



# Labour History Project

---

"AN INJURY TO ONE IS A CONCERN TO ALL"

---

NEWSLETTER 49 - JULY 2010

## Contents

### FORTHCOMING EVENTS

**2 — New Historians Conference**

**2 — Forthcoming Biography of Ken Douglas**

**3 — Globalisation and Labour in the Pacific: Re-evaluating the 1890 Maritime Strike**

### FEATURE ARTICLES

**4 — Working Women's Seminar: The View From the Kitchen**

Janine Clark

**8 — New Blackball Memorial and Resource Centre Opened on Mayday**

Paul Maunder

**10 — Archives and Industry: Perspectives from Labour History and Archives Week Lecture: May 6, 2010**

Mark Crookston

**13 — Don't Agonise - Organise: The Dan Long Union Library from 1978**

Nicola Freaan

**18 — Archives New Zealand Under Threat**

Peter Clayworth

### UNION FAMILY

**20 — Mining and Resistance Are My History**

Catherine Delahunty

### NEWS

**21 — LHP Appears on Other Side of World**

Mark Derby

### REVIEWS

**22 — Black Flame: The Revolutionary Class Politics of Anarchism and Syndicalism**

Jared Davidson

**24 — Tracing Your Labour Movement Ancestors: A Guide for Family Historians**

David Verran

**25 — Prelude to Arbitration in Three Movements: Ulster, South Australia, New Zealand: 1890-1894**

Brian Easton

### WORK IN PROGRESS

**28 — Passive Resisters' Union**

Ryan Bodman

**29 — Dan Long: PSA General Secretary 1960-1976**

Mark Derby

**29 — Who Was Steve Yates?**

David Verran

**30 — Corrections and Amendments**

## FORTHCOMING EVENTS

**New Historians Conference**

30 – 31 August 2010

**Keynote speakers:**

Dr Claudia Orange, Professor Jonathan Scott.

**Papers include:**

The Others : Views of Early Settlers on Maori before the Taranaki Wars.

The Maritime Strike and changing attitudes towards Trade unionism in New Zealand – a Newspaper Study.

The Myth of Aboriginal Cannibalism and the Justification of Colonisation.

Hosted by the History Programme, Victoria University of Wellington. For more information or to register, please email to [newhistorians@vuw.ac.nz](mailto:newhistorians@vuw.ac.nz) (see poster page 31).

**Forthcoming Biography of Ken Douglas**

Ken Douglas is third from right in this photograph of the Wellington Drivers' Union winning tug-of-war team at the Transport Unions' picnic at Maidstone Park, Upper Hutt in February 1960. They were competing against teams representing other drivers, watersiders, seamen and harbour board workers. Others in the photo are from left: Cyril Crawford, Jack Burgess, Chip Bailey, Doug Scotson and Snowy Woolrich. This is an illustration from former LHP chair David Grant's forthcoming biography, *Man for All Seasons: The Life and Times of Ken Douglas*, published by Random House, being launched in Wellington in early September.

# Globalisation and Labour in the Pacific: Re-evaluating the 1890 Maritime Strike

**9.00 - 5.30 pm Thursday 4 November 2010-07-21 C**

Conference Room 1, Copthorne Hotel, 196 - 200 Quay Street Auckland,  
Registration: \$40.00, includes Lunch and Refreshments. To register email  
Ann Williamson at [nzwalm@aut.ac.nz](mailto:nzwalm@aut.ac.nz)

NAME AND TITLE	TITLE
<b>James Keating</b> MA Student, Victoria University, Wellington	The Maritime Strike and Changing attitudes towards trade unionism in New Zealand ñ A Newspaper Study
<b>Emeritus Professor Brian Woods</b> University of Canterbury	The New Zealand Coalminer and the Maritime Strike 1890
<b>Dr Peter Clayworth</b> Freelance Historian	A Tale to Squash Incipient Revolvers: Combatting the Legacy of 1890 in the early Red Fed years.
<b>Mark Derby</b> Chair of the Labour History Project	Mahuki of the Red Plume - the intersection of labour and race politics in 1890
<b>Peter Franks</b> Mediator	The impact of the 1890 Maritime strike on the formation of the Labour Party in New Zealand
<b>Professor Melanie Nolan</b> Director, National Centre of Biography General Editor, Australian Dictionary of Biography Research School of Social Sciences Australian National University	The impact of the 1890 Maritime strike on trans-Tasman unionism
<b>Dr Nick Dyrenfurth</b> Postdoctoral Research Fellow Work and Organisational Studies The University Of Sydney	"One of us must either go back or lie down": the 1890 Maritime Strike as a turning point for Australian radical cartooning?
<b>Associate Professor Bradley Bowden</b> Department of Employment Relations Griffith Business School	The Impact of the 1890 Maritime Strike on the formation of the Labor Party in Queensland
<b>Professor Lucy Taksa, PhD</b> Head Department of Business Faculty of Business and Economics Macquarie University	Keynote 1 TBA
<b>Jo Kowalczyk</b> State Organiser NSW National Tertiary Education Union of Australia NTEU NSW Division	Keynote 2 TBA t: (02) 9212 5433 f: (02) 9212 4090 e: <a href="mailto:jok@nsw.nteu.org.au">jok@nsw.nteu.org.au</a>
	Representative from Maritime Union of New Zealand (MUNZ)
	Representative from Maritime Union of Australia (MUA)

## FEATURE ARTICLES

## Working Women's Seminar: The View From the Kitchen

— Janine Clark



It is a little ironic that the account of this seminar, held at St John's Conference Centre, Wellington on 1 May this year, is provided by one of the women who spent three quarters of the day in a pinnie feeding the 80 or so attendees, but thank you to Anna Moughan of the organising committee, who forwarded transcripts and feedback. Fortunately for everyone, a full account of the day was recorded by Access Radio and filmed by Diane McAllen, which will be available through the Labour History Project and the New Zealand Film Archive.

Admittedly, being vanquished to the kitchen with the Wellington South Labour women had initially been fine with me. This day was to celebrate working women in Aotearoa (the history might be interesting, I thought), and the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Working Women's Charter (WWC? What's that and do we still need one?... went through my mind). I was reprimanded for my reaction by a male friend who said "Only a woman of the privileged classes would ask if we still needed it – the woman dealing with the chauvinism of my boss could tell you that you do!". Appropriately chastised, I reflected on my own male managers with their sizable negotiated wages, comfortable in their permanent positions and heavily supported by a string of overly-tolerant, hard-working and relatively underpaid female minions. I thought of our Pacific Island cleaning women in their sadly predictable roles, a disabled colleague who, despite her husband leaving her after her stroke, had risked her sanity to get the PhD she felt was necessary to enhance her job security. And not least of all, I thought of my own mother who stoically soldiered on in underfunded childcare centres, and who, after

years stuck at home with a disabled kid, has attended university and increased her qualifications in a seemingly futile effort to achieve a decent wage. Yes, we all know some stories, and know we could, as a unified force, stick up for ourselves better. Like many women I'm also sceptical about perspectives being championed by our present proudly blokey government. So here I was at the WWS.

As a novice to such seminars I was pleased to note that there was a great diversity of women (and a sprinkling of men) in attendance, and despite the 'birth', 'journey' and 'weaving' analogies in the advertising brochure (not my cup of tea), this was not just a day for the old sisterhood. The day was packed with good speakers, young-er and old-er. It was certainly no day to be stuck in the kitchen. There was even some edutainment, with historical footage of women from the 1940s-80s presented by Alex Burton from the Film Archive (Ref. no. F196432 *NZFA screening. Working Women's Seminar 1 May 2010* if you want to look these up at the Film Archive in Wellington).

The day commenced with lawyer, and early union activist, Hazel Armstrong, providing an account of the 9<sup>th</sup> May 1980 Working Women's Charter, and the background to its promotion. The laughter I could hear from the kitchen was evidently in response to her 1970s-80s era photographs. Hazel explained the significance of the Charter being adopted in 1980 by the Federation of Labour — forerunner of the Council of Trade Unions. It served as a guide and inspiration for campaigns and activism at a time when women faced many challenges in paid employment. It acknowledged the interconnected issues affecting women's engagement and equality in the workforce, such as discrimination, access to education, childcare and birth control. Hazel's reflections were echoed by other long-time campaigners in the seminar programme, such as Labour list M.P. Maryan Street who discussed her involvement with the Working Women's Charter in Auckland through the Combined State Unions and the Women's subcommittee of the Auckland Trades Council. Maryan exhorted us to continue to examine every policy coming out of government of any hue in terms of their implications for women. At morning tea time the anniversary cake was cut by veteran equal pay activist Margaret Long to celebrate the Charter and the 50 year anniversary of the 1960 Government Services Equal Pay Act, which was another important milestone towards pay equity for women.

Martha Coleman, who is presently Crown Counsel in the Human Rights team at Crown Law, shifted the focus to present day issues and challenges. She presented a statistical breakdown of wage differences by gender, ethnicity and occupational groups, and examples of studies of the long term financial cost for women whose earning capacity is limited by their years in part time work due to motherhood and carer roles. She presented gender differences in earnings for graduates and demonstrated that women continue to be clustered into a much narrower range of occupations than men. Martha discussed the systemic problems for women that still exist, such as the undervaluation of women's jobs, under-utilisation of skills

and discriminatory stereotyping. Systemic solutions were outlined, such as public sector pay audits, increases to the minimum wage, restoration of cuts to early childhood education and building on existing legislation such as our relatively recently acquired paid parental leave.

Kat Forbes, Jessica Bignell and Nadine Millar presented 'Reflections of EveryWoman', in which they asserted that one of the key challenges for the labour and women's movement is to help women understand how the current structural inequalities and pressures of today's world impact upon their lives:

*"Globalisation has shaped the types of jobs women do in New Zealand; neo-liberalism has shaped the local conditions of work as well as how New Zealanders understand themselves as consumers of locally and globally produced goods and services; and individualisation has privileged a cultural logic whereby we are encouraged to think of the actualities of our lives as the outcomes of our own choices and actions. Our 'failures' are likely to be understood as of our making, and perhaps even illustrative of some personal moral weakness or even general 'lack of skill'. 'Blaming' individuals for the complex ways in which social structures and intergroup relationships play out in people's lives is an old political tactic that is still frequently popularly deployed."*

They went on to illustrate these points by grounding them in examples of women's lived experience, providing biographical vignettes of women's changing experiences of work and personal life in the decades between 1950 and an envisaged 2040. Utilising stories in this way was effective and I suspect there were other seminar attendees who were reminded of the discussion when the One News broadcast that appeared that evening showed the working women of Auckland queuing like rabid ewes outside the new TopShop.

The seminar's afternoon presentations were equally inspiring. Sophia Blair, currently the University Student's Association National Women's Officer, and Lana Doyle, a Wellington lawyer, offered their perspectives on issues of concern for younger women, and of experiences of women graduate lawyers within this still male-dominated domain. Taima Fagaloa, the Director for Pacific Health, Capital & Coast District Health Board, and Porirua City councillor, presented on Pacific Island women's views. Her emphasis was upon improving educational opportunities for Pacific Island women. Denise Powell, President of Acclaim Otago, presented perspectives for women with disabilities, with valuable reflections upon the effort and extra costs required to even commence a typical day's work for many, and the need for workplace accommodation to individual needs, particularly flexible working hours. The value of disabled women working, for themselves, their families and the community, deserves more consideration. Denise cited examples of many inspirational women with disabilities, but stressed the low expectations and indifference which continue to create barriers. Kirsten Smiler (Te Aitanga a Mahaki, Rongowhakaata, Whakatohea) offered some thoughts on the Women's Charter from a Māori perspective,

acknowledging that many of the busy, high profile Māori women she had approached to speak at this seminar had declined, and wondered how we might interpret this. She suggested that it is not an insignificant factor that in accounts of women's history in New Zealand, Māori perspectives have frequently been erased or overlooked.

The fiery unionist, Lyndy McIntyre, was well scheduled at the end of the day after the afternoon's sandwiches. Lyndy challenged any sense of complacency for what the Charter had achieved. She asked for instance, "Why are most of the principals in primary schools still men and teacher aides women?" and on the issue of women's pay equity she challenged the higher paid: "Did Teresa Gattung have a commitment to fixing pay inequity at the bottom of Telecom? If the answer's no, then why should we care about a pay gap at the top?" Lyndy offered several pay equity examples, such as her involvement with a recent campaign for a group of low paid women: school support staff such as librarians, office managers, and teacher aides, who were earning as little as \$12.94 an hour, 40 cents above the minimum wage. In collective agreement negotiations, government offered them nothing, while teachers, principals, school cleaners and caretakers received pay increases. School support staff ran a great campaign backed by their union, and won. Lyndy reiterated the importance of unions for women, of talking with each other, the urgency of demanding change, and of not accepting the recession as an excuse for government money being reprioritised, as we have seen, from areas such as childcare to roads.

The day was wrapped up with interactive group discussions, a stirring sing-a-long and offers of food to take home. It had been a day that successfully inspired, encouraged debate and articulation of views, and reinforced the importance of women meeting in such forums, face to face – of making ourselves visible to one another, beyond the safety of the computer screen, and the kitchen bench.

Thanks to MC Phillipa Branthwaite, Sue Shone, Hazel Armstrong and the rest of the organising committee for a very worthwhile and enjoyable seminar. Their contact e-mail address is [workingwomenseminar@gmail.com](mailto:workingwomenseminar@gmail.com)

— *Janine Clark is a researcher at Te Papa - Museum of New Zealand.*

## New Blackball Memorial and Resource Centre opened on Mayday



*Paul Maunder, LHP stalwart and long-time resident of Blackball on the West Coast, was the coordinator of an ambitious and recently completed project to commemorate the famous miners' strike of 1908.*

The Memorial, to our knowledge the first Memorial to celebrate the part working people have played in forging the political and social culture of Aotearoa, was formally opened on Mayday.

The day began with a dawn ceremony conducted by local kaumatua Gary Coghlan, whose father was killed in the Strongman Mine Disaster. After a well attended forum designed to establish a cross-sectoral progressive voice for the Coast, visitors and locals assembled for a march to the memorial where local schoolchildren and the West Coast Wobblers sang union anthems. Speeches were made by the Mayor, Tony Kokshoorn, Labour MP Damien O'Connor, Alan Clarence from the EPMU and the guest of honour, Cuban Ambassador Jose Garcia. The latter's visit prompted a headline in the local paper: 'Communists Return to Blackball'.

The ribbon was cut and people could inspect the sculpture designed and assembled by Auckland art-in-working-life artist Phill Rooke, with Māori insert carved by Tony Manuel (Ngati Porou). The twelve panels telling the



story of the strike were written by Mark Derby and designed by Jared Davidson. The pottery tiles depicting a verse of the song 'Solidarity For Ever' were made by local school children and set in rimu frames. The current exhibition at the centre, titled Relics and Memories, features a complete set of NZ Worker Union membership cards from 1932 to 1968 and Paddy Webb's walking stick with the clenched fist of solidarity at the top, gifted to him by a Maori carver. Visitors are welcome at the office, shop and library, which contains a collection of labour history books left to the Trust by Mr E.V. Harrison of the Wairarapa and a growing collection of labour history and local history DVDs, including most of Vanguard Films' documentaries.

The project has been accomplished on a shoestring budget (\$55,000) because of an incredible input of labour and equipment by local people, the surprising generosity of local firms, and the willingness of professionals to work at mate's rates. We had some tussles with the local planning department, but eventually reason won out.

Visitor interest has been solid, even at this time of the year, and we now have an enthusiastic team working to maintain the impetus, develop a school programme, get a conservation programme up and running, record oral histories and so on. Already, a third container looks necessary to hold local treasures of a less political nature.

We are grateful to Development West Coast and Trustpower for providing the basic dosh, but more recently have received grants from Lion Foundation, Pub Charity and Blackadder Trust which will enable us to put in solar panel-driven electrics and still have some money in the bank.

The panels and sculpture are of course open for viewing at any time; at this stage the office and current exhibition are open on Sundays, but for those with a keen interest, a phone call to 03 732 4010 will most likely bear fruit.

TOP LEFT: Gary Coghlan, the kaumatua named in the story with the memorial in the background.

ABOVE: Morning march through Blackball.

PREVIOUS SPREAD: Paul Maunder and local school children opening the memorial with labour songs.

# Archives and Industry: Perspectives from Labour History and Archives Week Lecture: May 6, 2010

— Mark Crookston



The Labour History Project (LHP) and the Archives and Records Association of New Zealand (ARANZ) have much in common. The obvious commonality is that documentation strikes at the core of the objectives of both organisations. But more importantly, both organisations are reliant on volunteers and enthusiasts who share a passion and belief that what has past is prologue; and societal memory is at constant risk of planned or neglectful dementia. In other words, in order to understand the present and how to shape the future, we need to understand what has gone before, and access to the appropriate records is the mechanism that makes it possible.

Therefore, it is little surprise then that when Archives and Industry was announced as the theme for Records and Archives Week, ARANZ approached LHP to participate in our annual lecture.

## What is the Records and Archives Week Lecture?

Records and Archives Week (RAW) is an ARANZ initiative which is held annually in the first week of May. Its purpose is to celebrate and raise awareness of the importance of records, archives and the profession to New Zealand's ability to understand itself and tell its stories. Every year the Wellington Branch of ARANZ organises a lecture based around some aspect of the RAW theme. This year, our thinking on New Zealand's industrial history led us away from organisations and commodities, and back to the people, which is a history best told through the individual and collective stories of the workers.

To provide some structure for the lecture, ARANZ posed three questions to LHP.

- 1 — What are the differences in archives found in institutions and those held by individuals?
- 2 — What biases have been encountered with the retention, destruction and documentation of labour records?
- 3 — What strategies can be recommended for uncovering archival gems?

## Perspectives from Labour History

LHP sent along three of its members - Peter Franks, Dr Peter Clayworth, and Lisa Sacksen - who each provided their own perspectives on the questions outlined above.

Peter Franks has a long association with labour archives and his talk drew on that experience to focus on the peculiarities of labour movement records.

He emphasised that the main difference between institutional records (e.g. the Federation of Labour Archives) and individual collections (e.g. those of Bert Roth) is that individuals are more likely to keep ephemera like posters and leaflets. On the other hand, individuals are less likely to keep institutional records such as minutes and reports. All are important but because ephemera rely on the active collection by individuals, they are at particular risk of loss.

I thought Peter was graciously optimistic with his conclusion that biases exist with any documentation, and it is the role of the collector and researcher to work with what is available. While I agree with him, I think there could be more work done to ensure that what is retained as an archive is meeting the needs of the research community through a planned and consultative process.

For those in the audience hoping to hear a magic bullet research strategy, Peter offered a dose of cold reality. "We have to be very thorough" he said. "A lot of our work is hard grind. It is also important not to make any assumptions and to expect the unexpected."

Dr Peter Clayworth was the second speaker. His talk drew on his experiences researching a biography of early twentieth century New Zealand labour activist and socialist Patrick Hickey. As he outlined the complex jigsaw of his research project, I couldn't help but wonder whether he received a stern lecture from Peter Franks prior to commencing, for it was clear that he was in the middle of some 'hard grind' of his own. Strategies Peter has used include:

- Mining existing references of labour historians such as Erik Olssen and Cathy Marr
- Using government, union, and press publications found in various archival repositories for assessing the different perspectives they have on the same events
- Thinking about the different functions of government and they interact with a specific event, which in turn are reflected in the records of different government agencies held by Archives New Zealand. For example, the Police, Labour Department and Mining Inspectors.

But Peter's most effective strategy has been to build relationships. Through establishing relationships with Pat Hickey's family and friends, he has built the trust necessary to gain access to Hickey's correspondence and family stories about him. "I believe such oral histories and private collections of papers are often crucial for filling the gaps created by the skewed nature of the records relating to industrial events. By this I mean the fact that often more records from the Government or employer's side have survived as opposed to union records." I thought it was an excellent recommendation and highlighted the criticality of respecting the differences between those records found in collecting institutions and those stored in dusty sheds or gleaned from the minds of the living.

Lisa Saksen was the third and final speaker. Her talk drew on her research experiences relating to her current PhD thesis, which follows the history of four communist parties in New Zealand from the 1960s -1990s. Lisa highlighted the challenges of researching such recent history and painted the metaphor of the researcher “thinking of our primary sources as being almost accidentally amassed, a bit like a geological formation, and therefore innocent of intent”. She then proceeded to challenge this assumption, outlining several instances where approaching archival records with a healthy dose of scepticism have aided her research. For example, finding annotations in copies of *Unity* newspaper deposited to the National Library by the SIS to help guide further research approaches; the tendencies for some unions to document in details their struggles and not necessarily their successes; and some carefully arranged collections which are designed to portray the depositor in a positive light.

### **Conclusion**

After the lecture ended and we followed the words of worker poet Bill O'Reilly through the clapping doors of the Thistle Inn, it was clear that the two organisations shared another common bond – the love of a drink, some greasy food, and a good old natter.

As I waited on the train platform for my carriage home I was thinking of various comments that came up during the evening. Dr Peter Clayworth's frustration at the loss of documentation from the Blackball unions; Lisa Saksen's stories of records rescued from rubbish bins; Peter Franks' account of stumbling across 19<sup>th</sup> century minute books from the Printers Union; and I hoped it was not the last time our two organisations collaborated on a joint event or utilised each others networks.

I had an excellent evening and give many thanks to Mark Derby and the Labour History Project for their enthusiastic response to our invitation. Also worth noting is the School of Information Management at Victoria University of Wellington (who offer an excellent library and archives qualification) for providing the venue.

— *Mark Crookston is the secretary, Wellington Branch, Archives and Records Association of New Zealand - [www.aranz.org.nz](http://www.aranz.org.nz)*

## Don't Agonise - Organise: The Dan Long Union Library from 1978

— Nicola Frea

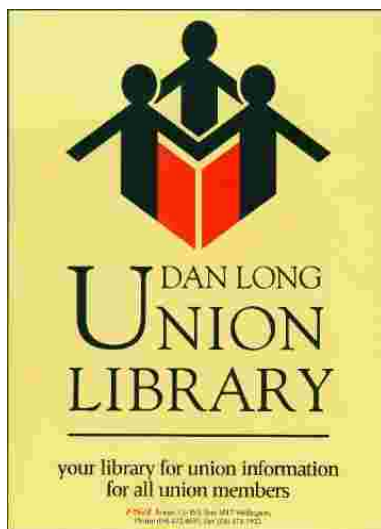


*This article summarises the history of the Dan Long Union Library (DLUL), particularly its recent integration with the Victoria University of Wellington (VUW) Library. It does not cover the DLUL collections in any depth, nor the Library's significance for the union movement, leaving these topics to better-qualified authors.*

Dan Long was General Secretary of the New Zealand Public Service Association (PSA) from 1960 until his death in 1976, and in his memory the PSA set up a Trust in 1977. One of the objectives was:

*The establishment, maintenance and expansion of a memorial Trade Union library in Wellington for the purposes of study research and instruction including (but not limited to) the provision, acceptance and custody of books, periodicals, publications, papers, films, recordings and other literature, materials and facilities relating to trade union matters and allied subjects, with special reference to certain special interests of the late Daniel Patrick Francis Long such as (by way of example only) – International trade unionism, the role of salary and wages earners in the Asian and Pacific region, the role of women in society, and trade union education.<sup>1</sup>*

From 1978 until the 1990's under the care of devoted library staff<sup>ii</sup> the Library grew to be an outstanding resource. It aimed to provide unionists



ABOVE: The Library had its own logo and the slogan 'your library for union information for all union members'.

PREVIOUS SPREAD: DLUL project workers Rebecca Carrasco, Linda Stopforth, and Nicholas Wotton with some of the 8000 books they have been re-processing into the University Library's collections. Not shown are Joy Dick and Ian Geeson, who have been recruited by the Library recently to ensure all work will be completed by August 2010. So far, 2016 titles have been re-processed and 300 titles have been re-located.

with library services comparable to those available to business and government enterprises, and by 1999 there were over 11,000 items catalogued, including articles, videos, monographs, posters, current and closed journal titles and 'vertical' subject files. The collection policy, first written after a 1989 review, identified 'in-depth coverage' of:

*NZ trade awards and agreements, Labour Court rulings and decision, NZ industrial relations (e.g. redundancy, job evaluation, EEO, performance appraisals, rights and disputes), NZ occupational health and safety, and NZ industrial relations legislation, and 'adequate coverage' of international trends in trade union issues, NZ political issues/current affairs, NZ economic issues and labour market policies, trade union education (e.g. trade union adult/distance), NZ social welfare policies and programmes, pay equity and equal pay, women in work, NZ bicultural policies, NZ and international trade union history, NZ company performance and structure, management (e.g. personnel, training), and office automation/computer technology.*<sup>iii</sup>

The Library was shelved on the 4th floor and in the basement of PSA House, Aurora Terrace, Wellington, and materials were in constant use both in-house and through interlibrary loan (many librarians still remember the WDL inter-library loan reference). The collection was very focused on its users and much appreciated by them. Rachel Esson, the last Librarian (who was on maternity leave when the decision to remove the Library was taken), recalls

*It was very much a working collection aligned with issues that members faced in their day-to-day work. Requests for material came from union members all over the country. The video collection was particularly popular, the John Cleese video 'Meetings bloody meetings' was in high demand and frequently had a long list of those waiting to borrow it.*

According to the August 1999 Report on the Dan Long Library:

*In the 1980s the Library was closely aligned with the research function of the PSA. It provided resources for in-depth research into such topics as the effects of new technology, women and work, and transnational corporations. With changes in legislation affecting the State sector in the late 1980s and the introduction of the Employment Contracts Act in 1991 the focus of the PSA and the library changed to providing more information relating to terms and conditions of employment. This reflected the members' need for information to help them negotiate contracts. The research function of the PSA was reduced significantly and the library responded by concentrating on the purchasing of legislation and journal-based material rather than monographs.*<sup>iv</sup>

In mid 1999 the PSA decided that it no longer wished to house or administer the DLUL, and the Dan Long Trust began looking for a new and 'sympathetic' home. Among those expressing interest was VUW's Librarian, Alan Smith, enthusiastic because Victoria "is a research-oriented university, is academically strong in the areas of industrial relations, public policy, women's studies and history ... [and] has a clear policy for research

collections in its library, which is a full and active participant in the New Zealand 'interloan system'.<sup>v</sup> However VUW Library did not have space available immediately and plans to locate the DLUL in Rutherford House did not come to fruition. By December 1999 it was urgent that the PSA premises be vacated and all 210 shelves-worth were boxed and placed in commercial storage. VUW Library took over this responsibility in March 2002, after formal 'donation' of the DLUL by the PSA and the Trust.<sup>vi</sup>

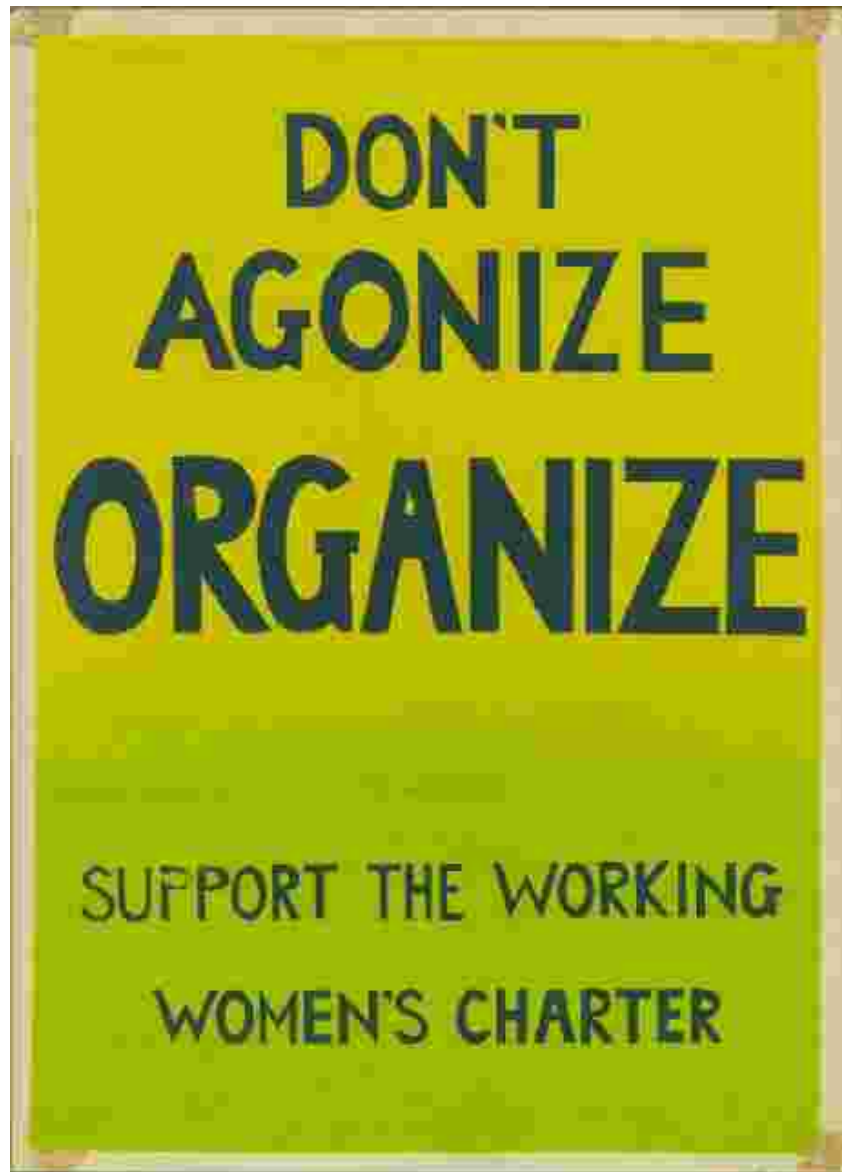
Relocating a library is no small exercise, and the DLUL occupied 228 very large boxes. These boxes continued to be held by successive storage companies, although the Special Materials Librarian retrieved the one archival element (the Equal Pay Campaign archive) in 2001 and arranged for the library catalogue and software to be retrieved from a PSA server. However, it is fair to say that the remainder of the DLUL was little known or used during the period 2002-2008, while VUW Library remained unable to summon sufficient resources to make it fully accessible. However, in 2007 the DLUL was moved to the Central Library in Kelburn as the first step towards re-processing it for proper use. Most unfortunately, in December 2008 the Library suffered a major flood and some boxes of books from the DLUL were affected. Fortunately very few works were lost, but the disaster served as a wake-up call that neither the storage nor the intellectual access were adequate. Faced with this challenge, the Library turned back to the Dan Long Trust for support, and the Trust agreed to fund six months work. The University Library is very grateful for this assistance.

The work of re-assessing and re-processing the DLUL has been onerous and complex. Each item must be retrieved, cleaned, and checked against the VUW Library catalogue. If a copy is not held already, the DLUL copy must be added to local and national bibliographic tools, and placed where it is most appropriate (VUW has campus libraries for Law, Architecture & Design, Commerce, and Education, as well as the Central Library in Kelburn). If a copy is already held, its condition must be checked and the Dan Long copy substituted if it is in better order. Rare, fragile, or very early works must be added to the Special Materials collections accessed through the J C Beaglehole Room<sup>vii</sup>, and relevant works tagged for the new Māori/Pasifika collection. All the catalogue records must carry the note 'Formerly part of the Dan Long Memorial Library (Wellington, N.Z.)' and each copy must have a special bookplate.

Material which duplicated Victoria Library's holdings but was in poorer condition has been offered to other libraries via the librarians' listserv and through personal connections. The response has been very positive and comments have included: "it's good for us to have another copy, as our one is falling apart", "keen on getting these for the post grad library", "that's great - we've been having to interloan a copy quite regularly for our people", "hopefully I'm in first for this one", "I'd love this one - ... have never found a copy of this book on sale". So far over 300 titles have been relocated in this way.

Material which was not taken up by other libraries was offered back to the Dan Long Trust as stipulated, and with their agreement will now be given to the 2010 Wellington Bookfair.

In addition to rare or fragile works, two Special Collections have been transferred to the care of the J C Beaglehole Room, where they are available under supervision from 10 a.m. to 4.30 p.m., Monday to Friday.



RIGHT: Dan Long Union Library poster ref. dlpc00016, from 'Equal Opportunities' folder. Poster text 'Don't Agonize Organize, Support The Working Women's Charter'; black text on a graduated green and yellow background. n.d. [1980?]

Sticker on rear of poster states 'This poster is on long term loan to TUEA from Therese O'Connell. The poster has been laminated with a grant made available by the Ministry of Women's Affairs'.

The Equal Pay Campaign Archive (EPCA)<sup>viii</sup> is a 21-box collection of PSA and personal papers dating from c.1943 to 1985, to do with the campaign for equal pay for women in the Public Service, with which Margaret Brand (later Margaret Long) was particularly associated. The campaign itself was completed with the passage of the Equal Pay Act in 1960, but the struggle for private sector equal pay continued, and the collection includes related material and an archive of interviews taped to commemorate the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Act in 1985. These tapes include such gems as Margaret Rodder being interviewed by Cath Kelly, Margaret Long (nee Brand) being

interviewed by Alison Lash, and a discussion between Mary Boyd, Rona Bailey, Maire Dwyer and Margaret Corner. It would be fascinating to interview the interviewers now, from the perspective of 25 years on.

The Posters Collection<sup>ix</sup> consists of 350 posters produced by various union and other groups (including overseas sources) during the 1970s-1980s, and heavily used by the Trade Union Education Authority. The posters range from commercial productions to those made by hand for particular events and strongly evoking the activist 'street up' approach. This part of the collection has already been augmented by a recent and much-appreciated donation by Therese O'Connell; the Library is seeking further examples and considering digitisation to enable online access.

As the Library nears the end of this project, while acknowledging that it has taken a long time to get here, there are many positive aspects to report. Relationships have been made or strengthened with the Trust, with recipients of re-homed works, with previous donors and with interested researchers. The University Library has a Collection Development and Management Policy which values the content and interdisciplinary nature of such resources and will continue to collect in these areas. Most resources are available to all New Zealanders via the inter library loan scheme, and those which are available only on site have descriptive 'signposts' on the internet. So, while many users (and possibly the PSA itself, now) may regret the change in location, they can be sure that the resources have remained within the research and education domain, that the special materials are being cared for appropriately, and that the Dan Long Memorial Library identity will be preserved in today's online environments. They can also be sure of a warm welcome whenever they wish to use the resources!

— *Nicola Frean is the Special Materials Librarian at Victoria University Library.*

---

i. Deed of Trust, Dan Long Trust records.

ii. Chiefly the Librarians: Patti O'Neill, Christine Keir, and Rachel Esson.

iii. Collection development policy, Dan Long Memorial Library, 1990, quoted in 'Description of the Dan Long Library, August 1999', unpublished report circulated by the Dan Long Trust.

iv. 'Description of the Dan Long Library, August 1999', op.cit. p.2.

v. Letter from Alan Smith to James Traue, 18 November 1999, VUW Library internal file.

vi. The University Library already held the archives of several unions, which had been transferred via the Labour Archives Trust (now the Labour History Project) in the 1970s-1980s. It had an academic and teaching interest through the Industrial Relations Centre, and strengths in the governance and policy areas. It also had related secondary publications and database subscriptions.

vii. The JCBR was established in 1975 and is the library's secure supervised research room for access to Special Materials - including archives, manuscripts, historic photographs and maps, posters, ephemera, oral histories, etc.

viii. <http://thecommunityarchive.org.nz/node/70599>

ix. <http://thecommunityarchive.org.nz/node/91085>

## Archives New Zealand Under Threat

In April the National led Government announced its plan to merge Archives New Zealand and the National Library into the Department of Internal Affairs. This proposal is an issue of concern not only to historians but to all who are concerned about keeping government open and accountable. Both Archives New Zealand and the National Library play vital roles in retaining the evidence of our nation's history. Archives New Zealand, however, has an arguably even more important role, that of retaining the documentation of government activities. Through access to this record citizens can work out what government institutions have done through the years and can if necessary call these authorities to account. A prime example of this has been the Waitangi Tribunal process, where government archives have been perhaps the chief source of evidence of the state's often less than savoury dealings with Maori.

To ensure that government institutions keep effective records and that these records are properly stored and accessible, it is necessary that Archives New Zealand remains an independent body. If Archives becomes a small section of the Department of Internal Affairs the Chief Archivist will have little power to carry out his or her responsibilities, while Archives itself will be more vulnerable to budget cuts and bureaucratic interference. For more information on the issues involved readers should look at the minutes of the first Archives New Zealand Action Group meeting and at Donald Gilling's paper on problems with the proposed restructure. Both can be found on <http://www.phanza.org.nz/content/minutes-archives-new-zealand-action-group-meeting-paper-presented-archives-new-zealand-actio>

Those who wish to express their own concern over the issue should write to the Minister of Internal Affairs or contact the newly formed Archives New Zealand Action Group through Jim McAloon of Victoria University ([Jim.McAloon@vuw.ac.nz](mailto:Jim.McAloon@vuw.ac.nz)).

The Labour History Project has expressed its own concerns over the proposal to the Minister of Internal Affairs, Nathan Guy. The letter of concern is reproduced below:

17 June 2010  
Hon Nathan Guy  
Minister of Internal Affairs  
Parliament Buildings  
Wellington

Dear Mr Guy,  
The Labour History Project is a group of citizens involved in the study, documentation and promotion of the history of working people in New

Zealand. We wish to express our concern over government proposals to merge Archives New Zealand and the National Library with the Department of Internal Affairs. We are particularly concerned about the constitutional ramifications of Archives New Zealand losing its independence and becoming a small unit within the Internal Affairs Department.

There appears to be no sound reason that the proposed merger should go ahead. The costs saved will be minimal. Digitisation projects can be carried on whether or not the organisations in question are merged. As for the merger of the National Library and Archives New Zealand, this appears to be the product of a misunderstanding of the functions of the two institutions. The National Library is an organisation whose primary focus is on the preservation of the nation's heritage, particularly its textual heritage. Archives New Zealand's primary function, in contrast, is to maintain a record of the activities of Government.

The Public Records Act 2005 guarantees the independence of the Chief Archivist. Such independence is essential for an official charged with ensuring that national and local Government bodies create and maintain records of their activities. These records are not simply an arcane resource for heritage researchers, but comprise the public memory of state and local body activities. In a democracy such records are the means by which the decisions and activities of those in power can be examined and questioned by the citizens of a country. A prime example of this can be seen with claims to the Waitangi Tribunal, where the surviving archives give concrete evidence of the decisions and actions of the Crown.

The Chief Archivist must be in a position to be able to insist that government departments maintain their record keeping standards, making sure these records are eventually handed over to Archives New Zealand. Under the proposed merger Archives New Zealand will be a small section of the Department of Internal Affairs, with the Chief Archivist as a second or third tier official. In such a position the Chief Archivist, along with Archives New Zealand as an institution, will be without the necessary clout to ensure these statutory obligations are carried out. If it is faced with a hostile or indifferent Secretary of Internal Affairs, Archives New Zealand's position will be practically untenable. In order to carry out its constitutional functions Archives New Zealand needs to be truly independent. The Chief Archivist should hold the status of an officer of parliament, akin to the Auditor General or the Parliamentary Commissioner of the Environment. The proposed merger should be abandoned on the grounds that it threatens the constitutional role of Archives New Zealand.

Yours Sincerely

Peter Clayworth BA (hons) PhD  
Committee Member  
Labour History Project

UNION FAMILY

## **Mining and Resistance Are My Heritage**

— *Catherine Delahunty*

Like so many other Irish men from Tipperary my great-grandfather Patrick Delahunty (known as Black Pat) left the Templemore area and travelled to Aotearoa New Zealand in search of a better life in the 1860s. Ireland in the 1850s and 60s was still wracked with poverty and the gold rush in the Coromandel offered hope. We do not know the ship or the exact date on which he arrived but shortly afterwards he met and married Julia Ann Dunn, a young American woman who had also followed the gold rush with her father Charles Dunn. They are believed to have married in St Francis Catholic Church, Thames.

Both Black Pat Delahunty and Charles Dunn had mining claims in their names around the Coromandel and Thames areas, including at Karaka and Waitohi. It is doubtful anyone made any money at all but somehow my great-grandmother raised eight children. Mary, who died of tuberculosis aged eight, is buried in the old cemetery in Thames alongside many other people with Irish surnames. Black Pat was known for drinking and fighting, and joined a volunteer regiment of Hauraki soldiers in order, it is said, to learn to fight the English, and not the Maori people.

The two men left Thames and moved to Auckland but employment in mining remained in the next generation of Delahunty's, with two of my great-uncles working underground in the Waihi mines. Great Uncle Charlie and great Uncle Dan both contracted phthisis, the lung disease that afflicted many underground miners after exposure to quartz dust. Like so many miners without the money to buy crushing and processing equipment, they remained poor. It is not known if they were active in the miners' union.

Very little knowledge of the old people was passed on to my father. As a small child he lived near Thames, at Omahu, with my grandfather Patrick Vincent Delahunty and my grandmother Amy Therese O'Connor Delahunty. Amy was an O'Connor from Appleby, Nelson and many of her extended family are still there today. They are a fine leftwing family renowned for their political activities and Fergus O'Connor is famous for the draught horses he has raised.

My father, Jim Delahunty, spent his childhood in Freemans Bay, then a working class area of central Auckland. For much of the Depression years his father was unemployed and Jim grew up with a strong sense of working class rights and solidarity. He is now in his 80s and has spent much of his working life as a union official in the Combined State Union, the PSA and the NZEI, although one of his first jobs was for CORSO. He was a folksinger who worked with others to collect colonial folksongs and I grew up singing

either US rebel songs by Joe Hill or songs about the gold rush such as “Waitekauri Every Time” which refers to the gold diggings at Waikino in the Karangahake Gorge.

It was with some sense of irony that I discovered my own history when campaigning against the multinational gold companies digging up Hauraki and the Coromandel in the 1980s and 1990s. We managed to hold a line against those companies, with only Waihi and Waitekauri being lost to corporate gold company aspirations. I learned some history then which included realising how much had been stolen from tangata whenua, far more than was stolen from the badly paid miners of Irish descent.

I left the area from 1993 until 2009 when I was elected to Parliament as a Green list MP. I now live near Thames and am again active in challenging the global gold companies who have returned eager to capitalise on the huge rise in the international price of gold and the National Government’s signals about extending mining in the Coromandel.

The poverty of my Delahunty ancestors was never alleviated by the gold industry and my father was the first one who was able to buy a home, some 96 years after Black Pat arrived here from Tipperary. But the musicality and fiery politics feels like an old theme in the family. Our identity has strong working class and union strands. As a descendent of the gold rush it feels right to be home standing up for the lands that have been ravaged too many times for corporate greed already and for people determining their own future.

— *Catherine Delahunty is an environmental activist and MP.*

## NEWS

# LHP Appears on Other Side of World

The spirit of international solidarity was rarely better demonstrated than in the late 1930s, when tens of thousands of anti-fascist volunteers from around the world converged on Spain to help defend her embattled elected government.

Those volunteers included a small but distinguished group of New Zealanders, both combatants and non-combatant doctors, nurses, a journalist and others. In 2006, on the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the arrival in Spain of the first New Zealand volunteers, the Labour History Project held a seminar on this remarkable yet almost unrecorded facet of our past.

A book, *Kiwi Compañeros*, appeared in 2009. It was based on the seminar presentations and later research, and published by Canterbury University Press with the support of the Lottery Grants Board. This year a new edition of the book will appear in Spanish, published by the University of Castilla – La Mancha.

The translation was made, on spec, by Cristina Gomez de la Torre, who has been teaching her native language at Victoria University and whose husband, Ambassador Marcos Gomez, wrote the foreword to the original English language edition. Cristina also negotiated publication with the university in Spain.

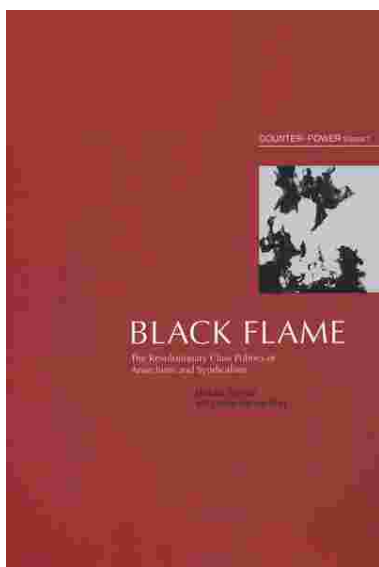
Some of the book's language proved almost untranslatable, such as Tom Spiller's account of dealing with a police inspector during an antifascist march in East London – "I let him have a straight bloody left, right in the mush." The book's title posed problems - to the Spanish, a "kiwi" is a brown, hairy fruit.

However, the process is almost completed, and may produce further information about New Zealand's contribution to a conflict that proved historically decisive worldwide.

— Mark Derby

#### REVIEWS

## Black Flame: The Revolutionary Class Politics of Anarchism and Syndicalism



*Black Flame: the Revolutionary Class Politics of Anarchism and Syndicalism* by Michael Schmidt and Lucien van der Walt (2009) 500pp. (Available from <http://akpress.org>).

Anarchism as a body of thought has been misinterpreted, misused and mystified by both those who agree or disagree with it. Yet as the authors of *Black Flame* demonstrate, despite the wide range of anarchist ideas and past movements some important definitions can be made. Using a fresh and thoughtful framework, *Black Flame* analyses the revolutionary class politics of anarchism and syndicalism, producing a cohesive overview of tactics, strategies and praxis to both illustrate an anarchist history of struggle and to push the current anarchist movement forward. While examining the history of a movement it is by no means limited to nostalgic posturing — this is a book intended to revisit past struggles in a way that resources the contemporary reader for today's equally pressing problems.

*"A good definition is one that highlights the distinguishing features of a given category, does so in a coherent fashion, and is able to differentiate that category from others, thereby organising knowledge as well as enabling effective analysis and research. The usual definition of anarchism fails on all these grounds."*

For Schmidt and van der Walt the usual definition of anarchism is its anti-statism. The 'seven sages' of anarchism — Godwin, Stirner, Proudhon, Bakunin, Kropotkin, Tucker and Tolstoy — are generally accepted as developing or influencing anarchist thought. Yet as *Black Flame* illustrates, while anti-statism is a necessary component of anarchist thought, the grouping of these loose figures and their ideas is "simply too vague to

really distinguish anarchism from other bodies of thought and action, resulting in anarchism being defined so loosely that it is not clear what should be included and what should not, and why some things are included and others are not".

Instead, *Black Flame* rightly argues that anarchism is a result of specific socialist and working class praxis developed in the 1860's — the realm of the First International — and firmly placed in the tradition of revolutionary class struggle. "It is our view that the term anarchism should be reserved for a particular rationalist and revolutionary form of libertarian socialism that emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century". The argument that anarchism can be traced back into antiquity or is a universal aspect of the psyche is disputed and convincingly disproved: "not only is it the case that anarchism did not exist in the premodern world, it is also the case that it could not have, for it is rooted in the social and intellectual revolutions of the modern world."

*"Anarchism was against social and economic hierarchy as well as inequality — and specifically, capitalism, landlordism, and the state — and in favour of international class struggle and revolution from below by a self-organised working class and peasantry in order to create a self-managed, socialist, stateless social order. In this new order, individual freedom would be harmonised with communal obligations through co-operation, democratic decision making, and social and economic equality, and economic coordination would take place through federal forms."*

Having established their framework, coined as the 'broad anarchist tradition', the authors examine anarchist ideas through historical examples, redeveloping anarchism's relationship with technology, classical Marxism, syndicalist struggles and tactics, organisation, unions, the IWW, and race and gender; portraying an internationalism refreshingly void of the narrow focus on Eurocentric sources. New Zealand's IWW Locals and the 'Red' Federation of Labour even get a mention, however briefly.

Establishing this 'broad anarchist tradition' enables the authors to critique past definitions of anarchism:

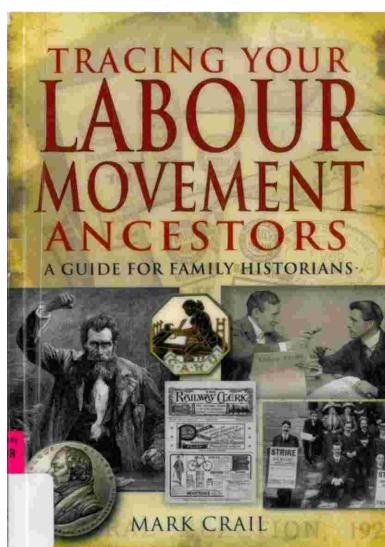
*"it follows that commonly used categories such as 'philosophical anarchism', 'individualist anarchism', 'spiritual anarchism', or 'lifestyle anarchism' fall away. Because the ideas designated by these names are not part of the anarchist tradition, their categorisation of variants of anarchism is misleading and arises from a misunderstanding of anarchism. Likewise, adding the rider 'class struggle' or 'social' to the word anarchist implies that there are anarchist who do not favour class struggle or who are individualists, neither of which is an accurate usage."*

*Black Flame* has sparked some very positive discussion since it was published, and of course, disagreement from the 'post-left anarchist' and 'anarcho-primitivist' trends, who, as a result of the book's framework, fall into the traditions of Stirner, individualists, or other thinkers outside of the 'broad anarchist tradition'. Definitions aside, *Black Flame* is a truly

valuable and practical book, with something to offer both the entrant to anarchist thought or those looking to further their own previous understandings.

— *Jared Davidson*

## Tracing Your Labour Movement Ancestors: A Guide for Family Historians



*Tracing Your Labour Movement Ancestors: A Guide for Family Historians* by Mark Crail. Barnsley, Pen and Sword Family History (2009).

Although designed to appeal to family historians, whose ancestors may have been active in the British labour movement, there is much to commend in this book to those who are researching labour history at different levels. As well as providing relevant bibliographies and websites, Crail also charts and summarises the growth of the industrial and political wings in the British labour movement from the Combination Acts, the Chartists, New Unionism, Labour governments and even Labour Churches and Socialist Sunday Schools. Essentially, he tells us what sort of records may exist and where to go to locate them.

I was once researching a member of the carpenters' union here in New Zealand in the 1920s and discovered via the Modern Records Centre at Warwick University the records of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, which had branches worldwide. That allowed me to find him transferring his ASC&J membership, and associated benefits, from Dublin to Auckland. He had disappeared for around twenty years from the United Kingdom online census records and there he was in Dublin, where he had apprenticed and learnt his trade.

Copies are held by both Auckland City Libraries and the National Library in Wellington.

— *David Verran*

*P.S. Researchers wanting to access digital copies of historic and more contemporary newspapers from various countries should check: <http://icon.crl.edu/digitization.htm>*

## Prelude to Arbitration in Three Movements: Ulster, South Australia, New Zealand: 1890-1894

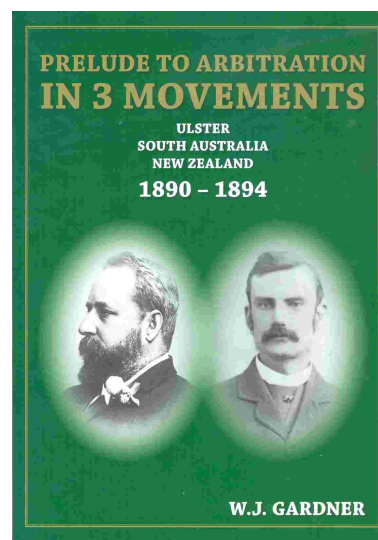
— Brian Easton

The Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act, passed in 1894, has been an iconic part of New Zealand's labour history. It was not repealed until 1973, its descendants regulated the labour market until the passing of the Employment Contracts Act, and its ghost haunted us thereafter.

There is a plethora of literature on it, but the standard reference of its early development is Jim Holt's *Compulsory Arbitration in New Zealand: The First Forty Years*. The book really begins with the passing of the act, with acknowledgement that there had been earlier attempts by William Pember Reeves. (The practice is to call him Pember Reeves to distinguish him from his father, William Reeves, who was an MP in an earlier era.) Jim Gardner fills in this lacuna by a detailed consideration of the years that preceded it, also pointing out that there were earlier precursors outside New Zealand.

The first prelude is about Samuel de Cobain, a sad gentleman, sometimes described as a 'slum landlord', who held the Westminster parliament seat of Belfast from 1886 to 1892 (when he was expelled from the House of Commons, after fleeing to France following being found in a men's brothel). In 1890 he introduced a bill 'Strikes' or more lengthily 'for Dealing with Strikes among Workmen, and remedying some of the Evils of the Sweating system'. Gardner suggests that it was the idea of an inspector of factories, J. H. Cameron, and that de Cobain proposed it as much for a political end – to demonstrate activity to his electorate – as belief. De Cobain does not seem to have consulted any employers or unions so there was no groundswell of favourable opinion. The Bill was opposed by the Trade Union Congress, and withdrawn.

The bill and its Ulsterman sponsor are almost forgotten until Gardner's book, and probably had no impact on Australasia. However its existence is indicative that something was going on. For instance, American Joseph D. Weeks published *Labour Differences and their Settlement: A Plea for Arbitration and Conciliation in 1886*. The American Knights of Labour who supported those objectives, came to New Zealand from 1887. What seems to have been happening – it is largely outside the scope of Gardner's book, although he discusses social developments in the each of the localities he addresses – is that unionism was evolving. There was the 'New Unionism' which was recruiting skilled, and semiskilled workers and from the white collar sector, including women. Industrial disputes intensified including the London Dock Strike of 1889 and Australasia's (Great) Maritime Strike of 1890. Many loathed these conflicts, thought them inefficient but inevitable in current market arrangements, and sought alternative means of resolution to industrial tensions.



*Prelude to Arbitration in Three Movements: Ulster, South Australia, New Zealand: 1890-1894* by W. J. Gardner (2009) 174pp. (Available from W. J. Gardner, Box 5634, Papanui, Christchurch 8542, \$NZ30).

The second prelude describes the course of the first Australasian bill, proposed in 1890 to the South Australian parliament by Charles Cameron Kingston, who later became its premier and was deeply involved in the founding of the federation of states which became Australia, which has arbitration and conciliation provisions in its constitution. Reeves was to acknowledge this precedence, although the South Australian legislation was finally passed after New Zealand's. (In those days the government did not have a guaranteed majority, so ministers would introduce bills which were not passed because they did not have sufficient support in the lower house or were rejected in the upper house.)

Gardner sketches the social conditions at the time; South Australia, a Wakefield colony, was the state most similar to New Zealand and had also experienced collateral damage – ‘the victim of other colonies’ quarrels’ – from the Maritime Strike, the bill being introduced shortly after it collapsed in October, and the total defeat of the unions that made up the Maritime Council.

With the distance that time gives, the New Zealand end of the strike was bound to fail. Bert Roth thinks that there were about 3000 unionists in 1888. Estimates are as high as 63,000 at the end of 1890. In my view the true figure was lower but, whatever, the new union members were hardly ready for New Zealand's first major industrial confrontation. It is possible that the employers deliberately precipitated the strike to quell the new unionism.

Was the consequence the arrival of arbitrationism? Months after the collapse New Zealand elected the Liberals, a loose coalition of self employed and working men, whose government was to enact the I&C Act.

The arithmetic of the election is complicated. Universal male suffrage (over the age of 21) had been introduced for the 1881 election, but the principle of one-man-one-vote was first applied in 1890 – previously property owners had been allowed to vote in each electorate where they had a holding. (On the other hand, the country quota meant it was one-man-1.28-votes for rural males.) The one-man-one-vote principle may have eliminated over 30,000 multiple registrations, presumably mainly to the cost of the property oriented right-wing vote. Additionally, turnout was about 20 percentage points greater in 1890 compared to 1887, say another 35,000 votes in an enrollment of 180,000. The additional voters presumably voted against the conservatives who had run the country in the previous three (or thirty) years. It would be fascinating to know how many of the new voters turned out because of the Maritime Strike, but we never will.

The Strike is largely forgotten – except to celebrate Labour Day, although even here most people don't know why they have that Monday off. Instead of celebrating International Workers Day on May 1, New Zealand chose the last Monday of October, commemorating the day the Council was founded,

28 October 1889. The unions chose the founding date of their Council to coincide with the anniversary of the legendary 1840 meeting in Barrett's Pub when the working men declared that anyone who did not observe an eight-hour day would be ducked in Wellington harbour. (There will be a Labour History Conference on the Maritime Strike on November 4 this year, in Auckland.)

Gardner argues that the failure of the Maritime Council shaped the subsequent labour legislation. He writes the New Zealand story around two major actors, Reeves and John Andrew Millar, a Christian Socialist and 'radical', who was secretary of the Council and is described by Gardner as 'the most unusual labour leader in New Zealand history'. As it happens Reeves was elected to parliament in 1887, and was a minister from 1890, resigning to become Agent-General (effectively High Commissioner) in London in 1896. Despite standing in 1890, Millar was not elected until 1893, and so it was that Reeves made the legislative running. (He also has the advantage of a major biography by Keith Sinclair.)

The book argues that Reeves and Millar disagreed. The evidence is indirect but convincing enough. Millar did not mention Reeves's proposals when he had the opportunity, shortly after he was elected in 1893, and he did not vote for the bill. In a satirical verse written in 1895, Reeves couples 'Jock' Millar with 'Geordie' McLean, that is George McLean, the Chairman of the failing Colonial Bank about whom Reeves was sceptical when it came to bailing it out. Gardner suggests that since Reeves was a Canterbury man, while Millar came from Dunedin, there was a tension between the representatives of the two major industrial regions.

With the telescope of time, one is struck by their similarities. Neither were Marxists, but both saw strikes as an inevitable curse in the jungle of unregulated capitalism. The difference, Gardner argues, is that Millar believed in social not political action, 'Whereas Millar looked to voluntary developments in society rising to a climax, Reeves' aim was political, imposing a compulsory solution on industry from above.' In Gardner's view 'There could be no compromise between the two views'. We have here the tension riven through the union movement and labour history. Could the unions evolve organically to protect all workers, or were there some workers who would never be able to protect themselves without state help? Practically, what was to be the balance between these two approaches?

Perhaps the balance issue is key to our understanding how, and ironically, Millar who became Minister of Labour in 1906, rescued the arbitration system in 1908 by amending the Act to make it workable. In 1912 Millar crossed the floor and voted in the Massey government, retiring to the Legislative Chamber in 1914.

Gardner presents this as a modest monograph but like some of his earlier works – one thinks especially of *A Pastoral Kingdom Divided : Cheviot, 1889-94* (1992), which led to a re-evaluation of the 'bursting' of the great

estates – it raises major questions. Despite Bert Roth’s sterling work, and the contributions of others, we don't know enough about the labour history of the years before the IC&A Act and how they shaped the outcome (recalling that it was the unions that had not been weakened by a great industrial conflict who blocked the Westminster predecessor). As the three cameos of the book indicate, we need to see the New Zealand union movement as a part of an international phenomenon. And we need to think more rigorously about the tension that Gardner captures in the differences between Millar and Reeves.

Gardner apologises that a book begun forty years ago should leave some loose ends but ‘it has become more important for me to publish than be perfect’. There are few books published by a 93-year-old scholar which have so much useful material and intriguing insights.

I have a friend who reviewed Gardner’s collected essays *Where They Lived: Studies in Local, Regional and Social History* (1999), published when the author was a stripling of 83. Thinking it was his last book, the reviewer took the opportunity to acknowledge Jim Gardner's numerous contributions to history over the year. Jim, all I can say is that my friend was happily wrong in one respect. Certainly you deserve to be saluted and thanked, but that wasn't your last. If this is, you have finished with another blaze of glory but, then again, perhaps you are working on another project. You have certainly helped us in our work.

— *Brian Easton is a Wellington economist and writer.*

## WORK IN PROGRESS

### **Passive Resisters’ Union**

In 1912, the Passive Resisters' Union formed to oppose a form of boy conscription popularly known as Compulsory Military Training. After months of individual resistance which resulted in fines and imprisonment, these working class lads joined together and pledged 'to resist coercion, conscription and military training in all its circumstances and defy all penalties that may be imposed'.

They faced serious consequences for their stand, including the loss of civil rights, fines and military detention. However, they played an important role in the anti-militarist movement of the time, which according to some historians could have made the whole system of Compulsory Military Training unworkable if it wasn't for the onset of the First World War, and the jingoistic passion that followed.

LHP Member Ryan Bodman is currently writing a dissertation on the Passive Resisters' Union and would appreciate any information. Please email: [ryankb@gmail.com](mailto:ryankb@gmail.com)

## Dan Long: PSA General Secretary 1960-1976

I am writing a biography of Dan Long, with the support of the Dan Long Memorial Trust. If you can supply any photos, letters, anecdotes or other material for this project, I'd love to hear from you.

Mark Derby  
130 Derwent St  
Island Bay, Wellington 6023  
Ph. 04-973 8900  
Email [markderby@paradise.net.nz](mailto:markderby@paradise.net.nz)

## Who was Steve Yates?

In *Kiwi Compañeros, New Zealand and the Spanish Civil War*, edited by Mark Derby and published in 2009, Steve Yates is coupled with Griff Maclaurin as the first two New Zealanders killed in the Spanish Civil War.

John Cornford, the Cambridge educated poet and also later killed in Spain, is quoted as saying Yates was an "ex-corporal in the British army, expelled and imprisoned for incitement to mutiny ... [and] ... one of our corporals, an ex-soldier and good bloke" (page 43).

*Kiwi Compañeros* further describes Yates as serving in World War One, an electrician by trade and a Communist Party member in the inner London borough of St Pancras, where he was "a veritable landmark in the fight against fascism in this borough during 1935-36 [who] was arrested and fined many times" (page 43). The source for this is a publication entitled 'In proud memory of the St Pancras men who died fighting in the British Battalion of the International Brigade in Spain' and published by the International Brigade Dependant's Aid Committee in London, no date.

Yates is however described in 'Kiwi Companeros' as a member of the Commune de Paris Battalion, which is more appropriate for November 1936, and was killed around 10 November 1936 at University City in Madrid, while manning a machinegun as was Maclaurin. A roll of honour at [http://international-brigades.org.uk/british\\_volunteers/roll\\_of\\_honour.html](http://international-brigades.org.uk/british_volunteers/roll_of_honour.html) describes Yates as coming from London, but also describes New Zealand born Maclaurin as coming from Cambridge, England.

The only claim that Yates was a New Zealander appears to come from a Spanish archival note. However, records of the New Zealand Register of Births, Deaths and Marriages fail to locate any Stephen Yates, certainly none old enough to serve in World War One.

Recently, I chanced upon a reference in the 7 November 1935 *The Times* (page 4) from their Digital Archive. Stephen James Yates, aged 30 of Mornington Crescent and an electrician, was charged before the Clerkenwell Magistrate for obstructing and assaulting a constable. Yates and his co-defendant denied the charges. The incident had arisen from the burning of a Guy Fawkes on a bonfire in Seymour Street in St Pancras, with the 'Guy' said to represent the Conservative dominated National Government. Yates "said that in his curiosity he put his hands on the constable's shoulder in order to get a better look ... [and] ... did not jump on his back". According to 'The Times', Yates was fined 20 Shillings for obstructing the officer and 4 Pounds for assaulting him.

Going back to 1905 (30 years before) a Stephen James Yates was born in the April to June Quarter of that year in St Pancras, and this information is confirmed in the 1911 Census.

Thus, were there at least two Stephen Yates or was someone else using his name? Certainly, the New Zealand link is hard to confirm. Nevertheless, this doesn't detract from the heroism of both Maclaurin and Steve Yates, whoever in fact Yates may have been.

— *David Verran*

## Corrections and Amendments

Ray Markey has kindly corrected a mistake made in the last issue of the newsletter where it was stated that the Council of industrial Organisations was founded in 1937. Whereas, as Ray points out, the Committee for Industrial Organisation was founded within the AFL in 1935, and the separate Congress of Industrial Organisations was founded in 1938. We welcome members comments on the articles published in the newsletter, they make for a livelier journal.

# NEW HISTORIANS

## Postgraduate Conference

30-31 August 2010

### Topics Include:

The Others: Views of Early Settlers on Maori before the Taranaki Wars

What Becomes of the 'Last Man'? Debating the End of History

State, Civil Society and Authoritarianism in Nigeria:  
Historicising a Dialectical Engagement

The Sister with a Sweet Tooth?

Food Consumption as an Indirect Tax Base in New Zealand 1840-2010

The Maritime Strike and changing attitudes towards trade unionism  
in New Zealand - A Newspaper Study

The Myth of Aboriginal Cannibalism and the Justification of Colonisation

Performers' Editions and Additions:

A Case Study of Decoding Intent in Early 18th Century Musical Handwriting

### Keynote Speakers:

**Dr Claudia Orange**

Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa

**Professor Jonathan Scott**

University of Auckland



## **Labour History Project**

**Newsletter 49: July 2010**

ISSN 1175-3064

PO Box 27-425  
Wellington  
Aotearoa / New Zealand

For more information on  
LHP membership, activities,  
publications and news, see  
the website:

**[www.lhp.org.nz](http://www.lhp.org.nz)**

EDITOR: Lisa Saksen  
DESIGN: Jared Davidson