



Labour History Project

NEWSLETTER 54 | APRIL 2012

Maoriland Worker online

The National Printing Museum

The Workers' University

Union Family: Marx in Maori - Percy Short

Workers' History Walks: the Great 1913 Strike

The Tailor From Latvia



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For more information on LHP membership, activities,
publications and news, check out our website:

www.lhp.org.nz

GUEST EDITOR: Don Polly
DESIGN: Jared Davidson

COVER: Miss Elsie Thorn attracted considerable attention at a
1911 christchurch ball when she appeared dressed as "The
Maoriland Worker." *MAORILAND WORKER, VOLUME 2, ISSUE 25, 25 AUGUST 1911.*

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FROM THE SHOP FLOOR

Introduction from guest Editor Don Polly



Kia ora. Welcome to the first issue of Labour History Project's newsletter for 2012. This issue looks especially at early union and political activists in New Zealand, their philosophies, and their newspapers. Peter Clayworth writes about a prime example of early New Zealand left-wing journalism: the *Maoriland Worker*, which ran from 1910 to 1924. The National Library of New Zealand has now put all issues of the *Worker* onto their online resource 'Papers Past'.

Also in this issue is Mark Derby's detailed but not-yet-complete story of the life and times of Maori language speaker, activist writer, publisher, qualified tradesman and dedicated IWW

member Percy Short. Jared Davidson writes compellingly about Philip Josephs, the anarchist tailor from Latvia, in a preview to his forthcoming book. Stuart Moriarty-Patten examines the efforts of early New Zealand members of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) to educate the workforce of the day "discussing aspects of economics, sociology and politics."

We also report on the current struggle to establish a National Printing Museum—displaying how rapidly increasing technologies have been at the heart of destroying so many jobs—even whole trades, while at the same time providing the world with new means of mass communication and education.

As for me, union affiliation has become a state of mind. It goes back to my grandfather, a tradesman carpenter in the famed goldmines of Cripple Creek, Colorado. My father was a founding member and elected officer in the Denver (later American) Newspaper Guild most of his working life.

I've been a member of several trade unions over a life-long working career, which include teachers' unions, state or central government unions; retail, engineering and journalist unions. I've been an EPMU delegate in Wellington, and worked for that same union as a journalist and web-site columnist. Now, self-employed (or retired for the umpteenth time), I still proudly hold union membership.

Even more important is my love of independent community journalism. Establishing a small independent newspaper, whose governance and editorial content comes from the community it serves, goes some way to filling the communication gap left by the mainstream press and their stables of tabloids. I've been closely involved with two, *Te Awa-iti* in Porirua from 1980 to 1991, and the *Xpressed* in Paekakariki from 2001 to 2011.

The advantage with an independent community-based newspaper is that left wing, trade union or people-oriented messages get out and they are actually read. Such local journalism does provide for a viable alternative press.

I am honoured to have been asked to be a Guest Editor for the Labour History Project. I hope you enjoy the contributions here as much as I enjoyed putting them together. Kia kaha!

Letters to the Editor

7 December 2011 (via email)

Please send letters to the editor to:
secretary@lhp.org.nz

or by post to:
Newsletter

Labour History Project
PO Box 27-425
Wellington 6001

Sir or Madam,

This is a MARVELLOUS NEWSLETTER!! Warmest congratulations—everything is interesting and for me, much of it was new—the role of women in 1951, the Tailoresses (what a promising young historian!), and much more.

My cheque is in the post, as they say, and truthfully! and best wishes for 2012!

Arohanui

Dr Judith Aitken
Wellington/Waikanae

Chair's report



Above: CATCHING THE RAYS AT THE FEBRUARY 2012 ANNUAL PLANNING SESSION ARE (L. TO R.) DAVE WICKHAM, BILL ROSENBERG, HAZEL ARMSTRONG (FRIEND), MARY-ELLEN O'CONNOR, MARIE RUSSELL, LISA SACKSEN, PAULINE LEVERTON, GRACE MILLAR, PETER CLAYWORTH, MARK DERBY (CHAIR), JIM MCALOON (TREASURER), TOBY BORAMAN. ABSENT: MICHAEL BROWN, PETER FRANKS, DAVID GRANT, RICHARD HILL, CLAIRE-LOUISE MCCURDY (SECRETARY), MELANIE NOLAN, SUE SHONE, JAMES TAYLOR.

The winning combination of good company, great food and a sunny coastal location makes the LHP's traditional mid-summer annual planning session a reliably festive event. This year we gathered at the Pukerua Bay home of our treasurer, Jim McAloon, to debrief on recent events such as the astonishing Rona Bailey lecture the previous November (see the organisers' report on p.7) and to plot the year ahead.

This large task was made easier by the large number of skilled people present. Our executive committee currently numbers 19, so that even given unavoidable absences, a sufficient number attends meetings such as this planning session to ensure that a great deal gets done with relatively little individual effort.

Among the outcomes of this meeting were:

- a position statement on providing financial support to outside organisations and projects
- discussion of an LHP response to the proposal to reopen old coal workings at the historic West Coast communities of Denniston and Burnett's Face
- a debate on a slight but significant change to the organisation's byline, 'An injury to one is a concern to all'
- a review of plans for the forthcoming centenaries of the Waihi strike, the PSA and the 1913 Great Strikes.

At another meeting last year, committee member Bill Rosenberg, newly returned from Chicago, showed us the map and brochure for a labour history walk he had experienced there. This idea was eagerly picked up by our committee which is now planning a around key sites for the 1913 strike, with the involvement of teachers and others from outside our organisation (see p.6).

And as ever, we had a few drinks and a catch-up afterwards in the rare and therefore much-appreciated blazing sunshine. Thanks, Jim, for your hospitality, and thanks to all the committee and LHP members for helping to provide high hopes in hard times.

Mark Derby
LHP Chair

Current research

NOTE: any recent, current or forthcoming research in the field of New Zealand labour history, including specific inquiries, will be covered in this section of the journal. Please send details to: chair@lhp.org.nz

Although the Labour History Project's seminar on the Spanish Civil War took place as long ago as 2006, and the book based on that seminar, *Kiwi Compañeros*, was published in 2009, new information on this subject continues to emerge. In late 2011 Ian Sinclair, a TVNZ producer and flamenco guitarist, contacted the LHP about making a documentary on a New Zealand volunteer to the war.

The programme on Auckland mathematician Griffith McLaurin, killed during the battle of Madrid in November 1936, is due to screen on the weekend before Anzac day. It includes information that did not appear in *Kiwi Compañeros* since it was sent to the LHP after the book was published. Scotsman Richard Hunter contacted us to say that his grandfather, David McKenzie, had fought alongside McLaurin in Madrid, and later deposited an un-published account of this experience in the Edinburgh City archives. This extraordinary material formed the basis for the documentary:

... All longed for action, and when the order arrived for four men to go up with the machine guns to the most dangerous position on the front, we all volunteered and those who did not go were sick with disappointment. Joe Hinks, McLaurin, Steve Yates and Symes were chosen as our best gunners ...

A mixed battalion of the International Column attacked [the fascist troops] while they were still waiting. The White House was on the edge of a wood, which was bounded by a high stone wall through which there was only one gate. This wood was the line of the government attack. The fascists were cleared out of it in the evening without much difficulty. McLaurin with Steve Yates took their Lewis gun along the right hand side of the wood. They had no-one to carry their ammunition, and McLaurin carried it all and his rifle as well. He was wounded almost immediately, but it was at the far end of the wood that his body was found, dead beneath a tree with the Moorish sniper whom he had shot down beside him. Yates continued alone with the machine gun and the ammunition. He was the first to reach the gate at the end of the wood, giving covering fire as our men passed through it. When he was wounded he propped himself up against a tree and continued to fire his gun, firing from the hip at the Moors round the house, and he was found standing there days later so riddled with machine gun bullets that his body fell apart when they tried to pick it up ...

NEWS ROUND UP

Workers' history walks: The 1913 Great Strike in Wellington

Peter Clayworth and Marie Russell



CROWD ON JERVOIS QUAY, WELLINGTON, DURING THE 1913 WATERFRONT STRIKE. SMITH, SYDNEY CHARLES. ALEXANDER TURNBULL LIBRARY.

The centenary of the 1913 Great Strike is almost upon us. With this in mind a group of LHP members is developing a guided walk around Wellington's inner city. The walk will take in sites of the dramatic events of 1913, enabling the walker to learn about the strike and other related events in the history of Wellington's workers. The group hopes to have the walk developed, tested, and ready for walkers in November 2013, to mark the centennial of the strike.

Some of the sites of interest have changed dramatically since the early 20th century. The wharves themselves, focal point for what began as a waterfront strike, are a case in point. While substantial buildings such as the Bond Store and Wellington Harbour Board offices (now the Museum of City and Sea) and a number of the warehouses have been retained, most of the sheds and workshops that used to clutter the wharves are long gone. Other places of interest in the 1913 story that have disappeared completely include the Terrace Gaol, (where Bob Semple, Peter Fraser, Harry Holland and other strike leaders were confined in the later days of the strike), and the Alexandra Barracks, Mt Cook, where the special constables (the Specials) and their horses were billeted. Many do remain intact, including a number of the old buildings on Buckle Street, scene of a battle between the Specials and strike supporters, and the old Whitcombe and Tombs building (now Whitcoulls) where shop assistants produced firearms to protect Specials who had been chased into the bookshop by enraged strikers.

There are many excellent photographs of Massey's Cossacks and strikers in street scenes, which could be used to illustrate events in the areas of the walk. In addition to the guided centennial walk, the group plans to translate the

material into an illustrated pamphlet and smart-phone app for 'self-guided' walks. The walk itself will probably be confined to the wharves/inner city/Buckle Street area. It is envisaged that sites of interest further afield, such as Newtown Park (a major site of strikers' mass meetings), could be shown in the walk guide, in case people wish to visit them.

If the formula works, other topics from Wellington's people's history may be similarly developed for self-guided walks. The group is supported by an experienced Wellington walks guide who will advise on the practical 'walk' side of the projects, while the historians in the group are identifying exactly where the walk will go and what the content will cover.

We appeal to readers for any advice or suggestions.

Please contact Peter Clayworth: peterclayworth@hotmail.com or Marie Russell: marie.russell@otago.ac.nz

Rona Bailey Memorial Lecture 22 November 2011

Hazel Armstrong and Marie Russell

Rona Bailey (1914-2005), a founder member of the Trade Union History Project (forerunner of the LHP) is best known in trade union circles as a staunch activist. But she was also a dancer, a teacher of dance, and brought modern dance to generations of New Zealanders.

The 2011 Lecture honoured the dancer in Rona, who had studied with pioneers of modern dance in New York and founded the New Dance Group, with Philip and Olive Smithells, in Wellington in 1945. The New Dance Group engaged with strong political themes in their work, an approach very much in tune with Rona Bailey's life and values. Inspired by local and international political movements, as well as the emerging modern dance of America, Rona believed that dance "had a role to play in reflecting life and what it could be. It could be a challenge to people."

The lecture was organised by a group of women for the LHP—Marie Russell, Meg Bailey, Sue Paterson and Hazel Armstrong. The speaker was Auckland historian Marianne Schultz who illustrated her talk, 'Dance is a Weapon' with photographs and excerpts from Shirley Horrocks' 2008 film *Dance of the Instant: The New Dance Group Wellington 1945 – 1947*. Marianne also introduced a short live performance specially prepared by students of the New Zealand School of Dance: a reconstruction of the 1945 New Dance Group piece *Sabotage in a Factory*.

Among others who spoke about Rona as a dancer was a former student of Rona's at the NZ Drama School 1981/2, Perry Piercy, who remembered learning movement from Rona, and recalled Rona's flair and influence. Perry now teaches at Toi Whakaari.

A mixed audience of Labour History stalwarts and people from the dance world appreciated Marianne's scholarly, well-illustrated presentation. A

highlight was the moving performance by the young dancers, thanks to a fruitful collaboration between the New Zealand School of Dance, Toi Whakaari, the LHP, Te Whaea, Shirley Horrocks and Marianne Schultz.

The evening was a great tribute to Rona. She was all around us as we celebrated her creativity and rich cultural life in the Rona Bailey room at Te Whaea.

The presentation helped round out our appreciation of Rona. Politics infused everything she did, whether it was dance, teaching, frontline political activism supporting unions or Maori rights or workers' history.

Waihi Strike seminar November 2012

Steady progress is being made towards a major seminar in Waihi this year in November to mark the centenary of the climactic and tragic Waihi goldminers' strike.

THE DRAFT PROGRAMME:

Friday 9 November, from 4.30 pm

Registration at Friendship Hall, School Rd, Waihi
Light refreshments , tea and coffee
Dinner and drinks available RSA Seddon St

Saturday 10 November 8.30am to 12.30 pm

Seminar papers at Waihi Memorial Hall, jointly with the Australasian Mining History Association
Lunch, plus refreshments at Friendship Hall

Saturday 1.30 pm to 5pm

Seminar papers, plus issues and interests presentations at Friendship Hall
Alternatively - field trips, workshops and exploring,

Saturday 7.30pm

Dinner at RSA, followed by social

Sunday 11 November 9am

Commemoration of death of Fred Evans
Roll call of Waihi miners, with their descendants

To submit a 200-word abstract for a paper, or for further information about seminar registration, fee, accommodation etc, contact: chair@lhp.org.nz or write to Waihi seminar, PO Box 27425, Wellington 6001, or phone Mark Derby at 04-973 8900.

FEATURE ARTICLES

Wellington Regional Council gives a 'green light' to National Printing Museum site

Don Polly



MUSEUM MEMBERS GARRY MILLER, BILL NAIRN AND ROYCE JACOBSON IN FRONT OF THE ALBION PRESS USED TO PRINT THE FIRST ISSUE OF THE *EVENING POST* IN 1865. THE PRESS COULD PRINT 200 COPIES AN HOUR. SOME 76,000 INDIVIDUAL LETTERS WERE HAND-SET FOR THE INITIAL FOUR PAGES. PHOTO MAARTEN HALL, *EVENING POST*.

For almost 30 years, a small group of mostly retired New Zealand tradesman printers have held fast to the dream of setting up a National Printing Museum in the Wellington region. It has been a long and depressing wait as several local authorities failed to grasp the importance or urgency of their vision.

Time has been the major concern. While a working museum is the best opportunity to attract new and younger members, there must be enough time to teach them to properly use the vast array of printing presses and typography equipment.

Last October, Greater Wellington Regional Council finally approved the concept and details for the new Heritage Precinct in Queen Elizabeth Park. Council staff were directed to expedite the Printing Museum's application for a concessionary lease of land at Mackay's Crossing near Paekakariki where the museum plans to erect its new purpose built building.

Former Wellington Printer's Union Secretary and present Museum President Bill Nairn told the Labour History Project the original suggestion for a site at Queen Elizabeth Park came from the Tramway Museum already established in what will become the Heritage Park. He says "they wanted another 'industry

type' museum built there to bolster their own presence and further arouse public interest in a large-scale fully-operating trade-based New Zealand historical industry.

“We approached Greater Wellington Regional Council after 20 years of banging our heads against the wall in the Hutt Valley and Wellington and were just about to give up.” Two sites are presently being considered in the proposed Heritage Precinct.

The Printing Museum is a charitable trust established in 1984. Today members come from Wellington, Auckland, Hamilton, New Plymouth and Dunedin. It publishes a semi-monthly newsletter with news of the Trust's activities, histories of some of its celebrated printing presses, and published items from early NZ newspapers. Its website (www.theprintingmuseum.org.nz) links to copies of past newsletters, the trust's relationship with universities and polytechnics and photographs of early printing equipment in the collection.

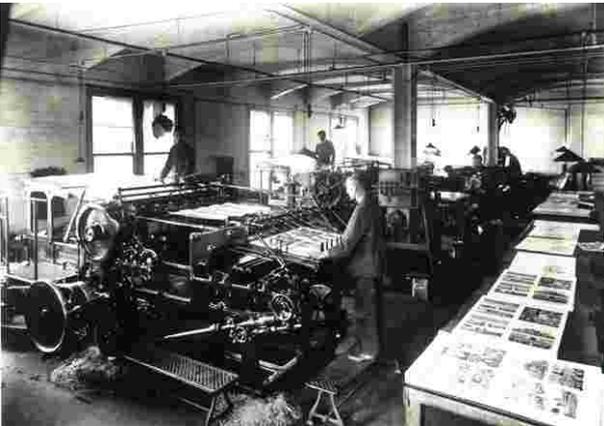
The Printing Museum has built up the largest and most comprehensive collection of working letterpress printing machinery and associated equipment in NZ, some of it dating back to 1840. “The development of the printing industry in New Zealand can justly be said to mirror our nation's history,” according to the site's future page. “We are determined that the principles and processes should not be lost.” Being isolated and distant, New Zealand was very dependent on a printing industry to help establish a unified country.

The main objectives of the society, apart from preserving the nation's letterpress printing heritage, is to encourage an understanding of the rapidly increasing ‘revolutionary waves of technology’ that have changed the world of printing (and printers!), and in turn, introduced mass communication, and helped provide universal information and education.

Printing started with the invention of moveable type 500 years ago. Centuries later the invention of the rotary press and the famous Linotype precluded hand setting. In our own recent memory, computerised typesetting and offset lithographic printing, and more recently, digital printing have all reduced labour input.

At the turn of last century, printers, photo lithographers, compositors (typographers), bindery workers, photoengravers and book binders were distinctly separate trades, and each had their own trade union. In fact, some 20 trade unions involved with printing (some from different areas of the country), are noted in Peter Franks' definitive *Print & Politics, A History of Trade Unions in the New Zealand Printing Industry, 1865 – 1995*.

By the beginning of WWII, most of these unions (including Women's Printers' Assistants), had amalgamated into the powerful NZ Printing and Related Trades Industrial Union of Workers. Some 50 years later, seriously weakened by new waves of labour-saving technology, corporate restructuring, and very unsympathetic governments, virtually all unions connected with printing, including the former journalists' Jagpro union, photo engravers and packaging workers merged into the country's largest industrial union, the NZ Amalgamated Engineering, Printing and Manufacturing Union (EPMU).



Clockwise, from top left: A PHOTOGRAVURE PRESS AT THE WEEKLY PRESS IN 1928. AN EXPENSIVE HIGH-SPEED ENGRAVED CYLINDER PRESS USED MAINLY ON HIGH CIRCULATION GLOSSY MAGAZINES. NOT WIDELY USED IN NEW ZEALAND. PHOTO ALEXANDER TURNBULL LIBRARY.

A COMPOSITOR'S APPRENTICE SETTING UP A 'STICK' OF TYPE DURING THE LATE 1940S. PHOTO ALEXANDER TURNBULL LIBRARY.

SOME 40 YEARS AGO, PRINTER TERRY GARVEN TRIMS A STEREO PLATE READY FOR PRINTING ANOTHER EDITION OF THE TIMARU HERALD.

AN APPRENTICE IN THE GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE IN WELLINGTON TAKES A TRIAL SHEET FROM THE GALLERY LETTER PRESS IN THE MID-1940S. PHOTO ALEXANDER TURNBULL LIBRARY.

Some 7,000 trade union members are now part of EPMU's Printing, Graphic Arts and Media (journalists) Industry Council. Craft (apprentice) training in journalism and all printing and related trades including sign making and packaging is available from the Communications and Media Industry Training Organisation.

Letterpress printing is undergoing a renaissance in universities and polytechnics around the world. In New Zealand, Victoria, Massey, Auckland and Otago universities all teach design and craft printing, using letterpress basics for a good grounding and better grasp of the printing process. Several have a close relationship with the Printing Museum. A number of commercial bookbinding firms still use letterpress.

Nairn, a former linotype operator himself, says letterpress printing can be personally very satisfying, given the individual craftsmanship involved. He says letterpress printing "leaves a distinctively sharper imprint, as it 'bites' into the paper".

Until recently the Museum has been open to the public, hosting scores of visitors including school classes, while operating from temporary premises in the Hutt Valley at Silverstream. Unfortunately, its lease expired, and the entire million dollar collection was put into storage in nearby Mangaroa. This is costing the society \$6,000 a year, and because it is not allowed to have paying visitors, or room to operate any equipment, its income has virtually stopped. Greater Wellington Regional Council Parks Planner Sharon Lee agreed that

“the wait has been too long, and is understandably frustrating to those waiting.” She confirmed the Heritage Precinct concept “has been accepted and is now reflected in the current plan.”

The Trust is confident it can raise the \$300,000 needed for the new 850sq/m building to house and display the collection. There are already a number of organisations that have offered to provide significant funding. The Trust is just happy there will soon be a place to call home.

Don Polly is the founding editor of the award-winning Paekakariki Xpressed community newspaper, which for a decade supported the establishment of the Printing Museum in a heritage precinct in Queen Elizabeth Park.

The Workers' University

Stuart Moriarty-Patten

THE SABOTAGE SCHOOL. HOW IT STARTED AND CAME TO GRIEF THE I.W.W. IN AUCKLAND

The cabled news from Sydney that amongst the documents seized by the police in connection with the sensational raid on the headquarters of the Industrial Workers of the World was a letter from Auckland openly advocating sabotage, probably came as a shock to most people who have believed that industrial violence is a thing of the past, and raises the question as to whether the apostles of destruction are still at large in Auckland.

THE THAMES STAR'S VIEW OF THE NEWS OF A WORKERS' UNIVERSITY IN AUCKLAND. THAMES STAR, 23 OCTOBER 1915, P.8.

Secretary Sharn Riggs of the Tertiary Education Union (TEU) is arguing that the employment issues such as casualisation and the flexibility of working hours currently being disputed on the Auckland wharves are the same issues that tertiary education workers are facing.

Protests during the past year at Auckland University have included withholding research, daily pickets outside the vice-chancellor's office, targeting public events at the university, wearing rosettes at graduation ceremonies, stop-work meetings, and a large public rally of students and staff.

Also of concern to the lecturers is that cuts in tertiary education funding will restrict access to education for those from the lower end of the socioeconomic scale. In 1916, a group in Auckland was also concerned about educating workers.

Educating the workers was vital to the syndicalist organisation the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) if they were to achieve their aim of a socialist society based on the common ownership of the means of production. The IWW argued that only a truly class-conscious working class, which fully understood the exploitative and oppressive nature of capitalism, could carry out the act of revolution.

“What a monster is this thing ignorance? Work for its abolition,”¹ announced the *Industrial Unionist*, the journal of IWW local 175 in Auckland, which ran regular columns discussing aspects of economics, sociology and politics for the education of its readers. They also ran regular street meetings and classes from their rooms not just in Auckland, but Wellington and Christchurch, where there were also IWW locals, and in places such as Huntly, Waihi and Denniston where there were informal IWW groups. Perhaps the most infamous economics class was that run by the prominent IWW organizer J.B. King in Waihi in 1912.

Newspaper reports and questions in Parliament about King’s alleged teaching of sabotage in this class led to Prime Minister Massey to promise an inquiry into King’s teachings. It was reported that King had been advising his class to only work when the employers were watching, and to carry emery powder for dropping into machinery to destroy bearings. It was also alleged that he told workers to carry a chisel at all times to drop in machinery in order to damage cogwheels. Additionally, to further the workers’ interests by damaging as much of the employers’ property as possible, he was reported as advising a plug of dynamite as a useful adjunct.² Fearing for his liberty, and after being asked to leave by the miners union in Waihi, King left New Zealand for Australia.

After the end of the Great Strike in 1913 it is often assumed that the influence and activities of the IWW declined or even disappeared altogether from New Zealand. It is true that the scattering of the most prominent IWW members overseas and to New Zealand’s rural areas did harm the organization, as did the consequent state repression of IWW literature, and blacklisting of activists by employers. However there is still evidence of IWW activity post-1913, and sporadic reports of activity appeared in the press over the next decade. For example, IWW stickers and posters were still seen—in fact the Wellington branch of the NZ Socialist Party was driven to complain to the local IWW secretary about the number of IWW stickers that were being placed on the Socialist Hall walls, and to inform him that a board would be put up especially for IWW literature in future.³ Wellington was also seeing posters advertising IWW literature for sale in 1915.⁴

Keeping alive the spirit of educating the working class, some IWW inspired workers set up a Workers’ University in Auckland in late 1915. Documents seized by the police in a raid on IWW rooms in Australia uncovered a letter from the “Workers’ University Direct Action Group”. It was signed by W.Bull, J. Neitz and W.Fillop, and sent from Auckland, requesting help to get a circular printed, as this was it impossible in New Zealand. In the circular it was announced that “many revolutionaries” had decided to form the group to “bring the university to the workers’ back door by leaflets couched in the

simplest language possible, disrobed of the technical and metaphysical terms so much used by labour fakirs, fakirs on newspapers, and professors in the pay of the moneyed classes. By such means to educate the mentally lazy and those who by overwork are shamefully robbed of that nerve-force or energy so necessary for educational achievement.”

They went on to write

Our education scheme will deal with economics, biology, physiology, and scientific sabotage, etc.... our ideas will be given out showing how a few individuals here, and a few there, on different jobs, can on any day and at all times by incessant silent sabotage, and, without the knowledge of the boss, without the knowledge or approval of the mentally sluggish and the indifferent, ignorant and cowardly majority, wring concessions—particularly the shorter hours so necessary to enable the unemployed to become absorbed.

Only “live wires” were wanted to join, as “spittoon philosophers and blowhards” impeded the fight. They claimed that they already had 50 live wires as members.⁵

The *Evening Post* reported that this group was disbanded after the police reported their activities to the landlord, who described the group as “rough, unkempt fellows...although extremely intelligent and well read.”⁶ The same report mentioned that simultaneous actions were taken against similar groups across the country, which was suggestive of a police spying operation.

Although reports of IWW activity and agitation continued to be made, there is no further mention of an IWW-inspired Workers’ University. A search of the newspapers of the time reveals no further mention of Bull or Fillop (if those were their real names). The *Evening Post* wrote that many of the ‘University students’ went to Australia where they contributed to IWW activities there. Neitz was reported by the *Post* as fleeing to the countryside, only to be arrested and, because of his German nationality, declared to be a non-combatant prisoner of war and placed in an internment camp on Somes Island in Wellington Harbour.

Stuart Moriarty-Patten has recently completed his thesis, A World to Win, A Hell To Lose: The Industrial Workers of the World in Early Twentieth Century New Zealand, at Massey University.

ENDNOTES

1. *Industrial Unionist*, 8/11/13, p.2.
2. *Ashburton Guardian*, 10/8/12, p.4.
3. New Zealand Socialist Party, Wellington branch, Minutes, 12/8/14.
4. *Evening Post*, 5/6/15, p.3.
5. *Colonist*, 28/10/16, p.3.
6. *Evening Post*, 21/10/16, p.3.
7. *Ibid.*

The Tailor from Latvia

Jared Davidson



PHILIP JOSEPHS, 1942. CAROLINE JOSEPHS.

Philip Josephs—a Latvian-born Jewish tailor, recent arrival to New Zealand by way of Scotland, and self-proclaimed anarchist—took to the floor of the Wellington 1906 May Day demonstration amidst orchestral outbursts and a flurry of motions. “This meeting,” moved Josephs, “sends its fraternal greetings to our comrades engaged in the universal class war, and pledges itself to work for the abolition of the capitalistic system and the substitution in New Zealand of a co-operative commonwealth, founded on the collective ownership of the land and the means of production and distribution.”¹ The motion, as well as highlighting his involvement in the radical milieu of New Zealand’s capital, conveys the key concepts of his anarchism—internationalism, mass collective action, and free communism.

However, if readers were to form an understanding of anarchism based on the newspapers of the day, or from the accounts of New Zealand’s labour movement by certain historians, a very different conclusion would be drawn. On the occasions it is mentioned, anarchism is used hysterically by the press to denounce or decry; by labour leaders in order to show the fallacy of their opponents’ positions; and by labourist historians to symbolise wayward ideas or acts of extremism—painting a nightmarish picture of anarchist practice in the vein of Chesterton’s *The Man Who Was Thursday*.²

Yet as Vadim Damier illustrates in *Anarcho Syndicalism in the 20th Century*, anarchism was a global working class movement, one “that spread to countries

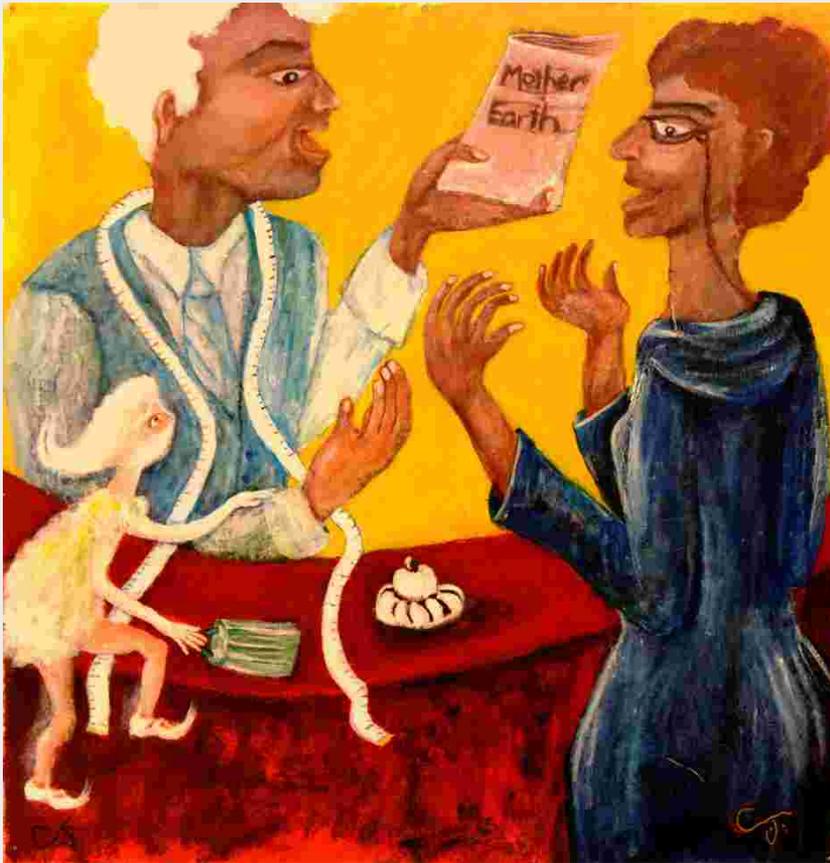
as different as Spain and Russia, France and Japan, Argentina and Sweden, Italy and China, Portugal and Germany,” and “was able to attract hundreds of thousands, indeed millions, of wage workers.” Anarchists “not only took an active part in the most important social upheavals and conflicts of the twentieth century, often leaving their own indelible imprint on these events, but also in many countries they formed the centre of a special, inimitable, working class culture with its own values, norms, customs, and symbols.”³ Against this reality of anarchism as a socialist movement, a focus on its most controversial deviations reaffirms the stereotype of the anarchist terrorist, dressed in black and wielding a bomb—insane, dangerous, and against civilisation itself. “‘Gods Own Country’ is not safe from the vagaries of the person who believes in the bomb as opposed to argument,” bellowed the *Marlborough Express* in 1907.⁴

Although highly exaggerated, the *Express* article contained one truth. God’s Own Country—the ‘workingman’s paradise’ that was New Zealand in the early years of the twentieth century—had anarchists in its midst. To describe this small number as a coherently organised movement would be another exaggeration, but nonetheless, those that subscribed to anarchism in New Zealand were a valid part of the labour movement, imparting uncredited ideas and influence. Likewise, anarchist agitation and the circulation of radical literature contributed significantly to the development of a working class counter-culture in New Zealand.

The most substantial work to date on anarchism in New Zealand during the turbulent teens is the indispensable 32-page pamphlet, *‘Troublemakers’ Anarchism and Syndicalism: The Early Years of the Libertarian Movement in Aotearoa/New Zealand*, by Frank Prebble. Drawing on snippets of primary and mainly secondary sources, his research was pioneering in that it was the first specific work on anarchism—highlighting a definite strand of libertarian praxis in New Zealand that has long been overlooked. Yet as Prebble notes in the introduction, “this pamphlet is not complete, much of the information is very fragmentary and a lot more work needs to be done.”⁵

By drawing on the work of Prebble, information garnished from living relatives of certain anarchists, and with a transnational lens, my forthcoming book (tentatively titled *Sewing Freedom: Philip Josephs, Transnationalism, and Early New Zealand Anarchism*) will explore anarchism in New Zealand before 1921 through a biography of one of its key players. The transnational nature of anarchism in the period between its emergence in the workers’ movement of the late 1860s, and the interwar years, can be seen in the migration and activity of Philip Josephs (1876-1946). His sustained activism, whether from the soapbox or through the mailbox, and his involvement in the class struggle that swept through the country, makes Josephs one of New Zealand’s most important and pioneering anarchists.

As well as providing previously scarce biographical information on Josephs, I hope to convince the reader of three main claims. First, before the arrival of Josephs in New Zealand the ‘broad anarchist tradition’—defined by Schmidt and van der Walt as a revolutionary form of libertarian socialism against social and economic hierarchy (specifically capitalism and the state), in favour of international class struggle and revolution from below in order to create a socialist, stateless social order⁶—had next to no organised presence. There were anarchists and various forms of antiauthoritarian ideas in New Zealand before



Imagination visits Philip Josephs meeting Emma Goldman

Acrylic on canvas
52 cm x 49 cm

This work was painted by, and is copyrighted to Phillip Josephs' grand-daughter, Australian-based artist Caroline Josephs. Her grandfather frequently corresponded with the semi-legendary US-based anarchist orator Emma Goldman. He had hoped to meet her in person in 1907, during her planned speaking tour of Australia and New Zealand. However the tour was cancelled at the last moment, when the US government warned Goldman that if she left the country her passport would be withheld and her US citizenship revoked. She would then be forced to return to Russia, her country of birth, where she would almost certainly face death or a lengthy prison term.

<http://carolinejosephs.com.au/index.html>

Josephs, but it was his activity within the New Zealand Socialist Party and later through his formation of one of New Zealand's first anarchist collectives, The Freedom Group, that ensured a level of organised anarchism previously lacking in the wider labour movement.

The second point is one of legitimacy: anarchism was a valid part of the New Zealand labour movement and its working class counter-culture—directly through the activity of Philip Josephs and other anarchists, or indirectly due to anarchist literature and ideas. Although often missing from the indices of New Zealand labour histories, anarchism was “more influential than most have realised.”⁷ The anarchist communism of Josephs reflects the rejection of violent individualism (propaganda by the deed) and the move back to collective action taken by the majority of anarchists in the late 1890s. His tireless distribution of anarchist literature, numerous public speeches, and his tailor shop-cum-radical bookshop helped to create a radical counter-culture in New Zealand; while his support of syndicalist class struggle and the general strike, and his activity alongside the local branches of the Industrial Workers of the World, typifies the relationship of anarchism with revolutionary syndicalism. Indeed, if one went so far as employing Schmidt and van der Walt's definition of syndicalism being a variant and strategy of the broad anarchist tradition, the era of the first New Zealand Federation of Labor of 1908-1913 can be seen in a whole new light.⁸

Finally, New Zealand anarchists, and Josephs in particular, were rooted in the international anarchist movement. Josephs' birth in Latvia, his radicalisation in Glasgow, Scotland, and his almost two decades in New Zealand before leaving for Australia highlights the transient nature of labour; while his distribution of international anarchist literature, and personal networking with overseas revolutionaries and groups such as Freedom (UK) and the Mother Earth Publishing Association (USA), illustrates the doctrinal diffusion and sharing of information so vital to informal, intercontinental anarchist networks. This sharing went both ways. Josephs' activities, the bankruptcy of state-socialist legislation, and accounts of New Zealand strikes popped up on the pages of various anarchist journals abroad, lending weight to the notion that:

anarchism was not a Western European doctrine that diffused outwards, perfectly formed, to a passive 'periphery.' Rather, the movement emerged simultaneously and transnationally, created by interlinked activists on many continents—a pattern of interconnection, exchange and sharing, rooted in 'informal internationalism.'⁹

Josephs played a key role in the establishment of a distinct anarchist identity and culture (in New Zealand and abroad), a culture that emerged and enveloped simultaneously around the globe. His New Zealand activity personifies the transnational deepening of the day, and illustrates how interlinked (and often un-recognised) activists operating within small local scenes but with an eye towards international events and developments advanced the anarchist project worldwide. As a result, Josephs' struggle for social change linked our South Pacific nation to the global movement, and furthered anarchism in New Zealand itself—the Freedom Group of 1913 being one of the first of many anarchist collectives to play a vibrant part in the history of the New Zealand left.

Sewing Freedom: Philip Josephs, Transnationalism, and Early New Zealand Anarchism will be published by AK Press—the world's primary anarchist publisher and distributor of radical literature—in early 2013, and will be available online or at independent bookstores.

Jared Davidson is a Christchurch writer, and the designer of this journal.

ENDNOTES

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4. *Marlborough Express*, 1907.
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6. Michael Schmidt & Lucien van der Walt, *Black Flame: The Revolutionary Class Politics of Anarchism and Syndicalism*, AK Press, 2009, p. 71.
7. Eric Olssen, email to the author, 20 August 2010.
8. Schmidt & van der Walt, *Black Flame*.
9. Steven Hirsch & Lucien van der Walt, 'Rethinking Anarchism, Syndicalism, the Colonial and Postcolonial experience' in Hirsch & van der Walt (eds.), *Anarchism and Syndicalism in the Colonial and Postcolonial World, 1870-1940: The Praxis of National Liberation, Internationalism, and Social Revolution*, Brill, 2011, p. liv.

***Maoriland Worker* now online**

Peter Clayworth



MISS ELSIE THORN ATTRACTED CONSIDERABLE ATTENTION AT A 1911 CHRISTCHURCH BALL WHEN SHE APPEARED DRESSED AS "THE MAORILAND WORKER." *MAORILAND WORKER*, VOLUME 2, ISSUE 25, 25 AUGUST 1911.

The *Maoriland Worker* was the paper of the militant section of the working class. Running from 1910 through to 1924, it was probably the most important publication of the New Zealand labour movement. The *Worker* gave its readers news on national and international events in the struggle of unions and working class parties to improve their lives. It published articles by international socialist thinkers of all stripes of opinion. It also acted, through its regular columns and its letter pages, as a forum for local working class writers to express their

views. The *Worker* was at various times charged with libel, sedition and New Zealand's only case of blasphemy.

There is now good news for all with an interest in labour history. The National Library of New Zealand have added the *Maoriland Worker* to their excellent online resource 'Papers Past'. The Papers Past site (<http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz>) makes a large number of historical New Zealand newspapers available and searchable online, a tremendous boon for the researcher. The user is also able to call up whole pages of newspapers to get the broad context surrounding the articles.

The *Maoriland Worker* was founded in 1910 by the New Zealand Shearers' Union. They had been involved in a dispute with the Sheep Owners' Federation, conducted through the Arbitration Court, with the press proving generally hostile to the union's case. The shearers' leaders, Mick Laracy and Frank Waddell, encouraged by Ettie Rout, decided to establish their own newspaper. Rout had been recorder at the Conciliation Board and would later achieve fame, or notoriety, preaching safe sex to the soldiers of the 1st NZEF. She offered to become the editor of the *Maoriland Worker* which began as a monthly, the first issue appearing in October 1910.

The militant mining unions had formed their own organisation in 1908, the NZ Federation of Miners. By 1910 they had changed its name to the NZ Federation of Labour and were beginning to broaden the federation's base beyond the mining unions. In 1910 the Federation also resolved to set up its own newspaper, to be called the 'Labour Leader.' A board of management was set up and the offer made to Robert (Bob) Ross, editor of the *Melbourne Socialist*, that he should take the job of editor. The only thing missing was an actual newspaper.

The shearers' union proved unable to stump up the finances to keep their *Maoriland Worker* going. Mick Laracy and Ted Howard approached the Federation of Labour with the proposal that the Federation come in on the venture. After two conferences between the shearers and Federation of Labour representatives, the Federation effectively took over the *Maoriland Worker*, arguing that they had put up most of the money for it. In early 1911 the publishing office of the *Worker* was moved from Christchurch to Wellington. On 5 May, Karl Marx's birthday, Bob Ross took up the editor's chair. The *Worker* went from a monthly, selling for 3d per copy, to a weekly for 1d per issue. The paper was now the official organ of the NZ Federation of Labour, the body that became known as the Red Feds. The *Maoriland Worker* carried the byline 'A Journal of Industrial Unionism, Socialism and Politics' and sported a red cover to make its affiliations clear. Ross's first issue also carried the following lines above the paper's title on the front page: "Social Revolution: Is it near? The World's Wealth for the World's Workers."

The financial struggles of the paper were not over. The *Worker* was maintained by levies on the unions affiliated to the Federation of Labour, but also tried to increase circulation and advertising revenue. In late 1911 it looked as though the whole enterprise might go down the tubes with printing costs unpaid and the office landlord demanding his rent. Bob Semple saved the day, finding £800 by borrowing money from a friend in Runanga and persuading the Runanga Miners' Union to mortgage their hall. The Federation bought the

office at 290 Wakefield street, which remained the *Maoriland Worker's* offices for the rest of the time the paper was published under that name.

By 1912 the *Maoriland Worker* had a circulation of 8,500 and by 1913 10,000. By comparison, in 1913 the popular muckraking *Truth*, at the time also a paper with a left-wing stance, had a circulation of 40,000. When it is considered that many copies of the *Maoriland Worker* would have been passed on to other readers and that papers were often read aloud to interested audiences, the *Worker* would have spread the socialist message to a wide audience. Unions who paid levies to the *Worker* also received copies of the paper which were made available to members at union halls and reading rooms.

The *Worker* was one of a number of socialist papers in early twentieth century New Zealand. During the time he was in New Zealand, Australian radical Harry Scott Bennett produced the *Social Democrat*, which was even more radical than the *Worker*. The Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), who saw the *Worker* as too moderate, brought out their own paper, the *Industrial Unionist* in 1913. Socialist papers such as the *Clarion*, from Britain, the *Labor Call*, from Melbourne, and the *International Socialist Review* from the US, were regularly brought into New Zealand and sometimes reported New Zealand events. The circulation of these papers spread the word on socialism, as well as providing a medium through which those workers interested in socialism could make contact with each other. The *Worker* and other socialist papers helped build a small but important radical community within the working class.

Ross was a veteran editor of the workers' papers the *Barrier Truth*, of Broken Hill, and the *Socialist*, of Melbourne. He took an editorial stance of militant socialism, anti-militarism, and support for industrial unionism. Ross believed the future for workers lay in forming One Big Union. The overthrow of capitalism and the abolition of the wage system would come by revolutionary industrial action, but this did not necessarily mean violent revolution. Ross supported the Red Fed's syndicalist ideas of radical change by a combination of industrial unity and political action by a militant socialist party on the hustings. In this he was fully supported by his sub-editor Pat Hickey, a frequent contributor to the *Worker's* pages. Although the *Worker* was the Red Federation's paper, in the early years it published a broad range of left wing and unionist articles from New Zealand and around the world. The writings of out-and-out arbitrationists such as J. T. Paul of Dunedin rubbed shoulders with pieces praising the IWW and the Russian anarchist Kropotkin. While Marx and Engels received considerable attention, thinkers such as Eugene V. Debs and Tom Mann were also featured prominently. The socialist novelists Jack London and Upton Sinclair were covered in both the news and the literary sections of the *Worker*.

The range of subjects covered in the *Worker* illustrates a sort of counter-culture, made by and for the more militant section of the working class in the early twentieth century. The *Maoriland Worker* assumed an intelligent and discerning working class readership. Along with many articles on politics and working conditions, it regularly featured poetry and short stories. As well as famous authors such as short story writer O. Henry and poet Robbie Burns, the *Worker* published poetry and song lyrics by local writers. In particular Robert Hogg, a dedicated Burns scholar and sometime manager of the *Worker*, and miner and 'revolutionist' Edward Hunter (or 'Billy Banjo') often published songs and poems in the paper. There were also regular reviews of political books, novels,

plays and films, along with discussions of thinkers such as John Ruskin and Herbert Spencer. The visual arts primarily involved cartoons in each issue, usually representing a heroic worker dealing to a generic 'fat capitalist tyrant' and the militarists, along with their political cronies Ward and Massey. The doings of the Waterside Worker's band and other union-based musical groups were covered in depth. Visiting speakers on science, art and literature, as well as politics, were reported.



ARBITRATION. A Capitalist Judge Arbitrates: the Worker starts thinking.

MAORILAND WORKER, VOLUME 4, ISSUE 97, 24 JANUARY 1913

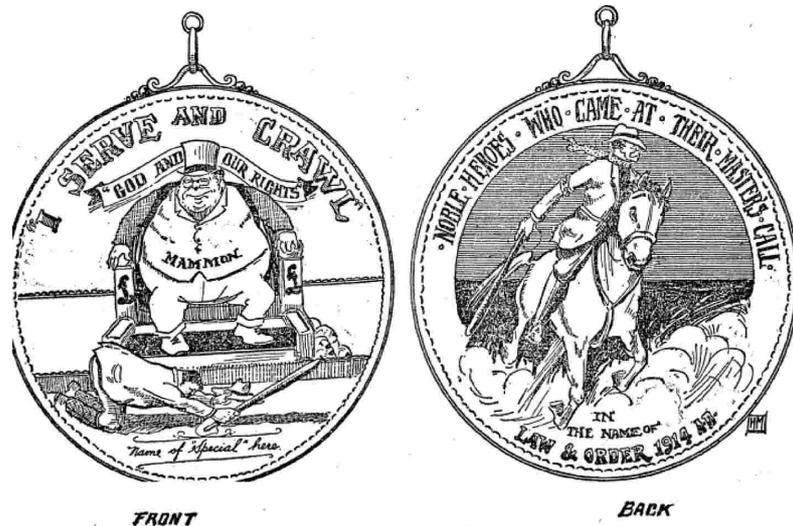
The *Worker* also had a regular sports page, 'Sporting Sprints.' Rugby was prominent, along with results from the Australian and English versions of 'football' for the immigrant workers. However, boxing, horse racing and rowing got even more coverage than rugby. For all the fame of the 1905 All Blacks, it appears that the oval ball game had yet to reach the central status in our mythology that it would achieve.

Debates of many sorts occurred in the *Worker*, reflecting the 'interesting times' of the early twentieth century. The *Worker* had a women's page, but was sometimes condescending in its attitude to women. It generally pushed the image of the heroic male worker, with his wife at home supporting him. There was, however, general admiration for the actions of the suffragettes in Britain. The women's page also included such 'household hints' as the information that the high price of golden syrup was due to the monopoly held by the Colonial Sugar Refining Company. An article by Rose Hickey (Pat's wife) argued for a sane education system that would teach children to think for themselves. The *Worker* carried its own 'children's corner', encouraging young folk in the virtues of socialism.

Racial issues received some attention in the *Worker*. The socialist paper was not exempt from contemporary racism, sometimes using terms such as 'chow' and 'nigger', and often printing articles supporting a New Zealand version of the 'White Australia' policy. On the other hand there were also articles supporting

the struggles of workers in China, and supporting the IWW line that all workers should unionise regardless of their race.

Both sides of the temperance debate fought it out in the pages of the *Worker*, but the editorial preference seems clear from the ads for DCL Whiskey and Speights ales. The wide range of advertisements are fascinating. In addition to those for hotels and boarding houses in areas dominated by miners and seamen, there are ads for Dunlop tyres for the “Workingman’s horse” ie the bicycle. Wyatt E. Jones, ‘watchmaker and anarchist’ of Christchurch advertised his craft with the slogan ‘exploitation at a minimum.’



BRAVE DEEDS, REWARDED

Special Constables, in various districts, have been presented with medals in honour of their services during the recent strike. "The Worker" offers the above suitable design, free of charge, for any further medals which may be required.

MAORILAND WORKER, VOLUME 5, ISSUE 169, 29 APRIL 1914

—H. Mann.

For the historian, the *Worker* contains a great deal of interest. It shows the large extent to which socialist and nationalist struggles in the USA, Ireland, South Africa, Australia and Canada, as well as in Europe, Turkey, Argentina and China, were covered in New Zealand. It gives personal accounts of the strikes during the Red Fed era, and of the campaign against militarism and conscription in the Great War. It illustrates the struggle for workers’ conditions in a range of industries in the early twentieth century. It provides fascinating local history insights for areas such as Huntly, Waihi, the West Coast and the flax milling areas of Manawatu, as well as for the major centres. It also gives a view of the wide range of political literature available to the interested working class reader in the early twentieth century.

The sinking of the *Titanic* was covered, illustrating the sacrifice of working class passengers to enable the survival of the wealthy. The coronation of King George V was marked with the commentary that “Monarchy is a superstition and Kingship a fetish” (16 June 1911). While the *Worker* wisely remained neutral on the subject of religion, it did publish an article on the only monument to ‘His Satanic Majesty the Devil’, erected in Detroit, Michigan. The *Worker* also gives us insights into some of the more human stories behind the dramas of class struggle. An example is the story of Zena Norton, a Waihi schoolgirl and miner’s daughter. The headmaster of the Waihi School, incensed at what he saw as unionist insults to the flag, held a competition for his students to write

an essay on 'The Union Jack'. Zena Norton composed an essay pointing out that the Union Jack did not stand for freedom, but for privilege. Children should 'support a flag that stands for peace and plenty for all...and that will give every child the right to go to school. That flag is not the Union Jack but the plain Red Flag of Socialism.' Needless to say Miss Norton did not win the prize but she did get the entire text of her essay printed in the *Maoriland Worker!* The Socialist Party of Waihi responded by offering a gold medal to the child who wrote the best essay on the Red Flag. (28 July 1911).

Bob Ross left the *Worker* in 1913 to return to Australia, and was replaced by an equally militant Australian socialist, Henry Edmond 'Harry' Holland, a future leader of the NZ Labour Party. Holland was sentenced to 12-months gaol for sedition following the *Worker's* coverage of the 1913 strike. He served three months, returning in time to push a staunchly anti-militarist line during the First World War.

The paper suffered censorship and harassment throughout the war. Holland was elected MP for Grey in 1918, following the gaoling of sitting MP Paddy Webb for refusing military service. A number of short-term editors stepped in, including Peter Fraser, until William Kraig took up the position in 1919. Kraig and John Glover, the *Worker's* manager and publisher, were investigated by the police for inciting a 'seditious strike' among meat workers.

Kraig, originally from Glasgow and another dedicated fan of Robbie Burns, took a strong industrialist line. He emphasised the importance of worker's organisation through unions, and split the *Worker* away from its association with the Labour Party. This led to him being sacked as editor and replaced by Pat Hickey. Drama continued as Hickey and Glover were unsuccessfully prosecuted for sedition over the publication of an Irish nationalist pamphlet. Hickey quit as editor in 1921, in a dispute with the management board over its cuts to the *Worker's* staff.

Under James Thorn, the new editor, the *Worker* faced yet more government persecution. Manager John Glover was prosecuted in New Zealand's only case of blasphemous libel. Charged over the publication of an anti-war poem 'Stand to: Good Friday Morning' by Siegfried Sassoon, Glover was acquitted. Thorn was the last to edit the *Maoriland Worker* under that name, continuing to edit it after the name change to the *New Zealand Worker* in 1924. The new name and byline "A New Zealand paper for New Zealand people" reflected the paper's drift to moderation. It became very much a Labour Party newspaper, ceasing to preach revolution industrial unionism and no longer presenting a range of left wing opinion. The *New Zealand Worker* became the *Standard* in 1935, by which time it and the Labour Party advocated moderate social democracy.

The National Library has put the entire run of the *Maoriland Worker* (with some gaps for missing issues) on line, covering the period from 1910 to 1924. For an insight into the militant working class counter culture of this turbulent period of New Zealand's social and industrial history, this is as good as it gets.

Peter Clayworth is a Wellington historian. He is writing a biography of Pat Hickey.

UNION FAMILY

Marx in Maori - Percy Short*Mark Derby*

PERCIVAL SHORT. PHOTO BY LYNLEY SHORT

'Union Family' is an occasional series about a contributor's family member and their involvement with the labour movement. We welcome suggestions for contributors and subjects for this series.

Lynley Short was painting her house in Whanganui when the Labour History Project called to ask about her remarkable grandfather, Percy Short. This activity was entirely historically appropriate since Percy, his son (Lynley's father) and grandson had all been qualified master painters and decorators, at a time when this occupation also required them to practise related trades such as paperhanging and glazing.

Percy, however, had additional abilities that he could call upon for extra income. Although not a Maori, he was a fluent speaker of Te Reo and a licensed translator and interpreter. Since he was also a determined and unconventional radical, he wrote articles in accurate and imaginatively metaphoric Maori for the short-lived and fiery newspaper of New Zealand's IWW, the *Industrial Unionist*.

The IWW (Industrial Workers of the World, widely known as the Wobblies) was founded in 1905 in the United States as a radical alternative to the conservative and corrupt American Federation of Labor, which then firmly excluded black workers from its ranks. The Wobblies, by contrast, welcomed working people of all colours and nations and its publications appeared in a vast number of languages. Wobblies were actively recruiting members in New Zealand from around 1908. The first officially affiliated local branch (Auckland in 1911), was soon joined by a second in Christchurch. However, Wobblies were active throughout the country, from the gumfields and timber mills of Northland to the fishing fleets of Invercargill. Although no-one identifying as Maori is known

to have been a member of the IWW, many Maori must have come to know Wobbly agitators and workmates.

By choosing to run Maori-language articles in its newspaper (apparently in advance of any other union organisation), the New Zealand IWW was not addressing its own members but reaching out to an exceptionally exploited and vulnerable section of the workforce. It was also demonstrating the anti-racism and internationalism reflected in its name, and aiming to discourage Maori from succumbing to the temptation to work as strike-breakers.

“My grandfather was born in Wellington on 31 October 1881,” says Lynley. “Not long afterwards, around the 1890s, his father moved the family to Fielding and Percy lived there until 1911.” She can’t say how or why he acquired his proficiency in the Maori language, but from at least 1908 he was offering evening lessons at Feilding Technical School in “the language of the Maori race, including conversational Maori.”¹

Australian Administration.
E. Moyle 38
General Wakefield, St.
Sec.-Treas. Adelaide S.A.

REPORT OF THE GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

FELLOW WORKERS:—
In presenting to you the first report, the work accomplished can be best shown by an outline of the efforts put forth.
At the close of 1911 the Australian Administration was created by the Adelaide Local and chartered by the General Office in Chicago, with power to issue charters to local groups. Up to the present three local unions have been chartered—Adelaide, Sydney and Broken Hill. In July, 1912, the dues book and monthly 'due' stamps, as used in America, were adopted. At the close of the financial year, March 31st, 1913, 250 dues books have been issued and 800 stamps used.

Ki nga Kaimahi Maori (TO MAORI WORKING MEN)

E hoa ma,—
E tuhituhi ana tenei reta ki nga tangata mate, ara, ki nga tangata e kiia nei he kaimahi.
Whakarongo mai! Tenei te huarahi tika mo tatou, mo te iwi rawakore, e whakakotahi ai tatou kia rite ai o tatou kaha ki o te hunga e pehi iho nei ia tatou.
E mohio ana tatou, ko nga mea papai katoa i te ao, he mea mahi na tatou ko nga kaimahi. Na reira e kii nei te I.W.W. (Iuniana o nga Kaimahi o te Ao), e tika ana kia riro i nga kaimahi aua mea papai. Engari, kei raro i te ahuatanga o naianei e riro ana te nuinga o nga hua a te werawera i te hunga, e kiia nei he rangatira; Aa, he wahi itiiti noa iho e riro ana i nga mokai nana nei i mahi. He penci tonu te ahuatanga i nga whenua katoa i tenei ra.

INTERNATIONAL ITEMS

INTERNATIONAL SYNDICALIST CONGRESS.
The call issued by Dutch and English workers for an international congress of revolutionary unionists and direct-actionists appears to be meeting with a good response. It will probably be held in London or Holland—during September or October. The following have been suggested for the programme:—1, Theory and Tactics of Revolutionary Syndicalism. 2, Syndicalism and War. 3, International Bureau or Secretariat. This Congress may be expected to strike a more definite note on Syndicalist Theory.

RUSSIA.
There are many evidences that the workers in this Czar and Government-ridden Hell-on-Earth are shaking their chains and organising. In Southern Russia 5,000 shipyard workers laid down their tools to demand the dismissal of a factory policeman who had man-handled a workman without provocation; the strike, which lasted a week, ended in victory for the men.
We extract the following from a translation of an account of the brutal treatment of Russian prisoners—

INDUSTRIAL UNIONIST (DETAIL), ISSUE 6, 13 JULY 1913.

It seems likely that after 1911, Percy made his way to Auckland and became heavily involved with the thriving IWW branch led by such remarkable characters as Tom Barker and the openly gay and heavily tattooed Charlie Reeve. The branch began publishing the *Industrial Unionist* (“The most revolutionary paper south of the line”, ie. the equator) in February 1913, initially as a monthly. The sixth issue includes Percy Short’s first article in Maori. Under the headline *Ki Nga Kaimahi Maori* (“To Maori workers”), it urges Maori to ally with the rapidly growing left wing of the union movement, and particularly to join the IWW (whose name he renders as “Iuniana o nga Kaimahi o te Ao”). In a final phrase that echoes the *Communist Manifesto*, Percy declares, “E nga kaimahi o te Ao katoa. Whakakotahitia; kaore he mea e ngaro, ko te Ao katoa e riro mai.” (“Workers of the world—unite. You have nothing to lose—you have the world to win.”)²

Similar articles appeared in the following three issues of the *Unionist*, each time followed by a smaller notice, also in Maori, soliciting subscriptions to the

Te Pakanga Nui

E pai ana te pane kumi hei tuku.

E hoa ma,—

He kupu whakaatu tenei ki a koutou, ara, ki nga kaimahi Maori, kia mohio ai koutou ki te take e whakahaerengia nei e nga kaimahi o te ao. E mea ana aua kaimahi kia hangaia tetahi iuniana nui mo nga kaimahi katoa o te ao. Kei te nuinga o nga whenua o te ao nei tetahi waahi o taua iuniana nei e tu ana. Kei Akarasa nei tetahi waahi e whakahaere ana i to ratou take, e kauwhau nei hoki i te rongopai hou, ara, te whakahokinga i te ao me nga mea katoa i runga kia tatou nei, ki nga kaimahi. Te ingoa o taua iuniana ko te I.W.W. (Te Iuniana o nga Kaimahi o te Ao). Te whakapakehatanga, Industrial Workers of the World.

E kii ana taua iuniana kua tino whakataurekarekatia te nuinga o nga kaimahi o te ao, ko te take, kua riro i nga rangatira ruarua, te whenua me nga mahinga kai katoa. Kua momona nga rangatira, kua rawakore nga kaimahi. Na reira e mea nei, kotahi tonu te huarahi hei haerenga mo nga kaimahi kia pai ai to ratou turanga. Ki te uru nga kaimahi katoa ki te iuniana kotahi, aa, ka whawhai tahi me te mea kotahi tonu, kaore e kore te riro i nga kaimahi ta ratou i pai ai. Mehe kei te wehewehe tatou ka hinga; mehe kei te huihui ka hinga ke te rangatira. Ma te whakakotahitanga a ta tatou haere e whakaatu ai to tatou kaha. Kua huihui nga rangatira kia kaha ai ratou i te pakanga kia tatou. Me pera hoki tatou ko nga mokai. E kii ana nga rangatira pakeha he kaimahi pai te Maori. He korero whakapati tena. E mohio ana ratou, ki te mahi koutou ki taua iwi whaimoni, ka riro ia ratou te nuinga o nga hua a ta koutou mahi. Na reira e kii ana he kaimahi pai koutou.

I te wa o te taraika o nga maina i Waihi ra ka haere tetahi o nga Maori ki reira whawhai ai ki te taha o to tatou hoariri, ara, te iwi rangatira. Kaore pea aua Maori i ata mohio e tino hee ana ta ratou haere ki reira mahi ai. Koinei te take i hee ai: e kii ana te I.W.W., e rua tonu nga iwi i te ao katoa, ko te iwi rangatira tetahi, ko te iwi mokai tetahi, ara, tatou nei. Kei te whawhai tonu te iwi rangatira ki a tatou kia puritia tonutia e ratou nga whenua me nga mahinga oranga katoa i tahaetia ra e ratou ia tatou. E mea ana tatou kia whakahokia aua mea kia tatou ano. Heoi, kia mahara koutou mo muri atu nei, kua e whawhai kia koutou ano, ara, kia tatou ano; he kaimahi katoa tatou. Kotahi tonu to tatou iwi.

Na te Komiti o te pepa nei.

TITIRO MAI!

Kotahi te putanga o tenei pepa i ia mara. Mehe ka tukua mai e te tangata pirangi kia nui hereni ki te kai whakahaere o te pepa nei, ka tukua kia ia te pepa nei mo te tau kotahi. He iti rawa te utu, he nui rawa nga utu e pa ana kia tatou o roto. Tukua mai to ingoa katoa me nga ingoa o to kainga, pouta-peta hoki, ki te

Manager,
INDUSTRIAL UNIONIST,
118, Victoria St.,
Auckland.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONIST, ISSUE 8, 1 SEP. 1913.

newspaper. These articles refer to the transfer of vast areas of tribally owned land to private ownership, a process still in full swing at that time. The loss of this land, says Percy, had obliged many Maori “to work for Pakeha employers, like horses and dogs.”³ He employs traditional metaphorical expressions as well as contemporary idioms such as ‘te mango whenua’, or the land shark. One front-page article refers to the Waihi miners’ strike, which had ended less than a year previously, and deplors the actions of Maori who acted as strikebreakers and paid thugs. By choosing to support the ‘rangatira’ or the bosses, they are likened to the ‘loyal Maori’ who sided with the government during the Land Wars. The same issue also contains a lengthy article in Maori giving a summary of Marxist economics.⁴

By November of 1913 almost all of the country’s ports were on strike and the *Unionist* was appearing weekly. Percy’s articles explain the cause of the strike, and repeat his exhortation to Maori not to take work as scabs—an injunction that seemed to be effective.⁵

Evidently also a keen and capable writer in his own language, during the strike Percy entered a nationwide essay competition set up by the Christian Socialist (and future prime minister) Walter Nash. Forty entries were received on the subject of “What Socialism Is” and the judges, who included the then editor of the *Maoriland Worker*, Harry Holland, ranked Percy’s contribution seventh. Since only the top three entries were later published in the *Maoriland Worker* and the others have not been traced, Percy’s response to this vital question is no longer available.⁶

When war broke out in Europe the following year, the Wobblies vehemently opposed conscription on the grounds that on both sides, workers were being forced into battle by their exploiters. According to Lynley Short, Percy refused to enlist and like many another Wobbly, left the country in 1914 to escape imprisonment. Although details are scarce, he is known to have travelled around Europe and Asia (including Ceylon), and to have exchanged information with other IWW members in England.⁷ The local newspaper in his former hometown of Feilding reported cautiously that, “A considerable portion of Mr Short’s time was occupied in lecturing on New Zealand.”⁸ According to Lynley, he also made contact with comrades in Russia, then on the brink of revolution.

By 1915 he was back in New Zealand and had acquired a wife named Annie. Their son John was born three years later, when the couple was living on a marae near Te Kuiti while Percy served as an interpreter for local Maori at the Stipendiary Court. Domestic life evidently did not subdue his revolutionary fire. He was called up for military service in 1917, when his occupation was given as ‘master painter.’⁹ His appeal against the call-up was dismissed when, along with several other appellants, he failed to appear at the Military Appeal Board hearing.¹⁰ Lynley believes that he probably considered the appeal process a waste of time since appeals were almost never granted on political grounds.

Although she knows of further trips overseas after the war, including some time in Australia in the early 1920s, Lynley has little information on her grandfather’s activities until 1931. In that year, aged 50, Percy reappears in Wellington where he is recorded as living in Johnsonville and still working as a painter, paperhanger, decorator and glazier. His political interests were sustained by correspondence with a local Russian immigrant named Theo.

Lynley found a Russian dictionary and Russian-language periodicals among her grandfather's possessions.

In 1932 a rather odd little publication emerged from Johnsonville. At his own expense, Percy reprinted a 28-page pamphlet titled Dr Rabonski's *Treasury of Knowledge*, a guide to sexuality for "the married and those about to marry". In a preface, Percy explained that he had first encountered this brief guide about 27 years earlier, that is, when he was at the impressionable age of 24. He now wished "to pass on to others the benefit of this invaluable knowledge."¹¹ Unfortunately, the content is a predictably prudish and pseudo-medical farrago of nonsense.

She is now trying to sort out the jumbled contents of a box of Percy's papers. They include a draft of an article on the position of Maori in New Zealand society for the July 1935 issue of the *Soviet News*. "A lot of the papers are about the book he was writing (but never finished) when he passed away. This covered many subjects including slavery, early New Zealand, Maori life, early wars, cannibalism and evolution. It is a difficult job to sort out these rolled-up pages and pages of his manuscript. They are yellow and musty but my niece and I want to try and scan them for the children to have."

The box of personal papers once included Percy's diaries but these were burnt by his wife Annie after his death in 1944. According to Lynley, Annie took this action, "as she had some secrets in her personal life that she wanted no one to find out about. Ha ha. I found out about them though." These 'secrets' were sadly minor in view of the loss of historical information they occasioned. Apparently Annie had been married before in the UK, and was a few years older than she stated on her marriage certificate.

Perhaps more information may yet emerge about this bilingual working-class 'organic intellectual', whose writings in Maori form a body of work that appears to have no equivalent in our literature. Lynley never met her grandfather, but her impression of him, passed on by her father, is that Percy Short was "a hard case—he took no crap from anyone."

Mark Derby is a Wellington writer and Maori language speaker. Additional research by Jared Davidson and Stuart Moriarty-Patten.

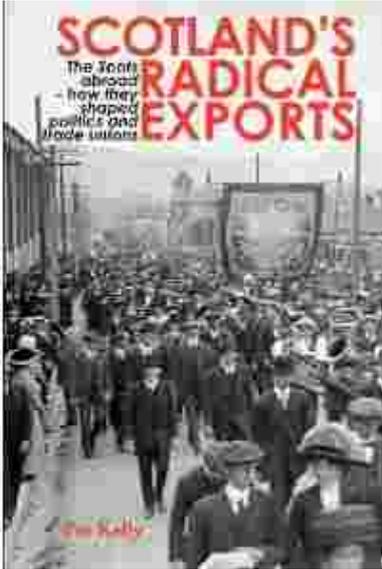
ENDNOTES

1. *Feilding Star*, 30 June 1908, p.1.
2. *Industrial Unionist* (NZ) issue 6, 13 July 1913, p.4.
3. *Industrial Unionist* (NZ) issue 7, 1 Aug. 1913, p.4.
4. *Industrial Unionist* (NZ) issue 8, 1 Sept. 1913, p.1.
5. *Industrial Unionist* (NZ) issue 15, 13 Nov. 1913, p.2.
6. *Maoriland Worker*, 21 January 1914, p.4.
7. *Direct Action* (Australia) 15 February 1915.
8. *Feilding Star*, 30 Oct. 1915, p.2.
9. *Feilding Star*, 13 Feb. 1917, p.3.
10. *Feilding Star*, 13 March 1917, p.2.
11. A copy of this pamphlet is held in the Alexander Turnbull Library.

REVIEWS

Scotland's Radical Exports

Pater Clayworth



Scotland's Radical Exports: The Scots abroad and how they shaped politics and trade unions. Pat Kelly. Glasgow: Grimsay Press, 2011. ISBN 9781854301101.

Scotland's Radical Exports is both a valuable contribution to the history of international labour struggles and an occasionally frustrating read. Author Pat Kelly is a Scottish unionist and apparently no close relation to his famous New Zealand namesake. The Scottish Pat Kelly is a former president of the Scottish Trade Union Council (STUC) and Scottish secretary of the Public and Commercial Services Union (PCS).

Kelly recently visited Wellington (21 February 2012) and spoke to a well-attended meeting where he explained how he came to write *Radical Exports*. Kelly had heard much of how Scotland's capitalists, industrialists, engineers, missionaries and soldiers went around the world building the structures of empire and capitalism. These luminaries have been widely acknowledged for their role in creating the modern world. When Kelly discovered that the Scottish diasporas had also contributed heavily to building unions and left wing political parties, he felt this was a tale that also needed to be told.

If you have material you think we should review, or are interested in reviewing for us, then contact the reviews editor at reviews@lhp.org.nz

Kelly acknowledged that with the exceptions of Janet Fraser and Pat Webster, nearly all of his protagonists are male. He stated that this was not for want of searching for female Scots activists. Perhaps there is scope for another book to further seek out these often semi-invisible Scottish women of the left.

Kelly has spread a wide net with *Scotland's Radical Exports*, making its title something of a misnomer. While everyone in the book was active in the labour movement, many would not have been seen as, nor seen themselves as, radicals. The book might more accurately be titled 'Scotland's Activist Exports'.

Kelly's subjects include some of the most militant firebrands including people like J.B. McLachlan of the Nova Scotia coal miners, who remained committed to the class war all their lives. Others were revolutionaries who eventually became 'red-baiters' like our own Peter Fraser. Kelly also considers moderate unionists who became centrist Labour Party politicians, such as Andrew Fisher, Prime Minister of Australia from 1908 to 1915. I believe the broad view taken in *Radical Exports* is a strength of the book. It shows the depth of Scottish involvement in different aspects of the labour movement and, in the process, displays the range of efforts working people have made to improve their lot.

A further benefit of such an all-embracing approach is that the changing careers of many labour activists are outlined, including those that were eventually considered by their more left wing former comrades to be 'rats'. Inevitably many labour leaders can be seen to move from positions of militant involvement in the causes of their fellow workers to the roles of establishment figures whose primary objective appears to be maintaining the status quo. A prime example given by Kelly is that of Robert Drummond, instrumental in founding the first real miners unions in Nova Scotia yet eventually a Legislative Councillor and journalist acting as an apologist for the coal companies. Kelly does not shy

from critically recounting the rightward swing of some of his subjects, but also gives them their due for their earlier struggles for the benefit of workers.

It is in describing the activists he admires as true stalwarts of the labour cause, that Kelly often borders on hagiography. The American steelworkers activist Phillip Murray is a case in point. Kelly writes that ‘all who met him (Murray) testified to his decency and personal warmth.’ While not questioning the fine qualities of Murray or any other labour activist, I would argue that those who are effective in struggling for workers’ rights tend to make a lot of enemies. The unqualified singing of an activist’s praises leads the reader to wonder if the praise singer is an unquestioning disciple of their subject and thus lacks critical judgement. Worse still, if an activist does indeed end up being praised by all, is this because they are no longer a threat to the establishment? As Keir Hardie is supposed to have said, “When my enemies praise me, it is time to examine my morals.”

Kelly’s book provides us with ample evidence of the huge influence that Scots have had on labour struggles throughout the English speaking world. He looks at those Scots who emigrated to the USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, but does not look at the substantial Scottish involvement in the white trade unions of South Africa. Kelly argues South Africa is a special case in need of separate and more detailed analysis. It is a pity in some ways that he does not include South Africa, as that part of the world was very much linked into the international anglophone labour world of the nineteenth and twentieth century. An examination of the race issues of South Africa could also have led to a comparison with the ‘whites only’ policies adopted by many unions in the USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand during the nineteenth and early twentieth century. This in turn could have allowed more analysis of growing opposition to racism within the labour movement in the later twentieth century. As it is, Kelly only addresses these issues in passing.

The comparative approach of *Radical Exports* is, however, a valuable one. It allows the reader to see the many parallels, and occasional contrasts, between the industrial movements in the USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Such comparisons are particularly relevant given the migration flows of workers, activists and ideas between those countries.

Radical Exports provides clear arguments as to why the Scots were so prominent in the labour movements of their adopted lands. Unlike many immigrant groups, the Scots came from an already industrialised society. Many were union activists before they left Scotland. Even those who were not came from an industrial world where workers were accustomed to organising and standing up for their rights. The strong Scottish traditions of Presbyterianism, education and the belief in the independence of one’s own conscience fed into support for unionism.

While enjoying the accounts of activists lives in *Radical Exports*, I became frustrated by the sheer mass of biographical information. It appears that Kelly is so in love with his subjects he does not want to leave anyone out. Each chapter focuses on the life of a particular activist, but in the process the lives of many other activists who were in some way be linked to the main character are considered. For me this became confusing and I had continually to refer

back to earlier sections of the work to identify the characters being discussed. I think perhaps the 'less is more' approach may have made this a stronger book. Greater concentration on the main biographies, with less digression on other activists would have been easier to follow. This could still have illustrated the immensely important role of Scots in the labour movement. My other complaint is that the book lacks footnotes, meaning the detail-obsessed reader is unable to follow up some of the very interesting points raised in the text.

Despite these flaws, *Scotland's Radical Exports* is still a valuable book for anyone wishing to take a comparative view of labour movements in the four countries examined. It brings to light the careers of many activists whose careers deserve to be better known. It also considers how the immigrants' background influenced their role in labour struggles in their 'new homes'. Too often our view of history is distorted by only examining what has happened within the artificial geographical space of the nation state. A strongpoint of *Radical Exports* is that it clearly shows many of the ways working people have struggled to have agency over their lives and their work wherever they lived. These stories of workers' attempts to create a better world for themselves and their descendants need wider exposure. Pat Kelly's book is another step in that direction.

The Last Great Cause

Dan Kothoff

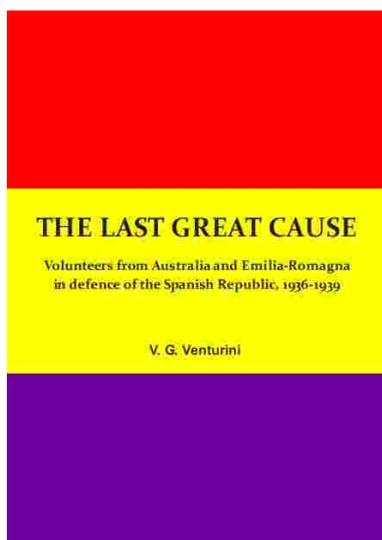
The Last Great Cause: Volunteers from Australia and Emilia-Romagna in defence of the Spanish Republic, 1936-1939. V. G. Venturini, Sydney: SEARCH Foundation, 2010.

With *The Last Great Cause*, Venturini has produced an impressive piece of work on the Spanish Civil War; well over 800 pages of text, notes, references and an extensive bibliography. Much like the works of Thomas, Beevor and Preston, this sizeable book doesn't read the same.

Still, there are a few chapters that are very well worth reading: *In Defence of the Republic - La Colonna Italiana and Women and Men from Australia* gives a concise overview of two specific groups of volunteers. There were approximately 65 Australian volunteers; both fighters in the International Brigades and nurses. Many volunteers had to leave in secret for a war in which Australia was not fighting. Extensive attention is given to Italian (naturalized Australian) Ernesto Baratto who was later interned on Wellington's Somes Island during WWII. It paints a grim picture of Australian (and NZ) government policies on aliens, refugees and anything left-leaning in the years leading up to and during the war.

Venturini goes systematically through the names of the Australian volunteers, noting interesting details but, likely due to lack of sources, it's all very concise and does not add much to already published works.

I found *The Long Nightmare: the Retirada and the aftermath of the war* most interesting. Venturini describes the withdrawal of Republican Forces; the hundreds of thousands of displaced people; the humiliation at the Spanish-



French border; the concentration camps and prisons that awaited the Republican soldiers and International Brigaders in France. All this in the light of the new, right-wing, French Government that had very little sympathy for the Great Cause. Again, opinionated emotions are never far away, but it is not easy to describe the situation without emotion: the death rate in the camps was tremendous, total absence of sanitation, medical care and heating and rations one could barely survive on.

Venturini explains how French authorities exploited the differences between communists, Trotskyites, socialists and anarchists and how it was practice to humiliate officers in front of their men. Camps were often no more than an area of beach, surrounded by barbed wire where inmates had to dig holes, covered with sticks and leaves to provide their own accommodation. Able-bodied prisoners were given the choice to return to Spain (a certain death by Franco's firing squads) or to join the Foreign Legion.

One interesting observation was the humiliation many prisoners felt by being guarded by French Senegalese troops, reminding them of Franco's black Moors. "Continued contact with these soldiers infuriated the Spanish refugees, who never forgave France for emulating Franco with the use of African troops." Easy to judge 70 years later, but Venturini's own remark that "French use of Moorish and black troops as guardians of the defeated Spanish Republicans seemed to demonstrate underlying French sympathy with the Francoists and a desire to degrade the Republicans" is not wrong. The Senegalese soldiers of the 24th Infantry Regiment were pretty much at the bottom of the French military picking order and chosen for a job that wasn't much desired by regular French soldiers. Various sources claim the regular French were generally more brutal and harsh than the Senegalese they employed.

Venturini further explores the situations of those elderly, women and children who fled to France and were eventually accommodated. The long nightmare continues into, and after WWII, telling of the Spaniards in the *Maquis*, the new hope and betrayal after V-E and the long years of Franco's transición. Good work by the author in collating this material, not found elsewhere in a similar format.

Had Venturini stuck to this last episode in a well-edited version, he would have made a valuable contribution to the many works already available on the subject. The book is one long list of factual material; at times in-depth (to the point that I felt like skipping a few pages) and at other times shallow, hinting at interesting stories, but leaving the reader with more questions than answers. Venturini's voice-over leaves the reader in no doubt where the author's sympathies lie regarding the conflict.

Photographs are not a necessity, though they would have helped enliven the book. Tables and geographical maps are missing for a good understanding of the text. As a book on the overall subject of the Spanish Civil War, I believe there are better options to choose from.

Dan Kothoff is a Wellington writer who maintains the website The Beret Project (<http://beretandboina.blogspot.co.nz/>)

BOOKS SCHEDULED FOR REVIEW (NEXT ISSUE)

Perspectives of a Strike, Waihi 1912

Written and published by Mary Carmine, Waihi, 2012, ISBN 978-0-473-20108-1. Reviewed by J. Jesson: “about remembrance, revising history and academic whakapapa.” A critique in the very best tradition.

Jagged Seas: the New Zealand Seamen’s Union, 1879-2003

Written by labour historian David Grant, published by Canterbury University Press, released March 2012, RRP NZ\$55, paperback, 376pp, ISBN 978-1-877257-99-7. Grant examines the history of the union and the part it played in shaping New Zealand’s political and industrial landscapes.

BOOKS RECEIVED (CONSIDERED FOR LATER REVIEW)

Sliding down the Hypotenuse

Eric Beardsley, Canterbury University Press, 2010, ISBN 978-1-927145-00-5

Veteran journalist and writer Eric Beardsley (author of the historical novel *Blackball 08*, about the 1908 ‘crib time strike’ at the Blackball Mine) arrived in Christchurch from the West Coast 80 years ago and has devoted much of his life since then to observing and noting the Canterbury scene, its people, politics, conflicts and progress.

An eclectic mix of memoir, biography and history, interspersed with piquant and punchy observations and barbed humour, his story is of distant and different schooldays where strap and cane ruled, where the Sugarbag Years dominated the lives of the jobless poor and of a career as night messenger, reporter, sub-editor and leader-writer at *The Press*—work that did not always sit comfortably with his more radical outlook on life.

Anyone with an interest in left wing politics in New Zealand over the last half century will find the book an enjoyable and amusing account of the rise and fall of Labour and the New Right.

Coal and the Coast: A reflection on the Pike River disaster

Paul Maunder, Canterbury University Press, ISBN 978-1-927145-26-5

The first book triggered by the Pike River Mine disaster, which killed 29 men, is the work of Blackball writer Paul Maunder, who was among the first emergency responders to reach the mine within minutes of the initial explosion on 19 November 2010.

Maunder, an ambulance volunteer, kept a diary in the days after the event and, since then, has talked to locals and reflected on the issues involved, particularly on the implications the disaster may have for the Coast and the future of coalmining in the region.

Maunder said *Coal and the Coast* puts the disaster into context by looking at the history of coalmining on the Coast, examining its economic structure as an industry and the early workers whose actions helped trigger historical changes in labour relations.

Coal and the Coast also looks at the modern miner—what drives them to work underground and, if they're newcomers, why have they moved to the Coast? And are the miners of today of the same mettle as their predecessors? "I believe the Coast has a strong future after mining but we need to think about how this future will look, and we need to start thinking about it now."

Free Society - A German exile in revolutionary Spain

Werner Droescher; introduction by Farrell Cleary. Kate Sharpley Library (London) and Aotearoa Workers Solidarity Movement, 2012, ISBN 9781873605066

This 30-page pamphlet gives extracts from the autobiography of Wener Droescher, an exile from Nazi Germany who took part in the Spanish Civil War. Droescher and his wife Greville Texidor lived in New Zealand from 1940. Dring the 60s and 70s Droescher became a mentor and comrade to those interested in anarchism and the Spanish Revolution.

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS SERIES

The Treaty of Waitangi Research Unit, based at the Stout Research Centre, Victoria University, has published two new titles in its Historical Documents series.

Reminiscences of a Pioneer Surveyor

S Percy Smith, edited by Richard S Hill & Brad Patterson, 2011

This a condensed version of *Reminiscences of a Pioneer Surveyor from 1840 to 1916*, written in 1916 by Stephenson Percy Smith who rose to the position of Surveyor General and who, in his late years, became one of New Zealand's leading pioneer ethnologists. It indicates both how the new settler colony was based essentially upon the acquiring of Maori resources and the way in which surveying was central to such resource transfer.

Principles for Crown Action on the Treaty of Waitangi, 1989

Introduction by Therese Crocker, 2011

The 'principles of the Treaty of Waitangi' are much debated and contested. In 1989, the Labour Government issued a set of 'principles' under which it would approach Treaty of Waitangi issues. Few copies of the original documents exist, and so TOWRU has decided to reproduce them together with a contextualising introduction.

To purchase contact: STOUT-CENTRE@VUW.AC.NZ or TOWRU Publication Orders, Stout Research Centre, PO Box 600, Wellington 6140.



What is the Labour History Project?

The struggle for workers' rights has a long history in Aotearoa New Zealand. Trade unions and the fight for a fair society are important strands of our national story. Many major historical events have their roots in labour-related issues. These have also been key influences on national politics and the evolution of New Zealand society. Labour history connects New Zealand to the world. Work has been a prime factor in our migration history and local unions (and related groups) have important links overseas.

Much of New Zealand's labour history, however, remains undocumented and unpublished. The social history of work in New Zealand has been relatively neglected by historians. Without a more accessible labour heritage, we overlook important ways of understanding New Zealand's past and present, and vital perspectives on where we are heading.

In 1987 the Trade Union History Project (TUHP) was formed by historians, trade unionists and political activists to help document New Zealand labour history. Initially established with state funding, since 1991 the organisation has relied upon volunteer resources, donations, and occasional publishing grants. In 2008 the TUHP changed its name to the Labour History Project (LHP) to better reflect the range of member interests. The LHP is an energetic and independent incorporated society. It has over 150 individual and institutional members and maintains links with affiliated organisations such as the Auckland Labour History Group, trade unions, libraries, museums, academics, and counterpart groups overseas. It is the only national organisation dedicated to fostering New Zealand labour history and cultivating an important part of our collective memory. The Labour History Project has no affiliation with the New Zealand Labour Party or any other political party.

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