. Pages 6 and 7 from a sixteen page underground booklet produced as a tribute to the cartoonist Frank Dromgoole in 1950. Roth Collection.





1951

Max Bollinger cartoon, From illegal *Wellington Watersiders Workers Union Bulletin* No 46, 22 July 1951. Alexander Turnbull Library, refs: MS papers 202/C10661.





Neville Colvin cartoon, "Do we operate or co-operate?". Toby Hill Collection, National Museum of New Zealand, ref: B19044.

Harry Rose, Women head a unionist march up Queen Street, Auckland, 1 June 1951. Rdh Collection.



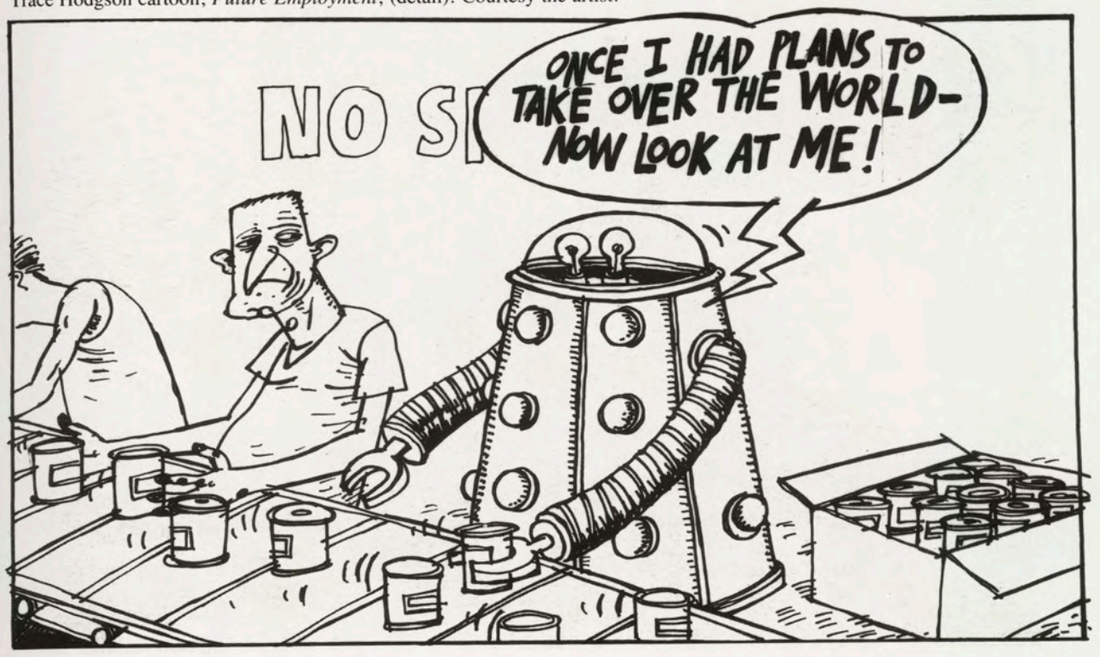
CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

Two original cartoons were selected from cartoons, posters and photographs in the exhibition to highlight some of the more crucial issues currently faced by workers.



Max Bollinger cartoon, *Locking the stabledoor*, 1989. Courtesy the artist.

Trace Hodgson cartoon, *Future Employment*, (detail). Courtesy the artist.



UNEMPLOYMENT/TEMPORARY WORK



Glenn Jowitt, *The devil on temporary employment*, 1979.
Collection Govett-Brewster Art Gallery, New Plymouth.

Gil Hanly, Vacancy/Redundant: Street theatre outside Parliament Buildings, Wellington. Courtesy the artist.



IDENTITY

Images that have created a visual identity for working people and the labour movement are presented in this area of the exhibition. The images are grouped into a number of categories to suggest that the visual identity of working people is produced from a range of cultural and social perspectives within and outside the labour movement. All images are black and white photographs unless otherwise stated.

THE HAND: SYMBOL OF LABOUR



Tondo from Westport District Gold Miners Industrial Union of Workers' banner, 1889. Courtesy National Museum of New Zealand.



John Pascoe, Linen flax worker handles a tractor, 2 June 1943. War Effort Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: F115781 ½.

Michael Joseph Savage greeted by an enthusiastic crowd during the 1938 election campaign. *Weekly News*. CA Jeffery Papers, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: F51739 ½.





Gordon H Burt Ltd, Male worker. National Museum of New Zealand, ref: C2305.



Hand from the first *Katipo* journal masthead, 1892. From: Centennial dinner invitation July 1990 for the New Zealand Post Office Union.

ORIGINS

This section investigates the sources of imagery used to represent union ideals and aspirations. The traditions of banners, mastheads for worker's journals, and many of the symbols used in union imagery were translated directly from a British context to New Zealand or via Australia. This was due largely to the emigration of British workers to New Zealand and to the corresponding union call for the solidarity of workers in the Empire. Reflecting social attitudes women were represented in caring roles or used to symbolise the aspirations of unionism and socialism.



Historical Images

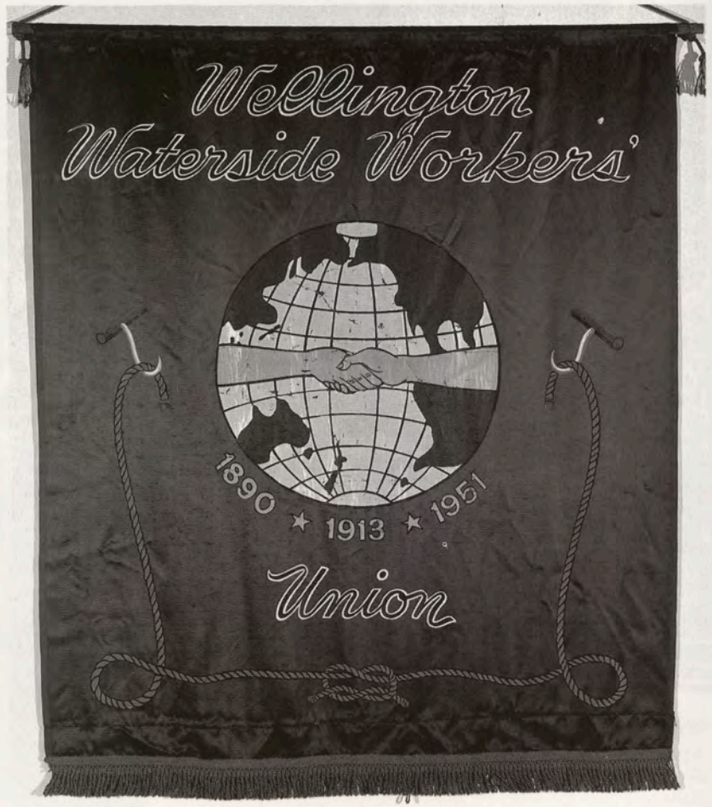
Original Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners Union certificate, June 1860. Courtesy Midland Branch, New Zealand Building Trades Union, Hamilton.



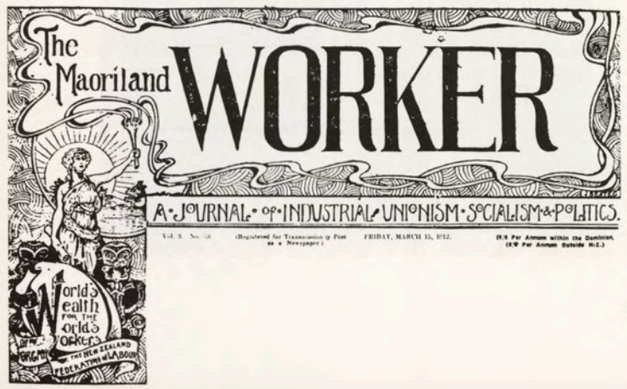
Walter Crane, *The Triumph of Labour*, 1891. Cartoon no VII of 12 cartoons reprinted by the Twentieth Century Press as *A Souvenir of the International Socialist Workers and Trade Union Congress*, 1896. Woodcut. Courtesy Rona Bailey.

BANNERS OF IDENTITY

Presented here is a selection of banners, badges, mastheads, graphics and photographs of banners in use. The tradition of banner painting to create a visual identity for unions and their ideals has recently been revived.



Wellington Waterfront Workers Union banner – 1890*1913*1951. Courtesy Wellington Waterfront Workers Union.



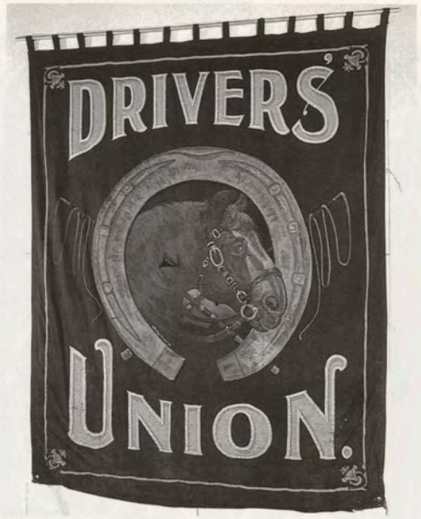
Mastheads
Masthead for *The Maoriland Worker* in 1912, "The World's Wealth for the World's Workers". From: Bert Roth and Janny Hammond, *Toil and Trouble*, 1981.

May Day Graphics
Walter Crane *Workers' May Pole*, 1894. Cartoon no IX from the 1896 *Souvenir* catalogue. Woodcut. Courtesy Rona Bailey.



Banners on the March
Members of the Auckland Tramways Union march behind their banner to the Domain on 2 December 1945 to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the Labour Government. Auckland Tramways Union Archives, Auckland University Library.





Drivers Industrial Union banner, c1910. 3085 x 2360mm. Courtesy Northern Distribution Union, Auckland.



Gil Hanly, Maori warrior leads May Day parade Auckland with "MAY DAY – 1988/C.T.U. Auckland District Council/1937 – 1988" banner. Courtesy the artist.



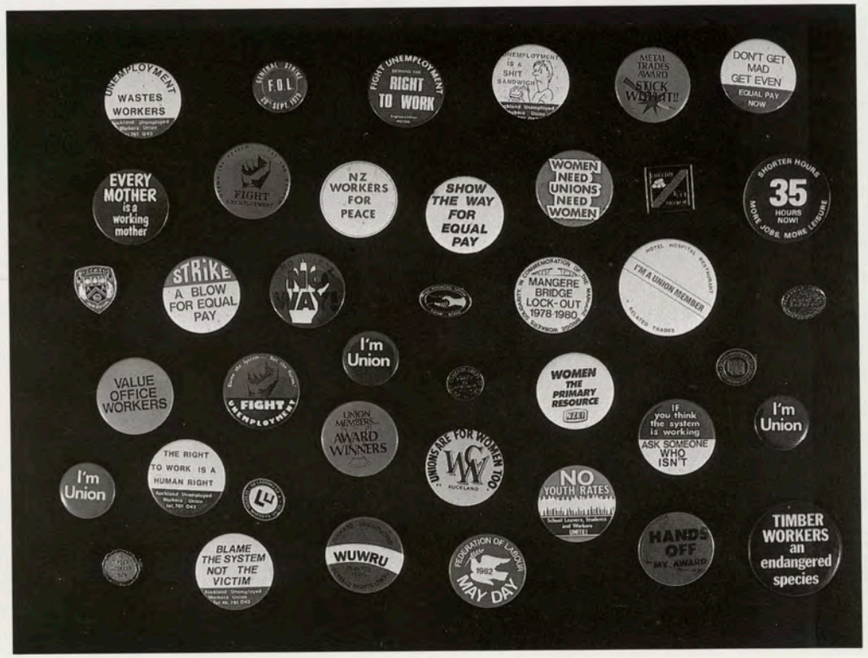
March with Len Gale "Public Control"/ATC banner. Courtesy Len Gale.



W Beattie, The Drivers Union banner in the Evans' memorial march in Auckland. Auckland Weekly News, 20 November 1913. NZ Herald photographic collection.

Badges

Contemporary New Zealand Trade Union Badges. Courtesy Alan Ware, Tokoroa.



CONTEMPORARY PHOTOGRAPHERS

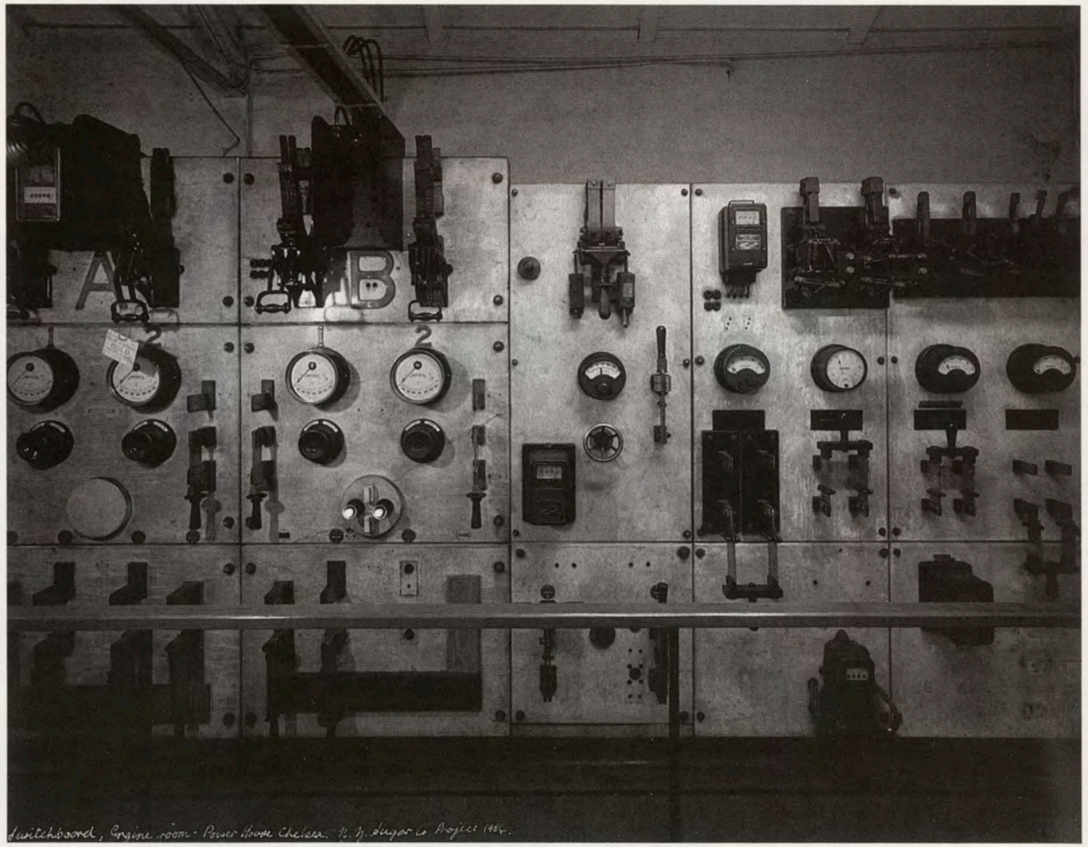
This section presents a range of contemporary photographers whose work records aspects of working life. Many of these photographs and the specific documentary projects exampled were initiated by and exhibited in art galleries. Included are *The Chelsea Project*, Ans Westra, Fiona Clark *The Kai of Te Atiawa*, Bruce Connew *Beyond the Pale*, Richard Wotten, Gil Hanly, David Cook *Rotowaro I* and *II*, Eymard Bradley, Geoffrey Short *The Unemployed Project*, Glenn Busch *Working Men*, Glen Jowitt *Polynesia Here and There*, and Jan Nauta *Dusty*.

THE CHELSEA PROJECT. NEW ZEALAND SUGAR CENTENARY 1984.

The Chelsea Project was initiated in 1984 by the New Zealand Sugar Company Ltd and Auckland City Art Gallery. Five New Zealand photographers were commissioned to photograph aspects of The Chelsea Sugar Refinery; three are represented here. Courtesy New Zealand Sugar Company Ltd and the artists.

Laurence Aberhart

Untitled, 1984.



Switchboard, Engine room: Powerhouse Chelsea. N.Z. Sugar Co Project 1984.

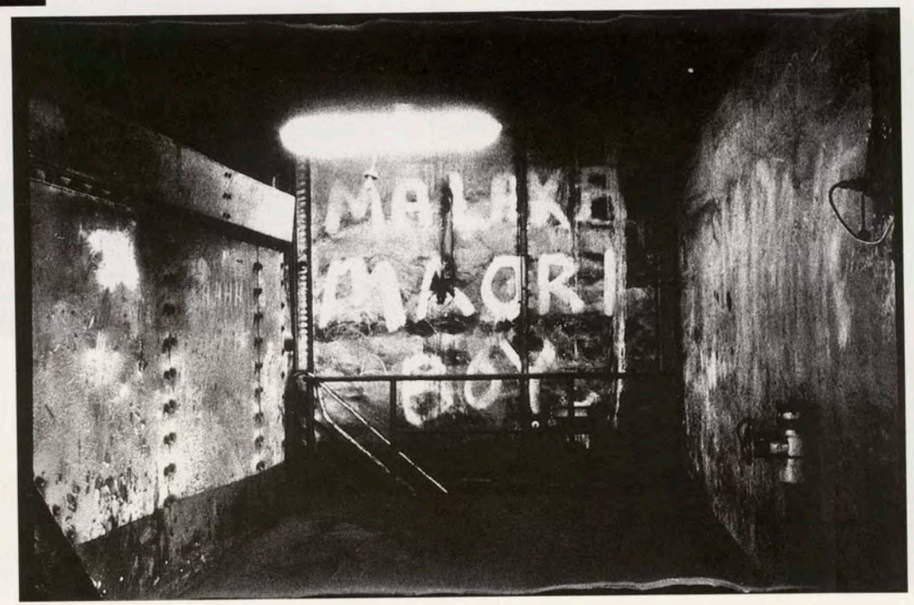


Bruce Foster

Syrup house VII, 1984.

Anne Noble

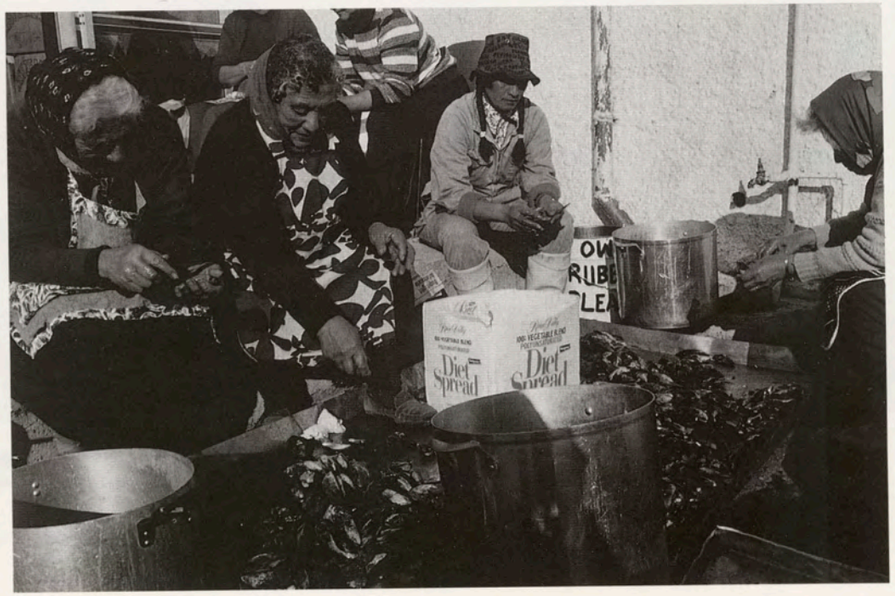
Malaka Maori Boy, 1984.





Ans Westra

St Helen's, Wellington, 1977.
Courtesy the artist.



Fiona Clark

Shelling Kuku at Owae Marae for large Hui. Colour print.

Maurice Morehu, Threading Toke to make Eel Bait. Colour print.

From *The Kai of Te Atiawa*, 1979-82.
The photographs in this project show the gathering and preparation of the Kai of Te Atiawa, the Maori people of North Taranaki. Commissioned by the Dowse Art Museum, Lower Hutt. Collection JWT Adams Bequest and Queen Elizabeth II Arts Council, Dowse Art Museum, Lower Hutt.





Bruce Connew

Karora Cemetary, Greymouth, 1986. (19 coalminers were killed by an explosion in Strongman State Coal Mine, January 1967.)

Scratching tally, Tiller Mine, Dunollie, 1986. (Chris Menzies)

The images here are from the exhibition *Beyond the Pale* first presented at the Dowse Art Museum in 1988. The images for the exhibition were produced between 1981 and 1988. Collection JWT Adams Bequest and Queen Elizabeth II Arts Council. Dowse Art Museum.

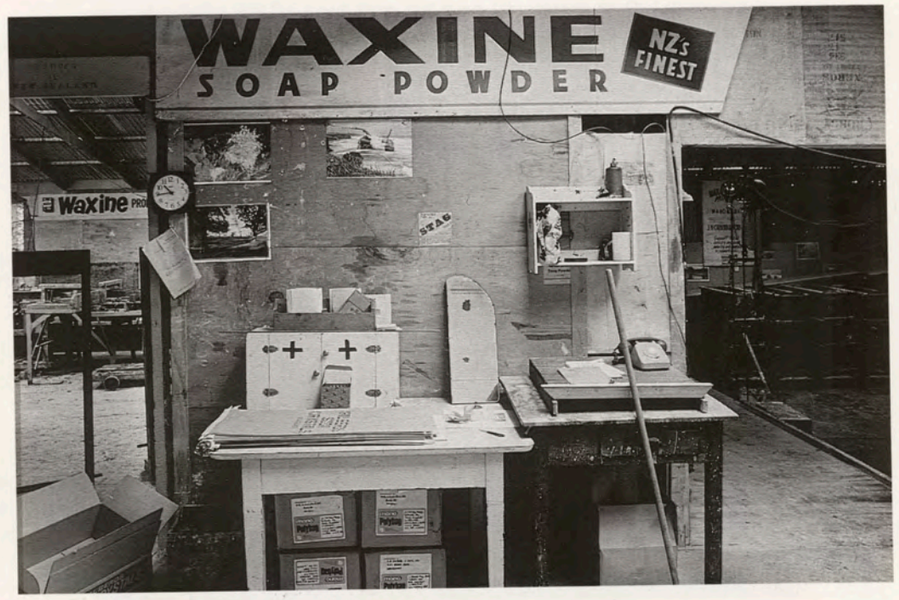




Richard Wotten

Smoko Room No 2. New Plymouth, February 1988.

Interoir No 1. Gilberd's Soap Factory, Wanganui, October 1986.
Courtesy the artist.





Gil Hanly

Union delegate graffiti – Factory pin-up wall.

Workers sort fish, Auckland waterfront, 1989.
Courtesy the artist.







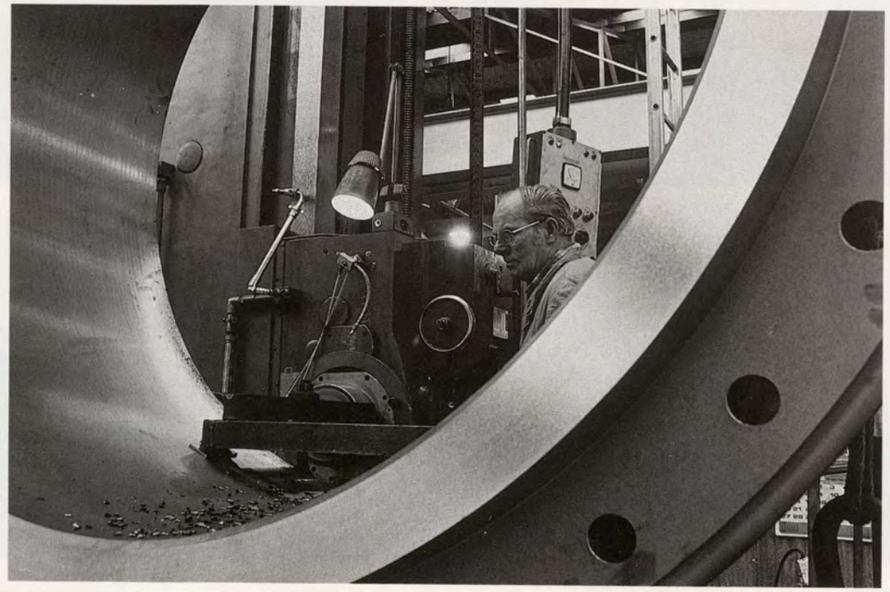
David Cook

Main Road, Rotowaro, 1987,1989.

From *Rotowaro I* and *II* portfolios.
The *Rotowaro Project* was initiated by the Waikato Museum of Art and History on a Department of Labour "Project Employment Programme". The Project documented the last days of a Waikato coal-mining township before it was removed to make way for a new open-cast mine. The project resulted in an exhibition at the Museum in 1985. Since then Cook has continued to photograph in the area. Collection Waikato Museum of Art and History.

The Rotowaro Shift, 1985.

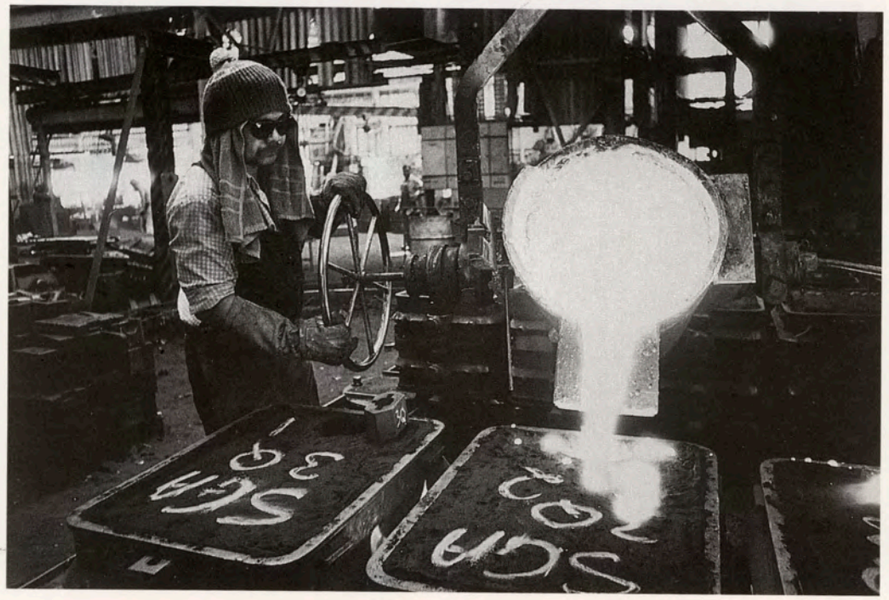




Eymard Bradley
Hariman Enterprises

Milling operation, Mace Engineering, Christchurch, 1979.

Pouring castings, Andersons Foundry, Christchurch, 1979.
Courtesy the artist.





Geoffrey Short

Pat, 1983.

From *The Unemployed Project*, 1983. Initiated by the Waikato Museum of Art and History. Collection Waikato Museum of Art and History.

Willy, 1983.



Glenn Busch

RONNY LEWIS

Labourer Abattoir Pig Chain
Christchurch 1982.

"Yeah, it was my first job, I haven't had no other job, just straight in there, six years now. I suppose it took a couple of weeks – two or three weeks – and I was just used to it, you know – the smell, the innards and blood and everything. At the start, it was pretty yukky. I remember one morning I had some banana on toast before I went to work and I was put on the gut floors and I just about puked it up. But I got used to it, after a while, and it was just nothing, it's just meat to me now.

"Since I started there, I've been on the mutton chain a few times and the beef a couple of times, but mostly I've been on the pigs. I just about know all the jobs on the pig chain. I've been out in the yards, washing the pens and yards out. That's one job. I've been bringing up the pigs, which is another job, bringing them up and putting them in certain pens. And I've been tattooing the pigs, that's another job. Like, all the butchers have got different numbers. Butchers buy the animals, and the abattoir kills them for them, and so you've got to tattoo each one. The tattoo gun has spikes that slide in, they're shaped in a three, or a four, or whatever. You just put them in and every tattoo has three numbers. You hit the pig on the neck where all the fat is, where it won't hurt it, or bruise it, and on the behind, but you can't hit them on the head or anything like that, because they bruise and people moan about it. I used to know the pigs too, when certain people were away; you know, electrocute them. I didn't really like that, because I like animals and I feel sorry for them when I kill them. I only done it really, because it was a job I had to do. What you do is, you get a fair few in a big pen and you put the tongs on them; electric tongs, like a real big pair of clippers, crossed like that, with handles on, and you wear rubber gloves and things. You wet their heads and then you put the tongs on them and down they go. You get some big ones in there – so high – and a lot of people are scared to go in. They try and attack you sometimes. I've been bitten a few times, yeah, on the knee and on the ankle and that. There was really only a couple of us that would do it. It didn't worry me much, because I wasn't too scared about it, but I think if you go in there being scared, the pigs would take advantage of you. Yeah, you've got to show the pig who's boss! I've had a few heart attacks in there but! One time I had the tongs on a pig, a big boar – it was really big – big teeth and jaws, and I sort of got it round the back and I got it down, and it just hit the ground, when the tongs broke. As it happened, I was right in the corner of the pen and when the tongs broke, it got up again. It was nearly as tall as me and real wild and vicious. Well, I dived through this hole in the top of the gate and I wouldn't go back in there. They had to shoot it! When the pigs have been stunned with the tongs, you shackled them with a chain around their leg and dragged them over to the conveyor belt and that takes them up top, where they get their throats slit. When they bleed right out, they go into a hot tub and get scalded, that's to help take the hairs off, and then they go on to the chain and get gutted out, and all that sort of thing.

"It's not a bad job. I don't really get a lot of satisfaction out of the work, but I like the money. Yeah, it's good money and the hours, I like the hours, but if we worked to five o'clock every day and were getting fifty dollars less, I wouldn't go near the place. As a labourer, I don't like cleaning up after all the butchers. When they're finished, they just walk off, they don't have to clean up. Us labourers have to scrub things, and generally do all that sort of thing around the place. Mind you, I can't really moan because I'm one of the youngest there. There's not many young ones. Everyone's pretty good and the bosses are pretty fair – like they're not nasty, they don't pick on no one. Yeah, it's not bad, we have a few laughs. One day I was dying to go to the toilet and I went upstairs because I was downstairs working on the gut floors, and when I looked in, all the toilet doors were shut and you could see all the gumboots underneath. Well, I thought, there's people in there, you know, so I went back down and waited for about an hour and then went back up, and the same gumboots were still there. So I thought, there's people in there, but, you know, the jokers said to me, "Oh, they're only having you on, they've put gumboots there and it looks like there's people sitting in the toilets". So I race up and barge in, and there's a joker sitting there on the toilet and he says to me, "Get out of here". You know, I was quite embarrassed. They set me up, just a joke. Yeah, it's not a bad place to work. One thing I don't like, a lot of people say we're lazy and that, but generally they're all pretty good workers down there. It's a job-finish see, and everyone gets stuck into their work. I don't reckon we're lazy at all. I just think a lot of people are jealous. You know they've always got the wharfies and the freezing workers to blame – blame something on them. Some of these jobs are real hard, and I think a lot of people would get a hell of a shock if they came and had a try at it themselves."



The image here is from the portfolio *Working Men*. The portfolio was published by the National Art Gallery to accompany its exhibition at the Gallery in 1984. *Ronny Lewis. Labourer. Abattoir Pig Chain, Christchurch 1982.*
Collection National Art Gallery, Wellington.

Glen Jowitt

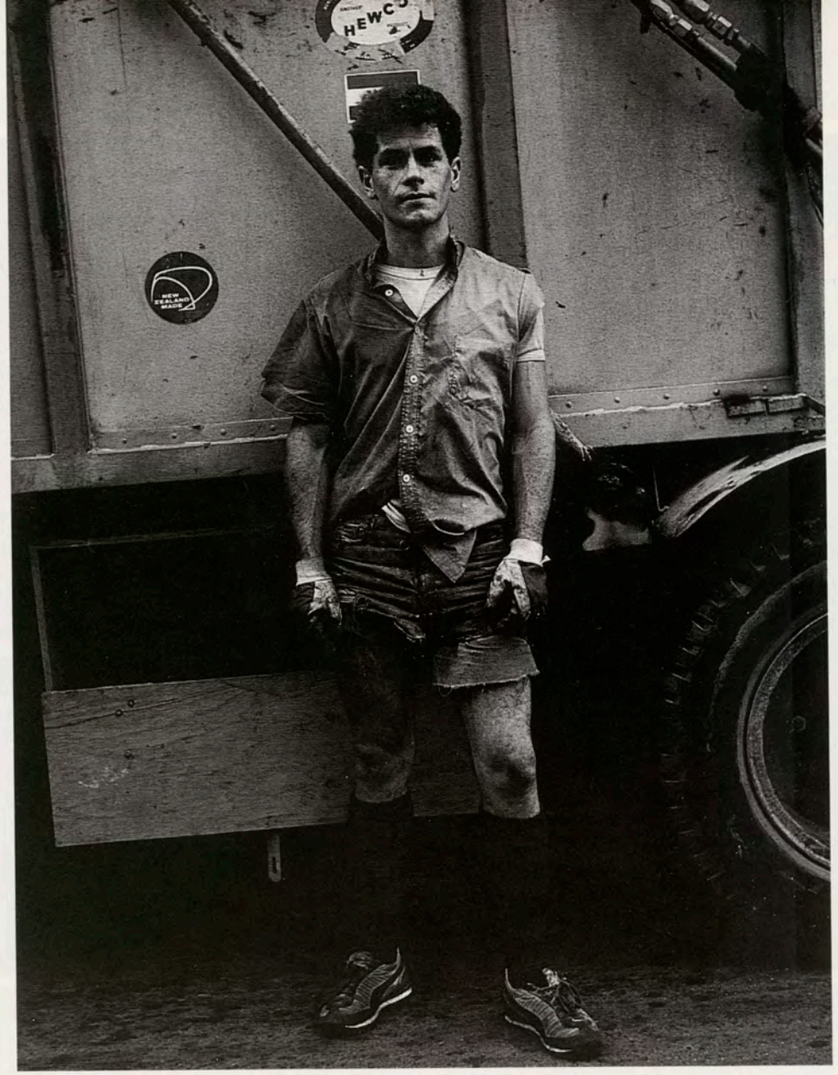
These images were made in 1981-82 for the 1983 touring exhibition *Polynesia Here and There*. Ektacolour prints. Courtesy the artist.



Allied Industries, 1981.



JBEL Fisheries, 1981.



Jan Nauta

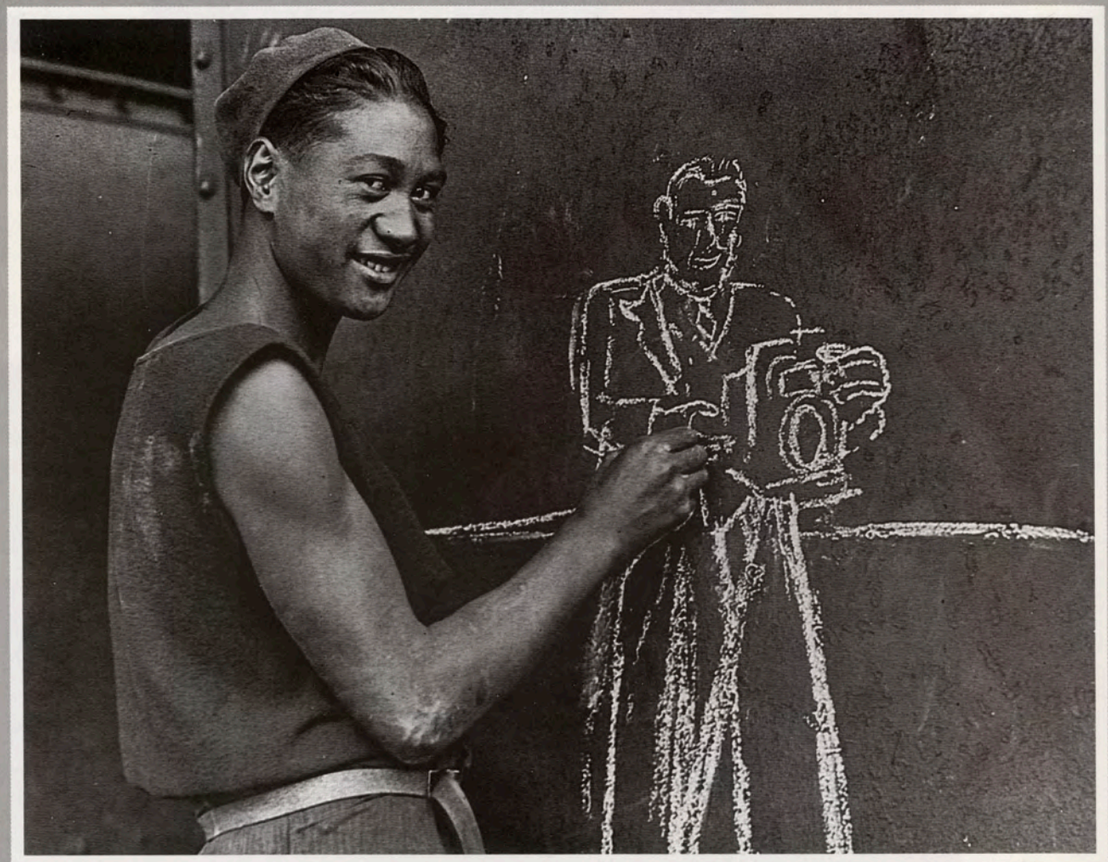
From *Dusty* Project, 1984. Exhibited at the Wellington City Art Gallery in 1985 the project documented Wellington's dustmen.
Colin Harrison.
Courtesy the artist.

COLIN HARRISON

"Being a dusty was something I started to do while I thought about what I *really* wanted to do. Nine years on I'm still thinking about it. A bonus of the job is that you don't bring your work home with you. By eleven o'clock the last of it is washed away in the shower. But for the rest of the day my body lets me know I've done some kind of outward bound course. Four hours of jostling up and down hills carrying heavy loads feels like more than a full day's work.

Unfortunately, like most of my workmates I find that the pay isn't really enough to support a family and save for a home. So the time we would otherwise have on our hands is used for second jobs. Far from having job security we are constantly under attack from an element of bureaucrats at the Town Hall. They suggest that we are a waste of the rate payers' money and they want to give our jobs to private contractors. Contractors keep their costs low by employing teenage boys for what is in fact professional weight lifting. The back problems and hernias which will inevitably plague these boys in their later years won't be of concern to their former employers."

Colin has been on the job around ten years and has a part-time afternoon job.



Boy Working On Screens, Huntly Coal Mines, 1950s. *NZ Herald* photographer. Courtesy Waikato Museum of Art and History.

WORKING CONDITIONS

This section presents a range of historic photographic images that depict working conditions since the 1890s. Taken for a variety of reasons some of these images appeared in the popular press of the time. As well as suggesting the stark nature of these conditions, particularly in industry, these images also suggest a range of attitudes on the part of the photographer to the worker and his/her relationship to the work environment.

1. Gordon H Burt Ltd, Petone Woollen Mills, 1930s. National Museum of New Zealand, ref: C2360.

2. AP Godber, Machine Shop & Finishing benches, Railway Workshops, Petone. AP Godber Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: G G749½.

3. Anderson Park Extension, Wellington, 6 September 1932. ("Work on Anderson Park extension was carried out between December 1931 and May 1934 as a Government employment relief scheme operated by Wellington City Council. The work also involved laying extensive storm-water drains through Anderson Park and under Sydney Street. The cost of this operation was 12,631 pounds. The extension was first used as a sports ground and is now the site of the Lady Norwood Rose Garden" – Walter Cook.) Evening Post Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: G88312 ½.

4. G Leslie Adkin, Concrete smoothing, Mangahao Hydroelectric Powerstation, No 3 Dam, 1932. National Museum of New Zealand, ref: AD201.

5. A Northwood, Flax cutting, Lake Ohia, Northland, c1919. Northwood Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: G6285 ⅟₁.

6. SC Smith, Hop picking, Nelson, 1900s. SC Smith Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: G24959 ⅟₁.

7. Roslyn Woollen Mills, Dunedin, 1900s. Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: F704MNZ ¼.

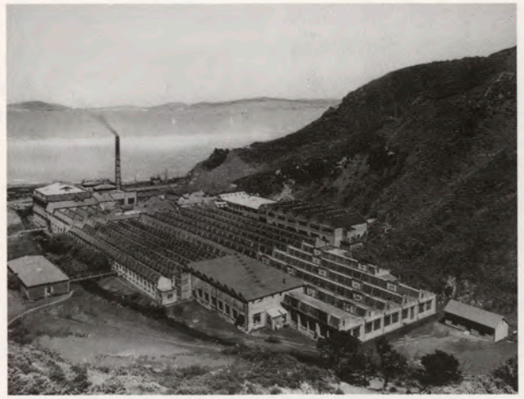
8. Christchurch Meat Co Ltd small goods factory, Cashel Street, November 1905. *Weekly Press*, 6 December 1905. Canterbury Museum, ref: 871.

9. KV Bigwood, The Rolling Machine, Suckling Bros Ltd Shoe Manufacturers, Christchurch, June 1950. (This machine rolls the leather on to the soles under pressure.) National Publicity Studios Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: F30654 ½.

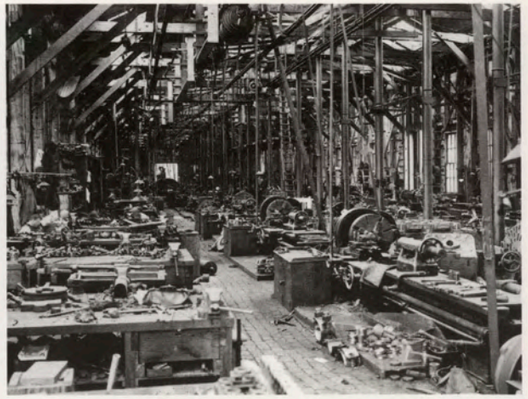
10. Welder, Wellington, 1940s. War Efforts Collection (IA 489), Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: F66954 ½.

11. Lithographic printing room. (Included in the *NZ Department of Labour Albums* compiled for the NZ International Exhibition, Christchurch, 1906-07, which showed factories and workplaces throughout New Zealand. See also D4, E3 and E4.) *NZ Department of Labour* Album Vol II. Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: F148338 ½.

12. Gordon H Burt Ltd, Women office workers and their male boss. National Museum of New Zealand, ref: C2760.



1



2



3



4



5



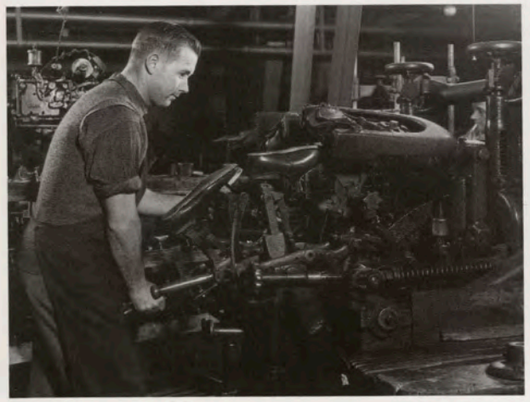
6



7



8



9



10



11



12

HISTORIC PHOTOGRAPHERS

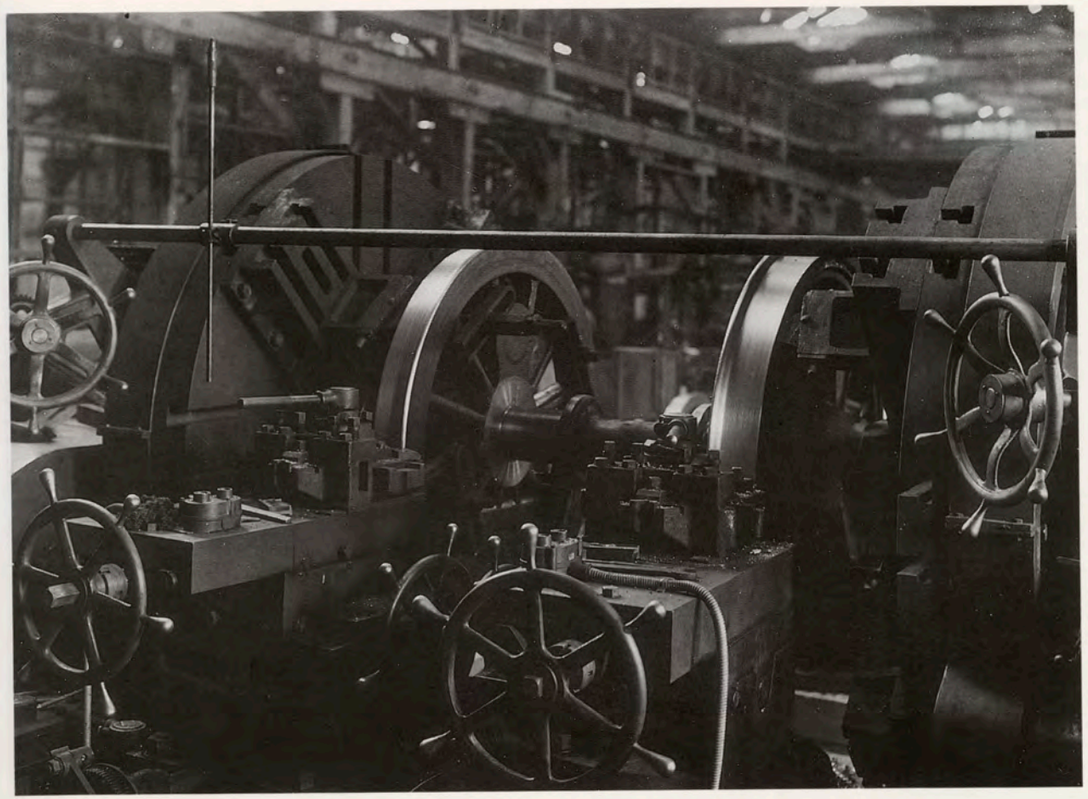
The photographers presented in this section are a selection of historic photographers who produced significant bodies of images related to the subject of work. Photographing mainly in the first half of this century these photographers produced images of a quality that suggests a consideration of many of the social and aesthetic issues involved in documenting work.



Tyree Brothers

William and Frederick Tyree established themselves as professional photographers working in the Nelson and Takaka regions from the 1880s – 1910. Amongst their many subjects the brothers produced a number of studies of men at their places of work.

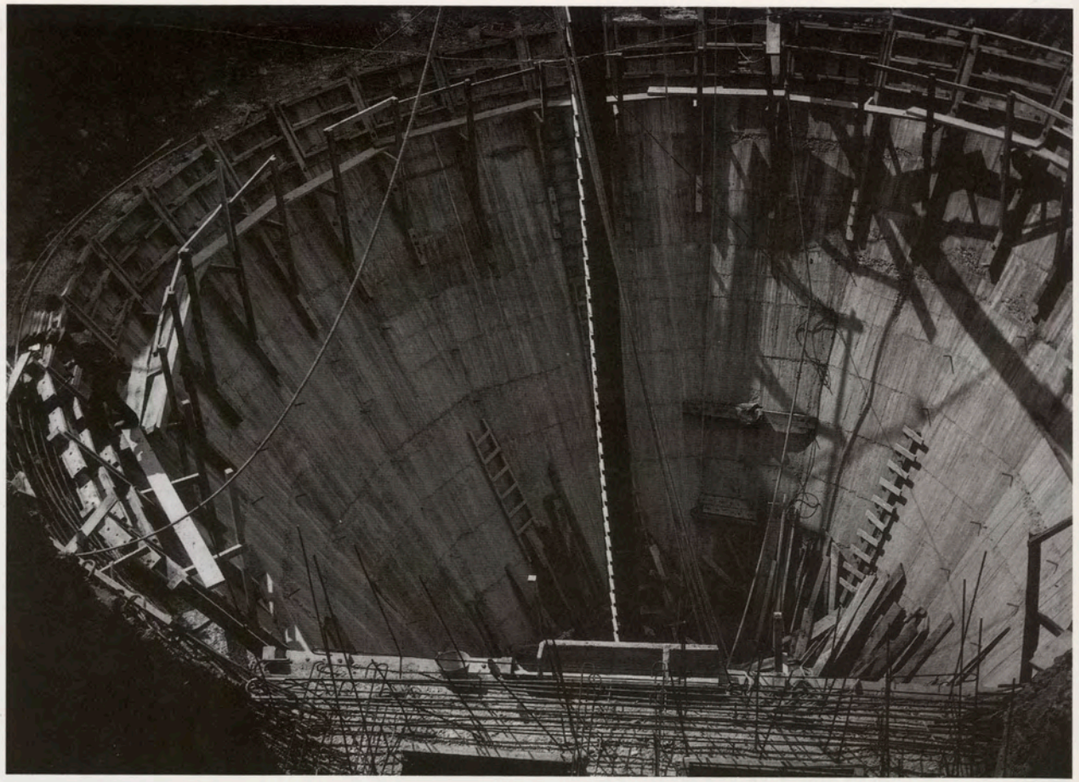
Taitapu Gold Estate. Fluming from pennyweight. Tyree Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: G561.



Albert Percy Godber

Albert Percy Godber worked at the Petone Railway Workshops from 1890 to the late 1920s. As an amateur photographer he produced a substantial number of photographs of the workshops and his fellow workers.

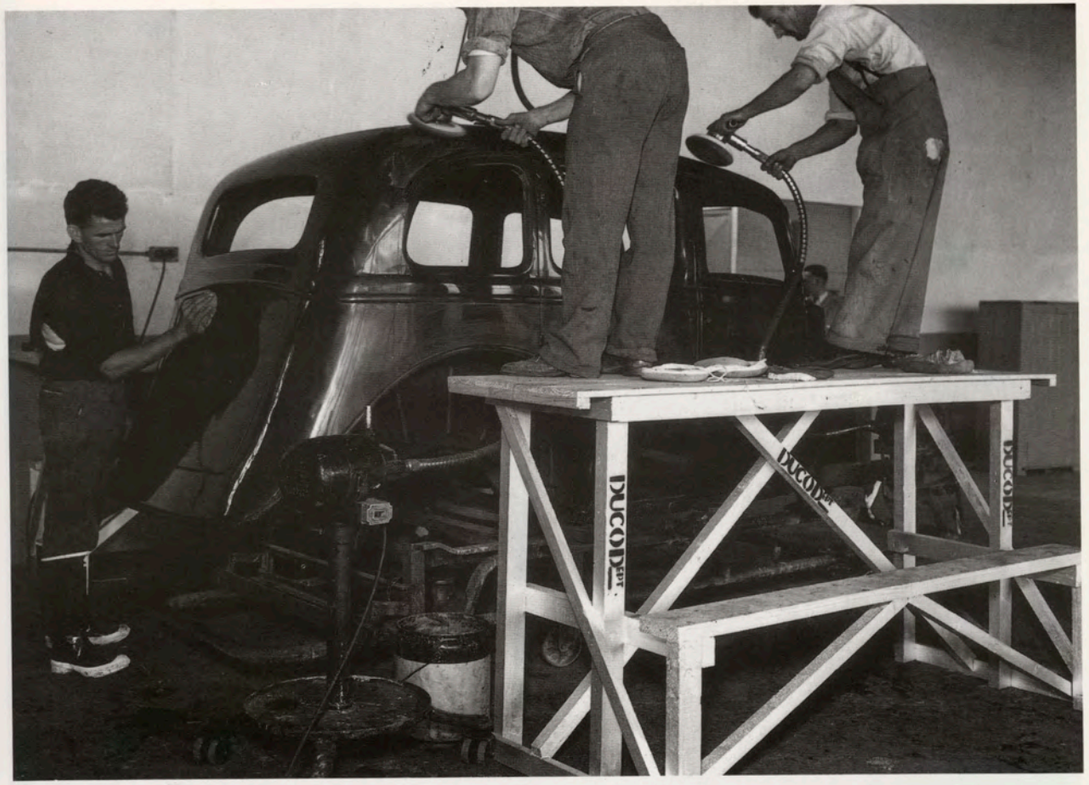
Railway Workshops, Petone. AP Godber Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: G G984 ½.



Leslie Adkin

(George) Leslie Adkin worked as a farmer near Levin as well as pursuing interests in geology, Maori ethnology, and archaeology. As a photographer he made images largely to record his discoveries. His photographs here were taken during the construction of the Mangahao Power Station. The station brought electricity reticulation to the Wellington region.

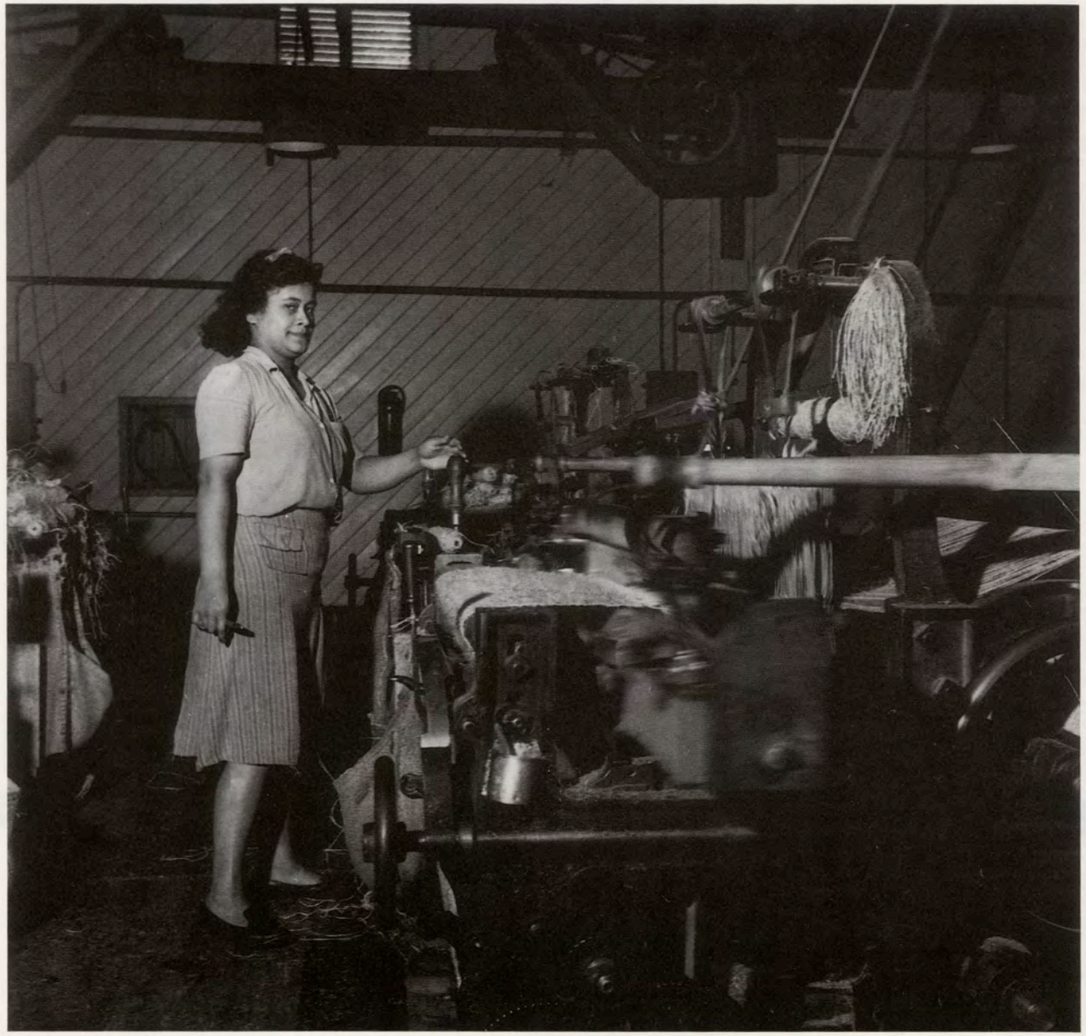
Surge tank, concrete construction, Mangahao Hydroelectric Powerstation, 1923-24. National Museum ofNew Zealand, ref: AD202.



Gordon Burt

Gordon Burt established a commercial photographic studio in Wellington in 1924 which was active until the 1960s. The photographs were generally produced for advertising or promotion purposes. The photograph here is from a body of work the Gordon Burt Studio produced for General Motors Ltd.

Car assembly line, General Motors, 1930s. National Museum of New Zealand, ref: C2351.



John Pascoe

From 1942-1945 John Pascoe took photographs for the Historical Branch of the Department of Internal Affairs. A major subject were workers involved in assisting the war effort at home. Of particular note are his images of women who replaced men in essential industries.

A Maori woman worker weaving the yarn into cloth for themanufacture of woolpacks, NZ Woolpack & Textiles Ltd, Foxton, 5 February 1945. War Effort Collection, (IA111), Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: F1505 ¼.



John Le Cren

New Zealand Railways had a photographic department based in Wellington. Over the years they employed many photographers including Albert Percy Godber and John Le Cren. Le Cren worked as an illustrations editor before starting with New Zealand Railways in 1948. He retired in 1986.

Invercargill locomotive depot, young fireman at watercrane, 1965. National Archives.

MURALS

The painting of murals has been one of the few significant occasions where artists have worked directly with the union movement. *Dennis Knight Turner* worked for unions on a number of occasions providing illustrations for journals. In 1948 he designed and painted a series of murals for unions in Auckland. (See pp39-44)

In the 1940s, *Judy Evans* and her father *Guy Harding* painted a series of 10 murals for the Communist Party. These murals hung in Unity Centre, Wellington. The murals are now with the Alexander Turnbull Library but are very frail. For the exhibition two photographic reproductions from Turnbull slides and 8 photographic copies of lantern slides belonging to Noel Hilliard were used instead. Lantern slides are schematic copies of the original mural images.

In 1989, four New Zealand artists contributed to the *Pathfinder* mural in New York City. This mural honoured the leaders of worker and freedom movements from around the world.

About 1945 *Lois White* painted a mural for the WEA offices in Auckland. The building and the mural were later destroyed by fire. The different figures symbolised differing lines of thought and calling such as the police, Sally Ann, etc.



Unity Centre mural by Judy Evans and Guy Harding,c1944. Section 7, *Of our toil and struggle come socialism and a full life*.



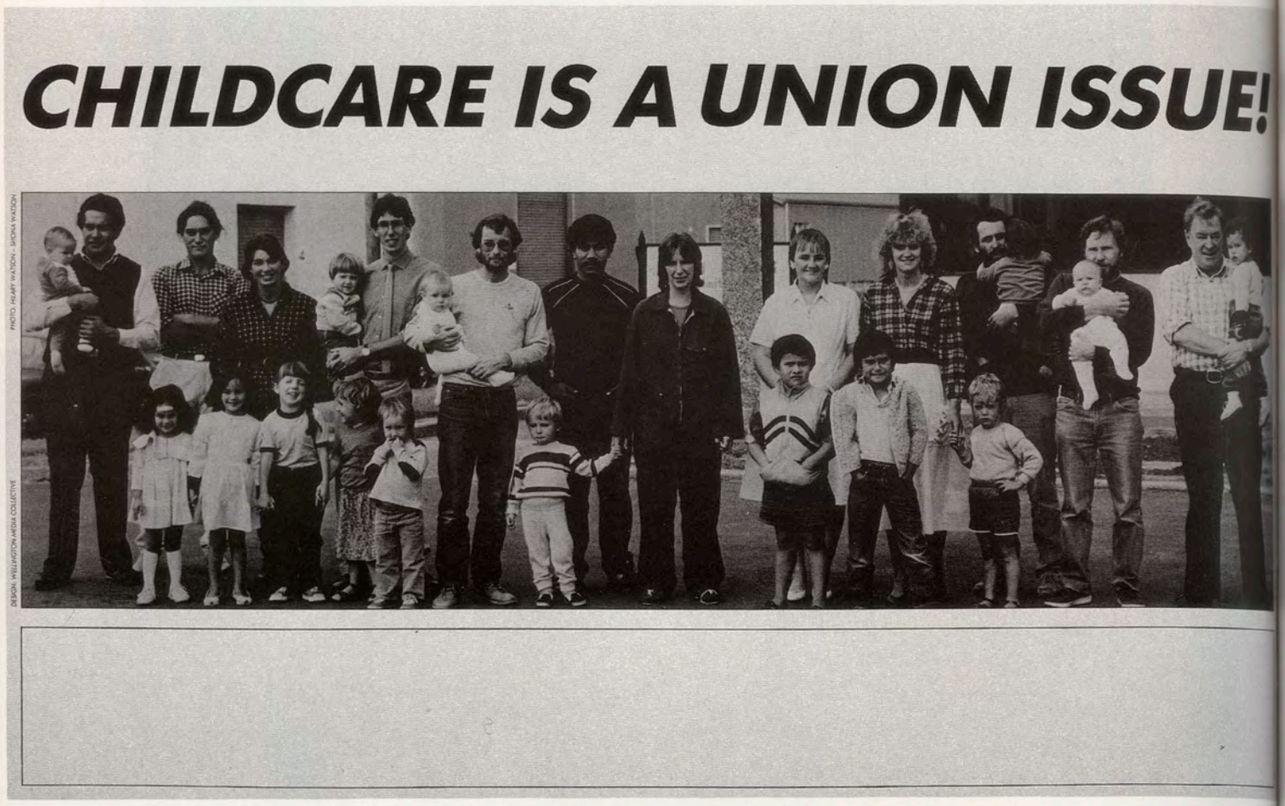
Lois White, *Controversy* mural. Courtesy National Art Gallery, Wellington.



Pathfinder mural, New York City, 1989 (detail). Te Kooti's battle pennant *Te Wepu Kooti* by Para Matchitt.

DOMESTIC/UNPAID WORK

This section acknowledges in particular mothers as workers as well as all those involved in unpaid work.



Poster: Parental Leave: A Human Right. Federation of Labour. Courtesy New Zealand Council of Trade Unions.





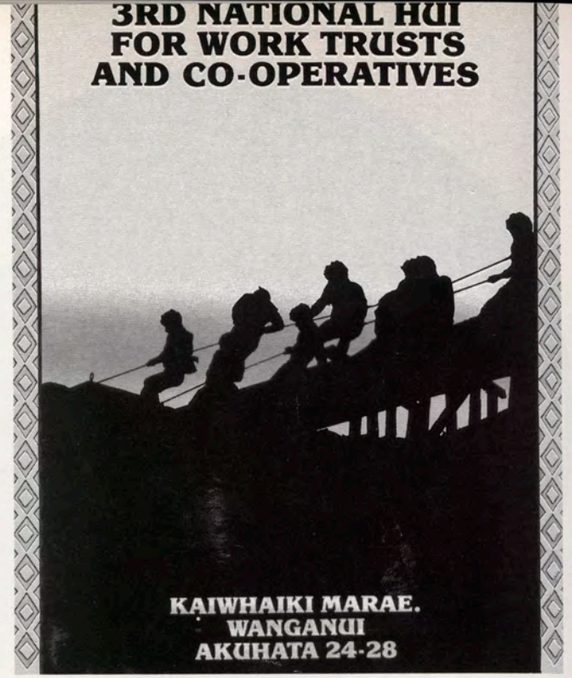




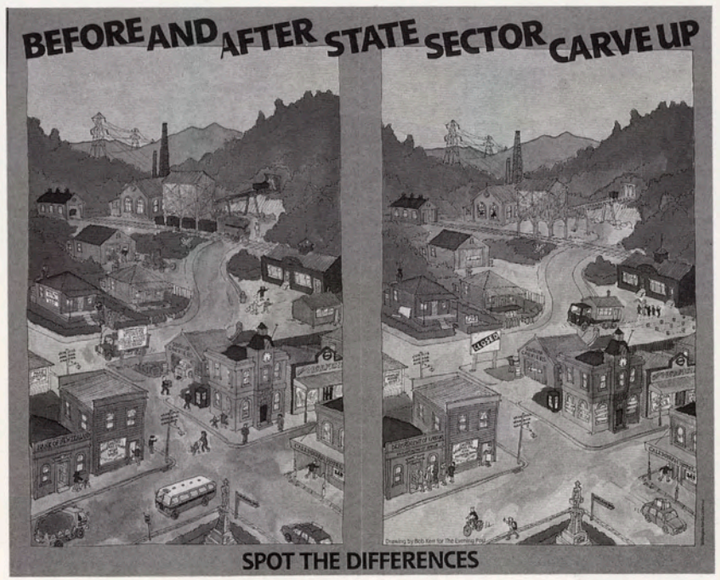
Vivian Lynn, *Honour/Duty/Sacrifice* banner, 1970. Acrylic on hardboard, bronze, awning canvas and gardenhose. Courtesy the artist.

WELLINGTON MEDIA COLLECTIVE

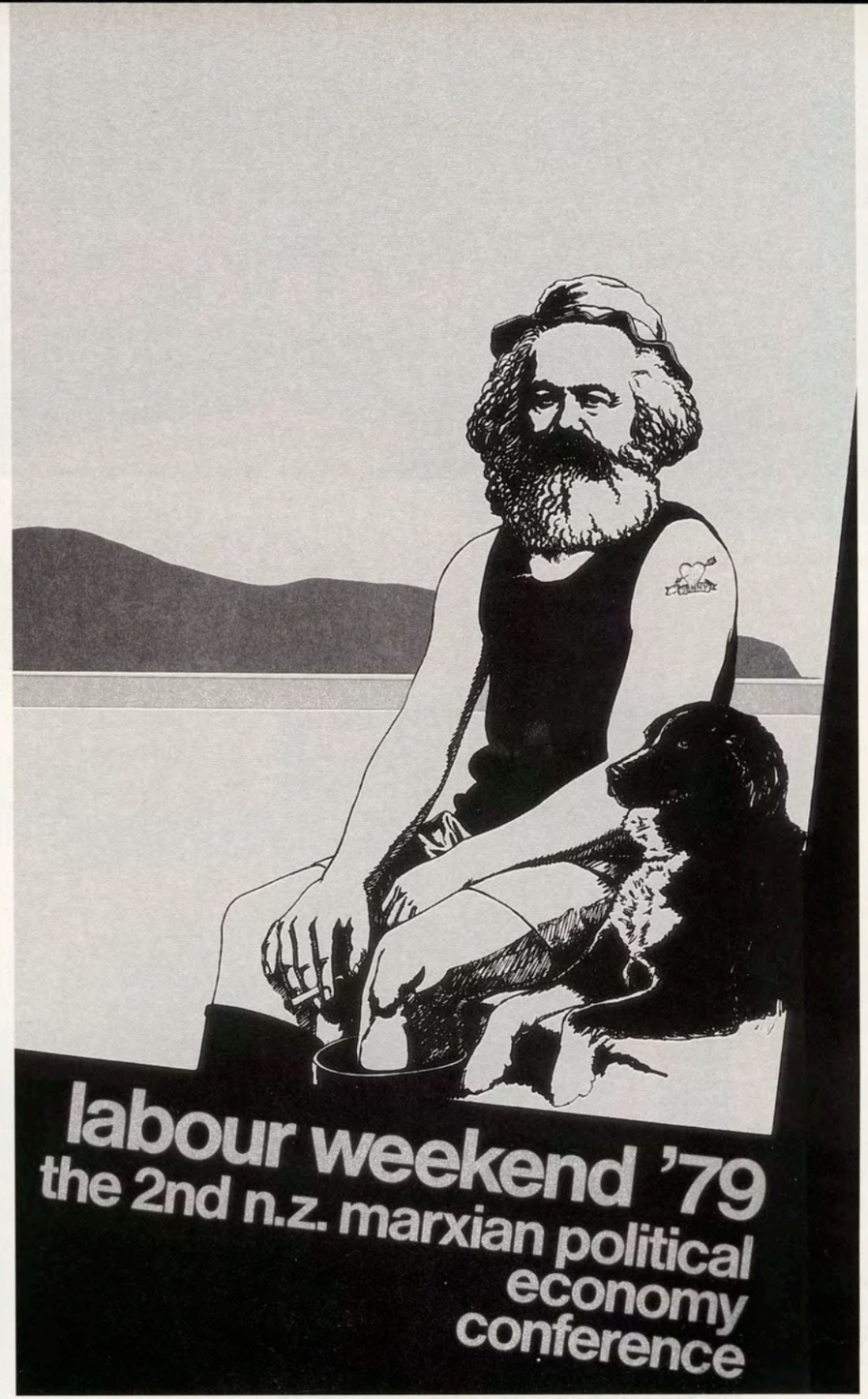
Since 1978 the Wellington Media Collective has produced numerous posters for unions and groups involved in broad left politics.
Their work is acknowledged in this section.
All posters 1980s. Courtesy Wellington Media Collective.



3rd National Hui for Work Trusts and Co-operatives.



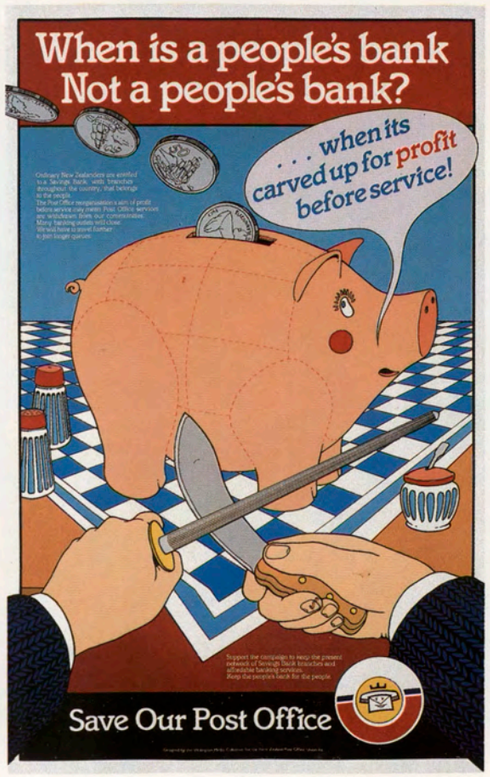
Before and after State Sector Carve Up – Spot The Differences.



2nd NZ Marxian Political Economy Conference 1979.



4th National Work Trusts & Co-operatives Hui, Parihaka, 1985.



Post Office Union poster: When's a people's bank Not a people's bank?

TAONGA TUKU IHO

The Gifts that are Handed On

Ngapine Tamihana Te Ao

This section is an specially commissioned photo essay by Ngapine Tamihana Te Ao. It focuses on the work of Maori in organising and preparing food for hui. In particular it acknowledges collective work as embracing values intrinsic to the world of the Maori.



Te Tuwheratanga o RuatapuWahine Omahu Marae, 1990.



Te Tuwheratanga o RuatapuWahine Omahu Marae, 1990.



Te Tuwheratanga o RuatapuWahine Omahu Marae, 1990. Cibachrome Print.

Te Tuwheratanga o RuatapuWahine Omahu Marae, 1990. Cibachrome Print.







Te Tuwheratanga o RuatapuWahine Omahu Marae, 1990. Cibachrome Print.

Hui Rangatiratanga Te Kupenga o Te Matauranga, 1990. Cibachrome Print.



MA TE OHU E WHĀKAMA NGA MAHI

A Group of Volunteers will Make Light the Work

Art and Labour in traditional and contemporary Maori society are inextricably mixed. Collective activity to fulfill tasks has been maintained from the time of settlement in Aotearoa. Fundamentally Maori people continue to find that collective strength maintains Maori society. There is a joy in working collectively and an art in achieving a collective goal. A significant element of the Maori world is expressed through Manakitanga and Awhinatanga, feeding and caring for guests and in turn being reciprocally cared for.

J McDonald, Fishing on Whareponga Beach, Waiapu, 1923. National Museum of New Zealand, ref: B4274.





W (Bill) Hall-Raine, Otaki hui. National Museum of New Zealand, re: B12899.



Food presentation at marae, probably South Island. Includes mutton birds in kelp bags at front, flour and potatoes in sacks, and cartons of Griffins biscuits. This was the custom for many years at weddings, funerals, etc, to display food before distributing it to guests. National Museum of New Zealand, ref: B16578.



Leslie Hinge, Cooking on an open fire at a Maori pa, 1920s. National Museum of New Zealand.

J McDonald, Lifting the kumera, Waiapu, 1923. National Museum of New Zealand, ref: A4051.



THE WORKER IN ART

The worker and images of labour have not been a central theme in the fine art history of this country, a history dominated by landscape painting. This section presents historical and contemporary explorations around the theme of work.

A feature of this section is a specially commissioned mural by Mary-Louise Browne and Frank Stark. This mural focuses on women in the workforce and the ways women have been represented in the visual history of work in New Zealand.



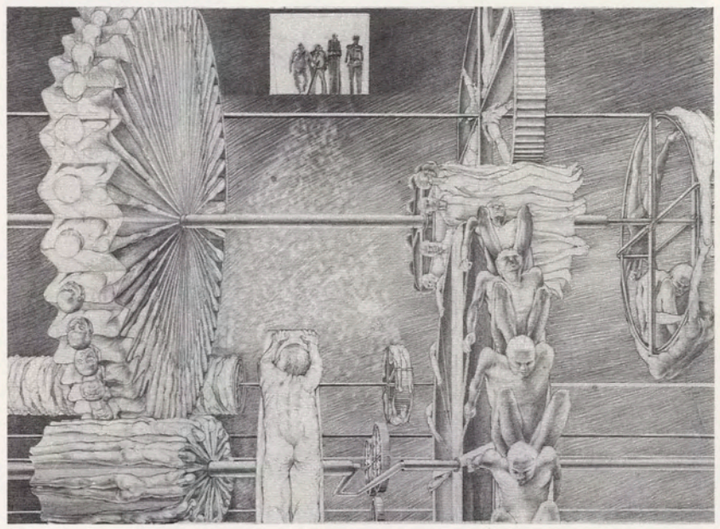
William Tighe, *Barbound*, 1920s. Oil on canvas. Courtesy: Auckland Branch, New Zealand Seafarers Union.



Garth Tapper, *Afternoon tea*, 1976. Oil on hardboard. Private Collection, Auckland.



Warren Viscoe, *Rock, salt aggregate and the quarryman's dream*, 1985. Installation of figure holding mallet, kneeling figure, bench, garden sieve, volcanic rock and a box of salt. Collection Sarjeant Gallery, Wanganui.



Vivian Lynn, *Nobodies*. Pencil. For *Playground* series, 1974. Courtesy the artist.



John Weeks, *Composition of tools*, 1930s. Tempera on cardboard. Collection National Art Gallery, Wellington.



Mary-Louise Browne and Frank Stark

The Division of Labour, 1990. Photo-mural: Triptych.
Photography by Neil Pardington.





PICTURING WORKERS

This section explores depictions of the worker in popular culture, in the media and in public places. Images of workers and the working class have not featured strongly in our popular culture. Often when the worker is represented s/he is pictured symbolically as an accent to depictions of industry or as a type.


NEW ZEALAND

LISTENER

Incorporating N.Z. RADIO RECORD

Registered as a Newspaper. Vol. 4, No. 92, March 28, 1941

Programmes for March 30—April 5

Threepence

AMERICA MEANS BUSINESS (Cordell Hull, March 18, 1941)

ADVANCE PROGRAMMES FOR ALL STATIONS

Russell Clark, Front cover illustration *New Zealand Listener* Vol 4 No 92, 28 March 1941.



LC Mitchell, Butter-making stamp. First issued 1963. Courtesy NZ Post Ltd.

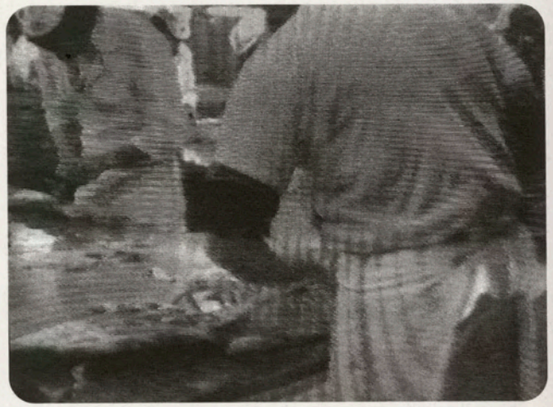
CONTEMPORARY FILM AND VIDEO

The media of film and video have been used extensively to document working life and history and the struggles of the trade union movement in New Zealand. Video artist Darcy Lange and Wellington producers Vanguard films feature in the main section of the exhibition.



DARCY LANGE – *WORK STUDIES*

During the 1970s New Zealand video artist Darcy Lange produced a number of studies of people at work both in New Zealand and in Europe. While working within a documentary tradition Lange in these works makes use of the character of video to stimulate a concentrated observation of the conditions of work.



VANGUARD FILMS – *WILDCAT*

During the 1980s Vanguard Films produced a series of films and videos for and about unions. *Wildcat* 1981 investigates the 1980 timber worker's strike in New Zealand and the rank and file worker's demands for democracy in the New Zealand Timber Worker's Union. (See also essay by Russell Campbell p47.)



Stills from *Waitara Freezing Works* (Parts one and two), hh74. Two x 3/4" videotapes. Collection Govett-Brewster Art Gallery, New Plymouth.

LIST OF WORKS AND IMAGES IN THE EXHIBITION

All black and white photographic prints unless otherwise stated.

1890 MARITIME STRIKE

1. The flag of the Jubilee Steamship Company 1890. 800 × 1310mm. Courtesy NZ Seamen's Union.
2. "Funeral procession by bootmakers on strike". The Auckland bootmakers' mock funeral procession during the strike. The departed president lies on top of the hearse, wearing a crown because his name was King. *New Zealand Observer*, 16 May 1891. From: Bert Roth and Janny Hammond, *Toil and Trouble*, 1981.
3. James Nairn cartoons for his publication Strike Notes, Wellington, 1890. Lithography. The Notes record the waterfront strike in Dunedin 26 August 1890 and in Wellington 29 August 1890. The strike was quashed by November 1890.
   (i) "The prime Mover"/"The moved Primer"/"Constabulary Costume during times of Peace". Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: C11533.
   (ii) "Say Bill that ere 'oss is laying down cos he knows its free Labour as is drivin him. He's a Unionist that 'oss is-." Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: C11532.
4. Cartoon. *New Zealand Graphic*, 4 October 1890. "Steam Ship Manager to Clerical Staff. 'I am obliged to ask you to turn out and load the Tongariro'". Auckland Public Library, ref: A12120.

1890 SWEATING COMMISSION

1. Petone Settlers Museum poster for Strike at T'Mill exhibition, 1987.
2. "The Sweating Crusade", *New Zealand Observer*, 25 June 1892. St George (with the face of Harriet Morison) slays the sweating monster. From: Bert Roth and Janny Hammond, Toil and Trouble, 1981.
3. Shop assistants, The Economic, Wanganui, 1908. FJ Denton Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: G14887 ⅟₁ (cropped).
4. Harriet R Morison (1862-1925), long-time secretary of the Tailoresses Union in Dunedin. *New Zealand Graphic*, 4 June 1892. Auckland Public Library, ref: A10163.
5. Auckland Telephone Exchange, NZ Graphic, 28 November 1903. Auckland Institute & Museum, ref: M804/3-6.

1912/1913 – WAIHI AND THE WATERFRONT STRIKE

1954

1. R Rogers, "Strikers: their wives and children marched through the streets of Waihi. *The Maoriland Worker* put the number of marchers at 2000, but the *NZ Herald* said only 600 were on parade". *NZ Yesterdays*, edited by H Keith. Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: F12541 ¼.
2. 'A "Square Deal" in Waihi as applied by Massey', *Maoriland Worker*, 1912. The Waihi Miners Union opted out of the arbitration system and joined the Federation of Labour. The mining company formed a new arbitration union, its award binding on all miners. Mine-owners brought in strike-breakers and Massey backed them with police. From: Ian F Grant, *The Unauthorised Version*, 1980.
3. "Morning of November 12", Waihi, 1912. On this day (known as Black Tuesday) the strike-breakers attacked the strikers at Miners Hall. Striker Frederick George Evans died two days later from injuries sustained during the incident. (HE Holland's book *The Tragic Story of the Waihi Strike* [1913] is "admiringly" dedicated "to the splendid women of Waihi – who through storm and stress of the industrial war never waivered in their loyalty to their class".) HE Holland Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: F44240 ½.
4. The broken column above Evans' grave in Waikaraka Cemetary, Auckland. "He Died for his class" – one of the few trade union monuments in New Zealand. Roth Collection.
5. Unionists march through Auckland on the first anniversary of Evans' death in Waihi. *Auckland Weekly News*, 20 November 1913. Price Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: G186 ½.
6. The Miners & Workers Union Hall, Waihi, November 1912. Overnight the strike breakers had painted patriotic symbols on the Hall. Waihi Art Centre & Museum Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: F21950 ½.
7. W Beattie, The Drivers Union banner in the Evans' memorial march in Auckland. *Auckland Weekly News*, 20 November 1913. *NZ Herald* photographic collection.

1913

1. SC Smith, Strikers & sympathisers marching to Newtown Park. Maritime Strike, Wellington, 1913. SC Smith Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: G48931 ½.
2. Poster, Citizens' Meeting at Opera House, Sunday, 9th [November 1913]. Handout published by "Worker" Print, 1913. Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: F138713 ½.
3. Unity Congress delegates and their partners attend a dance in the Wellington Town Hall, July 1913. Note the union banners, including the Bakers Union banner by James Nairn, hanging from the balconies. Roth Collection.
4. Card, Wellington Watersider Workers Union loyalty stamp, from the membership book of Lew Glover – "Solidarity Must Conquer". Roth Collection.
5. SP Andrews, Special constables, Wellington, during Maritime Strike, 1913. Earle Andrew Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: G14887 ⅟₁.
6. Trevor Lloyd cartoon, "Another Hopeless Dawn". *Auckland Weekly News*, 1913. As the Wellington waterfront strike spread to other ports, farmers were recruited as "special constables". Known as "Massey's Cossacks" after violent street brawls, they kept wharves open and operating. From: Ian F Grant, *The Unauthorised Version*, 1980.
7. "Massey's Cossacks" charge strikers in Featherson St, Wellington. (Twenty people were injured). *Auckland Weekly News*, 13 November 1913. *NZ Herald* photographic collection.

WORLD WAR I

1. Unknown photographer, Military HG staff, NZ and A Division, Otago Gully, Gallipoli, November 1915. National Museum of New Zealand, ref: B13472.
2. New Zealanders in battle in the Dardanelles: Maoris in a night action. Published in the *Auckland Weekly News Supplement*, 1915. Serials Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: C10588.

3. A Northwood, Digging drainage ditch, Kaitaia swamp. Northwood Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: G10663 ⅟₁.
4. BB cartoon, "YOU GO!", *Maoriland Worker*, 1915. From the *Maoriland Worker* viewpoint, the working man, frontline soldier in the developing class war, was being pressured to fight instead for King and Country in a war of capitalism's making. From: Ian F Grant, *The Unauthorised Version*, 1980.
5. SP Andrew, "The first contingent of the Volunteer Sisterhood ready to leave for Egypt in October 1915, with 'honorary secretary' Ettie Rout, the unhatted one with the challenging gaze". (Jane Tolerton, "Our Sisters Overseas" in *More*, April 1988). Earle Andrew Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: G14727 ⅟₁.
6. MJ cartoon, "Instead of Conscription of Wealth". *Maoriland Worker*, 1916. The militant wing of the Labour movement wanted wealth conscripted before people, as a more or less logical extension of the belief that the war was being fought primarily in the economic interests of a capitalist ruling class. From: Ian F Grant, *The Unauthorised Version*, 1980.
7. Stephano Webb, Cost of living and anti-conscription demonstration, Christchurch, 18/3/1917. Hocken Library, ref: E1051/3.

DEPRESSION

1. 1932 Christchurch May Day march. Caption: "Unemployed demonstration – Chch". *The Press*. Hocken Library, ref: E3254/72.
2. "Dramatic Police Charge Routs Unemployed Demonstrators in Wellington" [11 May 1932] ". . . workers & unemployed numbering about 2000 were put to rout in a lightning two-minute baton charge by 50 mounted and foot police under Inspector J Lander, during a mass meeting held in Cuba Street last week. The charge followed an outbreak of stone throwing by a section of the crowd which immediately scattered in all directions, many being injured in the stampede for safety . . .". NZ Freelance Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: G101110 ½.
3. Kennaway Henderson cartoon: January 1934. "THE GREAT KATIPO (PRESS CABLE SERVICE): HERE'S TO ME; I HAVE SPUN MY YARN OVER ALL." From: H Winston Rhodes, *Kennaway Henderson: Artist, Editor and Radical*, 1988.
4. Christopher Perkins, Employed, c1930. Pen and ink with wash. 266 × 380mm. Collection Auckland City Art Gallery. Presented by Dr RM Campbell, 1963.
5. Labour Party advertisement 1931. From: Tony Simpson, *Sugarbag Years*, 1974.
6. Akatarawa labour camp, 14 January, 1932. Evening Post Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: G84136 ½.
7. Jay H Gee (Jack Gilmour) cartoon: "This beats the Garden of Eden creation". Published in *NZ Transport Worker*, 1 November 1929. "The Court of Arbitration in the Watersider Workers' Award allowed .54 of a wife and .87 of a child to each male over 16 years of age." Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: C8026.
8. Mrs Fell's Soup Kitchen, about 1930-35. Kingsford Collection, Nelson Provincial Museum.
9. Queue at NZ Smith Family Joy Spreaders Inc, 89 Wakefield Street, Wellington, 1933. Evening Post Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: F49826 ½.

WWII/WORKERS IN NZ

1. Poster, Miss 1942. Courtesy Therese O'Connell.
2. Cover *NZ Clarion* Vol 4 No 11, 16 December 1940. "The Season's Greetings to All" "Guard My Tools Till I Come Back"
3. Russell Clark, Front cover illustration *New Zealand Listener* Vol 4 No 92, 28 March 1941.
4. Prime Minister Savage's appeal to enlist from the NZ Post Office Employee's magazine *Katipo* 23 March 1940. From Bert Roth, *Along the Line: 100 Years of Post Office Unionism*, 1990.

1949/1951 DISPUTES

1949

1. This gummed sticker was made to look like an official notice. Contrary to the inscription, it was not "Issued by the New Zealand Department of Health". From: Bert Roth and Janny Hammond, *Toil and Trouble*, 1981.
2. *Fighting Back*, 1949. 16mm film transferred to video. Courtesy NZ Building Trades Union.
3. Dromgoole cartoons, *Home Brew: Selected cartoons from the People's Voice*. All sixteen pages from the underground booklet produced as a tribute to the cartoonist Frank Dromgoole, 1950. Pages 6 and 7 reproduced. Roth Collection.

1951

1. Max Bollinger cartoon, From illegal Wellington *Watersiders Workers Union Bulletin* No 47, 29 July 1951. Alexander Turnbull Library, refs: MS papers 202/C10662.
2. Max Bollinger cartoon, From illegal Wellington *Watersiders Workers Union Bulletin* No 46, 22 July 1951. Alexander Turnbull Library, refs: MS papers 202/C10661.
3. Police control the wharves, a view of the entrance to the Northern Steam Ship Company's wharf in Auckland. Roth Collection.
4. Harry Rose, Women head a unionist march up Queen Street, Auckland, 1 June 1951. Roth Collection.
5. Police stop a unionist march at the intersection of Cuba and Dixon Streets, Wellington, 2 May 1951. *Photo News* photograph. Roth Collection.
6. Len Gale linocut, *During 1951*. Len Gale Collection.
7. Len Gale linocut, For a leaflet: *The Saga of Shifty Sid*. Len Gale Collection.
8. Len Gale linocut, *Rent Day*. Len Gale Collection.
9. Fox cartoon (pseudonym for I McAnally): "Blotting the book", *Standard* (Labour's weekly), 1951. Late in 1951, repressive legislation, dealing with spying, sedition and subversion, seriously curtailed individual liberties. From: Ian F Grant, *The Unauthorised Version*, 1980.
10. Minhinnick cartoon, "Sooner or later, something'll have to be done about it", 4 August 1951.
11. Neville Colvin cartoon, "Do we operate or co-operate?" Toby Hill Collection, National Museum of New Zealand, ref: B19044.

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

1. Poster, Make Sure Your Hard Labour Pays Off. New Zealand Labour Industry Superannuation Trust.
2. Trace Hodgson cartoon, *Future Employment*, (detail). Courtesy the artist.
3. Wellington Media Collective poster, 1984 Durham Miners Family Aid donation certificate. Courtesy Wellington Media Collective.

4. Sharon Murdoch, Cover for the *Federation of Labour Bulletin* No 34, September 1983. Courtesy Therese O'Connell.
5. Tim De Goldi cartoon, *If you don't behave like ladies we won't treat you like men. Women in struggle: wooltesting.* Courtesy the artist.
6. Max Bollinger cartoon, *Locking the stabledoor*, 1989. Courtesy the artist.
7. Poster, Patricia Sarr photographer: *Lettie McDermott, Clothing worker made redundant at Rixen Manufacturing.*
8. Poster, 1987 National Hui. Te Roopu Rawakore O Aotearoa.
9. Neville Lodge cartoon, *I did speak to her and all she said was, if she can't get equal pay she's only going to do the same work as the men.* Courtesy New Zealand Public Service Association.
10. Poster, 120,000+ New Zealanders Unemployed! Will you be next? FOL/CSU Unemployment Conference, Wellington Town Hall, 8-9 August 1981.
11. Poster, Stop the Cuts: March to Parliament. Wellington Trades Council.
12. Poster, Support pay equity. Distribution Workers Federation.
13. Screenprinted poster, Railways: No 1 IN NEGLECT. Courtesy, Eymard Bradley.
14. Kinraid cartoon, 1986 Wage Round. We're still part of New Zealand. Otago Trades Council/CSU.

Phill Rooke, *Apprentice at Maralinga*. Acrylic paint onplaster and wood. 1623 × 299 × 370mm. Courtesy the artist.

UNEMPLOYMENT/TEMPORARY WORK

1. Geoff Short, Your working life. From: *The Unemployment Project*, 1983. Collection, Waikato Museum of Art and History.
2. Poster, March against unemployment: March against injustice. Te Hapua – Wellington. Courtesy NZCTU.
3. Gil Hanly, Unemployment march/demonstration on the way to Parliament after walking the length of New Zealand. Courtesy the artist.
4. Gil Hanly, Vacancy/Redundant: Street theatre outside Parliament Buildings, Wellington. Courtesy the artist.
5. Gil Hanly, After a demonstration on unemployment, Auckland. Courtesy the artist.
6. Gil Hanly, Unemployed march with banner, Auckland, July 1983. Courtesy the artist.
7. Glenn Jowitt, *The devil on temporary employment*, 1979. Collection Govett-Brewster Art Gallery, New Plymouth.

Identity

THE HAND: SYMBOL OF LABOUR

1. Minhinnick cartoon, "Hands up all those who vote for a strike", 27 February 1951. From: Ian F Grant, *The Unauthorised Version: A Cartoon History of New Zealand*, 1980.
2. Tondo from Westport District Gold Miners' Industrial Union of Workers' banner, 1889. Courtesy National Museum of New Zealand.
3. National Party anti-socialist poster from the 1938 election campaign. NZ Heritage Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: F146804 ½.
4. John Pascoe, Linen flax worker handles a tractor, 2 June 1943. War Effort Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: F115781 ½.
5. Michael Joseph Savage greeted by an enthusiastic crowd during the 1938 election campaign. *Weekly News*. CA Jeffery Papers, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: F51739 ½.
6. Bruce Connew, *Firing Wire – Strongman State Coalmine, 9 Mile, near Greymouth*, 1986. Collection Dowse Art Museum, Lower Hutt.
7. William Blomfield ('BLO') cartoon, "Ready for the Grip – The Employer: I'm doomed when this great fist closes". *New Zealand Observer*, 20 April 1912. From: Bert Roth and Janny Hammond, *Toil and Trouble*, 1981.
8. New Zealand 7¢ stamp. 1919-1969 International Labour Organisation. Courtesy NZ Post Ltd.
9. Gordon H Burt Ltd, Male worker. National Museum of New Zealand, ref: C2305.
10. Hand from the first *Katipo* journal masthead, 1892. From: Centennial dinner invitation July 1990 for the New Zealand Post Office Union.
11. The raised hammer, symbol of the Federation of Labour. Graphic.

ORIGINS

1890 Historical Images

1. Walter Crane, *The Triumph of Labour*, 1891. Cartoon no VII of 12 cartoons reprinted by the Twentieth Century Press as *A Souvenir of the International Socialist Workers and Trade Union Congress*, 1896. Woodcut. Courtesy Rona Bailey.
2. Walter Crane, *The Vampire*, 1885. Cartoon no III from 1896 *Souvenir*. Woodcut. Courtesy Rona Bailey.
3. "The death of a pit. The mourners wear black armbands for the last march of the Wombwell branch banner at the Yorkshire Miners Gala in 1969. The banner carries black draping to mark the closure of the colliery after 113 years. Leading the march is their branch secretary, Roy Hepworth, who lost his leg in a mining accident". From: John Gorman, *Banner Bright*, 1986.
4. "The English Chatham district banner of the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, based on the earlier design for the certificate of membership for the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners". From: John Gorman, *Banner Bright*, 1986.
5. Original Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners Union certificate, June 1860. Courtesy Midland Branch, New Zealand Building Trades Union, Hamilton.
6. Amalgamated Engineers Union float, [before WWI]. Courtesy Waikato Museum of Art and History.
7. William Blomfield cartoon, "Weighed in the Balance & not Wanting". (John Ballance is the lower figure.) *NZ Observer*, 1892. Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: C1986.
8. Laundry, A Clark & Sons Shirt Factory, Grey Lynn, Auckland. *Weekly News*, 6 April 1900. Auckland Institute & Museum, ref: M804/34-6.
9. Miners wives in their Sunday best demonstrate in the main street of Huntly. Their banner reads "Death or Glory" and "Down with Blacklegs". *Auckland Weekly News*, 28 January 1909. Roth Collection.
10. Ans Westra, Clothing manufacture, New Lynn, Auckland, 1971. Courtesy the artist.

BANNERS OF IDENTITY

1. Wellington Waterfront Workers Union banner – 1890*1913*1951. 1428 × 1285mm. Courtesy Wellington Waterfront Workers' Union.
2. *Auckland Labour News* cover (1915-27), using 1895 Walter Crane cartoon no XI, *A Garland for May Day*, from the 1896 *Souvenir* catalogue. From: Bert Roth and Janny Hammond, *Toil and Trouble*, 1981.
3. Central portion of Westport District Gold Miners Industrial Union of Workers' banner, 1889. Courtesy National Museum of New Zealand slide.

Mastheads

4. Masthead for the planned periodical *Labour*. The small illustrations each represent the unions who were to co-publish the magazine; it was never published. Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: F30962 ½.
5. Masthead for *The Maoriland Worker* in 1912: "The World's Wealth for the World's Workers". From: Bert Roth and Janny Hammond, *Toil and Trouble*, 1981.
6. The *Katipo* journal masthead, 1 January 1892. From: Centennial dinner invitation July 1990 for the New Zealand Post Office Union.

May Day Graphics

7. Labour Day procession in Dunedin passing through the Octagon. *New Zealand Graphic*, 29 November 1890. Auckland Public Library, ref: A10165.
8. Walter Crane, *The Workers' May Pole*, 1894. Cartoon no IX from the 1896 *Souvenir* catalogue. Woodcut. Courtesy Rona Bailey.
9. *The Spirit of May Day* by Harry Holland. *Maoriland Worker*, 3 May 1916. From: Bert Roth, *Days of Action: May Day. Eight Hour Day. Labour Day*, 1990.

Banners on the March

10. Gisborne's Labour Day procession in October 1908. *Auckland Weekly News*, 22 October 1908. *NZ Herald* photographic collection.
11. SC Smith, Strikers and sympathisers marching to Newtown Park. Maritime Strike, Wellington, 1913. SC Smith Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: G48932 ½ (detail).
12. March with Auckland Hotel & Restaurant Employees Union banner. University of Canterbury.
13. Members of the Auckland Tramways Union march behind their banner to the Domain on 2 December 1945 to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the Labour Government. Auckland Tramways Union Archives, Auckland University Library.
14. Drivers Industrial Union banner, c1910. 3085 × 2360mm. Courtesy Northern Distribution Union, Auckland.
15. Gil Hanly, Maori warrior leads May Day parade Auckland with "MAY DAY – 1988/C.T.U. Auckland District Council/ 1937-1988" banner. Courtesy the artist.
16. Auckland March with Bill Anderson on the right with Drivers Industrial Union banner. *NZ Herald* photographic collection.
17. Public Service Association march, Dunedin, 1980s. *Otago Daily Times*, 15/36. Hocken Library, ref: E4268/20.
18. March with Len Gale "Public Control"/ATC banner. Courtesy Len Gale.

BANNERS

1. Tramways Union banner, 1938. 1820 × 2740mm. Courtesy Auckland Tramways Union.
2. 1938 Auckland Domain Labour re-election rally. The Unions were strong at the time after Labour's 1935 win. The Tramways' banner was made especially for the 1938 rally. Courtesy Auckland Tramways Union.
3. Seamen's Union Centennial banner, 1979. 1850 × 3325mm. Courtesy Seamen's Union.
4. Sally Griffin, Banner for Working Women's Resource Centre, Auckland, for May Day 1990. 1880 × 2280mm. Courtesy Working Women's Resource Centre.
5. Malcolm Harrison, Banner for Northern Hotel, Hospital and Restaurant Workers Union, 1990. 2044 × 1635mm. Courtesy Northern Hotel, Hospital and Restaurant Workers Union.
6. Trade Union History Project banner, 1990. 2210 × 2965mm. Courtesy Trade Union History Project.

BADGES

Canterbury Westland Storeworkers Union
Waikato Unemployed Workers Rights Union
Mangere Bridge Lock Out 1978-1980
Shorter Hours 35 Hours Now!
Unemployment Is A Shit Sandwich
Blame The System Not The Victim: Fight Unemployment
Value Office Workers
The Right To Work Is A Human Right
Don't Get Mad, Get Even
Unions Are For Women Too: WWC Auckland
Dairy Workers Union of NZ: Unity Is Strength
NZ Workers For Peace
Metal Trades Award: Stick With It!!
Unemployment Wastes Workers
Federated Furniture Trades Society
If you think the system is working: Ask Someone Who Isn't
Women Need Unions Need Women
NZ Labourers & General Workers Union
Kinleith PPWU Kinleith
NZCRTU Credo Sed Caveo
Union Members: Award Winners
Hands off my Award
Fight Unemployment
Show The Way For Equal Pay
Fight Unemployment: Right To Work
No Award? No Way!
Women The Primary Resource: NZEI
I'm Union
No Youth Rates: School Leavers, Students and Workers – Unite!
NZ Timber Workers Union
Timber Workers: an endangered species
Federation of Labour: May Day 1982
Strike A Blow For Equal Pay
Hotel Hospital Restaurant Related Trades: I'm a Union Member
NZ Workers Union: Tatou Tatou
Every Mother is a working mother
General Strike: FOL: 20th September 1979
Courtesy Alan Ware, Tokoroa

CONTEMPORARY PHOTOGRAPHERS

The Chelsea Project. New Zealand Sugar Centenary 1984
Unless otherwise stated all photographs are Collection New Zealand Sugar Company Ltd.

Laurence Aberhart
1a. *Untitled*, 1984.
2. *Untitled*, 1984.
3. *Untitled*, 1984.

Bruce Foster
1. *Syrup house VII*, 1984.
2. *Syrup house V*, 1984.

Anne Noble
1. *Between the kilns*, 1984.
2. *Malaka Maori Boy*, 1984.
3. *The day shift: George Smith, char puller; Peter Mitropoulos, char spreader; Dennis Kingsford, kiln fireman; Joe Kingi, char attendent, 1984.*

Collection Sarjeant Gallery, Wanganui.

Ans Westra
1. *Auckland wharves*, 1971.
2. *St Helen's, Wellington*, 1977.
3. *Drum reconditioning, Rheem NZ Ltd, Gracefield, Lower Hutt*, 1988.
4. *Sheep station near Whangape Harbour, Northland*, 1984.

Courtesy the artist.

Fiona Clark
From *The Kai of Te Atiawa* series, 1979-82.
1. *Auntie Netta Wharehoka and Auntie Sally Karena eating Kina and Kuku.*
2. *Gathering Paua at Waipapa, Motunui.*
3. *Shelling Kuku at Owae Marae for large Hui.*
4a. *Auntie Sally Karena and Auntie Ena Okeroa preparing Kuku.*
4b. *Preparing Watercress.*
5. *Salting the Eels.*
6. *Lifting the Hangi at Owae Marae.*
7. *Maurice Morehu, Threading Toke to make Eel Bait.*

All colour prints.
Collection JWT Adams Bequest and Queen Elizabeth II Arts Council, Dowse Art Museum, Lower Hutt.

Bruce Connew
From Beyond the Pale.
1. *Karora Cemetary, Greymouth, 1986. (19 coalminers were killed by an explosion in Strongman State Coal Mine, January 1967.)*
2. *Scratching tally, Tiller Miné, Dunollie, 1986. (Chris Menzies).*
3. *Bathhouse, Sullivan State Coal Mine, Denniston, 1981.*
4. *Explosive, Brighton Mine (now closed), near Punakaiki, 1986.*
5. *Returning truck to the face. Escarpment State Coal Mine (shortly before it closed), Denniston 1981. (Tony Bone [front] and Evan Griffiths).*

Collection JWT Adams Bequest and Queen Elizabeth II Arts Council, Dowse Art Museum, Lower Hutt.

Richard Wotten
1. *Smoko Room No 1. Printing Office, Wanganui, 1987.*
2. *Smoko Room No 2. New Plymouth, February, 1988.*
3. *Interior No 1. Gilberd's Soap Factory, Wanganui, October 1986.*

Courtesy the artist.

Gil Hanly
1. *Union delegate graffiti – Factory pin-up wall.*
2. *Workers at Westfield freezing works, Otahuhu. (Weddell Crown).*
3. *Northern & HB Storeworkers Union banner.*
4. *Workers sort fish, Auckland waterfront*, 1989.

Courtesy the artist.

David Cook
From *Rotowaro I* and *II* portfolios.
1. *Main Road, Rotowaro*, 1987, 1989.
2. *Backyard Tawa St, Rotowaro*, 1987, 1989.
3. *Country Women's Institute*, 1985.
4. *The Rotowaro Shift*, 1985.
5. *PTA Hangi for the Rotowaro*, 1985.

Collection Waikato Museum of Art and History.

Eymard Bradley (Hariman Enterprises)
1. *Milling operation, Mace Engineering, Christchurch*, 1979.
2. *Furnaceman, Andersons Foundry, Christchurch*, 1979.
3. *LPG tank fabrication, Andersons Engineering, Christchurch*, 1979.
4. *Pouring castings, Andersons Foundry, Christchurch*, 1979.
5. *Can lines, AHI, Petone*, 1982.

Courtesy the artist.

Geoffrey Short
From *The Unemployed Project*, 1983. Initiated by the Waikato Museum of Art and History.
1. *Nancy*, 1983.
2. *Pat*, 1983.
3. *Andy*, 1983.
4. *Willy*, 1983.

Collection Waikato Museum of Art and History.

Glenn Busch
From *Working Men* portfolio.
1. *Charlie Roughton. Foreman. Metal Foundry, Wellington 1982.*
2. *Joe Sandford. Labourer. Steel Foundry, Christchurch 1982.*
3. *Dinio Urumoff. Labourer. Abattoir Gut Floor, Christchurch 1982.*
4. *Ronny Lewis. Labourer. Abattoir Pig Chain, Christchurch 1982.*
5. *Bruce Humphries. Sand Blaster. Christchurch 1982.*
6. *Thomas Amuketi. Labourer. Brickworks, Huntly 1982.*

Collection National Art Gallery, Wellington.

Glen Jowitt
From *Polynesia Here and There*, 1983.
1. *Mazda Motors*, 1981.
2. *Allied Industries*, 1981.
3. *JBEL Fisheries*, 1981.

Ektacolour prints. Courtesy the artist.

Jan Nauta
From Dusty series.
1. *Rod Prosser*, 1984.
2. *Group Photograph*, 1984.
3. *Colin Harrison*, 1984.
4. *Midge*, 1984.

Courtesy the artist.

Boy Working On Screens, Huntly Coal Mines, 1950s. *NZ Herald* photographer. Courtesy Waikato Museum of Art and History.

WORKING CONDITIONS

A1. A Northwood, Ready for work. Maori gum diggers, Kaitaia area, 1 August 1914. Northwood Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: G9777 1/1.
A2. A Northwood, Flax cutting, Lake Ohia, Northland, c1919. Northwood Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: G6285 1/1.
A3. Hop picking, Motueka, 1895. Tyree Collection, Nelson Provincial Museum.
A4. Alfred Burton, Saw pit at Kauri Point Mill, Mt Roe, Auckland, 1884. National Museum of New Zealand, ref: 5881.

B1. Lathe operator, Auckland, June 1942. *Weekly News*. War Effort Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: F66948 ½.
B2. KV Bigwood, The Rolling Machine, Suckling Bros Ltd Shoe Manufacturers, Christchurch, June 1950. (This machine rolls the leather on to the soles under pressure.) National Publicity Studios Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: F30654 ½.
B3. Welder, Wellington, 1940s. War Efforts Collection, (IA 489), Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: F66954 ½.
B4. Gordon H Burt Ltd, Woman machinist, 1930s. National Museum of New Zealand, ref: C2007.

C1. Gordon H Burt Ltd, Women office workers and their male boss. National Museum of New Zealand, ref: C2760.
C2. Interior of Kirkpatrick & Co jam factory, Nelson, 1907-18. FN Jones Collection, Nelson Provincial Museum.
C3. Male sign writers. National Archives, ref: D3247.
C4. Lithographic printing room. (Included in the *NZ Department of Labour Albums* compiled for the NZ International Exhibition, Christchurch, 1906-07, which showed factories and workplaces throughout New Zealand. See also D4, E3 and E4.) *NZ Department of Labour Album* Vol II. Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: F148338 ½.

D1. Boot and shoe making, Dunedin. *AJHR* 1910 H11. Wellington Public Library.
D2. P Christensen, Potatoes being shipped to the Dutch East Indies on the "Maetsuycrer", Wellington, c1939. Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: F137619 ½.
D3. "Safety Painting", 1st floor, Bryant May & Bell factory, Tory Street, Wellington, 1939. Wilkinson Sword Group Ltd Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: F25993 ½.
D4. Boiler room at works at Mahurangi, John Wilson & Co, manufacturers of Portland Cement & hydraulic & agricultural lime, c1902. *NZ Department of Labour* Album Vol II. Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: C8338.

E1. AP Godber, Albert Percy Godber at his brass finishing lathe, Railway Workshops, Petone, c1906. AP Godber Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: G G126 ½.
E2. Interior of Johnsons United Quartz Crushing Plant, Decimal Gully, Collingwood, 1889. Tyree Collection, Nelson Provincial Museum.
E3. Muir & MacKinlay, Cutting Department – finished cloth being cut to pattern ready for the tailor. Workroom of A Levy, Tailors, Wellington, c1906. *NZ Department of Labour Album* Vol I, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: F77162 ½.
E4. R Bell & Co Match Factory, Wellington, c1906. *NZ Department of Labour* Album Vol I, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: F77173 ½.

F1. Kirkpatrick & Co dehydration factory interior, 1947. Kingsford Collection, Nelson Provincial Museum.
F2. Roslyn Woollen Mills, Dunedin, 1900s. Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: F704MNZ ¼.
F3. AP Godber, Machine Shop & Finishing benches, Railway Workshops, Petone. AP Godber Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: G G749 ½.
F4. Christchurch Meat Co Ltd small goods factory, Cashel Street, November 1905. *Weekly Press*, 6 December 1905. Canterbury Museum, ref: 871

G1. Austrians draining a swamp. North Auckland gum fields. *Weekly News*, 16 April 1908. *NZ Herald*, ref: C2393.
G2. Anderson Park Extension, Wellington, 6 September 1932.("Work on Anderson Park extension was carried out between December 1931 and May 1934 as a Government employment relief scheme operated by Wellington City Council. The work also involved laying extensive storm-water drains through Anderson Park and under Sydney Street. The cost of this operation was 12,631 pounds. The extension was first used as a sports ground and is now the site of the Lady Norwood Rose Garden" – Walter Cook.) Evening Post Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: G88312 ½.
G3. Laying tramlines in Colombo Street for electric trams. *Weekly Press*, 18 January 1905. Canterbury Museum, ref: 883.
G4. G Leslie Adkin, Concrete smoothing, Mangahao Hydro-electric Powerstation, No 3 Dam, 1932. National Museum of New Zealand, ref: AD201.

H1. Alfred H Burton, 3173, Railway Workshops, Petone, Wellington, 1885. Alexander Turnbull Library.
H2. Gilbert & Dee's building, Trafalgar Street, Nelson, c1920. FN Jones Collection, Nelson Provincial Museum.
H3. G Leslie Adkin: Construction at lower levels, Mangahao Hydroelectric Powerstation, Tokomaru Dam, 1923-24. (Note picking of vertical surfaces to help bonding of succeeding pours.) National Museum of New Zealand, ref: AD202.
H4. Gordon H Burt Ltd, Petone Woollen Mills, 1930s. National Museum of New Zealand, ref: C2360.

I1. NZ Railway cleaners, Wellington, 1940s. War Effort Collecjion, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: F111833 ½.
I2. SC Smith, Hop picking, Nelson, 1900s. SC Smith Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: G24959 1/1.
I3. Auckland Telephone Exchange. *NZ Graphic*, 28 November 1903. Auckland Institute & Museum, ref: M804/7-9.
I4. Assembling parts for trench mortar shells. Swan Electric Co Ltd, Dixon Street, Wellington, 1940s. War Effort Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: C11545.

HISTORIC PHOTOGRAPHERS

Tyree Brothers
1. Taitapu Gold Estate. Fluming from pennyweight. Tyree Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: G561.
2. Working Men's Club, Wellington. Established in 1877 the Working Men's Club & Literary Institute moved to this building on the corner of Mercer & Victoria Streets in 1893. (L Ward, *Early Wellington-Auckland*, 1928). Tyree Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: C29.
3. Puponga Coal Mine, Collingwood. Tyree Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: G578.

Albert Percy Godber

1. Railway Workshops, Petone. Erecting shop where engines were stripped down for maintenance. AP Godber Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: G G806 ½.
2. Railway Workshops, Petone. AP Godber Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: G G984 ½.
3. Railway Workshops, Petone. AP Godber Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: G G891 ½.

Leslie Adkin

1. Pipeline construction, Mangahao Hydroelectric Powerstation, 1924. National Museum of New Zealand, ref: AD205.
2. Group photograph, Mangahao Hydroelectric Powerstation, 1923. National Museum of New Zealand, ref: AD198.
3. Surge tank, concrete construction, Mangahao Hydroelectric Powerstation, 1923-24. National Museum of New Zealand, ref: AD202.

Gordon Burt

1. Car assembly line, General Motors, 1930s. National Museum of New Zealand, ref: C2351.
2. Staff parade or marching team for General Motors (NZ) Ltd, 1930s. National Museum of New Zealand, ref: C2654.
3. Design, screenprinting, carpentry and display staff in their workshop, 1930s. National Museum of New Zealand, ref: C2293.

John Pascoe

1. A Maori woman worker weaving the yarn into cloth for the manufacture of woolpacks, NZ Woolpack & Textiles Ltd, Foxton, 5 February 1945. War Effort Collection, (IA111), Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: F1505 ¼.
2. Miner working in a dry mine, Charming Creek, 26 September 1944. War Effort Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: F1224 ¼.
3. Colgate-Palmolive factory, Wellington, 17 May 1943. War Effort Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: F463 ¼.

John Le Cren

1. Fitter at work, Hutt Workshops, before 1953. New Zealand Railways publicity photograph, National Archives.
2. Invercargill locomotive depot, young fireman at water crane, 1965. National Archives.
3. Apprentice fitter at work, Hutt Workshops, before 1953. New Zealand Railways publicity photograph, National Archives.

MURALS

1. Dennis Knight Turner mural: 5 panels, 1948. All oil on board.
   1. *Labourers*. 1210 × 1825mm. Courtesy Northern Branch, New Zealand Labourers Union, Auckland.
   2. *Transport Workers*. 1210 × 1822mm. Courtesy Northern Distribution Union, Auckland.
   3. *Unity*. 1935 × 1083mm. Courtesy Northern Branch, New Zealand Labourers Union, Auckland.
   4. *Carpenters and Builders*. 1211 × 1823mm. Courtesy Midland Branch, New Zealand Building Trades Union, Hamilton.
   5. *Engineers*. 1212 × 1822mm. Courtesy Engineering and Related Trades Industrial Union of Workers, Auckland.
2. Unity Centre Murals. Judy Evans and Guy Harding, c1944. Sections:
   1. Section 1 *The united workers peoples and nations onward.*
   2. Section 2 *Onward thro' victory over fascism to world peace.*
   3. Section 3 *A new era dawns. Onward in peace and unity.*
   4. Section 4 *Marx and Engels show the way.*
   5. Section 7 *Of our toil and struggle come socialism and a full life.*
   6. Section 5 *Lenin led the way to unity.*
   7. Section 6 *To unity and brotherhood.*
   8. Section 9 *Then comrades, to communism . . . our trust and charge.*
   9. *Epilogue The way was long, our dead are many.*
   10. Section 8 *Forward.*

Colour photographs: Sections 1-6, 9-10 from lantern slides. Lantern slides courtesy Noel Hilliard. Sections 7 and 8 from Alexander Turnbull Library slides.

3. *Pathfinder* mural, Pathfinder Press Building, New York City
   1. *Pathfinder* Mural.
   2-4. Harry Holland by Sally Griffin. (detail) Jock Barnes and Jean-Marie Tjibaou by John Walsh (detail) Te Whiti and Te Puea by Malcolm McAllister (detail) Tamasese by Fetu Feu'u (detail) Te Kooti's battle pennant *Te Wepu Kooti* by Para Matchitt (detail).
4. Lois White, *Untitled (Artisans)*. Pencil. 555 × 405mm. Collection National Art Gallery, Wellington.
5. Lois White, Photograph of *Controversy* mural. Collection National Art Gallery, Wellington.

DOMESTIC/UNPAID WORK

1. Vivian Lynn, *Honour/Duty/Sacrifice* banner, 1970. Acrylic on hardboard, bronze, awning canvas and hose. 3610 × 1230 × 40mm. Courtesy the artist.
2. Robin White, *Mere and Siulolovao, Otago Peninsula*, 1978. Silkscreen. 618 × 384mm. Collection Waikato Museum of Art and History.
3. Robin White, *Florence and Harbour Cone*, 1975. Silkscreen. 612 × 407mm. Collection Waikato Museum of Art and History.
4. "Work in the Home" cartoon, *New Zealand Observer*, 9 March 1901. From: *New Zealand Herstory Diary*, 1984.
5. Poster, Parental Leave: A Human Right. Federation of Labour. Courtesy New Zealand Council of Trade Unions.
6. Poster, Childcare is a union issue. Media Collective for Federation of Labour, 1985. Courtesy New Zealand Council of Trade Unions.

WELLINGTON MEDIA COLLECTIVE – POSTERS

1. 3rd NZ Marxian Political Economy Conference. Auckland 1980.
2. *Wildcat* film poster. Combined Council of Timberworkers Delegates.
3. I am helping Mummy I am helping to sweep the floor . . . .
4. Post Office Union poster: When's a people's bank Not a people's bank?
5. Trade Union History Project poster for Labour Weekend 1990 Festival: A Centenary of the Working Class.
6. 2nd NZ Marxian Political Economy Conference 1979.
7. Post Office Union poster: Our Local Post Office . . . where will we stand without it?
8. Before and after State Sector Carve Up – Spot The Differences.
9. Is the system making room for you? Equal Employment Opportunities. A system that will. Equal Employment Opportunity Unit, State Services Commission.
10. 3rd National Hui for Work Trusts and Co-operatives.
11. Red Fed Memoirs (Dust-jacket and poster).
12. 4th National Work Trusts & Co-operatives Hui, Parihaka, 1985.
13. Low wages. Unemployment. Back to the '30s.
14. Poor and Ignored. Women, especially Maori and Polynesian, are hardest hit by unemployment.
15. Oppose the Privitisation of New Zealand Ports. NZ Harbour Workers Union.

All Wellington Media Collective posters 1980s. Posters courtesy Wellington Media Collective.

TAONGA TUKU IHO
The Gifts that are Handed On

1. *Hui Waahine Te Kupenga o Te Matauranga*, 1990.
2A. *Hui Rangatiratanga Te Kupenga o Te Matauranga*, 1990.
2B. *Hui Rangatiratanga Te Kupenga o Te Matauranga*, 1990.
3A. *Hui Waahine Te Kupenga o Te Matauranga*, 1990.
3B. *Hui Waahine Te Kupenga o Te Matauranga*, 1990.
4A. *He Hui Whakaako Takapuwahia Marae*, 1990. Cibachrome print.
4B. *He Hui Whakaako Takapuwahia Marae*, 1990. Cibachrome print.
5. *Te Tuwheratanga o RuatapuWahine Omahu Marae*, 1990. Cibachrome print.
6A. *Te Tuwheratanga o RuatapuWahine Omahu Marae*, 1990. Cibachrome print.
6B. *Te Tuwheratanga o RuatapuWahine Omahu Marae*, 1990. Cibachrome print.
7. *Te Tuwheratanga o RuatapuWahine Omahu Marae*, 1990.
8A. *Te Tuwheratanga o RuatapuWahine Omahu Marae*, 1990.
8B. *Te Tuwheratanga o RuatapuWahine Omahu Marae*, 1990.
9. *Te Tuwheratanga o RuatapuWahine Omahu Marae*, 1990.
10A. *Te Tuwheratanga o RuatapuWahine Omahu Marae*, 1990.
10B. *Te Tuwheratanga o RuatapuWahine Omahu Marae*, 1990.
11. *Te Tuwheratanga o RuatapuWahine Omahu Marae*, 1990. Cibachrome print.
12. *Hui Rangatiratanga Te Kupenga o Te Matauranga*, 1990. Cibachrome print.
13A. *Te Tuwheratanga o RuatapuWahine Omahu Marae*, 1990.
13B. *Te Tuwheratanga o RuatapuWahine Omahu Marae*, 1990.
14A. *Te Tuwheratanga o RuatapuWahine Omahu Marae*, 1990. Cibachrome print.
14B. *Te Tuwheratanga o RuatapuWahine Omahu Marae*, 1990. Cibachrome print.
15. *Te Roopu Waahine – Haeata*, 1990.
16A. *Te Tuwheratanga o RuatapuWahine Omahu Marae*, 1990.
16B. *He Hui o Ngati Toa Rangatina Takapuwahia Marae*, 1990.

MA TE OHU E WHAKAMA NGA MAHI
A Group of Volunteers will Make Light the Work

1. Stage for Hakari or feast given to Governor Grey in 1849 at the Bay of Islands to celebrate the peace between the two races. Published in *The Story of New Zealand* by AS Thompson, London, 1889. Making New Zealand Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: 219 MNZ ¼.
2. J McDonald, Women preparing food. National Museum of New Zealand, ref: B1138.
3. Leslie Hinge, Cooking on an open fire at a Maori pa, 1920s. National Museum of New Zealand.
4. J McDonald, Lifting the kumera, Waiapu, 1923. National Museum of New Zealand, ref: A4051.
5. W (Bill) Hall-Raine, Otaki hui. National Museum of New Zealand, ref: B12899.
6. Food presentation at marae, probably South Island. Includes mutton birds in kelp bags at front, flour and potatoes in sacks, and cartons of Griffins biscuits. This was the custom for many years at weddings, funerals, etc, to display food before distributing it to guests. National Museum of New Zealand, ref: B16578.
7. J McDonald, Dining Room. Gisborne hui. National Museum of New Zealand, ref: B1153.
8. J McDonald, Fishing on Whareponga Beach, Waiapu, 1923. National Museum of New Zealand, ref: B4274.
9. J McDonald, Cooking at hangi. National Museum of New Zealand, ref: B1151.
10. Urewera Maoris using ko, Ruatahuna. National Museum of New Zealand, ref: B175.
11. F O'Leary, Carving at Waiwhetu Meeting House (from left to right) Te Keri Ruru, J Taiapa, Ngata Ruru, Rangi Hetet, 25 February 1960. National Museum of New Zealand, ref: B9664.
12. Te Poho o Kahungunu. Porangauan dedication service, c1961. National Museum of New Zealand, ref: B14944.
13. C Hale, Tukutuku panel workers, Otaki Church renovation. National Museum of New Zealand, ref: B2797.
14. A Northwood, Maori waihine of the gumfields, 1 August 1914. Northwood Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: F42675 ½.
15. Charles Pemberton (left) and his shearing gang. Probably on the Pemberton farm, Ore Ore, Mangawhero Valley, c1910. Sommerville Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: F148358 ½.
16. Shearing is completed in Hawkes Bay and the workers pose for the photographer atop the wool bales. *Weekly Press*, 29 November 1899.
17. A Northwood, Baling hanks of treated flax fibre outside shed at Lake Ohia, North Auckland, c1919. Northwood Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, ref: G10553 ½.

Taonga

18. Paddle from Wanganui. 135 × 1737 × 40mm.
19. Copy of decorative paddle in the Dresden Museum. Copy by Heberley (Te Ati Awa). 155 × 1990 × 70mm.
20. Decorative paddle. 144 × 1737 × 40mm.
21. Cloak of kahu huruhuru, pigeon, tui and kaka feathers. 990 × 1500mm.

All Collection National Museum of New Zealand.

PICTURING WORKERS

1. Russell Clark, Front cover illustration *New Zealand Listener* Vol 4 No 92, 28 March 1941.
2. Anvil House relief plaque, Wakefield Street, Wellington.
3. *New Zealand Clarion* cover illustration Vol 11 No 8, Wellington, November 1949.
4. Dennis Knight Turner, Illustration from: Barry Crump, *There and Back*, 1963.
5. LC Mitchell, Butter-making stamp. First issued 1963. Courtesy NZ Post Ltd.
6. IV Clarkson, (Spider), Design submission for postage stamp. Courtesy NZ Post Ltd.
7. Tim Croucher/Richard Fahey. Mural, Dominion Breweries, Christchurch.
8. George Woods. Illustration from: *Introduction to New Zealand*, 1945.
9. Advertisement. *NZCTU Trade Union Directory*, 1990.
10. Advertisement. *NZCTU Trade Union Directory*, 1990.
11. Brian Brake and Maurice Shadbolt. Page from: *New Zealand Gift of the Sea*, 1990.
12. John Pascoe – New Zealand Industries/Harvey Drake – Butter. From: *Introduction to New Zealand*, 1945.
13. Mervyn Taylor, Mural for National Mutual building, Wellington, 1963.

THE WORKER IN ART

Garth Tapper, *Afternoon tea*, 1976. Oil on hardboard. 571 × 778mm. Private Collection, Auckland.

Dennis Knight Turner, *Shearer 5*, 1962. Oil on hardboard. 1512 × 1220mm. Eric Scholes Collection, The Bath-House, Rotorua's Art and History Museum.

Rudi Gopaz, *Harbour scene with three figures*, c1950. Oil on canvas. 510 × 642mm. James Wallace Collection.

Denis O'Connor, *Stemma for a stonemason*, 1988-89. Mt Somers limestone and tempered steel. Courtesy the artist.

William Tighe, *Barbound*, 1920s. Oil on canvas. 578 × 706mm. Courtesy Auckland Branch, New Zealand Seafarers Union.
William Tighe, *Untitled*, 1920s. Oil on canvas. 546 × 747mm. Courtesy Auckland Branch, New Zealand Seafarers Union.

Warren Viscoe, *Rock, salt aggregate and the quarryman's dream*, 1985. Installation of figure holding mallet, kneeling figure, bench, garden sieve, volcanic rock and box of salt. Figure 232 × 765 × 585mm. Bench 134 × 235 × 40mm. Kneeling figure 198 × 150 × 40mm. Sieve 56 × 56 × 11mm. Box of salt 14 × 23 × 18mm. Collection Sarjeant Gallery, Wanganui.

Sally Griffin, *The Gift*. Acrylic on board. 1800 × 2400mm. Courtesy the artist.

Paul Tozer, *1931 – Remember – 1935*, 1938. Watercolour. 270 × 335mm. Collection Taranaki Museum.

Mary-Louise Browne and Frank Stark, *THE DIVISION OF LABOUR*, 1990. Photo-mural: Triptych. Each panel 1800 × 1800mm. Photography by Neil Pardington.

John Weeks, *Composition of tools*. Tempera on cardboard. 520 × 393mm. Collection National Art Gallery, Wellington.

Christopher Perkins, *Road Gang*, 1931. Pen and ink, ink wash and pencil. 324 × 245mm. Collection National Art Gallery, Wellington.

Rita Angus, *Workmen on building construction*. Watercolour. 280 × 389mm. Collection Rita Angus Estate, National Art Gallery, Wellington.

Adele Younghusband, *Workmen*, 1953. Pencil. 257 × 206mm. Collection Auckland City Art Gallery. Purchased 1990.

Vivian Lynn, *Nobodies*. Pencil. 374 × 525mm. For *Playground* series, 1974. Courtesy the artist.

Denis O'Connor, Design proposal: Workingmen's Club, Auckland, 1986-87. (Commissioned). Pencil. 534 × 756mm. Courtesy the artist.

Dick Frizzell, *Work*, 1982. Enamel on board. 435 × 510mm. Courtesy the artist.

CONTEMPORARY FILM AND VIDEO

Darcy Lange – Work Studies: *Waitara Freezing Works* (Parts one and two), 1974. Two × 3/4" u-matic videotapes. Collection Govett Brewster Art Gallery, New Plymouth.

Vanguard Films, *Wildcat*, 1981. 16mm film, 73mins. Courtesy Vanguard Films NZ.

FILM AND VIDEO PROGRAMME

Shattered Dreams, 1990. 16mm. 46min. Dean Parker and Francis Wevers for the Trade Union History Project.

Fighting Back, 1949. 16mm. 25mins. Auckland Carpenters Union and Cecil Holmes.

Coal from Westland, 1943. 16mm. 9mins. National Film Unit.

Encounter – 1951 Lockout, 1976. 16mm. 32mins. TVNZ.

The Hammer and the Anvil, 1979. 16mm. 70mins. Gerd Pohlmann.

A Century of Struggle, 1981. 16mm. 41mins. Vanguard Films NZ.

Wildcat, 1981. 16mm. 73mins. Vanguard Films NZ.

Kinleith 80, 1982. 16mm. 38mins. Merger Productions.

Even Dogs Are Given Bones, 1982. Video. 35mins. Dyke Productions in association with Women's Community Video.

The Bridge: Men in Dispute, 1982. 16mm. 57mins. Gerd Pohlmann.

The Hatred Campaign, 1985. Video. 36mins. Vanguard Films NZ.

Badges of Labour – Banners of Pride, 1985. Video. 10mins. Oceania Media.

WELLINGTON CITY ART GALLERY STAFF

Paula Savage – Director
Gregory Burke – Curator
Ann Calhoun – Research Curator
Rosemary Dibb – Gallery Receptionist
Leon van den Eijkel – Designer
Beverly Eng – Gallery Assistant
Anne Erwin – Public Relations Manager
Michael Janes – Custodian
Mark Kent – Assistant Gallery Technician
Reihana MacDonald – Kaiwhakaako Toi/Art Educator
Gerda Nana – Gallery Technician
Elizabeth O'Loughlin – Office Manager
Mark Roach – Exhibitions Manager
Sarah Shackleton – Education Curator
Catherine Shakesby – Receptionist/Word Processor Operator

WELLINGTON CITY ART GALLERY
50-52 Victoria Street, P O Box 2199, Wellington New Zealand

ART AND ORGANISED LABOUR

Published on the occasion of the exhibition *Art and Organised Labour* this catalogue examines the historical and contemporary relationship of art to organised labour in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Comprehensively illustrated and accompanied by supporting essays the catalogue covers the following topics:

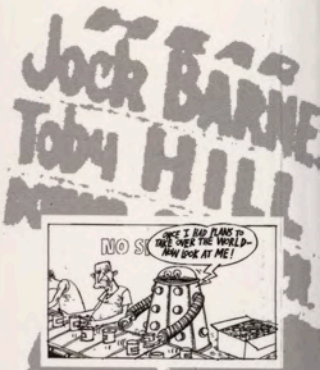
Origins of Union Symbolism - Union Banners in New Zealand - The Image of Women in the Labour Movement - Art, Organised Labour and Maori Culture - Union Struggles in Documentary Film and Video - The Worker in Art - Domestic/Unpaid Work - Murals and Organised Labour - Photography and Working Class Identity... plus much more.

Wellington City Art Gallery ISBN 0-908818-11-4

A Wellington City Art Gallery exhibition organised with the assistance of the Trade Union Education Authority and the Trade Union History Project.

Supported by the New Zealand 1990 Commission and the exhibitions programme, visual arts, Queen Elizabeth II Arts Council of New Zealand. Sponsored by Union Shipping Company and New Zealand Stevedoring Company Limited.







TUEA

union shipping

n.z. stevedoring