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From Subject to Device: History as Myth in Action

The evolution of event from mythic processes as revealed in Waterfront Dispute fiction

By

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...fiction ... is not dropped like a pebble upon the ground, as science may be; fiction is like a spider's web, attached ever so lightly perhaps, but still attached to life at all four corners. Often the attachment is scarcely perceptible .... But when the web is pulled askew, hooked up at the edge, torn in the middle, one remembers that these webs are not spun in mid-air by incorporeal creatures, but are the work of suffering human beings ....

Virginia Woolf

We must accept ... that the truth as distinct from the facts can be transmitted direct to the feelings and the imagination only by the power of art. ... facts, the still life which some great artist may some day animate ....

Dan Davin

But how can I explain, how can I explain to you?
You will understand less after I have explained it.
All that I could hope to make you understand
Is only events: not what has happened

And what is spoken remains in the room, waiting for the future to hear it.
And whatever happens began in the past, and presses hard on the future.

T.S. Eliot

Time takes the heat out of every cause, blurs the memory of the most memorable events, and dulls even the colour of blood. But the feelings remain intelligible, because they are constantly renewed in the present; and it's the feelings, not the events and causes, which survive in the verbal music....

C.K. Stead
Introductory Statement

When this research was initially undertaken, it was intended to ascertain, by empirical analysis, some principles active in the transposition of historical events into the fictional medium. For both personal and literary reasons, the field selected was post-War New Zealand, its political history and responses to it.

History as recorded in analytical data and fiction re-presenting these same events were to be examined and their relationship described. The field selected afforded a rich terrain. The Beer Boycott; the Conscription issue; the fall of Labour and the Waterfront Dispute; the Cold War's escalation, up to the time of Vietnam: both in terms of event and creative response, there was much available and inviting material. Even later, beyond the present of this post-War period, lay political fiction of projected history, 'creating' events which had not yet occurred.

As the full title indicates, the nature of this endeavour altered radically between then and now, to seem finally at odds with such beginnings. Yet, rather than denoting intention tailored to limits of energy or inclination, the change evolved from the exploration itself. At first entertainingly, and later undeniably, the unsought and unexpected declared itself more valuable.

By design, the journey is implicit in the title, its tripartite form suggestive of progression. After much consideration, this was deemed defensible: at least structurally useful, and at last something honoured.

On the former count - that of structure - the main title indicates beginning and ending, or, more exactly, process and discovery. The sub-title restates these more specifically and, in reversing their order to discovery and process, makes the full title
circular - as, indeed, it should be read.

In its three parts, the title declares the procedural structure of the work as a whole: from detailed study of the literary function of a particular event common to many writings; to a consequent statement of historical pattern and, implicit in this, a philosophy of history; to singular focus on the Waterfront Dispute as sufficiently illustrative of the thesis' three aspects: the evolution of history's literary function, of the events themselves within cause/effect patterns, and fiction's role in recording history and its sources.

While, thus, the full title describes structural stages, the opening phrase declares them in brief. Writings re-presenting historical events are the initial subject of this final submission; they assume en route, and on their own terms, another and ultimately equal function - as means or devices in philosophical argument.

The title states, also, the thesis to be defended, citing specific patterns within fiction and history. The opening phrase, 'from subject to device', entitles thetic evidence of history's evolving literary function. The second phrase, 'history as myth in action', and the following with its reference to 'mythic processes' entitle thetic evidence presented by fiction: of causes and effects in human behaviour, and action's being both in relation to myth.

On the other 'defending' count, the title's tenor of progression observes, moreover, a creative integrity. The completed document, to a major extent, is responsive to demands essentially external. These were imposed by the fiction itself - by its forms, its 'way of seeing' and insistent themes. Others were exacted by research traditions: the academic requirements to be fulfilled. While these often proved positive (even the tensions between them), they are
parts the sum of which is not the creative whole.

That creative whole makes one further demand, lesser than others cited but residually inviolable: that, separate from source material or academic purpose, it stands, also, at completion independent of either.

The singular quality of the work's integrity - that which persisted, sometimes flourished, within constraint - is the 'life' that resides in its evolving nature. Maintaining this intact, to a limited degree, has been a final choice, personal and considered. Allowing the work its ultimate autonomy not only respects its right as a separate artifact, but also, given the thesis to be established, achieves inherent unity - of vehicle and tenor.

I thank Dr L.O. Jones for his unfailing encouragement and assistance as my Academic Supervisor, Lynnsay Francis for her cooperation and efficiency in preparing the manuscript, and Mr E.D. McKenzie for much time spent in supervising its production.
Abstract

This analysis of selected New Zealand works defends the evolving function of history as fiction-material. It is intended to establish that purpose and treatment alter, as time further separates the writing and the event. The general change is one of development from subject to device properties.

In tracing history's evolving role and treatment in fiction, analysis identifies history's eventual source — shown, in fiction, to be mythic and subjectively conceptual.
Summary

All the fiction examined in the ensuing discussion has been selected on one criterion. This is neither literary merit, nor style, nor common purpose. The singular feature which all pieces share is their common presentation of one event: the New Zealand Waterfront Dispute of 1951.

While the history examined within the fiction has, thus, been limited to that of 'one time', the writing of the fiction spans more than three decades: from 1951 to 1984. Moreover, the psychological/historical times present in the works range far beyond the five-months period of the dispute itself: back to the last century and forward into the future.

Some discussion of these contexts is not only unavoidable; it emerged as also necessary to a critical understanding of the creative function of the Waterfront Dispute. Analogous to word semantics, where meaning is determined by regarding usage within full statement, the literary role of an historical event is ascertained relative to surrounding material. Both within the works themselves and within discussion of them, the crisis' parameters clarify only relational to full context - to other material, its presence or absence.

This discussion, by its nature, merges two disciplines: the study of history and the study of fiction. While the assumption is made that this merging is proper - for the fields complement and/or challenge each other, in differing intention, emphasis and focus on the common subject of human experience - a problem arises in organising material.

The options were clearly two: placement of all relevant data from analytical records in one initial section (to which the fiction, in retrospect, would constantly cross-refer); or, responsive to the
fiction as primary source material, focusing only on data included or suggested by the text. The first of these options is linear and horizontal, between history, as a beginning, and its later recreations. The second option regards each work as separate and evocative; in it, data emerges from text, in context: inflorescent.

The first option has not been chosen, for being academic historians' work; half the purpose of this discussion is not a retelling of history. The option chosen as more appropriate - history within the fiction - facilitates analysis of respective unique 'treatments', keeping the data in relationship with the purpose of inclusion.

This organisational method has effects requiring acknowledgment. Numerous footnotes (many of them extensive) often become necessary to confirm or deny fiction/history concordance. Material becomes recurrent as successive authors include the same data and events as significant. For ease of reading, the shorter notes have been placed at the foot of the appropriate page; those exceeding a five-lines length have been placed at the end of their contextual chapter. Such notes are indicated at the foot of the page by means of an asterisk. Recurring historical data (judged to have been explored) carry footnotes of brief reference to preceding sections.

More controversially, seeing the text as fiction (or as a fictional whole, not as co-existent genres) allows response to historical elements as fictional elements; that response is subjective. As any reader, viewer or auditor of imaginative art brings to his understanding that which the work evokes for him, so historical elements - where integrants of fiction - are likewise evocative, creatively active. The more subjective responses to these historico-fictional elements have been separated textually into notes.
and appendices.

The thesis has been divided into ten chapters, all of which, except the first, focus on specific works. Chapters Three and Six comprise two distinct sections; Chapter Seven, as pivotal, comprises six. Four chapters have extensions in appendices (six, in all). Initially, basic assumptions are outlined in detail, relating to fiction's place in the recording of history. Chapters Two, Three and Four examine writings wherein the historical crisis has subject-value. Writers included in these sections are anonymous 'journalists', Fred Roberts, Noel Hilliard and Margot Campbell.

Chapters Five and Six cover work by Maurice Gee and two separate but related stories by Spiro Zavos. Called, generally, 'Away From the Centre', these writings show progression from peripheral and unemphatic valuing as subject to some use of historical data as a counterpointing device: as correlative to or of more private and central experience.

Chapters Seven, Eight and Nine stand as separate sections, each examining the dispute's function as primarily creative. In all, the crisis as history is affirmed as significant, indicative of patterns which transcend specific instance. In Cross, whose novel stands as the central primary text, this perception has fine and complex expression: in the linear content of the surface story; in the dispute as outer enclosure of subjective and past 'histories'; in its being beginning and ending of diachronic illumination, and the product of myth and its various failings.

In Shadbolt's novel, heavy on social realism, the dispute's importance transcends its details. In the work itself, as in the historical pattern revealed, the crisis' placement is linear in a flow from past to future. Beyond close attention to people, place
and events, Shadbolt's larger subject finally emerges as social myth, in relation to which the crisis is indicative and exemplary. In C.K. Stead's first novel, the events of '51 have several historical and creative roles. These, as will be shown, include 'modelling' and analogy, illumination of cyclic patterns in international history, the mythic basis of action in re-occurring crises.

Chapter Ten examines Stead's second treatment of the dispute. With thirty-three years passed since the crisis' actual present, this novel, as final chapter, has aptly the last word. Last in publication of all the fiction discussed, from most distant perspective and most developed in verbal art, it affirms in its use of history all thetic contentions: fiction's evocative role in recording historic events - experiential, ordinary/significant and external/internal; history as subject, comic and/or serious; history as device, structural and figurative; history as consequence and as presentation of mythic patterns of thinking, public and private. Chapter Ten provides thus the thesis' concluding summary.
# Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapters</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Introductory Statement</strong></td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Abstract</strong></td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Summary</strong></td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:</td>
<td><strong>Some Basic Assumptions: Fiction's Role in the Recording of History</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:</td>
<td><strong>In the Present, in the Raw: the Lighter Side of the Left</strong></td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:</td>
<td><strong>History as Later Subject</strong></td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'No Conscripts' and 'New Unionist'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:</td>
<td><strong>History as Secondary Subject</strong></td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Margot Campbell's <em>The Dark Water</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:</td>
<td><strong>Unemphatic History: the In-passing Record</strong></td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maurice Gee's <em>Sole Survivor</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:</td>
<td><strong>Away from the Centre: into Device Property</strong></td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Spiro Zavos' 'The Shilling' and 'Faith of our Fathers'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:</td>
<td><strong>Device par Excellence: History as Mythic Nemesis</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ian Cross' <em>After Anzac Day</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i) History's Structural Function: Enclosure, Means and Ends</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii) Progress to Paradise</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iii) Rural Dream: the Fault in the Glass</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iv) Urban Dream: the Fault in the Glass</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v) Mythic Legacies and History as their Expression</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vi) <em>After Anzac Day</em>'s Utopian Ending</td>
<td>286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:</td>
<td><strong>Significant Device: Historical Paths and Myths</strong></td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maurice Shadbolt's <em>Strangers And Journeys</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:</td>
<td>History and Myth Beyond Time and Place: the Device of Model</td>
<td>324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C.K. Stead's Smith's Dream</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:</td>
<td>History as Subject and Device: Myth Hic et Ubique</td>
<td>376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C.K. Stead's All Visitors Ashore</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendices</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I:</td>
<td>Reality, Truth and Fiction: The Lovelock Version Controversy</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II:</td>
<td>Social Myth, its Active Properties, as Cause-Effect in History</td>
<td>408</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III:</td>
<td>Anxiety, Anomia, Caesarism: Conservatives' Paranoea</td>
<td>414</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV:</td>
<td>The Day After Anzac Day: An On-campus Perspective</td>
<td>423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V:</td>
<td>Lee as Donovan's Model: The Party's Electoral Problems</td>
<td>427</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI:</td>
<td>Smith's Security File with the Special X</td>
<td>433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td></td>
<td>439</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The following abbreviations have been used for convenience in footnotes. (The date in brackets denotes the year of the edition used, if different from that of publication.)

AAD - After Anzac Day, Ian Cross, 1961 (1979)
AVA - All Visitors Ashore, C.K. Stead, 1984
DW - The Dark Water: A Novel, Margot Campbell, 1954
NC - 'No Conscripts', Fred Roberts, 1960
NU - 'New Unionist', Noel Hilliard, 1963
FF - 'Faith of our Fathers', Spiro Zavos, 1983
S&J - Strangers and Journeys, Maurice Shadbolt, 1972
SD - Smith's Dream, C.K. Stead, 1971
TS - 'The Shilling', Spiro Zavos, 1977

Bassett - Confrontation '51, Michael Bassett, 1972
Langstone - N.Z. Liberty 1951, Frank Langstone, 1951
Pearson - 'Fretful Sleepers', Bill Pearson, 1952 (1962)
Scott - 151 Days, Dick Scott, 1952 (1977)
Sutch - Poverty And Progress in New Zealand, W.B. Sutch, 1941 (1969)

NZTW - New Zealand Transport Worker
NZH - New Zealand Herald
NZPD - New Zealand Parliamentary Debates
ODT - Otago Daily Times
FOL - Federation of Labour
NZWWU - New Zealand Waterside Workers' Union
PSCAct - Public Safety Conservation Act 1932
WSERegs - Waterfront Strike Emergency Regulations

Periodicals have generally been designated in footnotes by publication number, month and year (in preference to volume number and year). References which first occur in an appendix have been re-cited in full when first occurring as a text footnote.
Some Basic Assumptions: Fiction's Role in the Recording of History

What is meant by 'reality'? It would seem to be something very erratic, very undependable - now to be found in a dusty road, now in a scrap of newspaper in the street, now in a daffodil in the sun. It lights up a group in a room and stamps some casual saying. It overwhels one walking home beneath the stars and makes the silent world more real than the world of speech - and then there it is again in an omnibus in the uproar of Picadilly. Sometimes, too, it seems to dwell in shapes too far away for us to discern what their nature is. ... That is what remains over when the skin of the day has been cast into the hedge; that is what is left of past time and of our loves and hates. ... It is [the writer's] business to find it and communicate it to the rest of us ... to perform a curious couching operation on the senses; one sees more intensely afterwards; the world seems bared of its covering and given intenser life.

Virginia Woolf

The New Zealand Waterfront Dispute of 1951 was a crisis of much significance in the country's history. Events accompanying and comprising the dispute remain important features of our political/industrial past and have been variously documented for their historical interest. Yet, crises such as these - those of 1943, 1913 and 1932 - comprise and encompass private 'worlds' not easily portrayed in historical analyses. The experiential record lies often in subsequent fiction: the re-creation of aspects of personal realities.

No claim is made in this that historians or political observers have failed in their dealings with empirical data. Nonetheless, the claim is made that, in order to be valid, the record of social history must be a composite work. Creative writing should be valued as one of its dimensions, its province being the lives of ordinary men and women. In his essay, 'The Meaning of History', Nehru emphasises this point in a way especially relevant to fictional treatments of major social and political events:
Real history should deal, not with a few individuals here and there, but with the people who make up a nation, who work and by their labour produce the necessities and luxuries of life, and who in a thousand ways act and react on each other.... It would be [a] story of man's struggle through the ages against Nature and the elements ... and most difficult of all, against some of his own kind.¹

The fiction examined in the following pages attempts to tell such a story, not of people like Sidney Holland, Jock Barnes, Fintan Walsh or of other varieties of 'hero', but of people too small for annals of recorded history. The final work to be examined, even overtly within its text, declares this general principle of fiction's activity:

History is always written as if the doings of ordinary nameless faceless persons ... were a grey and ill-defined background to the stage on which the politicians strut and strike attitudes and make decisions and laws, but of course history is not reality ... in reality it is the other way about, the politicians are the grey background to ordinary lives .... ²

No matter how noteworthy events themselves might be, their inroads into the psyche - their effects on mind and spirit - are equally factual data of human experience. The creative writer, finding these inroads, exploring and taking the reader along them, can approach more nearly the heart of the matter.

Those consequences of human interaction which defy or escape objective recording are, no less for this, historical facts. That which people feel - their commitments, their drives, their fears (that is, it will be argued, the myths by which they live) - cannot be measured but exist, undeniably. These abstractions may, therefore, be deemed historical fact: something known to be, while


immeasurable in existence.

If one were proceeding further into qualitative judgment of historical data (their eventual/abstraction types), one might well give primacy to those of heart and mind. The community's climate of feeling, the person's inner world, come first by preceding their later expressive actions. They generate events which confirm their own prior existence.

Within the definitions supplied by William Golding - his labelling of history as 'academic' or 'off-campus' - the prerogative, or study, of fiction is the 'off-campus' field. Comprising immeasurable legacies of thought and feeling which one generation bequeath to the next, 'off-campus' history - as both cause and effect - must precede the on-going eventual content of 'academic' history.

* 

General in their nature, these initial two assumptions (of fiction as registering the experience of 'campus' history, of thought and feeling as historical facts) provide a basis for others of nicer distinctions.

Assuming that fiction, as a literary genre, is experiential in content, rather than conceptual (writings primarily conceptual are not 'literature' per se), then the focus of the experience being evoked becomes a differential of types of fiction. Additional, therefore, to the 'in practice' dichotomy between fiction (experiential) and academic history (conceptual: that is, stated facts about, not evocations of), a distinction can be made relative to focus - between the 'ordinary' and 'significant' in either recording mode.

The fiction to be examined within this discussion falls, for the most part, into experiential/ordinary: the traditional area of literary realism. It could be argued, also, that in those works which imbue critical history with symbolic tenor an experiential/significant focus co-exists. This quality — more definitive of Classical literature — is not textually overt; it lies behind the ordinary and within the reader's apprehension of historical pattern.

Primarily conceptual writings accommodate, likewise, two possible combinations of content and focus. The conceptual/ordinary type can be found in social histories which provide factual data about ordinary experience. The more traditional study of campus history, however, has been in the mode of conceptual/significant: information about — not evocations of — people, events and places deemed of public importance.

The exclusion or inappropriateness of privately deemed significance — happenings of great moment only in personal apprehension — is no flaw necessarily in campus history; as a register, it is defined by that which it includes and, like other registers, has its inherent validity. Acknowledging the extreme options at either end of the form-continuum — experiential/ordinary and conceptual/significant — raises, however, one further and fine point: the former's presentation options within the genre of fiction.

While individual style in the recording of experience is as unique, ultimately, as each writer himself; while this individuality comprises (and is consequent upon) innumerable choices every word of the way, one stylistic feature deserving of special comment is authorial selection of world-in-view. Within the realm of experiential record, either ordinary or significant, point of view
may lend emphasis more to one world: either external-objective or internal-subjective.

Regarding New Zealand fiction, the writings by Heather Roberts analyse provocatively our developing traditions and challenge the 'realism' of many established works. Although much of her argument, unfortunately, lies outside the range of material necessary as background here, Roberts' more general statements deserve at least citing in clarifying the external/internal distinction.4

'External' fiction - by Roberts called 'realistic' (being the traditional term, which she does not endorse) - has developed in New Zealand as a newly placed 'off-shoot' of nineteenth century English writing. Its focus and concern fall on 'external and public reality'; its characters 'become involved only in events which ... lead them eventually to an end which is seen as better'.6 Time's arrangement, in Woolf's terms, is as a "series of gig lamps" - once one lamp is passed ... it becomes unimportant.7 Characters seem to be of interest to the realistic novelist only 'at a crucial stage' of their respective lives.8 The moral climate of the realistic tradition reflects 'the values and behaviour of the adult male world';9 the 'interest' of its novels 'lies in the end product of the

5. Ibid., p.16.
8. Ibid., p.32.
events recounted' preceding.

Established New Zealand writers (for example, Shadbolt, Hilliard, Cross, Gee and Stead) tend, in the majority, to value and attend primarily to experience from external perspectives; not only does each as narrator proscribe how the reader should see 'the exterior of the characters', but each also

reports what it is that [a] character thinks or feels in a certain situation or about a certain point. The interest in the realistic novel is with the product of thought and feeling, rather than with the process of thought.

Thought is only as orderly as this when it is seen from without; when seen from within, where thought is generated, it more closely resembles the sort of dislocated process that occurs in much of Janet Frame's work, in Witi Ihimaera's novel Tangi ....

This denies in no way that the 'realistic' novel has often as its realm ordinary human experience; that much access is often granted to mind and private emotion. Roberts seems to suggest, however (and with validity), that 'internal' reality with its individual uniqueness is not, in the end, the fiction-subject; it is only means to portrayal of events outside.

The 'subjective' novel displays different emphases, projecting 'inner life' as its primary landscape, yet providing in its portrayal landmarks of the outer world. Time, in such fiction, 'is not linear but web-like,

held together in the centre as a web is by the consciousness of the character ....

In the subjective novel, 'the physical space covered.... is small.

10. Ibid., p.66 (underlines added).
11. Ibid., p.16.
12. Ibid., p.120.
13. Ibid., p.22.
The emotional and imaginative space is much larger.\textsuperscript{15} 'Interest centres on

the present moment held in the consciousness of the characters of the novel ...\textsuperscript{16}

not on 'things that are tangible and visible: things that have a material presence'.\textsuperscript{17}

In contrast to the writers of the 'realistic' tradition, those 'who have given us their private interpretation of the reality of the New Zealand experience' are 'women, Maoris and a few men'. Including most notably Hyde, Frame and Ihimaera, 'those who use the mode of the subjective novel

see themselves and are seen by others as being people who, because of their race or sex, physical or mental ability, do not make any acceptable or significant contribution to the society in which they live.\textsuperscript{18}

In the fiction to be examined, there will be found no true example of an experiential-ordinary-internal work. Roberts, Hilliard, Gee and Campbell, Zavos, Shadbolt, Cross and Stead have a story to tell - of events, people and places - which is ultimately more important than any central consciousness. 'The emphasis, in general, where access to thought is given, falls on the construction of 'story', either past or present: on the mind as register of the external world.\textsuperscript{19}

It could be argued that fiction's contribution - even from

15. See Summary, p.VII, and Ch.1, p.3.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid., p.80.
19. Notwithstanding this general statement, it should be observed that the extent and style of access may vary from work to work by a single author.*
writers seeming to be objective - should not strictly be classified enlargement of history. Even in initial selecting and ordering of material, no writer can avoid subjectivity, for these processes themselves will reflect personal values. Winston Rhodes remarks on this in his essay on Sargeson, stating that

the morality emerges from the work more often than it is deliberately inserted .... It is the morality of that aspect of life which his individual bias compels him to explore. In our own age there have been many writers who have tried to withdraw ... in order to watch and describe ... but even these give themselves ... away. They cannot fail to reveal attitudes towards fundamental moral questions by the very consistency with which they choose similar moral situations and represent similar human relationships. Their commentary is supplied by the process of selection and the organisation ....

Rhodes defends his contention with material from Conrad: 'Every subject in

the region of the intellect and emotion must have a morality of its own ... and even the most artful of writers will give himself ... away in about every third sentence.'

That, in this sense, creative writing falls outside the category of academic or objective does not, however, discredit it as historical record. There are three main reasons why it should not do so; these relate to matters of method, content and effect.

The methodological justification of fiction's role as a factual component of recorded history lies in i) the nature of experience itself, and ii) the supposed divergence of creative processes employed by fiction writers and historians respectively.

History as it occurs is not experienced objectively; its protagonists are beings who perceive the world around them and


21. Ibid., pp.412-413. (Rhodes does not cite the Conrad source.)
function within parameters of personal value systems. All human activity, physical and perceptual, reflects value or personal 'seeing' - regardless of its nature and individual self-awareness.

In applying this contention to literature, the paradox emerge that supreme objectivity - refined and rehearsed, like that of James Joyce or Gustave Flaubert - reflects subjective value as do more subjective styles. In applying this to a fiction/history dichotomy, the paradox emerge that, through selection of subject, the placing of emphases, noting of significance, 'objective' historians no less than creative writers inform their work with subjectivity: that is, in the final analysis, with their own way of seeing. The historian, like the artist, the novelist, the child, only reconstructs reality; he can never copy it, for the mind in its perceiving is always creative. The traditional 'fiction' of the purist historian is that Reality or Truth can have objective recording; that knowledge can be separated from personal apprehension.

Fiction's role as a fact-contributor to recorded history has, in the second place, its content justification. Subjective responses (the author's and/or his characters') are historical data of any given issue: the author's being manifest in the text as existing, the characters' being reflections of emotions in situ. The gamut of these evoked within the community forms the historical-social context of any critical events. Dealing, as it can, with the daily and ordinary, with inner private experience as distinct from external action, fiction provides flesh for that body of information the bones of which comprise documentable fact.

Moreover, within the genre of fiction at its broadest, the story

22. See Appendix I: 'Reality, Truth and Fiction: The Lovelock Version Controversy'.
and novel of quality are not the only means by which history can acquire its human dimension. In their evolution, these categories of fiction are often preceded by imaginative forms much less demanding, less creatively complex: contemporary journalism, short verse and jingles, film and popular ballad or folk-song. Thus, the veteran's plea 'Ruby, Don't Take Your Love to Town' reveals an aspect of the Vietnam story which statements from the Pentagon and Academia could not, for its focus falls on love and impotence and pain. Thus, the 'Arthur Kingsley Bell Song' of 1951 gives a reader, decades on, access to unionists' outrage; to the 'rag-and-bone shop of the heart' which lies beneath the forms of analytical records.

Fiction as a contributor to the annals of social history has its third justification in the realm of effect. While avoiding debate of socio-didactic responsibilities which the fiction writer should/should not assume, one may still claim that, effectively speaking, fiction does fulfil a useful role.

This function referred to in the Davin epigraph is surely apparent in the medium of television and its fictional re-creations of well-known history. In 'Family at War' and the 'Holocaust' series, with their fictional characters in daily relationships, World War Two and its atrocities assume life beyond their documents. The historical frame, thus, being given imaginative content, becomes better understood as a human experience.

This assertion is not new for the power of fiction; through centuries from Aristotle it has been variously made. George Eliot claimed for fiction the 'extension of our sympathies', its being a

means or 'mode of amplifying experience'. Davin's assertion that 'only by the power of art' can 'truth ... be transmitted direct to the feelings' is echoed in David Dowling's declaration:

Fiction makes us live truths otherwise incomprehensible.

Thus, the record of Vietnam (or the '81 Springbok Tour) will remain incomplete or without clear perspective until, beside statement, counter-statement and analysis, there exists a range of the conflict's fiction.

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Historical fiction of quality emerges only with time. In his commentary on Maurice Shadbolt's *Strangers and Journeys*, Lawrence Jones observes that 'many of the great panoramic novels of social realism deal with events of a generation or more before the time of writing ... history has done some of the selecting ... a public myth has begun to emerge.'

In his *Landfall* review of the same novel, Len Wilson observes likewise that the writer's imagination is fully engaged only when he contemplates a generation now aged or dead, those whose 'strivings' have become 'firmly distanced by history'.


All writings, however, to be considered here deal mainly with New Zealand after World War Two. Some, it is apparent, do not fail through choice of subject; even attest to the relatively recent as a 'proper study' for fiction.

The political events of the late forties, culminating in the dispute and Emergency Regulations, have had accelerated passage towards the realm of symbol. The necessary time for this natural evolution has been foreshortened, perhaps, for three main reasons.

Many of the generation directly involved in those events of thirty years ago are neither dead nor very aged. Generally, however, they comprise a social group which has found itself traditionally — even intensely — under attack. It is under such conditions (and even of necessity) that groups finding themselves besieged evolve myths and martyrs. This factor applies widely: for example, to racial groups, to social classes, to particular religions' adherents.

A second factor, often accompanying the first, is the intensity of a specific, often singular experience. Thus, events in Queen Street, at Waihi, in Southall, at Sharpeville, Entebbe or Kent State University can acquire mythic dimension by short-circuited processes: not by the slow passage of a pre-requisite time, but in their own time and in relation to respective social-climate and psychological factors.

For the Israeli people, Entebbe's ninety hours became national symbol within very few days; to the Ngati Whatau, even with their child-martyr, the symbol of Bastion Point remains racially confined. It is not only time itself which determines the passage of events from mere history into national heritage. Integral to the process is the national consciousness, its hostility or receptiveness to events that would shape it.
A third factor affecting the evolving of perspective is the rapid pace of change in modern societies. While time between generations remains fairly static, the rate of social change between them no longer does. Thus, historical events become 'firmly distanced', seem remote from present days, increasingly rapidly. It is to this change-phenomenon, and not to a new biology, that W.H. Oliver refers in his observation: 'Generations are tumbling over faster than before'.

The vital ingredient which Jones and Wilson endorse is not time per se but the perspective that time can give; that the society in focus should have 'moved' sufficiently for clear-sighted retrospection on its history to have developed. In pre-industrial days, slow in social change and movement, the passage of generations was essential to clear perspective. In these days of new technology and exponential growth, societies can change radically within single generations. Distancing by history can occur within partial lifetimes, enabling perspective on past events to develop within them. Moreover, one might add, not only does this occur; it should be recognised and even looked for, as accelerating change threatens with blind propulsion into future history.

Time walks beside us and flings back shutters as we advance; but the light thus given often dazzles us, and deepens the darkness which is in front. We can see but little at a time, and heed that little far less than our apprehension of what we shall see next; ever peering curiously through the glare of the present into the gloom of the future, we presage the leading lines of that which is before us, by faintly reflected lights from dull mirrors that are behind, and stumble on as we may till the trap-door opens beneath us and we are gone.


As the Appendix 'Reality, Truth, Fiction' suggests, the 'place' of history within fiction and of fiction within history are controversial issues, inviting of varied opinion. In respect of the first - the use of history in fiction - works discussed in the following chapters present diverse examples. The diversity apparent relates not only to structural function, but also to procedure: in all, the writer's attitude. Not surprisingly in creative human endeavour, the attitudinal continuum ranges between extremes.

Historical data of the public kind (those time-place-eventual details of campus history) receive or are accorded varieties of respect. Within the range of authorial treatment, one can find devotion - the pursuit of accuracy - to a literal transposition of the record into fiction. One can find, in other treatments, concern less for exactitude than for the 'imagined life' of which history is general background. Yet again, there can be found other works of fiction within which the lives imagined seem, in final effect, to serve illuminating purpose for history as subject.

Authorial attitude towards this history of the public or campus kind reveals itself, thus, in the creative process: in the function of historic material in the work as a whole (ultimate subject, passing subject, background, metaphor, symbol); in the re-creation of it (devotedly accurate or 'imaginative'). Between these two aspects and their combinative options, there appear to be no exclusive relationships.

The function of historic material within a particular work of fiction is the author's decision as he constructs his own artifact; as such, it stands rightfully in its structural place. Regardless of

critical opinion about the task which history is given, only its fulfilment is ultimately the critic's prerogative. Where an artist places the brush-stroke on his own broad canvas is properly his choice; only the effect is public property.

The style and process of re-creation, however, seem (with some reason) to be less private matters. Meticulous concordance with generally accepted data - with those details of past happenings recorded in campus history - attracts seldom more than interested acknowledgment; the fictional lives encompassing or within these data deemed accurate in terms of public record range freely only inside their limits of private experience. Where the re-creation style and process are 'imaginative', more than critical passing interest becomes aroused, however.

One probable explanation for this different response is that, in this, the author tampers with the artifacts of others; he has moved outside territories which are solely his own. The historians' records, the 'past' which a nation accepts, in their own way are artifacts of common ownership. Re-creations of history, 'imaginative' in style and process, in a sense, make free with collective property.

The fiction about or including the dispute displays no extremes of 'vandalised' history (such as purists might find in modern metafiction). In general, history's public record becomes only transposed, woven into private worlds. The imaginative spirit is rarely manifest in presentations of new eventual data; it occurs, rather, in presentations from new angles of vision: personal, from within the lives imagined. Little concordance with public artifact is yielded in these procedures.

The instances - and there are few - of change to the record
maintain integrity with 'a truth of situation'; they accord with emotional-psychological factors. A death from brutality against 'scab' labour (in Ian Cross's novel, *After Anzac Day*) stands as one example of actual fiction-history.

This physically shattered 'end' is what Michael King would call, perhaps, an 'imaginative leap', rather than historical accuracy. Regarding objective reality as an absolute, he would contend that fiction writers have no right to 'play footsie' with it; that 'imaginative leaps' made should be faithful to historical evidence where such 'is available'. That no 'scab' labourer, or anyone else involved in the dispute, lost his life through brutality does stand as evidence in this exemplary case. Irving Howe, on the other hand, might contend, perhaps, that the death has validity in terms of historical truth. In bringing the man to a brutal end, Cross displays an understanding of Howe's 'psychology and politics of "one more step"'. In this instance, the 'step' taken is from the firm foothold of known eventual and social climate data. Although without fatal consequence, sporadic assaults with intent to injure occurred in the dispute; deaths could well have ensued. Moreover, it is fact that, among jobless workers, attitudes towards 'scab' labourers and the new unionists from time to time reached 'murderous' levels.


33. The phrase is Doris Grumbach's, not King's. (See her discussion of American writer-journalists who 'play footsie with fiction', 'Sorting out The Threads of American Literature', *Otago Daily Times*, 29 October 1980, p.18.)


36. See various strike bulletins and illegal pamphlets referred to in Chapter Three.
The 'psychology and politics of "one more step'' Howe defined with particular reference to Nineteen-Eighty-Four:

There are no telescreens in Russia, but there could well be: nothing in Russian society contradicts the 'principle'..... Informing against parents who are political heretics is not a common practice in the United States, but some people have been deprived of their jobs on the charge of having maintained 'prolonged association' with their parents. To capture the totalitarian spirit, Orwell had merely to allow certain tendencies in modern society to spin forward without the brake of sentiment or humaneness .... In imaging the world of 1984, he took only one step ... he had no need to take another.37

This described procedure serves most obviously the writer of forward-looking fiction. In New Zealand, for example, Smith's Dream and Broken October38 observe this 'one step' projection principle; work forward from obvious social tendencies to portrayal of future social possibilities. Thus, historical past and present suggest their own consequence in a continuum of attitudes, events and conditions. In the future 'history', circumstantially imaginative, present and past history have cast the shadows.

The 'one step' procedure has application to fiction other than Howe's political category and other than works which project into the future. It applies, illuminating, to fiction within past history such as the backward-looking novel, After Anzac Day.39 Writers who, in their art, are concerned to present a society to itself through creative retrospection must fall short of their objective if attention is given solely to that which has occurred, to happenings of record. That which Davin calls 'truth as distinct from ...

facts'40 lies largely, like the ice-floe, more beneath its presenting surface.

Just as general climate of feeling and its component personal values have, within the thetic premises, been deemed 'historical fact',41 so events which have occurred and comprise campus history are not to be regarded as expressions of whole truth. The writer, if keenly perceptive of feeling and behaviour, may draw our attention to possibilities - to tendencies both good and evil which lie within us. These are no less 'real' or 'true' for having been avoided (often vagariously, belying inclination), or for having lain dormant (a state of defined existence). Roads not taken at one point remain to be taken at others.

In addressing himself to the climate of feeling, in 'one-stepping' from this to logical expressive action, the writer might well include events which did not actually occur. In so doing, he might bring us closer to what we have been and are, as opposed to how we have partially revealed ourselves. A larger example of this (than the murder by trade unionists) may be found in man's non-use of his vast nuclear weaponry. In histories for future reading, this might seem to attest to general pacific attitudes in these decades' major powers; yet, the fact of non-use is only one kind of truth. Another, as valid and useful to our self-understanding, could be found in a fiction of twentieth century holocaust, which confronts the drive or motivation for the arms-possession itself. An example of scale similar to the 'scab' labour killing's might, in time, emerge within 'Springbok Tour Fiction'. A protester's death in Hamilton, during or after the cancelled game, would be at least as 'true' as the 'no

40. Davin, review, p.52.

41. See previous discussion, p.3.
fatality' fact.

Such extensions of past history, in fiction of quality, are far from untrammelled by concern for veracity and by constraints of creative integrity. 'Integrity' in its sense of material wholeness, the inter-relatedness of component parts, requires fidelity to an organising principle. In the case of campus history 'extended' beyond its literal data, the principle is affirmation of something true to human experience: an image-ing or objectifying, in language and/or behaviours, private and public mythic processes. These, which comprise desire, ways of seeing and patterned thought, lie behind or beneath private and public history. In terms, again, of the ice-berg analogy, what is seen and what is unseen are all of a piece; and that which is displayed, outwardly quantifiable, is the relatively minor aspect of a larger phenomenon. In itself, the latter has a wholeness undivided, with divisions only ascribed by human analysis. In itself, the former and minor presentation can be judged as only indicative of, or signifying, more. Campus history, in these terms, stands finally as metonymical.

Durable works of fiction do not survive in a vacuum, as if possessing their own life autonomously assertive. They survive in the esteem of their reading audience only if they 'work', make sense, at some level. Spurious or aberrant or delinquent reconstructions present finally no serious challenge to the history of record, for collective discernment will accord them no lasting place. That which reads as spurious, aberrant or delinquent is not events changed, extended or wholly imaginative; it is, rather, a fictional world which lacks integrity: events not 'of a piece' with their creative circumstances. While fiction is not obliged to be particularly this
or that, in terms of 'alternative world[s]' which the writer as artist creates, it has a singular obligation to that 'alternative world', of coherence, of connection between its elements.

The contentions of King (that the record should be respected) and of Howe (that projection can have validity) do not collide head-on but, rather, at a tangent. The 'imaginative leap', which King accepts as possibly integral to the art of fiction is not so very different from Howe's 'one step' more. No real difference lies even in King's binding of the 'imaginative leap' to historical accuracy; Howe's creative procedure, also, is bound to accurate observing. Divergence does become apparent if one considers, however, the points at which the requisite 'bindings' should occur.

For King, these exist wherever factual data exist, and so his contention is limited in two ways. First, it can apply, in practice, only to retrospective fiction/history, and, second, it carries an implicit value judgment against the reality or 'truth' of the world of the imagination. Howe's contention, although referring to forward-looking fiction, can apply also to that which is retrospective; it endorses imaginative 'stepping' from observed tendencies, into their possible rather than known or actual outcome. The point of 'binding' in the process which Howe outlines is, in terms of campus history, only initial; thereafter fidelity applies to patterns deeper than surface occurrence.

Whether King's 'imaginative leap' and Howe's 'one step' more are divergent concepts is determined, finally, by the nature of the fiction in question. Applied to work which is futuristic or which does not encroach on the historian's claimed territory, the concepts may co-exist without antagonism. Applied to work which looks

42. Shadbolt, Letter, New Zealand Listener, 16 August 1980, p.11.
backwards and touches documented history, they more than diverge; they become antagonistic. The assault resulting in death in After Anzac Day would be, in King's terms, non-factual, untrue; that is, even behind its fictional construction, it accords with nothing known to have occurred. It may, however, be viewed also as a 'one step' into truth, a making overt expression of known attitudes. Using Woolf's terms of reference, the killing has attachment, not so much to external worlds of events and places as to the life of the heart; it has not, therefore, been 'spun in mid air'.

It is here deemed axiomatic of social history generally that dynamic relationship or inter-action exists between community attitudes and institutions and the events which occur within that community. If, as Raymond Williams has maintained, society tends to function in accordance with self-image, then the history of that society will be, to large extent, an effect of its inhabitants' perceptions and expectations.

Once these events have occurred, however, they can become causes in any of three ways. First, they might become cause of 'image' - continuation, in that, as results, they seem to have confirmed it. Second, if events point up a discrepancy between the abstraction and actual experience, they might become cause in being determining factors in the formation of an alternative 'image'. Third, discrepancy (increasing, especially) might become causal in the way most opposite: increasing need to hold the 'image', the less it seems to be true. These assumptions underlie the thesis of 'social myth'


and the phrase's particular meaning within ensuing defence.

Myths or mythic concepts have four primary defining features, none of which pertains to the issue of 'truth' or 'rightness'. The first characteristic is independence from data - not that data are absent, but that myth does not require them finally. Second, the mood of myth is imperative or prescriptive, declaring certain things 'to be true because ... they ought to be true.' The third characteristic lies in that which myth provides: patterns of 'seeing', roles to fill, an ordering of experience. Fourth, myth contains some correspondence with 'reality, as it affects whole groups of people who respond as a group'.

The myths portrayed dominantly in New Zealand fiction - and particularly in the works defending the thesis - are those of Pastoral Arcadia and of the Just City. The cultural context of these cause-effect perceptions is portrayed, with validity, as a Protestant Puritanism - in itself mythic in terms of functioning characteristics. Other myths, determining history, develop from this triad as adjuncts: those, particularly, of 'man alone', the Cold War, and Biological Destiny.

As foreshadowed previously in the second assumption, the 'life' of myth becomes asserted in history, and fiction, by its nature, can illumine their connection. It is a 'life' which spirals in the way of Yeats' gyre, widening from its central time of spiritual hold. Thus, habits of seeing and thinking may persist long after original mythic content has lost its direct sway. This analogy is clearly useful in observing the course of Dream - that category of myth


46. Ibid., p.37.
Utopian and life-affirming - which tends to evolve or decline into practical nightmare.47

Further to recognising myth's characteristics and its stages of evolution, its nature can be described, also, relative to primary residence. Although all active myths reside ultimately in human 'carriers', only some should be described as autonomous, purely private. Others (indeed, many) have more apt description as community or national myth and/or mythic archetypes.

Myth may be vital, moreover, and become explicit in action, creating 'histories' of one or two or three kinds. The resident source of the myth does not proscribe the kind(s): private, community or national and/or wider history.

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These several assumptions inform the ensuing defence and declare the basis of interrelated argument. As such, in themselves, they comprise merged strands: that of critical literary analysis and that of evolving history.

The first premise places fiction within the historical record, as the experiential register of campus history's events and for its traditional study: people in daily living.

The second premise claims as historically factual data social attitudes, human emotions and patterned ways of thinking. These are deemed 'active' in history not only as cause within, but also as effects on, the human mind and spirit.

The third defines the historical record in fiction and campus history - as experiential, in the first mode, and conceptual, in the

47. Notes expanding these mythic terms of reference can be found in Appendix II, 'Social Myth, its Active Properties, as Cause-Effect in History'.
second. The focus of both, at the dictates of intention, may be on either ordinary or significant events. In the fictional mode, a further distinction can be observed between external and internal 'worlds' brought to view.

The fourth premise denies to history any wholly objective recording and accords the conveyance of truth to overtly subjective realities.

The fifth premise redefines the conditions deemed necessary for the emergence of clear historical perspectives, and, further, identifies a social task for fiction in the presentation of these in creative form.

The sixth, which proceeds from discussion of History's sacrosanctity, includes in the data necessary to historical understanding not only events which are known to have occurred, but also those which would have been or would be integral of climate of feeling - of the community's attitudinal fabric.

The final premise outlines those features of concepts, images or systems of belief, which characterise myth and mythic processes. A role for fiction is assumed in their portrayal as private, national or archetypal phenomena.
End Notes to Chapter One

3. Golding's concern in the essay relates to negative legacies - prejudice, nationalism, traditional hatreds. Used here, the term has broader application; it includes, along with destructive received attitudes, other inherited patterns of perception and feeling.

19. Between Cross's first and third novels (only the latter to be examined), the role of a central consciousness becomes larger and more complex. Between Stead's two novels (both of which are examined), there is an obvious great difference in the presentation of thought. The latter works more associatively, shows more concern with process than the former, in which thought serves purely narrative purpose.

31. 'And what is a novel if not a conviction of our fellow-men's existence strong enough to take upon itself a form of imagined life clearer than reality and whose accumulated verisimilitude of selected episodes puts to shame the pride of documentary history?'

IN THE PRESENT, IN THE RAW: THE LIGHTER SIDE OF THE LEFT

Among illegal union bulletins during the dispute, examples can be found of attempts at fiction. While these publications, generally, could be termed 'creative', displaying a wide range of presentation methods, that of the short story only rarely is used. Journalistic articles supply the major 'copy', haranguing the Government, the Federation of Labour, port employers, fascist rule, scabs and other vermin. Within this, amply provided, is much factual material: items of news, reported speeches, and daily developments. Other than announcements, photographs and cartoons, jingles and poetry fill remaining space, with fiction as exceptional, always short and anonymous.

The New Zealand Transport Worker of 13 April carries 'He's Breaking The Regulations, Chief!' At 480 words, it is undeniably short but, nonetheless, displays many features of interest. Not the least of these are its satirical spirit, its Christian terms of reference and challenge to common views.

In brief, its form is a telephone conversation between a Chief of Police and an underling named Waters. The latter is reporting in, after a period of surveillance, about a flagrant breaching of Emergency Regulations. The "fellow" being tailed "isn't run of the mill" (the "town's full of fellows like that", and so the police have given up); the tenor of his preaching sets him apart as especially dangerous in his violation.

From shorthand written notes, Waters reports a list of offences

1. 'He's Breaking The Regulations, Chief!', New Zealand Transport Worker, 13 April 1951, p.5.

2. Ibid. All quotations from the story occur on the same page of the NZTW and have not, therefore, been footnoted in the remaining discussion.
increasingly disturbing. "The stuff" being "spout[ed]" breaches several sections, the first of which cited being the thirteenth. To "Woe unto you that are rich!...Woe unto you that are full!", the first clause of the section seems to have relevance:

Every person commits an offence...who uses, either orally or in writing, any threatening, intimidatory, offensive, or insulting words to another person...for the purpose of procuring that other person to do any act to which regulation 12 hereof applies....

The 'violator'-'s text is directly lifted from Christ's Sermon on the Mount, in its Luke 6 version.

Thus, a pattern is laid down for the story's progression: parallels of Bible text and emergency offences. The second, "you cannot serve God and mammon", recites Matthew's version of Christ's admonition and, although not numbered, Regulation 12. The third, "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free", occurs in John's Gospel and, according to the Chief, breaches Section 4 (no doubt, clause d).

Other statements by the suspect, not accompanied by clause-reference, include two more Beatitudes in Matthew's phrasing: "Blessed are the meek" and "Blessed are the peacemakers". On the strength of the first, Waters deems him a "crackpot"; the second


4. Luke 6:24-25. (All biblical quotations have been cited from the Revised Standard Version.)

5. Matthew 6:24; WSERegs, Section 12(1)(c), which specifies the offence of failure to satisfy a constable. (Cited Langstone, p.19) The 'God and mammon' alternatives are deemed to be a flouting of this.


7. Matthew 5:5.

suggests worse—that he is, perhaps, a "Red". Reinforcing this notion, self-incriminating further, the speaker was heard to say,

'They that take the sword shall perish with the sword'...
'Into whatsoever house ye enter, first say, Peace be to this house'.

Cited directly from Matthew's Gospel, recalling events at Gethsemane, the 'sword' admonition clearly cuts two ways: not only advising the people to refrain from violent action, but also to strong-arm authorities sounding a note of judgment. The other offending phrase comes from Luke's account of the sending forth of the seventy, 'two by two, into every town and place where he himself was about to come.' Although no clause is cited (defining specific offence), 'threats' and 'incitement' seem at least possibilities.

To the police Chief's growing interest, the "swine" has been heard, also, to "talk about civil rights and stuff like that": "If they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you." In response to the Last Supper counsels, in the Gospel of John, the persecutor's guilt reveals itself in reaction.

The final offending message which the suspect was heard to give—"Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites!"—is taken as an "attack on the National Party." Cited from Matthew's account of the Jerusalem preaching in the days between Palm Sunday and Jesus' arrest, the comment elicits admission of 'whom the shoe fits'. Again, the speaker commits active offences of threats and use of intimidatory words.

Now thoroughly convinced that "this man is dangerous", the Chief

enquires anxiously about his known details:

'He talks with a foreign accent - it isn't Russian, though. Says he's a carpenter. Comes from some place called Nazareth....'

The name supplied, unsurprisingly, is "Christ...J. Christ". One offence, clearly, which he does not commit is failure to supply true name - Section 17(1). 13

In its singular view presented, its direct focus and relative lack of literary sophistication, the story exhibits 'at the time' characteristics. Also, typical of writings sympathetic to the workers, no distinction is made between the Government's ends and means. 14 In general terms, it shares with the pamphlets and other papers published illegally the definitive quality of hyperbolic attitude. Considered quite separately from matters of literary merit, this aspect of the fiction contributes positively to information necessary for our self-understanding. In accord with one premise basic to the thesis, ways of seeing and feeling precede action; not only are they the reservoir from which action proceeds, but also they are suggestive of covert capability. Hyperbolic 'seeing', by its nature excluded from the objective records of national history, finds valuable inclusion in this more subjective genre.

The hyperbole evident in the 'Regulations' story is both typical of its 'current writing' and essential to its satire. Exaggerated stupidity and suspicion in the police, Christ's righteousness transported to the waterfront theatre, these combine to state 'truths' known to be lesser. In critical terms, the satire is

13. WSERegs, Section 17(1).*

14. Later analysis of fiction which is sympathetic to the Government will reveal the characteristic of separating means and ends.
indirect, Menippean (or Varronian) in its strongest features: a prose form incorporating extended dialogue which makes ludicrous a speaker's attitudes (as typified in the arguments urged).15 In the instance of this story, irony enhances the satire by way of the speakers' ignorance of the suspect's identity — obvious to the reader from the outset of offences.

Of particular interest in historical terms is the writer's perception of the dispute's opposing factions, for, while his use of the Christian source-material does not necessarily make the statement that the workers' cause is Christian, it challenges — provocatively — the opposite common view. Whether serious in its tenor, as a vehicle it confronts popular misconceptions of the workers' 'inspiration'.

As becomes clear from even cursory reading of historical records and legal contemporary statements, the Government, the media and even the Federation of Labour were presenting the dispute as an ideological conflict, not an industrial impasse. The protagonists of this conflict, as suggested to the public, represented two imaginary philosophical triads: the forces of capitalism, democracy and God against those of communism, repression and the Antichrist principle.16 That empirical analysis would fail to support inherent relationship within these triads (of economic, governing and religious systems) does not seem, in the main, to have prevented their acceptance. Partly in response and partly with better reason, deregistered workers were quick to see, also, their industrial


conflict in ideological terms - the cause of freedom and justice against the forces of fascism.\(^{17}\)

The view presented in the 'Regulations' story attacks 'head on' the Government's version and, in its spoofing directness, even courts a comic mood. The triad which the Establishment assumed for itself becomes clearly transposed in its 'democracy-God' components to emerge as capitalist, repressive and anti-Christian. The message is not only that, were he to come again, preaching his gospel in a New Zealand town, Jesus would be deemed an enemy of the State; not only that the casting of the regulations' 'net' is so wide as to include the innocent in its 'wrecker' paranoia; there is an implication, also, that the regulations per se deny the Christian ethos which the State claims to defend.

In these regards, the 'Regulations' story offers a valuable insight upon a way of seeing which was not the most common among the workers' writers. Here, the struggle against oppression, both civil and economic, is not so much seen in its usual context - that of historical tradition within a working class\(^{18}\) - as within a context historically much older, extending back to the beginning of the Christian Age. The 'freedom versus fascism' (commoner) perspective, which tends to plead its case by denouncing others' atrocities, is only implicit in police behaviour. Different from the journalism of bulletins and pamphlets generally, support for the virtues of the

17. See 'copy' sold to the London Daily Worker, 11 June 1951. Headed 'Tory Fascism Up To Date', it reads 'Locked out dockers and freezing-plant workers...marching to Parliament House, Wellington - but this is a police state and processions are banned. Police break up the ranks. This is Toryism in 1951.' (Cited Scott, p.124)

18. See Scott's dedication of his text, for example: 'To all those MEN AND WOMEN who upheld this land's great working class traditions in 1951; their courage roused the admiration of the world, their solidarity, devotion to principle and clear vision promise a New Zealand peaceful, fruitful and free.' (p.XV) *
unionists' cause is likewise only implicitly stated and sought.

In the selection of Jesus as the victim of surveillance - and, it seems likely, of renewed persecution - the author exploits or draws on an assumed reader-knowledge. From the first clue given to the suspect's identity ('Woe unto you that are rich!...Woe unto you that are full!'), the crucifixion of Christ as a universal image of suffering is unlocked in the reader's mind and becomes creatively active. As with character stereotypes, which can be sparsely drawn - in reliance on the reader's own supplying of image details - so the Gospel text overheard by Waters 'triggers' the full archetype of Christ the Crucified: the persecution of Innocence, Man in a dark hour.

Despite the story's general crudeness, this technique is well exploited, producing several effects with creative efficiency. The using of Christ and of dramatic presentation ('showing' in dialogue, as distinct from 'telling') not only sets the story above pure propaganda but also, in very short space, enables a lengthy message. A fully intrusive narrator, describing the several sections and how these could be applied to various Christian teachings; who wanted, in addition, to castigate the State for its seeming paranoia in enforcing emergency law; wishing, moreover, to arouse reader-sympathy for the workers' cause and to ridicule the police, would have much difficulty within 480 words.

The using of Christ and of dramatic presentation has the positive effect, also, of increased memorability. This is not simply a matter of unusual or interesting means; it relates rather to necessary and inevitable reader-involvement. The author's message, though obvious and 'heavy', is ultimately supplied by the reader himself, who must make certain connections outside the printed text. While certainly
not strenuous on the imagination, at least some imaginative engagement must occur in order to find relevance and sense in the story.

The using of Christ as the regulations' victim has the positive effect of conferring 'virtue' on others likewise regarded by the State as 'dangerous'. This judgment of rightness the author clearly intends the reader to make by association, and Christ himself invites the specific process: "If they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you."

There are two further consequences of placing Christ in the dispute. As previously discussed, in the Gospel's being deemed subversive, the 'democracy-God' alliance with the State is challenged. More than this, however, Christ's own "me...you" connection (reinforcing the association between himself and the unionists) suggests that God and democracy reside in the workers' struggle. Not only, therefore, is the Establishment re-defined as capitalist, non-Christian and anti-democratic, but also a new triad is defined for its perceived enemies. The workers' common regard of their democratic cause acquires the uncommon addition of Christian principle.

Less emphatically suggested, but perceivable to the reader, are Messianic elements in the author's way of seeing. The role of Christ in the Jewish community, reinterpreting Mosaic Law, challenged Establishment views, both social and religious. In consequence, he became the target of Pharisaic ire - paranoid, self-serving, individually repressive. The new scribes and Pharisees are the National Party Government, the new challengers of the law the loyal trade unionists. Their role, in social terms, is not dissimilar to Christ's: questioning the authority of wealth, of conservative
power. The author implies, by his chosen words and means, that this 'liberating' challenge is both necessary and right; that the community in the present has need of deliverance. Sharing their 'gospels' of freedom and economic justice, Christ and current 'law-breakers' have a Messianic role.

Yet for all its serious intention, 'He's Breaking The Regulations, Chief!' maintains an air of not 'taking itself too seriously'. Its satire, finally, verges on the comic, entertaining in ridicule and over-statement. While the practice of using comedy or absurd situation to convey serious message has a long literary tradition, to find it in the writing current with the dispute is both an interesting and unexpected phenomenon. Moreover, far from being unusual in this respect, the 'Regulations' story reflects a minor pattern.

The broadsheets and bulletins present a striking mélange of tone, counterpointing vituperation with occasional humour. The New Zealand Transport Worker of 15 June exemplifies well this seeming dichotomy. Clearly, the first edition since the bloodshed of Bloody Friday, the front page (headed 'LAWLESS "LAW and ORDER" in AUCKLAND') carries not only photographs of bleeding marchers but also statements by Hitler, Hermann Goering and Auckland's Mayor. The 'story' of 1 June 'will be told and re-told

long after Holland has gone to his political grave and long after the system he represents has been banished from the face of the earth. 20

Page three of the issue provides a 'Casualty List', page ten an article on 'How Fascism Works' and a comparative piece, 'The Nazis

19. NZTW, 15 June 1951, p.1. *
20. Ibid.
And The Nationalists'.21 Pages thirteen and fourteen carry, in stark contrast, a rollicking account of the students' Revue. With obvious delight, many lyrics are reproduced under the heading 'Students Sock Sid And The Dollar Wallahs'.22

As these jingles within themselves reflect the dichotomy of heavy censure and entertaining humour - evident in contrasts between the Worker's articles - so 'The Arthur Kingsley Bell Song' in the Freezing Workers' bulletin,23 'The Mugity Wumpus' story (reprinted for the Lock-out)24 and 'The Moderate, The Militant, and The Slave'25 all make use of mockery to protest or defend.

The first purports to be sung by A.K. Bell (the President of the newly-formed Wellington 'scab' union) in his attempts to bribe others to break the work ban. 'Come away, boys, and scab with me' recurs as the first line of the six verses; each recurrent 'persuasive' last line is 'the handout on Parliament Hill.'

The second, 'The Mugity Wumpus', like the 'Regulations' story, comprises mainly dialogue heavily satiric. It records the encounter of a Dr Emery Hornsnagle with 'a weird animal or land bird of the emu or cassowary variety'. This four-legged crawling creature, on closer inspection, is found to be a man chanting "I am not a Communist".

The third example is a short story, also, comprising dialogues with linking narrative. Purporting to be 'A Chinese Fable', it

21. Ibid., p.10.
22. Ibid., pp.13-14.
24. 'The Mugity Wumpus', NZTW, 9 March 1951, p.15. The writer's nom-de-plume is 'an American labour newspaperman'.
25. Ibid., p.8.
portrays a slave bewailing his oppression. From the Moderate to whom he speaks, he receives words of sympathy; from the Militant, positive action, which he hastily reports. Both his Master and the Moderate are very pleased, and the Slave himself 'beams[s]' for having 'behaved well'.

Although preceding the dispute by, perhaps, three months, a November *Here and Now* 'Quiz' reflects the same dichotomy: within itself (vehicle and tenor) and in relation to surrounding serious pieces. In terms of political climate, its context is little different from that of the crisis in ensuing months. The Government and the Waterside Workers' Union had locked horns bitterly in the September national stoppage, and the watersiders' actions been decried as treason - 'part and parcel of the "cold war" being waged throughout the world'.  

Although not well remembered, the Government even declared a state of emergency on 20 September, under the provisions of the 1932 Act. The intervening weeks between the stoppage and later lock-out seem an unstable armistice while respective forces regrouped.

The questionnaire exposes the lighter side of the Left for a readership rather different from that of crisis bulletins: in general terms, with longer formal education, more intellectual in its style and thinking. The introduction declares 'this is an -ist age - communist, fascist, pacifist, rationalist, stockist, separationist, economist, poltergeist. Deep down in the


27. The measures were not put into effect on this occasion, as port employers and the union arrived at a settlement on the following day. See Scott, 'Thieves' kitchen', p.28, for an account of details. Bassett, p.58, mentions the Government's going so far as to call an Armed Services meeting.
ego, everyone has an -ist, but that doesn't mean that you're an egoist. You may be an economist. Don't worry about that; economists don't count for much. In fact, hardly anyone knows what they add up to. And if you're a poltergeist you'll always be in good spirits.

BUT - what if you're a communist? That could be dangerous. We may not always have a Government that's out to 'set the people free'....

Go through the following questions carefully...in invisible ink - it pays to be careful....

Among the eighteen listed - in Groups A to D, single and multiple-choice, only YES or NO answers - the more difficult or interesting include such queries as

Do you enjoy community singing?
Do you wear a satchel? (This question is for men only.)
When did you last see your father?...
What's wrong with the spelling of waterfront?
Do you have iron curtains?
Have you ever sat in a bus, tram, train, boat, plane, tandem with someone who:

(a) wears corduroy trousers?
(b) eats wholemeal or rye bread?
(c) reads 'progressive' books?
(d) lets his hair grow long?
(e) sports hand knitted ties?

Do you ever go to French or other non-Aryan films?
Is there a Paul Robeson record in your house? ('Ol' Man River' doesn't count)

What is a cominform?
(a) A Berlei product?
(b) An import license?
(c) The press section of the Junior Chamber of Commerce?
(d) An artist's model?  28

The humour and satire of these current bulletins are not sustained features of later dispute writings.

It is possible that their prevalence in contemporary pieces relates to political and social climate. While always available as a creative option, their exploitation as a political weapon seems

inversely related to other political options;\textsuperscript{29} that is, when open and/or active criticism is either suppressed or seems ineffective, satire becomes more common as a mode of protest. By its nature covert and derisive of its subject, it affords some 'protection' in repressive times, while still yet providing a means of censure. With regard to the dispute, this aspect has relevance despite the satire's butt being simplistically obvious. With anti-Government statements legally prohibited and defence of the workers now defined as crime, the 'Regulations' story is superficially safe. There is literally no criticism of the Government's conduct, and not a positive word for any 'party to a strike'. That the police and regulations might emerge as ridiculous is only, strictly speaking, subjective opinion.

A further 'explanation' for satire's high incidence might likewise be found in another inherent feature: its heightened way of seeing, often dualistic. In such an aspect, it readily accords with the mood and experience of events in a present which is fraught with conflict and the sense of ineffectiveness. The extremes of behaviour often portrayed - such as folly and reason, good and evil - proceed, at least in part, from perceiving the immediate through all its 'dazzling' emotional connections. Deliberate as the creative heightening might be, in its 'typing' of behaviour those connections are revealed.

In general terms, therefore, it could be claimed that the bulletins' 'dichotomy' is more apparent than real; that the contrasting 'copy' of anger and humour expresses \textit{immediate seeing}.

\textsuperscript{29} Where political protest is openly possible (as, for example, during a Springbok tour), covert activity seems to receive less energy; where the butt - personal or institutional - seems so entrenched as to be unassailable, satire specific to it (even within political freedom) appears more frequently as an optional weapon.
which in essence is singular. The journalism's melodrama and the fiction's satire have in common one view - of oppressor/oppressed. Their difference, finally, is only expressive: the serious and mocking versions of the same heightened seeing.

* Among writings current with the dispute itself fiction is an exception as a critical genre. The rare attempts at conscious creativity - as distinct from journalism aiming to inform - tend to be in jingles, graphics and poems. These and the fiction (which is rarest of all) share features not common to the mainstream writings. Thus, the major pattern of anger and informing displays at times minor variations which, within themselves, exhibit a symmetry.

Generally speaking, their focus is inclusive, not alighting on the waterfront as a unipartite crisis. While the current dispute is certainly their central concern, the issues which it raises are regarded as inherent - as aspects which inform rather than surround. There seems an awareness of the crisis' events' meaning in terms of wider political principles. While this should not surprise, within the 'militant Left' - whose thinking by definition and past experience is politicised - as an historical perspective of political events, it requires some qualification of its literary features.

The history of which the dispute is seen as part is politico-industrial and international. In the writers of the time, to whom it is happening, there seems a clear sense of 'no new thing', and of meaning's part-residing in the linear pattern. This sense recurs later in the 'distanced' fiction - in Shadbolt, Cross and C.K. Stead - but, as will be shown, with other and different emphases.

First, the current perspective is inward to the dispute, is a
bringing of the past to bear on the present. The industrial crisis thus remains a true subject, the thing to be seen in the light of history.

Second, this historical continuum of political dialectic – a means to understanding the present crisis better – precedes later awareness of national mythic forces and universal 'seeing' as distinct from international.

This general feature of not referring to the dispute itself – focussing on it rather by metonymic means – sets the creative work apart from the journalism. The other general feature of differentiation is that of humour in hyperbolic statement.

In common, all hold the historical event as primary concern, as one-sided in virtue. All enrich the recording of social history by reflecting 'facts' – perceptual and emotional – which, as causes and effects, generate action. In so doing, they assist our understanding of the 'why' and 'how' of campus history data.
End Notes to Chapter Two

6. WSERegs, Section 4(d) prohibits the printing or publishing of 'any statement, advertisement, or other matter that constitutes an offence against these regulations, or that is intended or LIKELY to encourage, procure, incite, aid or abet a declared strike or the continuance of a declared strike, or that is a report of any such statement made by any other person.' Cited Langstone, p.15.

11. The anonymous author might as usefully have cited the preceding verse 13: 'Greater love has no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends.' The pride and reverence with which watersiders or their remaining families regard the 'Stood Loyal' certificates awarded after the dispute render that maxim highly appropriate.

13. 'Every person who is found committing or has committed or is suspected of having committed an offence against these regulations shall, if required to do so by any constable, give to that constable his true name and address and verify them to the satisfaction of that constable.' Cited Langstone, p.22.

16. 'The Watersiders' officials can only justify their actions and policy if they can overthrow the Government and put themselves, and communist friends, in its place, and make it impossible for democracy to operate. ...Such a policy can benefit nobody except the Communist Party. It is a policy which has originated outside our country....it is motivated solely by the desire of Communist imperialism to weaken every free democratic nation that might oppose its ambition to dominate the world.' (FOL Conference, 8 March 1951.) (The Christian impetus to Cold War attitudes will be discussed in detail in Ch.6.)

18. See also 'The Union Hymn' of the mid-1800s reproduced underneath the 'Regulations' story itself: 'O worthy is the glorious cause, / Ye patriots of the Union; / Our fathers' rights, our fathers' laws, / Await a constant union.'

19. The photographs show 'one victim [being] led away...while another unarmed man, ringed in with batons, is struck from behind.' Detectives are shown 'to his right, also with batons drawn.' A second portrays 'Bert Magnus, a Gallipoli veteran, [being] taken away with blood streaming from a baton wound in the BACK of his head'; a third, 'Artie Noonan...supported by his brother after receiving severe lacerations to the temple and concussion from savage blows.' Hitler: '"I emancipate man from the humiliating chimera which is called conscience. Conscience, like education, cripples men."

Goering: '"Kill everyone who is opposed to us. Kill, kill!"

Sir John Allum, 7 May 1951: '"Scores of police wearing sidearms and batons are rearing (sic) to attack...but the wharfies are too yellow. We don't want to send them to hospital, but just let them go around bruised and bleeding for a bit."' (Rpt. from Melbourne Argus.)
Fred Roberts and Noel Hilliard, in their respective stories, focus on the waterfront crisis directly, approaching Golding's 'devoted stare with which humanity observes its own past.' Their characters - Barry's parents, Barry and Jim; Knight, an old unionist and an unnamed soldier - populate stories about 1951 and reveal aspects of the crisis as their authors see it.

In their opening paragraphs, Roberts and Hilliard seem to draw complementary sketches: 'night and day' views of the same wharf:

By now they were walking down the waterfront where the cranes and sheds stood silhouetted against the night sky. The footpath skirted the high steel railings that barred entry to the wharves, the silent night-time wharves almost lost in darkness, not the busy wharves of day-time, where grim wharfies stood as pickets outside the gates, while servicemen stowed cargo in the waiting holds ... 2

The decking of the wharf was black after the night's rain, as black as the locked iron gates. Over the docks where the Home boats berthed, cranes poked high into the mist ... From the shed below came the crisp bark of command, and a platoon of soldiers marched out. ... 3

Both passages describe physically the appearance of the docks, the setting of the people's experience of this history. For Nehru's people 'who work and by their labour produce the necessities and luxuries of life', the front or theatre of their war was on the wharf - then in the picket lines and finally in their homes. Their experience of history is direct and occurs where the bodies fall,

literally or metaphorically: not where Parliament remotely sits or where factional leaders deliberate and manoeuvre.

In common, also, these short pieces of fiction reflect 'real history' as Nehru defined it, in that they present, imaginatively, a 'story of man's struggle . . . against some of his own kind.'

'No Conscripts' presents this struggle in terms of workers against the 'bosses', the Emergency Regulations and public prejudice. 'New Unionist' presents it starkly as watersider against watersider.

In different ways, the ultimate effect of each story proceeds from the use of irony. In 'No Conscripts' the irony becomes apparent only finally, when Barry's night-time protest is suddenly seen in the light of his day-time occupation. In 'New Unionist' the irony is structural from the outset; opinions presented are clearly not the author's, nor is the reader intended to endorse them.

*'

'No Conscripts' is a simply told story, with a concluding Maupassantian twist. Although it is brief, it reflects many aspects of the political-industrial climate of the late forties and early fifties.

The story's central action is the illegal painting of protest graffiti on a waterfront shed, and the title derives from the 'large rough letters' — NO CONSCRIPTS FOR THE WHARVES — written by Barry and Jim. On the basis of historical data, the time can be set as one night between 27 February and 13 March.

Because Roberts has regular servicemen already manning the port, this night must be later than 26 February, when the Waterfront Strike Emergency Regulations were introduced and made their working

5. Ibid.

6. NC, p.25.
possible. Because he also presents the use of conscript soldiers as an option still open to port employers, this night must occur before the end of the second week in March. At this time, the Government announced that Compulsory Military Training was temporarily suspended in order to release more 'regulars' for the non-military theatre.

Moreover, the 'grim wharfies ... pickets outside the gates' watch only soldiers performing their tasks; there are no new unionists such as Hilliard describes. This further supports the story's early timing, as the first of the twenty-six new port unions was registered by 13 March.

* 

The historical background to New Zealand peacetime conscription is relevant to Roberts' story in particular, and lies within the terms of reference of this discussion generally. From the vantage point of 1986, Compulsory Military Training might seem to be a non-issue; thirty-seven years have distanced its controversial introduction by the First Labour Government in 1949, and fourteen years have elapsed since its abandonment by the Third. However, the climate of national feeling which spawned the CMT Act is the same climate of feeling which made the course and outcome of the

7. The words in the story are interestingly ambiguous: "'Do you think they'll really use conscripts on the wharves?' Barry asked.... 'I suppose we'll find out in the bosses' good time.'" (p. 25)*

8. There were three intakes per year of eighteen year olds, for a training programme lasting thirteen weeks. In 1951, the February intake (to which Roberts' character must have belonged) was released several weeks early. (From a personal interview with a 1951 serviceman, Gordon Cole of St. Kilda, Dunedin.)

9. NC, p.25.

10. The new union was formed at Whakatane, the home port of Sullivan, Minister of Labour.
Waterfront Dispute almost inevitable.11

Roberts makes his 'hero' a conscript soldier under an Act which, at the time, was less than two years old. Although it is possible that the author's primary intention in casting his conscript-protester was to create the concluding irony, the mere fact of Barry's appearance in fiction is significant. In the New Zealand post-war community, he was a new phenomenon and one whose 'raison d'être' was openly acknowledged to be the threat to our way of life from the Soviet Union.12,13 Roberts, therefore, in his portrayal of Barry on the wharf, makes not only an obvious legislative connection between these two national issues, but also one which is thematic. This is simply that the Act and the crisis on the wharf both manifested the Cold War on the New Zealand front, and both bear witness to a national characteristic - that which Cullen calls 'Threat-Paranoia':

Inspired probably by her small size and geographical isolation from Britain, New Zealand's essentially English derived population had often laboured under an apprehension that some nation or people wanted to conquer their land. In the late nineteenth century, the fear was of Russia... replaced by fear of Germans, Japanese and Orientals in general, in the first forty five years of the twentieth century... The paranoia assumed particular importance in the context of the global escalation of the Cold War.


13. See the contribution from H.P. Kidson, ex-Rector of Otago Boys' High School, to Charles Brasch's 'Conscription: a symposium', Landfall 11 (September 1949), p.284: "We are doomed to re-arm. I don't see how the Labour Party... can be deceived about the reality of the threat from Russia."*
Given her historical subscription to threat paranoia, and the recent demonstration of Asian power in the form of Japanese expansion in World War II, one could expect New Zealanders to be as susceptible as any Western nation to the hysterical proportions that the defence of Democracy could inspire. . . . the anti-communist weapon was not used in a vacuum. Its use tapped existing insecurities and fears . . . .14,15

The decision for peacetime conscription was made, ostensibly,16 by the New Zealand people, in a public referendum on 3 August, 1949. Against the heavy machinery of a united Parliament, supporters of the Peace and Anti-Conscription Federation stood little chance of victory.17

The Government spent 100,000 pounds on 'threatening' pro-conscription publicity, the spirit of which it surely had cause to regret in terms of real cost, and before very long:

Fraser’s public comments attacking the Soviet Union, the political Labour Party’s acceptance of the need for compulsory military training . . . indicated that the Party wanted to move to the Right in the developing Cold War . . . Fraser pointed to post-1945 Soviet aggression, he warned that New Zealand must be on guard against Soviet inspired internal disruption and he stated that all the Big Powers had remained armed.18


15. Prime Minister Fraser’s 'Foreword' to Why I Fight Communism refers to 'the malignant danger that threatens mankind... the dangers of Russian based, dominated, and directed Communism which has become a menace to democratic civilisation...'.

16. Forty percent of eligibile voters did not participate. One reason suggested by political historians was the united stand taken on the matter by the Labour Government and the National Opposition, depriving the anti-conscription movement of a respectable voice. In bewilderment many voters simply stayed home.

17. The Peace and Anti-Conscription Federation included the Otago Trades Council, the Carpenters', Freezing Workers', Tramways, Blackball Miners' and Watersiders' Unions, Co-Operative Women's Guilds, NZUSA Congress, Democratic Labour and Communist Parties, Otago Civil Liberties Protection Association, Cited Cullen, "The Cold War", p.11.

18. Ibid., p.7; p.13 (underlines added).
Thus the Labour Party leadership, historically opposed to conscription in peacetime, did a 'complete somersault'.

In particular, Fraser's performance may be seen as symbolic. This man, once imprisoned for anti-conscription views, had even been 'radical' enough to state:

The Labour Party is just as extreme as any socialist party. The capitalist system is one of exploitation and ought to be destroyed.

Now he was, as Fairburn phrased it, 'frothing at the microphone with a chorus of newspaper editors.'

The result of the poll was, in retrospect, only a Pyrrhic victory for the Labour Government. Its public move to the Right was very costly in terms of continuing political power, for it split the Party from its powerful industrial wing and was to ensure the beginning of a prolonged National Party rule, beginning in the general election three months later. The ensuing crisis or Cold War on the waterfront revealed a Labour movement in even greater disarray - with the industrial house divided against itself: into moderates sympathetic to the Government, militants (reputedly) Soviet-inspired, and Nash's Parliamentary Opposition precariously on a fence, 'neither for nor against'.

In the snap election called by Prime Minister Holland after the smashing of the watersiders' national union, the Labour Party was caught, to some extent, in a trap of its own making. Despite its


20. Speech by Peter Fraser, Wellington, 1 August 1920. Cited Tarred with the Same Brush, p.6.


efforts during the campaign to raise other domestic concerns, the central issue of the election continued to be the Red Menace. How could the leadership of the Labour Opposition now deny the existence or importance of a threat which, in government, it had so recently affirmed? Its efforts - albeit belated - to oppose the National Government's vindictive handling of the Waterfront Dispute assured Labour its second defeat in less than two years.

The Editor of the Otago Daily Times, in a pre-election leader, describes the invidious situation in which the Party now found itself:

The part of Mr Nash and his colleagues . . . in quibbling and nibbling at the edge of the trouble . . . will not soon be forgotten . . . Those who were not with the elected Government . . . were against it . . . Those who were against the Government in this crisis . . . are not responsible men . . . Out of office they should remain, until the people of New Zealand are prepared to welcome anarchy and embrace Communism.

Thus, the consequences of the 1949 Referendum were far-reaching for the Labour Party and, inevitably, for the country as a whole in terms of political leadership. Having agreed with its political opponents - the traditionally conservative - and with too few of its friends about the reality of the Menace, Labour loaded the gun already aimed in its direction. It was seen, ironically (and still is, when convenient) as being itself an aspect of that Menace.

Barry, therefore, the eighteen year old conscript, belongs

23. Across the Tasman the Menzies-led Government was also riding on the same wave of 'Menace-Fear'. Menzies himself is on record as using the term 'Red Menace' as early as the 1920s and continued to seem paranoid about communists from then on. See T. R. Tygar, 'A Page from Menzies' Book', New Zealand Monthly Review 223 (July 1980), p.16.

24. 'The Real Issue', ODT, 30 July 1951, p.4.

25. See also 'A vote for Labour is a vote for the Communists', ODT, 16 August statement by W.A. Bodkin. Cited Bassett, p.200.
literally and symbolically in this story of the waterfront. On 22 February, 1951, Holland had stated that our country was 'actually at war'.

J. K. Milner, in September 1949, had stated that in this new conception of war the only and cardinal defence lies in internal security and in re-establishing the moral value of our cause. Conscription will safeguard internal security.

Thus, the national issue which Barry represents and the national crisis in which he is involved are simply two rounds of the one war.

* 

Four serious and punishable offences are committed or referred to within the two pages of 'No Conscripts': the assembling of pickets, the painting of the slogan, the distributing of pamphlets, and the giving of food parcels. In common these 'crimes' have an obvious characteristic - that usually none is considered a heinous offence.

However, under the Waterfront Strike Emergency Regulations, the 'day-time pickets' and Barry and his parents are all involved in unlawful activities, risking prosecution or, as Jim phrases it in the story, getting themselves into "one devil of a jam".

The offences committed are very straightforward. Under the regulations, picketing was banned, and so police had the right to 'disperse pickets,' to regulate meetings, to ban demonstrations and to search persons for evidence of or to prevent breaches of the regulations.

In Barry's case, 'every person commits an offence . . .

28. NC, p.25.
who prints or publishes any statement, advertisement, or other matter that was intended to encourage, procure, incite, aid or abet a declared strike.\(^{30}\), \(^{31}\)

His father's offence, 'out distributing pamphlets', is similar, although more dangerous in being more public.

The activity in which Barry's mother is engaged - on the grounds that "you can't let women and children starve"\(^{32}\) - is unlawful in that giving help of 'any kind to strikers'\(^{33}\) (and, by extension, to the families of strikers) was now prohibited by regulation.

Although watersiders were 'forbidden charity'\(^{34}\) by law, some occasionally received humanitarian aid. This came both directly and indirectly through charity organisations like the Salvation Army, which even the Government 'riding high' was 'afraid to touch'.\(^{35}\)

Nonetheless, some women and children did starve, despite people like Barry's mother, and as a result of deliberate government policies.\(^{36}\)

If 'No Conscripts' has a philosophic intention (as distinct from that of presenting history as it has occurred in ordinary workers' lives)

\(^{30}\). Bassett, 'Labour Leg-ironed', Dispute, 3 (1965), 14.

\(^{31}\). See 'Passed the Censors', Here and Now, March 1951, p.20, for interesting anomalies in the application of this section of the regulations.*


\(^{34}\). Walter Brookes, 'On The Wharf Now', Landfall 21 (June 1952), p.150. Brookes and Here and Now, June 1951, p.6, both cite the case of a man expelled from the new Wellington Port Union for having sent three pounds to his sister, married to an out-of-work watersider.*

\(^{35}\). Interview with Gordon Cole; substantiated by Logan, "The PSCAct", p.109.

\(^{36}\). Conversations with Cole, a former serviceman, court-martialled and incarcerated in a military prison for 'failing to appear at the place of parade' (namely, the waterfront), substantiate such a statement.
lives), that intention seems to relate to notions of helping. Very Spartan by comparison although the story is, it raises questions not dissimilar from those in *Under The Volcano*;\(^{37}\) on what basis and by whom should help be given; in what form, at what cost and to what purpose?

The pickets and Jim, Barry and his parents are all involved in assisting the watersiders in various ways and for various reasons. The implicit question of 'why bother?' is given several answers by the end: "someone has to do it";\(^{38}\) "it might be our turn next";\(^{39}\) "you can't let women and children starve";\(^{40}\) Barry's conscript uniform.

None of these is totally free of self-interest, yet they are presented sympathetically as valuable responses, in terms of people sharing their human condition.

Roberts' relatively mundane scenario is described by Wolfgang Rosenberg in grander terms:

The sense of solidarity that brings men out to protect the interests of a single individual whom they conceive to have been treated unjustly is certainly one of the finest expressions of the maxim 'one for all and all for one'. In a world where 'homo homini lupis' - man is a wolf to man - this spirit can bear cultivation. It is on such solidarity that a better and more rational world may be built. If the sense of sacrifice for mutual benefit . . . is allowed to die, our hopes of developing a more humane and equitable society die with it. Dark despair may have to take the place of constructive hope, and Arthur Koestler's nihilism may be justified after all.\(^{41}\)

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39. Ibid.
40. Ibid.
In their own ways, the characters of 'No Conscripts' are dimly aware of the point which Rosenberg makes. They are unlike, therefore, Eric Knight of 'New Unionist'. He asks similar questions: "why bother"; "what did it have to do with them? What business was it of theirs?" He truly believes that the answer is negative - 'homo homini lupis'.

The literary value of 'No Conscripts' is not great, but the story nonetheless gives life to history. Roberts' bias of sympathy with the watersiders' cause in itself conveys a 'truth' about the dispute, in that one of its human emotional effects was such taking of sides.

With regard to its mood, there is clearly a change from the 'at the time' responses of nine years earlier. The anger 'in extremis', insult and harangue which informed those pieces with imperative spirit have yielded to a didacticism less direct.

Despite its occasional verging on the sentimental, the story offers the reader some understanding of what the Regulations meant - off the law books and in the context of daily activity.

42. NU, p.95.
NEW UNIONIST

Roberts 'No Conscripts' and Noel Hilliard's 'New Unionist' can be usefully compared as fictions from history. The Waterfront Dispute is their common central subject, with historically accurate details as both means and ends. To comment on the dispute is clearly their main intention. The difference between them is a matter of artistry.

'No Conscripts' at no stage transcends its limited purpose: revelation of particular aspects of the Emergency Regulations. While this re-presenting of history in fictional ordinary lives is not wholly without value in expanding awareness, the story overall remains confined, subservient to - not 'inspired' by - its historical occasion. The papier-maché characters are the stuff of propaganda, albeit humane in attending to human consequences.

Although as firmly grounded in factual historical details, and although as dedicated to the dispute as subject, 'New Unionist', by contrast, transcends the waterfront. This is consequent of characterisation, fully realised and complex, and a comparatively sophisticated narrative technique. While the historical material is essential (literally), the story's final impact does not derive from it. Hilliard's 'New Unionist' does not display the antagonism commonly evident between art and political history; on the contrary, he maintains a fidelity 'in tandem' - to analytical data and the integrity of his craft.

* The story shows clearly Hilliard's comprehensive knowledge of the waterfront theatre during the crisis. This is unsurprising, for, in 1951, he was editor of Around The Port, a communist bulletin for watersiders.\(^{43}\) As Hilliard was living in Wellington at the time, the

\(^{43}\) See page 84.
unnamed docks in 'New Unionist' are probably those of Port Nicholson, the ones he would know best.  

The story is interwoven with much verifiable data, which, extrapolated, would become an impressive list: an inventory of historical circumstances that, in relatively few pages, could rival that in a non-fictional commentary. It is to Hilliard's credit that the extent of the list surprises, for such surprise attests his skill in submerging objective reality, unobtrusively, in subjective record.

Confining himself generally to one central consciousness, Hilliard conveys the facts of the Government's industrial conscription; of the Labour Department's role in recruiting for the new unions; of the perks and bonuses offered to men willing to break the 'strike'; of the public approbation showered on new unionists; of the police protection given to scab wharfies (a protection not only given but also necessary). The reader learns of Army transport for the men's safe conduct; of the meetings, held daily, by now out-of-work watersiders; of the illegal issuing

43. Hilliard's association with the Communist Party arose from his conviction that a capitalist monetary system was not workable. His membership of the Party had lapsed, by the mid-fifties.*

44. This assumption has since been verified by Hilliard in a private letter, 19 October 1980. His additional information that he had Aotea Quay specifically in mind (being the dock for cement boats from Nelson) is also much appreciated.

45. See Gordon Orr, 'Some Recent Legislation', Landfall 21 (March 1952), pp.54–60, and Logan, p.9. Both point out that, despite Government claims that the PSCAct was derivative from the British Emergency Powers Act, it differed in several respects, not the least of which was the omission of the clause which specifically excluded the possibility of industrial conscription.

46. Daily bonuses, free transport, and good accommodation were possibly what the songwriter had in mind when he concluded each verse of 'The Arthur Kingsley Bell Song' with a reference to 'the handout on Parliament Hill.'
of their strike bulletins; of the sympathy of the Drivers' Union for the NZWWU's cause; of the close split vote of the Harbour Board Workers' Union, which required some men, unwillingly, to work with new unionists. With his access confined to this naive consciousness, the reader learns also of the Government's difficulty in manning the wharves adequately with 'new' workers; of the radio time given to wharfies prepared to attack their former colleagues; of the arming of police with cudgels; of the arrest of non-violent pickets; of the returned servicemen status of many locked-out workers. Two of the story's characters have real life models. The inexperience of many men joining the new unions\(^47\) is historically correct and conveyed, indirectly, in the stream of consciousness of the central character. So, also, is the fact that, in sticking with their cause, deregistered loyal unionists were experiencing financial hardship.

The story's final twist, the soldiers' spilling the tea, is in creative terms the story's beginning. In the 'Wellington Watersiders' Official Information Bulletin', on the 131st day of the Lock-out, an item appears - the plot of 'New Unionist':

\[\text{Nobody loves 'em! . . . Even servicemen on the wharf won't have the scabs on - at Lyttleton the other day some of the scabs walked over and asked a group of soldiers for the remainder of their billy of tea - the soldiers just looked at them with disgust, and kicked the remainder of the billy over!}^{48,49}\]

Eric Knight, the 'new unionist' of the story's title, is not

47. See Brookes' 1952 reference (p.151) to inexperienced labour on the wharf, the marked increase in industrial accidents among the new workers, and the slow turn-around of goods and ships.


49. In an accompanying letter, November 1980. Hilliard expressed surprise at the bulletin item. He had previously thought that the 'event' of his story was original.
making his debut in Hilliard's fiction. He has appeared already in *Maori Girl*, as unlikeable as in this story set two years later.  

His subjective record has, within it, not only these submerged details of objective reality; it also reveals emotions and attitudes — the contextual 'climate of feeling' of the historical occasion. This is precisely how fiction which deals with history justifies itself as desirable and necessary. By portraying historical facts in the context of human lives, by not divorcing historical cause from emotional effect — or emotional cause from historical effect — such fiction draws nearer to life itself.

As a type Knight is not making his debut, either, for he, or his like, had appeared in the sub-genre of pamphlet and topical song during the dispute itself (contravening the ban, under Emergency Regulation, on 'insulting words about certain classes of person').

Of particular background interest for Hilliard's story are *For Whom The Bell Tolls*, a venomous pamphlet expressing the outrage of Wellington members of the NZWWU, and the topical 'Arthur Kingsley Bell Song', which dealt specifically with 'scabbery' on the wharves. What these might seem to lack in finesse and artistry, they certainly do not lack in high passion:

> On the fringe of human society, living in a dark world of malignant hate and envy, are the social psychopaths, the misfits who turn their diseased minds against their own kind. Theirs is the furtive theft from a friend, the servility to authority, the sadistic excesses to those in their power. Conscienceless, bereft of all human feelings, they prey on their fellowmen like jackals. Moral lepers,


52. *For Whom The Bell Tolls*, pamphlet (Wellington: 1951).

53. 'The Arthur Kingsley Bell Song'.
they are the material from which fascism recruits its mercenaries. 54

In a more musical vein, the anonymous songwriter places this opening verse in the mouth of the Knight-like scab:

Come away, boys, and scab with me,
Oh come down with Bell
And your life will be hell
There'll be brawlers and maulers
And plenty of crawlers
At the handout on Parliament Hill. 55

In 'New Unionist' this fierce antagonism towards the waterfront scabs is only vaguely perceived by Knight as naive central consciousness. For the reader, however, it is felt to be the common or unifying emotion of the story as a whole.

"Mind your eye," the winchman called. 'If it swings again you'll get brained" . . . "What's it you're supposed to be doing, anyway? . . . Are you down below, or what? You're only in the road up here." 56

"How many are we stopping for?" Knight asked the soldier. "How would I know?" The soldier didn't look at him. 57

The milkman who 'gave him a queer look and didn't respond to his Gidday'; 58 Elsie Hawkins who had hissed and 'emptied the tea-pot into the hedge'; 59 the men 'in open-necked shirts, hats pushed to the back of heads, . . . their faces turned towards the wharves'; 60 all in their own way communicate contempt for the handful of new unionists. Echoing phrases of the 'Bell Song', an 'old' unionist calls to the soldiers:

54. For Whom The Bell Tolls, p.1.
55. 'The Arthur Kingsley Bell Song'.
56. NU, p.93.
57. NU, p.94.
58. Ibid.
59. Ibid.
60. NU, p.97.
'Those scabs there, take a good look, you'll recognise them smartly. A scab's the sod who does all the crawling . . . crawls all the time if he thinks there's something in it for him . . . Always on the make . . . .'61

The antagonism which Hilliard portrays has several interesting features. First, its target is very specific: not the police, whose job it was to prevent the workers' assembly; not the soldiers who, under orders, were doing much to thwart the possibility of a general break-down in transport and supply systems; not even the 'seagulls' working on the wharves as casual labour outside the union fraternity. The full force of the outrage is aimed at those men who had formerly been members of the old union, and who had betrayed their fellow-workers by defecting to the new. Such defection spelt the death-knell for the de-registered Union and blatantly flouted the principle of worker solidarity. As Walter Brookes observed a year after the end of the dispute,

In general it can be said that among working men the grass grows green over the faults of the employers but over what is felt to be the treachery of other workers never. 62,63,64

This despising of 'scabs' - the strongest 'fact' of subjective reality that the story records - is conveyed by complex and cumulative means. The winchman, the milkman, Elsie and Harry Hawkins, the soldiers, the drivers and picketers all convey it and, in the end, suggest to the reader Hilliard's own despising:

61. NU, p.98.


63. Brookes' contention is supported by the fact that the 1951 'Roll of Dishonour' (for 'scab' workers) still survives (Bassett and Cole). Cole believes there is still a 'Roll of Honour'; thirty years on, he does not have to buy his own drink when among watersiders.

64. See Freezing Workers' Bulletin, 26 June 1951, p.1, for published list of 'scabs' names (some with very personal details). The presentation ('Additional Scabs W.M.E. & Gear') suggests that such listings were a regular feature.
Hilliard knows how to pity but he also knows how to hate. His story 'Scab' bears witness to this. In it is well expressed the psychology of the renegade, the strike-breaker who couldn't care a damn about anything except his own well-being. He is tormented by fear, envy and greed. Everything that his friends say about workers' solidarity is for him nothing more than 'big words'. The author considers himself bound by conscience to brand these despicable men. It is a despising which the reader is likely to endorse, having had access to the mind and emotions of Knight.

Knight has a fear of falling through the open hatches ("It's a long way to fall, he thought." and is at least a potential hypochondriac:

He was disgusted to find he'd drawn a cement boat... the stuff got into his nose and made him sneeze. He'd always had a tendency towards hay-fever; and you could never be too careful about your health. He'd heard, too, that dust caused tuberculosis if you got enough of it.

Knight is work-shy, even lies to his fellow-workers to avoid, if possible, doing his fair share:

... he stayed up on deck... He had no difficulty convincing them that this was an essential safety precaution. Most of them had only been seagulls, anyway, and didn't know much.

He is afraid of an open fight, 'shivering' when he thinks of Harry, who

had been going around telling everyone that he'd kick the guts out of anyone who scabbed. And he hated to think what some of the others might do, especially one or two who'd been in the ring... he'd never been much good with the


66. NU, p.93.

67. NU, p.96. Hilliard (19 October) says that this comment derives from his having Aotea Quay specifically in mind as a site.

68. Ibid.
bunch of fives.\textsuperscript{69}

His new suit (material for which he had stolen), his car, his betting habit and lousy 'tucker' Knight sees as good reasons for betraying the watersiders' cause. His overriding fear is that others might not be so badly off as he considers himself to be: 'He'd bet the leaders were doing all right, though:

and the blokes who were in good with the leaders, they'd be doing all right too. None of them ever appeared to be short of a quid.'\textsuperscript{70}

As a group, the representatives of the new union are not a pretty sight and alienate sympathy. There is Knight himself (commonly known as 'Boils'), dodging 'into the lee of the deck-house but he wasn't quick enough';\textsuperscript{71} Osbert Sweet, 'known to all as The Professor,

who wrote letters to the world's royalty and attended every first night at the Opera House in tie-and-tails, his chest covered with gongs, pineapples, tin plate coins and children's badges from bubble-gum packets.\textsuperscript{72}

Dingle is the third man of the defecting faction; he is 'paunchy, slab-jawed, head of the new union.'

He'd spoken over the radio one night and had his hand shaken publicly by the Prime Minister.\textsuperscript{73}

Brief though it is, this description of Dingle is historically interesting for two main reasons. Not only does it use A.K. Bell as Dingle's model, but also it touches on a second feature of the antagonism between the old and the new unionists.

As head of the newly formed waterside union, Bell, one could assume, is Dingle's model. The assumption is supported by the names

\textsuperscript{69.} NU, p.94.
\textsuperscript{70.} NU, p.97.
\textsuperscript{71.} NU, p.98.
\textsuperscript{72.} NU, p.96.*
\textsuperscript{73.} Ibid.
themselves; there is connection, clearly, between an object and its sound. With the mention of Dingle's having made a radio broadcast, the assuming becomes reasonable to the point of certainty. The historical catalyst of *For Whom The Bell Tolls* was just such a national broadcast as Dingle has made, and this had been given by A.K. Bell:

Get . . . in on the big money, your families have been hungry long enough . . . you could have bought a refrigerator and a washing machine with the money you have lost . . . and the only DECENT thing is to get back, and get the ships working!\(^{74}\)

Hilliard's Dingle cameo has not been drawn in fancy but from known historical facts about the new union leadership.

The workers' hostility - fierce towards 'scabs' - has another aspect which the Dingle piece reveals: he 'had had his hand publicly shaken by the Prime Minister - the photo was in all the papers. That very hand, there, that he was stroking his chin with now. Just think... an ordinary worker's hand, and it had held the Prime Minister's.'\(^{75}\)

During its campaign for individual port unions, the Government (in particular Holland and the Minister of Labour) pursued the line that men who broke the 'strike' were heroes. Holland did, in fact, shake A.K. Bell's hand and publicly sing the praises of new union volunteers. Cabinet Minister Gotz, addressing the House, spoke of Bell as a "gallant man who has the courage of his convictions",\(^ {76}\) a eulogy especially galling to locked-out workers and heavily ironic in

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74. *For Whom The Bell Tolls*, p.2. Bell is further described as 'exalted to high status by Government, press and radio', thus becoming 'a symbol of the police state'. Hilliard has since confirmed that Bell is Dingle's model (19 October letter).

75. NU, p.96.

view of Bell's circumstances. Minister Dean Eyre 'deplored the inconsistency
whereby Communists were shot by New Zealand soldiers in Korea, but in New Zealand were allowed the freedom of the city. New unionists were hailed as 'honest workers', 'better men' and 'better trade unionists' than other watersiders who 'did not want to shoulder their responsibilities'. They were carriers of a 'new spirit of energy and honesty', men who realised their obligations and took pride in their citizenship.

Hilliard's city Mayor (with 'his brick-red face scarcely visible in the folds of his turned-up coat collar') addresses Knight and his colleagues in the same vein. They are men of 'courage and public spirit'; they recognize 'that the good of the community comes first; above all selfish personal or sectional interests.'

Such direct slurs on their moral integrity were infuriating to the men of the deregistered unions. Five and a half thousand of them

77. As stated in For Whom The Bell Tolls, this 'gallant man' was a 'wife-beater, a drunkard, discharged policeman, convicted thief and much more besides. His record of criminality [is] known to hundreds of workers in both islands. . . . From his thirty years of accumulated viciousness' only 'a selection' could be taken.*

78. Dean Eyre, NZPP, 294 (1951), 81-82. Cited Logan, p.112.
81. NZH, 31 May 1951.
83. NU, p.95.
84. Ibid.
had fought overseas\textsuperscript{85} and felt that their loyalty and sense of responsibility were matters which should have been above question. The public heroising of 'scabrous degenerates ... methos, perverts, scum and jackals',\textsuperscript{86} which accompanied the diatribes against former watersiders was particularly offensive to returned servicemen. It is not an arbitrary detail that the workers' spokesman in Hilliard's story calls out to the soldiers:

'...it's not your fault...you're under orders. So was I, so was a lot of my mates too, in the desert and Italy and the rest of it. There's plenty of us over here that were in the rough stuff. We weren't warming our bronzes like the base-wallahs they've got in their Civil Guard.'\textsuperscript{87}

The way in which the old unionist speaks to the industrial conscripts and the way in which the soldiers respond to his message bring out the lack of acrimony between the 'opposed' groups. Heartened, the watersider continues to couch his argument in terms of their shared military experience:

'Listen: if you were behind the wire you'll know a scab soon enough. It was the scab who went and split everything to the screws if he thought he could get a lousy handful of smokes out of it... He scabbed on you in camp and on the boat, he scabbed on you at the front if he ever got there ... .'\textsuperscript{88}

This awareness of their past service to King and country has been heightened in the watersiders by their finding themselves now cast as saboteurs, traitors, selfish and irresponsible. This heckling incident conveys more, therefore, than the military background of many workers; it highlights the specific direction of the men's animosity, the mutual lack of ill-feeling between them and the

85. 'How Not To Grow Tomatoes', NZTW, 13 April 1951, p.1; see also 'Prices and Profits', Challenge, 1 September 1951, p.2.

86. For Whom The Bell Tolls.

87. NU, p.98

88. NU, pp.98-99.
military. The picket's calls reveal emotional context. 89

As the dispute dragged on and men attempted to return to work, injury seemed to be added to insult in that places were not always available. This was contrary to the Government's assurances that no victimising would occur. 90 Not only had their places been taken by 'scabs' - 'the outcast[s] of society . . . most despicable living creature[s] . . . exalted to high status by Government, press and radio' 91 - but former waterfront workers, at the hands of the Department of Labour, were being subjected to 'screening' procedures. 92 As a consequence, many were refused jobs.

When the New Zealand Transport Worker went to press in August, three thousand workers (two thousand of them in Auckland) had been 'denied their means of livelihood on the waterfront', and at a time when ports were 'hopelessly undermanned'. 93 In Wellington, a group of watersiders (all returned servicemen) applied for work a second time under fictitious names - such as Polisk, Okolov, Levita and Yehudi Menuhin. On this occasion, jobs were granted, with no screening process of any kind to determine if they were or were not 'Fascist scum'. The promise of an 'open union' by 'Baby-Starver' Sullivan and the 'Yankee Puppet' Holland were seen to be false. 94

89. The trade union papers display less subtlety. Reporting on the 'Bloody Friday' casualties in 'Lawless "Law And Order"', the 15 June NZTW depicted: 'LEFT: Bert Magnus, a Gallipoli veteran, . . . taken away with blood streaming from a baton wound in the BACK of the head' (p.1).


91. For Whom The Bell Tolls.

92. 'Screening is Union-Busting', NZTW, 15 May 1951, pp.5-6.

93. 'A Fair Go For Unionists', NZTW, August 1951, p.2.

94. Ibid.
Born-and-bred Kiwi servicemen felt affronted yet again.

It can be said, therefore, that Hilliard's motley collection of 'scabs' is historical at the same time as it is imaginative fiction. Not only is there evidence that 'screening' for the 'new order' was designed to catch old unionists rather than social deviants, but also Hilliard's 'way of seeing' reflects the workers' perception of the calibre of humanity rallying to take their place.

Not many have reported for work on the morning described: seven or eight in Knight's truck and a few in the twenty others 'lined up along the wharf . . . for psychological effect.' Nonetheless, the scene is busy, for the new unionists ('sheepish: a thin straggle... splayed over a vast acreage') are accompanied by parties of soldiers, by police and Harbour Board unionists, who 'had voted by a small majority to keep working'; and, of course, by the crowd of picketing watersiders 'gathered at the corner of the street beyond the wharf gates.'

This diverse assembly of men is historically accurate. On 3 May, for instance, new unionists in Auckland 'were driven in government trucks to the wharves to start work under the protection of police and . . . soldiers . . . on other occasions in Auckland and Wellington the police batoned people peacefully picketing. That Hilliard's policemen 'strolled up and down, swinging batons' is not fictional fantasy. That 'they hadn't hit anyone yet' is an

95. NU, p.95. (A rare move out into authorial omniscience.)
96. Ibid.
97. NU, p.96.
98. NU, p.97.
99. Sutch, p.283. For photograph of 'new unionists' arriving on the Wellington wharf in covered army lorries, see Scott, p.66.
ominous note struck en passant and then contained. Hilliard cannot be accused of exploiting known history (such as the events of Bloody Friday) in any sensational way.

Adopting a limited third person point of view, Hilliard makes Knight's involvement with the new union credible and coherent with the character revealed. The process by which he achieves this is irony: mainly structural but with dramatic and verbal elements. By the end of the story, Knight's having responded to the 'card he had received from the Labour Department'\textsuperscript{100} can be seen as an action which, in terms of the man, possesses its own inner logic.

The issuing of cards assuring men that, if they resumed work, they would have the law's 'full protection'\textsuperscript{101} is based on known historical fact. In a national broadcast on 8 April, Sullivan had announced that

\begin{quote}
 every watersider in the country had been sent a personal letter inviting him to register with the Labour Department if he was prepared to return to work. . . . a card for registration purposes was enclosed.\textsuperscript{102}
\end{quote}

Apparently most watersiders ignored such an offer or 'simply turned their cards over to their leaders.'\textsuperscript{103} Eric Knight, however, 'had filled in the card and returned it without telling anyone.'\textsuperscript{104} Dull as he obviously is in matters of principle, he still has sense enough to be 'a bit scared afterwards.'\textsuperscript{105}

\textsuperscript{100} NU, p.93.
\textsuperscript{101} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{102} Bassett, p.153.
\textsuperscript{103} Ibid., p.154.
\textsuperscript{104} NU, p.94.
\textsuperscript{105} Ibid. Had Knight read the watersiders' paper of 10 August 1950, his fears would not have been at all assuaged. See the conclusion to 'Glen Coe's poem, 'The Truth About The Hall'.
Although the invitation-to-work card is a literal circumstance explaining Knight's presence on the wharf this day, it is not in itself the reason for his being there. That reason does not lie in an external factor, but rather in the nature of the man himself. Regardless of whether or not Knight turns out for work, he is inherently of 'scab' mentality.

Against the Mayor's eulogising of 'scabs' as courageous, as men placing the 'good of the community' ahead of themselves, Hilliard sets Knight's thoughts and observations. These reveal his basic motivation - looking after himself: 'Well, you had to... didn't you? Nobody else would do it for you.'

In the esoteric terms of moral development theorists, Eric Knight is still a 'pre-conventional': that is, he has remained on the 'child' or primary level where decisions are made solely in terms of physical or material rewards.

The union didn't seem to realise you had to have money to get by these days... He had over forty quid on the cuff with his bookie and he'd been told straight that if he didn't pay back at least a tenner of it he couldn't get another bet on. There was the new suit he was having made from that beautiful bolt of blue cloth he'd flogged from one of the Star boats a month before the trouble... and he was dying to wear it... He was behind with his board, and the old lady was taking it out on him by giving him the lousiest tucker... There were the payments on the car... Christ, how did they expect a man to manage?

His not having matured to the 'conventional' development stage is shown by the fact that, even afraid of old unionists, he is untouched

106. NU, p.97.


108. NU, p.97. The reference to stealing ties in with the song-version of the 'scab': 'Come Away, boys, and scab with me/Shipowners are kind/And you'll never be fined/You can pillage and pocket/Say "Three Cheers for Bockett"/At the handout on Parliament Hill.' "The Arthur Kingsley Bell Song", verse 6.
by imperatives of peer group pressure. Sporadic pangs of cowardice or fear he does experience, but they do not dictate his ultimate behaviour. He simply stops 'attending the daily union meetings at the Trades Hall', changes 'his pub so as not to be running into the old crowd all the time.'

The 'post-conventional' of the morally mature minority is quite beyond his comprehension. He is aware that some other people (perhaps his neighbour, Harry Hawkins) function within a value system different from his own; he even knows and can repeat their general concerns. Too immature, however, to understand actions informed by principles other than self, he dismisses them according to his own logic.

... they were always passing resolutions about the rights of the South African blacks, or the Indonesian workers, or some other mob. What did it have to do with them? What business was it of theirs what went on in South Africa or Indonesia or anywhere else? ... Always carrying on about their rights and their wrongs ... And it cost you money to belong to the outfit, too, and where was the benefit? He was damned if he could see it.

The interest which the character of Knight provides extends, however, beyond neuroses and appetites; it extends into the area of sociological observation. In Zavos' 'The Shilling', the character of Sister Cyprian provides a glimpse of the conservative, Cold War attitude historically present in the Roman Catholic Church; the portrayal of Stathos a glimpse of the 'off-campus' history such as children receive from those in authority. Roberts' 'No Conscripts' focusses on the attitude of military conscripts to the waterfront situation and to the concept of worker solidarity. In 'New Unionist', Knight exhibits not only a common attitude towards trade

109. NU, p.93.
110. NU, p.95.
unions during the crisis, but also an interesting feature of the working class: that, contrary to widespread beliefs, it is neither hell-bent on revolution nor even generally 'politicised'.

The paradox is that, as well as embracing the very radical elements of society, the Labour movement also embraces the very conservative or authority-orientated. It is from the broad base of the working classes that both communism and fascism draw their support.

The widespread public attitude towards the trade unions during the lock-out comes through Knight's thoughts:

'The union bosses were only a pack of commos, anyway, like the papers said. You could pick it from the way they talked. . . . . What became of all the dues-money, anyway? The leaders were making a good thing out of it, and the commos were getting a fair whack of it too, he was certain of that. . . . . You worked to get a living, and now because a few commos wanted to make trouble there was no living in it....'

Knight's perception of the situation is 'like the papers said.' It reflects the Otago Daily Times of 27 February ('The policy of the

111. The New Zealand pattern since 1949, of continually returning conservative governments to power, could be seen as supporting this contention.*

112. The Americanisms 'hard hat' and 'red neck', as generic terms for those with reactionary political and social attitudes, are derived, interestingly, from a working class milieu.

113. See Appendix III, 'Anxiety, Anomia, Caesarism: Conservatives' Paranoea'.

114. NU, p.95.

115. NU, p.97.

116. NU, p.95. See Bill Pearson, 'Fretful Sleepers: A Sketch of New Zealand Behaviour and its Implications for the Artist', Landfall 23 (September 1952), rpt. in Landfall Country, p.333. *
NZWWU is decided in the Kremlin'),\textsuperscript{117} the \textit{New Zealand Herald} of the same day ('The present strike is an extension of the Cold War... . . The leadership of the watersiders has led its members up the Cominform garden path');\textsuperscript{118} the \textit{Evening Post} of 7 July (The country is 'locked in war with the Communist-Socialist cause');\textsuperscript{119} the \textit{Otago Daily Times} as early as 20 September, 1950 ('Not all watersiders are Communists... . . Yet they are jumping to obey the dictates of Marx — and of Moscow').\textsuperscript{120} As W.B.Sutch states in his social history of New Zealand:

The daily press were uniformly on the government's side and so were most of the public, for they knew only one version - that the whole affair was a communist plot.\textsuperscript{121}

Sutch's explanation of the public's position perhaps deserves to be this gentle, in view of the fact that, under the Regulations, the press could print only sentiments or interpretations which the Government wished the public to endorse. Obviously, the big dailies complied with a will.\textsuperscript{122} For Knight, however, and the powerful FOL such an excuse is not entirely appropriate; two versions of the affair were available to them, which means that their adoption of the Government/press version was a matter of choice, not of enforced ignorance. They knew that what had become 'an open trial

\textsuperscript{117} ODT, 27 February 1951, speech by Sullivan, Minister of Labour. Cited Logan, p.112.

\textsuperscript{118} NZH, 27 February 1951, speech by Sullivan. Cited Bassett, p.90.

\textsuperscript{119} Evening Post, 7 July 1951, speech by Sir Wilfred Sim, National Party President. Cited Bassett, p.92.

\textsuperscript{120} ODT, 20 September 1950. Cited Bassett, p.61.

\textsuperscript{121} Sutch, p.285.

\textsuperscript{122} This seems a logical assumption in that the ban on printing views sympathetic to the unionists was not a compulsion to print other views. The WSERegs do not require the press to print interpretations given by the Government — only not to publish anything contrary. The choice to print nothing was always open.
of strength between the Government and the Waterside Workers' Union' had really begun 'as a wage dispute';\(^{123}\) that it had not been undertaken, as Fintan Walsh was stating, as an indulgence 'in a disastrous political action under directions from the Communist-controlled World Federation of Trade Unions in Warsaw and Moscow.'\(^{124}\)

Unions faithful to the Federation Of Labour (as distinct from the Trade Union Congress) echoed Walsh's attacks on their fellow-workers:

> . . . the power-drunk leaders of the deregistered Watersiders' Union [are] prepared to starve the people of Britain for their own selfish ends. . . . the strike has cost the people of this country millions of pounds . . . the fool-hardy strike has hit the workers hardest of all. . . . The officers of the Federation . . . begged and pleaded with the strike leaders . . . but to no avail. . . . The nett result of their actions then has been:

1. The splitting of the Federation of Labour.
2. The raising of the cost of living to the workers.
3. The defeat of the Labour Government.
4. The disruption of the economy of New Zealand.
5. The curtailment of food supplies to the British People.\(^{125}\)

Knight's anti-union, anti-communist sentiments were obviously not rare within the organised Labour movement and, as such, are part of our country's social history.\(^{126}\)

In Knight these sentiments proceed not so much from his reading of any press reports, as from his natural inclination to believe such propaganda. From his subjective record (its appetitive content), it is clear that there is transference on to the union and its leaders of his own motivation and value-system. Always ready to exploit

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123. 'Mr Holland's War', NZTW, July 1951, p.8.


125. 'The Watersiders' Strike', New Zealand Timber Worker, June 1951, p.1.

others - fellow-unionists, old and new, his landlady, a book-maker, an importer of cloth; unable to conceive of action not for personal gain, he interprets others' behaviour in terms of his own - and his own in terms of survival of the fittest. The 'commos' label which he attaches to his antagonists is a rationalising self-justification.

There is, however, more to it than this. Although Hilliard touches on it only lightly, it comes through in Knight's observation:

What business was it of theirs what went on in South Africa or Indonesia or anywhere else? What did the country have a Government for? It was there to speak on behalf of the people . . . .127

It comes through, also, in his glow of amazement and self-importance that a Prime Minister would deign to shake 'an ordinary worker's hand.'128 Between them, these statements or recorded thoughts express both Caesarism and anomia.129

While the National Party Government was presenting the dispute as a struggle between the forces of democracy and communism, the watersiders and those sympathetic to their cause presented it as a struggle between democracy and fascism.130 Both sides found support among trade unionists.

While support for the Government's strong-arm measures came from people - like Eric Knight - who venerate authority, some workers believed that they were facing 'the most serious threat in [their]

127. NU, p.95.
128. NU, p.96.
129. See Appendix III.
130. See 'Do You Remember This?', NZTW, 9 March 1951, p.1. for parallels drawn between the National Government and the Nazis. The article includes also the Standard's observation that 'It is doubtful whether such a drastic curtailment of the right of free speech has been enforced in any country outside of Fascist nations.'*
The accusations of 'fascist rule' or 'police state' tactics did not perhaps lack a firm factual basis. The Emergency Regulations at least provided for such a possibility and easily invited comparisons with Hitlerian rule. Moreover, attacks on the free trade unions, suspending the right to strike, the suppression of freedom of speech both for the press and for individuals, the denial of the right to trial by jury, the extension of police powers to arrest without warrant and to the searching of private dwellings all contravene the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights.\textsuperscript{132} 

The merit of 'New Unionist' in historical terms (that is, in its presenting matters of history) has many interdependent aspects. The first of these (and not the least) is an accession to actual history by means of the imagination. For some readers, the dispute might be unknown national history; for others, factually known but of unengaging interest. There is expansion of understanding on both of these levels: that of objective reality (in analytical detail) and of human experience of it (in ordinary people's lives).

The second aspect proceeds from or relates to the first. 'New Unionist', in the way of good fictions from history, presents historical cause in the context of human effect. In their actions, their emotions and accessible thinking, the characters display responses which effectively illuminate cause.

\textsuperscript{131} 'Mr Holland's War', NZTW, July 1951, p.8. outlines the view that the Government's determined intention was to 'intensify . . . war' on the working class. (p.8)

\textsuperscript{132} The specific Articles contravened are 9, 10, 12, 17, 19, 20 and 23. A cable was sent to the Secretary of the United Nations on Thursday, 12 April, protesting against the Government's breaking of 12, 19, 20 and 23; for text of the NZWWU's cable, see NZTW, 13 April 1951, p.8.
'New Unionist' unobtrusively does more than this; perhaps it even does so unintentionally. Outside its clear focus on historical circumstances, on various perceptions of and responses to them, it suggests a climate of feeling causative as well as consequent. Knight's 'knee-jerk' dismissal of union leaders as communists, the Establishment's ready praise for anti-union activity, even Hilliard's damming portrait of his fictional 'scab', all suggest the Cold War climate of the post-war years of which the dispute was a manifestation.

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'New Unionist' throughout is crafted with discipline, its brevity the virtuous consequence of le mot or la phrase just(e). Hilliard's apparent intention of alienating sympathy from the only character to whose mind he gives access is progressively and fully achieved by the end. The concluding kick of the soldier's boot is satisfying and welcome to the reader. By default, as it were, and without specific attachment, sympathy has been guided to those opposed to Knight. By this means of persuading others to his own view of the Lock-out, Hilliard has avoided a cardinal feature of propaganda: an overt 'telling' which denies the reader any exercise of his own sensibility, and which relates to his mind as passive rather than interactive.

Hilliard's leading us to 'rejection' of a particular new unionist and indirectly to an 'acceptance' of those who oppose him has more value as persuasion than a positive presentation. By a metonymical process, Knight damn's the whole 'scab' faction, the one implying the general characteristics of the group. By a synecdochic process, old unionists as individuals acquire the sympathy generally transferred.

As an example of waterfront fiction, it is clearly subjective.
Not only is its method generally stream-of-consciousness, a subjective recording of the central psyche; not only does it declare Hilliard's view of the Lock-out in the selection and organisation of material, but also it is 'subjective' as waterfront fiction in that the crisis is its subject, beyond all its characters.
6. Hyman observes that 'the majority of trade unionists are willing to criticize the unions for economic difficulties, blame workers for most disputes, and support legal restrictions on the right to strike.'

7. The 'bosses' can be interpreted literally, to mean simply 'employers'. The decision to use conscript soldiers on the waterfront, however, was one that could be made only by the Government itself. It seems more likely, in the context of this story, that the word is used loosely - a generic term from the vocabulary of the Left, denoting those who control capital, rather than those whose currency is simply their labour. Within this register, the 'bosses', who employ, and capitalist governments, which represent their interests, are one.

11. The tenor and spirit of these pamphlets compare with Holland's later speeches: '...we are face to face with a monstrous conspiracy ... an ugly naked challenge to the comfort and security of the home.' (NZH, 10 March 1951, cited 'Passed the Censors', Here and Now, March 1951, p.20);'...the present industrial crisis is part and parcel of the Cold War, designed and intended to wreck the democracies ....' Cited ODT, 1 March 1951, p.6. (The leader page generally provides titles of interest: 'Labour Unrest', 'Exploitation by Reds', 'Part of Cold War', 'A National Matter'.)

13. Kidson continues: 'We are now being attacked by an army not of persuaders but of fanatics and whole Christian provinces have already fallen, as they did to the Muslim conquerors ... rather than submit to an intolerable tyranny, better all go up in proud and angry smoke.' Contributions from Major-General Sir Howard Kippenberger, Major-General Sir Andrew Russell and Major-General H.E. Barrowclough sound similar warnings.

15. Semple's 'Preface' refers to 'a dangerous enemy sworn to destroy the very things which we cherish ... it pursues its evil, insidious way' by means of organisations within 'the gates of democracy ... malevolent, virulent, tireless, and bloodthirsty' and serving 'a foreign master' (p.6).


23. In 1949, for example, he had stated that 'these people are not Australians. They owe allegiance only to Soviet Russia. Communists are yellow to the back of their teeth'; and 'a vacuum cleaner could pick up most of them' - equating Australian Communists presumably with vermin insects. The 1949 election was won on this issue. See Tygar, 'Menzies' Book', p.16.

Tygar also quotes the soundtrack of a film produced by Twentieth Century Fox called 'Menace', which was shown widely in Australia in 1952, as a documentary: 'In recent years a sinister force has appeared in our world - its leader and its army preach a new gospel - the gospel of materialism with a greed that denies God
and says that you, the individual, has(sic) no soul and no human rights - that sinister force is communism.'

31. News and opinions which might encourage the strike could not be published, yet the following slipped through:

'The watersiders have been and are "scabbing" on their fellow-unionists and on the country as a whole . . . . They intrigued and plotted, threatened and bullied, until last year they split the Federation in twain, made a mockery of solidarity and marched off at the head of their fellow-malcontents and dupes.' 'Every unionist who hastens to "get on side" with the greedy loafers on the waterfront deprives every other unionist of some of the necessities of life.'

34. Brookes also states that, taken to their logical end, the Regulations even deprived, or could deprive, people of their 'property rights'. He quotes Mr Justice Hay's query in the Supreme Court: 'Does this mean that if you bought a motor car from a watersider you could be forbidden to pay him?' (p.151)

36. During his imprisonment, not only was his army pay stopped, but the Department of Social Welfare withheld all payments to his wife and children, including the Family Benefit. (Substantiated by Logan, p.109.) To have done otherwise would have involved both the Army and the Social Security Office in offences against the Emergency Regulations, for they would have been, by simple definition, making payments to the family of a 'party to the strike'. At the time when these Government agencies cut off all moneys, the soldier's two children were aged two years and three weeks, and his wife suffered from angina heart. By chance, they survived. The Salvation Army, making a random house to house collection for one of its 'Self-Denial' appeals, found the family without any food and without even threepence fare into Dunedin to present the requisition slip at the Depot. It is interesting to note that not one of the five charges brought against Cole specified refusal to work the ships. Charges laid at his court martial were 'failing to appear at the place of parade'; 'absenting himself without leave'; acting 'prejudicial to good conduct and military discipline'; 'using insulting and subordinate language to a senior officer' and 'action contrary to the Waterfront Strike Emergency Regulations, 1951'.


45. It differed in several respects, not the least of which was the omission of the clause which specifically excluded industrial conscription.

50. References to Knight include pp.112/124 (appearance); pp.124-5/128/134 (family); pp.127/131-2/133-4/137-8/140-1/147-8/150 (racism). He uses Netta to sell his raffle tickets, is jealous and possessive, always suspects the worst of her, has sex with her while she is drunk. The Hawkins in the story appear in Maori Girl, Part Three. (I am indebted to Hilliard for his reminder.)
72. According to Hilliard (19 October), 'Osbert Sweet is "Professor" Honey Sweet Allen, an eccentric black homosexual (Jamaican, it was said) who worked on the Wellington wharves as a seagull for many years...and used to behave as described. ... He also used to put on public exhibitions of underwater swimming' (for a price): hence the exhortations: 'Come on, do some swimming for us, Prof'. 'Go drown your bloody self.' This 'model' is verified by the list of 'scabs' published by the Combined Strike Committee of the Gear and Ngahau-ranga Branches of the Wellington Freezing Workers' Union, which includes

A 'Professor [sic] Honey Sweet Allan (The Deep diving expert. We understand he now does his diving in sewers)'.

77. The fourth verse of the 'Bell Song' likewise takes a look at the 'gallant man's' record:

Your mates will admire you
Their pasts will inspire you
At the handout on Parliament Hill.

Sutch, p.282, states also that the 'new scab unions' employed men 'just out of prison.'

105. Now, fellowworkers, of the wharfie clan,
Fight if you must, but fight to a man
And while I conclude, I'll remind you all,
United we stand, Divided we fall.

Knight, as portrayed in 'New Unionist', doubtless would interpret the call as something to do 'with the bunch of fives.'

111. While the trade union movement doubtless has numbered extreme radicals among its leadership and members, generally it has not been, and is not, a powerful force of the Left. With its overall electoral strength, a democratic country's workers have the capability to make and to retain progressive governments.

116. Pearson observes that 'in countries nominally democratic, fascists first have to prepare the ground. In New Zealand the ground is already prepared, in these conditions: a docile sleepy electorate...gullibility in the face of headlines and radio peptalks.' In terms of the latter, Knight seems drawn to order.

124. For anti-FOL feeling within the labour movement, see If It's Treachery, Get Tuohy (Wellington: 1951); H.Barnes, 'The Federation Leopard Is As Spotty As Ever', NZTW, 12 September 1950, p.3.

The song of the 'Federats', in the Victoria College Students Revue, Sidarella. Cited 'Students Sock Sid And The Dollar Wallahs', NZTW, 15 June 1951, pp.13-14:

Happy in Anticipation
Of the workers ruination
Good old peaceful Arbitration!
Federats, unite! (sing to tune of 'All Through The Night').


See 'They Say It Is Fascism,' Challenge, 1 September 1951, p.4, which outlines fascist aspects of the regulations, and recalls definitions of fascism given by Holland in 1949 during parliamentary debate.

See 'Holland And The Churches,' ibid., p.3: 'A painter from Austria also said the first problem was the Communists - jailed them - and then found he hadn't solved his problem. He went on to the trade unions . . . Then on to the Jews and then the churches, until Pastor Neimoller and Cardinal Faulhaber were in the same concentration camp . . . .'

See For Whom The Bell Tolls.

See 'Wreckers' Cry the Real Wreckers,' Challenge, 1 September 1951, p.6. which draws parallels between Hitler's 'Red Plot' approach and Holland's.

See 'The Nazi Officer's Song' from Sidarella, cited NZTW, 15 June 1951, p.13:

When I was young, to tell the truth,
I was a Captain in the Hitler Youth,
And in the war I commanded tanks
On the Western Front against the Yanks.
And after the war they rewarded me,
And made me a Defender of Democracy!

See 'How Not To Grow Tomatoes,' NZTW, 13 April 1951, p.1.


See Workers v Holland, Holland v NZ, 2nd Wellington ed. (Wellington: Early Bird Press, 1951), twelve pages outlining 'Holland's threat of fascism'.
The Dark Water: A Novel by Margot Campbell does not deserve inclusion on the basis of literary merit. Its place in this discussion has been gained on other grounds: unusual political stance and Utopian elements. Regarding literary technique, little needs to be said. The novel's interest, from the outset, is romance and young lovers - a 'triangle' in the present and a mystery in the past. The style, passé even by the fifties, is typified in 'toe toe, the colour of rich cream,'2 and the Scottish hero's eyes, 'a clear green blue',3 like

the Waikato river just above the Huka falls, or the copper sulphate crystals ... once made ... at school.4

In time the novel spans several months of '51 - from before the autumn muster until after the following spring's. These 'high country' limits of the main plot's time scheme mesh with 'political' limits of the sub-plot's shorter timing: from after the dispute's beginning until before the snap election.5

Bess, 'slender and - golden',6 is the main plot's focus as a young, courageous heiress to a large sheep station. The story opens with Bess's anticipating the arrival from Scotland of her cousin Duncan; it ends with his loving both her and Barmore, its valleys

2. DW, p.16.
3. DW, p.17.
5. *
6. DW, p 33.
and mountains, even its dark river. In the course of the months which intervene, the sub-plot's politics threaten this happy ending.

As seems common in waterfront crisis fiction, *The Dark Water*'s 'presenting' characters are wharfies and politicians. Peter Brent, Bess's neighbour and childhood friend, holds the National Government seat of New Inverness. His reputation as "the promising young politician" has been sustained by a "brilliant speech" which had silenced the Opposition" at the beginning of the dispute. 

The workers' faction has a very brief appearance, ignominious and incidental, in Haynes and companions, whom Bess encounters on an idle evening in Wellington.

The noteworthy feature of the crisis' presentation is its unchallenged National Party perspective on underlying causes and industrial issues. Campbell, alone among the writers to be considered, allows the workers no statement of their case. Unusual among the group, she exhibits sympathy only for the view that communist agitation caused the crisis. Even Cross, who is exceptional to the apparent New Zealand pattern of Left-wing bias in political fiction, withholds clear endorsement of a 'wrecker' worker view.

Lacy, the Member's wife (and the love story's "dark angel"), encourages her husband thus to be more ambitious: "what the political world needed was more men like Peter to turn it into a cleaner game, especially now when the Communists were making such violent

7. DW, p.11. Campbell, from the outset, displays an anti-Labour attitude. The comment implies that the Opposition stayed quiet because Peter had said something brilliant and undeniable. Not only was Parliament in recess at the time, but also the state of emergency had been declared. *

8. DW, p.43.
and dangerous attempts to create industrial chaos.\textsuperscript{9}

In emasculating spirit, like Lady Macbeth's, she reminds him of his past political energy, implying that, in the present, he exhibits declining manhood:

'Didn't he remember how, when they were engaged, they'd talked of what they could do together? Minister for External Affairs - that had been their goal. It was still hers - but he had given up before the first obstacles it seemed. How could he, when his work and speech on the Waterfront Strike had done so much good, earned him so much respect? Had he spent all his courage and endurance at the Sidi Rezegh and Cassino? Had he left his spirit behind on the banks of the Sangro? As for children - if he worked himself to a standstill on these bloody mountains, how could he expect to have enough energy left for begetting children!\textsuperscript{10}

The next discussion of the dispute involves Peter and Duncan and occurs in Wellington when the crisis is over.\textsuperscript{11} Observing the harbour from Peter's hillside flat, the young Scottish visitor is 'fascinated by the ships.

There were half a dozen big liners berthed or waiting for berthing space. Peter joined him at the window and handed him a drink.

"Quite a crowd waiting to unload," Duncan said.
"There's four barren months to make up," Peter explained.
"The strike must have cost the country a fortune."
"It did. To be precise, a loss of 463,128 man days with an approximate loss to the workers of a million or more in wages -"
Duncan whistled. "But you've got somewhere now, haven't you?" \textsuperscript{12}

Following Lacy's comments about disruption to ferry cargo, Duncan

\textsuperscript{9} DW, p.12.
\textsuperscript{10} DW, pp.12-13.
\textsuperscript{11} While Campbell's fictional world might seem, on casual reading, to be a re-creation faithful to campus history data, it differs from these often in analytical detail.\textsuperscript{a}
\textsuperscript{12} DW, pp. 77-78.
then asks what was "all the fuss" about. Peter's explanation makes interesting reading:

'An accumulation of years of trouble. Communist stranglehold on the Watersiders' closed Union - we've got compulsory unionism here, you know - the Waterside Industry Commission bogged down with far too much on its plate and Union interference. Restrictive practices like spelling - that's putting twice the number of men on a job so's half of them can be taking a stand-easy - it's impossible to put it all in a nutshell, but, with the bureau system of allocating work - that is sending men on to jobs on the principle of a fair share for all and depriving the employers of the right to choose their men - discipline just didn't exist. An employer could sack a man off the job and find he'd been reallocated to the same job the next day. With that sort of state of affairs it's only too easy to get a small gang of saboteurs in control, pushing the men into all kinds of trouble either through intimidation or through misguided loyalty - "stick by the Union and don't side with the boss" -'.

Authorial bias is abundantly clear: in the emotive words chosen (closed, compulsory and interference); in the definition of 'spelling' as 100 percent overstaffing; in equating shared work with deprivation of rights; in referring to "saboteurs" (and a "small gang", at that). In the final condemnation, there is no positive workers' option; they are either intimidated victims or ignorantly "misguided". This speech, the reader soon learns, comes from a Maverick 'liberal' member, presented as reasonable and as an independent thinker.

Duncan's education is augmented by Lacy, who describes the dispute as "pretty exciting ... A sort of cold war that got pretty hot ... M.P.'s getting telephone warnings that their houses were going to be burned down. I got one. It was lots of fun! ... They tried to blow up a bridge over which a whole


14. Ibid.
train of workmen would be crossing, too -" 15

Campbell's use of the Huntly incident could be described as clever, in terms of Peter's portrayal and her own apparent attitude. He responds to Lacy 'equably', running 'his hand through his . . . tousled hair': "it was never proved that that was done by the wharfies -". 16

First, Peter is shown, indeed, to be very 'equable', refusing to condemn on the basis of "wild stories". 17 This touch is sympathetic and lends credence, retrospectively, to his preceding comments about the dispute's causes. The Member for New Inverness does not judge without good reason.

His defence of the wharfies - challenged by Lacy with "Who else, then?" 18 - becomes underhandedly a clever condemnation. Although this, quite clearly, is not his intention, it achieves this effect as Campbell presents it. Replying to Lacy's question with "Oh, I don't know," Peter explains his diffidence to the young Scotsman: "but there were a lot of wild stories told that were never substantiated. A lot of mud was flung around in the House. You get an ugly situation like that and all kinds of crooks and thugs will take advantage of it, knowing quite well that their misdeeds will be only too gleefully laid at the wharfies' door -'Oh, Pete,' Lacy said disgustedly, 'you're too soft-hearted altogether! . . . ' 19

Campbell's presentation is of a subtle kind, attributing to Peter

15. DW, pp. 78-79. Lacy's one-sided account of violence in the dispute (apart from dealing only with possibilities, not with instances of actual injury) differs factually from other fictional and documentary accounts. Scott, in his chapter 'Who Planned Bloodshed?', devotes much space to the railway incident.*

16. DW, p.79.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid.
a defence of the watersiders which is both inadequate and inappropriate. Its effect as a consequence becomes subtle aspersion. The event to which Lacy is referring was known not to be the work of "crooks and thugs", but always as an expression of worker frustration. Peter's defence, therefore, can be dismissed as feeble, for Campbell's readers - contemporary or later - could know enough of available fact. A "crooks and thugs" defence, for Campbell (if not for Peter) becomes a 'straw man' tactic of questionable purpose. Disregarded as it must be, Peter indeed seems "too soft-hearted" and wharfies thus become the only "who else" option.

Recorded history of the Huntly incident makes plain that watersiders were not involved. An inland town, founded on mining, Huntly derived its income generally from coal. The action taken, as described by Scott, was a protest by miners against 'scab' labour: the working of open-cast pits against the Union's ruling. Peter's not defending the wharfies on the ground that they did not do it - but, rather, claiming vaguely that he does not know who did - seems strange from a Government Member who should know better, and seems to serve no literary creative purpose.

Campbell appears to use him to impugn her wharfies further, and in imaginative spirit on even another count. The claim that "mud" had been "flung around the House" is either a creative addition or authorial mistake. The Huntly gelignite incident on 30 April occurred almost two months before Parliament was called. Duncan's 'education' continues in this vein, with National Government Peter as the workers' only champion. Using Lacy as mouthpiece, Campbell damns with further instance:

'Oh, Pete, . . . you're too soft-hearted altogether! You know darned well that the most filthy attempts at intimidation were going on - neatly planned "accidents," scurrilous pamphlets, children being got at at school -'
'I know all that. But when tempers are high things happen that are exaggerated out of all proportion —' 20

Campbell's case against wharfies is only strengthened by Peter's continuing feeble defence. Having shown him to be 'equable', slow to judge and "soft-hearted" (even naive, denying the Huntly-dispute connection), he now endorses Lacy's "filthy" accusations with a mildly stated "I know all that." His following excuse about tempers running "high" confirms the substance of Lacy's remarks, his reference to exaggeration the proverbial fire's smoke.

This section of the discussion about the dispute concludes with a jibe at the Labour Opposition and a comment from Peter suggesting unease:

'You ought to have been on the other side of the House,' Lacy said scornfully, "neither for nor against"!' 'Perhaps you're right,' Peter smiled at her. 'I'm rapidly coming to the conclusion that I'm not a party man.' 'Don't talk nonsense!' Lacy turned to Duncan. 'He made one of the most brilliant speeches when the Government brought in the Police Emergency Regulations — I wish you could have heard him —'

'Oh, it was all pretty good bunk,' Pete said. 'It went down like hot cakes. It even silenced the Opposition!' Lacy declared. 'Anyway, you seem to have settled it all now' Duncan said. 'Not quite.' . . . 21

The cause of Peter's unease is the emergency legislation, and the result — his decision finally to resign — precipitates the complication common to both plots. As the 'liberal' factor, his unease warrants discussion separate from issues specific to the dispute, for Peter's disquiet and disaffection toward the Government

20. DW, p.79. The timing differences between the fictional world and its historical model continue. Lacy seems to refer to the dispute as something well in the past. It was still very much present when the 1951 Parliament was opened.

21. Ibid. Campbell has altered the title of the regulations or has confused it with the post-election Police Offences Amendment Act. What she has in mind seem to be the Waterfront Strike Emergency Regulations.
do not relate to the lock-out itself. He endorses the Party's view and handling of the crisis.

Campbell's portrayal of watersiders must be described as 'sleazy', Bess's progress to their 'hide-out' like the seeking of a lair. Her fear and trepidation almost defeat the curiosity which has inspired her to brave 'the back streets of Wellington':

Where to begin her search? You could no longer wander through the wharf gates and walk between the berthed ships; there were police guarding the gates and you needed a pass to get in. The Waterside Union Offices - they'd know where Katie could be found. They might not tell her . . . She'd have to ask a policeman where the offices were and she wouldn't much like doing that, but it wasn't a criminal question, after all!

She approached a comfortable-looking sergeant on duty at the Queen's wharf and put her question. Her voice sounded silly, frightened. She felt, after he had given her directions, that he was watching her . . . But the little thread of fear made her quest more exciting . . . it was an adventure to be going into the watersiders' camp . . .

The Union Office was picketed. She hadn't thought of that. She walked uncertainly up and down the far side of the street wondering what to do, eyeing the shabby pair guarding the lighted doorway. They're only men, she told herself, they can't hurt me . . . She walked purposefully across the road.

Bess screws up her courage, finds it 'quite easy, after all' and walks 'firmly into the shabby passage.' She sees with Campbell's eyes - or Campbell's imagination - caricatures of place and trade union officials:

She opened the first door she came to and found herself in a room with a tired-looking, scruffy little man sitting behind a trestle table. There seemed to be a lot of paper everywhere, piles of documents, boxes of files, slogans and posters on the walls. It was a cheerless place, rather dusty and worn out, like the little man who looked up at her curiously and suspiciously.

22. DW, p.88.
23. DW, pp. 85-86.
24. DW, p.86.
When he answers Bess's question, he does not 'move or take the cigarette off his lower lip.' She thinks that she sees 'thoughts labouring through his tired mind; "What's she after? Where does she come from?"

Is she one of 'them'? Look out, mate, you can't be too careful. Better keep mum. Can't go wrong if you keep mum."

In contrast to the policeman, who had looked 'comfortable', the unionist seems to Bess to become 'even more suspicious. He seem[s] to shrink into himself.

"Can't help you," he said.

Campbell's negative stereotype of a waterfront trade unionist (little, suspicious and with a drooping cigarette) continues with the entrance of another, called George; his hat is 'battered' and, instead of hanging it up, he simply throws it 'into the far corner of the room.'

The language of the workers is likewise brusque and rough, contrasting throughout with Bess's politeness. They discuss her as 'she' (and jerking thumbs at her), use phrases like "keep mum", "cock and bull" and "Aw, well". Bess replies in the spirit of "Oh dear. That's disappointing", "I'm sorry" and finally an effusive "Oh, thank you."

The purpose of her visit to the workers' headquarters has been an attempt to solve a private family mystery: the youthful love affair of her august Great-aunt Hannah. One of the waterfront

25. Ibid.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid.
28. DW, p.87.
29. Ibid.
"troublemakers", "a particularly virulent customer",\textsuperscript{30} happens to live with the grand-daughter of Hannah's one-time confidante. Having managed (no doubt, through her ingenuous sweetness) to persuade the union's men to provide the desired address, Bess proceeds on her personal quest to the "little runt Haynes"\textsuperscript{31} home. As declared in all honesty to the workers' officials, she has no interest at all in 'the waterfront trouble'.\textsuperscript{32}

Campbell's portrayal of Katie Anderson has the quality of caricature, of class-ridden perception. Moreover, as Haynes' woman, she could well have been used to present some views sympathetic to workers. Instead of doing so (with obvious opportunity, when Bess declares ignorance of "all this trouble")\textsuperscript{33} Katie only replies, "No good asking me".\textsuperscript{35}

The reader, if perceptive, should not be surprised at the author's handling of the women's encounter. Even as Bess was drawing near to Haynes and Katie's house (number ten Panaki Street, access only by 'rickety ladder')\textsuperscript{36} Campbell's conservative social prejudice actively colours description. Among the 'ramshackle wooden buildings', reminiscent of the 'Wild West', only three kinds of people are seen by the heroine. Her observation's triteness verges on the offensive. First, Bess notices

\textsuperscript{30} DW, p.80.

\textsuperscript{31} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{32} DW, p.87.

\textsuperscript{33} DW, p.93.

\textsuperscript{34} Ibid. Additional to these two aspects of unsympathetic presentation - the working class stereotype and Katie's failure to defend - Katie has an obvious role as a contrast to Bess, who is golden, fresh and innocent, as behoves a rural heroine.

\textsuperscript{35} DW, p.88.
the little wizened faces of Chinamen peering out from behind piles of apples and cabbages...\footnote{96}

Next, she sees 'a Maori girl with a wide flat face... sitting in a doorway grinning foolishly'. In 'her limp hands', she holds 'an empty bottle'.\footnote{37} 'Another drunk' then catches her attention, 'his pockets bulging with bottles' as he 'lurche[s] up the pavement'.\footnote{38}

Campbell's overt racism and her seeming equation of urban workers with dissoluteness are both of a piece with her apparent attitude towards the crisis. Her continual celebration of the high country's splendour has its corollary in antagonism towards the city and its inhabitants. Bess's thought that 'she hated the drunkenness of the towns'\footnote{39} is the obverse darker side of her 'unbearable' homesickness - 'for the dogs and the big open fire and the scent of manuka logs, the cold clear silence of a mountain night.'\footnote{48}

The references to 'Chinamen' with 'little wizened faces' and to a foolish-looking Maori girl with 'a wide flat face' not only are repugnant in their pejorative intention, but also express the Establishment's historical intolerance. As will be defended later, with regard to other fiction, this disdain for all who seem 'other' is tied to Utopian myth. In New Zealand, where the deepest of the dreams is pastoral, antagonism towards the exotic can often include the urban.

Katie's language (the first aspect which Bess encounters) is vulgar and rough: "Aw, come on in. If it's you b______ coppers"

\footnote{37. Ibid.}
\footnote{38. Ibid.}
\footnote{39. Ibid.}
\footnote{40. DW, p.85.}
again why bother to knock?"\(^{41}\)

It continues in this vein, peppered with dashes wherever the author cannot face Katie's crudeness. Gentle Bess is exposed to "Well, I'll be _______" and "You kin ______ well ___ off!"\(^{42}\) Disclaiming any interest in union related matters, she is asked "What in bloody Christ's name are you "interested" in?

My moral welfare? My bastard kids? My livin' conditions? My Maori Dad? You won't _____ well find him, either. I never have!'\(^{43}\)

The portrayal of Katie, like that of Peter Brent, appears to be simple or imaginatively trite. Rather than creating from sensitive observation, Campbell seems more to be projecting cliché-ed notions - of the 'liberal' Tory and the Fallen Woman. With Katie, as with Peter, the simplicity of 'character-content' obscures, however, a negative and subtle effect. In both presentations, by similar devious means, the wharfies are further distanced from reader sympathy.

While Peter, in the role given him by Campbell, seems to be the workers' champion (within limits and stupidly), Katie shares their life, intimately and daily, and speaks - or could speak - as one who knows much. Indeed, Haynes, as her "old man",\(^{44}\) she knows "through and through",\(^{45}\) and her physical and social hardship have partial cause in his beliefs. This woman, however, fails not only to defend but also even to support the watersiders' case. Given her position of privilege, so to speak, her lack of a 'good word' becomes an

41. DW, p.88
42. DW, p.89.
43. DW, pp.89-98.
44. DW, p.91.
45. DW, p.93.
indirect indictment. Among her statements of subtle damning are those referring to "filthy pamphlets" (describing the bulletins of the workers' underground press); to Haynes, herself and their like with the phrase "We're poison".

On the specific issue of politics and trouble, Katie does not make much allowance for ideological cause: ". . . No time for writing and thinkin' pretty things these days. If it isn't strikes, it's football or racing or a night of "crown and anchor" and a head as thick as mud the day after!"

In this apparently simple statement, Campbell manages to suggest that strikes are a constant feature of working men's activity; that industrial disruption is a form of entertainment pursued in the same spirit as sport or drinking; that workers are gamblers and generally dissolute. From the working class Katie, this condemns with authority.

Bess's enquiry about the "trouble" and conflicting political views on it elicits the fierce response, "Christ! Politics give me indigestion!" By all that she omits, as much as by what she includes, the deregistered unionists and their case are undermined. Unwilling to give credit to such startling cynicism, the high-country heroine actively encourages a positive statement of the workers' views:

'But the watersiders must have a strong case. You don't get hundreds of free-born New Zealanders striking for four months without some good reason -'

46. DW, p.89.
47. DW, p.93.
48. DW, p.92.
49. DW, p.93.
50. Ibid.
This overt invitation to have the 'reason' given is undeniably clever in terms of authorial purpose. First, Bess becomes enhanced by it, so trusting of good motive and reasonable behaviour as basic human qualities. Second, through her reference to 'free-born New Zealanders'\textsuperscript{51} (who could not possibly strike unless there were "good reason"), Campbell suggests to the reader a communist infiltration; 'unfree' and 'non-Kiwi' are implied by Bess's insistence. Third, opportunity is taken to remind the reader again of the trouble's duration and widespread effects. Fourth, and most important, Katie's response conveys very strongly that there is no workers' 'case'; that, indeed, the four months' striking is "without good reason".

Her immediate retort of "No good asking me" means, in view of who she is, that no-one could reasonably answer. Her following " . . . the lot of them want their heads banging together, ______ politicians and _____ employers and _____ wharfies and all!"\textsuperscript{52} declares that she sees no right on her own 'side'; knowing the latter well, she lumps it with its opponents. In amazement at such disloyalty (by omission), Bess continues to press for specific answers, reminding Katie "But you live with it. You must agree or disagree . . . ."\textsuperscript{53} Having created, as author, this golden opportunity, Campbell takes it up to deal another blow.

Katie's answer implies that she does 'disagree' but follows Will's private maxim of "Better keep mum".\textsuperscript{54} The innuendo made is of intimidation, of choosing to avoid possible domestic violence; one

\begin{itemize}
  \item 51. Ibid. (Underlines added)
  \item 52. Ibid.
  \item 53. Ibid.
  \item 54. DW, p.86.
\end{itemize}
does not, sensibly, disagree "with Jack Haynes . . .

There's some men that thrives on argument. Jack Haynes is one of them. So I never argue. I never even think arguments - Christ! I couldn't live with him if I did!'\textsuperscript{55}

This hardly qualifies as an issues-supportive statement. Moreover, it qualifies further Campbell's negative image of workers. Some men, temperamentally, "thrives" on discord; the wharfies' leader's woman defines him as such a man.

Although Katie has not one good word for the watersiders and provides no details of the crisis' basic issues, she does attempt to convey to Bess Haynes' life-long pattern: hopeless, without hope. (Joe Larkin's father, in 'Faith of our Fathers',\textsuperscript{56} attempts the same for a generation of workers, yet his explanation, carrying the author's conviction, arouses a reader-sympathy which Katie's does not.)

'Mum picked him up off the roadworks when he was a miserable skeleton of a lad, just eighteen. The depression was on. He'd never had a chance . . . Jack Haynes, and dozens of others like him, couldn't get work, no, not for all the _____ tea in China. He tramped the streets till the soles of his boots wore out. Then he lived in the bush with a couple of Maoris - at least you could snare rabbits and catch fish in the bush. Then the State put him to work on the roads - like a _____ convict! That's when Mum found him - and turned him over to me to care for. I've bin caring for him ever since. But those years are like an old sore that won't ever let him rest.'\textsuperscript{57}

The depression "drove Jack Haynes to live on his own in the bush. He's been on his own ever since. Trying to be someone, but on his own. It doesn't work. It bloody well doesn't work!'\textsuperscript{58}

55. \textit{DW}, p.93.


57. \textit{DW}, p.93.

58. \textit{DW}, p.94.
When Bess offers, somewhat romantically, "But he's got you", Katie replies:

'There's no woman born can be the whole of life to any man . . . . But the poor sod needs me . . . ."59

The effect of this account (unlike Larkin's, which deals with men 'historically caught' by the depression, then the war, then industrial chaos) is more pathetic than sympathetic. Not only is Haynes described as a "miserable skeleton", in his youthful days (and with good cause), but also, two decades on, as a "poor sod". He was picked up from the road by Kate, Katie's mother, and has continued to need care for the rest of his life. Irascible, mistrustful and bound by his past, Haynes' angry isolation - determined Man Aloneness - actually conceals an almost childish dependence. There seems no reason to doubt the impression conveyed by Katie that the man himself is unaware of this; that, for all his sound and fury, Haynes is basically weak.

While outlining for the reader some of Haynes' life-history, Campbell takes the passing chance to demean more than him. While he fails to fit the stoical image of those surviving the depression, persevering by sheer will, the positive concept of worker-solidarity is also, in Katie's comments, the subject of appraisal. The verdicts are similar - discrepant with common belief:

'Funny thing about trouble,' Katie said slowly, 'sometimes it sort of pulls people together. But the depression didn't do that, it pulled men apart, made every man his cobber's enemy because your cobber'd get the job if you didn't get there first, and he'd be waiting to snatch it from you if he could. It drove Jack Haynes to live in the bush . . . .'60

Although, clearly, in '51 he now lives and works with others, attending union meetings and organising activity, Haynes has not

59. Ibid.

60. DW, pp.93-94.
unlearnt the lesson from former trouble: "Trying to be someone, but on his own." 61

On leaving Katie's house (encouraged to do so, for fear of Haynes' reaction were he even to see her there), Bess catches a glimpse of him returning home. He is alone and small in the darkened street, smoking 'rapidly, as though he had no time to waste.' 'His face . . . was an old face, narrow and sharp.' 62 Bess hears Katie's singing cease as Haynes enters the house.

Overall, for Bess, the encounter with Katie Anderson proves to be a positive experience. Her success, however, in gaining information about Great-aunt Hannah is not the sole reason. The heroine - fair, country and virginal - and Katie, part-Maori, illegitimate and workworn, find a rapport which defies many differences. While Katie, one suspects, warms to Bess for what she is - sweetly ingenue in appearance and behaviour - Bess admires in Katie an essential female strength which obviates the worker and urban vulgarities. Men and their "filthy pamphlets", men and their 'half-truth' politics, are discarded by the women and, no doubt, by Campbell, typifying an attitude of New Zealand's conservative Establishment. (Margaret Rankin, in Cross's novel, After Anzac Day, 63 will be seen at length to display such rejection.)

*  
The possibility of balanced presentation of the waterfront crisis fades with this encounter. With the novel's central characters being a kind of landed gentry, a Scottish Lord and a sheep-station M.P., that opportunity was never more than scant and arising, twice

61. DW, p.94.

62. Ibid.

63. See ensuing discussion (AAD), pp.203-209.
briefly, is negatively exploited. While Campbell unavoidably portrays discrepancy in the dispute's effects on diverse social groupings, this is done without protest and as simple observation. That conditions at Barmore or in Wellington town-houses starkly contrast with Katie's poverty; that she is short of tea while Peter and Lacy are attending cocktail parties 'a hundred strong': these Campbell seems to accept as the natural order of things.

The novel, however, does not lack all protest, despite its full endorsement of the 'worker-wrecker' theory. As mentioned earlier, there is a 'liberal factor' in the disquiet and eventual action of Peter Brent. In terms of The Dark Water's plot, his resignation from the Government and from his seat of New Inverness sets in train events potentially tragic. For Bess, an unhappy outcome is narrowly averted; for Lacy, his wife, the outcome is death.

The Emergency Regulations and not the Waterfront Dispute cause Peter's resignation from National Party ranks. As cited earlier, he regards the two as quite separate issues - which, in fact, they are. The Public Safety Conservation Act empowering a government to impose such regulations exists independent of any specific emergency. Peter Brent exemplifies a possible political stance of crediting the emergency but fearing the powers. That this distinction is rare in waterfront crisis fiction relates to a worker-sympathy common among its writers. Disassociation of oppressive means from their political ends is necessary only when the writer himself endorses

64. *DW*, p.91; p.84.

65. *

66. Cross's Tory Minister, in *After Anzac Day*, gives fleeting expression to a view like Peter's, in 'Technically, there is no doubt that we have violated the liberty of the subject . . . .' (p.175) After Campbell, Cross shows the least worker-sympathy of all other writers of waterfront fiction.
those ends. Unlike Campbell (and, to some extent, Cross), most dispute fiction writers have no need for such distinguishing, for both ends and means are personally rejected, are seen as mutually expressive of integrated behaviour.

In the Wellington conversation, previously discussed, where Peter and Lacy 'explain' the dispute to Duncan, Peter voices his unease about his Party's methods. In response to Duncan's observing, "you seem to have settled it now", he comments, "Not quite", and looks out towards the ships:

'We've won certain points, a good many restrictive practices have been broken down, employers have the right to select their men, and there's agreement on the principle that disputes must be settled by conciliation and arbitration and not by direct action, new Unions have been formed - the original ones were deregistered - but the Police Emergency Regulations are still in force . . . . '67

Duncan assumes from Peter's anxiety that these must be "pretty fierce", an assumption which Peter confirms with the damning description: "the most totalitarian legislation ever passed in a democracy."68

But they'll be repealed, surely, as soon as the emergency is over?'
'I hope so. Powers of that kind aren't good for any Government.'
Lacy said, 'Darling Pete, you do talk tripe - to remove all Emergency Regulations now would be like taking a poultice off an abscess before the poison is all out.'
'I'd call them a tourniquet rather than a poultice,' Peter said.69

This conversation, preparing for events to come, continues Campbell's method of quietly 'sinking the boot in'. The mild and

67. DW, p.79; The regulations again have a fictional name, and again the impression is given that the dispute is over. *
68. DW, p.80.
69. Ibid.
reasonable Peter, in the voicing of liberal fears, provides the reader with a list - detailed and comprehensive - of all the acclaimed sins of "militant" workers. It could hardly have been done better by Lacy herself. Coming from Peter, however, it encourages reader-acceptance that the "practices" halted and the forming of new unions denote rightful action by the ruling Party. Lacy's later image of the crisis as an abscess, from which "poison" has been released - with more remaining to be drawn - elicits from her husband no denial. Thus, it stands unchallenged for Campbell's reader. Peter takes up only Lacy's likening of the means, making no correction to the likened ends.

Nonetheless, the point is made by Campbell's politician that democracy lies endangered. While a poultice will extract only what is unhealthy, the tourniquet strangulates unspecifically and, given time, will damage even healthy tissue. The speedy removal of "totalitarian" law Peter believes to be imperative - and not only for the people: "Powers of that kind aren't good for any Government." 70

In a later discussion, alone with Bess, Peter confides a general disillusion about party politics and his role within them. When Bess suggests that "something will probably happen to decide it all for you", 71 Peter responds:

"Yes. These Emergency Regulations more than likely. I haven't dared tell Lacy, but I'm more than half in sympathy with the Opposition in their efforts to get them scrapped."

The "something" which does happen occurs before long when, following her visit to Katie, Bess is arrested. Katie's warning to

70. Ibid.
71. DW, p.83.
72. DW, pp.83-84.
her visitor shortly after arrival that the "sods might walk in here any minute" is a legal possibility not quite taken up. Instead, the police confront Bess, once she has left the property. Arrest without warrant is, under the regulations, as legal as warrantless entry of premises.

Bess's being taken to police headquarters, when certainly she was innocent of criminal activity, decides for Peter his necessary course: refusal to speak in the Emergency Regulations debate: 74

'. . . if I can't support my own Party and won't support the Opposition, there's nothing for it but to keep my mouth shut . . . .' 75

Although he has admitted sympathy with his opponents, he will not "pal up publicly" with them. In his assessment, "they've behaved like stink -

all this "neither for nor against" shilly-shallying. If only they'd had the guts to speak out like the Federation of Labour did they could have shortened the strike by weeks." 76

In this discussion overall, the very clear distinction between ends and means is forcefully reiterated. Campbell seems at pains to ensure no confusion arises for the reader about the dispute, while Peter is outlining his regulation objections. Explaining to Peter how she came to be arrested, Bess recounts some details about Haynes' life. Peter's reply is both rapid and vehement:

'Look. You don't want to go getting sentimental notions about that little skunk. He's a rabid Communist with only one idea in his head - up Russia, and down New Zealand.'

'Katie's no Communist.'

'Then she ought to cure Haynes.'

73. DW, p.91.
74. DW, p.97.
75. DW, p.98.
76. Ibid.

Again, one must wonder about the author's methods: whether she errs in ignorance or fictionalises for creative purpose.*
'He's incurable. That's why she stays with him.'
'True love under the Red Star!'77

These judgments clearly made, he is given free rein to talk to Bess in detail about the repressive laws.

The first matter raised relates to the arrest and the onus placed on Bess "to prove innocence."78 This reversal of the principle basic to our law Bess had found "hard" to deal with, although she had nothing to hide. Her truthful story (about Great-aunt Hannah's letters) 'sounded pretty thin' and was not really believed. Being "suspect", although innocent, leaves her feeling "guilty".79 Peter observes correctly that this need to prove innocence relates to the current emergency conditions.

Bess's reaction, other than feeling unreasonably guilty, is anger about the experience and then for her country:

She hadn't told the police about the illegal meeting. If she told Pete she might get Haynes arrested. She was suddenly angry at being forced to be secretive. Let the truth come out, all of it. This was New Zealand, a free country where people were not afraid to say what they thought - or shouldn't be.80

In a minor way, the 'tourniquet' effect is exemplified in Bess's experience; "doing nothing wrong",81 visiting whom she pleases, cause her to be searched for pamphlets and interrogated at length.

On Peter, to whom the image belongs, this exemplifying aspect is obviously not wasted:

'The Emergency Regulations striking at the upright home of a

77. DW, p.96.
78. Ibid.
79. Ibid.
80. Ibid.
81. DW, p.96.
National Party member . . . .It's really rather rich!²²

In detail he explains to Bess what the regulations comprise and why he has just decided not to speak in their debate:

'Look. You know what they mean. You know what they feel like, too, after this evening. They include the right of search at any hour of the day or night, arrest without warrant, a ban on meetings. The strike is over. The Opposition want the Regulations repealed at once. The Government want to hang on to all the most vicious ones. In addition, they declared a State of Emergency and passed the Regulations without calling Parliament until now, when they were forced to, and everything is pretty well over bar the shouting. In England this couldn't have happened. A State of Emergency can't be declared without summoning Parliament to debate it within five days. Well, there you have it. I agree with the Opposition over this. 'But the Regulations were necessary, Pete. You said so yourself in that speech - or was that just "talk"?' 'Of course they were necessary. But they should have been debated freely long ago. And now they should be scrapped - all of them. The men are back at work. There's nothing that can't be dealt with now under the ordinary law.'³³

Again the point is made that Peter's anxiety relates to civil liberty, not the dispute itself. The matter concerning him most - the requirement to call Parliament - is surely to his credit (and, therefore, to Campbell's).³⁴ Indeed, contravening the model of English law, in the lack of such requirement liberty is most threatened. A reader of The Dark Water, romance as it doubtless is, might well on this single matter acquire new understanding of darker aspects of our social history.

On the night of the debate, Peter honours his resolve - an action not lacking impact in view of his "promising" status.³⁵ More than

²². DW, p.97.
³³. Ibid. The timing 're-alignments' of the fictional dispute continue and here create discrepancy within themselves.* ³⁴. The requirement has since been included in the Act, by amendment in 1960 by the Second Labour Government. The House must now be called within seven days. (Sutch, p.286)
³⁵. DW, p.11.
this, the same evening when the Prime Minister declares his intention to call an early election, Peter announces that he will not be standing again. From the account given to Lacy at her cocktail party, Peter effects his own departure in a grand and useful way:

'. . . He was all set after that terrific speech he made last autumn. The P.M. couldn't have paid him a bigger compliment than asking him to speak today and what does the silly skite do? Throws the offer back in the P.M.'s face - doesn't just refuse, but gives his reasons for refusing - in full - not very complimentary reasons either. He's ditched himself, Lacy . . . .'86

The date of these events can be set, by deduction, at 11 July after sixteen days of the session. On this night, Sid Holland announced his decision to request from the Governor-General the dissolution of Parliament. (The day of 11 July is significant, also, in being the official date of the waterfront crisis' end - when 'the National Executive of the N.Z.W.W.U. recommended a return to work'.87)

Lacy's informant, another Member of Parliament, gives as the P.M.'s reason - or easy "excuse"88 - an Opposition "amendment . . . strong enough censure on the Government.

The P.M.'s so sure of the country - and of himself - that he grabbed the chance.'89

What Campbell has in mind perhaps is the successful moving by Labour members of a Want of Confidence debate.90 This insistent and stinging attack on the Government for its policies and handling of crisis throughout was, for many of the public, the first which had

86. DW, p.103.
87. Bassett, p.188
88. DW, p.102.
89. DW, p.103.
been heard. The New Zealand Herald judged aright, no doubt, that Holland's move was pragmatically timed.  

Able to speak safely inside the House, the Labour Opposition after sixteen short days now had the problem of a House which had risen. Exacerbating the problem, the Government declared that the Emergency Regulations would remain in force, although the dispute was over. Peter Brent's resignation — to his own mind, at least — would surely have been vindicated by these later events.

On the night itself, despite the personal problems which, he knows, his stand will cause within his marriage, Peter returns home, 'grinning . . . years younger'. His Party, he is told, is now calling him "Scab" — the "watersiders' favourite term of abuse." There is wry wit in his response: "I thought our side were inclined to think it an honourable title . . .." 

His general demeanour suggests great relief, a freeing of spirit in deciding at last. He asks for a "wedge of cake", declaring "I'm famished" and gaily proposes a toast to the end of his own career. At the accusation of scabbery from his erstwhile colleague ("a chap who rats on his own side"), he defines the term sincerely and as he

91. 'Some will say that Mr Holland's aim is to ride the winning wave following on his successful handling of the strike and to ride it before it breaks on the shortness of public memory'. (NZH, 13 July 1951. Cited Bassett, p.194).
92. DW, p.103
93. DW, p 104.
94. Ibid.
95. Ibid.
96. Ibid.
had always perceived it: "a chap who stands out against the mob and
does what he thinks is right". In Jenson's retort, cynical and
disgusted ("Oh, give yourself a martyr's halo"), Campbell roundly
affirms his scabbery as courageous.

The novel's concern with the dispute and regulations draws to
a close with Peter's words to Duncan:

'... Politically, I should say the P.M.'s made a shrewd
move.'
'Only politically?'
'Well, it seems a pity to throw the country into the storms
and stresses of an election when we're only just out of a
serious industrial crisis. But that's politics. The
Party'll get back with a big majority.'
'That'll give the country three years' strong government,
might be worth the upheaval.'
'Might be.'

Leaving behind his parliamentary career, Peter thus displays concern
not for self or Party. The energy and optimism with which he
returned from the war, and which took him into politics, wanting to
change and build, have faded in disillusion with the "grind" and
the "racket". In these closing political comments, following
his fine stand, "the country" itself remains as Peter's abiding
care. The factionalism and politicking - be they workers' or
parliamentarians' - have not shown as their priority New Zealand's
greater good. Like Jack Haynes, in a sense, he is driven back to
the bush, literally and figuratively "to live on his own".

As an option chosen, it is unlike Haynes' in that it denotes
neither weakness nor failure in the man. In accord with Campbell's

97. Ibid.
98. Ibid.
99. Ibid.
100. DW, p.82.
101. DW, p.83.
Pastoral Dream perspective, it emerges as positive — a far better thing. As Bess had shared with Duncan, on a tranquil high-country evening:

'... there's such a big job to do here. It's difficult to explain, but - New Zealand is still so young and new, and there aren't so many people who are willing to live and work here, in the back blocks. You're right, I love this place and feel - part of it ... .'\(^*\)

* The noteworthy quality of Campbell's attitudes, as a writer attempting overtly political material, emerges as antagonism towards urban workers. The qualifying adjective is not used at all lightly; Jim, Dan the packie, Angus and Jake, Campbell draws affectionately as rural tough men. Despite some apparent confusion over minor matters of fact, despite a seeming 'half-bakedness' in her implicit social theorising, Campbell's *The Dark Water* contributes something of value to the necessary process of our self-understanding. Beyond its 'factual' content (detailing law, debate and outcome), beyond the characters' experience of history in their lives, the author's antagonisms and sympathies stand clear. The result, although a rarity in our fictional tradition, is a coherent example of the common New Zealand conservative.

The value of this example, in terms of fiction and social history, does not lie in any rarity of 'the conservative' in our writing; both as a type and rounded character, he inhabits many pages. Its value resides in its subjective nature: a conservative cast of mind self-revealed in its work. Different from other capturings of the Establishment mentality (which focus as on an object, perceiving from outside), *The Dark Water* quite simply declares its author: a conservative, for once and unselfconsciously,

presenting itself with a sense of rightness. If fiction has a role of expansion of understanding, such a novel (despite its weakness in style and romance-plot) acquires the merit of the Establishment speaking for itself. In our national community, it exists undeniably, determining obvious patterns - social and political: yet powerful as it seems in historical terms, in fiction it comprises truly the silent majority.

These writers, so much missing, are neither closet fascists nor over-zealous editors nor knee-jerk reactionaries; it is rather the intelligent conservative whose creative work we lack. While Campbell hardly qualifies in this novel as 'intelligent', at least in some attitudes she reveals a common conservatism and, in her attention to Peter's dilemma, its less common accompaniment - a sense of civil liberty.

The adjective 'coherent' applied to the revealed temperament is intended to suggest an integration of attitudes. In matters political, social and personal there exists a concordance almost stereo-typical.

Politically, industrial workers are roundly condemned; they are "pirates", "saboteurs", and "virulent customers". Their leaders, without question, are "rabid Communist[s]" hell-bent on "pushing the men into all kinds of trouble". The Government has indeed faced a genuine emergency, incited for no good reason and at great financial loss. These views, so recorded history

103. DW, p.95.
104. DW, p.78.
105. DW, p.80.
106. DW, p.96.
107. DW, p.78.
suggests, were held at the time by a public majority; in fiction, excepting Campbell's, no author seems to endorse them.

Not inconsistent with these specific interpretations co-exists the strong concern about repressive legislation. The political conservative (often anti-communist) may, in the extreme, favour authoritarian rule; he may also, in a different extreme, jealously value freedoms - personal, political and especially economic. 'Over-regulation' is a political catchcry equally audible from Right to Left - although, for philosophical reasons, seldom over a common issue. In New Zealand the conservative seems slow to arouse except in matters of individual freedom; rules affecting others are unlikely to excite him. Peter, to give him his due, expresses uneasiness about the regulations, while personally unaffected; understanding them in detail, he can see, however, the potential for their abuse or misuse against private citizens. His dramatic decision, in the final analysis, is precipitated by events which touch him personally - the "Regulations striking at [his] upright home".118 They have been striking at Katie Anderson's for more than four months.

Campbell's social attitudes are consistently conservative - about women and marriage and family roles. Love emerges as the novel's main theme: love thwarted, love fulfilled both in past and present relationships. Marriage and having children are the women's desired goals,109 and man (as Bess warns Peter) should be the masterful partner. Interestingly (perhaps unconsciously?), Campbell presents, however, the phenomenon described by Chapman in his 'Social

108. DW, p.97.

109. Ibid., p.163. (Bess) 'But women must fall in love and marry and have children - that, surely, is the most important part of building a new nation.'
Pattern' essay:118 that the management power within relationships belongs to the women rather than the men. In all the couples portrayed, whether in passing or in depth, the men need stable women to nurture or uphold them.

Campbell's unself-conscious racism is another social attitude historically consistent with a conservative cast of mind. Equally so are her devotion and sense of closeness to the 'old country', 'Home' and all that she stands for.

Although not highly developed in any intellectual sense, Utopian elements abound in this novel. Overwritten to extreme in many instances, passage after passage celebrates the land, the splendour as well as the fury of the southern high-country. Even Lacy, an outsider, can be moved by its glory; '... the countryside got you in the dawn;

at first there was only the star-pricked sky, wide and deep and - somehow - caressing. It seemed to draw you out of yourself and, at moments like this you could believe in eternity and not laugh at yourself for doing so. First, there was the stillness that even the dogs dared not break as they padded along beside the horses. Then came the gradual birth of hill and tree, horse and man, black against the jewelled blue, a feeling of invisible strength about you, of life returning, flowing strongly, a sense of anticipation, keen and fierce as strong drink inside you, and then, all at once, sound - music bursting out of tree and tussock and river bank; a bell bird first, liquid notes, song without substance, dropping with heart-arresting clarity out of the quiet. An answering peal from a distant clump of bush - a whistle, a trill, a sharp little flurry of notes - then a chorus of twittering and chirruping as though the birds had all overslept, and were tumbling out of bed in a hurry and a flutter for fear they would miss the dawn. Then bird-song was muted with the dimming stars in hushed awe of the rising sun; a rosy glimmer spread over the snow-crested mountains, the river emerged like a curled strip of satin from the dark flats. Then the subdued fire of the mountain tops crept upwards and outwards into the sky, lining the clumps of inky cloud with carmine and rose, and

colour burst out of darkness in glorious profligate sweeps of gold, the vanishing night lingered in the purple depths of the shadowed mountain-side. It was a moment of glory that wrenched the very core of life out of you and seemed to fling you for a breathless instant across the marvellous wonder of hill and sky.\textsuperscript{111}

This is the land to which Bess belongs, her hair which is neither gold nor brown

but the palest of autumn's glory, matching the group of poplars below... fluttering amber flames against the lake.\textsuperscript{112}

When Duncan first arrives, his wonder is immediate: "The sounds are so - small. The growth so vast."

'I often think,' [Bess] said, 'if you lay down and fell asleep you'd wake up and find yourself entwined in creeper and turned into a tree -'

'Like Daphne.'

She nodded.

He said, 'It makes you feel very small and - sort of trivial.'

'The bush has been here for thousands of years. Men only for about five hundred.'

'It's rather scaring,' he said.

She was pleased with him, pleased with his awe. 'In the North Island... it's even more like that. Monster trees wrapped about with liana and creepers and ferns... it makes you feel you've got to - make an alliance with nature - that it's no good just fighting against it. It's difficult to explain but - if you can become part of it, then you get a sort of harmony of living...

'I know. A Wordsworthian nearness to God,' he said.\textsuperscript{113}

The land not only is beautiful but also, as Bess warns, deserving of respect for its wildness unreined; in the novel this is unleashed against itself and animals and people. Bess 'ran down to the woolshed where she would be able to see the river. The thundering grew louder as she ran. It encompassed her. She was lost in it. If she shouted she would not hear her own voice.

The river was thick and grey as turbulent mud. It did not look like water at all. It seem to boil and hurl itself

\textsuperscript{111} DW, pp.343-35.

\textsuperscript{112} DW, p.21.

\textsuperscript{113} Ibid.
against banks and boulders as though erupted by some great force in the river bed. It had the strength and threat of molten metal. She saw a tree totter on the bank and fall, its blackened branches clawing at the air like a dying animal as it was swept out of sight.

Above the river the hills and sky were tranquil in the first green light of dawn. The stars still shone out, steady and unmoving. The peaks gleamed as though painted with phosphorus, aloof and detached from the destruction that sucked and pounded at the foothills.\(^{114}\)

Campbell captures here that barbarous thrusting Nature, as awesome in its indifference as in its havoc's magnitude, which Glover, Baxter, Curnow, Brasch and Duggan have celebrated lastingly in another genre.

Although, to a large extent, this geophysical grandeur serves only a practical purpose of being the love-plot's setting, 'connections' (not made by the author herself) can be made by the reader from the raw material provided. First, the pastoral Utopian elements are eminently consistent with Campbell's conservative political and social views. It is main-stream myth informing her presentation — that of vast Arcadian spaces in a 'new' land.\(^{115}\) Campbell, writing a good century after the early immigrant waves, after depressions and wars and urbanisation, presents the Pilgrim Dream in its pure imported state. The Dark Water's pastoral mood, its insistent celebration, have not the quality of inherited mythic habit; they declare elements of myth in its primary stage — actively systematising, tied to emotion.

Not only for this reason can Campbell's Dream be termed 'conservative' — conserving of older forms in the face of newer developments; it is socially conservative in its élitist parameters — grand-scale estates farmed by a new gentry. The high country's Bess and the young Lord Ardmore will have children ideally bred for

\(^{114}\) **DW**, p.169.

\(^{115}\) **DW**, p.163.
'building a new nation'.

The ethos of the novel is strongly Puritan, although superficially flossied with compassion. There seems to be some sympathy for the grim-faced Great-aunt Hannah, who, torn between love and duty, lived a spinsterhood of service. Yet the happier resolution for the lovers in '51 belies real change in the social and moral ethos. Bess, as virginal as the land which she loves, not only wins the heart of the world-weary Duncan, but also regenerates his moral nature. Having experienced the war, many women and drink problems, having committed adultery with the wife of his host, he finds in loving Bess that the "marriage lines" come first; he even insists on them more than she. Lacy, although not cruelly, is killed off by Campbell; she seems fated from the outset to end her life unhappily. Hating the country life so dear to her husband, refusing to support him in his decision of conscience, seducing Duncan and becoming pregnant - in the moral scheme of things, she has no place.

A sense of Puritan judgment can be observed, also, in Campbell's presentation of the Nairn-Anderson line: repeating generations of hardship and illegitimacy, women in various ways who flouted social codes.

The novel's Puritan climate is hardly surprising, being our cultural inheritance since European beginnings. As the conditioning culture of the primary Pastoral Dream, its strength in The Dark Water reflects historical relationship. Unlikely as it is that Campbell's creative planning included conscious interest in such sociological analysis, nonetheless, by authorial emphases, she reveals the

116. Ibid.
117. Ibid., p.207.
relationship active. In passages like the following, reciprocity becomes obvious between rural Arcadian myth and its Puritan parent culture:

. . . Aunt Hannah, too, had been ruled by these hills and this river. And Neil, as well as Duncan, had never experienced those God-given moments of — of belonging, of being part of the untamed majesty of this great country. This view cannot have changed much since Aunt Hannah looked out of my window, Bess thought. The homestead paddocks have been cleared, the valley is green as far as the bend in the river where the tawny tussock begins, but it is still untamed, still wild and free and unbelievably beautiful. Aunt Hannah, too, was tempted to run away, but she knew, as I knew down there by the river when Duncan asked me to marry him, that you cannot run away to — to nothing. Here, there is something great and strong, bigger than ourselves. To snatch at love — love without purpose — would be to lose this and love as well. To wander away with Neil, or with Duncan, would be to get lost . . . deliberately, foolishly.118

Campbell looks, in 1954, through Hannah's window, also; as Bess has rightly observed, the view has not changed with time.119

The novel's clear antagonism towards the City almost assumes a crusading spirit. Wellington, as the only urban centre presented, is exposed in terms of negative extremes, in all ways antithetical to the 'virtues' of pastoral living. As Campbell depicts the Capital, at one end of the scale its inhabitants comprise foreigners, Maoris and communists. The first group are green-grocers, wizened and peering; the second, overweight, foolish and drunken; the last, rude-mannered, gambling and violent.

At the other end of the scale, its inhabitants are wealthy, party-going, frivolous: stereotypical parasites:

'Darling Lacy, this flat is heaven —'
'Bob's been promising me a trip home for years —'
'We're going in the spring. Definitely. There'll be a

118. DW, p.161.

119. The Puritan ethos, discussed superficially here, receives later rigorous exposure in Cross's After Anzac Day.
divorce if we don't. I'm going to buy silver - I've got a passion for old silver. 'All right if you don't mind cleaning it - I didn't buy a thing. Just went to plays and feasted on old castles.'

In Wellington, Bess sees Duncan becoming a 'stranger', saying 'light silly things' and tipsily flirting. Peter Brent assesses his urban social circle as 'herds of diplomats shouting at each other through a haze of smoke - official entertaining! They'd do a sight more good if they got out into the country and had a yarn with a drover.'

In physical terms, the starkest contrast lies between the majestic sweeps of inland Canterbury and the shabby dark alleys around Panaki Street. The first breed 'good', and the second breed 'bad'; this is standard Dickensian theory - the honest world of Joe Gargery juxtaposed with that of the convict and the Finches of the Grove.

The historical darker aspect of the founding Pastoral Dream displays itself vividly in Campbell's social view. More appropriately discussed later in relation to Cross and Shadbolt, who consciously attempt to deal with an urban-rural dichotomy, The Dark Water has the merit of revealing it in action - colouring perception, shaping values. As will be defended in subsequent sections, the antagonisms thus evident in subjective data not only are the product of mythic thinking, not only are strengthened by the dispute itself, but also have the dispute as their historical fulfilment.

* 

In terms of function and treatment, the crisis material falls very squarely into the earliest category. Although 'writing time' is

120. DW, p.101.

121. DW, p.84.
not a classification factor (only function and treatment, whatever their time), the patterns emergent from textual analyses declare time-related creative probabilities. While the content of Campbell's material differs dramatically from that of other writings deemed 'first stage', its function and its mood share characteristics common to the general body of 'at the time' response.

The date of publication makes this hardly surprising. Appearing in 1954, the novel indubitably was written when its politics were still current issues. The perspective, characteristically, accords with Butler's image of the dazzling present in Time's 'dark corridor'. There is no attempt made to assess historical cause; in this short term, the communist 'reason' is immediate and blinding. There is no attempt made to perceive historical pattern; the present provides no distance from which to observe. There seems to be no attempt at metaphoric function: the dispute with present value as a reflection of private experience or as synecdochal of New Zealand society. There is no possibility of function as historical symbol, for cause- and pattern-awareness are its necessary preconditions.

Such negative observations have only descriptive intentions, defining the critical basis of classification. The cited aspects of function and treatment are definitive traits of other categories, Campbell's exclusion from which requires its proper defence.

The dispute's presentation qualifies as 'early' not solely on the basis of all that it is not: in accord with its close perspective, it possesses the other definitive features of subject quality, emotive spirit, lack of subtlety, singular view.

As stated from the outset, the novel is a romance, a boy meets girl tale rather better than Mills and Boon. Campbell's sustained
interest, it cannot be denied, adheres to the love-plot's positive resolution. Nonetheless, she has quite clearly subsidiary interests - things which she wants to say directly to the reader. Apart from the social comments implicit and unconscious, three statements are made overtly as important in themselves.

The first states cumulatively a reverence for the land, majestic, entrusted and our source of well-being. The second, equally informed by personal conviction, is a dogmatic statement of communist subversion and of endorsement of Government strategy. The third, revealing concern and a desire to inform, states the endangering of civil liberty.

The mood of these statements is ultimately imperative and thus defines their treatment as having subject quality. With the love-plot resolved, Bess and Duncan tidily married, these statements are what remain of the author's intention.

While their centrality as subjects cannot be claimed, their treatment is subjective, literally speaking, by being emphatic as opposed to incidental. Typical of its time, the dispute material exhibits a fervour which gives no quarter to other 'sides' or views. In consequence, its nature is one-dimensional, in both political and creative terms.

With regard to function, the political material has a facilitating role in the main and sub-plots. (The Arcadian passages and the Regulations issue likewise have the roles of setting and complication.) This structurally supportive function does not, however, disqualify the presentation from its 'at the time' class.
End Notes to Chapter Four

5. In Chapter 2, reference is made to 'beginning of the Waterfront Dispute' (p.11) as something recently past. The sub-plot fades with the death of Lacy Brent, pregnant with a child which would be born 'in eight months' time' (pp. 153-154). As Lacy became pregnant on the night after the Prime Minister dissolved Parliament (11 July), her death must occur before the election on 1 September.

7. Without the protection of 'Parliamentary privilege', reply to Peter's speech was actually illegal. Moreover, even had the Opposition made one, Lacy could not have known, as it could not be reported.

11. Duncan and Bess go up to Wellington, at Lacy's invitation, for the opening of Parliament at the beginning of June. In the conversation recorded, the dispute is over, quite clearly - and not just yesterday, from the way Peter talks. The dispute did not end until 11 July. Neither do Campbell's figures accord with historical data; Bassett (p.189) cites 1.1 million man days and $3.1 million in wages.

15. At 3 a.m. on Monday, April 30, six sticks of gelignite were fired where, in more a culvert than a bridge, the railway passed over a patch of swampy ground at Mahuta, three miles from Huntly. The charges were fired against the grain of the culvert timber, thus shattering and not breaking it. Warning flags attached to stakes were erected at intervals along the line and sleepers were placed across the line at the approach to the culvert. Thus did miners plan to 'hurl workers to their death'!

The train crew, who had heard their passengers talk of the explosion of the night before, travelled at dead slow, stopped the engine several times before reaching the scene and stopped again after knocking aside the warning sleepers. They let the engine cross, but before the carriages of open-cast miners and mining officials went over, the crew inspected the culvert, decided the damage was too slight for alarm and only then took their passengers over. A few hours later they re-crossed with 350 tons of coal.

(151 Days, p.112)

This pattern of events brought forth the Prime Ministerial comment: 'I can think of nothing more fiendish or hideous than to endeavour to blow up a bridge so that workmen and others might be hurled to their death... This is part and parcel of the desperate cold war which has come to our shores in which life and limb are now constantly in danger.' Scott cites also the Auckland Herald's statement: 'It is only by the grace of Providence that families in the Waikato coal-fields are not mourning the loss of forty or more lives by violence.'

(151 Days, p 111)

65. In anger at her husband's decision to resign - and so to return to full-time farming - Lacy seduces the young Scot, whom Bess loves. His later resolve to return to Scotland proceeds, in part, from remorse and a sense of his unworthiness for Bess. He changes his mind, only in the final pages, when Bess's mother persuades her to declare her love. Lacy, finding that she is pregnant after the one encounter, books a passage to England to have the baby
discreetly. Trying to cross the flooded river, to make the sailing, she is drowned.

67. Indeed, this is relevant to Peter's concern. We know, however, that this discussion precedes the opening of Parliament (despite former references to speeches and debates), especially from Lacy's comment' . . . when the House opens again.' (p.81) The dispute, therefore, was far from settled.

76. That the record of the FOL, led by Walsh, displays 'guts' (rather than kowtowing to Government policies) is a matter of opinion. While Campbell's stroke of approval to the FOL hardly surprises, in relation to preceding text, an unsuspecting reader could possibly be misled by it. Throughout the novel, Campbell draws sufficiently from verifiable historical data to seem to be presenting a non-fictional account.

83. In the earlier conversation ('educating' Duncan), the dispute is discussed as as if it has ended. In this episode with Bess, Peter states its end as fact. Time has passed since the former conversation, but only to the extent that Parliament has now opened. On this evening of Bess's arrest, Peter had been preparing to attend 'the Government House reception.'(p.84) Traditionally, this coincides with the opening of Parliament — indeed, this is the function's traditional raison d'etre in New Zealand. The dispute, officially, was not over.
Unemphatic History: the In-passing Record

Maurice Gee's *Sole Survivor*¹

In Gee's third novel of the *Plumb* trilogy, the political events of 1951 are context and reminiscent-subject for fewer than nine pages. Yet, although comparatively smaller, the dispute's presentation is similar in many aspects to that in *Strangers and Journeys*.

Both authors recount events through an 'I' narrator who, in the present (like themselves) is 'putting ... memories in order.'² Both of these personae, Ian Freeman and Raymond Sole, look back on careers as writers-journalists. Each regards himself as another's biographer, yet produces, in fulfilling this, his autobiography. (Thus, both authors assume a double 'mask': for themselves, a central consciousness which, conventionally, is not their own; and for their novels, that 'I' persona as the novelist outside the work.) Both Ian and Raymond have a sense, almost metaphysical, of being dwarfed by, yet necessary to, the mysterious larger figure, and of being - for others - a kind of privileged access. Ian's 'search for Tim Livingstone', Raymond's 'search for Duggie Plumb' are similar fascinations with different forms of artistry. Ian's is for the painter and his expression of social vision, Raymond's for a man who re-invents himself daily;³ when he finished 'making himself ... he would be Man.'⁴ They share connection, also, in a kind of Man Alone-ness. Particularly in middle age and more personal than social,


². SS, p. 170 (Raymond's statement referring to Beth Neely).

³. SS, p. 135.

⁴. SS, p. 161.
it comes through in emotional 'vagueness', a kind of unimperative Self.

In a tentative declaration of becoming his own person, each leaves university against family expectations. Each encounters the dispute, consequently, in his role as cub-reporter and makes another change of direction in response to what he sees. At the time, by deduction, they would be the same age.

* Raymond's experience of the national crisis seems peripheral geographically as well as personally. His determination to find the 'big wide world', to 'prove' that, after all, he 'was not creepy', has brought him in '51 to a small provincial town:

I woke one morning in a rusty bed in a boarding house called Primrose Hall set behind Phoenix palms off the main street of Gerriston on the edge of the Hauraki plains. A man called Don snored and farted in a bed over the room. His teeth grinned in a glass of yellow water. He had shown me his hernia. Twice in the night he had got up and pissed out the window. I hugged myself and grinned at the ceiling. Maps of South America up there. And fleas on the mat. There were fleas all over town. A circus had come through and now we had a plague of them. Don had sat with his bare feet on the mat and caught them with a wet piece of soap as they jumped aboard. That was a trick worth knowing. I felt I was away from home at last.

His 'sense of having begun' (which gives his voice an adult firmness) is thus recalled in later years with both affection and self-mockery. In a room across from a man, toothless and snoring, behind some palm trees, off the main street, in a town on the edge. Raymond enters the 'wide world'. The pallor of its food - 'grey

5. Raymond works at the Gerriston Independent, in a Hauraki Plains town which seems to be Paeroa; Ian at a large Auckland daily which seems to be the Auckland Star.

6. SS, p.72.

7. SS, p.73.

8. Ibid.
cabbage, grey stew, grey tripe, even grey carrots'\(^9\) and fish and chips - is offset by its people, 'some dodgy types': 'a con man in a Tyrolean hat', 'a porno king' with a case full of yarns, 'maintenance dodgers, tax evaders',\(^8\) the landlady with the 'rolling buttocks' and 'painted nails'.\(^11\) Raymond writes an article on 'The Democracy of Fleas - how they bit the highest with the low.'\(^12\)

It is in this remote place, far from the waterfronts, that the young man meets politics not as disembodied theory. His 'only real friend' here is a man called Charlie Kittredge, who had started the Independent after the First World War. He is no Party's man, challenging Raymond's callow judgments:

[Charlie] kept [the paper] alive as a broadsheet in the depression, and used sausage paper in World War 2. He edited it for twenty-five years .... He wrote on political economy and the social contract. The Wealth of Nations was his holy book and his weekly article was a hymn of praise to free enterprise. When I told him I was a Socialist he said I had some growing up to do. Socialism was a young man's disease, a part of wild oats and Dad-bashing. He warned me that past a certain age it grew malignant and held up 'poor sick Britain' as an example. It did not trouble him to see the Empire breaking up. Empire was a malignancy too. But he insisted on a hierarchy within the state. His ideas shocked me. I had not done Pol. Sci. long enough to discover their pedigree and thought at first he was Sid Holland's man. But Charlie loathed Sid Holland and 'that crew'. He saw them as self-seekers. 'There's not an ounce of greed in Adam Smith.'\(^13\)

Raymond recalls Charlie's view as approaching the eschatological: the national crisis as announcement of chaos. He can take neither side of this political battle, for each has dishonoured its contractual

\(^9\) SS, p.74.
\(^10\) SS, p.75.
\(^11\) SS, p.74.
\(^12\) SS, p.73.
\(^13\) SS, p.76.
Charlie found no heroes in the waterfront dispute of '51. He saw corruption and betrayal. His view was almost theological. Evil had lurched out into the open. The bright God was dying. In other words, passion conquered order.  

His editor, Trevor Barley, takes a stand also personal, one likewise more clearly 'seen' by the older Raymond: 'Trevor Barley was unhappy too. After the February Emergency Regulations he decided the Independent would run no letters on the strike. 'If we can't have both sides we'll have none.' His editorials were among the few in the country that kept a tone of reason.

Raymond's next statement is clearly self-mocking: 'As for me, I went out in the night painting slogans .... I felt like a hero of the revolution.'

The narrator maintains both amusement and affection towards himself up the town's water tower. That he dropped the paint tin and drew the swastika backwards, that he developed 'frozen buttocks' hiding high from the police: these were 'no matter', for the town 'would read [his] message.' Such undercutting of his feat - he had been 'swollen with accomplishment' - recurs with wryness in later decades. When, in order to compete with Duggie's sexual exploits, Raymond boasts about 'decorating ... the water tower', he first is

14. Ibid.
15. SS, pp. 76-77.
16. SS, p.77.
17. Ibid.
18. SS, p.77-78.
19. SS, p.77.
20. Ibid.
21. SS, p.84.
told to "keep quiet" and then to "grow up". Much later, Raymond's son, adolescent and hating his father, joins the 'Skullmen' cycle gang and has his cheek tattooed. Raymond cannot resist observing: "That swastika's the wrong way round." Even in later years, on a visit back to Gerriston, he confides in an old friend that he had been the slogan-writer. She replies, "I knew. You had paint in your fingernails."

Yet, Quixotic or naive as his escapade might have been, Raymond clearly retains enjoyment of his own spectacle. His impetuous risking of death to paint 'Sid Holland', hanging over a drop of eighty feet, is one of the novel's vividly relived scenes. He finds in it, one suspects, a rare expression of his 'Plumb-ness' - a heritage which he reveres but seldom feels part of. On that return visit to Gerriston in later life, he finds that, despite scrubbing and years of seasonal change, the water tower still stands behind the trees, with a swastika and a dollar sign ghostly on its side. 'The only lasting piece of work I've done.'

The toast which the young Ray had drunk (with a bottle of fizz) to 'the ghost of [his] message', two days after the painting, is subtly recalled in the echoing phrase.

His experience of feeling hunted - by the police car and 'not

22. Ibid.
24. SS, p.204.
25. SS, p.77 (see paragraph two).
26. SS, p.204.
27. SS, p.78.
men'\textsuperscript{28} - or of feeling like a 'frog awaiting dissection',\textsuperscript{29} fades with his nightmares when he awakes. His cub-reporting piece on 'our phantom slogan writer' is disallowed by Trevor Barley.\textsuperscript{30} The comment 'even though I made the swastika right'\textsuperscript{31} shows a keen enjoyment of dramatic irony.

Within days of Raymond's secretive breaking of the Regulations (and the editor's own caution not to be seen to do so), he witnesses in Gerriston's park a very public defiance. A man stands up on the steps of the bandstand and shouts to 'the three or four'\textsuperscript{32} who are on their lunch-break: "Brothers! Comrades! ... I want to tell you the true story ...."\textsuperscript{33}

Raymond's reaction is feverish excitement: "My God ... a wharfie"; "Iris, get your camera. Run." "This is a story. We can get pictures." He reminds her that she is "supposed to be a reporter." All this time he is 'making little runs at the bandstand'.\textsuperscript{34}

Iris, the 'girl reporter',\textsuperscript{35} does not share such enthusiasm. Raymond's "Get your camera. Run" she answers with "What for?" To his suggestion that they "get pictures", she replies, with some point: "It's no good getting pictures you can't print."\textsuperscript{36} While Raymond makes his 'little runs' between the bandstand and Iris, she keeps

\textsuperscript{28} Ss, p.78.  
\textsuperscript{29} Ss, p.77.  
\textsuperscript{30} Ss, p.78.  
\textsuperscript{31} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{32} Ss, p.79.  
\textsuperscript{33} Ss, p.78.  
\textsuperscript{34} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{35} Ss, p.73.  
\textsuperscript{36} Ss, p.79.
sitting on her bench; 'She did not move.'

Their companion at lunch, 'the girl from Loan and Merc ... dumb, pretty, remote' with a 'goldfish mouth', displays a third reaction: "Someone should get the police."

She stood up suddenly, her face gone red. 'Communist,' she screamed at the wharfie. 'Why don't you go to Russia?'

There is no need to call the police for they are already there; plain clothed and 'not local', they are clearly in dogged pursuit:

They came from a car by the fence, slow as Jersey bulls ambling in a show-ring. One of them was eating a pie and he flicked the crust to the seagulls on the cricket pitch.

The confrontation between them and the itinerant soap-box orator is slow and seedy, almost casually violent. The reader is given a sense of it being a replay of events, with a predictable and accepted outcome. Although Raymond observes the scene as something real and exciting, the attitude of the protagonists is one of 'here we go again'. In this small town on the plain, riddled with circus fleas, the episode seems (at least initially) a tired travelling show:

The wharfie began a gabbling shout. He was a fat man in a tartan shirt and a red tie. 'Here they come. Here they come. The minions of Sid Holland's fascist state. Watch them, brothers. Watch them put the boot in.' He remembered his message. 'This is not a strike, this is a lock-out. The ship owners have bought Sid Holland and his crew. They've bought the newspapers. Don't believe the papers. They're printing lies. We have been locked out. We are not on strike -'

'Come on, Joe.' They mounted into the bandstand without hurry.

37. Ibid.
38. Ibid.
39. SS, p.79.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.
Inexorable and sure, the police get down to business, with economy of effort and a deftness suggesting practice:

One took him by the back of the neck, the other bent his arm in a hammerlock. The wharfie's hat fell off. [Raymond] saw his ridged scalp coming down the steps ... waist high. Ow! Ow! You don't have to ... No need ....' 'Shut up, Joe. Move.' They kneed his buttocks. ... They took the wharfie to their car and pushed him into the back seat. One got in with him and the other behind the wheel.

Raymond sees a 'fist come up and fall like a club.' They drive away; it has been only a matter of minutes. 'The three or four watchers took a dead look.'

Charlie Kittredge would hardly have been surprised at Ray's rather tawdry perception of the two factions' agents: plain clothes cops who amble slowly like bulls, who eat pies as they close in to use hammerlocks and fists; a fat man who gabbles, hurls abuse and forgets his message. In Gerriston (this day, at least), there are no obvious heroes.

As in the tower-painting episode, the narrator mocks himself darting in and around the action, gabbling 'Gerriston Independent'. The policemen's "Buzz off, sonny" and "Out of the way, sonny" progress to vulgarity from "What's your name, son?"

'Ray Sole, Independent.' 'You, hear that ...? His name's R. Sole.' 'Don't go printing any stories, R. Sole.'

The episode's aftermath is unsurprising as well as illuminating of history and private behaviour. Iris has seen ('more or less')

43. Ibid.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid.
47. SS, p.80.
what Ray has seen; her attitude is that it is pointless to cause or invite trouble. She understands the import of the scene which she has witnessed - that this can happen in New Zealand, that it does and could to anyone⁴⁸ - yet her chosen response is pretending it did not happen. Doreen, the 'Loan and Merc' girl, feels that justice has been done; it serves the wharfie right: "they should shoot them all."⁴⁹ Even Raymond should be shot, for attempting to interfere:

She ran over the grass to the wharfie's hat and gave it a kick that sent it looping in the air. As it came down she caught it and tried to tear the band off. [Ray] thought she would attack it with her teeth. Her face was thick with rage. But she worked her fingers in and the stitches popped like corks.⁵⁰

Trevor Barley's response to the story Raymond writes is not to print beyond 'one column inch': 'Police arrested a man under the Emergency Regulations.'⁵¹ He is prepared to go this far, on Iris' private substantiation, but more than this he advises Raymond to "keep for [his] memoirs.

... I'm not running a kindergarten for revolutionaries here. You want to write that sort of stuff join the People's Voice."⁵²

Charlie Kittredge endorses Trevor's decision and shares his reaction of seeming 'to grow tired.'⁵³ Under Emergency Regulations, he will not agree to print; he is 'sorry .... They were both sorry. They had a shrunken look'.⁵⁴ Raymond recalls that, when Trevor had

⁴⁸. Ibid.
⁴⁹. Ibid.
⁵⁰. Ibid.
⁵¹. Ibid.
⁵². Ibid.
⁵³. SS, p.81.
⁵⁴. Ibid.
Charlie sat and talked at me aimlessly - telling me he didn't agree with Trevor, my story was well done. He was dithering in himself, there was a question in him and he could not say yes or no. I was too upset to feel sorry for him. I feel sorry now. He knew what he should do and could not do it. He had been proud of the Independent.  

In the episode's aftermath, the narrator's former tone of mild self-ridicule gradually fades. When Charlie makes his challenge, 'Do you really think the wharfies are the good guys? There aren't any good guys in this thing', Raymond replies with "That's not the point -". He goes on to state what the 'real point is:

'A man was giving a speech. In a free country. Policemen came and arrested him.'

The rejoinder that New Zealand is "not a free country now" (unclear whether the speaker is Trevor or Charlie) only makes Ray more right in the point on which he settles. 'How did it end?

I walked out of the paper. But I went back and wrote my sale report. I was pleased with myself for walking out; and felt a cold satisfaction in going back. I did not feel diminished. This was how life had to be played. I would play along. But I wouldn't pretend to like it. I would keep my eyes open.

Not denying behavioural aspects which were callow or silly, Ray allows his younger self the prerogative of being right.

* 

The historical record is enhanced by such fiction which translates the 'state of emergency' into human experience. Moreover, these episodes, unlike others of dispute fiction, are provincial

55. Ibid. 
56. Ibid. 
57. Ibid. 
58. Ibid.
and far removed from political or port centres. Conceptual data of the Emergency Regulations are thus subsumed under others experiential, and, moreover, unusual in their small town context.

The episodes of the painting and the bandstand arrest, the consequent responses and personal interactions, imaginatively expand the reader's understanding. They remind (or inform) that the regulations were not solely 'urban facts' or 'front line' conditions: the presence of restrictions was a national experience. Most rural areas were within the reach either of major dailies or a local paper; thus, the fact of censorship would be generally apparent - in towns on the edge of plains and the rural areas they served. Trevor and Charlie both know that, even remote and small, the Gerriston Independent must comply or be noticed. Iris knows enough to know there is no point in photographing anything prohibited by the Government. Raymond knows very well that he must paint in darkness, for even here, by local men, free speakers might be arrested.

The episodes convey also that, far from the waterfronts, ordinary people took sides, held opinions - some deeply. In this novel, as in others, the industrial crisis seems not so much to create new attitudes as to bring those held into the open or out of latency into expression. Raymond, who hitherto has scarcely been 'political' (family, sex and friends his major concerns), decides almost surprisingly to paint the illegal slogans. It is an action which accords with historical data, in that small rural towns were not

59. The illegal writings, 'No Conscripts', 'New Unionist', After Anzac Day, 'The Shilling' and 'Faith of our Fathers', Strangers and Journeys and The Dark Water: all focus on the dispute in major centres and have politicians and/or wharfies as important characters.
devoid of activists. It also, when considered, accords with much in Raymond - not only his youthful impetuosity, but also his Plumb heritage of non-conformism. Either taken much for granted or barely perceived, it is part of what he is; no Plumb lacks idiosyncracy.

Historical data of the climate of feeling are conveyed in the attitudes of Iris and Doreen. The latter's screeching for executions and ripping the wharfie's hat share their spirit of venom with recorded Establishment views. Iris' alternative stand - of remaining uninvolved - is the ultimate permitting condition of civil oppression. She is neither unaware nor approving of it, but multiplied by thousands, her choice becomes effectual. As, later, Stead portrays in the crisis of *Smith's Dream*, collective silence is an active historical factor.

Charlie and Trevor subscribe to this, also, but are more harshly judged by the younger Ray. This judgment incurred seems to relate to their greater potential for effective action. Raymond sees in Charlie a 'falling off' of the courage and ideals of earlier times, a yielding to something which once he would have defied. In Trevor the young man sees more active cowardice. Iris' escaping judgment relates to her lack of power; the men, however, controlling a small press, have means available to challenge and question.

The mature Ray Sole understands somewhat more, without conceding right-ness (his young self retains this). With subtlety, there is conveyed a retrospective compassion, a sense that, after all, things were not quite so simple. He allows the two men an integrity of action preceding this episode and not negated by it: the initial

founding of the Independent; sustaining it through the depression and war-time restrictions; a convinced political philosophy of social contract; the refusal to print letters supporting Government action. Though he cannot see it then, their final position is not so very different from his own in consequence:

How did it end? I walked out of the paper. But I went back ....This was how life had to be played. I would play along. But I wouldn't pretend to like it.61

The orator in the park, defying the regulations, by no means lacks models in historical data. In the speech which he makes parallels abound with the passionate declarations of extant pamphlets. His message of 'lock-out' as distinct from strike, his reference to the police as 'minions' of fascism and to the press as agents of the state; there is in these nothing new or fictionally heightened. His public defiance in this soap-box address has similar parallels in recorded data (and in other fiction about the dispute). As peripatetic messenger he is part of a tradition which boasts the most famous names in New Zealand workers' politics,62 and which regarded rural towns as fertile ground.63 Although very different in demeanour and personal dignity, he echoes Bill Freeman evangelical at the pit: "The truth," he had said. "Get the truth, comrades."64 The wharfie's 'ridged scalp' is likewise not new in fiction, recalling Bill Page's 'furrow' from a policeman's baton.65 Inflicted

61. SS, p.81.


63. Hickey's account abounds with small town names, such as Nightcaps, Runanga, Kaitangata, Granity, Huntly and Brunnerton.

64. Maurice Shadbolt, Strangers and Journeys (London:Hodder and Stoughton, 1972), p.188.

65. Cross, After Anzac Day, p.36. (Cross' novel precedes Gee's by twenty-two years.)
in '32, such wounding recurred on the heads of Auckland wharfies in 1951. Gerriston's Joe could be a veteran of the Queen Street violence in either decade. The clubbing fist and hammerlock which shock the young Raymond are details of history transcribed without change.

*

Between these episodes and Duggie's election speech (in which the dispute is raised for political gain), there are three further references to the '51 crisis. One, already cited, is Raymond's boasting to Duggie of his prowess with the paintbrush, if not with 'classy' women. (Mrs Fitz and Iris have failed to compete with girls who 'own little cars and call their fathers Daddy', Antoinettes and Mirandas who willingly 'turned it up'.) The dollar sign and swastika drawn (with beer) by Raymond Duggie erases from the tabletop, warning 'They could still get you.' One suspects that his concern is less for his cousin than for himself, politically aspiring in a 'Karitane waistcoat'. The dispute is clearly over at the time of this meeting.

The second reference occurs later on this occasion, when Duggie is joined by his expected company: Mark Brierly, 'ferrety', in a suit and 'Calvinist glasses', Tony Smith 'in marmalade tweeds', 'pink and white hearty': both Ball Committee members of the Junior National Party. Duggie is clearly nervous that Ray has not "buzz[ed] off". Obliged to introduce his cousin to his guests, he mentions

66. SS, p.84.
67. Ibid.
68. Ibid.
69. SS, p.85.
70. Ibid.
Ray's new job with the *Dominion* in Wellington:

'First-rate paper,' Brierly said. 'They did a good job for us in the strike.'
'Us?'
'We're the Junior National Party. ...'\(^71\)

The third is very minor, but equally revealing of attitude. Raymond, visiting home, confides to his mother her nephew's involvement in National Party circles:

To make up for Duggie's defection I told her how I had painted my slogan on the tower. She was pleased ....\(^72\)

Raymond and his cousin have one further conversation, prior to the election speech and directly relevant to it. In his role as journalist, Raymond questions Duggie about Latham, Labour's contender for the Loomis seat, and about his own political philosophy:

'I don't have one of those. I leave the airy-fairy stuff to Latham. He's got a philosophy. Ask him. It's about all he has got. And it comes from Russia. With love. Lift Jack Latham up and you'll find Made in Moscow stamped on his bum.'
'You don't want me to print that?'
'Say behind.'\(^73\)

Latham, in Duggie's view is a 'university egghead. Nothing in there but a kind of yolk. He belongs to a party that gives us all this shit - nonsense, Ray - about the common man but he wouldn't know one if he tripped over him. Talks about people in multiples. 'The masses.' What the hell's masses? That's not Kiwi talk. That's from Moscow.'
I quoted from Duggie's handbill: 'The class war has no place in New Zealand.' "The individual does not exist for the State." He says you didn't write that. Says it came out of the sausage machine.'
'I wrote it.'
'It's word for word Muldoon's.'
'We think alike.'\(^74\)

In brief, these four passages span almost nine years - from early

\(^71\) Ibid.
\(^72\) *SS*, p.87.
\(^73\) *SS*, p.123.
\(^74\) Ibid.
1952 to late 1960. With regard to political climate, they provide several items of interest.

The first two passages, only months after the crisis' ending, portray three young men quietly oozing confidence. They are the rising generation of a victorious Establishment, in step with the times and the dominant social ethos. They have met to arrange a ball (on a scale requiring an accountant); they speak in Eton voices or have 'plummy' laughs. Although, to Raymond, Duggie's yellow waistcoat makes him look like some kind of con man, it is, like 'marmalade tweeds', of fashionable shade. Duggie clearly wishes that Raymond were not present - his cousin from Loomis and the days before his 'changes'.

Duggie's apprehension has, no doubt, been increased by Ray's boasting (with illustrations) of anti-Government action. The guests whom he awaits refer to that Government in the first person plural - making his cousin definitely third.

The demeanour of Smith and Brierly and Duggie's aligning with them suggest that National Party rule has, within two years, become entrenched. Duggie, true to his nature, is going where the power is; the Young Nats comport themselves with self-assurance suggestive of private schooling and a class of 'natural rule.' The First National Government, less than a full term in office, has created of fallen Labour a 'natural Opposition'. The crisis on the waterfront marked its rapid coming of age.

75. These dates are not given in the text; they have, rather, been ascertained by cross-referring and deduction.*

76. SS, p.83; p.86.

77. SS, p.84.

78. SS, p.85.
Of historical interest in the first of the passages is Duggie's comment to Raymond, "They could still get you." 79 By implication, it recalls those months when people could be 'got', under special legislation, and when agents of law and order could ominously be termed 'they'. The regulations thus created a spectre of authority. Moreover, Duggie's comment (perhaps unconsciously) makes the point that the regulations did not have to be and were not lifted immediately at the end of the dispute. 88

Of historical interest in the second passage is Brierly's casual comment about the Dominion. (For saying much the same thing, the wharfie had been arrested.) The Young Nat, in his saying "They did a good job for us", 81 not only states empirical fact but also implies a legitimate relationship. His open acknowledgment that the press served the State denotes his acceptance of the coalition. Like 'most of us' later in Stead's Smith's Dream, he either is apathetic about democratic principles or, given a communist enemy, will accept their contravention.

The third passage – from Raymond's visit to his parents – is confined in its interest to more personal matters. Duggie's becoming a 'Tory' 82 is regarded as defection; Meg seems appalled that it could 'happen to a Plumb.' 83 Facetiously, Ray consoles her: "Duggie was never a Plumb. A wolf suckled him." 84 She is 'pleased'

79. SS, p.83; p.86.
80. The WSERegs. were withdrawn five weeks before the September election.
81. SS, p.85.
82. SS, p.86.
83. Ibid.
84. Ibid.
about the slogans. 85

The pre-election interview, more than eight years later, reveals several aspects of the political and social climate. Duggie's comments convey three attitudes in particular: anti-communist, individualist and anti-intellectual. These are the hall-marks of New Zealand conservatism.

For Duggie, in Sole Survivor, as for his party in post-War history, such attitudes exploited are the means to victory. Raymond's opening question, "what's your philosophy?", elicits the quick response, "I don't have one of those." 86 From a man seeking success, the reply is illuminating not only of the speaker but also of the electorate. The latter is assessed as being suspicious of abstract theory, almost as if 'having a philosophy' were a negative credential. Duggie proudly denounces "airy-fairy stuff" 87 in his bid to impress the party with his eventual percentage-vote. With regard to his target - the "typical New Zealander" - Pearson, Chapman and Roger Horrocks might see his aim as sure. 88 Duggie's claim that he "leave[s] the airy-fairy stuff to Latham" 89 works to his benefit, therefore, in two ways: Duggie gains by seeming hard-headed and practical, while Latham's different approach is both advertised and mocked.

Identifying this philosophy as "made in Moscow" 90 takes the ridicule of "airy-fairy" into something more ominous. Even nine years

85. SS, p.87.
86. SS, p.123.
87. Ibid.
88. Horrocks, 'No Theory Permitted on These Premises', AND/2 (February 1984).*
89. SS, p.123.
90. Ibid.
after the '51 spectre-raising, Duggie knows the Russian 'stop' is well worth pulling. Not only does Jack Latham subscribe to "a philosophy" but also he is jumping to a foreign tune. His 'talk' is 'not kiwi' and, therefore, should be despised. This general resentment of imported social theory reflects a tendency towards threat-paranoia, previously discussed with regard to 'No Conscripts'. Suspicion of non-kiwi things - people and ideas - is only sometimes real fear for national security; more generally, it is a residual habit or attitudinal legacy of failing Utopian Dream. Duggie's Cold War-mongering exploits both fear and habit.

The denigration of Latham as a "university egghead. Nothing in there but a kind of yolk", conveys an attitude typical of the New Zealand social climate. Duggie pulls this 'stop', also, knowing what he is doing. The 'hard hat' conservative base of anti-Academia has been discussed previously with regard to Eric Knight. Additional to this factor is the habit of resentment towards social élitism as challenging to the Dream; the ideal of equality and democratised opportunity thus declines to an hostility towards more than average achievement. The anti-intellectualism which Duggie is exploiting seems to be more a feature of 'colonial dream' communities than of those much older, both East and West, and more a feature, as a political tactic, of Duggie's National Party than Latham's Labour. The climate which Gee presents has changed very little.

The handbill slogans read aloud by Raymond are acknowledged by

91. See previous discussion (NC), pp. 45-46.
92. SS, p. 123.
93. See previous discussion (NU), pp. 68-69.
both speakers to echo Muldoon's. 94 The first — "the class war has no place in New Zealand" 95 — raises again a phenomenon to be discussed later: that, in New Zealand's version of class warfare, only one side admits engagement. 96 The second with its threat of monolithic power — Labour/socialist/communist/totalitarian — captures with accuracy a National Party ploy which, in the decades since the War, has become a tradition.

Duggie's speech at the Loomis rally on the following evening is, even in Ray's opinion, a brilliant performance. Commending Duggie later, he cites some special skills:

'You speak well, You're quick on your feet, you can make a joke, and wring a tear. You don't believe a word of it. And you love it.' 97

Ray's description is of adept, very conscious manipulation: Duggie's playing upon his audience, seeming to know its stops. The themes of the earlier interview are becoming his style: Latham makes a great song and dance over the fact that he wears an RSA badge and I haven't got one. Well, I haven't got one because I was only thirteen when the war ended. He wasn't much older. He's not much older now. But he got into uniform just at the end. They sent him away to guard a few bombed-out buildings when all the shooting was over. On the strength of that he got his badge. Well, I want to announce tonight that I fought in a war too. I'm still fighting in it. And that war, my friends, is the war against communism. I'm even going to pin a badge on my own lapel. I made it myself. Now ... You can't see it so I'll tell you what it is. It's a kiwi. It means I was made in this country, not in Russia. And I've even got some battle honours. Do you know what this says, here? It says 'C-force, 1951'. Yes, my friends, I was one of the Civil Emergency Organization back in those days when the communists tried to wreck our country. I fought in the war of fifty-one. And where was

94. In the 1960 election, Muldoon successfully contested the Tamaki seat and entered Parliament for the first time. Bob Tizard was the defeated Labour candidate.

95. SS, p.123.

96. See ensuing discussion (AAD), pp. 208-209.

97. SS, p.133.
Mr Latham then? I'll tell you. He was giving comfort to the enemy. He was scribbling pamphlets. He was taking part in illegal marches. As I said to a journalist friend last night, turn Jack Latham over, you'll find Made in Moscow stamped on his behind.

And I see we have some of his friends here tonight. Listen to them yapping their commie slogans. There's a few card carriers in this hall. Well I've got news for you, you don't scare me...98

Although a blatant show of 'red-baiting', Duggie's speech does not lack cleverness. First, he uses Latham's criticism as a means of attack - both on the man's maturity and his active service. The RSA involvement, Duggie knows, is a strength, for ex-servicemen were numerous and their fraternity sustained. Not only does he need to explain his youthful circumstance, but also to discredit the other's record.99 Moreover, in itself Cold War-mongering incites patriotism; Duggie has political need to counter this side-effect.

His shift from the war against fascism to a New Zealand war against communism is slick, politically gainful and hardly original.

It is not only of Muldoon that he should say "we think alike":

This is not a political contest between the National Party and the Labour Party, or between the Government and the Opposition. This is just part of a cold war in which a group of wreckers has declared war on the people in an effort to replace orderly, democratic government with anarchy and direct action .... This is a time when we should all be prepared to rise above party politics and, recognizing the dangers that beset our land, we should all be pulling together united in facing the common danger.100

There is little to distinguish Holland's speech from Duggie's.

By referring specifically to the "war of fifty-one", Duggie achieves more than touching present fears; he arouses his listeners'

98. SS, p.131.

99. Duggie's method of doing this is certainly underhand. He emphasises that Latham joined up only "at the end", earning his badge "when all the shooting was over." By innuendo he thus gives the impression of cowardice or, at least, of something fraudulent in Latham's service claims.*

memory of civil disruption, hopeful of some transference to the current political contest.  Duggie awards himself the silver kiwi, like him "made in this country, not in Russia." He takes pride in having been in "C-Force, 1951", like "thousands of New Zealanders" who enrolled to fight the "enemy".

Unsurprisingly, such a C-Force is not a Maurice Gee invention. His sympathies clearly evident, Dick Scott describes it thus:

Commercial firms press-ganged weak-minded clerks into the specials and 10,000 Nationalist supporters - choleric business men, idle indent agents, even the diplomatic staff of a foreign power - enrolled in the civil emergency organisation called, in military style, C-Force. The accompanying footnote makes interesting reading, also:

Considering the Nationalist vote (over 500,000), enrolments were very poor. Even the Dutch Legation staff were accepted when they enlisted for batoning down New Zealanders - perhaps to work out a grudge nursed since watersiders refused to load arms for colonial murder in Indonesia and students and watersiders demonstrated outside its offices in the same freedom fight - their action being officially welcomed as 'a very pleasing gesture'. In their own country the E.V.C. (Dutch Federation of Labour) protested at this gross interference in New Zealand's affairs.

Duggie, Raymond has told us, during '50 and '51 had 'kept on at the university and in the accountant's office'. Scott doubtless would have assessed him as one of the 'weak-minded clerks' 'press-ganged ... into the specials' by his commercial employer.

101. This is an election tactic at which Duggie's party seems to excel, and one at which the Labour Party seems to 'fail'. He refers earlier on to Nordmeyer's 'black budget' (p.130) - at this time, a recent event within the Second Labour Government. His party, during decades since, still recalls it to public memory.*

102. SS, p.131.

103. Ibid.


105. Ibid.

106. SS, p.83. These dates are not given; they have been ascertained from the text.
This section of Duggie's speech draws to its close rather ignominiously with "muck throwing and cheap wisecracks". Accusing Latham of seditious activity during the dispute and "card carriers in this hall" of "yapping ... commie slogans", Duggie seems to become infected by his own emotive tricks. Commensurately, he loses a degree of audience control, senses this and draws back and on to other topics. The Waterfront Dispute is not referred to again, either by Duggie or anyone else.

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Gee's inclusion and use of '51 events could be called 'unremarkable' in terms of creative processes. In the narrative, which comprises generally scene and summary, the episodes are vivid but ultimately confined. Neither Ray in his reminiscing nor Gee as his creator places emphasis upon them as relatively more important; the visit to Uncle Robert, the party at Glenda's flat, Peacehaven and the afternoon gathering of relatives: episodes such as these are as fully realised in detail and in terms of effect on their narrator. In short, in the patterning of Raymond's 'account', the chronology of private experience determines evolving shape, and emphases are determined personally, not historically.

While Gee's interest, indubitably, lies in the particular, in the telling of experience specific to drawn character, he provides, nonetheless, for the reader who cares to find it, material from which the general may be extrapolated. By portraying with fidelity character in social context, he suggests inevitably the climate of feeling, for, either within it, or against it, or outside it, his characters, as social beings, have relationship with it.

107. SS, p.131.

108. Ibid.
The passages discussed previously which focus on the dispute are implicitly 'historical' in their various details. These, already cited, include analytical data (about the regulations, the press, the police) and, of more informative value, experiential data. In the latter Gee conveys (yet always particularised) attitudes, ways of seeing and feeling, which partake of a wider contextual social ethos. This critical observation Gee would probably not discredit, for he has declared publicly his procedural methods. In an interview with Sharon Crosbie, he insists on the specific as his primary creative concern when planning and writing:

I think writers of fiction are, by nature, particularisers - not generalisers .... I have no general point to make about The Family. I simply look at particular families ....

I'm not a philosophical novelist. I'm not a novelist of ideas .... I can't handle large ideas in fiction. I have to fall back always on particularities. 109

Within this discussion, as well as elsewhere, he concedes the general - but as the reader's prerogative:

G: I'm not being too deliberate in my statement .... You see, I have no general point to make when I write fiction .... The extra things that the reader takes .... I'm not too concerned in the writing with those extra things. ....

If people want to extend .... out and make some sort of general statement, well, that's their business.

C. You do leave a lot of responsibility to the reader

G. Yes. I certainly want them to do some work. .... 110

Much earlier, interviewed by David Young, Gee insists and concedes in a similar fashion:

We particularise. If any general view can be taken from that of a particular time, that's marvellous. But the


110. Ibid.
The reader can contribute as much as the writer.  

The telling of the story is supreme, and if the thing has some general application, if what emerges has some general philosophical point, that's a bonus.

The experiential, particularised data provide such 'bonuses' about the dispute. They 'emerge', as Gee states, rather than being the focus, in the sense of specific details' being indicative of them. Ray and Joe's activism; Doreen's Cold War antagonism; Iris' inertia and the Independent's failure: all exemplify attitudes towards the dispute, are socially 'factual' aspects of its empirical history. Duggie's use of the dispute in subsequent years to manipulate constituents into fearful, conservative voting is indicative of its times, politically and socially.

That which Young found 'emergent' from the first book of the trilogy could be transcribed directly to apply to the third. Given Gee's contention that a novelist does not set out consciously to present a statement about the nature and shape of society, Young might find, nonetheless, that Gee 'conveys not only the intellectual and emotional complexities of [Raymond], his family and friends, but also the spirit of an age.

Such historical suggestions emerge from the inclusion of '51 events in Raymond's 'account'. The use of the events (Gee's concern

111. David Young, 'Maurice Gee: "non-aligned" novelist', New Zealand Listener, 10 February 1979, p.17.

112. Ibid.

113. Despite his insistence when talking with Crosbie, Gee admits to 'suggestion made in passing.' 'I think probably unfortunate - possibly nasty - things are happening politically. If there is a "New Zealand soul", I think that dangerous things are happening to that.'*

114. Young, 'Maurice Gee: "non-aligned" novelist', p.17.

115. Ibid., p.16. The '[Raymond]' replaces 'Plumb'.*
in their 'telling') must, however, in view of his comments, be analysed with caution. In terms of evolving function, the dispute, in Sole Survivor, belongs in a category of 'transitional and unemphatic.' On the continuum of development, its use lacks the centrality (the purposeful presentation of the earliest writings) in which the crisis - not character - is the ultimate concern. Sole Survivor, very clearly, lies beyond this category of character and incident as means to subject-ends.

On the continuum of evolving function, at the extreme point from these works, are those not yet discussed in which the dispute becomes a vehicle - for philosophic statement of history's process and pattern. Sole Survivor, creatively, precedes this category.

Between these extremes of emphatic subject-value and structural device for philosophic statement lie transitional stages of application. In these the crisis retains some subjective value at the same time as acquiring metaphorical function. The latter, in some works, is synchronic and social, with the dispute as metonymical of general climate. In others, its tenor includes this application as well as one further - diachronic and historical. Sole Survivor in terms of creative intention, precedes even these transitional categories.

The descriptions given earlier of the dispute's presentation as 'unremarkable' and 'unemphatic' should not be regarded as negative judgments; they refer, without pejorative sense, to literary function and authorial concern. Gee, as stated, has 'no general point to make'; he is 'mainly concerned with telling a story', '... one person's story or two people's story'.

116. Ibid.

117. Gee-Crosbie interview.
The telling of the story is supreme ...."118

In such declarations, he aligns himself with Raymond, for whom a book is an account of someone's life.119 In this case, the book is 'two people's story': Ray Sole's 'enveloping the tale'120 of Douglas Plumb. Whatever 'extra things' the reader might take or learn from episodes referring to the waterfront crisis, in literal and literary terms, the crisis is incidental. It occurs within a personal chronology, shares equal emphasis with family and sexual experience and is not exploited as socio-historical metaphor.

While, in creative terms, Ray's experience of it has parallels with that of his Wellington visit with Duggie, this concordance in itself illumines the stronger emphasis. These experiences, recalled vividly, have significance in the account as providing sudden 'insights into a harsher mode of existence'.121 Continuing in Evans' terms (applied by him to Mansfield's children), each experience produces a 'moment of division', an awareness 'of a much wider and more complex world.'122 Their inclusion in Raymond's chronological account has its 'raison' in the private, the particular and the confined.

118. Young, 'Maurice Gee', p.17.
119. ss, p.149
122. Ibid.
End Notes to Chapter Five

59. Smith's Dream falls into a different category, obviously, not recreating the events of the waterfront crisis within a fictional setting of 1951. Its portrayal of the effects of Emergency Regulations in very remote areas (not far from 'Gerriston') does not, for this reason, invalidate the statement.

60. Shadbolt's Bill Freeman, as itinerant preaching activist, is inheritor of a long tradition in New Zealand political history. Small towns like Denniston, Waihi, Reefton and Blackball have been vital locations of critical activity.

75. The earliest of the four passages is set (Raymond says) in the week before he leaves Gerriston to join the Dominion (p.85). At the beginning of chapter nine, he has already stated that his stay in Gerriston lasted two years (p.83). The approximate time of his going to the town can be set fairly early in 1950 on the basis of comments which he makes much later (p.93). When he first meets Glenda he tells her that he 'nearly met' her four years before; this was the occasion of the van trip to Wellington which left Raymond stranded and resolved to give up university study on his return to Auckland. He reminds Glenda of the year - early 1950. Raymond's going to Gerriston occurred, therefore, within the first term of this same year. His leaving after two years makes the first passage's setting early 1952.

The fourth passage's date is 1960 because Duggie wins a seat in 1963 (p.152, p.158) after the death of Sir Cyril Butts. His campaign against Latham was three years before. (Although not relevantly, these elections are suggestive, also, of Duggie's birth-date. In the Latham campaign, he is twenty-eight (p.122), and on winning Epsom he is thirty-two (p.158). His birthday must have been in 1928 before 1 December).

88. Horrocks' article (pp.119-137) focusses on the anti-intellectualism of New Zealand politics. The 'typical New Zealander' phrase he cites from Muldoon by Muldoon. Other Muldoon comments cited have their echo in Duggie's: 'the left-wing intelligentsia' (My Way, p.12); politicians as 'much more accurate' than 'academic economists' (Muldoon by Muldoon, p.43); an opponent who 'belongs in a university or a museum' (NZH, 8 November 1983).

99. Yet, reading the speech carefully (as the audience cannot) reveals the probable reason for Latham's time of joining; exactly like Duggie, he was constrained by his age. Duggie's mockery of the duties which Latham then performed is equally unfair and consciously so. The orders given to the young man when he finally reached a war zone would not be a matter of personal choice, but totally a decision by his higher command.

Duggie's opening gambit in this section of the speech was 'holier-than-thou' lamenting Latham's political style: 'He seems to think if he can't win your votes through reason he can win them with a sort of vaudeville act - a mixture of muck throwing and cheap wise-cracks.'(p.131) Duggie's subsequent performance certainly becomes ironic.
101. An additional point of interest, in this particular instance, is that reference to '51 no longer seems politically advisable. While Cold War - mongering itself remains effective, time seems to have given the dispute a new perspective. The Government's overkill, the general public acquiescence, the docility of the press and evidence of 'legal' brutality: as these have emerged gradually, reminders have become negative; the National Party, only unwisely, would recall to the electorate how it 'won' this particular battle.

113.a. 'The whole feeling throughout the country, for various reasons ... is a fairly nasty one. I've suggested in this book, Sole Survivor, that, looking a fair way into the future, Parliament as an institution also is in danger. But that's simply a suggestion ...' Despite Gee's protests, the particularised data in the trilogy as a whole yield other general 'bonuses'. Additional to those concerning politics and the soul - the state of these in a New Zealand context - 'extra things' emerge as philosophical concerns. He explains to Crosbie, for example, 'why I'm interested in religion and politics I'm interested in the way they affect people's behaviour, the way belief - either political belief or religious belief - affects people. What it makes them do.' In such behavioural interest, Gee anticipates the thesis to be defended by means of other 'dispute fiction' - 'the evolution of events from mythic processes'.

b. While claiming 'I have no general point to make about the family', he uses a Plumb phrase for it: 'a torture machine', and refers to 'dreadful things that happen in families', the 'dreadful scarring, distortion of personality ... which takes place in so many families.'

c. While denying any claim to be a 'novelist of ideas', he comments that 'if there's any answer ... that comes out of my fiction, it's in forming relationships that have some sort of meaning.' And responding to Crosbie's question about his characters' 'alienation', he cites historical factors, even the Dream itself: '... if there was at any stage a New Zealand Dream (and I doubt that), it began to crumble from the moment it was dreamed.' In both of these concerns, he shares ground with other writers (Shadbolt and Cross to come), who do have 'point[s] to make'.

115. Even Young's cited material from a New Fiction review has some application to the later trilogy novels: 'Gee manages ... to write a novel in the first person which, nevertheless, enables the reader to see the man with all his faults and virtues plainly and in addition to contrive that the narrator ... conveys the essence of the people around him. ...'
'The Shilling' by Spiro Zavos appeared in 1977 as a tightly constructed story of six and a half pages. In itself complete, it works and is satisfying as primary material for reading and critical analysis. Since publication, however, a problem has arisen for the student or critic of the original text; in 1982, it re-appeared as a segment of a new story, 'Faith of our Fathers'.

The dilemma which this presents in discussion of 'The Shilling' arises from the later story's greatly increased length: almost eighty-five pages more of additional information. Assumptions which seem valid from 'The Shilling' text and context can be rendered invalid by 'Faith of our Fathers'; and information about the family, entirely new but relevant, is withheld only uneasily from one's earlier understanding.

Among the more trivial items stands the matter of family surname: Kolynos in the reworked story, not mentioned in 'The Shilling'. More serious for the critic is the matter of religious allegiance; no suggestion occurs originally that the central character is anything other than Roman Catholic like his convent companions, yet in the later story he is clearly Greek Orthodox.

Even more serious as a central issue is the relationship between the child and his mother and father. In 'The Shilling', the lack of verbal communication contributes significantly to an overall sense of pathos and is a contextual aspect of their discussing the lock-out.


In 'Faith of our Fathers', in many new situations, the child and his
his father talk quite freely. The inviting danger becomes, in light
of this, a partial re-interpretation of the earlier material: to
'explain' the awkward silences as simply situational - as Greek
Orthodox discomfort in alien religious territory. This should not be
done, for Stathos himself has stated, 'His father was as mean with
his words as he was with his money.' While in the later story there
is occasional structural irony (as the young boy recounts events too
'adult' to understand), 'The Shilling' is free of such ironic
elements; the text supports the meanness which Stathos has observed
and his role throughout as reliable narrator.

As far as determinedly possible, such dangers will be avoided and
due respect paid to 'The Shilling' as autonomous. Factual material
from the later version will be used, where relevant, and accordingly
footnoted; interpretations, however, and understandings which rest
firmly on the text of the earlier finer story will stand as
independent of 'Faith of our Fathers'. Despite their common material
and some common characters, their focus and intention are creatively
dissimilar, and, indeed, the éclat of the initial portrait becomes
diminished - even lost - in the extended family's portrayal.

Roberts' and Hilliard's portrayal of character serves to
illuminate the dispute as subject. Spiro Zavos, however, in his
story 'The Shilling', has the emphases falling somewhat differently.
The crisis is one of several creative means to shed light on the
pathos of a young boy's dilemma: a climatic feature of the society
in which he is lonely. It is Stathos himself who is Zavos' subject,
adolescent and wondering in the bleak early fifties.

3. TS, p.64.
Because of its central character, 'The Shilling' invites comparison with Cross's novel, The God Boy, about Jimmy Sullivan, and because of its setting (one day during the dispute) with another of Cross's novels, After Anzac Day.

The story presents a central and negative relationship between a boy and a Roman Catholic nun, Sister Cyprian. Its bases are her hostility and his fearful submission. There is no relief for Stathos, as a convent boarder; her voice in the dark lectures the boys at night on the 'mortal sin' of masturbation; in the morning she drags them from bed, to recite prayers "loud and distinctly", and to undergo the ritual of sheet-inspection. For the rest of the day, she is their class teacher. Like Jimmy Sullivan's Sister Angela, she is their link with the Church, its human aspect in their daily experience.

Stathos, like Jimmy, feels alienated from his parents. As Jimmy is conscious of material differences between himself and some of his school-mates, so taunts in the playground make Stathos aware of cultural differences between him and his peers. As Jimmy makes self-claim to be "a boy from nowhere", Stathos has no sense of 'belonging' to either of his cultures. His parents, Greek fishmongers, "no speecha da English too well".

Jimmy's bike and Stathos' shilling are similarly

6. TS, p.63.
7. TS, p.66.
8. TS, p.64. This playground-type taunt is preceded by another: "Hey your father still stinks of fish".*
tokens from their respective fathers. Both assume an importance in the sons' minds quite unrelated to their material value. The social context in which the boys are presented comprises three similar aspects: Church and school and family. The endings of stories leave the reader with a similar sense of the pathos in their situations.

Jimmy and Stathos appear as not dissimilar victims, caught within and between social institutions. The true nature of these they have begun to perceive, but only dimly as yet and not so much as the reader. As his response to confusion, Jimmy's fantasy evolves of being a 'God boy', somehow set apart. Stathos clings to the fantasy of possible escape, in order to find strength just to 'hang on':

... a person can endure more if he had the chance to escape easily. Stathos even as a young boy seemed to be aware of the truth of this. As he lay in bed he worked out that he had to keep the shilling. If things got too bad ... the money would get him into town easily on the tram ....

'The Shilling', like After Anzac Day, in its surface chronology, covers only some hours of a day of the dispute. Like the earlier novel, the Zavos story presents its waterfront references in recollection; in both, the resolutions (respectively for better and worse) relate to events largely preceding the surface time. Central to each work is a young person's consciousness, perceiving the crisis mainly as affecting his/her father. Both Stathos and Jennie have received rigorous schooling about who are to blame for the current upheaval.

In common, and thematically of much greater importance, Stathos and Jennie Page live on cultural fringes, both dispossessed into a kind of no man's land. He is 'outside' by being Greek, she by being

9. Ibid. The first two and a half lines of this quoted section do not re-appear in the later story. The thematic importance of the full quotation is discussed, more appropriately, towards the end of this section.
Maori, yet neither sees these parent cultures as positive social options. They share pathos of situation in their sense of helplessness — against pain, aloneness and happenings to them.

The reference to the 1951 waterfront dispute occurs about a third of the way through the story. It covers only seven lines and is part of a conversation between Stathos and his parents, recalled later in the day. This exchange is not an arbitrary inclusion — an item of 'local colour' or historical detail. Although at first it might appear as a casual insertion, perhaps to locate the story in time, this conversation has a creative purpose related to our understanding of the sketch as a whole.

First, it assists Stathos' characterisation. Because his parents have travelled out to Seatoun to see him, the boy tries to make conversation with them. Initially, he offers himself as a topic of interest, but his "I have been playing cricket" meets with no response.10 Again he tries by asking about the family business, but this attempt fares only slightly better. As a last resort, he searches for and alights on what seems an 'adult' subject to interest his father — the current dispute on the nation's waterfront:

'Tough about the waterfront strike, eh?'
'It's not so good.'
'Sister says that because the wharfies won't unload things from the ship, we'll be out of sugar for weeks.'
'Things are a bit tough for me too. Hard to get flour and things like that.'
'Sister said that Mr Holland is right. The wharfies are communists. Communists hate God.'

The conversation petered out after that.11

Thus Stathos offers the industrial dispute (in the same spirit as

10. TS, p.64.

11. Ibid. A 'big tough' becomes a 'bit tough' in 'Faith of our Fathers', p.65.
his father later offers the shilling) as an indirect expression of a wish to please, to find some—indeed, any—point of human contact.

Second, and obviously related to the first, the recalled conversation helps to reveal the overall relationship between the boy and his parents. It illuminates the distances between them, their inability to communicate on a human caring level. Stathos, the reader knows, is afraid of the nun, lonely and confused about the nature of sin. The parents care enough to make the journey and bring food; no doubt lovingly by his mother, it is 'sewn in white linen ... with his name in huge Greek letters painted across each bag.'12 None of these feelings is expressed, however. Instead they sit together with little to say, privately wishing that the bell would ring. There is no physical touching or any discovery of personal needs and current anxieties. They talk about a topic remote from their inner lives: wharfies and shortages of sugar and flour.

Third, and important in the context of this discussion, the exchange indirectly presents Sister Cyprian; she is the source of Stathos' information and his received attitudes towards the 'strikers'. In the story as a whole, she is presented as austere, conservative and authoritarian—a model carrier of such a Cold War philosophy as Stathos expresses in this conversation: "Wharfies are communists. Communists hate God."13 Wharfies, by implication, therefore hate God.

Sister Cyprian interprets the conflict as Communism against Christianity, a view obviously in accord with her calling and

12. TS, p.64.

13. Ibid. Later, in 'Faith of our Fathers', Sr Cyrian instructs in her back to work voice ... "Take out your Students' Digest and read the story about how the communists in Russia are putting priests and Christians into prison."' (p.82)
conservatism. Zavos could, however, have attributed her ideas to a similarly authoritarian conservative lay person. The fourth point of interest is that he chose not to do so.

The detail, it would seem, is autobiographical and so historically accurate on that personal level. O'Sullivan, later reviewing a collection of Zavos' stories, observes the cathartic spirit informing his writing:

...much of what he writes does what many writers tend to do when they revisit their past - it settles scores, goes about laying old ghosts. Those teachers who bullied or frightened him, who crammed religiosity down his throat, are now brought before a far more public bar than they ever envisaged. ... Only Dan Davin and Maurice Duggan have given so much time to their Catholic schooling, although neither has the same anger, nor quite that sense of a cage door being clanged behind him.

Zavos himself, in an autobiographic article, relates how at five and speaking no English he 'went away to a convent school.'

When I came to write fiction, I found myself compelled back to my childhood despite a determination to be one of the few New Zealand writers to avoid the 'growing up in New Zealand' story. For me, I think, it was a necessary thing to do. Childhood had been for too long a territory that had been traversed with blinkers on and then lost sight of.

Discussions with other pupils of Roman Catholic schools, particularly those attending in the early fifties, confirm that

14. 'Our great enemy today is Communism. We hate the thought of it. We hate the thought of it. We women have the remedy in our own hands. It is a sad commentary that children today do not know the Lord's Prayer.' (Mrs G.H. Ross, Here and Now, June 1951, p.15)*


17. Ibid., p.19. The strongly cathartic element which these two pieces identify is by no means overwhelming in this earlier story. The reader is not compelled to realise finally that the author was the boy and here re-lives some personal pain.*
Zavos' experience of anti-communist doctrine was by no means unique as an item of 'personal history'. The fifth point of interest in the conversation, therefore, is the Church's historical involvement in the Cold War.

As an electoral group, the Roman Catholic Church has long been different from other established Churches. To some extent, the Roman Catholic vote can be regarded as something to be courted politically - or, at least, not deliberately offended. The Protestant vote is not so regarded, for as a New Zealand electoral factor, it does not exist. The Roman Catholic Church has a long and general history of guiding its adherents in political matters which it sees as threatening to its doctrine or authority. That history includes, here and elsewhere, a deep-seated opposition to communism.

There is a final point of historical interest in Stathos' repetition of the Sister's views. Such transmission of attitude is an obvious example of the 'off-campus history' which Golding defined - that heritage of 'illwill, handed down from generation to generation'; that 'unconscious legacy' which threatens children everywhere,

the history of blood and intolerance and prejudice. The lessons which Sister Cyprian has been teaching her boys show the Cold War's animating principle in action: that such a confrontation emanates from

failure of human sympathy, ignorance of facts ... the objectivizing of our own inadequacies so as to make a

18. Joseph McCarthy of McCarthyism infamy was Roman Catholic and received from the Church 'important, and probably increasing support.' See Here and Now, March 1954, rpt. of 'Who Backs McCarthy?' by editors of the American Monthly Review.*


20. Ibid.
Human divisions with such a basis die hard in transmission, for they are nourished by - or feed on - what they deliberately create: the perpetuation of their own 'habits of feeling'.

Beyond their creative purposes, the comments about the dispute are relevant to Nehru's definition of 'real history'. In common with *After Anzac Day*, 'The Shilling' gives the reader the crisis as it impinges on a young person's awareness. To Stathos, the most immediate item of interest is that the convent, perhaps, will run out of sugar. A concern appropriate to his youthful character, it is cited quite correctly as one of the commodities in short supply at stages of the lock-out.

It would, however, be historically inaccurate to deduce from the story that the community as a whole suffered long-term deprivation of basic consumer items. Although the deregistered NZWWU was doubtless hopeful that worker solidarity would provide political pressure for settlement of its claims, such a hope was not fulfilled. Notwithstanding that over a million-man-days were lost, at no stage of the crisis was there a full general strike, or a paralysis of the transport system, or a labour 'front' united enough to disrupt the provision of goods and services to a degree which could be termed

21. Ibid., p.95.
22. Ibid., p.92.
23. TS, p.64.
24. Shortages occurred despite the fact that the Waterside Workers' Union at no time refused to handle essential or perishable goods.*
Stathos' father's concern is similar to his son's: "Things are a big tough .... Hard to get flour and things...." For him, trying to run a small food business, the "waterfront strike .... It's not so good." His relatively halting phrases convey as much as Bassett's statistics.

Neither parent contradicts the Sister's assertion, "Mr Holland is right. The wharfies are communists." The silence is ambiguous, however, not necessarily denoting acceptance. That they do not disabuse their son, preferring to let the topic 'peter[] out', is more explicable in cultural terms. These observations (silence not meaning acceptance, and failure to disabuse having another explanation) find support in the later story's material. Despite his deep anxiety about effects on business, and despite encouragement from family and acquaintances, Stathos' father never lays blame on workers as communists.

The language and demeanour of the Kolynos parents would seem to suggest not long-term residence. Even, however, if their

25. Under the WSERegs and their empowering Act, the Government, without calling Parliament, assumed the power to direct the armed services to the wharves, the cool stores, transport systems, mines, merchant navy and other areas of work. (Bassett, p.85). Daily bonuses, free beer and good accommodation were offered as incentives.*

26. TS, p.64.

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid.

30. (a) Stathos' family name does not appear in this story, but, as the knowing of it does not alter interpretation, it is taken from the later work as an easy personal referent. (See 'Faith of our Fathers', p.115) (b) The later story specifies (p.128) that the family has lived in New Zealand for more than twenty years. *
emigration were not recent (as Displaced Persons), the spectre of civil tension between Left and Right is hardly a matter for Greek social chit-chat. The practical consequences of the crisis on their business and yet their refusal to discuss its 'meaning' augment our knowledge of Nehru's 'history'.

Stathos' received attitude towards the dispute (that it was a conflict of ideology, between communists, who "hate God", and others, who do not) does not take priority over the matter of sugar. This is as well, for the view which he is receiving does not have a sound factual basis. Zavos' inclusion, however, of such opinions is justifiable in terms of historical accuracy.

That the central issues of the dispute, as far as the NZWWU was concerned, were wages and principles of arbitration and conciliation as wage-fixing methods was not widely known by the general public. Also barely known was the untruth of Sister's opinion that "the wharfies won't unload things from the ship." This lack of understanding is hardly surprising, for, even before the regulations prohibited by law comments in support of or by watersiders, the emotional-political bias of the media was against them. Their inability to put their case to the people, and the Cold War fever

31. See Ian Burnley, 'Greeks and Italians in New Zealand - some Myths and Realities', Comment 28 (September 1966), pp. 22-28. 'A large proportion of the Greeks in New Zealand arrived as Displaced Persons between 1949-1952.' (p.24)*

32. TS, p.64.*

33. 'Not all watersiders are Communists.... Yet they are jumping to obey the dictates of Marx - and of Moscow - as if the dissolution of the democratic world in misery, violence and turmoil, and the substitution of a totalitarian state was their highest aim in life.' (ODT, 20 September 1950. Cited Bassett, p.61) *

34. This could be done only by way of illegal pamphleteering. At the height of the crisis, the underground presses were even put to work in mobile cars, to avoid detection and prosecution by the police. *
internationally facilitated simple and ready judgments. Sister Cyprian's views were widely held and, indeed, even encouraged by some who knew better: inaccuracy serving private political ends.35

The general belief that the strife was ideological - between Communism (anti-Christian) and Democracy (Christian) - overlooks that the former is an economic system, and that the latter is a system of government. In themselves they are neither directly comparable nor, in practice, mutually exclusive. Such a technicality escaped Sister Cyprian, her 'Mr Holland' and his Minister of Labour, their Caucus colleagues, some of their Opposition (interestingly, those of the Semple faction), and the majority of the electorate.36

* 

Politics, however, are not Zavos' main concern. The conversation between the boy and his father is textually brief and integrated undramatically into a narrative with more general concerns. The exchange does reflect, albeit indirectly, political climatic aspects of New Zealand at the time. It reflects an historical, prevalent antagonism towards communism and the watersiders (agents of Cominform). It brings to light the active role of the Roman Catholic Church in perpetuating Cold War attitudes. It shows the reactions of three 'ordinary' people, passively observing the national crisis.

Creatively, the exchange fulfils other functions: 'rounding' both the character of Sister Cyprian and the relationship between the parents and their son. Of the story overall, it is, however, only one facet contributing to effect; one could say that the exchange has

35. See in particular, examples of lurid attacks from the leaders of the FOL and the Government. *

36. Off-campus history rears its head sometimes even in ostensibly objective, academic history. Cullen's BA Hons thesis, "The Cold War in New Zealand, 1949-1951", describes the struggle as one between the 'ideologies of Communism and Democracy'.(p.1)
'illuminating' value, rather than the value of subject to be 'illuminated'.

The impact of 'The Shilling', its lasting image, is Stathos himself, bereft of his token. He has carried it and hidden it variously throughout the story because it diminishes his sense of being trapped. Forced by the nun's tyranny to 'tell on' a classmate, afraid of the beating consequent in the playground, Stathos loiters inside doubly caught. In the short-term, it seems preferable to be with her, the 'black iceberg',\(^3^7\) than to brave Larkin's fists - his only other option. In his panic he forgets the shilling in his pocket and pulls out his handkerchief, the coin with it:

It bounced on the concrete, circled in two wobbly rounds and collapsed.
The nun and the boy watched it end its unsteady dance. It lay there for several seconds before Sister Cyprian picked it up.
'See me after lunch this afternoon,' she said tersely.\(^3^8\)

In store for him, no doubt, is a beating similar to that which Larkin has just experienced - with 'the thick brown belt' unbuckled from her waist, six or seven whacks which would make him cry.\(^3^9\)

'Keeping money was against the rules. You got the strap if you were caught.'\(^4^0\) With that certainty awaiting, he is sent outside:

As Larkin's fist smashed into the side of his head, Stathos had the terrible realisation that life was a dirty trick: the more you need to get away from it, the less chance you seem to have.\(^4^1\)

37. TS, p.63.
38. TS, p.62.
39. TS, p.67.
40. TS, p.62.
41. TS, p.68.
The story concludes, thus, with Larkin's fist and, beyond the text, with Sister's belt. Stathos' token, the gifted shilling, has rolled away; to endure, without its help, has become again his task.

The reader, at this point, might well recall the previous image of Stathos' experiment. Earlier in the story (and in a singular shift), Zavos' limited point of view becomes fully omniscient. Within this brief mode, he intrudes to tell the reader of a future time when Stathos will be a student:

Years later, when he was a university student, Stathos did an experiment. His hand was placed on a sheet of metal which had electric currents running through it. To begin with, he was allowed to place his hand on the metal without any restraints on it. The voltage was turned up. The pain was sharp but he endured it for several minutes. Then his hand was lightly clamped to the metal. Again the voltage was turned up. This time he tried to withdraw his hand almost as soon as the voltage was increased. The experiment was designed to show that a person can endure more if he had the chance to escape.

As an eight-year-old in the convent, Stathos knows this already, and so the shilling is 'clenched' even until burning his palm. The coin's significance deepens with its loss: hand 'clamped' to metal, voltage, no escape. Stathos' 'realisation', 'terrible', epiphanous, draws on what he knew and what he will know again.

* 

In essence and intention, 'The Shilling' is highly personal, an exercise in catharsis for Zavos himself. Yet, despite the correspondences (certainly many) between Zavos' remembered world and its imaginative re-creation, this story about Stathos transcends autobiography. Its drawing heavily on subjective experience is finally not relevant in terms of finished art: for the reader, it 'works' as experience objectified - and objectified sufficiently to

42. TS, p.64.
43. TS, p.62.
elicit imaginative response. Beyond Zavos as author, even Stathos as central character, the reader is given insight on human experience unconfined by time and place and culture; in the lives of children, it comprises sudden knowledge, 'moment[s] of division ...

in which they become aware of a much wider and more complex world.\textsuperscript{44}

For many readers, Stathos' 'moment' will be identifiable, a common 'insight[] into a harsher mode of existence'\textsuperscript{45} remembered from childhood into adult life. Even more than this, his sense of imprisonment, of life's 'dirty trick' and his personal loneliness is unconfined to youth, to Greeks and to convents.

Its historical setting - the dispute of '51 - is related, no doubt, to the author's circumstances; the pathos, however, of Stathos' dilemma readers will recognise as not limited by periods of history. That the crisis \textit{is} occurring, beyond the convent grounds, is factual in terms of autobiography. In the story, however, as an imaginative entity which 'works' creatively on its own terms, the contextual social crisis is a subtle \textit{counter-pointing} of private and public inhuman relations.

\textsuperscript{44} Patrick Evans, 'Paradise or Slaughterhouse', p.77.

\textsuperscript{45} Ibid.
'Faith of our Fathers',

'Faith of our Fathers',¹ five years after 'The Shilling', appeared as the title-story of a Zavos collection. Written in Menton, in 1978, it is more a 'novella' than a short story (comparable in length with Sargeson's 'That Summer').² A reprint of 'The Shilling' comprises the opening pages: nine of the total of almost ninety-three.

Several changes have been made to 'The Shilling' text - some minor, some more significant, most easily overlooked.³ While a few of these changes are grammatical (and no improvement), others are simple alterations without obvious reason. The first instance of these changes the boys' ages; twenty aged eight become twenty twelve-year-olds.⁴ The second instance alters the father's first name; George in 'The Shilling' has been changed to Louie.⁵

The major textual difference (one with possible explanation) lies in Zavos' deletion of the endurance experiment piece. His intention in so doing might have been structural: the maintenance of consistency in limited point of view which, formerly, was crossed by this single omniscient intrusion. The deletion, alternatively, might have been made in respect of the lengthened story's different focus: no longer singular on Stathos' struggle to endure, but on his various

¹. The story was written in France while Zavos was holder of the Katherine Mansfield Fellowship.

². 'That Summer' is eighty-three and 'Faith of our Fathers' ninety-three pages long.

³. For example: "Everyone else has been to the toilet, brushed their teeth and is already in bed." The 'is' has been substituted for 'are' (FF, p.62; TS, p.62).*

⁴. TS, p.62; FF, p.62.

⁵. TS, p.65; FF, p.66.
experience among family and friends. In the shorter initial story, with its rapid succession of minor incidents increasingly unfortunate, the image of the hand clamped fast to 'live' metal is both powerful and inseparable from the shilling's significance. In 'Faith of our Fathers', where Stathos is later portrayed in friendship, in some hi-jinks, at ball games and with family, the starkness of the image might, to Zavos, have seemed inapt.6

To the recalled conversation about the dispute, three small textual changes have been made; two make additions, and one makes a 'correction'. After Stathos has said, "We'll be out of sugar for weeks", he adds "Things must be tough, eh, for everyone."7

"A big tough" becomes "a bit tough" in the father's reply;8 and to the comment, "Communists hate God", Stathos adds "as an afterthought, "How's Uncle Gerrie."9

As alterations, their significance is not great, except that the boy seems to be trying harder to have a conversation. The first addition - to his remark about convent sugar - is really an oblique question about others' experience. The query about his uncle (which elicits no response) is an obvious attempt to 'carry' the conversation.

In the ensuing eighty-four pages, the dispute is often discussed, by various characters with various opinions. The first exchange which Stathos hears, after his own with his father, is between Mr Larkin and the Mother Superior. That the waterfront crisis is the

6. The decision to delete, nonetheless, becomes questionable. Without the image, the shilling loses more than its former title status; its significance as token and symbol fades, also.*

7. TS, p.64; FF, p.65.

8. Ibid.; ibid.

9. Ibid. (Lack of question mark is textual.)
topic under discussion relates to the nature of the father's visit:

'Mr Larkin, here,' Mother Superior said, 'is a watersider. That's right isn't it Mr Larkin.'
'That is correct ma'am, Mother.'
'But he's been having a hard time of it lately because of the strike and unfortunately finds himself in the position where he has to take your friend from the convent. Your friend wanted to say goodbye to you. That was nice of him, I think. Don't you think so Stathos?'
'Yes, Mother,' Stathos replied.10

The discussion of the dispute covers almost five pages, Mr Larkin consistently polite and deferential, the nun consistently polite and patronising. Throughout the conversation, she elaborately serves tea. The views which she proffers are similar to Sister Cyprian's and, strangely, more offensive in their 'lady-like' expression. Her remarks are punctuated by 'delicate' sips of tea,11 'her little finger pointed stiffly away from the rest of her hand.'12

Her support for the Government and a commie-stirrers theory is stated overtly, almost with smugness; she keeps posing questions as in a game of social chit-chat:

'... Don't you think, Mr Larkin, that Mr Holland and Mr Walsh have to stand up to the communists behind the strike?'

'It's not as simple as that, ma'am.'13

'... I have the feeling that groups who have not shown their heads to the public are exploiting what could be real grievances of the workers. What to you say to that, Mr Larkin?'

Mr Larkin had little to say. He fumbled in his coat pocket ...
'Mind if I smoke, ma'am?'14

10. FF, p.89. Since the episode in 'The Shilling', Stathos and Joe Larkin have indeed become good friends.

11. FF, p.91; p.92. Mr Larkin, by contrast, 'held his cup in both hands, as if trying to warm them. He sucked loudly ....' (ibid.)

12. FF, p.92.

13. FF, p.90.

14. FF, pp.92-93.
'But as I was saying, Mr Larkin,' Mother Superior continued, 'Mr Holland is the Prime Minister and I know personally that he is a fine man. I find it impossible to believe all the nasty things your people are saying about him. That Mr Hill and Mr Barnes. Some of the things they've been saying have really been well, outlandish. Don't you think? I'll top you up if you like, Mr Larkin.'

'Thanks, ma'am. They've said nothing more than what us men think, ma'am.'

The interview ends amicably; the nun smiles and shakes his hand: "I still think that the communists are behind it all. And I suppose we will have to differ on the matter." 16

The Mother Superior's character is interesting and complex, quite unlike Sister Cyprian's, which is terrifying and cruel. Zavos draws her with subtlety and in all her contradictions; she does not stray into simplicities like "Communists hate God", or "Wharfies are communists", which are rawly emotive. Although her final statement confirms that she has not listened to the watersider's attempt at explanation, she has given the appearance (at least superficially) of having an intelligent interest in the crisis. Mr Larkin himself sees her questioning as serious and responds with patience and reasoned argument. There emerges a discrepancy between appearance and reality: her apparent curiosity and a mind which is 'closed'. At last she has been given the 'other side of the story' and by some-one intimately involved and affected, but she simply behaves genially, offering more tea.

The 'gaming' style of her inquisition has a confidence which proceeds from a little learning. She knows, for example, that an issue of the dispute is "how much people should be paid an hour". 17

15. FF, pp. 92-93.
16. FF, p. 93.
17. FF, p. 90.
And although "the public, people like [her] can't follow all this" ("Seven points. Nine points")¹⁸), she seems familiar enough with his "seven points" phrase to dismiss it this airily, without surprise. In her deliberate attempt to change the topic, she couches further questions in esoteric 'work phrases', displaying satisfaction like a player who has trumped:

' ... What about things like dirt money.' Mother Superior paused. A smile played around her lips. The look on her face was one that a person assumes when certain that what he or she has said has caught the other person out. Mother Superior's eyebrow arched. 'What about about things like dirt money, danger money. Goodness me, if we nuns made such claims we'd be worth a fortune ....' Mother Superior leant back in her chair and a look of benign self-satisfaction came across her face. The face was a triumph of character over art.¹⁹

As she tells Mr Larkin, she reads the Dominion every day.²⁰ Such an activity (as literal evidence shows) would certainly nurture her 'communist plot' notions. It also would inform her - and clearly it has - of details about the forming of the new unions.²¹ She makes a point, also, of telling him, however, that "while it was in existence", she read the Southern Cross "faithfully".²² The Mother Superior, clearly, is no card-board character: rather, an amalgam of human inconsistency.

In the exchange between the two - the Mother Superior, who 'comported' herself so proudly that 'people accepted the superiority she demanded with every gesture',²³ and the wharfie humble and uneasy

18. Ibid.
20. FF, p.90.
21. FF, p.93.
22. FF, p.90.
23. FF, p.91.
in his suit\textsuperscript{24} - the author's sympathy is greater for the man. The description of her physique (from Stathos' point of view) captures the éclat of her unattractiveness:

The skin was rough, and the pores were wide and open. Her eyes were tucked into folds of skin and dominated by bushy eyebrows. The nose was monumental, with a curve like a dagger and a mottled purple colour. Under this massive edifice of skin was a tiny mouth, sitting like a small cave under a great mountain. It was a face that would with some-one else have provoked laughter.\textsuperscript{25}

Her portrait, however, is incomplete until the Larkins have departed and Stathos is alone with her:

He gave Joe Larkin a small wave. His heart was overflowing with grief .... Mother Superior rearranged the tea tray and then rang the bell. She pointed to several chocolate biscuits laying on a plate. 'Take a couple, Stathos, before Sister comes in.' She walked out of the parlour.\textsuperscript{26}

To the end, the Mother Superior 'defie[s] the rule applied so superficially ... that we are what we look.'\textsuperscript{27} Possibly she defies Zavos' intention, also, for despite her Cold War views, her treating the man like a child, her pointed little finger and reverence for Mr Holland, she asserts herself as real and interesting in human terms. This tends to be at odds with the exchange's political purpose.

The watersider's portrait is unusual in fiction. He seems, unlike his peers in Hilliard, Cross and Shadbolt, to have rather more in common with the type of Joe Gargery; indeed, he could be an updated industrial version. He is clearly uncomfortable in 'a suit that hung on him', has large work-scarred hands 'as dark as mahogany'.\textsuperscript{28} He has wetted and 'slied back' his hair for the visit

\textsuperscript{24. Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{25. FF, p.89.}
\textsuperscript{26. FF, p.91.}
\textsuperscript{27. FF, p.94.}
\textsuperscript{28. FF, p.89.}
to the convent, but some is still 'sticking up in tufts at the back.'

Despite his declaration ("I'm not an educated man, I find it hard to explain these things"), he speaks simply, with eloquence and a quiet assertiveness.

As a fictional waterfront unionist, Mr Larkin is an ideal, drawn with obvious sympathy and to elicit sympathy, yet the uncommonness of his portrait lies not in authorial attitude, but rather in his demeanour - of patience vis-à-vis prejudice.

His portrayal includes, also, another uncommon feature in the attempt to describe the nature of waterfront work:

'The hold of a ship ... is a truly filthy place. I don't know about a leper colony but I wouldn't work in the hold of a ship for a million pounds ... but for someone like me, there's no other work ....

'... I've seen holds of ships, you're talking about dirt money, that were slippery with rats. Rats everywhere. Other times the holds have been inches deep in filthy water. I was one of those who walked off the ship during the lampblack business. The hold was so smutty with lampblack and other chemicals you couldn't see. It was like working at the coal face. And as dangerous.'

The mood is neither of anger nor of political persuading which informs the statements of most dispute-fiction unionists. This explaining to the Reverend Mother (and so to the reader) focusses on conditions, not on matters of principle. It thus attempts to convey experience rather than to interpret, and in doing so covers ground which, strangely, seldom is covered. The nature of waterfront work - the actual tasks to be performed and for which wage-rates remained in dispute - is barely covered in other fiction or in historical

29. Ibid.
30. FF, p.90.
31. Autobiographical factors are probably inseparable here from Zavos' political leaning.*
32. FF, pp. 91-92.
records. Mr Larkin talks here about what he does, about what in the past he has had to do. More commonly, in written accounts in either genre, the 'talk' is interpretative of the conflict and its meaning.

Apart from this insight given on physical conditions, the watersider's speech offers further historical perspectives; there was indeed a generation such as he describes for whom personal opportunity was dogged by history:

'... I wouldn't work in a hold of a ship for a million pounds either. But for someone like me, there's no other work. My generation lost the best years of our lives in the Depression and then when we were just getting on to our feet again that War came and we lost another five years. I know what it's like not to have a job. Not for a couple of weeks but for months on end. And then when Mum died it was a case of having to face up to the responsibilities of the boy over there.'

Joe Larkin dipped his head at the mention of himself and looked glumly at his shoes.

'Do you think that I've accepted the decision to stand up to the bosses and Holland and Walsh lightly under these circumstances? ...'"33

Without vitriolic outcry about fascism and democracy, he presents the current crisis as an episode of personal history; he experiences it within a pattern of individual survival. In terms of authorial intention, he offers covertly a view which challenges the Holland Government's propaganda about watersiders.

How the Larkins survive long-term, Zavos does not say, but before the dispute's end, he refers to them one more time. At an interschool game between Marist and St Pats, Stathos and Joe Larkin meet in the crowd:

'Hi!' Stathos was genuinely pleased to see his old friend.

'Hi, Stathos. How you're getting on.'

'All right. Saw a fight between wharfies and cops in Cuba Street, a while ago. School okay?'

... Stathos thought of Joe Larkin's father. The tall,

33. FF, pp. 91-92.
tanned, leathery man who was so nervous in the nuns' parlour.
'How's your dad?'
Larkin was looking around him .... 'We've shifted out of our house. ... We're living with my Aunty Jan. A couple of days ago the police came around to see her. They reckoned she was breaking the law by feeding a wharfie, me Dad. Me Uncle and me Dad told them to bugger off. There was nearly a fight....'34

The continuing of the dispute has meant for father and son a deepening of hardship since the parlour interview. Joe's removal from St Pats has now been superseded by a more dire circumstance of losing their home. In having to seek charity, they have risked for their relative the real possibility of legal prosecution.35 It is interesting that the police (so far) seem to have "bugger[ed] off."36

The brief conversation is of counterpointed violence: on the street, at school and in a family home. Stathos has witnessed in central Wellington "a fight between wharfies and cops"; Joe rejoins with "Boy, you think Sister Cyprian can strap?

Wait till you've seen the Brothers. They really lay it on. You can end up bleeding if you're not careful."37

At his Aunty Jan's house, "there was nearly a fight" with police.38

While the first and third instances relate to the dispute, to the legalised vendetta against a national waterfront union, the second instance between them is also legal violence. Such punishment of children - at Marist, St Pats or elsewhere - is accepted, 'institutionalised', within the general community. All three instances proceed from a common contextual climate.

34. FF, pp. 134-135,
35. See Langstone, p.17.
36. FF, p.135.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid.
It is interesting in terms of theme and of associative thinking that Stathos next recalls a story of martyrdom:

Mother Superior had told them a few days ago about a New Zealand priest, Father Vernon Douglas, who had been tortured by the Japanese and had not broken down. The Japanese wanted to know what Father Douglas had been told in confession. He had the seal of confessional to remember and because of this he refused to divulge any information. So the Japanese poked out his eyes and did all sorts of things to him until he died. While Mother Superior was telling the story, Stathos saw himself as Father Douglas in his white soutane, open Taranaki face, thick black hair defying the Japanese soldiers unto death.39

This fourth instance of violence concerns religious persecution and springs to Stathos' mind logically in terms of plot. (He has decided to become a Catholic, and is fearful of his parents' reaction.) The associative thread from his conversation with Larkin, the elements common to its content and his 'nagging' problem, are belief, confrontation and resistance. After Larkin has gone away and before the memory of Father Vernon, Stathos thinks 'One had to expect to suffer for one's beliefs.'40 For the reader (if not for the child) there is conscious recognition that the statement applies not only to the ensuing examples.

*

Stathos' father, in the 'novella', comments often on the dispute, is increasingly voluble as its effect on business grows. In the section of story which is common to both versions, he does seem 'as mean with his words as he [is] with his money.'41 The crisis is "not so good": "things are a bit tough .... Hard to get flour and things like that."42

40. FF, p. 135.
41. FF, p. 65.
42. Ibid.
In 'Faith of our Fathers', during another convent visit, Stathos enquires once again after the family business. His father replies that it is

'terrible. ... Nobody's got any money. The wharfies can't pay for meals. More fellows are out of work now. You wouldn't believe it. Hundreds in Wellington. They all want free feeds. What can I do. Can't just turn them away, or I'll get a bad name. Business is terrible ....' 43

Stathos' "uncle Gerrie" (the wharfie lodger) has been "sacked, a while ago. He's got no job. He mucks around home all the time. Very sad." 44

Later, still during the crisis, Stathos goes to visit his parents at their restaurant and finds his father 'in a rare talkative mood...

He started to talk about the strike and how it had affected business. 'Business no good, right now. Nobody's got any money.' Then he went on to say that he didn't understand what it was all about. 'The trouble is that Mr Holland and Mr Walsh, he's had meals here, a good man, aren't stupid. Your uncle Gerrie tell me that Mr Hill isn't stupid. Who is a poor fish and chip owner to believe. You tell me that one. You're the educated one. What's the answer, eh.' ...

When everything was finally finished that night in the restaurant, around eleven-thirty, the small family of father, mother and son, walked home through the deserted city streets. The old man was still talkative. 'See what I mean about business,' he said. ... 'How many people tonight, thirty, remember during the war the place was packed. We worked like slaves but made plenty of money. Missus was quicker than anyone in changing dollars from the American boys. They were terrific chaps those American boys.' ...

... 'Your mother was hard to beat in those days,' he went on. 'A real help.' He looked across to the round-shouldered, silent woman walking beside him. 'Great days weren't they, Missus.' The woman did not reply. 45

The practical effects of the dispute's dragging on are recorded here in ordinary human terms: men out of work and scrounging free

43. FF, p. 117.

44. Ibid. (The lack of capital is textual.)

45. FF, pp. 128-129.
meals, men "mucking around home", business losing profits. These are the experience of Nehru's 'real history' — within unnamed lives, daily and personally.

There are two further conversations about the dispute. One, quite extensive, involves Stathos' father and Adams, his accountant, 'who kept his books for him'. Mr Kolynos' concern is unabating; he sits 'on the edge of his chair ... with a nervous look'; "this strike will ruin me," he argues 'plaintively.' The interesting piece of new information is that his losses are only relative to a former margin of profit.

Mr Kolynos does not stand in the front-line of the conflict, solely dependent on wages in exchange for his labour or employing workers whose unions are involved. Not only is he in business as an owner-operator, but also, it is revealed, owns property for rent. Whatever decrease in profit he experiences at the restaurant, his income as a landlord provides him with security. By contrast, the wharfie, Mr Larkin, has been evicted.

A second item of interest is the accountant's opinion that the waterfront dispute will "be all over soon."

The Government is having a meeting tomorrow ... with some of the wharfies' leaders. Not Hill or Barnes...."

The latter, in a popular phrase, he terms "the trouble makers." It is "sure to be" over soon, for "business can't take much more of it. The one thing Holland and Holyoake understand is the needs of

46. FF, p.141.

47. Ibid.

48. Stathos' father, it seems, is 'not losing money'. He might not be 'making much', and his receipts are certainly 'down', but one way or another he is still in profit.

49. FF, p.141.
The Government's role as protector of a certain class of interest is here accepted as self-justifying and without question. He clearly does not share his client's puzzlement about which group or who has right on his side:

'Tell me this Mr Adams, Mr Nash is a good man, Mr Walsh is a good man, he's been in here for a feed. Mr Hill is a good man, he used to come in here every day a couple of years ago. Mr Holland is a good man. How did they all, all these good men, get into this mess? I'm telling you it's no good for business.'

'Who knows how they got into the mess, Louie. ... I'll have a steak with two eggs if that's all right.'

This voicing of bewilderment by Stathos' father is his second and almost identical with the other to his son. It captures and conveys (Zavos as unobtrusive author) a common response to critical events and historical processes. What seems to be happening — indeed, what he is experiencing — is consequent of no action by the individual himself, or even of others around him — as far as he can tell. While his 'Greekness' perhaps aggravates this ambiguous experience — a sense of alienation yet involvement in effect — his questions nonetheless capture something common.

Not fully understanding history in the present must be the generally shared condition of most who live it, despite degrees of 'knowledge'. The Butlerian epigraph to Strangers and Journeys conveys this in its image of the corridor of blinding light:

Time walks beside us and flings back shutters as we advance; but the light thus given often dazzles us, and deepens the darkness which is in front ....

The tenor of this figure applies as much to the nuns (who would

50. Ibid.

51. FF, pp. 141-142.

52. Butler, Erewhon, p.156.
readily give answers to Mr Kolynos' questions) as it does to the man declaring bewilderment.

The remaining conversation involves Uncle Nick ('much younger than his brother, Stathos' father'), a renegade kind of Greek in his eagerness to assimilate. With Stathos again as implied auditor—the third person to whom point of view is limited—'Uncle Nick and Uncle Gerrie got into an argument ...'

Uncle Nick was talking about the Empress .... There were still plenty of wharfies at the dance on Saturday night, he remarked. 'Things can't be as hard for them as they say.' 'Worse, I'd say,' Uncle Gerrie replied tersely. 'When you've been picketing for the whole week and you don't know where your next wage packet is going to come from, it's natural to want a bit of light relief.' Uncle Nick revved the car up Constable Street and with a blast of his horn passed a smaller car, an Austin .... 'But you tell me where the money for this is coming from my friend? From the commos, they say.' Uncle Gerrie took this allegation seriously. 'I can assure you that the communists, Nick, are not behind this one. Far from it.' 'But you tell me then who this (sic) Mr Gerrie, Mr Holland and Mr Walsh say they are. We have to believe them don't we? Move over,' he suddenly cried out. He stretched his neck out the window of the car and shook his fist at a car that was stalled in front of the hospital. 'Move over, stupid fool.' ... He swerved past the stalled car taking a wider arc than he needed and making his tyres squeal. 'You can't tell me the commos aren't in there somewhere. Everyone who comes into my dining room says the same thing: if you dig deep enough, you'll find the commos.' Uncle Gerrie's face was a mask of patience. He spoke calmly in contrast to Uncle Nick's exuberance. 'Just keep your hands on the wheel, Nick,' he counselled.

Uncle Gerrie is not unlike Joe Larkin's father (perhaps Zavos' guardian-lodger was the model for both). His demeanour is successively described as serious, patient and calm and, finally, counselling. The contrast which is drawn between him and 'the other'

53. FF, p. 146.
54. Ibid.
55. FF, pp. 146-147.
is not only a matter of politics but also of style. Nick's reckless and arrogant driving, his readiness to abuse, characterise both himself and his quietly spoken passenger. As in the earlier conversation between a wharfie and a nun, reader-sympathy with the unionists derives partly from alienation.

The source of Uncle Nick's opinion on the dispute is not primarily the censored press, as in the Mother Superior's case. It is his restaurant's clientele, which is markedly different from that frequenting his older brother's. Stathos' father describes himself as a "fish and chip shop owner";\(^56\) his patrons are currently many out-of-work wharfies. Uncle Nick's establishment lies 'down the other end of town.

The dining room was the most elegant in Wellington, with glass tops on the tables and a thick carpet covering the floor. He had an extensive menu, not just the steak, colonial mutton and stews that Stathos' father served up. ... Unlike most other Greeks he mixed easily with New Zealanders and to the horror of the Greek community refused to take out Greek girls.\(^57\)

The class for which he caters - "everyone who comes into [his] dining room" - tells him "you'll find the commos" somewhere behind the trouble.\(^58\) His source of information is the socio-economic group who dine most elegantly and support Mr Holland.

Uncle Gerrie, like Mr Larkin, does not alienate his opponent, dealing only with political issues and avoiding emotional engagement. This argument, like the other, ends in amicability, largely due to the wharfie's reasoning tolerance. He identifies the other's case as "reds under the bed",\(^59\) a "convenient" last resort for the Cold War.

56. FF, p. 128.
57. FF, p. 146.
58. FF, p. 147.
59. Ibid.
Establishment. The "real villains" of the dispute are those who started it - especially Holyoake, 'when Holland was overseas' and FOL President, Fintan Walsh. The communist catch-cry is simply a means of denying "that the watersiders have got a perfectly good case." His manner is such that he arouses no anger; indeed, the Greek responds by calling him "my friend":

'... put it there Mr Gerrie. You're a good fellow, even if I don't like your politics.'

The conversation's end, nonetheless, subtly proves the point which Gerrie has made; Nick has no desire to discuss the 'good case'. Having "blame[d] the communists" in general terms, he veers off the discussion and lets the matter rest.

These various conversations about the dispute present successive and different perspectives. Sister Cyprian, whose views are given indirectly, is sure and dogmatic in her Cold War bigotry. Her generalising is simple and tinged with venom; her perspective on the dispute is that of good and evil. This rigid intolerance of her political attitudes emerges as integral or all of a piece with her social settings of Church and school convent. The repressive ethos of her Roman Catholicism provides no humane answers for the children in her care - on matters political, sexual or spiritual. In the lack of magnanimity modelled to the young, contributing cause and effect of mistrust are revealed.

Stathos' participation in discussion is meagre, in keeping with his age and more immediate concerns (parental disfavour, sex and

60. Ibid.
61. Ibid.
62. See previous discussion (TS), p. 155.
God). What he says reflects his listening to adults - the trouble is caused by communists (whom the Church condemns), and business (especially food) is being affected. What he sees, however, and unconsciously reveals are goodness and sincerity in the wharfies whom he knows. The gap between his information and his responses to individuals is (youthfully) unrealised; yet, Zavos makes his point.

The Mother Superior accepts the Establishment view but distinguishes between the workers and the 'communists' who lead them. In doing so, she differs from her junior colleague, perceiving many as misguided rather than all as diabolical. Moreover, there is difference in that her opinions reveal some interest in political details. Generally, however, her interpretation is "reds under the bed" like Uncle Nick's. Rather than proceeding from the historical antagonism of the Roman Church to communist systems, her choice of 'sides' seems more a social matter. Her ladylike affectations and 'politesse' are as equally characterising as Nick's belligerent driving.

The Kolynos brothers, both restauranteurs, respond to the dispute in very different ways. Nick, the younger, is sociable and single, enjoys fast cars and wears a chain with an ornate cross. He mixes with the wealthy and is rumoured 'mortgaged up to his eyeballs'. The impression which he gives is of not caring a damn, beyond repeating the easy answers which relieve him of thought. Stathos' father, on the other hand, is laconic and serious, weighed down variously with family responsibilities. While the direst of these have nothing to do with the 1951 dispute per se, the trouble becomes a focal point for his anxiety and sense of not understanding.

The comments of Louie Kolynos about the dispute are worth noting

63. FF, p. 146.
for what they omit as much as for what they include. At no point in the story does Stathos recall any statement from his father endorsing a Cold War view. Even in his extremity of anxiety about his business, he does not entertain the notion of communist 'wreckers', in spite of this notion's being raised each time. His knowing many wharfies personally (for his dining room is not 'elegant') has already been cited as a probable reason. Another is given at the end of the story, à propos of something else, by his niece Alexandra. Without pejorative overtones (indeed, as his source of strength), she refers to the Kolynos males as inherently "peasant"; this being so (and the text could seem to support it), working and workers are not distasteful to him. Despite his apparent wealth, he works and worries as if he is poor; his style and perspective are historical working class.

Louie's responses, as Stathos observes them, are four, generally speaking, and by their nature outside the scope of a 'campus history' record. One is bewilderment, a sense of not understanding, conveyed in his frequent questions to which (he believes) there are answers; there must be explanations, but he has no access to them. Another, already cited, is his practical concern which increasingly acquires a philosophical aspect; his fear of losing money is personal and real, yet he cannot bring himself to deny the hungry "free feeds".

A third can be found in his self-supplied 'answers'; as the crisis drags on, so does his need to provide them. With the 'communist threat' view's not fitting the men he knows, he alights on

64. FF, p.153.

65. FF, p. 117. It should be noted that his provision of meals was, in fact, illegal activity. His having Uncle Gerrie as a lodger would also constitute 'assistance' to a party to the 'strike'. Presumably, the former offence has a similar autobiographical base in Zavos' experience.
another to fill the vacuum;

'The trouble is if you ask me, too many foreigners. When I came to this country twenty or so years ago, it was a great place. There were only a few Greeks and the rest, Kiwis. Never saw a Maori. Now you see them everywhere, except when they waitress for you and never turn up. Very bad. Very bad. And all the foreigners. Don't mind the Chinese, they're clean and keep to themselves. But the Indians are dirty. And the English, always drunk in the restaurant. Always after a free feed.'66

Clearly, this view is fraught with irony of both dramatic and structural kinds. That he himself is one of the "many foreigners"; that he, moreover, is Greek (fewer Greeks was better); that Maoris he seems to class as non-kiwi immigrants; that Chinese are acceptable because they are "clean" and particularly because they eschew assimilation: Louie's 'answer' has a logic only private and psycho-emotional. In this, its 'engine' does not differ from the Cold War views'.

He then proceeds to castigate New Zealanders in general, warning his son about their adopted country:

'... take my advice. Be careful of Kiwis. They'll try to take you down with the rest of them. They'll be nice to your face and behind your back they'll be throwing off at you fact that you're Greek. Mark my words.'67

This "great place" of just kiwis he has suddenly lost his sense of, perceiving himself as victim of covert racism.

These attempts at explanation of what "the trouble is" do not seem to connect with the lock-out at all; they appear, if being read for logical cause and effect, almost bizarre in their remoteness from specific and central issues. Louie Kolynos, in this context, is a deeply anxious man whose thinking meanders into purely private connections. (As the story reveals gradually, he is carrying at this

66. FF, p.128.
67. Ibid.
time burdens which, even finally, Stathos cannot fully explain.\(^{68}\)

In another sense, however, Louie has not failed to speak something true about the climate of feeling. Having made his "fish and chip shop" observation - that the leaders of neither side seem wicked or stupid - he then provides unwittingly his cameo of a society that is racist, mistrustful and intolerant of difference.

The fourth response from Stathos' father is characteristically human in times of personal stress: nostalgia for the past which is remembered as better. In such spirit he recalls the war, when "the place was packed";\(^{69}\) the early thirties when this "was a great place";\(^{70}\) a time when the 'silent woman' had been "a real help".\(^{71}\)

Mr Larkin and Uncle Gerrie hold identical views: no communist involvement; simply a just cause, and workers as pawns in some larger political game.

*  

'Faith of our Fathers' is a not uncommon amalgam of autobiography, history and fiction. The childhood experience of school and being 'foreign' coincided in Zavos' life with the crisis and involvement with wharfies. History and its politics have not, therefore, been 'bent' to serve a superior creative purpose. The story's cathartic spirit addresses only what was.  

Other fictions, which might proceed from an initial time-selection (to an inhabiting of that time by created character), or

\(^{68}\). Athena, he doubtless knows, has deep psychological problems. Once a cheerful partner, she is now almost totally silent (p.129); has eaten in the dark, crouching in a corner (p.130). Perhaps, unlike Stathos, Louie knows the import of her bloody washing (p.153).

\(^{69}\). FF, p. 128,

\(^{70}\). Ibid.

\(^{71}\). FF, p.129.
Which transfer events of history into the lives of their protagonists, indicate procedurally the significance of historical matters. Where their source material is autobiographical and coincidental with major events, the literary function of history's inclusion is much more difficult to ascertain. Such is the case of 'Faith of our Fathers', so closely reconstructing personal experience at a time of critical public disorder. From the text itself, there is no way of knowing how much the private and the public 'connected' at the time, and so the function and value of historical matter are not readily defined on the basis of later selection.

That acknowledged, the material can be assessed within the confines of the story, separate and complete, for 'Faith of our Fathers', like any creative work, stands finally as an object apart from its sources. Within these confines, the waterfront crisis has a structural and thematic role which it lacked in 'The Shilling'.

In the earlier story, the dispute is briefly offered by the young boy to his father in an attempt at conversation. As a topic for discussion, it produces small response: a note sounded once and allowed to fade away. In the novella, it is rather a recurrent theme, presented each time with slight variation. Other notes are sounded, creating finally a work of counterpoint - themes private and public.

In this expanded version, the waterfront crisis is not the main subject as it is in 'No Conscripts', 'New Unionist', songs and pamphlets and the 'Regulations, Chief' story. It has neither a clear function as symbol or device superior to its aspects of subject-interest (and exemplified especially in later fiction). The dispute, in this instance, partakes of both roles but has primacy in neither, in creative terms; it is 'away from the centre', with regard to
emphases, while meeting certain subject and device criteria. A propos of the latter, one must add, however, that its use does not clarify as that of historical symbolism.

As preceding discussion has revealed, the dispute in some detail is the subject of conversation. Its inclusion in the narrative on such a recurring basis and the guidance of our sympathy against the Government's view suggest that Zavos' intention - at least in part - is to heighten (create?) awareness of the crisis, per se. Its not being 'central' or the organising subject is both implicit in and consequent upon structural aspects. Stathos throughout is the central consciousness, the person from whose viewpoint the story is told and to whose mind the reader has access. Present at discussions about the dispute, he hears what is said and thus so do we; yet, Stathos at no time thinks about the crisis. Around him, even to him, adults choose it as their subject, but beyond their conversation it is never his. In this cameo of adolescence, the public confusion is secondary to, or a setting for, very private confusions.

Structurally in the text (counterpointing pieces), and structurally in Stathos' 'world' there are experiential divisions. At the centre lies his private or inner life, those parts of subjective record painfully adolescent. Outside this lies his immediate social world, the convent, his peers and parents and interaction with them. Beyond this interface of inner and outer life lies the public world of adult and national dilemma.

For the reader, outside, observing the whole, these structural divisions - of text and experience - are not unified solely by Stathos' consciousness. They are variations of a single theme: the failure of relationship and of humane solutions.

The story closes with Stathos' 'act of contrition',
"O my God I have sinned, I have sinned, I have sinned ..."72
The nature of his offence is private and 'mortal', the 'sin' of
masturbation which defiles God's temple.73 Stathos' 'impurity'74
requires the intercession of St Maria Goretti - or so he is advised:

'... Now say five Our Fathers, five Hail Marys and five
Glory Bes so that evil men might think of their fellow
workers and put an end to this terrible strike..."75

The young boy's obedience ("I have sinned, I have sinned ...")
might be as superficial as it is unquestioning. However, this final
episode of confession and contrition brings many threads together in
a thematic climax.

* 

The story's three preceding sections have dealt with human
failure, specifically Stathos' mother's inability to survive. In the
first, without warning or preparation, the boy is taken to Porirua's
mental institution:

Out of the shadows of the dark corridor, Stathos saw the
outline of his mother's figure. She came out of the
darkness into the hard light shining from the bulbs from the
corridor ceiling. Stathos had to look hard at the careworn
face to recognize it as his mother's. Deep lines ran like
crevices across the surface of her face. The face itself
was a tea-brown colour. No longer was his mother's hair
sleek and black. Grey-stained locks hung around her face in
unkempt strands. She rubbed her hands incessantly. Her
eyes looked blankly ahead into some unfocused distance.
'Shock treatment. Electric shocks,' Alexandra said to
Stathos...?6

The nurse speaks to them 'patiently, in schoolgirl English'; they

72. FF, p. 155.
73. FF, p. 154.
74. FF, p. 155.
75. Ibid.
76. FF, p. 151.
have to spell their name for her: "KOLYNOS".77

The following section deals with the meeting between Athena and her family: an encounter of strangers, 'people she had never before seen in her life.'78 After 'formally' shaking their hands, she turns and walks away.79 On the drive back to Cuba Street, in section three, Stathos tries to make sense of what he has seen - the collapse of his mother (which would seem to be irrevocable), of 'warnings' in the past which, secure, he had not questioned. Alexandra's explanations do not seem to be enough: being Greek, not adjusting, never being accepted; losing her expectations of a teaching career through marriage and immigration with a hard-working "peasant"; not coping with menopause or knowing her "place".80 Stathos senses, without facts, that it has 'to be more than that'.81

Into his mind come images which remain mysterious - to the reader as well as to him - and their spirit is ominous. They arise spontaneously, offerings from his subconscious, like pieces of a puzzle which as yet he cannot place: memories of covert violence, of unexplained wounds, of his mother washing clothes and blood in the water.82 For the reader (also, without rational connection), two others come to mind from earlier in the story:

Keeping every muscle rigid so that the bed did not creak, Stathos inched his body up his pillow. The shape slowly assumed the form of his mother. She was crouched in the corner holding a cooking pot. She dug her hand into the pot from time to time and gobbled whatever was inside it ... the

77. Ibid.
78. FF, p.152.
79. Ibid.
80. FF, p. 153.
81. FF, p.152.
82. FF, p.153.
way a dog is with a plate of food.\textsuperscript{83}

The other, from the section common to both stories, is Stathos' description of his mother's lipstick: 'When she smiled it was like blood pouring from an egg.'\textsuperscript{84} Whatever the actual trauma which Zavos has in mind - that which, fitted together, the pieces might reveal - the tenor of these images is of personal and social failure, of something which has been broken and of forces which break.

Zavos takes us abruptly into Stathos' confession: "Bless me Father for I have sinned."\textsuperscript{85} Whether or not he has is not clear or even important; the 'truth' of the confession is his need of absolution, his oppressive sense of guilt emerging as non-specific. His mother committed to a mental asylum (an episode which closed with Uncle Nick's comment: "Time to get back to work and make a bit of money"),\textsuperscript{86} Stathos confesses that he thinks he missed Mass once and some of his prayers for a few days. The 'sin' of masturbation is then suggested to him as another to which he probably should admit; the details which he supplies are likewise answers to leading questions. Told that the answer to temptation is prayer ("You'll do that like a good boy for me, won't you?")\textsuperscript{87} Stathos offers a further 'sin' - doubt that he still retains the "gift of faith."\textsuperscript{88}

In the context of this various preceding material, the priest's advice that Stathos pray for "evil men" to "think of their fellow

83. FF, p. 130.
84. FF, p. 65.
85. FF, p. 154.
86. Ibid.
87. FF, p. 155.
88. Ibid.
workers and put an end to this terrible strike" seems almost bizarre in its lack of connection. Yet, together with the young boy's catechismal response, it draws thematic strands together.

In the course of the novella, many are presented: some, quite specific, such as painful adolescence, cultural discrimination, the Roman Church as 'teacher'. Others, more general, include failing relations – between men and women, adults and children, parties to the dispute, religious denominations. Implicit in both the specific and general are attitudes which work to be humanly damaging, whether of mind, of body, emotion or spirit.

These themes, in the ending, somehow come together in the notion of 'faith' and its various possible meanings. In its religious sense, it applies to belief in and sustained fidelity to a particular doctrine. The story's title, 'Faith of our Fathers', clearly has this sense, being an old Irish hymn. For the reader, observing Stathos in his convent environment, it is more than a title from the Christian hymnal; it refers to his heritage, the 'faith of his fathers', his 'Greekness' embodied in the Orthodox Church. Thus, the story's title is richly suggestive, alluding to the new Faith which Stathos embraces and to the heritage which he eschews – the religious and cultural ties of Kolynos tradition. It, therefore, refers to 'faith' and the breaking of 'fidelity'.

Much of the story focuses on Church doctrine, on saints and exemplars of 'faithful' commitment. Belief, for these adherents to systematised dogma, is shown to be the source of individual action. In the story, centuries on, the same principle can be observed: faith

89. Ibid.

90. FF, p. 81.
as a determinant of activity and attitude. It is fitting, therefore, that in the conclusion, reference is made to Saint Maria.\footnote{FF, p. 155.}

Canonized by the Church, 'for the younger generation',\footnote{FF, p. 99.} through faith she chose death over sexual impurity. Given her youthful martyrdom and Stathos' particular 'sin', threads of plot and theme connect in the image: adolescence and its pain within a repressive climate; faith-determined choices with destructive effects. It links with the image of the Mother Superior, beaten in her girlhood for placing faith before family. This is echoed again in Stathos' dilemma and returns us to the title with its double-entendre.

Choice of action as the consequence of belief is revealed, not surprisingly, by the nuns and Fathers: their life-style, most obviously; what they choose to teach and model; their prescriptive attitudes and systematised answers. It is fitting that, in the ending, Stathos is advised of the solution to human problems - Our Fathers and Hail Marys. This draws together several thematic strands: the Church as educator, the failure of simple answers to meet the needs of complex human problems, the divisive nature of inflexible doctrine.

The ending includes, aptly, the priest's judgment of the dispute and thereby refers us back to preceding material - the Church's active role in maintaining the Cold War. A stance proceeding from faith, it reveals, moreover, the destructive potential of credo-commitment; that belief for oneself (even affirming in many aspects) can in practice become prejudice and denying of others. So the workers' leaders are "evil men" (a condemnation patently unchristian), and they seem to come to mind by dogmatic association.

91. FF, p. 155.
92. FF. p. 99.
with Stathos' abuse of "the temple of God".

Whether or not Zavos intended it, the notion of 'faith' acquires wider meaning. Fidelity kept and fidelity broken, assurance, trust, expectation: these are dimensions of faith in secular terms. In the convent, in the family, in the dispute and the community, there is a 'breaking of faith', humanist and humane. The ethos of caring, human beings for one another, is breached both actively and by omission. There is no reaching out, and affection is covert; only negative emotion is socially acceptable. Stathos, the "greasy Greek", Stathos the sinner, Athena 'put away', Louie not understanding, Protestant infidels, "dirty" Indians, "commo" workers: the breaches are manifold.

The Waterfront Dispute, within these terms, is the national enlargement of more private behaviour. It is fittingly referred to at the story's end - the presenting historical aspect of our collective guilt:

"O my God I have sinned, I have sinned, I have sinned ...".

93. FF, p. 71; p. 72; p. 73.
8. 'Faith of our Fathers' later reveals that Mr Kolynos is considerably more than a simple fishmonger, owning a downtown restaurant and several investment properties. None of this can be deduced from 'The Shilling' text.

14. Mrs Ross, as Minister of Social Welfare, thus appealed for a greater sense of spiritual values when she addressed two hundred women in Kaikohe on 2 June 1951.

17. Such cannot be said of 'Faith of our Fathers', which could have been written only by a Wellington-raised Greek. Zavos' 'Growing up' article certainly confirms the many exact concordances between this story and his private and family experience.

18. Closer to home, the involvement of the Roman Catholic Church in conservative Australian politics has been historically significant. The marshalling of the Roman Catholic vote into the Democratic Labour Party to keep the Australian Labour Party out of office was effected by means of Cold War politicking. For a 'fictional' account of Party/Church liaison, see the saga of 'Jack West': Frank Hardy, Power Without Glory (1950; Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1982).

Although of dubious literary quality, the spoof poem 'The New Zealand Commandment', by Willow Macky, also makes the link between Church and Cold War activity.

Get your gun and shoot that Red! Jesus said.
Show him you believe in God And Kill the clod.
Bomb his wife and children too Or they'll get you!
Never mind the kids at play They're in the way.

Save them from becoming Red They're better dead.
If they die before they're seven, They'll get to Heaven;
If their daddies go to Hell It's just as well.
Anyway, hell's not so bad As what they've had.
So get your gun and shoot that Red; If he won't pray he's better dead, Jesus said.

Fernfire 13 (December 1965), p.16.

24. Once the port employers brought in their condition of 'no overtime, no work', and once the national union had been deregistered, 9,500 tons of sugar had to be imported from Britain, subsidised by 170,000 pounds sterling. (Bassett, p.190)

25. The non-eventuality of acute and long-term shortages was also assured by the efforts of the Minister of Labour, William Sullivan, as he proceeded to establish new and separate port unions, comprising 'screened' or 'desirable' men, to replace the national union. By the end of the dispute, there were twenty-six individual unions, with varying degrees of strength, manning the wharves. Two other major factors in the prevention of general shortages were the split in the organised labour movement itself - into the FOL
and the Trade Union Congress: a bitter and personal division dating back, officially, to April 1950; and the equivocating position of the Parliamentary Labour Party, which left the unionists with no respectable champion.

30. The behaviour of Stathos' parents in 'The Shilling', however, suggests the awkwardness of relative newcomers. An explanation for this occurs in the second story, given to Stathos by his cousin, Alexandra: 'The problem for [their] generation, and people like me, is that we're neither one thing nor the other. We're not really Greeks because we've left and we'll never be accepted as New Zealanders.' (p.152) A 'Shilling' reader, however, could not assume long-term residence.

31. The article analyses immigration patterns of Greeks and Italians: from which regions, to which urban suburbs, into which occupations and social activities. At the time of the article, 75% of all Greeks in New Zealand lived in Wellington, as the result of migration 'chains' after 1900. (pp.23-24)

32. As of 19 February, a 'lock-out' situation existed on the waterfront, in that men willing to work an eight-hour day were now required to work compulsory overtime or face a two-for-one day penalty. During the course of the 151 day dispute, the NZWWU attempted to negotiate and return to work. In early March the union informed the Prime Minister that it agreed to the Government's demands that it go to arbitration and conciliation. The letter was never formally acknowledged. On 19 April, the watersiders agreed in full to Holland's 'Seven Points' for a return to work. Sullivan rejected their agreement.

33. The watersiders were 'being used as tools of the Cominform, the external arm of Communism that is preparing the way for Soviet world domination.' (Christchurch Star Sun, 22 February 1951. Cited Bassett, pp.80-81)

34. Further examples of illegal material issued in support of the NZWWU cause include, A Call to All New Zealanders: Your Freedom is in Danger; Holland must be Defeated, Nationalists are in League with a Foreign Power; If it's Treachery, Get Tuohy (Wellington: 1951). Cited Bassett, p.229.

35. Holland 'There is the enemy within, which is just as unscrupulous, poisonous, treacherous and unyielding as the enemy without. He works day and night; he never lets up. He gnaws away at the very vitals of our economy just as the codlin moth enters and gnaws away at the "innards" of an apple.' (Evening Post, 25 February 1951) Holland's famous 'codlin moth' passage is cited Bassett, p.87; cited Patrick Evans, 'The Provincial Dilemma: 2. The Bit in Between', Landfall 119 (September 1976), p.251; cited ODT, 22 February 1951, p.6.

Sullivan 'The brow-beating, Communist-serving agitator will be crushed'. (NZH. 27 February 1951. Cited Bassett, p.99)
Baxter (K.M.) 'The Waterside Workers' Union can blame only itself for its present position... the Federation laid it down very clearly that it would never allow itself to be diverted by individuals or factions who endeavour to use the trade union movement to forward their own policies, whether they originate in this country or overseas.' (NZH, 2 March 1951. Cited Bassett, p.106)

Walsh The NZWWU should not 'indulge in a disastrous political action under directions from the Communist-controlled WFTU in Warsaw and Moscow.' (Minutes of Special Conference of FOL, 8-9 March 1951. Cited Bassett, p.115)
3. 'As his parents clump down the hill to the tram stop...', substituted for tramstop. (FF, p.66; TS, p.65)

"Don't all stand there and gape," she said to the other boys, "get yourself ready for breakfast", substituted for yourselves. (FF, p.69; TS, p.67)

6. Even if this were deliberate, in respect of altered focus, Zavos could be criticised for failing to recognise the wider application of Stathos' experiment. Placed more appropriately towards the new story's end, it would still apply to Stathos and his inner suffering and, even more so, perhaps, to his defeated mother.

31. In 'Growing Up on the Edge of the World', Zavos refers to a boarder who lived with the family - not only as 'a wharfie' (p.18), but also as 'my wharfie guardian' with whom he recalls going 'out to Petone to see Dave Sands, the wonderful Aborigine boxer, box the ears off Dave Marr'. (p.19)

The 'Uncle Gerrie' in the story, it should be noted, is not Stathos' real uncle; he is a watersider and 'the lodger in their house'. (p.145)

48. Mr Adams reassures him, 'You're still worth a bob, Louie', and 'You'll survive, my friend, even if the strike takes you down to your last twenty thousand.' "All these wharfies wanting free meals and giving in return some kind of I.O.U. do not prevent Mr Adams' comment, 'you really don't have to worry.' (p.141)
Ian Cross's third novel, *After Anzac Day*,¹ occupies a central place not only in this discussion, but also within the fiction of the Waterfront Dispute. Cross's use or exploitation of this critical history is the most ambitious and complex among all the works examined. Although generally unheralded by the public and critics,² it marks a quantum leap in creative treatment, as well as in perception of the dispute's significance. *After Anzac Day*'s preceding in time the Shadbolt and Stead novels makes it their worthy forbear and them its fortunate heirs. The specific national crisis, seeming at first the novel's subject, emerges progressively as a complex device, as one with purposes both structural and thematic. Moreover, *After Anzac Day*, in its method of exposing the past, and in the content of such exposure reveals aspects of the nature of historical processes.

The surface story's physical setting is clearly Wellington, narrowed mainly to one house, work buildings and roads between them. Time is confined to a Classical day, 26 April, 1951; it is a Thursday and the day after Anzac Day. These restricted settings become the structure around which, by means of subjective record, Cross weaves other and more important stories. Thus, the 'present' world of affluent Wellington becomes counterpointed with recollection: with


remembered scenes of England and of the Wanganui back-country, of Hataitai and of homes in poorer Newtown. Likewise, time becomes expanded, from its circumscribed hours, to include days recalled from the Maori Land Wars, Labour's first term of office and the Second World War.

The action of After Anzac Day, in the 'present' story, is, like time and setting, restricted and meagre: quite prosaic events in the life of the Rankin household, only disturbed in the final pages by the birth of Jennie's baby. In terms of 'what happens', the characters contribute little: old man Creighton spends the day in bed; Jennie has a bath, does dishes and drinks tea; Mrs Rankin vacuums the carpet and arranges some flowers, and later meets her husband at a brief official gathering; John Rankin goes to work, meets with his Minister, living 'the day of the safe man, of never taking risks.'

Far from being prosaic, the stories unravelled from these characters' minds include theft and murder, flogging, assault and battery, carnal knowledge, adultery, illegitimacy and vandalism. On a less sensational level, they reveal human desolation, failing relationships, atrophied hope and idealism.

The surface story's true function becomes obvious early: the author's means of controlling panoramic material; the provision of 'triggers' for his characters' mental voyages; the provision of outer and coherent shape. The process is one which Woolf called 'tunnelling', the 'digging out of beautiful caves behind [the] characters' as the past becomes slowly revealed. In terms of

3. AAD, p.231.

4. Virginia Woolf, A Writer's Diary, ed. Leonard Woolf (London: Hogarth Press, 1953), p.60. Here Woolf describes the 'tunnelling process, with which I tell the past instalments, as I have need of it'; 'I dig out beautiful caves behind my characters .... The idea is that the caves shall connect and each comes to daylight the present moment.'
technique, Cross's *After Anzac Day* and Woolf's *Mrs Dalloway* can be usefully compared.

Both novels, on the surface, focus on one day in the not exceptional lives of few main characters. Both unearth from these minds stories which extend far beyond Wellington or fashionable London, beyond the day of Clarissa's party or 26 April, 1951. By moving in and out of the various minds, both writers tunnel gradually behind the 'here and now' circumstances, revealing the deeper, more important 'why' and 'how'. In both novels, the caves formed for each of the main characters inter-connect at the close of the day: in *After Anzac Day*, with a birth, in *Mrs Dalloway*, with a death.

The techniques which the novels most obviously share are those which Robert Humphreys calls space- and time-montage: procedures which he likens to cinematic devices. (Cross, opening the story, refers explicitly to 'a mind like film, full of old scraps and pieces of the past that showed in dreams'.) In terms of function, montages are tools for 'digging', but their cumulative effect extends beyond the purely technical. They illustrate not only how the past has shaped us, brought us to this moment of present experience, but also that the past co-exists with this present, can even seem more real than its vaguely perceived companion.

The novel's selected setting, in terms of place and time - the capital of New Zealand during a major national crisis - seems outwardly to suggest that its subject is historical; even more, that its ultimate and central concern is the Waterfront Dispute and


7. AAD, p.9.
revelation of it. That Cross's subject is historical is finally confirmed, but not in the sense of an historic event. As the reveries accumulate - as the 'caves' are further 'tunnelled' - it is historical processes that increasingly are revealed.

The selection of year, 1951, is certainly central to Cross's purpose, but this selection is a beginning, not definitive of true subject. The chosen day, 26 April, emerges likewise as no arbitrary choice. The selected time facilitates access to both synchronic and diachronic analyses, for it comprises (in the surface present) a year marked by social upheaval and a yesterday set aside for commemorating the past.

An objective reality of 1951 is gradually constructed as its details impinge on the characters' consciousness - of the house or office, of newspapers read, of comfort or discomfort, of the current political crisis. This objective reality, woven into subjective record, is the weft - or horizontal thread-work - of the mind's kinetic activity. In terms of synchronic study, these impinging details construct 'living in the capital' at this specific time. The tunnels or caves of memory (after a day for remembering the dead) provide the warp - or vertical threads - of diachronic study: threads of past history, unbroken, ever longer.

Occurring, as they do, within subjective record those details relevant to synchronic study are more than 'historical' in a narrow sense. The way in which they surface; the importance (or lack of it) placed upon them by the recording consciousness; the associations set in train; the emotions which accompany; the relatedness of character and available experience: all contribute to an historical study with many dimensions - sociological, socio-economic and psycho-emotional.

Many references to the dispute, scattered throughout the novel,
maintain fidelity with the history of record: the view from Bowen Street of the harbour in the afternoon, 'nestling the strike-bound ships against the wharves';\(^8\) the night-time waterfront, where 'the ships blazed their presence';\(^9\) the feared shortages of tea and sugar which Margaret reads about in the newspaper;\(^10\) the distribution of essential supplies by 'committees set up in each of the main centres, co-ordinated by a national committee';\(^11\) the faltering solidarity of British dockers with their deregistered New Zealand brothers;\(^12\) the charging of union officials under the Emergency Regulations for printing 'strike' bulletins;\(^13\) the self-confessedly 'undemocratic' actions taken by the Government in 'deregistering striking unions, confiscating their funds, clamping down on what the newspapers can print';\(^14\) the painting of 'scab' graffiti on the homes of new unionists;\(^15\) the close communication between the Federation of Labour and the Cabinet;\(^16\) the 'scabs' buses' which Bill Page watches from

8. AAD, p.148.
9. AAD, p.205.
10. AAD, p.207 For previous discussion of facts about shortages, see section on Zavos' 'The Shilling', pp. 156-157.
12. AAD, p.174. For watersiders' reaction to British strike-breaking, see "To All British Seamen in New Zealand Ports", NZT'W, August 1951, p.10.
13. AAD, p.66.
14. AAD, p.175. See Langstone, for full analysis of the WSERegs.
16. AAD, p.153. This meeting would have taken place during the FOL conference 24-27 April. (See Bollinger, Against the Wind: the Story of the New Zealand Seamen's Union [Wellington: New Zealand Seaman's Union, 1968], p.229.) The day of this meeting is the one on which the Resolution was passed. (See Cullen, "The Cold War", p.52)
his gate; the fact of industrial conscription, which Jenny relates

to old man Creighton from Thursday's newspaper, and the movement of
troops to the main ports; the parades through the streets by
deregistered workers; and the Government's correct judgement that,
if it could prevent an effective breakdown in the transport of goods
and passengers, the fighting spirit of the watersiders and their
friends would eventually falter.

Such is the historical setting of Cross's novel. It touches the
lives of his two main characters, John Rankin and Jennie Page, very
directly; on the day of the 26th, Rankin, as Head of a Civil Service
Department, is informed by his Minister that his responsibilities
have been enlarged and will now include the re-organisation and
efficient management of the supplies committees throughout the
country; the Maori girl, Jennie (pregnant to 'God boy', Jimmie
Sullivan), is living with the Rankins in middle class comfort because
her father has been killed by deregistered unionists. Yet, despite

17. AAD, p.189. The term 'scabs' buses', coined by old
unionists, is cited by Simpson, Road to Erewhon, p.135.

18. AAD, p.155. Accommodation for some of the transferred
servicemen was provided aboard 'floating hotels' in the harbour. See
Bassett, p.137, footnote 7; ships used for this purpose were the
Arawa, Tamaroa, Mataroa, Wahine, Gothic, Rangitata, Rangitane,
Monowai and Ruahine.

19. AAD, p. 26. For photographs, see Simpson, Road to Erewhon,
pp. 133-135.

20. AAD, pp. 176-177.

21. See Appendix IV, 'The Day After Anzac Day: An On-campus
Perspective'. At all major ports, Emergency Supplies Committees
were established to oversee the distribution of goods unloaded by
servicemen and scab labour. Sullivan tried also to involve them in
touting for new union membership. (See Bassett, p.136)

22. In this detail of the death, Cross's timing seems awry. A
'couple of months' earlier has Bill Page dying in late February or
early March. Emergency Regulations were not invoked until 26
February; antagonism against 'scab' unionists had yet to develop, as
no new unions were established this rapidly.
such direct connections with the industrial crisis, the characters seldom consider it in prolonged thought. Through the reveries of three, John, his wife and Jennie, the dispute becomes clear as 'pieces' fit together, but that which becomes clearer and profoundly revealed are the characters' contrasting political philosophies. In relation to these, the crisis' function is to catalyse; Cross's greater interest lies in attitudinal heritage.

Jennie Page, in her recollections of her childhood and of the early promise of the First Labour Government, conveys her inheritance of the 'nineteenth century beast'\(^{23}\). This phrase of Simpson's applies to that philosophy of a bipartite society: 'bosses' or 'bloated capitalists'\(^{24}\) set in forceful opposition against the workers. The 1935 election had seemed, at the time, to be ushering in a new phase of the class war: 'everything in the world was going right for the workers .... "Hundreds of years, thousands, dammit, we've been waiting for this.\(^{25}\) The Messiah of this victory was Michael Joseph Savage, 'looking down at her from his coloured photograph above the mantelpiece.\(^{26}\)

For Jenny as a growing child, the class war philosophy was not simply something which her father talked about; it was a philosophy the proof of which she thought was visible:

\(^{23}\) Simpson, Road to Erewhon, p.136. Simpson's use of the term 'beast' is interesting, in that it echoes Golding's imaging of 'off-campus history': the thing which 'is dead but which won't lie down', reified in Lord of the Flies as the beast on the hill.

\(^{24}\) AAD, p.68; p.12.

\(^{25}\) AAD, pp. 11-12.

\(^{26}\) AAD, p.12. The Savage 'icon' was apparently not uncommon. Amelia Batistich - Another Mountain, Another Song (Auckland: Hodder and Stoughton, 1981), p.195 - refers to 'Saint Mickey Savage [who] looked down from the kitchen wall. Saint Mickey Savage canonized in all the kitchens around....'\(^{*}\)
... on the side of his head, under the thick grey hair as prickly as a hedgehog's back, was a long furrow she could fit the side of her hand into quite easily. That'd been where he'd stopped a policeman from hitting a friend of his with a baton during the depression. 27

Made to feel 'very small and lonely' by the 'snooty' doctor who visits her mother (shortly to die), Jennie draws her needed strength from her received political attitudes:

There was ... enough of Miss Dallard and Joe in her to recognize that he thought this was a horrible little street in the worst part of Newtown. But there was also enough of her father in her to believe that the way they had to live was not their fault. 28

Although Jennie shares neither her father's religious fervour for the workers' cause nor his later intense bitterness, in her 'way of seeing' there are traces of both. Walking home through the Wellington streets, in a 'southerly wind that splashed clouds like ink', Jennie observes that

the decaying wood and corrugated iron looked like the shrivelled flesh of old men. Across this slop-basin of homes she saw the dark mass of pine trees on the side of the small hill, making a sort of sanitary towel behind which the Governor-General could have his great mansion and hold his garden parties.

The scene produces a sudden insight into the nature of capitalism: 'that evil'. 29

On the day of the novel, finding herself now in a 'mansion', set in garden-party grounds', Jennie believes that

a whole chunk of the world would have to drop off before anything bad could happen to somebody living here. 30

Her incorrect assumption that 'this was a place where nobody really

27. AAD, p.36.
28. AAD, p.158.
29. Ibid.
30. AAD, pp. 15-16.
had any trouble' derives from her inheritance of class-related perception.

Bill Page's disaffection with the militant unions is revealed indirectly through his daughter's recollections. Jennie is not, however, merely medium or mouthpiece; as well as recalling his words and anger with understanding, she reveals opinions of them which are clearly her own. Her doubt that 'heaven was coming down to earth on the instalment plan' is her father's dream turned in the light of her own experience. When Bill Page has decided to work as a 'scab', she responds: "I'm on your side, Dad, and whatever you do will be all right with me." That this 'was a lie and the truth at the same time', she thinks to herself simultaneously. In this is shown not only her acceptance of both him and his reasons, but also her ability to see beyond both. His defiant raising of self-confidence in the words, "I've got me friends", is recalled with her private thought that 'she knew better.' The suggestion which Jennie eventually makes - that "perhaps it's time we took that picture off the wall" - shows both her appreciation of Savage as symbol (heaven by instalments, to men like her father) and her own developing sense that the fight has been lost.

Margaret Rankin's reveries present the conservative attitudes

31. AAD, p.12. See also, 'nothing rotten was supposed to happen to anybody who lived in it' (ibid); 'Not that this was the kind of kitchen in which any hard work had to be done' (p.67); 'Nothing bad could ever happen here.' (p.105)*


33. AAD, p.191: 'Because what was in her heart was quite contrary to what she believed in her mind'.

34. AAD, p.157.

35. AAD, p.189.
which assisted the Holland Government during the dispute. Her cast of mind is generally nostalgic; that which she remembers seems better than what is, and the future (if different from either) cannot be contemplated. Her conservative temperament accommodates, moreover, a deeply ingrained attitude of class prejudice. In having, as its terms of reference, occupation and income level, it shares common bases with the workers' class antagonism.

Margaret thinks about the Waterfront Dispute hardly at all. Anzac Day and the day after are times (conscience concedes) when 'she was entitled' to think of Hector and 'the glorious land that was Home.' Her rosy memories of that young soldier killed in the Great War are heavily patterned with class prejudice and aspirations to gentility: as in, Hector had lived in 'a fine edifice' comprising two wings and a main hall. The front door set under an imposing arch flanked by two columns. She was overwhelmed by the size and magnificence of it all. Just hearing Mrs Skinner's refined accent made her aware that her own voice must sound colonial and uncultivated, no matter how careful she was with it.

The people and qualities which Margaret finds unpleasant elicit from her significant terms of abhorrence. Observing John as he awakes, this day after Anzac Day, she sees him 'more like a disreputable labourer than what he actually was'; visiting Hector's parents in beautiful Surrey, she had been humiliated that Father 'had

36. AAD, p.19; p.21.

37. Her own edifice (which might shield her from the 'awful socialism ... sweeping the country') had to have an elegant front entrance, 'with columns and an archway'. (p.143) Note here, 'even the best of tradespeople might be tempted to take advantage of ignorance'.

38. AAD, p.23.

39. AAD, p.17.
forced Mr Skinner to treat him as some kind of tradesman'; 40 and John had 'exposed her' to meeting a Minister of the Crown who looked more like a drunken butcher. 41

Setting aside 'disreputable' and 'drunken', the word 'tradesman', quite unqualified, is freely used by Margaret as pejorative in itself. She, like Jennie, sees a bipartite society; they share, therefore, a heritage of a 'them' and 'us' ethos:

Going to church she saw how other people lived, in such little space .... Once when Father took that strange route to Government House they went down a street where people lived in little wooden hutches. She always thought of these people, prayed for them. Mother explained that everything possible was being done for them, that they were really people who would not help themselves. 42

Margaret's political allegiance is determined by such perceptions. The Labour Party then, in drawing broad-base support from workers, is inevitably socially distasteful to her; workers, in their supporting of the Labour Party, confirm for her the fact that they are disreputable.

In Margaret's thoughts about the Party, the people within it seem like carriers of a ghastly disease. Almost incredulous, she recalls twice in six pages that a Labour Cabinet Minister 'patted her arm': 43

He actually patted her arm and said, 'I don't know what I'd do without your hubby.' His horrible, flushed face pushed close, she could never forget. 44

If this day after Anzac Day is at all typical, in her last assertion she shows some self-knowledge. The memory of that brief encounter is possibly sixteen years old already, and cannot, for textual reasons,

40. AAD, p. 22.
41. Ibid.
42. AAD, p. 50.
43. AAD, p. 19.
44. AAD, p. 24.
be fewer than eight; yet, later in the day, she recalls for a third time 'that ugly, red-faced man' who placed his hand on her arm ... and said, 'I don't know what I'd do without your hubby.' Such a crude, common man! ... To think that such a ghastly creature could become a cabinet minister.46

His Party's Government contains 'the most degraded men', and represents 'those people', 'such people', the types for whom Mother exhorted her to pray, living in 'bungalow desert[s] like Hataitai.' The disease which she fears (and which the masses and their Minister carry) seems to be 'that awful socialism', militating as it does against social barriers that, she thinks, are absolutes. It is a disease which touched her husband when he 'became involved with Labour.' She recalls, with relief, 'only for a short period'.

When Margaret thinks of socialism, she thinks of constraint; even her (capitalist) marriage in failure reminds her of that horrible film about Russia she once saw - [people] locked in solitary cells all their lives and communicating

45. Labour came to power in 1935; Donovan, the Minister of John Rankin's department at the time, lost his portfolio and ran as an independent in a war-time election (pp. 150-151). There has been only one, that of 1943.

46. AAD, p.142.
47. AAD, p.23.
48. AAD, p.50.
49. Ibid.
50. AAD, p.18.
51. AAD, p.142.
52. AAD, p.141.
53. Ibid.

See speech by Goosman, senior Cabinet Minister in the Holland Government, as reported in Hansard, 28 June 1951. Cited Scott, p.89.*
with each other only by tapping on the stone walls.\textsuperscript{54}

Not surprisingly, the prison motif recurs when she is recalling John's 'radical phase':\textsuperscript{55}

he was like some kind of machine, designed in the first instance to serve a Labour Government. In that terrible little bungalow, feeling like a prisoner of that awful socialism that was sweeping the country, she was unable to do anything except watch her husband behave like one of the warders.\textsuperscript{56}

When Margaret thinks of John's 'only serious fault' as being 'politics',\textsuperscript{57} she does not mean this exactly (and has the grace to make a correction).\textsuperscript{58} His 'only serious fault' is Labour politics: an attitude revealed in what she does and does not say. Her father and her grand-father were both Members of Parliament, a fact so unimportant to her that she never bothers to mention it.

The clues to the fact are given in her father's recollections; they exist within Margaret's but lack substance without Henry's. She does recall 'that strange route to Government House', but only because it took them through a poor suburb. Only in her way of phrasing it is there a suggestion that the journey (through different streets) might be habitual. It lies with old man Creighton to inform that once he was the richest man in the district, sitting on the borough council and having to face up to being a member of parliament one day, just because everybody reckoned he must be a chip off the old block.\textsuperscript{59}

Although it seems that he did face up to it, his involvement in

\begin{itemize}
\item[54.] \textit{AAD}, p.17.*
\item[55.] \textit{AAD}, p.19.
\item[56.] \textit{AAD}, p.142.
\item[57.] \textit{AAD}, p.141.
\item[58.] Ibid.
\item[59.] \textit{AAD}, p.50.
\end{itemize}
politics holds no interest for his daughter; certainly, it has not aroused any horror. That Father had 'stalked about the grounds, muttering and gesticulating ... rehearsing a speech of some sort' is a memory incidental to her brother Grahame's enlisting. Even that Father eventually became 'such an enemy of the Government interests her so little that she does not bother to give the reasons. All that she mentions is that Father's refusal 'to have anything to do with Mr Blennerhasset, a member of Mr Massey's cabinet', caused 'considerable embarrassment to Mother, who thought highly of Mrs Blennerhasset.'

Clearly, her husband's political involvement is meagre in comparison, being short-lived and 'back room' (rather than back or front bench). 'Politics' of the Right and Left are considered to be different.

It is likely that Margaret does not perceive her forebears' activities as political at all; that their work was fulfilment of a natural social role: the 'right to rule', Establishment 'noblesse oblige'. Her father's reveries suggest her heritage of concepts of natural leadership - not doctrinal political action.

His being the 'richest man in the district, sitting on the borough council' suggests governing élite drawn from the moneyed rural sector. His having 'to face up to being a member of parliament just because everybody reckoned he must be a chip off the old block' suggests leadership as a kind of class or patrilineal inheritance. His 'owning land and stock from here to kingdom come'

60. AAD, p.47.
61. AAD, p.181.
62. AAD, p.182.
and 'that rich, as much as a chieftain ... as any of heathen days' confirm the suggestion of a governing landed gentry. John Rankin's Minister now, in the National Party Government, is 'very much an advertisement for the butterfat that had made his family wealthy ... he shared the condition of his prize herds after lush spring grazing. Margaret's background is not so much 'political' as rural and wealthy: the class of historical power. Her husband, not belonging, is "a new kind of big shot we've bred." Jennie and Margaret, thus, in their flickering thoughts of the past, reveal two distinct political ideologies, ones which Simpson, at least, sees as 'active' in the dispute:

What the community witnessed was a fight to the death between philosophies. On the one hand was the point of view of the militant unions, a philosophy of class war and the workers' state, with its roots deep in the 'red' Federation attitudes of the movement prior to the First World War. On the other hand were Holland and his friends, firm believers in the national mythology ... He was the hammer of the enemies of the communal psyche, the guardian of the sacred national mythology. It is small wonder that he rolled the unions in the dust.

His assessment recalls to mind Margot Campbell's The Dark Water with its fullness of celebration of New Zealand as Pastoral Arcadia.

Beyond the class war philosophy of the militant unions (which Cross presents through Jennie's consciousness) and the conservative attitudes of the workers' opponents (revealed in the thinking of Margaret Rankin) lies the third historical fact of national apathy - the stance of the country's spectator-majority. John Rankin exhibits this, although not uncomplexly, for he maintains it at a time of some professional involvement.

64. AAD, p.172.
65. AAD, p.143.
66. Simpson, Road to Erewhon, p.136.
He is suited, for two main reasons, to his role of supreme observer: the professional imperatives of his Civil Service career, and his paradoxical belonging to neither yet both factions. Like Jimmy Sullivan 'outside' in a kind of lonely anarchism, John Rankin is 'outside' because he has yielded one political philosophy without embracing another. He has become a pragmatist, detached in his duties, observing not only bureaucratic and political winds, but also himself as a public and private man. Working class in origin and political allegiance (were he to allow himself any such carelessness), he despises his 'especial peace of the upper income bracket.'67 Having turned from his past, for reasons of expediency, and unable in the present to accept comfort without guilt, he is 'outside' in '51, belonging nowhere.

Now, when his natural sympathies might have been with the workers, or when his professional enthusiasm might have with the present Government, he analyses himself as not mixed up in the strike trouble. Just as in the last war, he was doing the job he had always done, a little untouched by it all.68

He felt glad his contact with the strike was limited to the daughter of a victim of it. The whole country was strike-bound. He could sit on the fence, unharmed....69

He sees himself as 'the safe man',70 'the buttons and strings man';71

67. AAD, p.25.
Later, he qualifies the expression of 'gladness', observing that if he had known at the time the 'Page girl' was pregnant, he would not have become involved, would have 'decided that the business was rather too sticky.' (p.207)
70. AAD, p.231.
71. AAD, p.177.
'politics ... was none of his business.'\textsuperscript{72} Assessing the damage which Jennie causes to Margaret's furniture, 'aristocratic victims of revolutionary attack',\textsuperscript{73} John makes only a wry self-observation: 'He should have been relishing the very idea of it.'\textsuperscript{74}

* 

All four central characters are, for various reasons, remarkably apathetic about the industrial situation. Henry Creighton is unconcerned because, old and dying, he lives now quite typically in his more vital past. He thinks about the crisis only once, asking Jennie "... about the strike - what's happening there?"\textsuperscript{75} Even before his question has been answered, he is not really listening.

Even although Jennie Page is directly a dispute 'victim'; even though she is carrier of the unionists' 'way of seeing', she appears passive and uninterested in it. Uncomfortably pregnant (perhaps already in labour); losing her father two months before; Jimmy gone to sea; her mother long dead; her brother dead, also (recalled especially on Anzac Day): these perhaps leave little emotion for current events. There is more than this, however; she accepts - with good reason, in view of her short and troubled life - that 'whatever was going to happen would happen; there was not a thing she could do about it.'\textsuperscript{76}

Any interest that Jennie might have had in the dispute ends abruptly with her father's death. This interest, her reveries show, was never wide-ranging. She seems, although well placed, to know

\textsuperscript{72} AAD, p.151.
\textsuperscript{73} AAD, p.230.
\textsuperscript{74} Ibid. (underlines added).
\textsuperscript{75} AAD, p.155.
\textsuperscript{76} AAD, p.15.
nothing about its causes, its day-to-day course or national repercussions. Her interest in the industrial scene related to loving her father. After he dies (in week two or three of the twenty-one and a half weeks of dispute), she appears to register nothing new about it.\textsuperscript{77}

Although through Margaret Rankin anti-unionist views are presented, she is herself only an apathetic spectator. Her single reference to the dispute—about shortages of tea and sugar\textsuperscript{78}—is only a polite conversation piece. After Anzac day, with its memories of her dead first love, she feels more keenly than ever the sterility of her marriage. Caught up in nostalgia and a new anxiety (that John has fathered Jennie’s baby), she sees the present as ugly, the past as beautiful. The industrial crisis cannot compete with Hector, who had said: “Dear Margaret—be what you are, and I’ll serve you.”\textsuperscript{79}

This apathy or lack of interest in the Waterfront Dispute displayed by all four narrating characters would be strange were the novel primarily about the crisis.

* Historically, socially and temperamentally, the characters (living or remembered) cover a wide range. In time, their lives span the full century of European New Zealand history, from Henry Creighton’s brother, dead in the Maori Land wars, to Jennie’s son, just born on this April night. In terms of class (and financial status), among them the characters inhabit all social strata:

\textsuperscript{77} On two subsequent occasions, Jennie is disturbed by matters connected directly to the dispute. Her disturbance, however, has little to do with an ongoing interest in the industrial crisis itself.*

\textsuperscript{78} \textit{AAD}, p.207.

\textsuperscript{79} \textit{AAD}, p.185.
Henry Creighton's father, colonial land-baron; Henry Creighton, man of property in Massey's Reform Party Government; Hector Skinner, cherished son of the English upper class; Neil Robinson and John Rankin, 'scholarship boys' who climbed the ladder; Bill Page, veteran of the Depression riots, who, nineteen years later, became an ex-watersider; Sammy Trotter, during the crisis 'a leader of the workers'; Donovan, ex-miner and Minister of the Crown; his current Conservative counterpart, a product of a dairy farm; and Jimmy Sullivan, a boy 'from nowhere'.

Mainly through its women, mixed-race society is strongly represented until the day's last minutes. Henry's Maori girl, back in the 1880s (the one whom 'they called the brown tart'), comes from the bush, an all-Maori community which, physically and culturally, is beginning to sicken. Jennie Page's mother, Maori and fat, like a 'circus tent' flapping in the wind, is urban-living but uncomfortable in the city, where her colour and size seem to invite ridicule. Jennie Page, half Maori and knowing only the town, lacks any positive sense of Maori or dual heritage; it is with delight that she makes the observation: 'her Maori blood showed only in a light golden tan.' Margaret Rankin and Elizabeth Robinson complete the

80. AAD, p.59.
81. AAD, p.73.
82. AAD, p.162.
83. On page 183, Henry states that he was 'going on forty' at the time of the Boer War. Assuming that 'going on' means no more than 39 and no less than 36, he would have to have been born between 1863 and 1866.*
84. AAD, p.80.
85. AAD, p.70.
86. AAD, p.107.
presentation, their skins extremely white (in John's husband/lover reveries). Margaret is 'white-shouldered', her flesh as ... white as bone'; her face gleams, 'a pale moon of a thing'. John's mistress seems a 'pale little creature', with 'pale face ... pale eyes' and 'insipid blonde hair.' That 'colourless girl with faded eyes' still haunts him, with her 'chalky whiteness', 'white fingers', the 'hollow-cheeked whiteness of her face.' She is 'the milky blonde ... Neil had chosen to mate with.'

Not surprisingly, in the characters' temperaments, similarities cut across time and class differences. At the hands of some 'tarpot' Maoris long ago, Henry's uncle 'got hacked to bits ... over Wanganui way.' The 'curling whip' in his Pakeha father's hand had 'lashed across' Henry Creighton's back, 'burrowed into his flesh and then lifted it clean off.' Bill Page uses his fists 'to settle' union traitors and becomes, in turn, 'assaulted savagely'; he dies as a

87. *AAD*, p. 31.
89. *AAD*, p. 121.
90. Ibid.
91. *AAD*, p. 27.
92. *AAD*, p. 98.
94. *AAD*, p. 97.
96. *AAD*, p. 60.
97. *AAD*, p. 121.
98. *AAD*, p. 44.
100. *AAD*, p. 196.
a 'mass of swollen and blackened flesh'.

Jimmy Sullivan, working on the Cook Strait ferry, carries a 'blunt handle of bone that looked harmless -

until he pressed a silver clip at one end, making it leap in his hand like a live thing and spit out a long silver blade, razor - sharp on both edges, coming to a point as fine as a needle.

Bullied beyond endurance, even Joe Page threatens with a knife, the glint of the blade a match for his eyes. Neil Robinson, a national 'HERO' with dimples on his cheeks, is 'a man who had savaged' his wife - 'not loved her.'

The contrasts in temperament are, likewise, marked and become thematic. Jennie's thought that Mum, with her enveloping warmth, had 'a big clean heart' applies to Mrs Rowlands, the family cook remembered by Margaret: it does not apply to Margaret's mother (called, more often in the text, 'the parson's daughter'.) John's thought of Elizabeth as having 'freed [him] from his dry husk' applies equally to the Maori girl, without whom Henry Creighton found life 'nothing more than a bolster of dry oats'; it does not apply to Margaret or to the Reverend Cockerill's daughter, the latter so repulsed by the human body that she sits in her bath 'wearing a grey

101. AAD, p.196.
102. AAD, p.164.
103. AAD, p.39.
104. AAD, p.27.
106. AAD, p.76.
108. AAD, p.170.
kind of nightgown and the former so unwelcoming that John must ask her, "How would you like it - with ether or chloroform?"

Remembering Donovan, his first Labour Minister, John describes him as 'not a man for subtleties'; everything about him 'was close to the surface.' 'Not claiming anybody's help or sympathy ... he held his head lower and lower between his thick shoulders, a bull waiting to charge.' As a description, it applies equally to Bill Page; it does not apply in any way to John Rankin himself: master of subtleties, nothing close to the surface, always 'solemn and mild, careful not to exhibit any feeling.'

Joe Page, diminished always by his father's huge shadow, shares some of his pain with other sons: a younger Henry Creighton and, in turn, his son, Grahame. Overall, he provides most contrast to other men - to their easy violence, tough talk or smooth way of operating. He seldom speaks and seldom above a whisper. In the Newtown house, with its tough union men, card sessions, beer drinking, wrestling and bloodied wallpaper, Joe moves around 'as quietly as a shadow'. Off-spring of a man 'as enormous as a bear', Joe is

110. AAD, p.31.
111. AAD, p.55.
112. AAD, p.56.
113. AAD, p.150.
114. AAD, p.209.
116. AAD, p.11.
117. Ibid.
118. AAD, p.39.
'a ghost before his death ... not very big, even small'. John Rankin has shared some of Joe's predicament: that of lyric poet within the working class. This similarity points up an important character contrast: that between John Rankin, the adolescent boy, who had written a book of poems, The Hill of Dreams, and the ageing 'senior civil servant', 'respectable' author of The Principles of Public Service and The Business of the Welfare State. That younger John Rankin, like Joe, is now 'dead', and in a way recalling Fairburn's 'Rhyme of the Dead Self'.

Other characters present contrast within themselves, also. Grandfather Creighton, Henry Creighton and Bill Page are all greatly changed at the time of their death, from the former selves which they or others remember. As the characters, with their historical, social and temperament differences are 'linked' by various kinds of shared dream, so too are the contrasts within single characters able to be explained or reconciled; their dream, how they deal with it, or how it deals with them, determines much of their lives' pattern. The changes within John Rankin or Bill Page or Henry Creighton (or Jimmy Sullivan, once a God boy) have been wrought by realisation of 'a fault in the glass ... In everybody, in everything.' The 'caves' tunnelled out behind them - the past behind their present - reveal labyrinths of dreams of various kinds.

119. AAD, p.111.
120. AAD, p.39.
122. AAD, p.205.
26. Janet Frame - To The Is-Land (Auckland: The Women's Press Ltd. in association with Hutchinson Group (NZ) Ltd., 1983), p.130 - recalls: 'The election of the Labor (sic) government was almost like a Second Coming, so great was the joy in our household, and so revered the new prime minister, 'Micky' Savage, whose poster-sized photograph was now pinned to our kitchen wall, where it stayed ... and even when the Second World War was declared, Micky Savage was moved only slightly to make way for the map of the world with the tiny pinned flags'. Noel Hilliard - Power of Joy (London: Michael Joseph, 1965), p.112 - similarly has Savage's picture pinned to the wall.

31. 'Even the very air was much more expensive than that which she had breathed in her Newtown home - this grand room was an assurance that nothing really bad could happen to her, for in such extra-ordinarily soft and luxurious surroundings surely no real pain and trouble could ever touch a person. Not even somebody like herself.' (p.187)

52. '... The instigators of the [waterfront] trouble are anti-New Zealand and anti-British - they are worse than transferable diseases, and we have to take steps to deal with them.'

54. The belief in an inevitable connection between socialism and repressive rule has a long and continuing history in the West. Margaret, typically, focuses on Russia (a country only debatably socialist) and, also typically, overlooks totalitarianism as the true source of its civil oppression. In their 1954 pamphlet, Resist Peace-time Conscription, Jock Barnes and John A. Lee suggest that fear of Russia becomes itself a threat, for it allows fascism to flourish unchecked. See also E. Olssen, John A. Lee (Dunedin: Univ. of Otago Press, 1977), p.201.

77. She is troubled first by a newspaper photograph of marching watersiders, carrying the banner 'Remember Bill Page'; second, by a newspaper item about the arrest of Sammy Trotter (who had helped her on wash-days and seduced her at thirteen). Her responses on these occasions have a personal rather than a political base.

83. The decade of the eighties would, therefore, more or less cover his adolescence and early manhood. (His comment on page 29 - 'now that I'm around the sixty mark' - lends support to this, as the year of the statement is around 1926.)

121. Tonight I have taken all that I was and strangled him that lily-white lad ... as he lay a-dreaming in his bed. ...

He is dead pale youth and he shall not rise on the third day or any other sloughed like a snakeskin there he lies and he shall not trouble me again for aye.
After Anzac Day presents three forms of dream: the small dreams of individual people; the larger dreams partaking of a national mythology; dreams unspecific in place and time and, therefore, universal. In some instances, the first two forms are actively linked: where a character's hopes for his or her own life derive from, or sustain, an encompassing national myth. In other instances, in Cross's novel, there is little or no link between them: where private fragile dreams relate, not particularly to a New Zealand climate of feeling, but, rather, to wider archetypal images—about women, for example, about romantic love, about heroic father-figures, men and being 'manly', about the Christian mythology of life after death. Cross's 'caves' are occupied by all these forms and combinations, within the 'constant' of a contextual culture which is pervasively Puritan-Protestant.

The novel's presentation of dream is both historical and structural. Through the minds of the characters, unravelled 'like film, full of old scraps and pieces of the past', Cross depicts and examines New Zealand Pakeha mythology, showing how it interweaves our social history. As it comprises the 'images' which we have held for this place, it has, in terms of the Williams assumption,1 been a determining factor in development patterns: conditioning our perceptions of what is or should be possible for this society and ourselves within it; determining legislative and governing activity from the outset of colonising days; leaving residual mythic habits of thought and feeling. The dreams of our mythology, as historical causes, thus explain much of what we have done and become. As

structural elements within the novel itself, they form threads of connection between disparate characters. This provision evolves into thematic statement of shared humanity and the general failure of dream.

* All the characters of the novel are, without exception, isolated and lonely for various personal reasons. Two, however, face the dilemma of being socially dispossessed or torn, in terms of class, by their own choices: John Rankin, rising from working class roots into the upper income bracket; Donovan from trade unionist to Minister of the Crown and broken by the shift.2 It is both the dilemma and the golden promise of 'young' societies, the opportunity of upwards mobility in the social structure and the price which this can exact, on a private level.3

A propos of early European settlement in the United States, Lekachman comments that there a worker seemed to have every opportunity to become independent, to rise from his class rather than with it. Moreover, 'there was a frontier, plenty of free land to develop'.4 Simple and obvious as the statement is, it takes us to the heart of our own colonial dream, that double-sided myth which has shaped our social history. In accord with definitions already made, it is the second level of dream, that of national myth (which, in New Zealand's case, is specifically Pakeha). It partakes, obviously, of levels one

2. AAD, p.57.*

3. Chapman's assertions that to refer 'to a "young" country, "adolescent culture" and the rest ... can become an annoying semantic fallacy'; that our social pattern 'came ready-made from a given tradition . . . as old as Great Britain' are not basically questioned.*

and two, for the 'private fragile dreams' of individual people (and, in our case, particularly of men) both sustain and derive from it, in cause and effect ways. Moreover, it shares with those dreams of other 'new' societies the belief that reward is a natural concomitant of effort, and the promise of fresh beginnings.

The two aspects of national myth highlighted by Lekachman are rural and urban, different yet complementary theatres of action. New Zealand's 'successive waves of settlers', in both of these fields, were inspired, according to Oliver, by the 'promise of proprietorship and the benefits that would flow from it.' As images-in-tandem from a singular mythic source, they correspond to the Pilgrim Dream and the Dream of the Just City, surviving even while confronting the spectre of their failures.

The colonial Dream of the Just City, to which Baxter referred in a 1951 address, had become, by 1935, inseparable from that of the victorious Labour Party. With the election of Savage, of veterans of the 'Red Federation', and after decades of industrial activism, the politicisation of the dream became complete and the dream itself became respectable. The process had been long and fierce, in a way that the politicisation of the Pastoral Dream had not. The reasons


7. Oliver, 'An Uneasy Retrospect', p.51: The colonial dream becomes 'reasserted the more vigorously as it recedes'.

for this are, possibly, both national and universal, relating not only to the specific hopes and expectations of the early settlers themselves, but also to generally-held myths about land or the natural world. However human existence has been interpreted—in terms of subjection to elemental gods, of some process of cyclic recreation, of prelapsarian perfection in Eden, or of evolutionary theory—Man has generally felt himself to be in an inescapable relationship with the natural world. This relationship is often perceived as being both physical and metaphysical.

Whether Nature is regarded as antagonistic (a wild force to be tamed and against which Man is pitted) or as regenerative and nurturing of humanity, it remains essentially unquestionable: in terms of Man's necessity, of his irrelevance to it, and of its own independent processes. The Pastoral Dream, broadly speaking, is primaeval and can accommodate both concepts of Nature: beneficent and malign. It hinges on the basic premise that Man can achieve a place, sustaining and pleasant, within the natural world. Whether he is 'cradled' benevolently within Nature or must carve out his place in a contest of wills, the end vision, ultimately, is the same. The varying means to its fulfilment, the varying concepts of the arena itself, are superficial considerations rather than modifications of the one myth.

At its source, like any other myth the Pastoral Dream has one 'furious, inherent reason-to-be ... tied to desire'; its mood is imperative, for it expresses not just dream or hope of what 'could be' but rather what 'ought to be'. The psycho-emotional drive for survival, or to find a secure place within an environment which must sustain Man at the same time as it 'lives' fiercely independent of him, is Janeway's 'engine' which cannot be shut off. This drive is
primaevai in that it surely must have arisen with Man's first consciousness. To be opposed to the Pastoral Dream, in its simplest form, would be tantamount to being opposed to what humanity is: one particular life-form within a geophysical system of great complexity. Whatever 'added value' one attributes to that life-form, outside the realms of faith this remains the only undebatable, empirical certainty.

The survival and politicisation of the Pastoral Dream have always been relatively easy processes, therefore. The myth can be embraced fiercely or simply be a matter of indifference. Probably no-one, however, is positively or actively opposed to this dream of a sustaining secure place for humanity in its natural environment.

The dream of an Urban Utopia is, and always has been, quite another matter: perpetually open to question, working not from an assumption of inherent respectability and natural goodness, but from judgment and critical evaluation. It is a dream which resolves itself into paradox at many points and which, in consequence, has been dogged historically by ambivalence. Possibly, the Urban Dream is no more discrepant with reality than is the Rural Dream; the discrepancies of the latter, however, seem to matter less - perhaps because it lacks real opponents to fasten upon them. In brief, the Rural Dream has respectability assumed, while the Urban Dream must achieve it and maintain it.

The pattern of the Dreams' progress - struggle as opposed to ease - is reflected in the life-profiles of Cross's two Cabinet Ministers. Donovan, like Bill Page, has waited long for the workers' victory, and his career and physical appearance are testimony of active struggle. Donovan, as Minister in the First Labour Government, 'had fought every inch of [his] fairly successful way to the top ...
jail twice, during the 1913 strike and later during the war on a sedition charge'. He is 'a man used to fighting ... [his] eyes glittered with a half-century of angers.' The Minister whom John Rankin cajoles and pleases in 1951, however, has had an easier 'way to the top' with this First National Party Government. His eyes have a 'gentle ruminative quality'; the 'rich depth' of his jowls is 'golden-fleshed', his wrists soft and 'pudgy'. While Donovan's face was 'a fine mesh of porous flesh and half-exposed veins, as though the veneer of a final layer of skin was missing', the face of this new Minister has 'the smooth sheen of ... fatty skin, unmarked by any struggle of mind, conscience or heart'. His body, his political career, are no testimony of anger, of necessary fighting inch-by-inch; they illustrate rather 'what a man could learn on a dairy farm, provided he did not have to milk the cows himself.' The different patterns of these men's lives are identical to those of the dreams which they pursue politically.

An important factor militating against the Urban Dream is a perceptual one: the concept that it and the Rural Dream are alternatives and, therefore, mutually exclusive. This view of the

9. AAD, p.55. Reference is made here to the 1913 lock-out on the waterfront (22 October - 10 December) which, in many ways, prefigured the 1951 crisis: initially a wages and conditions dispute; broken by scab labour of farmers (Massey's Cossacks), the police and the armed forces; new unions formed and workers' leaders gaolled.*

10. AAD, p.150.

11. The National Party was formed in 1936, after Savage's victory.

12. AAD, p.172.

13. AAD, p.55.

14. AAD, p.178.

15. AAD, p.174.
two Utopian myths, dichotomous or at least antagonistic, encourages (even requires) an attitude of judgment towards one. Moreover, it denies or obscures the actual nature of the visions: complementary, even mutually dependent.¹⁶

In the game of choice which this mis-perception creates, the myth of an Urban Utopia generally fares the worse. The ideal vision of a Rural Arcadia is measured against and continually sustained by the 'fault in the glass' of its urban equivalent; the corollary does not occur so readily. Moreover, while the failure of the Rural Dream, in practice, does not shut off the 'engine' of the dream itself, the failure of the Urban Dream, in practice, seems to succeed in denying the dream's overall validity.¹⁷

Setting aside the fact that exclusive choice is not actually necessary, several reasons other than (or additional to) those already given are possible. That the discrepancies between the Dream of a Just City and its reality are overt, clearly manifest, is doubtless one of them. Urban communities, by their very nature, are finite or definable structures; their success or failure in sociological terms, therefore, is more readily apparent: localised and concentrated. Indeed, for this reason, the recorded history of Man and his civilisations is, by and large, an account of the rise and fall of cities, urban societies are regarded (sometimes for the analyst's convenience, sometimes as a matter of fact) as repositories of the 'best' and the 'worst' of the full, encompassing culture.

¹⁶ For a fuller discussion of this perceived antagonism between the pastoral and urban dreams, see Evans' 'Paradise or Slaughterhouse' essay, previously cited. Evans explores the pastoral/industrial dichotomy, the notion that rural life is clean and ideal, while urban living is the excrescence or blight upon it.*

¹⁷ The 'imagistic luggage' which nineteenth century colonists brought with them bears witness, perhaps, to these two processes.*
It is not that circumstances of pastoral life are irrelevant to the cyclic nature of a given civilisation; it is rather that those circumstances are widespread, often sporadic, and so less easily condense into sharply focused and singular images. Even in New Zealand's relatively brief history of economic depressions experienced by both urban and rural dwellers, it is on the dosshouses and soup-kitchen queues of the 1860s, on the street riots of the 1930s and on Albany Porcello's Dunedin that the imagination finally fastens. The land-holder can yield his farm to the mortgage man, Nature re-assert itself over his hard-won clearings, but the experience does not become collective. However common, his pain or sense of the dream's failure remains private, unshared. The rural dispossessed, captured in our historical memory now as lonely and itinerant, present an image which, rather than being a collective one, is described most aptly by Hopkins' strange 'disseveral': both manifold and disjunct.

The progress of the Urban Dream is impeded, therefore, by its visible, socially concentrated 'faults', while the progress of the rural equivalent is facilitated by its flaws' social dispersal. Compounding this circumstance, perhaps, is the natural human inclination to confront, to focus on, only those matters which seem explicable and to lie within the scope of effective human activity. Man-made systems and structures, in their finiteness and specificity, invite analysis, present attractive 'targets' for censure by seeming to be within Man's control. It is an easy (and comforting) matter to make positive observations about processes beyond comprehension and manipulation; acknowledgement of 'faults' which defy human correction (and which, by this token, highlight human incapacity) is, however, personally threatening. In the face of such faults, one generally
chooses 'blindness' or the rarer position of stoicism.

The gradual evolution of New Zealand's traditional two-party political system exemplifies, yet again, the cause-effect cycle on which mythic history turns. In various forms and under various names, rural interests in this country have usually been associated with one party and urban interests with the other. Such political alliances are both a consequence of the perceived dichotomy between pastoral and urban concerns and the mythic perpetuation of it. That 'the colonial dream of the Just City ... had become, by 1935, inseparable from that of the victorious Labour Party', and that rural political interests continued their conservative Party allegiance have revealed myth effective at the core of our social history.
End Notes to Chapter Seven(ii)

2. This 'tough man could fight his way through unions and party caucus brawls and knew how to give voice to the wrath of a depressed country, but here in an office like an ornate hall, flooded with papers in a strange jargon, concerning a multiplicity of problems, in charge of a complex administrative machinery of which he had little knowledge, he was a fish out of water.' (p.57)

3. However, for two reasons, the terms 'new' or 'young' (within commas) are used herein. First, despite the traditional values and pattern of the conditioning culture, the terms recognise their transplantation to a different environment, to a new field of application, which would inevitably test and alter them. Second, they are true to the emigrants' perception of their situation and so are an essential ingredient of myth.

9. Many Labour men were imprisoned for 'sedition' during World War One, among them Harry Holland, Fraser, Thorn, Webb, Semple and Armstrong. (Note; Donovan is a miner, not a watersider; the miners came out in support.)

16. Note the reference to the establishment of a 'second mythology ... counter to the initial, arcadian myth: the rustic shepherd-philosopher is revealed as a systematic and calculating butcher, ... the yeoman dissolves into a class of artisans imprisoned and degraded by the task of daily slaughter. And dominating all, standing at the interface between country and town and symbolising the loss of the antipodean paradise, is New Zealand's own satanic mill: the slaughterhouse.' (p.76.)

17. The more 'satanic' those mills, the more corrupt those Dickensian cities seemed to be, the more enticing the myth of pastoral simplicity and purity; yet regardless of the 'clearances', of rural dispossession and misery lived and 'captured' in contemporary fiction, the rustic idyll survived.
Rural Dream: The Fault in the Glass

In *After Anzac Day*, the Pilgrim or Pastoral Dream is presented harshly, without claim to Utopian vision or notions of establishing Arcadia. The colonial taming of wild land turns, not on a desire to create Paradise, a 'family haven in civilised nature',\(^1\) or a bountiful larder in a hungry world, but on baser drives: greed for material possession and the will to power, be it over the bush or other human beings. Pearson's later version of the national dream, as being one of 'security in equality',\(^2\) has no roots or trace in that of the pioneering Creightons. Theirs is realised by the axe, the plough and the whip, the former scarring the bushland, the latter living flesh: the bull's rump or a young man's back. Henry's skin is 'burrowed into', 'lifted ... clean off';\(^3\) the hair of the beast's hide 'lift[ed] out', leaving a 'glistening white line so straight it might have been ruled'.\(^4\) The burrowing of the whip and the gleam of what it exposes are also aspects of the axe and the plough's working, recalling Hopkins' 'Cragiron under ... with-a-fountain's shining-shot furls':\(^5\) As Henry's father makes 'another deep bite with the axe', his arms seem, to his watching son, to 'whip down'.\(^6\)

The result of all this activity is wealth and an elevated social

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3. *AAD*, p.44.


6. *AAD*, p.120.
position. The money, first from 'land grabbed from the Maoris', then from a family inheritance, then from establishing a stock firm, made the Creightons rich and so 'grand people': 'not of penniless servant stock, but ... decent'. The new 'chieftains' of this white dominion are those who can buy and own.

Cross suggests the darker side to this materialistic measure of 'decency' or 'respectability', in several instances. It is presented in Henry's frequent portrayal as 'split': between the public man of prestige and influence and the caged animal 'claw[ing] up into his brain'; between Henry Creighton, son of the 'grand people', and him who feels 'needling pricks of excitement sticking into his belly at the very idea of the girl', 'the one they called the brown tart'. It is suggested in Henry's memory of Thomas Hammond's store: its 'smells of lavender and mouthballs ... from the dry sweetness of ladies new garments'; its clientele of 'roistering men who spat out of dirty beards' when they came to buy 'shovels, pick-axes and mauls'. It is there in the 'nouveau-respectable' image of Henry's

7. AAD, p.30. This is John's interpretation, but it finds support in the episode (pp.123-124) in which the 'tarpot' chief is coaxed to yield his land for a 'bottle of booze'. Note (p.125) that the colonists' general store has a 'counter made of planks from old brandy and gin cases'.

8. AAD, p.44; p.200. Both passages suggest that Grandfather Creighton was not wealthy when he first arrived and that money from England came later.


10. AAD, p.200.

11. AAD, p.119.

12. AAD, p.45.


14. AAD, p.125.

15. Ibid.
father, ploughing the land in cap and waistcoat, 'a watch in a fob pocket with a chain glinting gold across his belly'. And even while sporting his gentleman's trappings, he cheats and would kill a Maori chief, would 'reach over and use the whip' on his son; it was a 'natural thing for him to do....

His mouth twisted under that drooping moustache, his face ugly with temper.

Clearly, the presentation of Pastoral Dream in After Anzac Day is iconoclastic: the land taken in violence, 'scarred and rutted' for material gain. The Maori yields his birthright for gin or brandy, becomes reduced to living in 'half-buried hovels'; the white colonist bleeds earth and flesh for gold fob-watches, elegant dresses and his own social privilege.

The battle between the stallions, observed by Henry in his youth, functions as pure iconoclasm against the Pilgrim Dream. It carries two separate tenors in its brilliant figuring, the first's being one cost of Paradise - the Maori people's subjugation. To this end, the defeated horse is dark, 'too slight and pretty to have a chance against such ugly power'. He has 'smaller hooves' than the 'hefty red', and only 'a lean body stretching like elastic' to pit against the other - 'thick in the chest, as hard in the body as some great river boulder'.

16. AAD, p.119.
17. AAD, p.169.
18. AAD, p.125.
19. AAD, p.44.
20. AAD, p.199.
22. Ibid.
23. AAD, p.199.
The general race-symbolism of the two horses acquires personal confirmation by Henry's use of linking images. The smallness of the black's feet links him with the Maori girl, whose 'hands and feet were ... small'. The blackness of his coat is echoed in the 'blue-black cascade of her hair', its 'inky depth'. His 'swoop[ing] about the plain as though he ... were a bird', his skin 'as shining and glossy as any bird's', echoes Henry's avian sense of the girl: her voice 'with all the shifts of a fantail's flight', her beating like 'a trapped hawk'. His 'lean body', 'elastic', 'slight and pretty', echoes Henry's recall of her 'delicately shaped' features, the movement of her in water 'like a wriggling eel'. To describe the red stallion in his rearing, Henry uses the phrase 'tongue of fire'; the girl's hair spilling into the pool he sees as a 'dark tongue of fern'. She is 'as wary of eye as a wild horse'.

The personal dimension of the red's race-symbolism is specifically stated by Henry. The stallion's triumph, in brute force and hate, is 'his father's kind of victory', he 'hated the Maoris.

24. AAD, p.82.
25. AAD, p.80.
26. AAD, p.83.
27. AAD, p.199.
28. AAD, p.82.
29. AAD, p.85.
30. AAD, p.85.
31. AAD, p.85.
32. AAD, p.199.
33. AAD, p.84.
34. AAD, p.85.
35. AAD, p.200.
so much

that he would attack them with the fury of the red stallion
as he circled the crippled black, swerving in to pound the
bloody body with heavy heels. 36

In the big horse's butchering of the black, his father 'shar[es] the
brutal part of the winner'. 37 When the small stallion lies
disembowelled, the red 'up to his knees' in its entrails, Henry knows
that this is 'the way his father wanted the other fight to end,
too'. 38

Symbolism becomes confirmed again by linking images. The
victorious stallion's hooves are large, 'the size of shovels'; 39
Henry's father has 'great hands that hurt, no matter how easy and
gentle he tried to be'. 40 The horse is 'thick in the chest, as hard
.. as some great river boulder'; 41 the man's skin is 'thick and
rough ... as iron', 42 his voice 'like a rock clattering', 43 a 'slide
of land down a gulley'. 44 Between his strikes with flailing limbs,
the red horse is 'awkward and ugly'; 45 the man at rest from whipping
his son has a face twisted and 'ugly with temper'. 46 The horse

37. AAD, p.199.
39. AAD, p.199 (See page 46: 'The Parson's daughter ... was just
hands and feet'.)
40. AAD, p.120.
41. AAD, p.199.
42. AAD, p.120.
43. AAD, p.169.
44. AAD, p.120.
45. AAD, p.199.
46. AAD, p.169.
strikes like 'a tongue of fire'; 47 the father's whip strikes with 'scourging heat', 48 causes a 'pain ... like blazing fire'. 49

Henry's perception of the horses' battle works on three levels: his immediate visual experience of the fight to the death; his understanding of it as race-metaphor; the lateral connection which he then makes between this sight and symbol and another battle - the one involving his father and himself. This third aspect of Henry's perception is not only carried by elemental images of flame and land; it is also stated directly, within a process of psychological free association which fuses all three levels together, momentarily.

Henry watches the red 'splinter[] the poor devil's thigh'. 50 and in that sight he finds an image of his father's way of operating. Having perceived this parallel, his mind leaps to its visual opposite: a sunlit day by a river pool, and a young Maori girl making patterns of string between her fingers. Turning towards Henry and holding up her hands, she had called: "See ... Butterfly, eh?", 51 and in that sight of her delicate string loopings he had found a contrasting image: a 'placing him in opposition to his father'. 52

From this recollection of visual and metaphorical opposites, horse and butterfly, man and girl, Henry's mind moves by free association to the moment of supreme opposition between himself and his father: 'when the whip cracked ... and the flesh was lifted off

47. AAD, p.199.
48. AAD, p.201.
49. AAD, p.81.
50. AAD, p.200.
51. AAD, p.201.
52. Ibid.
his back'. At this point of recollection, all three strands are drawn together. In the early colonial land wars, 'his father's own brother' had been 'struck down, his body cut to pieces', too, and this whipping by his father Henry has come to understand as an act of racial hatred: the son who loves a Maori girl made scapegoat in a terrible stroke of vengeance.

The memory of the whip and of the transferred anger behind it turns Henry's mind again to the fighting stallions, to the point where his visual observations had left off:

When the whip cracked he knew that behind it was his father's own brother .... But those heathen cannibals were finished now, the way the stallion with the broken thigh had been finished.

Again, the whip cracks in his memory, and Henry recalls his own Maori girl, the superficial or presenting reason for his father's attack. In doing so, his mind seems to return to, or echo, the recently held image of that other girl, the one who had held up to him a pattern made of string; his own girl 'could have been holding up another pattern to him. But of living this time'.

In this first of his two onslaughts upon the Pastoral Dream, Cross works the stallions' battle in even more complex ways. Henry's perception of the fight has three aspects of which he is conscious; there is a fourth, however, which flickers briefly across his mind but is not pursued or held in consciousness. It relates to the

53. Ibid.

54. Ibid.

55. See AAD, p.121. Earlier in the day, his mind has already made such a connection. 'Because his father hated the Maoris he hated that girl. Used the whip on his own son."

56. AAD, p.201.

57. Ibid.
battle, still as race-metaphor, but with Henry assuming the role of the red stallion. It is hardly an easy transition to make, moving from the sound of Jennie's screams in the bathroom, back to the remembered 'frenzied squeals'\(^{58}\) of the fighting horses; from visual recollection of one victorious and one defeated stallion, to understanding of this sight in terms of two people of different races, whom he loves; to identifying himself, under a victorious whip, with others who have been 'struck down ... cut into pieces':\(^{59}\) the black horse, his dead uncle, the Maori people and his defeated girl. The further transition, which he almost makes, is understandably difficult, for it requires identification of himself with the victor: the red horse, his father wielding the whip and the triumphant Pakeha.

The girl [Jennie] made him think of that fight. As though he was one part of the winner.\(^{60}\)

He draws back from this identification, however, for the brutality of the fight is his more dominant memory; it is his father, not himself, who shares the red's 'brutal part'.\(^{61}\) Moreover, the two confrontations, between red and black, between Henry and his father, have become fused in his mind; his response to the whipping, that 'he might have been sharing the same skin with the girl, so much did he feel for her',\(^{62}\) precludes any sustained identification between himself and the red-skinned stallion. This response, however, is not without irony, for Henry is (as he had dimly perceived); 'one part of

58. AAD, p.200.
59. AAD, p.201.
60. AAD, p.199.
61. Ibid.
62. AAD, p.201.
the winner', and that which he shares with the victorious stallion is the lightness of his skin. Despite his personal feelings or attitudes, history and genetic inheritance have determined his links with 'the winner'. The choices which he goes on to make (fleeing from the Maori girl, marrying the parson's 'very white' daughter, embracing an outwardly respectable, European life-style) all confirm his 'part', however unwilling.

Because Henry's participation in the Pakeha victory is probably unwitting as well as unwilling, his connection with the red stallion and what it represents must be presented indirectly, almost in spite of him, by means of linking images. This is achieved, outside Henry's consciousness, by subtle cross-references between the stallions' fight and yet another: the one in the river between Henry and his girl.

Details of the physical and metaphorical links between the black horse and the Maori girl have already been established; the race-parallels between the red horse and Henry are to be found in the pattern of events during the lovers' struggle by the stream. Henry recalls how 'their mouths gripped holds on each other's flesh while their bodies humped and twisted ... the blood from their biting and the heat of their hungry thighs feeding ...'.

In the struggle between the horses, the black's 'mouth found and ripped hunks of flesh .... Until he missed his bite for the bleeding neck and the hefty red was able to come down and splash teeth into that shiny back, gobble at it like a hungry dog at raw meat ... the two stallions were swinging their heads in biting....'

At one point in their respective tussles, both the red horse and Henry are taken by surprise, outwitted by the quickness of a smaller

63. AAD, p.80.
64. AAD, p.200.
opponent.

[Henry] put his hands out and grasped her shoulders. She resisted violently ....Her hand flashed into his thighs in a blow that doubled him over, made him cry out in surprise and pain even as he saw her jerk back ... as if she was ready to kill. 65

The big red stallion reared, screaming. The black had found his ribs with a lash of hind heels and now turned and reared, too, calculating the moment of favourable balance, for his smaller hooves gauged (sic) the other's chest ... the red stallion reared and smashed his front feet down on the black's shoulders. 66

The black, 'weakened by savage wounds ... began to scream'; 67 the girl, held at the wrists and struck, 'screeched and beat about' in Henry's arms. 68 The red had seemed to him 'awkward and ugly'; 69 in his struggle with the girl, Henry feels himself to be 'as clumsy ... as he had been the first time he'd skinned a sheep'. 70

In their endings, the two episodes are clearly linked. Confronting his red opponent, 'the black finally dropped his head in submission, then shuddered and collapsed'. 71 Confronted by Henry, the girl 'of a sudden went quite still'; he notices the 'shudder of her body', her 'bowed neck'. 72

There is one essential and obvious difference between the outcome of the two struggles. The red, as victor, smashes the felled black's forehead and, not yet satisfied, drives down 'on stiff legs' until

65. AAD, p.81.
66. AAD, p.200.
67. AAD, p.200.
68. AAD, p.85.
69. AAD, p.199.
70. AAD, p.85.
72. AAD, p.86.
the 'bleeding body' bursts. 73 Henry, as victor, gently takes the
girl's head and bathes her hair until it was 'as fine and light to
his touch as the down of thistle seed'. 74 The difference between the
winners, on this level, does not invalidate their similarities on
others. The metaphor of the horses' battle and the actual struggle
between the lovers are equally about race conflict; in both the
winner is associated with the white colonists and achieves his
victory through superior strength. The difference between the two
episodes is only one of attitude.

Cross uses the battle between the stallions for a purpose other
than that of general race-symbolism. The spirit of iconoclasm at
work in the first, exposing the 'fault in the glass' of pioneering
activity as colonial greed, hatred and exploitation, is equally
apparent in Cross's second 'exposure'. The Pilgrim or Pastoral
Dream, with its Utopian connotations, is presented as foundering on
two counts. One is racial, concerning the brutal rather than
'Arcadian' relations between two cultures; the other is philosophical
or spiritual, concerning the brutal relationship of the pioneers with
their untouched land. Both 'points' of foundering are carried by the
stallions.

This second dimension of the metaphor is less explicitly drawn
than the first. Henry, as narrator, does not appear to be conscious
of it, even though his recollections, with their linking images, are
the means of gradually establishing it.

The main passage to 'unlock' the metaphor is one in which Henry
describes Hammond's store, visited often in his childhood. He

74. AAD, p.86.
recalls the 'old brandy and gin cases', the 'dry sweetness' of lavender and mothballs, and 'on the other side displayed against the wall, were implements that included shovels, pick-axes, mauls - all things that were eager to bite at the land or trees ... waiting] for hands to put them to work.\textsuperscript{75}

The red stallion, on the rampage, is seen by Henry as having 'feet the size of shovels',\textsuperscript{76} 'heels as heavy as mauls'.\textsuperscript{77} These weapons, with which he bleeds and savages the black, are clearly specified by Cross as white men's tools; the dark stallion becomes, therefore, a symbol of the wounded land, subdued and cut open with implements. Those 'feet the size of shovels' smash the black's shoulders;\textsuperscript{78} the 'heels as heavy as mauls' splinter the 'poor devil's thighs'\textsuperscript{79} and smash his forehead;\textsuperscript{80} his 'bloody body' is pounded with 'heavy heels'.\textsuperscript{81}

While the stallions' racial equivalents are made quite clear by Cross, the colours selected for his symbols - red and black, rather than white and black - seem less than obvious. It is probable, however, that the black's colour is determined primarily by the racial aspect of the metaphor and the red's, more subtly, by that of man's assault on the land, for the spaces which men claimed from the bush were 'brought in', not only by the shovel and the axe and the

\textsuperscript{75} AAD, p.125.
\textsuperscript{76} AAD, p.199.
\textsuperscript{77} AAD, p.200.
\textsuperscript{78} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{79} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{80} AAD, p. 201.
\textsuperscript{81} Ibid.
maul, but also by fire; now, as then, the 'burn off' remains the settlers' primary tool. The big horse, therefore, is red, 'a tongue of fire licking at the sky'; the two lock in combat with 'an eruption of great noise'; 'screaming his triumph', the red stallion 'licks up into the sky'. In his flight from the girl, Henry moves across 'dry and sterile patches,' past occasional clumps of stunted trees in tortured shape; bracken and fern crumble[] into dust at the touch of his hand ... his feet crackle[] like fire on the dry and withered growth.

So the small horse, as symbol is black like the blackened land; 'a wisp of cloud drifting low across the sky' hangs over the plain where he swoops.

Cross's exposure of this brutal aspect of Pastoral Dream is by no means new. William Baucke's 'A Quaint Friendship', published in Where the White Man Treads describes the pioneers' use of fire:

Suddenly, like a slap in the face from an unseen hand, where one had looked for fresh wonders of forest beauty, spread a settler's recent burn! Gaunt and charred, prone on their mother's bosom, lay the mighty monarchs of the woods. Giants whom the storms of ages had battered at in vain, the tireless pecking of a pigmy two-legged creature with an axe had conquered and laid low.

And I heard a deep, resentful murmur at my side: 'There are his footsteps. That is where the white man treads!'  

82. Note that Henry's general inventory of Hammond's stock includes specific reference to Litchford's Vesta matches (p.125).

83. AAD, p.199.
84. AAD, p.200.
86. AAD, p.168.
87. AAD, p.199.
Paul Day, in his critical essay on *Man Alone*, cites Mulgan's poem of 1935 which held, in embryo, the 'truths' that he would tell later, more expansively, in the novel. In the forty-seven lines of 'Old Wars', reference is made three times to the pioneer's use of fire.\(^{89}\)

Johnson will later observe the 'desolate land .... [and] trees

still standing, blackened, unrotted logs on the ground
[which] gave the hills the derelict air of a battle-field
.... Fireswept, devastated country, broken and seamed, and showing the clay where dry weather had caught and cracked it...\(^{90}\)

D'Arcy Cresswell, writing in 1939 and cited by Evans in his 'Paradise or Slaughterhouse' essay, voices outrage also at the widespread use of fire against the land - specifically in the early eighties, the period of Henry's youth:

... now a great shout of progress arose; the forests were everywhere set alight, and the ground sown and fenced and stocked while the stumps of the trees were yet smoking .... So careless were they of all they destroyed, and such havoc they made ... landslides and floods are now frequent in many parts where formerly the forest kept the rainfall within bounds. For not content with settling the flat lands and accessible ranges, in their frenzy they laid bare even the steepest and most inaccessible mountains.\(^{91}\)

Cross captures the same spirit in Henry's father, a 'man who could beat the land'\(^{92}\) and 'sweep back the bush',\(^{93}\) whose voice sounds like 'a slide of land down a gulley'. The red horse as 'a tongue of fire'

89. John Mulgan, 'Old Wars' (1938), cited Paul Day, 'Mulgan's *Man Alone*', in *Critical Essays on the New Zealand Novel*, pp. 61-62. Johnson laughs 'mournfully not merrily' at the 'trees black-standing', 'black logs, fallen and harsh', 'the bush we cleared and burned,/ the rata, rimu and black matai'.


92. AAD, p.119.

93. AAD, p.44.
against the black recalls, by parallel phrasing, Henry's memory of
his girl: 'her hair looked like it was a tongue of dark fern'.
These images, without doubt, Cresswell would have found apt.

As a composite metaphor of man's land-breaking tools - shovel,
maul and fire - the red stallion presents also the workings of the
axe, in the use of his mouth. When the black horse misjudges timing,
the hefty red was able to come down and splash teeth into
that shining back, gobble at it like a hungry dog at raw
meat.

In Henry's father's hands, 'the axe would bite into the wood
so deep that the gust of his breath as he lugged it out was
just the same as the bark of a dog.'

Like the stallions, 'swinging their heads in biting', the man's
'huge shoulders ... swing ... his arms ... whip down for another deep
bite with the axe'. As the stallions swing 'their heads in biting
and snapping madness', Henry hears 'an eruption of great noise';
watching his father at work with the axe, it seemed to the small boy
'that the sound of the cutting would be heard over the whole
country'. The man removes his waistcoat 'for cutting down trees,'
and so his son can see 'the great wet body', the skin 'much alive and

94. AAD, p.84.
95. See also Blanche Baughan's 'A Bush Section', in O'Sullivan's
    Anthology, pp.4-5.
96. AAD, p.200.
97. AAD, p.120.
98. AAD, p.200.
99. AAD, p.120.
100. AAD, p.200.
101. AAD, p.120.
moving like canvas with the wind under it';\textsuperscript{102} 'the great power and strength of the red stallion seem[s] untouched under his lather.'\textsuperscript{103} The black is 'weakened by savage wounds', his skin ripped 'from backbone to belly' by 'the grip of the [red's] teeth';\textsuperscript{104} the land about Henry's country town lies 'scarred and rutted'.\textsuperscript{105} As the red horse drives 'down on stiff legs into that bleeding body until it burst',\textsuperscript{106} he recalls Curnow's image in 'The Unhistoric Story':

The pilgrim dream pricked by a cold dawn died ...
Miners, not husbandmen, who piercing the side
Let the land's life ....\textsuperscript{107}

Consistent with both dimensions of the metaphor, the red stallion emerges from the battle covered in blood: his colour heightened by 'blood and gore'\textsuperscript{108} and a final deliberate romp in entrails.\textsuperscript{109} Literally, the blood is both the black's and his own; figuratively, it is the Maoris', the land's and the pioneers'.

The blood of the red stallion which is his own, drawn 'again and again' as the black horse fights back,\textsuperscript{110} has received widespread attention in both verse and fiction, before Cross, as the defeat of man by the brutal land. Particularly in the verse, the power of the land to thwart and destroy has its lasting images: in Baughan's 'The Old Place'; Duggan's 'The Bushfeller'; Curnow's 'House and Land', and 'The Unhistoric Story'; Glover's 'The Magpies'; Tuwhare's 'The Old Place'; Brasch's 'Letter from Thurlby Domain'; gently in Bethell's

\begin{itemize}
\item 105. \textit{AAD}, p.125.
\item 108. \textit{AAD}, p.200.
\item 110. \textit{AAD}, p.200.
\end{itemize}
'Pause'; harshly in Baxter, who has
the mountains throw their dice
of boulders huge as houses, or the smoking
Cataract flings its arrows on our path -

For us the land is matrix and destroyer
Resentful, darkly known
By sunset omens, low words heard in branches111

So the black, 'with a lash of hind heels ... now turn[s] and rear[s],
too, calculating the moment of favourable balance'. His 'swift
choice of the instant of contact' gives him a temporary advantage: 'a
bloody mess'.112 Although of unequal flow, the stallions' bleeding is
mutual: 'crimson bloom, sprinkled like blood/on the lintel of the
land.'113

* 

The stallions' battle as metaphor of man's relationship with the
land and of conflict between Maori and Pakeha has significant echoes
in Jennie's nightmares before and including the day after Anzac Day.
Both aspects of the metaphor are present in the link between her who
dreams and the dream's content.

The novel opens with 'all the old terrors again:
she heard the shovels gasp into the ground, the heavy feet
stamping on earth high above her.114

They recur, as the nightmare that they are, as 'though she was at the
bottom

111. Baxter, 'Poem in the Matukituki Valley' (1953), in

112. AAD, p.200; 'his smaller hooves gauged (sic) the other's
chest and his mouth found and ripped hunks of flesh from the neck.
Swung away as he came down and struck again with his rear heels, lean
body stretching like elastic at the pull of hind legs. Again and
again ....'

113. A.R.D. Fairburn, 'Elements' III, in O'Sullivan's Anthology,
p.41.

114. AAD, p.9.
of a deep hole in the ground and the strange stirring noises in the blackness were being made by men who wanted to bury her.\textsuperscript{115}

Again later, she feels

blackness as heavy as earth pressing down and imprisoning her; high above shovels gasped into the ground; heavy feet stamped the darkness deeper and deeper on top of her.\textsuperscript{116}

The pattern is always the same; on the night she climbed into bed with her father, for the last time, she had been feeling

her way through a blackness deeper than any night could bring. The shovels were biting into the earth, the black earth, were lifting it high and then throwing it over her.\textsuperscript{117}

After 'she could no longer go to Dad, [the] dream buried her in deeper blackness than the night, against which she no longer bothered to struggle, because it did not matter to what weight the blackness grew, for soon the shovels and heavy feet must sound more distant ....\textsuperscript{118}

In Jennie's attack on the Rankins' house at the end of the day, the dream is still with her, even though she is actually awake: 'The dark was deep and feet were stamping above her but could stay and wait ....'\textsuperscript{119}

In terms of recent events, Jennie's nightmare is understandable; her brother, mother and father buried in the dark earth, shovels digging the holes and then throwing the loose soil back, feet stamping the ground above the lowered coffins. In terms of the novel's themes, however, the shovels which haunt her with their gasping and biting into the earth become luminous rather than just

\textsuperscript{115}. \textit{AAD}, pp.105-106.

\textsuperscript{116}. \textit{AAD}, p.106.

\textsuperscript{117}. \textit{AAD}, p.111.

\textsuperscript{118}. \textit{AAD}, p.113.

\textsuperscript{119}. \textit{AAD}, p.197.
arbitrary details. They are white men's tools, on sale at Hammond's; they are the feet of the red stallion, symbol of Pakeha against Maori, and of man against the land. The stamping which haunts Jennie might possibly be a luminous detail, also: Baucke's 'white man's tread', Curnow's 'green slashed with flags, pipeclay and boots in the bush'.

The blackness which continually presses in on her is, superficially, a projection of or an identification with the 'buried' state of those whom she has loved. In the system of metaphors, however, Jennie shares the fate and blackness of the black horse, in being Maori; the earth into which the shovels bite is also black, like the horse.

The content of this dream, therefore, about shovels to bite the land, about stamping feet and burying in darkness, when regarded in the light of the dreamer's being Maori, expresses both aspects of the fight between the stallions and something more still. The red horse, with his shovel feet and stamping, symbolises both conqueror of the Maori and conqueror of the land. The small horse symbolises both the defeated Maori and the blackened land. Jennie's violent retaliation against some dimly sensed oppression parallels the land's occasional strike, the horse's strike - all finally ineffective. The tying together of the two aspects of the horses' metaphor by means of Jennie's Maori-ness makes the recurring nightmare one of dispossession. Such a theme of defeat, and later dispossession, had early poetic presentation in Robin Hyde's 'The Last Ones'. For the people who 'slept as the dead/Bedded in Maori night', her symbol is the black horse, the world's last horse.

120. Curnow, 'The Unhistoric Story', in O'Sullivan's Anthology, p.112.
121. Robin Hyde, 'The Last Ones,' in O'Sullivan's Anthology, p.66.
The real history of our country ... was not made in the towns or in the Legislature, but in the country over a prolonged breaking-in period. The settlers' efforts to establish themselves on the land were conditioned by geography, climate, the character of the soil and vegetation, and the distribution of the Maori population. ... it was the presence of the Maori and the great bush that chiefly affected the progress of the restless pakeha. The clash of races created the history that has given New Zealand what may be called its heroic genius ... New Zealand has been a land of vivid life and ennobling adventure. Above all it was a frontier, a land of many frontiers ... [of] an often thrilling fight by settler and Maori to hold the land ....\textsuperscript{122}

The crisp chop of the axe sharply echoing from the wall of bush is the first note of settlement in a new land. 'Feel my blade,' says the axe. 'It serves notice to you tall trees, towering there in your pride and strength. You block the way; down you come. Man is here knocking at the door ....' The axe was the newcomer's first weapon in this North Island .... In Southern parts the settler seeking pastures ... began by firing the scrub .... It touched a primeval sense of adventure and exploration.\textsuperscript{123}

... all that great territory could not be allowed to remain in its wild state.

\textsuperscript{122} James Cowan, \textit{Settlers And Pioneers}, New Zealand Centennial Surveys IV (Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1940), pp. v-vii (Preface); a classic statement of the Pastoral Dream.

\textsuperscript{123} Ibid., pp.12-13.

\textsuperscript{124} Ibid., p.26.

111. See O'Sullivan's Anthology for 'The Old Place' (Baughan, pp.3-4); 'The Magpies' (Dennis Glover, p.131); 'The Old Place' (Hone Tuwhare, pp.202-203); 'Letter from Thurlby Domain' (Charles Brasch, pp.79-81); 'Pause' (Ursula Bethell, pp.10-11).
Urban Dream: The Fault in the Glass

He knew the dream ... time was on the side of his dream. And the dream itself ... began to solidify in his palpitating mind; he could distinguish the turrets and spires, the fountains and parks, of the just city. He seemed already to be walking those precise squares, those straight streets, where never a brick, nor blade of grass was unaligned.¹

* 

In the novel's presentation of a national Urban Dream, the iconoclastic spirit is evident, also. Hope in the advent of the Just City is portrayed, not as current, but only in retrospect — as something which, by now, no longer seems tenable. In his address to the Writers Conference, in the third month of the dispute, Baxter stated explicitly this same belief in the Dream's failure:

The pioneering dream was of a Just City. If we suppose that this dream has been realised we condemn ourselves to the ultimate nonentity of false prophets. If we state the truth (that we now live in an Unjust City) we thus purge ourselves of a lie commonly held to be truth and begin to speak meaningfully.²

Just as the 'truth' or 'untruth' of the Pastoral Dream is exposed by Henry's tunnelling into the past, so this movement of Urban Dream, from height to demise, is exposed in the recollections of Jennie Page and, to a lesser extent, in those of John and Margaret Rankin.

The 'dreamer', of great tenacity, is Jennie's father: wounded veteran of the Depression marches; a Michael Joseph Savage 'believer'; stalwart, perhaps even muscle-man, of his trade union.³


3. AAD, p.68. On being told about another 'bloody reactionary', Bill says, 'I'd better shut him up in that case'. See also, AAD, p.157; dumped by the union, he recalls, 'for nearly twenty years I've been handing out [Sammy Trotter's] rough stuff'.
His personal understanding of the Just City is neither expansive nor liberal; it turns on the limited notions of class warfare, of innate virtue in workers and innate lack of it in 'bosses'. His urban dream is inseparable from a narrow kind of socialism, with both its process and its ends being the defeat of the 'bloated capitalist[s]'\textsuperscript{4}.

Socialism as an inclusive philosophy, egalitarian in spirit as opposed to punitive and separatist, is not Bill Page's inspiration.

Bill Page's socialism and its limitations should be regarded in the context of his social and economic circumstances: in New Zealand terms, one and the same thing. Both literally and metaphorically, his life has seemed a matter, usually, of getting "the dirty end of the stick"\textsuperscript{5}. Had he been aware of Woolf as a literary critic, he would doubtless have disagreed with her maxim; life, for him, has been a series of something 'symmetrically arranged' and not 'a luminous halo', at all.\textsuperscript{6} Moreover, his observations over the years would suggest that this is no deserved, individual misfortune; it is rather the undeserved, shared experience of "our sort".\textsuperscript{7}

His 'sort' or social class are, no doubt, men from the unions, wharfies and manual labourers like himself, who work and "get a few quid a week"\textsuperscript{8}. Their wives and families live in places like Newtown, where the rain could not 'clean everything up' but instead 'overflowed from the drains in the street';\textsuperscript{9} where the shops were not like those in the city, that had 'windows through which you could see

\begin{enumerate}
\item[AAD, p.12.]
\item[AAD, p.189.]
\item[Virginia Woolf, The Common Reader: First Series, p.189.]
\item[AAD, p.189.]
\item[AAD, p.164.]
\item[AAD, p.13.]
\end{enumerate}
They live in places like Hataitai, that 'bungalow desert' of the 'same kind of houses all round'; 'little wooden hutches' with 'rooms the size of cupboards, [and] pathetic little globes of light under white shades like inverted saucers'. His "sort" are those people for whom power, if ever they achieve it, must be collective, for as individuals they lack economic and, therefore, social power.

In the 1930s, with his 'sort', Bill Page had taken to the streets in protest against their shared deprivation. He and his friends had been assaulted for their action by the police. Even after years in work since the Depression, he must rent a house with 'weepy yellow' wallpaper, a wardrobe that was 'just a couple of curtains hanging from a board', a 'single comfortable chair' and cardboard over a broken window. And always overlooking the 'slopbasin of homes' like his ('decaying wood and corrugated iron') was the small hill 'where the Governor-General could have his great mansion and hold his garden parties'. From the Pages' back window, it looks like a 'hill so big that it could go high enough to rid itself of human beings and the sludge they spilled at God's feet'. That Bill Page dreams of the Just City in terms of 'them' against 'us' becoming 'us' against 'them' is hardly surprising.

11. AAD, p.18.
12. AAD, p.50.
13. AAD, p.18.
14. AAD, p.34.
15. AAD, p.35.
16. AAD, p.158.
17. AAD, p.42.
In 'God's Own Country', Seddon's land of plenty for all, Bill Page's experience of life has been a matter of handling the "rough stuff"... His fist[s], calloused and big-knuckled. His shaving razor he has nick-named (one suspects, quite wistfully) 'a special capitalist throat-cutter'. In his need to lash out, Bill Page is linked with Henry, Jennie, Jimmy and Joe, as another wielder of weapons; the boar lies dead, the furniture disembowelled, the tyres deflated, the father stopped in his tracks, Tom Blandy (another "bloody reactionary") and other "bastards" are "shut up". Like the four young people, Bill Page also lashes destructively at something, not so much for what it is, but rather for what it represents, and, like them, he succeeds to some extent in the short term. He is linked with them, also, in the long term by the failure of his violence to change the harshness and complexity of the world which he perceives.

It is not surprising that Bill Page's narrow socialist understanding of what the Just City comprises is accompanied by conservative social attitudes. As discussed previously with regard to Hilliard's 'New Unionist', liberalism is by no means a prerogative of the working class (or of any other).

The portrait of Eric Knight in 'New Unionist' presented that aspect of the working class which is conservative and authority-orientated in its social attitudes, reactionary in its politics. Knight exemplifies that potential for fascism which is realised, not


20. AAD, p.37.

21. AAD, p.68.
in spite of the working classes but to some considerable extent through them. Working as 'scab' labour during a major workers' struggle, he highlights the paradox of 'hard-hat' conservatism among lower socio-economic groups, which are generally perceived to be hot-beds of radicalism.

Bill Page presents this same paradox, but within himself, for he is both the bear-like political radical of the thirties and the embodiment of the conservative ethos of a patrist society. "Hundreds of years, thousands, dammit", workers like him had been waiting, religious in the belief, 'heart and soul', that heaven could come to Newtown. At the same time, he is bereft of radical or progressive social attitudes.

Bill Page is a man's man, tough, loud and physical, and reveals in his behaviour the insecurities which inform the Male Stereotype. So he fears homosexuality and measures 'manliness' in terms of physique ("What did I ever do to have a flat-chested sissy" for a son); so he tries to 'shake [Joe] into being a man' by means of aggressive behaviour. True to his stereotype, he is intolerant of 'female' qualities, of aberrations like films and poetry and "sissy books". Equally true, he subscribes to the national triad: rugby (only Ngati-Poneke), racing and beer. In his veneration of strong

22. AAD, p.12.
23. AAD, p.132.
24. AAD, p.15.
25. AAD, p.39.
27. AAD, p.39; p.11; p.42; p.35.
leaders or figureheads, in his act of incest (albeit unpremeditated), Bill Page is the 'stock' patrist male.

When, finally, he goes to work on the waterfront as 'scab' labour, like Eric Knight, the 'confined' paradox which he presents is complete. By this time, however, the stereotype character of Jennie's early recollections has become fully human; his dream has crumbled, his place within it, and so too his former image of himself. More than this, in his amalgam of radical and conservative, in the changing pattern of his life and political attitudes, Bill Page creates an historical paradigm of the Labour movement itself: between its triumph in 1935 and its ideological fragmentation or confusion during the Cold War of the late forties and fifties. As well as this paradigm of dichotomy and decline, Bill Page presents, also, some explanations; through him - a fictional creation of an 'ordinary' working man - Cross expands our understanding of the Labour movement's history.

The changing direction of Bill Page's political life is highlighted by Cross at particular points. The pattern - one of rise and fall or advance and retreat - emerges gradually as Jennie's tunnelling consciousness focuses on significant events, stages 'along the way': 1932 and street battles with his fellow workers against the police; 1935 and elation at the seeming advent of the Just City; the dawning of his disillusion with the trade unions and his expulsion in 1949 or 1950. His death follows on from this in late February, 1951.

Initially, the pattern is clear, easily explicable; anger and commitment to the workers' cause, proceeding from economic deprivation and observed social inequality, become relief and excitement at electoral victory. His ensuing disillusion with the workers' party is unsurprising, also: the discovery that theory and
its full practice are not necessarily automatic, or even possible; that power corrupts even dreamers and idealists; that, despite its 'colour', one Establishment functions much the same as another - appeasing, entrenching and conserving itself; that there are no simple political solutions in a multi-class, democratic society; that selling that dream, when one is without power, is an easier matter than delivering that dream, given the chance. The 'fault in the glass' which Bill Page perceives is unavoidable, perhaps: the discrepancy, however small, which cannot help but lie between theory and practice, between dream and reality. It is the 'fault' which Bill Freeman, in Strangers and Journeys, will perceive and turn away from into personal isolation.

This movement - upwards and into fall - is presented metaphorically in the fading image of Mickey Savage. 'His coloured photograph above the mantelpiece' in 1935 has become 'old and blurred' by 1940. By 1951, 'the photograph of his wonderful Labour Prime Minister was still ... above the mantelpiece, so yellowed and blurred as to be hardly recognizable.' ("Don't you think it's time we took that picture off the wall?" Jennie asks.) The metaphor presents the progress of disappointment: specifically, Bill Page's and (in keeping with Cross's intention of socio-historical commentary) the general disappointment of the industrial with the political wing of the labour movement. The metaphor, on this level of interpretation, has a negative function: the dream of the Just City not realised, despite the reign of the workers' party.

28. AAD, p.12.

29. AAD, p.74. The year has been assumed from Jennie's reference to Savage's death. (Savage died on 28 March 1940.)

30. AAD, p.189.
Bill Page does not move, however, from hope to elation, to disillusion and bitterness, in a straight or 'linear' way. In terms of his belief in the dream's possibility, the movement is that simple, but something else - a kind of side-step - occurs en route. In terms of this 'something else', the metaphor of Savage's photograph has a positive value as well as the obviously negative.

The side-step seems to occur in the late forties, somewhere between two sets of statements which Jennie recalls. The first conveys his post-election anger - at 'money-bag schemes against the working class', at 'how some members of the Labour Party were selling out to the bosses'. It is an anger shared by Bill Page and the 'leader of the workers', Mr Sammy Trotter.

The second set (starting, probably, in 1949) conveys confusion and a marked shift in focus:

'They're talking about [another strike]. And with an election coming up. All the unions have done nothing but strike, strike, for years now and people are getting fed up. They blame the Government for all the trouble. A Labour Government, mind. And now we're talking strike again with an election coming up. It'll help get Labour beaten. ... I dunno, you don't know whose side you're on these days...'

This 'not knowing' any more is remarkable from a man who 'for most of his life ... believed in the union with all his heart and soul, had fought for it....'

Early in 1950, Bill Page speaks up 'at a meeting that Labour's defeat was partly the union's fault' and in consequence is "dumped"

31. AAD, p.68.

32. AAD, p.137. The election about which he speaks is that of 1949, in which Labour had its first defeat. The 'strikes' referred to, involving waterfront workers, had indeed occurred 'for years'..

33. AAD, pp.131-133.

34. AAD, p.156 (The date has been ascertained from 'a year ago' on p. 190.)
from its membership.35 By early 1951, the "few left-wing unions" (without which, according to Sammy Trotter, the "working bloke wouldn't have a chance of justice") are seen by his mate, Bill Page, as "bastards", as the stooges of "the commos": the true 'scabs' of the labour movement.37

Two patterns are emerging in this. The surface movement, from anger to elation to disillusion, is both linear and logical and is presented by the fading photograph. The underlying movement, not linear, is also presented by Michael Joseph Savage 'above the mantelpiece', for commitment to the union comes to include the Party as agent; this 'inclusion' becomes tempered by the ensuing performance of the agent as Government, but his commitment, finally, is faithful to it. It is a commitment which excludes the union to the extent that he speaks out and acts against union policy. 'Old and blurred',38 'yellowed and blurred'39 though it might be, the photograph of Savage remains hanging. Its visual complement is 'the letters SCAB on the front wall'40 of the Pages' house, for together these images state the shift in Bill Page's position.

Several explanations are possible, all implicit in the text. The first - contained in his assessment of the dispute as "only a put-up job by the commos"41 - is that he, like the majority of New

35. AAD, p.157.
36. AAD, p.133.
37. AAD, p.190: "I can't scab on a union that threw me out .... They scabbed on me."
38. AAD, p.74.
39. AAD, p.189.
40. AAD, p.191.
41. AAD, p.190.
Zealanders, has been persuaded by the Cold War propaganda from the Government, employers and press. His succumbing to such persuasion is unsurprising, consistent with the personality which Cross presents: politically militant yet reactionary in both attitudes and behaviour, without introspection or an ability to deal with complexity. He is a man who needs simple solutions.

Although not relevant in terms of his paradigmatic function, personal losses - especially that of his wife - have certainly taken their toll on the human Bill Page, who transcends both his paradigm and stereotype by the end of the novel. In all areas of 'faith' - marriage, union and Party - there has been accumulating collapse, a gradual failing of his secure 'places'. To the extent that Bill Page is a type, for Cross's commentary purposes, his readiness to accept the communist threat theory needs no further psychological explanation. However, his grasping at anything which seems to make simple sense, which offers external causes, does possess additional integrity with regard to the individualised humanity and life which Cross creates for him.

The third plausible explanation is one of compromise with the Dream, of settling for something - anything - rather than nothing. Although this explanation can be tied to no one specific phrase in the text, it 'adds up' or suggests itself in the changing pattern of his allegiance. He has, on the one hand, been disappointed by the performance of the Party as the Dream's agent; but it is, on the other, all there is, to stand between him, his dream and a return to "bloody capitalist" rule. The Party's partial 'delivery' is seen, finally, as better than no chance of 'delivery' at all.

The fading image of Savage (which should be taken off the wall) presents, therefore, Bill Page's movement through hope, to elation,
to disillusion; its **continuing** to hang there presents his final compromise of allegiance to the Party, his fear of losing even small gains; and overall, it presents the persistent Dream itself, ever fading or becoming 'blurred'.

As in his use of the Government Ministers' skins - one smooth and fleshy, the other porous and rough - Cross 'blurs' or withers Bill Page's body along with his optimism and sense of place. From being 'wonderful to look at', 42 'so big and strong', 43 he develops shaking hands and speech that is only mumbling; 44 'before [Jennie's] very eyes he shrivels a little'. 45 'Dad ... who'd always been strong' becomes 'weak', 46 becomes 'sullen and dull with beer', 47 quite fat, with rolls of flesh squeezed on top of each other between his ears and shoulders; his body so awkward with his weight that his arms hung down each side like bows. 48

From being active ('the biggest and strongest'), 49 a rugby player, wrestler and 'living room' boxer, he comes to seem 'like a man stunned', 50 peering 'as though he were living in an unfriendly darkness'. He moves 'as though his feet were weights he had to drag about'. 51 Jennie notes the 'ruins of his strength', 52 the 'fag-ends

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42. AAD, p.36.
43. AAD, p.39.
44. AAD, p.75.
45. AAD, p.76.
46. AAD, p.105.
47. AAD, p.107.
49. AAD, p.35.
50. AAD, p.136.
51. AAD, p.135.
52. Ibid.
of his strength'; that he is 'hunched . . .

his face under the glare of the unshaded light the colour of drying clay, his grey-stubble chin almost buried in the twists of flesh of his neck.

From being 'wonderful to look at', he develops 'ugly twists and furrows of the face and mis-shapen swellings of body'. This physical disintegration, which his daughter likens to the 'crumbling side of a hill', is complete at his death. On the hospital bed, he is only a

mass of swollen and blackened flesh cupped in bandages. Deep under the pulpy mask was buried Dad's real face. . . . She put her hand over the fist that lay like a fallen rock on the huge mound of his body.

From being 'wonderful to look at', he has become pulped beyond recognition and life: a circumstance which has both literal and metaphorical value. In its function as metaphor, Bill Page's collapsing body not only reflects his declining optimism, his 'losing grip' on the Dream of the Just City; it is also, like Savage's portrait, the Dream itself: become 'shrivelled' and 'weak', 'mis-shapen', 'crumbling'. If one stands even further back - beyond the literal story, beyond specific metaphorical application - and views the novel as an analysis of forces which have shaped (or mis-shaped) New Zealand society, his strength's decline into 'ruins' and 'fag-ends' becomes a comment on dogged adherence to an ideology: any

53. AAD, p.157.
54. AAD, p.136.
55. AAD, p.163.
56. AAD, p.135.
57. AAD, p.163.
58. The novel's prime perpetrator of Rural Dream is revealed as diminishing, also: from gigantic strength and size to 'skin bunching and sagging as flesh and muscle withered away underneath it.' His voice becomes 'quavering'. (pp.168-169)
ideology or '-ism', outlasting its own usefulness, inevitably limited by disregard for what is humane, human, and, therefore, variable. It stands, also, and finally, as the strongest of many inter-locking images, violent and brutal and bloody, which Cross uses for his purpose of revelation. The 'pulpy' body, 'swollen and blackened' is his most explicit statement of 'inhuman relations among men'.

In Cross's presentation of the Urban Dream's failure, the portrait of Savage and Bill Page's body have another supporting image: that of the Page home, its naturalistic details acquiring figurative function. This is more than the novelist's imaginative portrayal; it captures the ethos of Labour's urban vision: the workers' right to 'access to the suburban home'.

Fairburn has observed that the workers' vision of Utopia, in New Zealand, is a 'middleclass suburban arcadia' 'democratised', rather than something proceeding from any global, socialist ideology. In his view, the Urban Dream only appears to run counter to the Pastoral, only seems to be opposed to an idyll of which it is, in fact, derivative.

If one does accept Fairburn's thesis, the Dream of the Just City, as it stood in 1935, can be seen as twice-derivative, for that which had begun as the concept of small family farms had already been expanded (or modified), in the face of 'a diminishing land frontier', to include the related notion of 'garden cities'. Harry Holland's vision of middle-class suburbia - 'an idyllic picture of


61. Ibid.

62. Ibid.
flower gardens, curved streets, and single-unit dwellings - a blend of natural beauty, open spaces, generous comfort, and family privacy' is no counter-dream at all. It is, rather, a proffering of middle-class Arcadia to wage-workers, a commitment to an extended rural myth. Even more important, it can be seen as anti-urban, endorsing the view of inner-city living as morally degenerative and detrimental to wholesome personal relations. This perception of things is implicit even in the observations of Jennie, who notices that, in the suburb where the Rankins live

even the children were quiet. ... in Newtown, you would get a bunch of snotty kids on the street and there would be nothing but yells and shrieking, a few stones flying and some grown-ups shouting, and once a few of the old mums got mixed up in the proceedings a brass band wouldn't get much of a hearing. But here, kids just played quietly...

In espousing the workers' right to 'access to the suburban home', with its shrubs and serenity, the Labour Party was, in a sense, only replacing the symbol of the small family-farm with another. Like that of its 'immediate antecedent', the Social Democratic Party, Labour's commitment was to middle-class notions, rather than to social revolution. Bill Freeman's disappointment and bitterness with his colleagues will be seen, in Strangers And Journeys, to proceed from this very realisation.

The vision of Urban Utopia which the Party offered as a seeming alternative had the 'House' as its central image. The state of the

63. Ibid. p.17.
64. *
67. Ibid.
68. *
Page home, its passage into increasing disrepair, assumes, therefore, a metaphorical function.

Of the houses of Newtown, ghetto of the working-class. Jennie's general recollections are of uncleanliness and dirt, rusting corrugated iron roofs and fences, some of them so sagging and wrecked that they were not much better than crumpled and soiled brown paper. The paint on the walls of all the buildings had been on for so many years that it was dry and flakey; wherever she touched brittle pieces curled up like worms and fell to the ground. There was sticky dirt, too. 69

Of the Page house, in particular, Jennie recalls that 'the back ... was cold'; 70 that a 'window had jammed years before' and another had card-board over it'; 71 that there was only one comfortable chair and the others all had a 'collapsed look'. 72 The linoleum in her mother's kitchen was worn through everywhere except under the table, Jennie's favourite place to play. There were not enough cupboards, 73 no carpets, 74 and no laundry. 75 The house was rented by the Pages, from a 'mean' landlord. 76

After her mother's death, Jennie makes some attempt to renovate the house, scrubbing, polishing and papering.

But when clusters of little blue flowers against clean yellow paper filled one whole wall the rest of the room seemed to sulk at such elegance, and become shabbier than it had ever been before, showing up wear and tear and dirt in snivelling complaint ... how could she ever make a

69. AAD, p.13.
70. AAD, p.34.
71. AAD, p.35.
72. Ibid.
73. AAD, p.38.
74. AAD, p.35.
75. AAD, p.37.
76. AAD, p.35.
difference to such an old house?77

She 'struggle[s] on', knowing herself 'to be a fool', only to give in later 'with just 'half the second wall done and the new paper looking so ridged that it might have been laid over corrugated iron.'78

Jennie does not try again, and the house's decline, only briefly and superficially checked, continues. Two years later, when Jimmy brings her drunk father home, she is conscious of the room's smelling like an animal's den, for she had not cleaned it since that early morning ... not even when she was sure that mildew and cobwebs and dirt were accumulating there.79

Now, in 1951, the house stands empty, with red-painted graffiti on its outer walls. Searching around it for sign of life — or of the lives that once filled it — Jennie feels 'like a hungry hen scratching around a yard and finding only a few skinny straws'.80 Of the Labour Party (of heaven, which did not come to Newtown, even 'on the instalment plan'),81 one could say the same thing.

In Jennie's early recollections of her father, the Labour Party's (or the workers') Dream of the Just City was in full flower. 1935 was one time, perhaps, when the discrepancy between what seemed probable and what should have been possible was at its most narrow. It was, in retrospect, only the dream and not the Just City itself that was flourishing. The following sixteen years of Jennie's recall trace a widening discrepancy between Party and workers, between social reality and political dream. In creative terms, this tenor of failure is carried by three images and their linear development:

77. AAD, p.110.
78. Ibid.
79. AAD, pp.160-161.
80. AAD, p.34.
Savage's fading portrait, Bill Page's physical decline and the Newtown house in continuing disrepair.

32. Significant in 1948 was the 'Mountpark' dispute, extending from February to mid-July, and, in the election year, the sympathetic 'go slow' with the Carpenters' Union and the overtime ban from late June to 18 August. All major ports were involved and the Auckland waterfront ceased work completely. See Bassett, p.10.

64. Fairburn refers readers to such articles as the 'Board of Health Committee Report on Venereal Diseases in New Zealand,' AJHR, 1922, II, H-31A (connection drawn between the town, V.D., sexual promiscuity amongst the young, and the breakdown of parental authority); ibid., 1900, II, E-3; ibid., 1917, I, E-IA; ibid., 1934-5, III, H-20, p.1 (connection between the vicissitudes of the town and crime and juvenile delinquency). He refers readers also to fiction such as Sargeson's That Summer, Mulgan's Man Alone and Hyde's The Godwits Fly. Harry Holland himself argued the case for his vision in terms of 'materially improving' for 'moral uplifting'; of creating 'a new psychology' in the minds of children by means of town-planning (NZPD, cited CCX, 1926, 727; rpt. Rpt Fairburn, p.17). 'The Rural Myth And The New Urban Frontier' article cites, also (pp 17-18), comments made by Mark Fagan, Labour's leader in the Legislative Council, linking single-unit dwelling and better 'parental control' (NZPD, CCVL, 1936, 620).

68. Although the 'crash programme in State housing', with Lee as 'political front-man' (see caption to 'The House That Jack Built' in The Unauthorized Version: A Cartoon History of New Zealand, ed. Ian E. Grant [Auckland: Cassell (NZ), 1980], p.156) has passed into historical memory as a hallmark of the First Labour Government's platform and achievement, this is, to some extent, also a mis-perception of the derivative as innovative.
Mythic Legacies and the Dispute as Their Expression

By the end of the novel, the scope of Cross's intentions is clearly enormous. From his point of observation, 26 April, 1951, and through wide-ranging recollection by four people of one household, Cross attempts a complete social history of New Zealand. The magnitude of the endeavour - within 236 pages - resides not so much in the bulk of historical material requiring inclusion as in the many things which he attempts to do with that material.

Inclusion itself is his easier task: the guiding of a mind, through free association, to significant past events. It is no mean task, nonetheless, in that the subjective records of his central characters must, finally, all 'fit', dove-tailing or complementing one another in the construction of a complete history. This objective requires not only full time-coverage (therefore, different generations of recollection) but also full social coverage (therefore, experiential differences in terms of race and class cultures). Formidable as these tasks are, however, they are only essential ground-work for the grander objective.

Cross's intention in After Anzac Day is not, finally, to tell or to present history but, having done this, to explain its coming about; to analyse the pattern and the pattern's meaning; to question the pattern's validity; to hold pieces of the past up to the light and find in each the 'fault in the glass'. This presenting, explaining, analysis and questioning lead, at the end of the novel, to suggestions for solution.

What has been revealed is a community of disparate social

1. This requirement of the process is additional to that of the 'caves connection' previously discussed, with regard to the interrelating of personal experience.
groupings, of squalor alongside affluence, of industrial strife and political manoeuvering. Whatever it could or should have become, it is a community where the old are lonely, with or without material comfort; where the middle-aged are similarly lonely, inhabiting dreams that are past rather than present; where the young are lonely and without dreams at all. It is a community of division: between men and women, between young and old, rich and poor, bosses and workers, between Maori and Pakeha, men and men, women and women. Its people live out personal divisions also: between inner life and required life, private needs and social expectation. Its dreams or myths - archetypal, national and individual - are discrepant with reality, defeated by, or failing in, the struggle for a sense of control and personal worth, for advancement and respectability, or even just for tolerable existence.

Cross's underlying concern with the diachronic 'how and why' is a concern with the principles of inter-relatedness, causation and pattern. Its intention or motivation is not simply that of providing background for what the synchronic study presents (although, certainly, it accomplishes this); Samuel Butler's 'leading lines' extending back from present to past, and forward from now to the future - are Cross's true subject. To see them, clear and whole, is his ultimate intention.

Passing through the time of transition, 1951, are vertical threads which Cross seeks to expose. In the fabric of our social history, they form the warp, continuous, linking each layer of the constant present to the ones before and after it. They are those historical legacies - in the present from the past, and from the present to the future - which influence our choices of private

1. Butler, Erewhon, p.156.
behaviour, of social action within a community or group, of general patterns of conduct as a nation.

The effects of the Waterfront Dispute - on the lives of individual people, on the life of many communities and on the national psyche - were of such significance that their 'present', Cross suggests, should urgently be transfixed for consideration: a time not merely caught 'in transition', but a time 'held', regarded as pivotal or critical. These days of crisis with their far-reaching effects Cross has used as an historical vantage point, a time for asking urgent questions: how and why have such things come to pass; in what ways is this present consequential of the past - our actions, our social attitudes and myths, our human failing; are any emergent patterns obvious, and with which of these should we endow the future; what different path could we have taken, had we understood its end; would we choose to pass this way again? In terms of passage, through history and time, Cross uses 1951 as some 'point in Darien': an extraordinary place, affording timely new perspectives.

The implicit diachronic study of our social history begins with the land-settlement by white colonists and finds its latest expression in the time of present crisis. The vertical threads which Cross unravels as running through this full span of European history can be categorised as those of myth - private, national and archetypal - and those of 'off-campus history'. Often, but not always, the two categories are fused.

The generative value of myth is not simply a matter of consequential action. As discussed previously, the relationship between myth and behaviour is reciprocal, always dynamic, and complex, with each possessing the dual functions of cause and effect. So myth seems to produce resultant action which, in turn, is
also causative - of the myth's empirical confirmation, or its rejection in favour of another less discrepant, or, even more complexly, of its heightened attraction as events increasingly fail to confirm it. This determining and determined value of myth is apparent in human behaviour, individual and collective. The events of human history, therefore, within the terms of this thesis, are only the presenting or observable face of myth. The record or recounting of them, even attempts at explaining them, in terms of other preceding events, do not necessarily confront the creative force or spirit which is underlying.

In his diachronic study, Cross attempts to do this. His purpose, no doubt, is largely didactic, for the exposure of myths and their 'faults' carries an implicit challenge to find new and better ones. If the events of history are indeed the expression of myth, then the outcome and pattern of them attest to the nature of myth: whether its effective spirit is destructive or life-affirming. When an event arises - like the dispute in 1951 - which is nationally divisive, punitive on both sides, unresolved despite known misery, is the occasion of suspending accustomed civil liberties, then the choice to avoid its recurrence cannot be a matter of 'making resolutions'; the same myths will continue to yield similar products:

... wanting to change behaviour is not what is necessary to change behaviour. People behave the way they do because they have learned how to think certain thoughts that logically lead to their behaviours and emotions. The only way to change what they have learned is ... for them to learn[,] another set of thoughts that will lead to other logical and emotional responses.2

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The two main myths in our national heritage - the Pastoral or Pilgrim Dream and the Dream of the Just City - Cross examines and then discards as 'fault-ridden.' A third myth - the Dream of Security in Equality - is implicitly judged, also, for its realisation depends on the fulfilment of the other two and on their acceptance as complementary dreams.

The myth of Rural Arcadia, common to many lands 'discovered' late by Europeans, is not inherently negative. The behaviour and attitudes generated by this idyll can, however, produce a history of destructive events. Cross uses Henry Creighton's memories as his access to the myth as it has been pursued in extreme practice: blackening and clearing of land by fire; cutting it with axes, shovels and ploughs; spilling blood for its ownership and the right to rule. Henry's thinking about his father, the Land Wars and his boyhood present no sweet vision of a familial paradise; it suggests, rather, that our forebears sowed the seeds of violent history. The characters, past and present, are the inheritors of 'bad happenings'.

The old Maori who acts as witness to these colonial beginnings does not grin, presumably (or 'cackle[] like a parrot') at the prospect of his own or his people's decline. His pleasure, now his skin is 'withered and drying ... his face ... just a parchment mask of intricate loops and whirls'(sic), lies in a conviction of dire consequences. The first Europeans and perpetrators of the Dream have

3. New Zealand's early legislative history attests to the Rural Dream taken for granted and implicit in political decisions and climate.

4. AAD, p.44.

5. Ibid.

6. AAD, p.166.
dispossessed him of land and dignity, have burned and killed to
eNSure their sovereignty, have used the whip on their own kind. The
'Arcadia' at which he laughs is Christian and puritan, in which the
women wield guns and non-white means 'mongrel dog'. The old man's
grin 'in the hope of bad happenings' is both his personal wish for
vengeance and a convinced belief that, one way or another, the white
man will reap that which has been sown.8

The 'mongrel dog' equation reveals a further 'fault' in the
dream, not inherent but certainly one attaching itself early. The
pursuit of a European familial Arcadia was, from the outset,
contaminated by racism, exemplifying the common circumstance of
myth's feeding on or being fed by forces of 'off-campus history'.
The 'fault', in this instance, is acquired rather than innate, being
the consequence of Utopia's being discovered as 'occupied'. This
item of 'off-campus history' in the colonising culture comprises
notions of white supremacy, morally and intellectually; of Christian
supremacy, and of strength or power as self-justifying.

Jennie Page's experience of 'being Maori' is no aberration. The
phrases and attitudes learned by Henry Creighton, in the 1860s and
1870s, do not live on just inside his head. They survive in the
street where Jennie lives as a child, in the laughter at her mother,
'the fat Maori woman'.9 The chant of the children, in 1951, 'making
[Jennie] out to be a prostitute',10 is no improvement on that of
'brown tart'. The social stigma of being Maori, expressed in terms

7. AAD, p.126.

8. It is interesting that the beast which Henry kills on page 45
has 'a terrible grin' in 'the hope of bad happenings', also. In
death, the 'wicked grin' remains 'fixed' (p.169).

9. AAD, p.76. Note that the consequence is physical combat.

10. AAD, p.221.
of 'tarpot', 'mongrel' and 'heathen', is still an on-going legacy; even a broadened one, for Henry Creighton's appreciation of his girl's lacking Maori features has become Jennie's delight and relief in her own lack.

The early social divisions into 'winners' and 'losers' are the social divisions of 1951. A society which tolerates — is, indeed, even founded on — the flourishing of one group to the detriment of another creates for itself a history of 'bad happenings': 'the same hand has painted the whole picture, and the incidents vary little'. A pioneer of the Dream, Henry's father ploughs the land; one of 'a new kind of big shot', he wears a gold fob-watch. Across the ranges, however, are another 'kind' of people, 'half-smothered by smoke' in 'half-buried hovels'; they crawl like the dead in dust 'crawling with vermin'.

Margaret's family home has a croquet lawn and trees, a sewing room for Mother and trellis-roses. Cross specifies her father's land-owner status, and that the houses of 'the lower classes' lie 'beyond the trees'. Like the ranges edging her grandfather's land, the trees are a physical demarcation of social 'boundaries'.

The winner/loser division which Margaret observes, as a child in Karori before World War One, are those which her father had noted

11. AAD, p. 143. This applies, in its literal context, to John Rankin. It has been applied here to Creighton Snr because it not only fits the sense but also — by being apt in this 1860s-70s case — supports the point of 'previous pattern'.

12. AAD, p. 166.

13. AAD, p. 44.


15. Ibid. The word is Cross's; 'the trees ... marked the boundaries. [John] was aware that he came from the lower class'.

16. AAD, p. 50. Margaret was eighteen years old at the outset of the war; these observations are remembered from her childhood.
in the previous century and those of the present of 1951. What life
must be like in those 'little wooden hutchies' she finds very
difficult to imagine. Only on days of mists can she approach some
understanding - of confinement to 'little space' and being poor.\textsuperscript{17}
Shortly after the next war, Jennie sees the same division: a soaring
hill-top, a buffer of trees and the 'sludge' and 'filth' of Newtown
spilling below.\textsuperscript{18} In 1951, she sees it even more sharply: Newtown as
a 'slop-basin', the pine trees as a 'sanitary towel' between it and
the mansions' parties. Thus, the range of mountains near the
Creighton farm, the border of trees around Henry's later property,
the trees 'high and clean' at the end of Margaret's garden,\textsuperscript{19} and the
hill-side stand of pines above Newtown become, finally, the one
symbol. Only the spatial context has altered with time.\textsuperscript{20}

The Dream's power-consequences flow on from this division. Henry
Creighton's father lived and worked on his land. As discussed
previously, later on in his life he apparently moved into political
life as well. His son seems never to have worked the land at all;
from his early married days, he is land\textsuperscript{-}owner and politician. The
father, made a 'chieftain' by dint of his rural holdings, has
bequeathed to his son a double legacy. John Rankin's Minister, in
1951, is the third generation of this ruling élite. Land\textsuperscript{-}owning and,
therefore, politically powerful, he is the Pastoral Dream's
inheritor: an Establishment 'son'. It is his rural\textsuperscript{-}base Government

\textsuperscript{17} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{18} AAD, p.158.
\textsuperscript{19} AAD, p.104.
\textsuperscript{20} Other echoing images link present and past; for example,
Henry likens the Maori people in their poverty to 'the dead' (p.44);
the old Maori's skin is 'withered and drying' (p.166); Jennie's image
for the 'decaying wood and corrugated iron' of Newtown is 'the
shrivelled flesh of old men' (p.158).
in this present crisis which will easily crush the watersiders' union. By his own admission, its methods are "undemocratic",21 violations of liberty,22 but firing "right on the target."23 Means to ends have altered little since the Land War days.

Vast differences of wealth between social groupings were not the dream's sole contribution to a 'divided' society. A major 'fault in the glass' (or the vision of Rural Arcadia) was the failure to see the Urban Dream as its natural necessary partner. This historical antagonism between our two major myths has been discussed previously as a 'fault' of perception; a wishful denial of inevitable practicalities. While such 'wishfulness' is unsurprising, in view of past urban experience, as an attitudinal stance it could be only destructive. The concept of rural life as 'clean and ideal' and of urban living as a 'blight upon it' is a curious and self-defeating notion, for it affirms the Pastoral Dream while it denies its needs. An agricultural economy, pastoral, and/or agrarian, develops many basic service requirements - for itself as well as for people. For its own practical purposes, it requires, for example, tool-makers, bankers, dock-workers and merchants; it has need of transport, government and law, and all manner of skilled trades. Above all, pastoral production has one in-built requirement: the abattoir (as Evans observes) to reap its living harvest.

This 'fault' of perception had an effect not only on the Urban Dream's progress in real terms; it encouraged, also, social class antipathies commensurate with the dreams' perceived dichotomy. Thus, where they were extreme, two attitudes developed - towards one group

22. AAD, p.175.
23. AAD, p.177.
as exploiting and towards the other as obstructive. As previously cited from Simpson's *Road To Erewhon*, the dispute of '51 had 'roots deep' in the past: in a 'national mythology' both rural and 'sacred', and in a class war philosophy which challenged its discrepancies.

The nature of the Pastoral Dream, with its exclusively male perpetrators, bequeathed a further kind of social legacy. Although the dream itself, in its basic form, is just the desire to live in harmony with the natural world, it partakes, almost at once, of other myths: general (even archetypal) ones about the roles of men and women. This is hardly surprising, for two reasons: the roles' established place in the parent culture, and the dream's physical requirements in a wild land. The patriarchal, Puritan heritage of the early colonists, with its valuing of work, morality and male authority, found ideal conditions in a pastoral vision for its own entrenchment. The labour necessary for the dream's fulfilment lay mainly within the capacity of men, for physical and environmental (as much as cultural) reasons. Under these circumstances, the traditional role of women became even more clearly defined: domestic and supportive, 'refining', spiritual and ethical.

This pattern of social roles, reinforced by rural myth, is as clear in 1951 as in the nineteenth century. Henry's sole reference to his mother is her watching behind a window; his father can 'hold up the sky' and 'sweep back the bush'. Margaret's mother takes tea with the parson and runs an orderly house; her father 'order[s] the

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25. AAD, p.124.
26. AAD, p.44.
sun about' 27 and falls out with Cabinet Ministers. 28 Margaret herself
takes tea in the garden and vacuums the carpet; her husband
'absorb[s]' departments and outwits the Treasury. 29 Jennie's mother
sings in her kitchen and does not like to leave the house; her father
fights for causes and drinks 'real beer'. 30

Leaving aside its overtones of elegance, Margaret's desired place
is the 'place' of the women: '... at one side of the fireplace, out
of the flickering glare of the flames ...'. 31 Men owned and worked
the land, as men run the government, as men run the unions, and as
men fill the Civil Service ('thank God women were not getting
far' 32). The dispute on the waterfront, in accordance with the
pattern, is entirely a male affair. Its consequences, inevitably,
affect the whole community, but its initiation, conduct and
resolution are solely matters for men's decision. The only
activities in which these men include their women are domestic,
sexual and social: a trade union picnic or an office party which John
Rankin rightly calls "a wives' show". 33

The Christian heritage of the colonising culture links, also, in
the present, with Cold War attitudes. The disdain for the Maori, in
the early colonists, comprised a double legacy of 'off-campus
history': those of racism and religious intolerance. Although these
'received' prejudices are not linked, necessarily, in the Maori as

27. AAD, p.91.
28. AAD, p.182.
29. AAD, p.64.
30. AAD, p.35.
31. AAD, p.184.
32. AAD, p.59.
33. AAD, p.147.
'Arcadian-squatter' they found a singular focus, by virtue of his being both brown and non-Christian.

In active manhood Henry and his father are very inactive Christians; indeed, they are nothing in terms of possessing Faith.\(^{34}\) The ease and vehemence of their insults, however - 'heathen days',\(^{35}\) 'bloody heathen',\(^{36}\) 'heathen cannibals'\(^{37}\) - express an attitude of Christian assurance. In them it is a sense of cultural superiority, an arrogant equation of Christianity and civilisation. The term 'heathen', by definition, is a Judaeo-Christian coinage; its use, by the same token, is inevitably pejorative, for it defines only negatively, establishing something as 'other'.

Several interesting habits of thought and feeling are evident in this. Most obvious is the response of judgment to 'other than Christian' ideology. More generally, the response is one of intolerance of whatever seems to run 'counter' to one's own sought Utopia; whether in colour, or in culture or in religion, whatever is not the same is inferior or threatening, and thus becomes an object of 'off campus history'. The perception of what is different as either inferior or threatening is determined, perhaps, by relative size. The 'heathen', from a minority race, is doubtless only inferior; communists, a century later, are a dangerous consideration.

The dispute of 1951 and social conditions at that time are linked to the Pilgrim Dream in a diachronic chain of action. Initial colonising activity, consequential of the dream, set a pattern of

\(^{34}\) 'In active manhood' is specified because Creighton Snr acquires faith of sorts in the face of death (p.169).

\(^{35}\) AAD, p.48.

\(^{36}\) AAD, p.80.

\(^{37}\) AAD, p.201.
violence, against fellow-men as well as the environment; it established discordant relations between Maori and Pakeha, and relegated the minority race to virtual social oblivion. While the new territory offered greater opportunity to larger numbers, initial colonising activity still confirmed patterns from the Old World: making land-barons of some - generally those with 'backing' and status - shopkeepers and labourers of others. While the rewards for initiative were doubtless increased, the nature of the motivating myth was such that this initiative remained male and white. Consolidating this aspect of the myth was its transplanted Christian context: specifically, Puritan and Protestant, with men working in this world and women more for the next. Its ethos is patrist, judgmental and materialistic.

The dispute of 1951 and social conditions at that time are, in part, just extensions of an initial pattern. New arenas and new ways of fighting have been added, but the results are unchanged. The first generation of men fought in the Land Wars, the next in the Boer War, the next in the Great War and the next in World War Two. In between, in times of economic depression, men fought in the streets against their own countrymen. The outbreaks of brutality during the dispute are no aberration.38

The Pilgrim Dream and its Puritan context form part of the 'how and why' of this chosen critical 'present'. As a Utopian vision and a heritage of social values, they generated active violence against the land and between people; provided 'cover' or gave rein to such forces of 'off-campus history' as racism, imperialism and intolerance.

38. The brutality and 'inhuman relations' occur in non-physical inter-actions, also: in the 'dumping' of Packer, the 'throw[ing] aside' of some Civil Service officers and the stealing of others (p.64); in the 'undemocratic' restricting of civil liberties (p.175).
of difference. They perpetuated divisions, both social and economic, between town and country, the 'propertied' and the 'unpropertied'; defined anew a ruling Establishment and traditional work roles for men and women. Both the reminiscing characters and those whom they remember are all inheritors of the Pastoral Dream's 'dividing'.

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The other main myth in our national heritage is examined by Cross as a later development. While he focuses on the Rural Dream from the 1860s, efforts of urban workers to pursue their aspirations are presented not until 1913. Even then references made are only passing - to the post-Waihi lockout, to war-time 'sedition' and to the riots of 1932.39 It is not until the election of 1935 that Cross focuses clearly on urban concerns. With his intention of unmasking our national mythology, this later consideration is appropriate and logical; Cross's main interest lies not in the dreams' evolution so much as in their failures, having come 'of age'.

As a provider of an organising image (and so a generator of human activity), the pastoral myth arrived here already mature. Its place in our national consciousness and its politicisation did not need to be won; they were colonial assumptions. Cross, therefore, attends to this dream from our very beginnings as settlers. The place of the Just City in our national consciousness and its hard-won progress towards political respectability were matters of later achievement, not initial assumptions. Cross attends to this dream closely, from the time that these were won: when Bill Page was at his toughest and the portrait of Savage new.

Just as early colonial governments pursued their dream by legal

39. AAD, p.55 (Donovan's biographical details); AAD, p.36 (Bill Page's); AAD, p.156 (Sammy Trotter's).
enactment, so the First Labour Government expressed its dream in legislation. The 'free milk at schools' (which, Jennie recalls, made Dad 'happy') answered a need perceived in urban workers' offspring. Free dental care for children, the Family Benefit, socialised medicine and children's health camps were some attempts at Heaven in Newtown and regarded by Bill Page as such.

The 'bad happening' of the dispute in Cross's '51 present is both legacy and statement of this Urban Dream's failing. It does not matter, in the final analysis, whether the Just City vision was a socialist vision, or a democratised Rural Arcadia; what matters is that many workers had believed in and struggled for it and had looked to the Labour Government for a rapid delivery. Like its rural complement, the Urban Dream, however, was assisted to failure by some external factors.

The dream, like its rural complement, is not inherently negative; indeed, in its basic form, it is the same human desire: to live productively and with dignity in one's chosen environment. The behaviour and perceptions which the dream generates can, however, be socially destructive, for no credo exists disembodied, only (as Cross surely shows) within its fallible 'carriers'. The threat to the dream was two-fold, therefore: an enemy within and an enemy without. Its internal failing was a matter of human nature, and outside it, always challenging, lay the sovereign Pilgrim Dream.

The class-war notions of the militant unionists - even if transplanted from a parent culture - do reflect the society which the

40. AAD, p.11.

41. AAD, pp.11-12. The Free Milk in Schools Scheme was introduced on 1 March 1937; the national superannuation and health service were announced on 2 April 1938; the Social Security Act relating to superannuation, unemployment and other financial benefits came into operation on 1 April 1939.*
Pastoral Dream created: and the bitterness, the seething anger, which cause Bill Page's death are specific to the dispute and legacies from the past. The diachronic threads of rural élitism ensure a 'present' that is endlessly 'inheriting', whether in land-based suffrage, in conservative party rule, in late nineteenth century soup-kitchens, in cycles of workers' marches.

In a very real sense, the content, mood and 'faults' of the Urban Dream are derivative or products of the Pastoral Dream's workings. While the founding rural vision embodied positive assertions - of what seemed close at hand or, at least, very possible - the Urban Dream's content had a negative basis; it asserts what 'is not', under the Pastoral Dream's sovereignty. While, in the way of all myths, the mood of both dreams is imperative, social and political 'inferiority' exacerbated that of the urban. Just as its content and its mood are responses to division, wrought in various ways by the Rural Dream's workings, so are its 'faults' reactive to those of its counterpart. While the 'faults' in the Urban Dream (and those in its carriers) can be explained, if not excused, in terms of the Pastoral Dream's, the 'faults' of the sovereign dream have no such explanation. Its exclusive Utopianism might well have been reactive to urban failings in former homelands, but the 'faults' which it bequeathed initially to our New Zealand social pattern were not responses to indigenous urban failure. Such failure as occurred - the expected 'blight' or 'excrescence' - invited response later, but did not precede it. In this, the Pastoral Dream created its own 'antagonist', in that its flawed perception and consequent behaviour perpetuated themselves in what they produced.

Both the Rural and Urban Dreams, being of paradisal cast,
encouraged what Golding calls the habit of 'scapegoating'. As a means of refuge from confronting social failure, it externalises 'the problem' and, with that, culpability. Thus, for the first of the Creightons, carving out his pastoral seat, 'time was the bloody heathen .... Time pulled bodies into the ovens and ... set them in little pieces in calabashes full of fat.' For Jennie's father, the enemy of his Arcadia is capitalism and bosses and, finally, the 'commos'. For Margaret, in her dream of orderly social élitism, the menace pervading is 'awful socialism'. For Holland, the enemy's analogue is the 'gnawing codlin moth'.

'Scapegoating', as a residual mythic habit, had optimum conditions in this developing society, given the nature of the dreams and their parental culture. Utopian and Puritan-Protestant, it comprises an outlook which is both visionary and judgmental. As Charles Brasch has suggested, when 'those who are determined to have Utopia on earth' have a Calvinist heritage, then suspicion and judgment become directed outwards. For these (whom he calls 'IF ONLIES') the dream's impediment becomes a non-conforming something which lies outside. As an imperative of the myths and a conviction of the culture, this sense of 'rightness' finds enactment in the dispute. As residual mythic habit, its greater strength had rural origin.

42. Golding, 'Fable', p.94.
43. AAD, p.80.
44. Holland, ODT, 22 February 1951, p.6.
3. Between 1858-1890, New Zealand was governed 'by a conservative oligarchy of landowners, sheep farmers, merchant-importers, traders and financiers' (Sutch, p.3 unnumbered, Chronology). From 1852-1879, only those who owned land were allowed to vote and within that group only males. The years between 1858 and 1891 saw an increase in the sheep population from 1,500,000 to 17,900,000, a flourishing of wool export and the establishment of frozen meat trade; record wheat exports in the '80s and the repeal of the Land Tax. At the same time, unemployment, especially in urban areas, was rife and soup-kitchens were established in Auckland to prevent people dying from starvation. Between 1856 and 1890, railways, public works, immigration, post and telegraph services, the Public Trust Office, and Government Life Insurance were established, according to Sutch, 'all run by the state primarily to provide services for land-holders and farmers'. Fairburn sees the period from the 1880s to the 1930s as one of 'state promotion of closer land settlement', the purpose of which was the 'attainment of a country of small family farms'; land and land-related legislation 'practically monopolised the political stage'. Evidence of this includes the compulsory purchase of estates (presumably for sub-division and the leaseholding projects of Rolleston and Ballance); state advances and public works schemes in rural areas; producer boards, Mortgage Adjustment Boards and guaranteed prices for primary products; the establishment of the Dept. of Agriculture (1892) and the 1894 Government Advances to Settlers Act. Current political trends and climate show little modification of attitude towards the Dream. Despite decades of warnings from economists that New Zealand should diversify its economic base - in view of Britain's entry to the EEC and a general decline in markets for agricultural products world-wide - no significant diversification has occurred. The belief persists, it would seem, that industry and manufacturing are 'inferior' sources of wealth; that the land, despite all down-turns in our terms of trade, ought to be our main source of overseas funds and so of our general well-being. Compulsory purchase (and stock-piling) by producer boards, the SMP scheme and the continuing export of 'raw' rather than of 'added value' products denote the survival of the Rural Dream.

41. Social Security benefits for hospital patients commenced on 1 July, of the same year. See A.W. Reed, Two Hundred Years Of New Zealand History (Wellington:Reed Trust,1979), pp.225-227. See also Keith Sinclair's A History of New Zealand (1959; Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1980), pp. 270-271; outlines Labour's 'tremendous burst of legislative activity in 1936-8, and another in 1945-6', citing the job-intensive public works programme, invalidity and deserted wives' pensions, the state house building and low rental schemes, maternity benefits, the increase of Family Benefit payments from 42,600 to 230,000 families by 1946.
After Anzac Day's Utopian Ending

The novel, in its entirety, is not unrelenting iconoclasm. Both implicitly and explicitly, Cross affirms positive values: first, in the 'faults' exposure and, second, in the story's ending.

In responding creatively to the Waterfront Dispute - just as Golding had done to events of World War Two - Cross judges it implicitly as deserving close scrutiny. In his portrayal, in its 'present', of four variously suffering people, he judges it implicitly as a time of negative relations. In the 'tunnelling' backwards to the lives of many dead, he presents no examples, either, of lasting joy or fulfilment. Those ostensibly pursuing a vision, he portrays as lacking vision, except within terms of the personal and immediate. In such judging of the past, Cross affirms alternatives: an obverse side to 'what went wrong'. Such indirect affirming is not peculiar to this novel; it is, generally, a natural corollary of iconoclastic activity, for in judging or in breaking any given image, one approves indirectly another which runs counter.

In the novel's final chapter - given over to John Rankin - Cross turns from the present and past to consideration of the future. In the story's ending, something positive (or, at least, alternative) is explicitly affirmed. Jennie's 'young man' will be found, for her and their baby; John and Margaret Rankin have come within each other's reach; and the part-Maori infant, fathered by a seaman, will be part of their family - a grandchild 'of sorts'.¹ The old man, whose inner life has overtaken 'reality', in the last line of the novel claims the child as his own.

Cross's choice of time-setting and the novel's title acquire, in

1. AAD, p.235.*
this ending, a new double-edged dimension. As previously discussed, the year of 1951 is both an historically 'realistic' present and means to synchronic social study. The Anzac Day of the title - in the novel, a few hours past - is literally the day before and the means to diachronic study. The day after Anzac Day is the novel's exact 'time' and is, also, as metaphor, the beginning of the future. Having considered the present (1951), having examined how we reached it (the reflective spirit of Anzac Day), the day after becomes the first step of enlightened forward movement.

Although, superficially, Cross's ending 'rounds off' the story, it seems to fail as a resolution in terms of the novel's grand intention. Moreover, in its neatness on the level of surface action, it undercuts - even obscures - thematic integrity. After Anzac Day's failure to win public acclaim\(^2\) - even to attract much notice from literary critics - is the 'fault', at least in part, of this final chapter.

Analysed in depth, the novel's craftsmanship is meticulous; there seems to be no phrase or word chosen without care. The networks of cross-reference - phrasal and imagistic - are so complex, at times, as to become bewildering: as within and extending out from the battle between the stallions. In the technical matter of 'structuring', the surface simplicity belies complexity, in terms of shape, of theme and of character interrelation. Cross observes the Classical unities of time and place and action; each chapter of recollection begins and ends in the present: a time-montage technique controlling the mind's freedom; and bridges between the chapters, with their alternating central consciousness, are often established structurally by a space-

2. Cross seems almost to have foreseen this circumstance; see 'Writers in New Zealand: Questionnaire', *Landfall* 53 (March 1960), pp.43-44.*
montage procedure. The novel's central characters - very different in type and age - are linked to one another in myriad combinations.

This symmetry within variety is thematic and situational, joining the living and the dead, the present and the past. Its intricate 'connectings' make an implicit statement - about our 'oneness' in human need and common experience.3

In the end, however, something fails to 'work' - possibly 'in the end', both colloquially and literally. The vision which Cross offers in the final chapter is not only neat; it is also destructive.

Its neatness as a conclusion to the 'surface' story is absolute. As a new day dawns, 27 April, John and Margaret Rankin seem set on fresh beginnings. After months, even years, of loneliness and bereavement, Jennie, the orphan, has a son and new 'parents'. Jimmy, the 'boy from nowhere', will shortly discover that he has a social 'place' and a new family structure. The life of the old man will probably end happily, in his new-found belief that what should have been was.

On the level of social symbolism, the ending is a vision, Utopian in its transcending all kinds of dividing. The baby, just born, is both Maori and Pakeha and, as symbol, is offered in contrast to the stallions' battle. Although Joe ('pale and white') and Jennie ('golden tan[ned]') were also the off-spring of an inter-racial marriage, the difference in their colour - something which Cross stresses - conveys, metaphorically, a continuing race-separateness. For Jennie and Jimmy's son, things will be different; for him, the

3. Exemplifying craftsmanship, these character-links include sons against fathers (Joe, Grahame and Henry); only daughters, with one dead brother (Margaret and Jennie); men recalling illicit passion (Henry and John); young women with 'lost' lovers (the Maori girl, Margaret, Jennie and Elizabeth); revered father-figures (Creighton Snr, Bill and Henry).*
timing is right: the day after Anzac Day.

His 'adoption' by Rankin grandparents is equally important, as transcending class divisions (and, in this case, some extreme ones). Margaret's acceptance of John's suggestion - and Jennie's probable compliance - deny social segregation, both practised and deeply felt. In this Utopian resolution, the promise of a better future derives from, or depends upon, discarding class antipathy. The traditional images held by one group of the other will give way to real relationship, human and individual.

Beyond the level of social symbolism, to that of national myth, the 'split' between the Dreams is healed in the ending. The characters reconciled are not only of different races, not only disparate in terms of social status; they are, also, the progeny of the great Dreams' perpetrators. Margaret is the grand-daughter of 'land-grabbing' Creighton Senior; Jennie is the daughter of a 'religious' trade-unionist. A time of personal crisis has revealed, however, that labels like 'bloated capitalist' and 'awful socialism' provide little that is relevant to private human need.

In the ending, moreover, lies a turning-away from the strictures of Puritanism, its negative aspects for Margaret is the daughter of the parson's daughter, and Jennie a race descendant of one 'called the brown tart'. Margaret's cold religion, Henry's life-denying choices, John's rejection of Elizabeth and Jimmy's 'furtive' rosary are given an alternative: not 'shalt not' and 'should not', but acceptance and compassion.

The destructiveness of the ending, in terms of overall intention, has several possible explanations. First, the neatness of resolution on the surface level undercuts the didacticism, the challenge to question. The novel ends, on its most accessible level, with answers
all provided: a completed statement. A reader who has realised its deeper intention is relieved of further thought and of personal response. Indeed, for those readers who have missed the novel's purpose, there is some excuse in an obstructive final chapter which leaves them in a 'present' so resolved in itself that the 'tunnelling' into the past seems mere background material.

Second, the neatness of 'wrapping up' on the surface level undercuts more than the challenge to question; it also contradicts what the 'tunnelling' has revealed. Cross's exposure of dreams, of commitment to a 'system', tells us — if nothing else — that Utopias are not possible. More than this, as organising social images they can even obstruct positive human interaction. Having convinced us of this, Cross offers us Utopia, and one as doomed to failure as any other just discarded. Like the Pilgrim Dream or the Dream of the Just City, Cross's new 'myth' is good in itself, but he has shown us in the course of the novel that such myths, taking hold, have unexpected consequences. In this case, what these might be lies beyond the novel's ending, but doubt or lack of faith — to which the 'buried' stories guided us — cannot help but apply itself to such an immediate 'replacement' vision.

The Cross-Utopia is even more ambitious than the Rural/Urban Dreams, its ailing predecessors. Though 'faulty' in practice, these provided roles to play, and endorsed specific activities as means to a better world. Their 'If Only' factors — though invalid and inadequate — at least were practical and clearly defined. Although much could be said for Cross' eschewing of 'systems' (political and economic) as the way to social justice, his total reliance on changes

4. Cross, in this final irony, is not without literary colleagues.
in the human heart is Utopian in the extreme — an end with no means. Even within the novel, the Rankins' altered attitudes fail to convince as explicable and permanent. That the birth of a baby and his wife in tears could 'involve' John Rankin, remove all his past 'boundaries', is difficult to credit except as a miracle. His 'leaning over [a] pram', probably 'saying diddy-iddums'\(^5\) understanding and forgiving if the baby screams 'blue murder',\(^6\) are a long way, indeed, from his speech just hours earlier:

'There is no such thing as security, except in death. ... Protect a man from the serious difficulties of life and you expose him to boredom and degeneracy. ... If the State is committed to harnessing its population to a system, let it first decide where it wants to be in a hundred years' time, ... Then let it decide which of its citizens are most likely to help it towards that goal ...'.\(^7\)

With 'the whisky in his hand' then, 'one too many',\(^8\) he is subtly used by Cross, against systems tied to visions. The coldness of his theorising, incompassionate and calculating, evokes our general condemnation of 'mass' social solutions. Reject the theory though we may, John Rankin is 'stuck with it'.

In the ending, overall, John Rankin's function is pivotal. The 'new order' ushered in includes others, obviously, but it is his change in attitude which must instigate and will maintain: 'Rankin, the face on the octopus',\(^9\) still. Cross requires, thus, of his character one role too many. John's private change of heart, unconvincing in personal terms, is even less convincing as a seed for

\(^5\) AAD, p.236.  
\(^6\) AAD, p.236.  
\(^7\) AAD, p.203.  
\(^8\) Ibid.  
\(^9\) AAD, p.151. Minhinnick did, indeed, once draw such an 'octopus' cartoon (for the NZH, 10 May 1946). Entitled 'Our Aqueeerium', it is reprinted in Minhinnick Cartoons and 'Old Soldier Sam' 1946 (Auckland: Wilson and Horton, 1946?), p.11.
future history. The legacies of myth, which the dispute expresses, are not an 'engine' to be 'shut off' by specific affections.

The last chapter's failure, generally, is perhaps one of mood - the 'place' to which Cross brings the discerning reader. He has portrayed, in the surface 'present', a divisive national crisis; has revealed, for our judgment, a past which is far from glorious; but the 'mood' of the final pages, after very extensive journeying, is almost banal, caught by John Rankin's comment:

"a cup of tea might do us both the world of good." 

* 

Nonetheless for such an ending, After Anzac Day deserves its centre-piece status in this analysis of history in fiction. Cross's perception of the events as historically significant, as indicative also of patterns transcending their specific instance, has complex expression in creative method.

History informs the content of the linear surface story and serves also as outer enclosure of subjective and past 'histories'. Thus, it functions as material for synchronic study and as beginning and ending of diachronic illumination.

This literary enclosure of the past within the present is applied to both private and public 'happenings', declaring patterns of inheritance that are dynamic between them. Thus, structure and theme complement each other; thus, history and its events serve as subject and device. Moreover, not only is this specific historical crisis portrayed as a mythic legacy or particular result, but also it exemplifies cause and continuing pattern.

Magnitude of endeavour (a full century of social history), craft which is meticulous, history's complex literary functions: these acquire for After Anzac Day its deserved central place.

10. AAD, p. 234.
1. AAD, p.235. John refers to himself as a 'grandfather of sorts'. The more human possibilities for their future relationship are suggested in many small details: her 'pathetic vulnerability where once was complete self-sufficiency'; his declaring, 'I do not want to live only for myself'; his 'patting her head. An odd gesture.'

2. I'm working on my best sustained piece of writing now and I don't expect that it will return me more than the initial advance from the publisher when I finish it in about a year's time.' Having to earn a livelihood by 'other means' leaves him 'only the fag-end of A

~ is likely to be my last.... I don't care much for the New Zealand literary scene'.

3. Childhood memories of 'warm kitchens' - Margaret and Jennie; men 'dumped' by their colleagues - Donovan, Packer, Bill and Henry; two oppressed by guilt - John and Margaret; 'boys from nowhere' - John, Jimmy and Joe; protesting 'wielders of knives' - Henry, Joe, Jimmy, and Bill and Jennie; 'scabs' - Bill, John, Donovan; youthful dreamers - John and Joe; victims of Puritanism - Henry, Margaret and John; men who 'take' by violence - Creighton Snr, Bill Page and Neil Robinson; guardians of law and order - Mrs Creighton, Margaret and Jennie; 'tarts' - the Maori girl, Jennie and Elizabeth.

* my mental energy with which to write. So the novel I'm working on now
Significant Device: Historical Paths and Myths
Maurice Shadbolt's Strangers and Journeys

To consider Strangers and Journeys following After Anzac Day proves to be, in many ways, a re-covering of territory. Failed intention and relationships, the death of dreams, broad time-coverage of New Zealand social history: these place the reader often in similar forests of symbols. The failure which, finally, the novels share also is no just measure of literary merit, but, rather, relates to magnitude of purpose.

The respective intentions of the two writers are comparably ambitious, although dissimilar. The earlier novel spans the first colonial century, the later the first seven decades of the 1900s. Cross's journey into the past is, in spirit, a confrontation, Shadbolt's, rather, the painting of a landscape. Cross exhorts the reader to think, reappraise and judge; Shadbolt seems more concerned that he reaches understanding. While both writers unfurl the past to enhance social self-awareness, Cross engages the reader's intellect, rather than extends his sympathies. Shadbolt, in contrast, seems more intent on revelation as a means to self-knowledge accompanied by compassion. The portrayal of the past in After Anzac Day reveals intentions failing to be 'good'; its portrayal in Strangers and Journeys heightens our sense of the pathos of good intentions gone astray.¹

Within the novels' respective contexts, the inclusion of the dispute is justified doubly, as a significant event of history and of overall social pattern. Shadbolt's treatment, however, post-dating

¹ M.H. Holcroft, 'Experience and Ideas', in The Deepening Stream: Cultural Influences in New Zealand (Christchurch: Caxton Press, 1940), p.69 The phrase's application to Shadbolt's novel is mine, not Holcroft's.
Cross's in time, does not post-date it in creative development. Appearing in its intention to be much grander (on the basis of sharp focus and much historical realism), it finally says less and has less to do. While its role is, similarly, more than that of literal subject, the crisis has not the structural tasks required of it by Cross (provision of surface unity; means to diachronic study; the clash-point of myths; the enclosure of theme and character). This quantitative difference in structural function reflects qualitative difference in the dispute's use as symbol.

By placing it around many 'buried' stories - or by unfolding these within it - Cross increases the event's value well beyond subject. The 'enclosure' of the past by the waterfront crisis makes an implicit statement of what the reader should see: that the present contains the past, and that his understanding of either must be, necessarily, in terms of the other.

In Shadbolt, just as clearly, the crisis has grown beyond a confined role as subject of interest in itself. Although it is presented for a portion of the novel with very close attention to specific details; although as record of the dispute, these data hold much interest, the historic events of 1951 become, in relation to the full 'painterly' work, only a magnified in-depth 'detail' of a panoramic canvas. In this portrayal - which Wilson sees as 'strong' and 'bold', an 'attempt ... to encompass this land and people with words' - the waterfront crisis is not free-standing. Sketched with care and intensity in its given space, it merges, when viewed in its wider context, into a pattern more important than itself.

2. The word is used by Shadbolt in 'Maurice Shadbolt Interviewed', The New Zealanders, July 30 1968, p.19, in reference to This Summer's Dolphin.

3. Len Wilson, review, pp. 170-171.
1951 - and especially 1 June - is a moment of transition through which this pattern flows, for as time 'is ever unwinding and being wound[,] we catch it in transition ... and call it present'. This moment of social conflict draws together, in its passing, the threads of history between past and future. Different from presentations in 'at the time' fiction, these threads are perceived as specifically New Zealand: woven out of dreams, indigenous and failing. As time has distanced events from the writer's own present, the ways in which these are expressive of historical pattern, of mythic forces inseparable from cultural context, become perceptible in backward regard:

the future and the past are as a panorama upon two rollers;
that which is on the roller of the future unrolls itself on to the roller of the past .... The same hand has painted the whole picture, and the incidents vary little - rivers, woods, plains, mountains, towns and people, love, sorrow, and death....

In Strangers And Journeys, indisputably, the crisis as an episode has intrinsic subject interest. However, in Shadbolt's own and complex fictional journey - through the Wars, the Depression and his characters' personal struggles - the crisis' greater function is the expression of pattern, an image which has as tenor not itself but cyclic process.

Its quantitative function as structural device is thus matched by its function as figurative device in being of less importance than the counterparts in Cross. The Waterfront Dispute, in this journey through history, illuminates vividly a time through which we have passed, but its critical value is finally not greater than that of other crises which precede it in the cycle or which it might

5. Ibid., pp. 156-157.
'presage' 6 as turns in store.

* 

Despite its relative textual brevity within the novel as a whole, Shadbolt's re-creation of the events of '51 may remain the most splendid as social realism. This likelihood exists, in part, through his achievement and, in part, through changes in our literary times. His evocation, particularly, of Bloody Friday animates its 'still life' into blood and movement and within human terms: sound and feeling. Within the dense fictional fabric of this grand-intentioned work, the historical data of 1951 are largely faithful to public record and integral fictional elements.

Direct focus on the dispute occurs in 'Sons', Part Three of the novel, excluding Preludes and Postscripts. At this stage, Shadbolt relinquishes his omniscient point of view, becoming more personal yet, strangely, more removed. For the most part, he wears a mask, the persona of Ian Freeman and, thus, presents material from a limited perspective. This sectional shift from third person to first occurs by way of Letters and of interim Commentaries expanding both these and reported news items. 7 The time structuring alters, also, in this 1950s section and contributes further to the effect of 'distance'. The Commentaries, which expand documents of '51-'56 (and which are the main vehicle for portraying the crisis), become emphatically retrospective by being interspersed with Letters from Rarotonga ('66-'67), interviews in London ('64-'65), and forays into a present of 1969. Unlike Cross and Stead (in his second novel), who

6. Ibid., p.156.

7. Close involvement with Ian's experience, on the one hand, is undercut, on the other, by a sense of removal - not only from the events in which Ian is involved, but also from Tim Livingstone, the other of the 'sons', who has become, by now, the novel's real subject.*
have time's movement as fluid, all 'present' in the mind, Shadbolt insists on linear distancing: sectioning the past clearly into separate 'blocs' of flashback — authorially organised, not subjectively procedural.

The coverage of the dispute begins in Ian's first Commentary, with his recollection of Stan Coates' needing 'a useful listener'. The subjects of importance are the Communist Party, its paper (which Stan edits) and a 'strike on the waterfront'. In a second conversation, Stan foresees what will be the actual course of events:

'... a big thing .... The biggest thing to hit this country in years. The Government's out for a showdown with the unions. And they're going to have it ... the army's been primed to scab ... emergency regulations become law on Monday. Three months jail for anyone who has a good word for the strikers.'

To Ian it sounds 'a little unreal'. He is 'only half-listening anyway'.

Before long, however, Stan is proved to be right: 'The strike grew, the length of the country, with surprising speed. And the Government deployed troops on the waterfront, and elsewhere.' By some time in March, when Ian visits his Uncle Ben, the latter, as a perceptive observer, has recognised a pattern. The city, the "troops and police everywhere", are "like the 1930s all over again." There are "the same words, the same faces. A last stand." Being older,


9. Ibid. The 'inaccuracies' begin. While discussion of these will be avoided hereafter (being by and large trivial in nature), this occasion is taken to point out textual 'problems' which seem caused by lack of care: i.e. lacking creative justification.*


12. Ibid. ('I left the office early, most afternoons, to attend my first university lectures.' At this time, lectures began in March, not February.)
Ben can see what his nephew does not. In terms of the novel's epigraph, it is Ian who is 'dazzled', and Ben who perceives a sameness, linking now with then.\(^{15}\)

In his phrases, "the same words, the same faces. A last stand", Ben observes not only that experience seems cyclic, but also that the dispute will mark the dying of something. Although he does not use the words, the Urban Dream is what he describes:

'Take Alex O'Leary and Harry Jones; both strikers' leaders. And both old friends of your father. Even old Charlie Higgins grumbling away in the background.... They all fought the battle for some grand new order, and finished up with sufficient of an old compromise to put society to sleep. As elsewhere. So they haven't a chance now.\(^{16}\)

These veterans of the thirties, fighting on in '51, show that heaven on the instalment plan had missed places other than Newtown. Ben's assessment to Ian of the thirties' fight and 'victory' is a clear textual echo from the 'Father's' section:

...[Bill] met an old militant he had known on the waterfront after the war. 'It's a great day,' this man said. 'The workers are taking over this country now.' Bill Freeman grunted, 'Not yet,' he said, 'not by a long shot.... Don't fool yourself. These social democrats, these respectable reformists, you ought to know them by now .... They'll just make capitalism more efficient.'\(^{17}\)

It was to Ben that Ian's father had described the 'new order', following Savage's victory in 1935: "jobs, homes, an easier life" do not amount to "justice", even "of a kind": "I'd say it was more like a bribe. To keep things the way they are."\(^{18}\)

A generation on, Ben's explaining to Ian of why the workers' present fight is doomed to fail is not, in basic reason, greatly

15. Jones, in 'Ambition and Accomplishment in Maurice Shadbolt's Strangers and Journeys', p.165, discusses the Erewhon epigraph in terms of three kinds of perspective.*


different:

'they haven't got a chance now. Not because they've everything against them; because they've so little with them. The trouble isn't that working class leaders have been bought out; it's the working class itself that's been bought. Perhaps for good.'

Bill Freeman and Ben Campbell, nearly thirty years apart, predict failure on basic tenets of neo-Marxist sociology. This "Jobs, homes, an easier life" lies also at the heart of Fairburn's 'democratised' rural Arcadia, highlighting a major obstacle to radical social change.

Between Ian's conversation with Ben and the 'centre-piece' of Bloody Friday, one other preparatory episode occurs: Stan Coates' resignation from 'the capitalist press'. The story over which Stan resigns - because his editors refuse to publish it - is not clearly illegal under the Regulations; as Ian recounts it, it is a collation of factual detail, rather than the prohibited 'good word for the strikers'. The story (about ratings refusing industrial conscription) is killed first by the Navy, then by the Government censor, and, finally, by a compliant editor. In the 'unprintable' story, Shadbolt presents the not uncommon occurrence of men caught


22. S & J, p.343; p.392. Although unnamed, the newspaper which Shadbolt has in mind must be the Auckland Star, carrier of the well known The Police Will Shoot editorial, referred to on page 387.


24. The deployment of Navy personnel to blackleg is historically accurate (Sutch, pp. 282-283; Bassett, p.96 (photograph); Bassett, p.99). It is factual, also, that those who refused were subject to military rather than civil justice.*
between the dictates of conscience and military orders. Fred Roberts in 'No Conscripts', and Noel Hilliard in 'New Unionist', have raised the issue as central in their portrayals of the dispute. As a human dilemma for servicemen (and one understood by watersiders), it appears only in waterfront fiction, not in historical records.

Stan resigns, finding at last his 'double life' untenable. Ian cannot show solidarity, determined to avoid his heritage:

If I was betraying Stan, in a small way, it was so as not to betray myself. For to speak up would have meant identifying myself wholly with him. With Stan, that is, or my father: the two, in this context, had become confused. So I sheltered in silence.

Ian's 'shelter', as it were, is invaded before long, becoming untenable in the face of what he sees. Confronted by the spectacle of Bloody Friday, a haven of unengagement ceases to be a possible choice. Regardless of how it seems to his activist colleagues later, Ian's response to these events is as much in spite of his Freeman connection as an affirming of it. While his interpreting of the brutality, the blood and screams' meaning, cannot be divorced from his heritage of 'seeing', Ian's consequent decision to become involved is taken finally in terms of his own experience.

This centrepiece in Ian's record of the Waterfront Dispute is a clash between workers and the police in Auckland. Although not specified, the date is clearly 1 June, the events those of a day known afterwards as 'Bloody Friday'. The episode is central not only in terms of itself - as an historically accurate presentation of civil violence - but also in terms of its effect on Ian. Like Smith after him, in Stead's Smith's Dream; like Marlow before him, in

Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, Ian is led into allegiance, converted by events, but more by way of rejection than by positive commitment.

The street-clash presentation takes fewer than three pages, the day's before-and-after events fewer than nine. Throughout, there is reliance on verifiable data, facts of academic history in subjective record. As Ian leaves the office, sent to cover the march, he recalls his paper's recent editorial:

In this time of national anarchy, let the government announce that The Police Will Be Armed. And let it be known, in the event of challenge to authority, The Police Will Shoot.27 Dick Scott records in *151 Days* the Star's editorial call, 'Time for Action':

The Government must act rather than talk. A final warning should be issued .... The Government should announce that crowds on the waterfront will be dispersed without hesitation, and that in view of what has already happened The Police Will Be Armed. And the Government should make it known ... that should individuals or groups defy the ban and challenge the authority of the police, The Police Will Shoot.28

Ian's first observations accord with known history - marchers 1000 strong and led by women. The key-note banner, 'Hear Our Side Of The Story', appears in photographs (slightly mis-recalled by Shadbolt).29 Ian's sense of the procession's being 'good-humoured'30


28. Scott, p.115. Although Ian recalls the editorial as only 'a day or two earlier', the item in question appeared on 1 May. On Wednesday, 2 May, on a march to Parliament, watersiders, freezing workers and seamen were batoned by police in Cuba Street.*

29. The banners actually carried said 'Hear the Other Side of The Story'. See Scott, p.186 and Bassett, p.177. (The caption under the Bassett photograph is incorrect, stating that those depicted are 'deregistered watersiders meeting in the Auckland Domain, Sunday 3 June 1951'.) *

accords with Langstone's memory of a 'happy hand of people'. The truth of what Ian terms as 'all quite harmless' is unarmed, orderly and peaceful procession.

From the moment that Ian hears a reporter colleague observe, "They're not going to get away with this", 'they' seem, indeed, to be proceeding towards a fate planned by others. Alerted by the comment, Ian sees

further up the street police cars ... pulling into a shiny solid line; the street ... being sealed off. And ranks of dark blue uniforms ... gathering.

Inevitably, with the marchers moving along Queen Street, 'the distance

between the head of the procession and the police shortened slowly, fifty yards, twenty yards, finally ten. 'Hold it,' called a police inspector. 'Hold it right there.'

The sequence of events in the following few minutes are described by Ian as history now endorses them: the marchers given five minutes to disperse and set upon with batons from behind and while retreating:

The lines of blue, with gleaming buttons, crashed across the few yards to the strikers; line after line with batons drawn and swinging. Like a machine, with the trigger tripped. The strikers began to spin around, but too late; most took the first baton blows on the back of their heads. As they fell, they were kicked aside. Women were screaming; I saw one being beaten across the face as she clawed at a constable's arm. Two or three others were knocked aside in the park, sent rolling down a slope. As for the men, the police seemed beserk with their boots and batons; they looked determined to hammer the strikers, and their protest, not just into the ground but under the ground. Here and there, when the blue ranks parted, I saw police feet working

31. See Scott, p.189.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid.
efficiently on the fallen. Blood was beginning to colour hair, faces, clothing. An elderly man was trying to crawl away; his head was split, and one arm seemed crippled, possibly broken, by a baton. His freckled hands were shakily searching the asphalt, as if for understanding. ... Some of the strikers were trying to fight back, to hold the police off with their fists. But the black batons ripped endlessly in the sunlight; a bristling tide. And before long it was over. A few stunned and moaning men were left, being pushed into a Black Maria; there was amazingly little blood left anywhere; a few broken placards and a buckled police helmet lay in a gutter. Traffic began to move up and down the street. The city was credible again.36

The comment which Ben had made to Ian back in March — "like the 1930s all over again ... the same words, the same faces"37 — has become vindicated in these minutes of conflict. As Shadbolt has described the 14 April 1932, in the 'Fathers' section, and as he now describes '51's Bloody Friday, the Erewhonian sense of history as on two rollers, one feeding the other in continuous reeling, is illustrated in a present tragically déja vue.

Shadbolt clearly intends that his reader perceives a pattern, those 'leading lines'38 to the familiar past. Harry Jones and Alex O'Leary lead the June march, just as they had led the one of nineteen years before. Ian himself draws attention to this seeming replay of history — two 'still marching'39 where once there had been three. He looks now at these carriers of almost legendary names, surprised that in the flesh they seem 'as ordinary as [his] father'.40

After two or three months of strike, the marchers looked pale and threadbare in the wintry sunshine; it was as if the procession had been dusted with a fine grey powder.41

38. Butler, Erewhon, p.156.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid.
More than deprivation is conveyed by this image; there is implicit a sense of time and tiredness in 'pale' and 'dusted' and the sun's lack of warmth. It is somehow sustained by Harry Jones' smallness, O'Leary's broken nose and the old hat, Charlie Higgins' face 'distinguished ... if rather corroded by age and perhaps disappointment.'42 Ian's observation that these men 'were still marching' is subtly different from 'were marching again', in suggesting a tread which has had to be ongoing.

Shadbolt echoes sound and image between the two passages - April '32 and June '51: 'Feet. There were feet everywhere, drumming and scraping ... the feet began to move, first in uncertain shuffle, then in quickened and steady beat as the asphalt route unrolled. The banners jutted, rising and falling with the motion of the march, like debris upon a river of men.... Bill Freeman walked tall enough that night. At those times when he looked back, it seemed the march was coming on forever. IF BLOOD BE, and the faces came flowing on.43

Ian notes, in '51, 'perhaps a thousand strikers ... with crude and hastily painted banners, in twos and threes up the rising street. ... there was still a steady, rather powerful beat of feet.'44

His father, in '32, had heard 'rags of old song';45 on the June march, Ian hears 'some ragged singing'.46 'Onlookers' in the first passage 'tossed out applause and abuse', but, Bill Freeman registers, 'the sound was small.'47 Ian notes 'roadside spectators ... largely

43. Ibid.
44. S & J, pp. 129-130.
46. S & J, p.130.
indifferent. There was little applause ... but not much hostility either.⁴⁸

Both sets of marchers are awaited by police and find themselves proceeding to a planned blockade. As Jones, Freeman and O'Leary led their column into the square,

uniforms swarmed, silver buttons bristled, horses pranced. The doors to the town hall were open .... But the police appeared intent on blocking the place off altogether .... Bill Freeman stopped short of the police line, felt the pressure behind him now. It mounted impossibly as rank after rank of marchers jammed up behind .... Trouble was only a matter of time ....⁴⁹

Police cars in '51 form 'a shiny solid line', and as the street is 'sealed off ... ranks of dark blue uniforms gather[].'⁵⁰ Harry Jones and Alex O'Leary, among the leaders, stop; 'the rest of the marchers began to bank up behind.

'I'll give you five minutes,' the inspector shouted. 'Five minutes to disperse and go your ways....⁵¹

As his men crash 'across the few yards to the strikers', Ian notes 'the lines of blue, with gleaming buttons'.⁵²

Specified in both passages are the cries of women.⁵³ In the first, an old man's head was 'brutally' batoned;⁵⁴ in the second, an 'elderly man' has 'his head ... split ... by a baton.'⁵⁵ It seemed to Bill Freeman, in 1932, that the street was 'a world of batons and

fists and murderous feet';\textsuperscript{56} Ian, in '51, sees 'batons drawn and swinging',\textsuperscript{57} 'feet working efficiently', fists as useless defence.\textsuperscript{58}

Although not laboured (as the novel's action post-dates it), the 1913 bloodshed is shadowy background of both. In Bill Freeman's first chapter, on his return to Auckland, he recalled that batoning almost two decades before. A perceptive reader should not miss the concordance: same street, comparable factions and nineteen year cycles:

In the 1913 wharf strike, when specials rode horseback up Queen Street, he saw tiny Charlie duck under flailing batons, like a dangerous little bird, to drag two specials from their saddles and hammer them half-dead with his fists. While blood sprayed from his own broken head.\textsuperscript{59}

Although not specified in Bill Freeman's recollection, the banner most remembered from 1913 - in historical record and workers' lore - is the one referred to twice in the '32 passage: IF BLOOD BE THE PRICE OF YOUR CURSED WEALTH, GOOD GOD WE HAVE PAID IN FULL ....

IF BLOOD BE, and the faces came flowing on.\textsuperscript{60}

* 

While, in terms of dramatic intensity, there is now a dying fall, the aftermath of the conflict has significant features - in its history within fiction and, especially, in plot and theme.

Of campus history interest is Ian's report to his editor of what he has observed at Hospital Casualty:

'...the story's a little bigger .... A little bigger than casualty figures.'

\textsuperscript{56} S \& J, p.133. 
\textsuperscript{57} S \& J, p.389. 
\textsuperscript{58} Ibid. 
\textsuperscript{59} S \& J, p.36. 
\textsuperscript{60} S \& J, p.130; see Scott, p.4 (photograph of 1913 procession).
'Another brawl up there?' he said quickly.  
'Not exactly. But you might be interested in this. All the casualties so far are suffering from severe head wounds, mainly to the back of the head. And concussion, some severe.' 
'Facts,' said Derek. 'Facts. Not opinion.' 
'And the men are being stitched up without anaesthetic. And being bundled out of the place by police without dressings, without any chance to clean up. Still bleeding. And stitched up like sacks. Two of the concussion cases collapsed before they'd gone fifty yards from the hospital.' 
'Facts,' said Derek Martin. 'Facts. If you've got something printable, for Christ's sake tell me.'

Given more 'facts' of similar nature, Ian's editor loses patience and explodes, "Jesus Christ ... Don't waste my time with this garbage." In response to Ian's comment that such treatment of the injured (letting them "go around bruised and bleeding for a bit") seems exactly in line with mayoral recommendation, the editor makes his point by simply hanging up.

In consequence, that night Ian makes his debut as a political journalist for the underground press - going the 'way' of Stan Coates, both pushed and drawn into it. Shadbolt gives us, in Ian's experience of these basement activities, the only 'inside' evocation of this historical material.

The details of social realism which Shadbolt incorporates in the segments presenting 'underground' activity accord with the campus accounts of history. The fidelity evident in the march's presentation and in the scenario of the hospital clinic is maintained in the portrayal of the basement press. The temporary location, the need for vigilance as practical consequences of emergency rule not

63. Ibid. (The Mayor who made this suggestion was Allum.)
only are history, unheightened and 'unbent', but also acquire in fiction an extension of impact. The data of record become integral aspects of a fictional world human and lived. At the sight of 'a car just parked outside', action taken is immediate, pre-planned and anxious:

Mrs Harris called down the stairs. 'Lights off,' she said urgently. ... The watersider went for the light switch; the seaman opened the window, for quick escape. 'Just sit quiet,' Stan said in the sudden gloom. 'We have these false alarms. A half dozen a night, usually.' We heard a knock on the door upstairs; and after a time Mrs Harris answering it. There was indistinct conversation. We continued to wait in the dark. 'It must be all right,' Stan announced. 'She planned to knock over a stand in the hall if it was the police.'

The work in the basement continues through the night, with typing, sketching, copying and delivery. Energy seems sustained by the day's recalled bloodshed, a country 'shut up tight', people needed to 'tell the story'. Ian, when finally he is falling asleep, retains 'the street; the sunlight; the blood ... Alex O'Leary gripping [his] shoulders.'

The third aspect of public history which Shadbolt weaves into fiction relates to the ending of this underground activity - on night one hundred and fifty, 14-July. The setting is 'another basement, not that of Mrs Harris;

there had been a half dozen since then, and the police still hadn't caught up with us. But this one was uncannily still. The cyclostyling machine

64. Reference is made here to Shadbolt's description of Shakespeare as a 'history-bender' (Letter, New Zealand Listener, 16 August 1980, p.11).
had thumped to a stop .... 68

Action now pointless (perhaps it always had been?), 69 there are just disappointment and little to be said.

This Shadbolt cameo of the dispute's ending is a unique fictional capturing of that specific historical moment. It conveys, unlike the records in texts and other fiction, the announcement to working people of final defeat: not public Party utterances or historians' assessments, but natural human responses to a sense of wasted effort:

For a while there was silence. Tim was the first ... to make any definite move. He picked up two or three cartoons he had just completed and very carefully delivered them to the wastebasket. He didn't say anything ....

Even Ted ... looked dismayed; he sat slumped on an old couch beside Charlie Bates, who appeared busy looking at his feet. Monty Nolan, with his healed and scarred scalp, leaned on the cyclostyling machine ... he rolled a cigarette.

At our centre sat Stan, head in hands, bleakly gazing at some inflammatory copy no longer needed. ...

'All over,' Stan said at length. He got clumsily to his feet; still looked stunned. He looked around at us, face after face. 70

Ian, as usual, more observing than feeling, views the situation at hand and wider: 'It was almost midnight, and the strike was over; or would be

in the morning, after nearly six months, with final and total defeat, and not a strong union left alive in the country. There was nothing left for us to do. And little more to be said. It was Stan who moved me most: perhaps he would never live so intensely again. He seemed to be shrivelling up before my eyes. 71

In a way, something similar might be said of the novel, which, steadily failing in strength, becomes hereafter almost dull. The

68. S & J, p.408.

69. S & J, pp.403-404; see Ted's comments: 'What really worries me is whether I'd be here if it wasn't hopeless.' ... 'I mean the strike's beaten ... It's been beaten from the start. The battle can't be fought the old way. It's over; dead.'


éclat and control of the powerful 'Fathers' section (declining in 'Fathers and Sons' with Dreams and those who dream them) do little more than linger after this night. In the narrative, something winds down in terms of spirit - that of craft, which seems to tire in diffusion of purpose. In the people, after this time of working together, there is a dispersal of resources into their private journeys.

Being interviewed, in weeks following, for Stan's proposed book (a review of the dispute's failure in Marxist terms), Charlie Higgins, who began marching at Waihi in 1912, captures this sense of passage into a vacuum of mythic faith. In response to Stan's enquiry, "Where would you say ...

the failure of the militant working class movement has been?...Would you ascribe it to ideological lack? To a generally blind syndicalist or anarchist spirit? ... Can you tell me how you feel? .... Just how you feel about the whole thing? Now you can look back on forty years of class struggle?"
'Tired,' Charlie Higgins said.72

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The Queen Street centre-piece and the basement encounters offer more than social realism and a cyclic view of history. They mark a completion of several other cycles, personal yet 'carrying' major thematic value. They draw together, in time and place, loose strands of Dream's portrayal, which from the outset in 'Fathers' has empowered the novel.

Ian's observation of the Queen Street march began with recognition - his, of the leaders. It is private, distant and tinged with wonder, this seeing in the flesh of men from the past. In Mrs Harris' basement, much later that evening, there is another

recognition - Alex O'Leary's, of Ian. This, like that earlier, is tinged with wonder, connected to the past, but publicly made:

'Who's this man?' Alex O'Leary paused ... evidently noticing me for the first time. There was a certain challenge in his stare, as he tried to sum me up.

'He's all right, Alex,' Stan said. 'I'll vouch for him. Besides, his name's Freeman. That ought to be familiar to you. Enough for you.'

'You don't mean -'

'I mean Bill Freeman's son.'

'Jesus Christ,' Alex said. His handshake was solid. Then he gripped my shoulders and looked at me. His stare was intense.

'Young Ian, isn't it?'

'Yes.'

'I remember bouncing you on my knee,' he said. 'Now I look at you, I see you got your father's nose.' ... 'And maybe more of him than that, eh? ....' 73

For both of these men, their respective recognitions have a physical basis finally less important. In seeing O'Leary (and Jones and Higgins), Ian 'sees' his father in 1932. Although his conscious insight has a negative cast - that, unlike these others, Bill Freeman has stopped marching - there is, in the gap left, a glimpse of his father's stature: of the public man whom he has never truly known. In his embrace of Ian, on learning his identity, O'Leary acknowledges the father's worth - as friend, as fellow-fighter and colleague in Dream.

Although Ian's contribution to the '51 round is relatively meagre and of neophyte quality, he becomes, in terms of pattern, a kind of surrogate for his father. While Ian himself would roundly reject this (and, in terms of motivation, rightly so), there is perceivable a patterning of action - some 'still marching', others walking in relay. Acknowledgment of such a cycle is implied by O'Leary's comment that "maybe more" than physique is Ian's inheritance.

Ian's personal choice to become involved remains indisputably a

personal matter, yet, beyond it, there lies a reconciliation theme. Without at all intending to, his autonomous decision expresses fresh understanding of his father's past imperatives; in responding as he does to the Queen Street injustice, Ian accepts that part of Bill Freeman from which he had always turned. The Bloody Friday spectacle has shown him valid cause, and in doing so validates something of his father.

Mrs Harris' basement, this same night of Bloody Friday, is where Ian re-encounters his boyhood acquaintance: Tim Livingstone, the other 'Son' of the sectional title. Their lives, from this point until the novel's end, will continue interwoven in complex ways and, even beyond it, in a son whom either has fathered. The emphasis in their thematic and personal linking will fall less on public myth, more on private questing.

The crossing of their paths in 1951 has greater plot-significance relative to present and future and greater theme-significance relative to the past. One the son of Ned Livingstone, one the son of Bill Freeman, their heritage is that of dream, their experience dream failed. Their meeting by chance in shared activity echoes their fathers' chance meeting in 1919 and their meeting in bloody conflict in 1932. In Mrs Harris' basement, the fathers' (the strangers') journey, in the same train thirty-two years before, finds its complement or balancing image.

Tim and Ian's shared heritage, their fathers' respective (and failed) dreams, is, in the novel's finest parts, Shadbolt's true subject. Carried deep within two men, strong and brooding, the Dreams of Rural Utopia and of the Just City become expressed in personal, social and national patterns. Jones, celebratory, describes the 'Fathers' section thus:
Those two men with the archetypal names, Livingstone and Freeman, reveal movingly two seemingly opposed dreams that helped to form modern New Zealand and that came to grief in it.74

* *

On his first day working the land, after returning from the war, Ned Livingstone climbs to a high point to see clear across his valley;

His heart still toiled within his ribs after his climb; but this pulse would have raced anyway. He could see, and imagine. There was this to be done, and that. From here he could see bright acres not yet cleared and sown with grass. From here he could see house and outbuildings not yet built. But he could also see, as surely as the contours of the valley, the possible shapes of his life. A bullet might have punctured him on the beach at Gallipoli, allowing his life to bleed out. A shell might have shattered him in France .... Yet he lived, and could wonder now. He could see his life mean something here; and his death. For that he would die here, one day, he could not doubt; he could not afford to doubt. There had been more than enough madness. It was time things made sense.75

Bill Freeman's dream has a different field of struggle. 'The only fighting [Ned] plans is for himself ... between himself and the land he took';76 by its nature and of necessity, the Urban Dream is public, dependent on shared ideas and people working together:

He had jobs. He worked cargo .... He used a knife .... He stacked butterboxes .... He dug coal again. He did most of the jobs that were to be done, and his own. He knew the dream, knew how to scatter the seed. Sometimes with a whisper or iron joke, sometimes with speeches and limp leaflets. His fist became a hammer as it pounded the texts. .... He found the time his ally now; the time was on the side of his dream. And the dream itself, as he spoke, began to solidify in his palpitating mind: he could distinguish the turrets and spires, the fountains and parks, of the just city. He seemed already to be walking those precise squares, those straight streets, where never a brick, nor blade of grass, was unaligned. His imagination faltered

74. Jones, 'Ambition and Accomplishment in Maurice Shadbolt's Strangers and Journeys', p.146.

75. S & J, pp. 32-33.

only when he tried to populate the city with recognisable human forms; his footsteps were still lonely there, and left no echo.77

These complementing manifestations of Utopian vision - pastoral in former, socialist in the latter - are portrayed in their foundering throughout the 'Fathers' section. Challenged by depression, accidence and human betrayal, the giant men who carry them expend effort without gain. By 1932, Ned senses this already:

The river ran fast and muddy. He bumped over bridges, then entered the gorge. More than once in his life, as this craggy limestone closed around him, he felt he was leaving the world's ill behind. Now that illusion lay shrivelled. Perhaps the infection had taken grip here, on his land, when the first cut of his swinging axe bled a tree. He did not know, and might never; he was only a man.78

On this same April day of his realisation, Ned is taken to Auckland by friends to fight "the bloody Reds .... It's only a matter of time. They'll take your land away ...";

'They're welcome,' Ned said, 'the way it is. It only earns me a pain in the gut.'

Nonetheless, he is pressed: " ... We're off to town, Ned. We're going to teach these bastards to pull their heads in. The way my old man did back in the 1913 strike. Nothing like a few bashed heads to show them who's boss in this country.'

'And who is that, Tom?'

'The man on the land, of course. And the governments we vote in to keep order ....'79

That it is Ned Livingstone who severely wounds Bill Freeman, in the ensuing battle on the Auckland streets, that Ned's overpowering enables Freeman's arrest, is a thematic climax in the presentation of dream. Portrayed in two sections, one from each man's point of view, Ned Livingstone is not judged ('He did not know; ... he was only a

78. S & J, p.149.
man').

Although neither man recognises his opponent's name (for, as strangers, on that literal journey, they had not shared them), Ned, 'in fitful flashes ... thought he saw the face of the other. It could have been anyone; it could have been himself ....'80 Returning home, to Nance's question, "What happened up there?", his response is "Nothing":

'But you've been hurt. Who did it?'
'Some poor bloody fool like me.'
'I don't understand,' she said.
'There is sweet bugger all to understand .... Unless why men are mad.'81

Beside Ned's sense of the dream's loss and of his own weakness on the day he went to Auckland, there now can be placed the portrait of Bill Freeman:

Inside the stone prison where they took him ... the warders made him strip clean, and examined his mouth and arse to make sure he had nothing hidden, and also to make clear he no longer counted for much. For they left the tall man naked for quite a time, just skin and bone and a clump of pubic hair, blue and shivering with the chill of the place. Until there could be no doubt this Bill Freeman was nothing much at all.82

Cross's implicit view (and Simpson's statement) of the Waterfront Dispute as a clash of national dreams is Shadbolt's overt view of 1932 (and his in-passing judgment of 1913).83 Its imaginative expression has clarity and power in the fight between these men 'with the archetypal names':

But they both went down, their heads colliding, their teeth

81. Ibid.
82. S & J, p.141 (see comments by Ned's friend, Tom). [p.404: Ted refers to this dispute as 'the third act'.]
83. S & J, p.150. [Material in brackets belongs in ftntote. 88,]
uncovered with pain, rolling over and over ....84

At their first encounter, nineteen years before, they had, still strangers, wished each other "good luck", and in this 'they are sincere.

For they are both on their separate journeys, more vulnerable than they will likely ever be. In some way they have touched each other, or met themselves. Anyway the liking was there, in the end, if not the sympathy .... They will never really meet again, at least not as themselves.85

In 1932, Ned Livingstone feels no elation at having defeated Bill Freeman, "some poor bloody fool like me." Before Bill Freeman dies, he pays his tribute of recognition after reading his son's novel, No Angels Sing:

I wanted to ask whether you had me in mind, when you wrote that. I just wondered. I know I wasn't like that old farmer, strictly speaking, lonely on his land. I never was a farmer, never. All the same, when I read that book, I had this queer feeling it was me walking around in his boots. Even me losing his son. ... I had this queer feeling it was me all the time, not him .... If you wanted to write about me, and disguise me as that old farmer, well that's all right .... I might even be proud of it. That you thought I was worth all that trouble. You see.86

Shadbolt's view, implied in this cycle of recognition, is one of complementing dreams in unnatural and needless conflict.

* 

The patterning of their lives - the theme of myth and plot together - continues from this time of clarifying sense of loss. As the dreams fail increasingly, each man turns more to his son, hopeful of some consolation on a limited human level. They share, in so doing, the loss of their sons, also. The land, central to Ned's dream, lashes out and gravely wounds:

86. S & J, pp. 573-574.
... some ground gave way ... the slip became large on [Tim's] left, and everything was moving, the sky, too. The land seemed to be slowly sucking him down into its ugly wound. Amazed and helpless, and then with late terror, he watched himself become altogether involved with the tractor and discs as the slide into the slip gathered pace. There was, of course, no escape....

Ian chooses to become 'prisoner of [his own] journey', away from his father's shadow, out of that 'chanting circle' of difference. Inheritors of something failed, both sons seek escape from the bitter lack of compromise in their fathers' silent living.

While the events of Bloody Friday and its evening in the basement are central to the portrayal of the dispute, per se, they form, on the level of theme, only half of the dying myths' aspect. Sharing central place in Part Three as a whole, and declaring the other half of dream in defeat, are Tim Livingstone's paintings, savaged by himself at exhibition.

As Ian sees them,

they were landscapes more or less. But landscapes of dream as much as of the world. Here a chipped hill, quite stark. There mountains like muscles. A glimpse of a wandering river. A flow of bleak bush. An angrily eroded valley. Then the waterfalls; it took me time to see the waterfalls, still longer to feel them. They recurred in painting after painting .... I did begin to see that one had to accept the dark first, to find (their) light, and feel its presence.

A Land with No Heroes was one, A Land with No Lovers another, and Can Anyone Save Us Here? a third ... they seemed, those looming lumps of land around us, these blocks of basalt and towers of limestone and edges of earth, to join in one vast melancholy cry.

These stand between his winning landscape from high school days

(representing 'his deep sense of that land that has formed and crippled him')\textsuperscript{92} and his final landscape; he 'only ever wanted to paint [the] one.'\textsuperscript{93} While, during the dispute, Tim's art is subversive (casual, but applied by his friends to serious business), his landscapes declare his genuine subversion; they express his private 'truth' and 'seeing' of the land of national dream.

Thus, both dreams of the fathers acquire, through the sons, their image of failure in 1951. Ian's observation and experience of the crisis is used, thematically, to mark the death of Urban Dream; Tim's paintings are used, in accordance with Shadbolt's purpose, to show the other dream's failure to comprehend this land. The friendship which establishes now uneasily between these sons, both questing, solitary, and emotionally defensive, makes its own statement about dream and consequence.

* 

Shadbolt's thematic concerns in \textit{Strangers And Journey's} include considerably more than have been discussed. Indeed, the novel's achievement and lack of sustained quality have as partial explanation the multiplicity of themes. Those excluded (and, among them, most significantly, the relationship between the artist and a culturally young society) lack direct relevance to the thematic focus: the treatment and role of history in fiction, as exemplified by instances of the Waterfront Dispute; this fiction's revelation of history's mythic sources. Moreover, those included as being relevant, in their being the most successful in creative terms and having the clearest links between myth and social history, warn against the use of

\textsuperscript{92} Jones, 'Ambition and Accomplishment', p.148.

\textsuperscript{93} \textit{S & J}, p.635.
history as device (of theme or structure) in burdensome ways, without
temporal distance.

That Strangers and Journeys makes explicit the stated thesis,
'the evolution of events from mythic processes', should not surprise,
for this re-states its own vision. Ned Livingstone and Bill Freeman,
after their meeting on the train, are not really themselves but the
perpetrators of dream. It is Shadbolt's creative intention that the
pattern of their lives reveals the powerful force of myth in our
social history. In their personal endeavours, persistence and
disappointment, they not only show myth active in the shaping of our
society, but also emerge finally as paradigms of myth; of
complementary nature, linked by image in the one 'epitaph', they
stand separate, 'could never be more than others chose'.

Shadbolt's interest in the dreams which have shaped New Zealand
society is interest in history and historical process. As the
novel's Baxter epigraph describes the chaos which dreams would order,
that from Butler describes the pattern of their working. Within these
linked themes, the dispute of '51 symbolises the dying throes of the
Just City vision and illuminates a cyclic view of historical paths.

The textual presentation of the dispute is intense: realising,
evoking the human experience of it - Nehru's 'real' history,
Golding's 'off-campus'. In brilliance of social realism, Shadbolt
'catch[es] ... in transition' moments not thus caught in any other
writings. The directness and specificity of the crisis' evocation
has subject-quality within its few pages.

94. S & J, p. 579; Ian applies Pastoral Dream phrases to his
father, in death: 'Beyond the cemetery were hills and valleys of the
country his father once wished to tame, and which in the end tamed
him.'*

95. S & J, p. 133.
Quality, however, is not synonymous with primary function, for the latter, in ultimate judgment, describes holistic relations. The creative function of the Waterfront Dispute is, more significantly, that of device. In this role, it is not structural (one task in After Anzac Day); it is, rather, both imagistic in a chain of recurrence and symbolic of 'a last stand' along a path of dream.
7. The curious remoteness of this 1951 section is attributable, in part, to the double-mask technique: the previously 'telling' author's removal of himself to behind Ian, and Ian's own adoption of narrative masks - letter-writer, commentator, perhaps even Tim's biographer. We are party not so much to eventual involvement as we are to accounts from a skilled character-novelist.

9. Stan's reference to 'a strike on the waterfront' is ambiguous, in that it could refer to industrial action at the time of the conversation or about to begin. The date of this first discussion must be early in February, as the second discussion 'a week or two later' occurs on a week-day to this date was that of railway tradesmen - over the Christmas period - and this had quickly been dealt with by the Government. While January was a tense month, as workers awaited the Arbitration Court wages Award, there was no strike on the waterfront. Even after 8 February, when Port employers made their wages decision, there was no strike or stoppage by waterside workers. At no time in the month leading up to 26 February did men refuse work other than overtime. Imaginative projection of history has many justifications, but lacks integrity in instances such as this when it purports to be factual data. If, to give the author a benefit of doubt, Stan is deemed to be referring to the trouble which definitely came later, then use of 'strike' and 'strikers' is insensitive and out of character. Apart from the fact that the dispute was not a 'strike', Stan Coates as editor of a workers' paper would certainly not use the Government's misnomer. Moreover, Ian Freeman (writing these commentaries later, having been in the underground press) would not have used the terms; words are his tools of trade.

15. The first perspective is immediate and, therefore, 'dazzled' (the vision of the characters); an awareness of archetypal patterns (ideally, the vision of the novelist); and the 'bridge' between these, which he describes as 'a sense of the patterns of the middle ground of recent history that stands between the concrete event and the distant mountains of archetype.' It is, perhaps, to this sense which Ben has access: the 'bridging' view between Shadbolt's and Ian's.

24. Usually, military personnel were charged with specific insubordination offences, tried by military authorities and sent to military prison, where, it would seem, they were not ill-treated (conversation with Gordon Cole). Shadbolt's ratings seem to be an unusual case, being subject to private punishments, not 'due process'.

28. In its major features, it was remarkably similar to the Queen Street batoning a month later: about 1000 strong, orderly, with some singing, entrapment by police on the directive to disperse.

29. A large contingent of police (not shown) watched proceedings from under the trees. Bassett's photograph incorporates the 'detail' photograph used by Scott, and shows, more likely, the Upper Queen Street marchers advertising the Domain Rally to be held two days later.
94. 'Ian, despite Ben at his shoulder, could not really believe that the grave held anything larger than the grave itself. That surely was enough.' (p.579) Not only are Bill and Ned united thus in theme and image; in Ian's simple concluding statement ('That surely was enough'), their humanity and spirit are affirmed, celebrated even as undiminished by failure. Jones' judgment of the novel itself is made in similar terms: Shadbolt 'has not fully succeeded ... but as Ned Livingstone and Bill Freeman show so movingly, there is such a thing as an honourable and significant defeat.' (Jones, 'Ambition and Accomplishment', p.166)
History and Myth Beyond Time and Place: the Device of Model C.K. Stead's Smith's Dream

The didacticism often inherent in forward-looking fiction - most clearly in novels also in the social-realist tradition - is undeniably present in Stead's Smith's Dream. Unlike the didacticism of After Anzac Day, the challenge to question in Stead's novel is both consciously experienced and issued by the characters - as well as cumulatively emerging as the author's intention. Even in the prose style, this spirit declares itself in frequent interrogatives - either rhetorical or true. Smith's question to his father-in-law, "How in hell's name did it happen?", is central to the novel's purpose: answers being sought.

Smith's Dream, at first and in terms of portraying history, seems simply to be 'prophetic' fiction. As in 1984, the creative principle is that outlined by Howe in 'History As Nightmare'. This 'one step' procedure becomes applied, however, in three observably different modes.

Stead exploits the procedure in the way which Howe outlines: projecting a possible future from current social trends. Further, he applies it to history of the past in his drawing on the events of 1951 crisis and, through them, explores what were possibilities then: the unrepresented aspect of the iceberg of social history. The novel is, therefore, a 'fiction of possibilities' - those of the past as well as of the future, the interface of these lying in the novelist's observed present.

1. The first edition of the novel (1971), with its ending of Smith's survival, has been used in preference to the later version.*

2. Howe, 'Orwell: History As Nightmare', pp. 241-242. The principle is that referred to in the sixth Basic Assumption (previous discussion, pp.17-21).
The third 'one step' taken is considerably more complex, comprising projections both temporal and geographic. Having publicly confirmed that Patrick Evans 'is right' in his belief that Smith's Dream is 'a heightened account of the 1951 period in New Zealand's social history as much as a glimpse into the future', Stead proceeds to direct us, also, to the 'present' of Vietnam. In his critical essay on the work of John Mulgan (and seeking to draw parallels between their respective lives and novels), Stead cites their shared involvement:

on the perimeter of violent political action ... he with the riots of 1932, I with the 1951 Waterfront strike. These local events were joined in our political thinking to a civil war abroad which became the point of political focus for a phase of history - in his case Spain, in mine Vietnam. Without pretending to be novelists, we both wrote novels ... attempting to pull these political elements together into our consciousness of New Zealand.4

Evans' essay, pre-dating Stead's, makes much of the Vietnam model, finding the 'depiction of New Zealand turned into South Vietnam' a reason for the opening chapters' ability to startle. This 'depiction', Evans suggests, is 'a vision of the future', the novel's additional strength to its 'backward glance'. Although he does not use the term, Evans ends discussion of these separate crises with suggestion of their conflation.

Thus, the first 'step' outlined is projection from present to


6. Ibid., p.18.

7. Ibid.
future - the Orwellian enlargement of observable trends. The second involves expansion of a time which has passed - developing what was into 'just as likely' outcomes. The Vietnam evocation, as a third creative 'stepping', involves transference of two kinds. The first is geographic, one of distance-transfer, of the present Asian war to New Zealand towns and hills. The second is temporal, transporting a current conflict into a time which remains yet to come.

Quite separate from the 'one step' concept, Evans suggests another role of Vietnam outside the novel: that, in Stead's New Zealand 'present', it was an actual and specific cause of social division, of political polarisation. In the widespread Cold War view of this nationalist war and the community's discomfort with democratic protest, Stead might well have found the patterns which Smith's Dream enlarges. (It is interesting to note, in this, Vietnam's suggested double role: both the historical cause of social climate revelation, and the projected consequence of such a social climate.)

In the conflation of Vietnam (there present, here future) with New Zealand at the times of writing and of the Waterfront Dispute (and in the various 'one steps' taken within each), Smith's Dream attempts a 'seeing whole' of social pattern and history.

* 

This outwardly simple tale has within it other blendings, both initially personal but ultimately thematic. Stead's veneration of Mulgan is the first of these and is, self-confessedly, at work within the novel:

It is still strange to me that the first New Zealand fiction writer to make an impression on me (and it was a strong and durable impression) should later be found to have had so

8. Ibid., p.16.
many areas of experience in common with my own. Separated by twenty years, we attended the same primary school, and the same university college; both, as undergraduates, were involved on the perimeter of violent political action. . . . Without pretending to be novelists, we both wrote novels (I partly under his influence) attempting to pull these political elements together into our consciousness of New Zealand. Both novels have two endings; and if I write now about the problem of ending Smith's Dream it is because the continual putting of questions on this subject by teachers and pupils has forced me to analyse the problem in a way which I have come to think is relevant also to Man Alone.9

Ian Reid (among critics surprisingly alone) observes at least some stylistic similarities:

Reading [the novel], one is reminded of Man Alone . . . . Without being merely imitative, Smith's Dream comes close to Man Alone. It has the same lucid, uncomplicated prose, the same straightforward linear development of plot, the same emphasis on external action (both could make vivid films), the same orientation of the narrative towards a critique of New Zealand social life. . . .10

Stead himself makes even more overt connections:

The novel offers a fairly simple moral proposition. That you can escape political and social responsibility by getting away and being a 'man alone' in the bush is the old New Zealand dream - Smith's dream - and it is false . . . . Smith is like Mulgan's Johnson (derivatively he lacks a Christian name) in being fairly characterless. He is perhaps a modern fictional type . . . .11

In ensuing discussion of dream and of its workings in social history, Stead's regarding of Mulgan as mentor and Man Alone, in some ways, as model, become factors of obvious creative relevance.

The second blending which has personal and thematic importance does not relate to Stead but to the character of Volkner. While some parallels can be drawn between Volkner and Sidney Holland, those specific to Adolf Hitler are numerous and intricate. These relate

not only to speech and political programmes, but also to career - his rise to fascist power. This 'German blending' in Volkner's characterisation acquires relevance to the theme of dream turned to nightmare.

Stead's tripartite time-scheme - past, present and future - and geographical blendings (Vietnam, New Zealand, Germany) operate covertly with that seeming simplicity which, belying sophistication, is finally its achievement. Either despite or because of these interwoven elements, the novel's effect is that of timelessness - even, perhaps, of timefulness.

The fiction of the past already examined is recognisable as 'past' on the basis of historical detail. The fictional web of relationships and events is attached at strategic points to a 'reality' which has been known - or, at least, is recognisably a context which has existed. Aspects of the material world, the characters' activities, establish a time setting coherent with themselves. In the same way, too, fiction of the future is recognisable as such on the basis of historical detail. The fictional web of relationships and events is attached at strategic points to an unknown 'reality' - or, at least, has a context which has not yet existed. Details of the material world, the characters' activities within it, establish a time setting similarly coherent.

The achievement of Smith's Dream in its various 'attachments' is that the reader, at varying stages, can recognise a time which has been, or which is, or which might yet be. On the basis of historical detail, many events seem familiar: political decisions, public responses, and resistance which must be private, all within a critical time which lies in our past. On the basis of similar details, the events are unfamiliar and, therefore, the main
determinants of the novel's 'future context'. We have never been
occupied militarily, never so hunted our own people, or experienced
such civil disorder as to be generally fearful.

For all this, Smith's Dream is curiously 'present', and not
solely on account of Stead's astute perception of current climate of
feeling just 'one step' projected. In the novel's physical setting,
there is a dearth of 'time setters', a lack which is unusual in works
attempting social realism. Details of the material world are
generally bland and common, and, with the exception of television,
not technically 'dated'. The usual determinants (such as items of
dress, of speech and food, methods of transport, tangible objects and
domestic life-style) are either absent or non-differential. It is an
objective reality which has existed for many decades; which, in terms
of details given, will persist for more; and one which, in its
trappings, is our current habitat.

Such timeless- and/or timefulness could be structurally achieved,
as it is in Cross's novel, Shadbolt's or Stead's second. The choice,
however, of non-structural means works to create a highly suggestive
world. By relating the tale simply, having his characters 'wonder'
through it, detailing only bare essentials (even these
unelaborately), Stead's metaphor, parading as 'history', remains open
to the imagination.

The suggestiveness of Smith's world - of Stead's metaphor (of a
future?) - lends positive assistance to a didactic purpose, also.
Only with difficulty can the reader avoid didacticism so ubiquitously
set, for the options often accompanying historical fiction (of 'that
was then', 'hasn't happened yet' or, at least, 'is not now',) are not
comfortably available in Smith's Dream. 12

* 

The Waterfront Dispute, by its nature of being a model, an applied proven pattern of behavioural possibility, does not have specific presentation as itself. Direct reference is made to it only once during the novel, as the context of Smith's former 'subversive' activity. As a young man, at Library School, 'during the illegal Waterfront Dispute ... [he] contravened the emergency regulations brought in to deal with it by distributing pamphlets in support of the strikers. 13

As a contribution to plot, Smith's activity in '51 makes credible the rapidity with which he becomes suspect now. The feature of climate of feeling which its filing reveals is its all-of-a-piece regard by Establishment authorities. Smith's (minimal) defiance in support of workers is seen as coherent with dossier's fuller profile: as a school-boy, his objections to cadet training ('because the enemy was designated as Red') and to exclusion of his 'Russian essay' from the school magazine; his defeating the Head Prefect in the school chess championships; 14 his various 'offences' during Compulsory Military Training, crowned (in Special X judgment) by the telling complaint

that the military training was 'political and aggressive ... in that it anticipated which country or countries would be

12. These salient features of time and place conflations are not, however, all that exist; apart from a 'double future' (the Voice beyond the Vision), there exists a textual present of 1959-60.*

13. SD, p.33. Two notes: a) the use of the term 'strikers' is appropriate in this context (unlike its use in Strangers and Journeys), being an item from Smith Special Security File; b) *

14. SD, pp. 32-33. Note that the chess game 'offence' against authority is compounded by Jesperson's being not only Head Prefect, but also captain of the First Fifteen, heavyweight boxing champion and an officer in the School Cadet programme. Smith, in contrast, is a fifth-former. (p.22)
New Zealand's enemies in any future war.\textsuperscript{15, 16}

Smith's stands on these occasions - school, work and army - are regarded as consistent, as "politically unstable". In the view of the Government now (Jesperson and Volkner), Smith's stance in this current crisis is a foregone conclusion: questioning, anti-authorities, and, therefore, communist. The model of '51 is clearly apparent.

The presence of the American military, our 'rodent controllers' ("You've got a problem and you call us in. We show you how to clean it up"),\textsuperscript{17} has beginnings in such post-War attitudes, actual example in the Vietnam present, and credible passage to the projected future in a continuing Cold War outlook.

The novel's single specific reference to the dispute, in Smith's file, does more than provide contexts for his youthful subversion. It helps explain the two roles expected of him by others (communist, to the authorities; comrade, to the guerillas). As an historical item - a 'high (social) common factor' - it identifies us nationally as Stead's subject and intended audience; reminds us of the crisis by specific comment and thereby heightens our perceiving of later parallels.

The 'account' of the crisis period, which Stead intends to give, is not to be found, however, in direct presentation. It occurs implicitly in those 'later parallels', of past civil restraint and future repression. The legislative means by which the people are

15. See Stead, 'John Mulgan', p.90: 'by the time I was in the sixth form (1949 - the year I read Man Alone) school cadet training designated the enemy as 'Red', and on the grounds that this was political and that my affinities were with the Left, I declined to do it.'*

16. See Appendix VI, 'Smith's Security File with the Special X'.

17. SD, p.87.
controlled is no projection of what might be possible: the Act empowering Emergency Regulations we have tolerated on our Statute books since 1932. Its remaining there still - and being likely to continue - are explicable in terms of the society revealed in Waterfront fiction: that the Act is a necessary precaution, not against ourselves, but against those outside forces threatening our possible paradise; that, in times of relative prosperity and social 'uneventfulness' ('Who after all ... cares about politics' when the sun is shining and beaches and race-tracks beckon?\(^{18}\)), to dismantle repressive law seems hardly a top priority, especially for those preferring to delegate responsibility.\(^{19}\)

The Act, though long-standing and occasionally used as a threat, has only once been fully experienced - in 1951. Stead's imagined implementation at an indefinite future time gives a 'heightened account' of 1951 fact; it needs no inventing of new political machinery or of new patterns of public response. Stead's use of the dispute - or, more correctly, of events during it - exposes the regulations at the extremity of their powers, and for what they are: open to abuse.

The political naivety - or, more harshly, apathy - which accompanied the law's inception (not even with standard safeguards) either denotes the virtue of faith in human nature generally or reflects a belief that people here are different. Stead's novel suggests the latter, a perceptual habit of Utopian tradition or 'dreaming' cast of mind.

* "Volkner's dominance in a government otherwise composed of

18. SD, p.51.

nonentities' could aptly apply to Holland at the beginning of National's rule. 'Those speeches that called for national unity - speeches which succeeded ... in arousing fear in everyone' describes very well Holland's speeches in 1951. That 'communism was advancing', 'steadily' and 'relentlessly', that 'our fertile acres' were under threat, are statements which Volkner could have lifted from the Government's phrase-book. Volkner's political strategy - first alarm and then calm - is certainly an old one with a history of success.

Holland, in conservative tradition and usage of the strategy, is re-presented in Volkner - same Enemy, same success. Whether threatening from the outside, or living among us, the foe which they use to 'alarm' us remains exotic and is altered only in its presenting 'colour'. The '51 Red Menace becomes 'Cong' and 'slant eye[d]'..

The strategy succeeds for both, gaining each what he wants: for Holland, the consolidation of National Party rule; for Volkner, a plebiscite to rule single-handed. The personal cause on which Holland seems hell-bent is the breaking of militant unions - to divide and conquer; Volkner seems inspired with messianic zeal "to feed and protect" his "children", from "vandals" and "leftist

20. SD, p.7.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid.
23. SD, pp.7-8.
24. SD, p.8.
25. SD, p.7; p.86.
In response on 'clandestine presses', Volkner is 'fascist', 'a Hitler', as before him was Holland portrayed in the workers' illegal bulletins. Volkner's belief that his people are desirous of "freedom",

'Freedom from the necessity to ... decide on matters that are beyond them',

is confirmed by their voting 'not to vote any more', 'to hand over the decisions' to a Leader. Here Volkner is reciting Pearson's belief, confirmed by observing New Zealand in 1951:

The reason why the New Zealander is willing to invest his responsibility in a strong, benevolent ruler is that he himself is afraid of responsibility ....

[They crops up again and again unnoticed in the talk of New Zealanders .... [They is the symbol for authority, protective and unquestioned and only noticed when something goes wrong. The New Zealander delegates authority, then forgets it. He has shrugged off responsibility and wants to be left alone. ...

... [he] is suspicious of politics.

Questioning and protest are always 'suspect', not because he cares about communism or specific issues, but because they remind him that his triennial vote does not totally absolve him from 'moral responsibility'. When Volkner speaks of "the burden" from which his

26. SD, p.41. The self-aggrandizement of Volkner as some sort of Messiah is suggested in phrases and concepts associated with Christ. He alone is able to feed our 'hunger of the spirit' (p.38); after the gathering at Eden Park, he knew he'd "fed the multitude" (p.39).

27. SD, p.41.

28. SD, p.40.

29. Ibid.


31. Ibid., p.331.

32. Ibid., p.332.

33. Ibid.
people want relief, he is referring to that responsibility which Pearson claims we fear. Using as evidence our lack of concern at 'Mr Holland's emergency regulations' and our response to the 'polemic of Mr Holland's radio turns', Pearson finds revealed in '51 our lurking respect for the dictator because he has all the authority and gets things done ....

He does not '-around' with 'argument and compromise'.

In the future which Stead envisages, we vote 'Yes' in the referendum, confirming 'the special powers Volkner had taken' in the emergency; accepting the silencing of all media discussion (of anything but Volkner's own point of view), we turn to him with the plea: 'Don't desert us. Help us ...'. One could be forgiven for thinking that Volkner knew well 'Fretful Sleepers', found there the people's profile and suggestions for his campaign. What Stead seems to be saying, in Volkner's fictional, later success, is that we have changed very little since 1951: still 'docile' and unaware, vulnerable to fascism, preferring sleep to the confronting

34. SD, p.40.
35. Pearson, p.333.
36. Ibid., p.356.
37. Ibid., p.333
38. Ibid., p.334.
39. Ibid., p.333.
40. SD, p.49.
41. Ibid.
42. SD, p.54.
43. Pearson, p.333.
of 'ultimate questions'.

Pearson's warning to New Zealanders, after 1951, that one day they might awake 'to find a military dictator riding them'; that, if they ever do, they will 'wonder how he got there', is an apt and simple description of what occurs in Smith's Dream. If Stead wished to claim a 'seed', he could cite none better.

Other parallels can be drawn between Holland and Volkner, between public responses 'past' and 'future'. Holland implemented the regulations to deal with an 'emergency', went to the people much later (in an early election) for retrospective approval of the powers which he had taken. Although Volkner acts alone (in the sense of without his Party), he follows the same procedure - and with the same result.

Pearson notes that 'Mr Holland,
governing by radio, without a parliament, seems to have emerged from the waterfront dispute more popular than ever.'

In Volkner's referendum, he is approved 'overwhelmingly'. In 'Notes', Here And Now, of June 1951, appears another 'warning' to New Zealanders then which Stead shows 'come true' in the time of Volkner:

Once accustom a people to the notion that the exercise of civil liberties is not a right of their own choosing but a privilege to be determined by someone else, and their freedom has more than one leg out the window. It is on the run and so are we.

44. Ibid., p.368.
45. Ibid., p.334.
47. Holland's seats in the House increased from 46 to 50 (Sutch, p.285), partly, according to Bassett (p.201), because Labour supporters stayed home rather than vote 'No' to the Government.*
48. SD, p.40.
49. 'Notes', Here and Now (June 1951), p.5.
Against both men's actions, some dissent is always present; there is no state that doesn't have its vandals" or, as Holland's government phrased it, does not have its 'wreckers'. When Volkner admits to Smith that he has "opponents - not many", "high-minded vandals [who] are the worst of all" - it is difficult not to recall New Zealand in '51 and, beyond that, Nazi Germany with its some 'who had doubts'.

The dissent, by 'vandals', up until our full awakening seems to be sporadic, or, at least, disorganised. The same could be said of dissent in '51, with those whom Holland called 'wreckers' having no legal voice. The mass media spoke only for Holland, as they speak only 'for Volkner- he had seen to that', and by the same means. The narrating voice observes that, in Volkner's time,

there was no local political news of any kind .... We lived in a strange world of local news which was entirely domestic - cats brought down from roofs by fire brigades, triplet calves born in the Waikato, record crops of pumpkins, unusually high tides ....

'Addressed frequently by Volkner but by no one else', we lived in a 'strange atmosphere'. Charles Brasch, writing in September, 1951, makes the same observation in his Landfall Editorial:

It has always been difficult to follow from New Zealand newspapers what was going on in the world outside. This year, thanks to the emergency regulations, it has been equally difficult to follow what was going on inside the country. The deregistered Waterside Workers' Union was not able to state its case publicly ... [its] clandestine

50. SD, p.41.
51. SD, p.41.
52. SD, p.50.
53. SD, p.107.
54. SD, p.50.
information bulletins ... reached relatively few people.\(^5^5\)

He refers to 'an atmosphere in which facts and opinions have to be suppressed', in which 'half the truth pos[es] as the whole truth' and so 'becomes an untruth'.\(^5^6\) (In his editorial a year later, discussing our 'abuse of language', our fear of using it well - a quite unrelated topic - Brasch makes a comment which, perhaps unconsciously, seems retrospective and ominous if applied to politics:

\[
\ldots \text{communication is permissible, but understanding - never; it would be perilous, even subversive.}\(^5^7\)
\]

In both crises, dissent is hampered (beyond the lack of media) by the deterrent of punishment, for dissent is a crime. Granted, Volkner's punishments are rather more deadly, but, as an 'account' of 1951, the novel is meant to be 'heightened'.\(^5^8\) As Evans observes, 'the restrictions of civil liberties ... differ only in range, not in kind ...'.\(^5^9\) Moreover, 'the special powers Holland gave the police translated them in fact, if not in name, to the status of special police .... But most familiar and convincing of all is Stead's picture of the protester, the different drummer, as a ragged guerilla living off the land, hitting and running and getting lynched .... For those who stood against the authorities in 1951, this is barely a metaphor; they would assert that it is almost what happened....\(^6^0\)

The May Day brutalities which Arthur Buckman witnesses are not Stead's wild imaginings, but an accurate re-creation. The Queen


\(^{56}\) Ibid, p.442.

\(^{57}\) Brasch, Editorial, \textit{Landfall} 23 (September 1952), rpt. in \textit{Landfall Country}, p.443.

\(^{58}\) Evans, 'The Provincial Dilemma 3', p.17. The 'heightening' is justified by three interrelated factors: didactic purpose, its 'one step' procedural means, and retrospective understanding of history, which must include capacity as well as event.

\(^{59}\) Ibid.

\(^{60}\) Ibid.
Street location, the beatings by police, their 'systematic' assault,\textsuperscript{61} and victims' screams of helplessness, echo factual details of 'Bloody Friday'. Shadbolt's use of the same occasion, in an 'eye-witness' account, highlights the same aspects: blood, efficiency and panic. Both novelists refer, at the outset, to prior warnings given that demonstrators will be shot\textsuperscript{62} or 'treated ... as criminals'.\textsuperscript{63}

Arthur Buckman recalls seeing 'something of the action. He had seen police, Special X and soldiers ...'. He is 'haunted' by the sight of marchers, 'driven into the lane, trapped ... and systematically beaten.'\textsuperscript{64} Ian Freeman recalls seeing, in 1951, 'the lines of blue, with gleaming buttons

... line after line with batons drawn and swinging. Like a machine with the trigger tripped. The strikers began to spin around, but too late; most took the first baton blows on the back of their heads. As they fell, they were kicked aside. ... the police seemed beserk with their boots and batons; they looked determined to hammer the strikers, and their protest, not just into the ground but under the ground .... I saw police feet working efficiently on the fallen.'\textsuperscript{65}

Arthur recalls 'screams of panic', Ian that 'women were screaming'.\textsuperscript{66} Both men considered helping the marchers to escape. Arthur could have given them access to his premises, but decides against it because of the consequences. Ian saw 'an elderly man ... trying to crawl away; his head ... split ... one arm seem[ing] crippled, possibly broken, by a baton.'\textsuperscript{67} Ian's move towards him was prevented

\textsuperscript{61} SD, p.52.

\textsuperscript{62} S & J, p.387; SD, p.52.

\textsuperscript{63} SD, p.52 (The Auckland Star editorial appears yet again.)

\textsuperscript{64} SD, p.52.

\textsuperscript{65} S & J, p.389.

\textsuperscript{66} SD, p.52.

\textsuperscript{67} S & J, p.389.
by a colleague:

'Don't be a mug .... A good journalist never gets involved. Besides, you're liable to get clobbered too.'

I was saved from decision .... 68

The only new 'element' which Stead has introduced to this replay of Bloody Friday, 1951, is a technological one - the use of tear-gas. In this case, the 'one step' taken is a mere technicality. The deployment of the military for civilian control, the right to enter homes without warning or warrant, the right to arrest and detain without trial: these other Volknerian deterrents are not 'one steps' from Holland's at all.

'Almost certainly, in Arthur's witness of the May Day brutalities, Stead would have in mind, also, Johnson's witness in Man Alone: a vivid recounting of the Queen Street riot during the Depression. Just as the May Day brutalities which Arthur Buckman sees echo specific details of Bloody Friday, they echo just as clearly the earlier 'bloody' Thursday, with its similar street-location and police-provoked violence. In Stead's imagined battle, the marchers are 'trapped' in alleys in order to be beaten 69 - a recalling of '32 when they were 'penned like pigs'. 70 Arthur's 'concern ... for his ... property' 71 has valid cause in history, also; Queen Street in the Depression had been smashed and looted. 72

68. SD, p.52.
69. SD, p.52.
70. These are the words of Harry Jones in Strangers and Journeys, p.131. The trapped predicament of the marchers is a matter of analytical as well as fictional record.
71. SD, p.52.
72. A.J. Logan, "PSCACT", pp.2-3: 'Some 460 windows were broken; initially damage was estimated at 100,000' pounds. Shadbolt describes the looting, pp.135-136.
Just as, on that occasion, marchers were forced to face the police, special constables and men from the armed forces, Arthur Buckman, in this 'future', specifies three agents: soldiers, the police and men from the Special X. Given Stead's 'sense of kinship with Mulgan' (like that of 'a dejected cousin') and the influential role accorded to Man Alone, two past models for the riot must surely be acknowledged.

The pattern of dissent in these linked 'historical' events has two apparently different conclusions in terms of winning through. In 1951, the pattern was one of spiralling down rather than one of gathering momentum. Adrift from the FOL and smaller 'moderate' unions, the watersiders suffered defections from within their own ranks, as well as within their 'militant' union support. Although gathering some support from 'a few intellectuals', watersiders, in principle, were defeated by mid-April. Holland's refusal at this time to accept their conceding, which took the form of full agreement to his seven-point programme, cannot help but bring to mind Connor's image of the cock-fight: wherein the bird which lies down, weakened and acquiescent, is 'revived' and forced to continue beyond its natural limits. Holland, it could be said, won on all fronts of the war which, from the outset, was presented in his terms.

Volkner, on the other hand, is confronted with national

73. SD, p.52.

74. Stead, 'John Mulgan', p.87.

75. Ibid., p.68. (The phrase, used by Stead here, is not his own; it comes from Allen Tate's description of his relationship, literally, with Poe.)

76. There is passing interest in seeing the parallels between Mulgan's own involvement in the riot and that of Arthur Buckman.

dissidence which, in time, finally defeats him. Using Holland's 'kind' of methods but extending their 'range', Volkner's repressions eventually touch all our lives. Volkner's meteoric rise to dictatorial power says as much about us as it does about him. His overthrow, which is presented in its initial stages, likewise is revealing of both the ruler and the ruled. Volkner's easy path to fascist leadership was the consequence of our misjudgment and his astute reliance on it. He is finally challenged because he mistakes us, goes too far for us to remain 'sleeping'. By the end of the novel (or shortly thereafter), Volkner must find that, even for us, there is a limit to the politically acceptable.

That 'the pattern of dissent in these linked "historical" events has two apparently different conclusions' is valid in terms of Volkner's later defeat, of Holland's (still persistent) wounds to the trade union movement, and of his own increase of electoral support. Yet, Holland, like Volkner, learned after the crisis' ending that, indeed, there was a limit to political acceptability. Riding high on victory and misjudging our acquiescence, he proposed further repressive law, generating loud dissent. Holland's Police Offences Amendment Bill did become law but not quite as he intended: the Government attempted to celebrate its success by writing some of the

78. The eventual defeat of Volkner is something we can assume from the tone and perspective adopted by the narrating consciousness. It speaks of our experiences in Volkner's time as something past which we 'had lived through' (p.25). 'We had shared Volkner's madness' (p.49).*


80. The mobilisation into general and victorious resistance is not presented in the novel - a matter for which Stead has been taken to task. His greater concern, however, lies in showing how dictatorship comes about, how Volkner succeeded with our passive assistance.*
worst provisions of the Emergency Regulations into the permanent law of the land - in a Police Offences Amendment Bill which sought to reverse accepted judicial procedures, makes suspects prove their own innocence, extend the definition of 'sedition' to include almost any dissent from Government policy, and cancel hard-won civil liberties. The Government was clearly surprised at the depth and extent of opposition to its draft law ....\textsuperscript{81}

The Police Offences Amendment Act as finally passed ... was a greatly toned-down version of the initial Bill ... [It] was modified only after some quite hostile criticism of the Government from unexpected quarters. After the Bill was introduced the Government's grand coalition of party, press and F.O.L. that had handled the waterfront crisis so effectively suddenly fell to pieces.\textsuperscript{82}

Throughout the dispute, the Government had not lacked any legal tools to silence dissent or strip the unions of power. The purpose of the later bill - apart from extending legal powers - was to entrench in ordinary statutes extraordinary regulations. Because of public opposition (and because Parliament was in session), over fifty amendments were made to the Bill.\textsuperscript{83} As a rebuke of sorts to Holland, threatening further our civil liberties, this might have been only a small one - but it was a rebuke.

Although Holland was forced to 'give' on some 'most obnoxious clauses', the Act which eventually passed remained repressive in the extreme.\textsuperscript{84} In its range, it could be an historical model for Volkner's code of civil control; it captures, indisputably, the

\textsuperscript{81} Bollinger, Against the Wind, pp.234-235. Reprint of material; no reference given.

\textsuperscript{82} Bassett, pp.208-209.

\textsuperscript{83} See Orr, 'Some Recent Legislation', p.56. Footnote 3, p.55, states: 'The Police Offences Amendment Act 1951 in its original form was heavily amended after being committed to the Statutes Revision Committee. This Committee heard a great deal of evidence from members of the public.'*

\textsuperscript{84} It found an accused person guilty unless he could prove his innocence, provided for arrest without warrant, made it possible for the government to classify normal industrial and political advocacy as sedition.*
spirit of Volkner's rule. Pearson's 'Fretful Sleepers' concludes with a reference to it and to trends of which, he feels, it is symptomatic:

Since I first wrote this last June, the Police Offences Amendment Bill has become law, and there are fantastically terrifying bills in preparation - the Coroner's Bill, and the Official Secrets Bill. So we can expect worse discomforts - smear campaigns, imprisonment, continual impounding of one's writing equipment, closing of printing-presses. For these reasons it is our job to take a lead in awakening New Zealanders from their fretful sleep.

London, January 1952

The Act has clearly aroused an expatriate's fear for his country, and this fear is of one like Volkner, a legal oppressor, one like Holland, who had raised spectres to entrench conservative rule.

The mis-judgment which is shared by Holland and Volkner finds its summary, perhaps, in Pearson's hoping qualification: 'that New Zealanders would [not] long tolerate a one-man government that hurt.' In time, Volkner 'hurt' generally because repression ranged too wide. Although for many the 'hurt' was not physically felt, we found our country occupied and ourselves afraid. Holland, not hurting most of us, in his months of repressive rule, seemed now to be asking for the future means to do so. Dissent, which during the dispute had been insufficient - despite the abrogation of civil liberties - became now more effective with more middle-class voices. The pattern of our later awakening is not dissimilar.

The careers of Volkner and Holland and the pattern of dissent have, therefore, much in common and few apparent differences. Each succeeded because he provided simple answers, at a critical time and


86. Ibid., p.334.

87. In 'Poetry "a work of art"', p.5, Dunedin Midweek, 1 February 1984, Stead describes something like a hurt-principle in relation to class.*
for a willing public. Each ruled repressively under legal regulations and achieved his initial aim of securing power. Both maintained their rule by enhancing a communist Menace. Beyond the dispute and beyond the novel, each encountered rebuke by misjudging our 'limit'.

The 'Vietnam transfer' is clearly the most obvious of the three contributing historical dilemmas. While the Hitler-parallels and the echoes of '51 require knowledge of the past in order to emerge, the Vietnam model asserts itself overtly, drawn from a 'present' which is commonly known. Not only does Stead allude more directly, time after time, to specific details, but also as author, speaking about his novel, he insists on Vietnam and its 'place' creatively:

I admit to a basic obsession with the Vietnam situation, ...I've been actively campaigning against it for years. All my life I've been interested in politics, in observing political moves, but nothing has affected me as deeply as that war. ...

Ever since the Korean War being angry at American foreign policy and at what I saw as our own slavish involvement in it had been a more or less continuing state of mind. But in 1965, when Lyndon Johnson began the bombardment of North Viet Nam and simultaneously put half a million soldiers into South Viet Nam the ineptitude and brutality of that policy was all at once exposed and magnified....

One personal fact that deepened my feelings about these events was that by now I had children. My family and the war seemed to grow larger together. That made the war seem more real. The deaths weren't abstract, as they had seemed to be when I was a child. They were a dark stain over everything, and correspondingly the political commitment I felt was deeper and more implacable.

88. A concluding note: Volkner is textually established as being mad (see p.26; p.41; p.49). Holland's eventual fate was, in fact, the same. Although Volkner's condition reflects Hitler's (it will be shown), this factual coincidence is interesting to note.

89. "Dreams" Changed Ending Points to Power of Baddies', Stead interviewed by Cherry Raymond, New Zealand Woman's Weekly, 3 September 1973, p.27. ('Vietnam'/'Viet Nam' spellings are textual.)

In Stead's words, from a letter to Lawrence Jones,

the 1951 analogy was certainly there - 1951 was where I learned my most lasting political lessons (about NZ); and Vietnam is equally important - it's true I wrote the book partly as an analogue for what was happening there.91

This comment adds perhaps another dimension to those already given to the Vietnam material. The 'double role' of the war, it has been previously noted, was creative both outside and within the novel. First, for Stead it was 'the actual historical cause' which around the time of writing was revealing our social climate: uncomfortable about protest, easily polarised, unquestioning of authority and Cold War justification. Second, within the novel, it serves as a future model: 'the projected consequence of such a social climate'.92 The further dimension is neither prophetic nor allusive nor a means to revelation of something not itself: it is a political statement against the war in Vietnam, an evocation of 'now' valid within itself.93

When Robertson states that 'the novel is a cry not of protest at the treatment of the Vietnamese but of fear that another small country could be engulfed in a world pattern; 94 that Stead's 'concern is ultimately not for the suffering Vietnamese but for the average Kiwi who does not dream that his country could be Vietnamised,95 he does so without foundation in what is known about the novelist and in what the novel itself cumulatively suggests. Evidence abounds to

92. See previous discussion (SD), p.326.
95. Ibid.
contradict the assertion that the war is exploited as just a useful device. Stead's interest in Vietnam amounts to emotional engagement and is validated by time before and after the novel. More than this, a comment in his letter to Lawrence Jones introduces an emphasis not clear in other statements: '... I wrote the book partly as an analogue for [Vietnam].' If one places beside this the comments to Cherry Raymond, 'nothing has affected me as deeply as that war.

I used to think, 'If only people could understand what it would be like if it was happening in their country,' but I knew it was hard to make the imaginative transfer.' In Smith's Dream Stead tries to make the imaginative transfer for his readers, to 'trap' them into it.

it becomes quite reasonable to assume that Stead's purpose included raising our consciousness about the war per se. The method of 'analogue for what was happening there' to help us 'understand what it would be like' suggests that the novel itself is a kind of protest. If an author believes his audience is not highly imaginative outside the limits of subjective experience, or not temperamentally given to caring beyond itself, a domestic analogue for others' suffering is perhaps his only access to its psyche and understanding. As McAlpine chooses poetry as a vehicle for her personal protest, a contributing of special skill to the cause of feminism, so Stead, it could be mooted, diversified his activism, applying the art of fiction to the cause for which he marched. The Vietnam model is thus both means and end; it provides 'a given set of circumstances' in which Stead can examine 'the New Zealander as a

96. 31 January letter.

97. Cherry Raymond, "'Dreams' Changed Ending', p.27.

98. 31 January letter (underlines added).

99. Cherry Raymond, "'Dreams' Changed Ending', p.27.
political animal', and also, in the way of fiction, can extend our sympathies, breathe life into facts to make us 'live' them for ourselves.

The Vietnam parallels are constant and obvious, not left to our discretion to see or not see. While the opening chapters are subtle in suggestion - of Hitler in the thirties and New Zealand in '51 - progressively, as Smith becomes involved in the fighting, the focus of the novel is clearly Vietnam. Here, as there (although by a different process), the people are in a state of 'suspended elections'; here, as there, the war is a civil one, but paraded by the West as a stand against foreign communists. Here, as there, are American allies, brought in as 'advisers' to the conservative Establishment; and here, as there, they seem to come to stay, with hardware and chemicals for use against civilians. Here, as there, despite grossly unequal resources, the guerillas in the bush persist and persist; and support for the 'communists' - our fellow countrymen - hardens with our Protector's search-and-destroy missions.

As if these various pointers were not enough, Scrimmins, Willoughby and 'babes' make the 'one step' very clear. The insurgents in the hills are "little guys" and "all Cong" terms specific to the Vietnam war, now generic for 'enemy'. Willoughby explains to 'Buck' the initial advisory status and the time-proven progress to doing "the actual shooting."

'Strictly speaking, we advise. Pass on the techniques we've learned in other places. But we get involved in shooting

100. Ibid.
102. Ibid., p.139.*
103. SD, p.84.
104. SD, p.84.
from time to time. No avoiding it if we're going to take your boys in close and show them what [sic] to do.'105

With less diplomacy, Scrimmins re-phrases this, in

'Our job's strictly a waste of time .... We'll show your guys how to do it and you'll do it for a while until the heat gets too much for you and then the marines'll come and do it.'106

By the novel's final chapters, the 'heat' has obviously become 'too much' (at least in the opinion of our 'advising' ally); Hueys - as advertised in Scrimmins' breast-pocket - are the 'gunships' hovering over the guerillas.107 It is a 'proven off-the-shelf helicopter' 'on active duty'108 which Jess confronts as his blood flows into the stream.109 Encounters such as this, between small bands of guerillas and U.S. gunships 'with rockets and machine guns',110 were usual at the time within the Asian war theatre. The advertisement's claim that Hueys are serving world 'peace-keeping missions'111 is dramatically ironic and, as well, a reflection of the military's self-concept.

When 'later that evening after the troops' lights were out',112 Willoughby and 'Buck' discuss New Zealand's war again, it is the war in South East Asia which (through them) Stead describes.

105. Ibid.
106. Ibid.

107. SD, pp.119-120; pp.123-125; p.131; pp.133-134. The advertisement in Scrimmins' pocket ('UPDATE YOUR FORCES NOW: Bell's 15-place UH-ID') makes an interesting connection between him and Bullen, who carries in his pocket a portable chess set. (pp.84-85; p.78) On opposing sides, both their codes are 'simple'.

108. SD, p.85.
109. SD, p.133.
110. SD, p.85.
111. Ibid.
112. SD, p.86.
The American reveals himself, not unsympathetically, as a killer without the comfort of "a simple code."¹¹³ Unlike the Scrimmins caricature, he is humanised by his thinking, his awareness of nothing absolute and of other points of view. Thematically, he emerges (albeit in retrospect) as important 'by connection' - illuminated, illuminating. In death he is linked imagistically with Jess, who dies from gun wounds 'up to his waist in water.'¹¹⁴ Willoughby falls wounded 'into the shallow end of the pool'¹¹⁵ and is described as being 'up to his waist in water'.¹¹⁶ On opposing sides of the conflict, in death they are the same: human lives expended 'in defence of - what?'¹¹⁷

Willoughby, in his perceptions of the human side of war, is linked with both the Headmaster, Connors, and Smith. The American, although involved in 'the actual shooting' observes the power-processes which Connors later describes. This is not without irony: the linking of our 'Protector' who is actively destroying us with one who, almost by accident, saves us from destruction. The further irony is that the linking itself actually makes the point of the two men's speeches; inherent good and bad reside nowhere exclusively. On this point Smith joins them by means of his dreams and questions - Gloria on the fishing line, the shooting of schoolchildren and "Does it ever trouble you? I mean

do you worry at all about the people you're sent out to

¹¹³. Ibid.
¹¹⁴. SD, p.133.
¹¹⁵. SD, p.93
¹¹⁶. Ibid. (In the 'pairing' of pieces, Scrimmins has his opposite/equal in Buff: cold, inflexible and simplistic.)
¹¹⁷. This is the closing question of the Headmaster's speech, SD, p.137.
track down? ...  
'Don't you think there might be some good ones caught up in the movement?' 118

Smith, talking to Willoughby, 'felt afraid of these Americans.' 119 He is later equally 'frightened by what Bullen was planning.' 128 His activist dilemma Willoughby would probably understand, as the latter's "trouble" (self-confessed) is knowing "too much about [his] job to be good at it any more". 121 After his "babes are tucked up", he hits the whisky - 'hard'. 122

In the two men's conversation, Willoughby rapidly becomes more drunk, and his wars past and present become one present war. Having answered Smith's earlier question (about some 'good guys' among the enemy) with "Brother, I've thought of it. Not often - and not here", 123 he bursts out later with

'Why do they do it? ... They can't win but they keep coming. You just have to keep hitting 'm. ... Why do they do it?

'Think they're Jesus Christ. Think they can't die. ...

'I seen'm lyin' out in rows. Seen'm in heaps. Seen'm all melted together in one big lump. They c'n die all right, Brother, they c'n die like nobody's business.' 124

The 'imaginative transfer' is clearly from Vietnam, not only in the image of "napalmed" bodies, but also in Willoughby's wonder at the "Congs'" defiance of death. That the North Vietnamese forces would just "keep coming", in spite of how often and how hard they were "hit", was an acknowledged source of wonderment to the U.S.

118. SD, p.85.
119. SD, p.88.
120. SD, p.91.
121. SD, p.88.
122. Ibid.
123. Ibid.
124. SD, pp.89-90.
military.¹²⁵

The civil nature of this New Zealand war is spelt out by Willoughby in a way which, once again, reveals a perception troubling to a soldier:

'I've tried to keep up with my reading, and I've been to these places. But that's not the point. What I'm leading up to is this. In all these places I've met people like you — the best people if I can say that to you, Buck. They've got no sympathy with the insurgent. None at all. ... But at the same time they may have friends out there. Maybe a cousin. Sometimes it's a brother. These things split up families. Now it's one thing to want to see the communists beaten in your own country. That doesn't mean you're going to feel easy about foreigners dumping napalm on him.'¹²⁶

It is the issue which had 'dogged us all: was it quite decent to have foreigners hunting our compatriots like animals, blasting and burning and shooting them in our own mountain and bush?¹²⁷

This view provides a strengthening of the Vietnam analogue, acknowledging that the war is essentially domestic. Far from being the American military's stance, it 'imaginatively transfer[s]' the anti-war view. That the Colonel expresses it, as an active participant, lends it credence within the novel as valid, authoritative. Stead's protest purpose is thus well served, in that information — accurate but not 'popular' — is given to a reader doubly 'trapped'; the geographical transfer forces identification, a subjective factor in our imaginings, and the Colonel's expression of

¹²⁵. This point of 'refusal to die' was made by Krishna Menon, at the Peace. Power and Politics Conference in Wellington. As reported by Stead in 'Some Random Reflections' (Landfall 86 [June 1968], p.146), Menon viewed the war as a stand 'against Western bombardment': 'the Vietnamese have withstood it ... not by muscle power but by willpower'.

¹²⁶. SD, p.87. Possibly Stead was remembering Menon's address. The 'languid Brahmin', who did 'not like the West', had informed the conference that the Vietnamese 'strength proceeded from their preferring 'even a bad government of their own choosing to a good one imposed by someone else.' (Ibid)

¹²⁷. SD, p.75.
non-Establishment views, while fulfilling his role as the defender of
the Establishment, guides our responses towards protest itself.

It is the American, also, who mentions the use of napalm, its
'melting' effect on bodies and widespread application.128 This is
likewise interesting in that the Vampire's agent again reminds the
reader of the war's inhumanity, of the fact that such a 'weapon' is a
Western obscenity. The context of Willoughby's comments is similarly
interesting: he

tilted the bottle up with a shaky hand so that it rattled
against the rim of the glass. 'I seen'm lyin' out in rows
...

Within minutes of this memory, Smith helps him to his room, and
Willoughby keeps repeating "Seen it happen a hundred times ... Happen
a hundred times. A hundred times ...." Smith leaves him 'fully
clothed, unconscious on the bed.'130 For the 'pieces' of the war
game, on either side, things are not always so black and white as
they seem to the Volkners and Bullens.

The two men's conversation provides another insight on the
American's dilemma of over-awareness. He admits to his companion
that among those for whom he fights, there are good people ("the
best") and there are others who are "bastards". The latter he
describes as those "who want us in their country because it means

128. SD, p.90. The Americans' use of napalm became and remains
a specific war image. Through data publicised by anti-war groups,
the use of jellied petrol on civilians as well as guerillas - in the
cause of freedom from communist aggression - became a clear symbol of
U.S. 'overkill' methods.*

129. SD, p.90.

130. Ibid.
dollars and blackmarket PX."\textsuperscript{131}

He has no illusions, either, about Volkner's true nature; he knows that "Volkner's no democrat",\textsuperscript{132} although claiming the cause of democracy. Apart from credit for this cynicism which he deserves (within the novel), his comments are not exceptional to the Vietnam analogue. The cause of democracy for a unified Vietnam was hardly the motivation of the South Vietnamese regime. Volkner's suspension of elections has its German parallel, but moreover relates partially to the developing Asian war.

The decision made by the South Vietnam government (pro-American and representing the wealthy) to suspend the elections of 1956\textsuperscript{133} was crucial to the emergence of civil division. The assistance from American 'advisers' was consequential of this: a pattern reproduced in the plot of Smith's Dream.

In a section entitled 'The Nature of Diem's Rule', Felix Greene quotes Philippe Devillers of the China Quarterly, outlining the undemocratic and repressive methods of this U.S.-supported South Vietnam ruler:

The Diem Government ... launched ... what amounted to a series of manhunts .... This repression was in theory aimed at the Communists. In fact it affected all those, and there were many, democrats, socialists, liberals ... who were bold enough to express their disagreement with ... the ruling oligarchy ....

... Round-ups of 'dissidents' became more frequent and more brutal .... A certain sequence of events became almost classical: denunciation, encirclement of villages, searches and raids, arrest of suspects, plundering, interrogations

\textsuperscript{131} Later in the conversation when Willoughby becomes suspicious about Smith's true allegiance, Smith clears himself cleverly in terms of this 'definition'; 'My motel's making a profit for the first time in two years. I hope your soldiers are going to stay a long time.'(p.90)

\textsuperscript{132} SD, p.88.

\textsuperscript{133} Greene, Vietnam! Vietnam!, pp.129-133.
Greene himself comments that 'by selecting Diem, the United States linked its authority, its treasure and its honor (sic) to the whims and dictates of a tyrant.' Without debating these statements' subjectivity, one can see that, for Stead, sharing Greene's view, some Volkner-Diem links are likely parts of the analogue:

No photographs could convey the dark tyranny of Diem's rule or the widespread misery to which it reduced his people .... Relying on U.S. support, Diem and his family used every means available to suppress opposition. During a reign of terror, special military tribunals were permitted to pass only sentences of death or life imprisonment, and no appeal was allowed. Thousands of innocent people were tortured, imprisoned or executed. Diem's government was 75 per cent financed by the United States; the army was paid for and equipped by the United States.136

The process of our 'war' - its modus operandi - is obviously analogous to that of Vietnam. In terms of physical suffering, there is, however, less 'transfer'; procedures are presented, more than their effects. Through the analytical voice of the narrating consciousness, through Smith himself - essentially 'detached' - observations are made of war-game manoeuvres rather than of physical and emotional trauma. The horror of Vietnam is nowhere reproduced: the burning and maiming of civilians and the land. These doubtless are occurring, to some extent, but Stead declines to engage us deeply in emotional response. The novel sustains throughout its reporting or chronicling spirit, not intent on arousing empathy or sympathetic involvement.

Evans' comments, cited earlier, about the novel as analogue for 1951, are relevant, also, to the Asian source material. The causes

134. Ibid., p.133.
135. Ibid., p.27.
136. Ibid., p.31.
and effects of the New Zealand war 'differ only in range, not in kind'. Of the waterfront crisis, the novel is a heightening; of the Vietnam war a selective diminution.

* 

The Volkner-Hitler parallels are so comprehensive as to be problematic within this discussion.\(^{137}\) They exist within career and political methods, within specific policies and public programmes, within patterns of speech and psychological features: Messianic, schizophrenic and manic conditions.

The name which Stead gives him is significantly German, associative, therefore, with fascist rule. Meaning 'people' or 'nation', the concept of the Volk is central to the philosophy of National Socialism:

Within the Volk, the naturally superior specimens come to the fore. Democracy is a (sic) historical accident ... the Führer is the mouthpiece of the Volk, revealing its best interests by some kind of inspiration. As such, he must be accorded blind obedience, so that the Volk may prosper .... [the] individual has meaning only as a member of the Volk.\(^{138}\)

By patronym alone, Stead endorses the 'clandestine presses': that Volkner is 'a Hitler' ruling a 'fascist state'.\(^{139}\)

In rise-to-power parallels the men's careers are linked by similar use of political machinery. Both, in the beginning, represent a political party: Hitler, the NSDAP,\(^{140}\) through which he...

\(^{137}\) The penultimate draft of this ensuing section comprised more than 10,000 words. Hitlerian parallels can be identified almost from line to line in the Volkner material. This section, as submitted, is highly selective, its intentions being only to establish and exemplify.


\(^{139}\) SD, p.41.

\(^{140}\) Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei: National Socialist German Workers Party.
became Chancellor; Volkner, the governing party, in which he had Cabinet status. Having risen politically, thus, through a democratic republican system, each then cast it off by technically legal means. There are parallel referenda to confirm their power retrospectively: Hitler's plebiscites of '33 and '34; Volkner's national referendum on continuing strong tactics.\(^{141}\)

Another obvious parallel in their consolidation of rule is Volkner's own version of Hitler's 'Night of the Long Knives'. Granted, it is not stated that murder occurred, but no one in the novel survives incarceration and no politician seems to be heard of again. In this 'world' of Volkner, people vanish without trace ('The Special X knock[ ] on the door ... an informer pocket[s] his reward');\(^{142}\) people are dragged 'into detention for their own good and ours'.\(^{143}\) While we would share Smith's shock, we would not be surprised to see a human body crammed into the boot of a car by officers of the Special X.\(^ {144}\)

'We had all heard stories';\(^{145}\) 'rumours ... were disturbing';\(^{146}\) Arthur Buckman dies in gaol of 'coronary thrombosis'.\(^ {147}\) In this world where we must try 'not to think of blood',\(^ {148}\) where 'murder and

141. That of 19 August 1934, sought endorsement of Hitler's (accomplished) appointment as Führer; Volkner's (SD, p.49; p.51) sought confirmation of emergency powers (already invoked) and the continuing suspension of Parliament and elections.

142. SD, p.54.
143. SD, p.50.
144. SD, p.25.
146. SD, p.52.
147. SD, p.73.
148. SD, p.76.
self-destruction begot ... only more of their kind', the fate of Volkner's colleagues is hardly a moot point.

The 'Night of the Long Knives' is Hitler's own phrase for events of 30 June 1934. The similarity between this and Volkner's procedure lies in its suddenness, its sweeping away of political colleagues as well as opponents. Many Nazi comrades were numbered among the dead, at least seventy-four among at least one hundred and fifty. Volkner, 'with the help of the army ... locked up every Opposition M.P.

But had he not also locked up the members of his own political party, the Government itself, not excepting the Prime Minister?

Another clear link lies in their propagandist style: the mass rallying, the slogans, the emotive soap-box rhetoric. The political device of mass rallies Hitler developed as his forte and as a most effective way of stirring his 'Volk'. In the very brief session which he has with Smith, Volkner relives his elation at his "first big rally":

'How many does Eden Park hold? A hundred thousand? It was full. Overfull. It was the kind of crowd you get to see the All Blacks beat the Lions. They say you could hear the cheering on the North Shore .... That Eden Park rally was a revelation to me. I knew I'd fed the multitude ....'

His specifying it as "first" implies a succession of subsequent ones.

The special place in his memory for this initial rally has its exact parallel in the case of Hitler. More than five pages of Mein Kampf (and as a separate section) are given to an account of 'the

149. SD, p.135.

150. Roberts, The House That Hitler Built, pp.115-116. However, 'many authorities think the number ran into hundreds.'

151. SD, p.49.

152. SD, p.38.
first great mass meeting'.

... my heart was nearly bursting for joy. The great hall ... was filled to overflowing. Nearly 2,000 people were present.... After half an hour the applause began to drown the interruptions and the hootings. Then interruptions gradually ceased and applause took their place. When I finally came to explain the twenty-five points before the masses... one point after another was accepted with increasing enthusiasm .... I had before me a hall full of people united by a new conviction, a new faith, and a new will.153

In the field of common policies, Volkner and Hitler share the particular encouragement of physical fitness. Reclining in his chair, sipping (indigenous) sherry, Volkner expounds to Smith the virtues of clean living:

'Fitness is important. Exercise and so on. The spirit is what matters but the body can be a drag on it if it isn't looked after. ... If you love life, you'll hold yourself upright, breathe deeply, move freely, eat and sleep well ...'.154

Established by Hitler, in 1933, was a section of the Labour Front called 'Kraft durch Freude'. Literally, 'strength through joy', one of its aims was 'popularising sport among the German masses'.155 As part of a campaign for'Health, Joy and Homeland', it was expected that thereby citizens would derive 'fresh strength ... for the next working day'.156 In the Hitler Youth training, physical fitness was paramount.

The concepts of 'strength through joy' and 'Joy and Homeland' have other obvious parallels in Volkner's speeches. He declares, "I wake every morning

154. SD, p.39.
156. Roberts, p.228.
and the world is fresh and bright and new to me. Every day seems like a new gift.  

Even to wake as Smith woke "in the smell of [his] own shit would still be a joy to me. To smell anything, to see anything, to touch anything, to taste, or to hear anything — that's still to live. ... I say learn to affirm life. That's what I try to teach my people. Learn to affirm life and you find yourself affirming it all."

The 'AFFIRM!' of the slogan applies clearly not just to politics. Roberts quotes Goebbels' words (grossly misapplied) at the Berlin burning of disapproved books: O Century! O Science! What joy to be alive!" Germans generally were encouraged to embrace the whole of life, its totality, with emphasis on Nature — what the 'Heimat' provided. The call was to affirm life in all its aspects — German life, German blood, German ties with the soil. Volkner repeats himself:

'I said that every day seems like a gift. ... that's the first thought that comes to me — while I'm still listening to the birds in the garden.'

Volkner's dictate 'AFFIRM.' make 'creative response', compressed in one slogan 'LOOK FORWARD WITH X', echo Forward! Forward! Let the bright trumpets sound Forward! Forward! Youth knows no peril

157. SD, p.40.
158. SD, pp.40-41.
159. Roberts, p.245.
160. SD, p.43.
161. SD, p.25.
162. SD, p.8.
163. SD, p.25.
164. Roberts, p.204; Hitler Youth anthem, words by von Schirach.
and 'Deutschland Erwache!': Germany Awake. 165

A most obvious parallel in doctrinal base lies in the men's theories of racial purity. Volkner preaches this at length in his interview with Smith. His partial 'accommodation' of the Maori ('the aristocrat ... of dark races', 166 "Polynesian ... which makes him superior to the yellow and black") 167 is based on Hitlerian argument: "cooler latitudes" and the soil. 168

Shared instability, revealed in speech and manner, includes Messianic delusion, hand gesture and manic mood-shifts. Volkner's self-aggrandizement to the role of Messiah has obvious parallels with the delusions of Hitler. The latter believed his destiny was to save the world from Bolshevism, spoke often 'as if he received personal revelations from the Deity'. 169 (Volkner's experience at the Eden Park Rally he describes as 'a revelation'.) 170 Hitler's 'favourite role of himself as the saviour of mankind' 171 Roberts refers to as 'the Siegfried complex'; he cites a speech in which the Führer 'held out his arms,

rolled his eyes to heaven, and said that he must thank God for giving him Germany and that they must thank God for giving them Hitler. 172

The people were told that, as they had suffered, so would they

165. Ibid., p.23; p.39. NSDAP slogan.
166. SD, p.41.
167. Ibid.
168. Ibid. (This coincides with the concept of a superior Nordic Volk, determined by both Blood and Soil)
169. Roberts, p.11.
170. SD, p.39.
171. Roberts, p.11.
172. Ibid., p.9.
rejoice,\textsuperscript{173} and were frequently adjured to 'Crucify me if I fail you!'\textsuperscript{174} Both men, at their endorsement by national plebiscite, accept the reins of power denying all personal motive; the well-being of the state transcends all thought of self. Hitler claims Ever since I first stood in the thick of this political battle, I have been actuated by only one motive - so help me God! - only one thought, Germany!\textsuperscript{175}

How, faced with this almost universal desire for change, could [Volkner] refuse? That was what he put to us. Much as he wanted to retire and live quietly with his family, he had been forced to recognize that there were times in the life of a nation ....\textsuperscript{176}

For the Germans, 'there came the man given by heaven ... the man heralded by every device of modern propaganda - the man whose virtues were dinned so repeatedly ... that most accepted his claims and the rest surrendered in the hope that the noise might give way to peace. The people wanted some hope that would redeem the future.\textsuperscript{177}

For New Zealanders, there came 'Volkner, the saviour of the nation!,'\textsuperscript{178} who 'commanded the cameras' and talked of positive change.\textsuperscript{179} Many accepted his claims ('Don't desert us. Help us....')\textsuperscript{180}; others surrendered in the hope of 'get[ting] on with the business of living'.\textsuperscript{181} Volkner preaches that "man doesn't live by bread alone",\textsuperscript{182} and that he provides "the loaves and fishes of the
Close textual analysis of the Volkner-Smith interview shows intricate reproduction of Hitler's speaking manner: dramatic vacillations of mood and temper; the tendency to forget his audience, to lose track of his own topic; associative digression, and, of course, hand-accompaniment (Volkner 'stare[s] at the back of one hand held up stiffly before him ...').

The complexity of the novel - with these 'steps' and various analogues - is concealed by the style of telling, 'uncomplicated', 'unfancy'. The tone, which is 'cool and matter-of-fact', and the 'straightforward linear development of plot' further belie its complex processes. No doubt, this is exactly what Stead intended: to write a readable tale, not an object for literary analysis. He succeeds in creating an apparently 'plain' book, one which we experience as an integrated, single story, because the 'steps' and various time-schemes are united in myth.

In explaining what is meant by this seemingly sweeping claim, the discussion which, on the one hand, deals with reasons for a particular effect, highlights, on the other, matters of theme and message.

The effect of 'singularity' conveyed to the reader - that events occur in one dimension and are 'all of a piece' - is the consequence

183. SD, p.39.
184. SD, p.43.
185. Reid, 'The Dark, the Dull and the Dirty', p.258.
186. Ibid.
of those events' *mythic concordance*. Clearly, in terms of fact, there were great differences between Hitler and Holland and the states which they ruled. There were, likewise, great differences, politically and culturally, between Nazi Germany and an Asian Vietnam. Behind the Vietnam war, there were many factors specific to that country and its historical exploitation; as particulars, many do not and could not apply here. As for the waterfront lock-out, with its ensuing crisis, in many aspects it is quite incomparable with the Vietnam war or with the social division which the war generated outside. Yet, they are all there in a way, as models or as influences on the creative process: lawful fascism and Hitler in the 1930s; Holland's repression of freedom in 1951; Vietnam in the sixties; Volkner in the future. They cohere in a tale which reads as Smith's and Volkner's.

This effect of coherence or 'singularity' is not achieved simply by omitting specific allusion. (Although Stead does omit this, the temptation must have been strong sometimes to use Smith to draw historical parallels. Without increasing Smith's intelligence or his level of awareness, Stead could have had him remember his experiences in '51 and have him feel, even vaguely, that now was somehow familiar. In his teens during the War [and so Hitler's international prominence], Smith can hardly be excused for not thinking the Volkner parallels - especially as he 'notices' many of the 'linking' features. And, unnecessary as it might be, because the Americans are so eloquent, Smith, fleeing from napalm and 'off-the-shelf' Hueys, could sensibly have thought about New Zealand 'Vietnamised'.) The reason for the novel's not reading as a confusion, a composite of vastly disparate events, is that the
actions and aspects of them selected by Stead are generated by similar or identical myths.

The indeterminate future, the late sixties New Zealand present, the Vietnam present and 1951, the secondary 'echo' in the May Day scene of 1932 share activities generated by a Cold War myth. Beyond obviously diverse 'externals' of culture, time and place, at work within them all is this common 'engine'. And Volkner in the future shares with Hitler and Holland a common 'threat' ethos and fierce anti-communism. Thus, past and present and future; events occurring on three continents; those which have happened, were possible or might be: all are united within the 'life' of one myth.

As a technical aspect of the novel's composition, this means that all the 'one steps' and various historical models are essentially singular and, so, easily conflated. As an analogy for the novel's final effect of wholeness, one could cite the single image formed by overlaid transparencies. New features, different elements, may be added successively, but, providing that these are integrals of the circumscribed 'whole', the final effect is an enriched single image. Therefore, with a myth of 'threat' enclosing all its parts, Smith's Dream can emerge as an apparently simple tale; the various elements of its composite nature are but various expressive features of a basic myth. If the thesis is valid that historical events are the presenting face of myth, then Stead's novel, with its several historical models, gives us glimpses of several 'presenting faces' of the one. Moreover, being conflated as these are with possible 'history' - in terms of the myth's future and past 'life' - then myth's unpresented aspect is included, also. As a single but deep image of a future 'historical' crisis, that portrayed in Smith's Dream has layer over layer. Each has integrity with the final
composition in that it is informed by a common myth; and each presents, either, the seen workings of that myth, or those yet unseen in consequent action. The imagined crisis of Volkmor's time comprises past enactments of the communist-threat myth and other 'bad happenings' potential in it.

We had fed the heart on fantasies.
The heart's grown brutal from the fare;
More substance in our enmities
Than in our love. O honey bees
Come build in the empty house of the stare.  

These few lines which Stead uses suggest their companion text in parallel evocation of the novel's 'worlds':

We are closed in and the key is turned
On our uncertainty; somewhere
A man is killed, or a house burned,
Yet no clear fact to be discerned.  

*  
The events shown as consequent to Cold War mythic process have, in this country, an indigenous encouragement. Stead refers to it as the 'old New Zealand dream' of 'man alone' in the bush, 'that you can escape political and social responsibility'.  

Smith describes it for himself when settling on his island, as 'a dream that lived in the heart of every kiwi.'  

This dream of Man Alone and Cold War habits of 'seeing' both have mythic source in our founding Utopian vision and merge, as its later adjuncts, into a waking nightmare.  


190. Ibid.  


192. SD, p.11.  

193. After much research and consideration, the decision was made to dispense, by and large, with the various and confused interpretations of 'Smith's Dream' in articles and reviews.*
Stead's description of Smith's dream is valid in general terms; it has marks of 'the old ... dream' and is a form of 'escape'. It is not strictly accurate in its equation, however, of the tenor of Smith's dream and that the old founding Dream itself. In 'familial Arcadia', the 'man ... in the bush' was not necessarily escaping 'social responsibility'; within the Dream's terms of reference, he was actually fulfilling it. While the role provided for him meant that he was free (at least from domestic and cultural concerns), it laid upon him, equally, his 'familial' responsibility: to pioneer, to break in land and, thus, to provide. Stead's "man alone" in the bush dream has little in common with that of Cross's great-grandfather Creighton. Of the first generation of Rural Dream perpetrators, his role (albeit destructive) was that of establishing; his 'alone' bush activity increased his social power. The real 'old New Zealand dream' was Establishment in spirit and not an expression of anti-social attitude. As Jones describes the development of the 'figure of Man Alone', Smith does not belong in the oldest of categories: he who is 'attached to the indigenous myth of the heroic struggle to transform wild New Zealand into a pastoral paradise'.

Smith's Coromandel scheme, undeniably, partakes of the founding Dream's land-and-bush ethos: its physical aspects, its solitude and male spirit. In its quiet rusticity and Spartan needs, his dream displays features of the Pastoral Arcadian myth, but is not the myth itself; it is only mythic legacy. That Smith pursues his idyll after domestic failure and finding that what remains for him seems of little value defines it as escape or social failure, however Utopian he, as dreamer, dreams it. The nightmare for Smith personally is

'that life catches up with him' and draws him into battle against destructive social forces.

Just as the contours of Smith's dream have rural Utopian elements, so its content of carefree existence (apathy, non-engagement) reflects habituated thinking consequential of Utopian dreaming: there is no real need for personal involvement, taking responsibility or active commitment, because there should not be in this 'Godzone' place. To use Jennie Page's words about the Rankin house, nothing 'bad could possibly happen to somebody living here.'

In the field of politics (Stead is concerned to show) this mythic heritage expresses itself specifically. Disinterest or docility in domestic political matters, slowness to see or react to violations of civil rights, stem partly from belief that we need not be concerned. It is not only Smith, alone on an island, who declines responsibility for what seems to be happening. 'Our own folly had brought upon us' a 'curse' of our own making,' and in retrospect that foolishness is sleep itself. Its several aspects are presented in the novel; political passivity, reluctance to become 'involved', unquestioning attitudes towards authoritative action: all these are the tenor of metaphorical sleeping. Stead's title for the novel, Donaldson's 'Sleeping Dogs', between them point up sleep's ambiguous properties; on the one hand, there is 'dream' or positive myth (with its implied defining opposite, failure in nightmare), and on the other, there is dullness, the wish to be 'let lie'. In specific terms in the novel, these are not so very different. Smith's dream of freedom, of being

196. AAD, p.16.
197. SD, p.135.
alone in the bush, might echo a grand tradition of man tested and surviving; it might, also, differ little in its basic motivation from less grand desires - such as tending one's own garden, going to the bowling greens, relieved of social commitment. Our tolerance of the PSC Act (more than fifty years of it), which potentially violates many basic human rights, is not 'tolerance' in the good sense of 'catholicity of spirit'. 'The action or practice of enduring ... pain or hardship'; 'the disposition to be patient with the opinions or practices of others':¹⁹⁸ all these definitions have connotations of virtue, of fortitude or generosity - and our political tolerance denotes none of these.

In this political climatic context, Volkner's rise becomes easy. Moreover, his Cold War gospel finds mythically fertile ground, as well as acquiescence that we need some-one to save us. As previously discussed in earlier chapters, another legacy of Rural Utopianism can be threat-paranoia, the readiness to perceive some serpent in the Garden. By the Dream's terms of reference, the threat must be exotic, for Arcadian vision does not concede intrinsic flaws. Volkner's presentation of the enemy not only stresses its exoticism, but also exploits deliberately our Pastoral Arcadian heritage. The 'slant eyes [are] fixed on fertile acres',¹⁹⁹ explaining the visible ruin of unsold milk products, our unsold wool and dying cattle.²⁰⁰

The thesis' assertions - that history in fiction develops device properties and is shown to be myth-enactment - find comprehensive support in Smith's Dream. On the latter count, this should not surprise, for the title itself declares man in pursuit of dream.

¹⁹⁹. SD, pp.7-8.
²⁰⁰. SD, p.7.
Smith, it should be noted, refers to enactment: he is 'acting out a dream' as conscious endeavour. Others in our society, within an urban context, are shown as behaving within the same mythic terms: avoiding 'political and social responsibility'. Smith's literal escape to solitude is, in a sense, metaphor.

Beyond this overt support, there is the 'history' in all its analogues, proceeding out of mythic fear of communist threat. The 'dissidents' deemed to pose it enact the same myth, perceiving siege upon freedom: each is the other's Vampire.

In all this, the history of the Waterfront Dispute provides a model which is subsumed in a multi-dimensional image. While this ultimate image is its 'heightened account', the dispute itself is figure, not the literary subject. It provides in its known features a model of dangerous dreaming: it is analogue or fictional means to awaken the 'fretful sleepers'.

Wakefulness, however, is not an end in itself. After the dreaming and the nightmare, it becomes the new condition, but 'in defence of -what?';\(^{201}\) Stead implies this question, also. Here he moves beyond a focus on the New Zealand 'political animal',\(^{202}\) beyond a focus on national traits and tendencies to which we should be alert. That which should be seen has no limit of time and place; it encompasses human affairs and remains ambiguous.

In the novel, it is carried by five merging motifs: the chess game, the cock-fighting, the Vampire which defends, the dreams of Gloria on the fish-hook (more damaged in being freed) and 'of being both the headmaster, and himself as a child ...

\(^{201}\) SD, p.137.

\(^{202}\) Stead, 'Poetry "a work of art"', p.5.
[when] the smiling headmaster handed out machine guns to the teachers and together the staff began shooting the children.\textsuperscript{203}

Perhaps these become the novel's most 'painful illuminations',\textsuperscript{204} presenting not only the dilemma of involvement (individually or in international politics), but also this dilemma's lack of solution. Within these terms, Smith's Dream transcends any matters of 'kiwi' nature and specific historical crises. The dilemma or dichotomy which it raises is philosophical: that of 'unresolvable conflict between the political and existential.'\textsuperscript{205}

\textsuperscript{203} SD, p.110.

\textsuperscript{204} SD, p.110 (underline added).

\textsuperscript{205} Harlow, 'Craft Interview with C.K. Stead', p.456.
End Notes to Chapter Nine

1. Stead's explanation of the ending's change can be found in 'John Mulgan: A Question of Identity', Islands 25 (April 1979), rpt. in The Glass Case (Auckland: Oxford Univ. Press, 1981), pp. 87-88. Smith's destruction (which had been Stead's original intention) has since been doubted by the author for a second time. He queries it again, on grounds that seem valid.

3. Stead's confirmation occurs as a footnote to 'John Mulgan; A Question of Identity', p.87.

4. He dismisses Stead's 'leftier-than-thou' recollections as 'certainly original'; 'This is history as it should have been.'

12. Although the notion is 'intriguing' to Stead himself (letter to Lawrence Jones), it can be established by literal analysis. As unemphatic and clearly aberrant, it lies outside this discussion. Unpublished paper, C. Matthewson, 'Aberrant Time and the Geriatric Hero: Residual Problems in Smith's Dream'.

13. b) Oliver ('Half a Novel', Islands 1 [Summer 1972], p.172) takes Stead to task for having Smith at Library School as a high school leaver (p.13, p.21). While Oliver is correct that 'this is not possible' (see W.J. McEldowney's history of The New Zealand Library Association, 1910-1960, and its part in New Zealand Library Development (Wellington; New Zealand Library Association, 1962), its being symptomatic of deeply flawed perception, of 'inability to take the functioning of institutions at all seriously', should not stand - as it does with Oliver - as the metaphorical bath-plug.

15. '(As a result various coveted honours were denied me.) My only experience of the army was the absurd compulsory military training of the fifties, where again my politics set me against the system instead of in step with it.'

26. He has 'loaves and fishes of the spirit in [his] possession' and a 'duty to distribute them' (p.39); he refers to 'my people' whom he tries to teach; 'my children ... three million of them' in need of nurture (p.41; p.43); he 'include[s] them all' even the 'wild in the hills' (p.43), talks to people (as he put it) 'in all walks of life'.(p.53)

47. Interestingly, in "The Wreckers" versus the People', NZTW, August 1951, the comment is made: 'The only difference between us and Nazi Germany is that if we are not frightened, we can put him out of power. Holland is trying to get an extension of his term in Parliament because he thinks that he has come out of the recent industrial trouble as a "strong man."' (p.12)

76. Mulgan was a volunteer in the 'Specials' constabulary (Stead, 'John Mulgan', p.75). This involvement with 'the forces of order' was the beginning (Stead states) of Mulgan's 'political awakening' (p.76). Although 'by no means' becoming left-wing, he remembered what he had seen. Arthur's involvement with the disorder relates solely to preserving property (SD, p.52); the role of the '32 Specials was, in theory, to 'protect property' ('Mulgan' essay p.75).
Although 'by no means' becoming left-wing, Arthur cannot forget the spectacle: a parallel to Mulgan's 'political awakening'.

77. 'During the dispute the wharfies had against them the Government, the shipping companies, the Federation of Labour, the exasperated middle classes, many other workers, and the extreme radicals. They were supported only on certain points by intellectuals interested in freedom of speech and by workers who saw them, not as over-favoured, but as the shock troops of the working class movement. Although the intended swift enforcement of law turned into a protracted campaign the outcome could scarcely have been otherwise. The wharfies were in a state of siege ....'

78. 'We lived in a strange world' (p.50); 'Our conflict had not become a major ... item of world news' (p.108); 'We had learned, quite simply, what it was to live in fear' (p.109). The tone of the 'Voice' is increasingly energetic, reflecting how our 'mettle' was rising as 'the issues' became clearer. Its last commentary is affirmative and determined, and this positive tone is nowhere undermined by the Voice's seeming to speak from a time of continuing crisis.

80. The price of such passivity is the vision's focus; our actions, once fully 'awake', are only peripheral to this. To give the reader less of Volkner's rise and early rule and more of his decline (and defeat, beyond the novel) would be describing the ambulance, rather than the cliff.

83. Sutch's claim (p.285) that the Act contravenes basic tenets of British law is confirmed in this article's constitutional argument.

84. It gave powers to the police to confiscate books, documents, duplicating and printing machines for two months without a charge being laid, and made peaceful picketing illegal. (Sutch, p.286)

87. Having thought that in Smith's Dream he 'was expressing an image of the New Zealand attitude to political problems by creating an almost unreal extreme', he found, in the 1981 Springbok tour crisis, several parallels. These lay, not only with the novel, but also with Donaldson's film of it, 'Sleeping Dogs'. Donaldson's addition ('one step'?!) was the use of riot gear, which Stead had not 'postulated' when writing the novel. Moreover, 'one thing that came out of the Springbok tour that was also a kind of parallel with what happened in "Sleeping Dogs" was that a lot of what you could term middle class people had experience with the police and the courts for the first time in their lives.'

90. R.T. Robertson, in 'The Nightmare of Kiwi Joe: C.K. Stead's Double Novel', Ariel, 6, no.2 (1975), 99, has responded to this personal statement. His comments, by his own definition, are probably 'indecent'. Having declared that 'why Stead should be obsessed with Vietnam is not a decent question', he proceeds to supply an answer. Stead is 'intellectual turned novelist ... to awaken his people', and New Zealand intellectuals generally 'have been obsessed with Vietnam partly for New Zealand reasons. They share with all New Zealanders a deep fear of the teeming hordes of Asia, but they have their own awareness of the precariousness of New Zealand's economic, geographical and racial situation at the bottom of the South
This is an unintelligent statement.

93. 'I think one has a responsibility as a citizen to be politically conscious, and politically active... My own political obsessions can be pretty unrelenting. The Vietnam War got into my blood and into my dreams, so it got into my writing, too.'

101. 'While the U.S.-Diem regime was considering its pitiless witch-hunts... while thousands were being executed or herded into camps, the United States Government continued... to tell the people... that their man... was fighting for peace and liberty.' (p.137) Diem was described as 'a man to whom freedom is the very breath of life.' (Mayor Wagner, New York City); as exhibiting 'inspiring leadership in the cause of the free world.' (President Eisenhower); as 'a true patriot, dedicated to independence and to the enjoyment by his people of political and religious freedoms.' (Secretary of State Dulles); as 'the Churchill of Vietnam' (Vice-President Lyndon Johnson), ibid.

102. 'Americans and Vietnamese march together, fight together, and die together, and it is hard to get much more involved than that.' (David Halberstam, New York Times, October 21, 1962); Greene, p.139. At the time that the United States was still claiming 'adviser' status, there were an estimated 10,000 American military men in Vietnam. By 1965 there were 250,000, plus 60,000 men of the Seventh Fleet, plus the U.S. Air Force and the support of the bombing forces in Guam. (Greene, pp.141-142)

125. From the Conference addresses, there are other 'reflections' which in turn are reflected in this subsequent novel. Stead comments in his report that 'we in the West might have learned a lot about American foreign policy in a dozen South-East Asian and Latin American countries if the skirmishes had been extensive enough or prolonged enough to persist as news.' ('Some Random Reflections', p.147) Smith reads in the clipping about Bell's Hueys, 'on active duty in over twenty-seven countries on all seven continents', and thinks, 'Twenty-seven countries! Were they really so busy?' (SD, p.85) Later, Willoughby specifies places: 'Not just South-East Asia. South America too. All over in fact.' (SD, p.86) and 'I've flown sorties out of the Canal Zone into Guatemala. I've been around when napalm was being dumped in Nicaragua.' (SD, p.88)

128. Smith (p.124) defines the 'overkill' policy as 'the Free World at its work on a fine morning in the name of all that was affluent.' Its means comprise 'planes... gunships... rockets, bombs and shells.... It was "superior firepower";' canisters containing napalm or phosphorus are dropped directly on the Coromandel township.

193. None displayed consistency within itself; all accepted Smith's statement as true, disregarding its significant context; many accepted Stead's definition as well as personal others, without making an attempt to reconcile them. The dream's 'old' or 'founding' status is nowhere questioned. None acknowledges that Smith was 'only acting out' (p.11), that the dream he had really wanted was 'Gloria and the kids', from which he had never chosen to 'escape'. Definitions of his dream range from 'security in equality', 'to be free of woman, children, job, politics', 'escape from psychoses',...
'freedom from all entanglements', 'a life of self-sufficiency', 'pastoral existence', 'social security' 'a nightmare of fascism', 'the heroic dream of revolutionary existence', 'decent dream', that of 'the rogue male'. Imperatives of space and relevance prohibit inclusion of their discrepancy-analysis.
History as Subject and Device: Myth Hic et Ubique

Well said, old mole! Canst work i' the earth so fast?
A worthy pioneer!

All Visitors Ashore. C.K. Stead's second novel, is a second return to 1951. As previously shown, in his first, Smith's Dream, the waterfront crisis informs the 'deep structure' in a complex and compound-model conflation. Thirteen years later, in 1984, his focus on the dispute becomes direct and specific, re-presenting (or re-creating) past history as itself. It rises, as fiction-material, to the 'surface structure'. Having already re-created in the novel, Smith's Dream, the political ethos heightened from 1951, Stead presents it now in its own literal language - in terms of itself and recorded expressions. This movement or shift in creative function holds much interest for several reasons.

In terms of two novels with common authorship, passing interest lies in their use of the same five-month period: in the twice-over selection of these same numbered days. Of deeper interest is the altered function of history, both in terms of Stead's treatments and of three decades of fiction. In this latter regard, All Visitors Ashore presents some challenge as a final primary source. Yet, it not so much defies thetic categories as 'bridges' them all, critically satisfying. In aspects of its structure, its mood and content, it exhibits characteristics of all previous development, to the extent of being inclusive of the categorically definitive.

In Stead's presentation of the waterfront crisis, a comprehensive gamut of the possible is run. Now foreground, now background; here subject, there device; these views external, those views internal; here comic, there serious; then significant, now ordinary: fiction refracts history as if through a prism.
In style and mood, Smith's Dream is not recalled. That novel, as it draws on a common historical time, makes sombre, political and universal statements. Its language is spare, at times paratactic, its plot kept simple and unadorned. As a tale, its unfolding has the quality of Smith's awakening - inexorable in its seeming step-by-step progression.

All Visitors Ashore, re-viewing the one time, makes sport exuberantly with words and events. No 'chilling political fable', it rollicks light and agile, even within territory inherently dark. Politics, violence, abortion, infidelity; loss in relationships and of expectation; people, their deep desires, their property, dog and spider: even, overall, on creativity itself, wit and wryness are brought to bear. Critics observe variously the novel's 'gritty naturalism', its 'dryly detached attitude', its 'poet's vision'. Claims liken the style to Proust's in 'preoccupation with memory', to 'postmodernist', 'metafictional' and 'roman-à-clef' writings. It is further described as 'high baroque', as parodying Robbe-Grillet's 'zero text', as comparable to Huxley's Point


5. Ibid. Michael Gifkins expresses a similar view in 'The Melody Continues', Islands 35 (April 1985), p.69, in his passing reference to 'temps perdu'.


The pleasure which it affords is that of 'intertextual chase', of distance 'annihilate[d] ... between writer and reader': ubiquitous mole, indeed, deemed 'literary chameleon'.

Stead's own analogy of 'that Haydn symphony', its individual 'players ... [whose] melody continues' after, seems aptly to illuminate point of view and voice-complexity so changed in this reworking of 1951. Regards the texts as scores, the second novel becomes orchestral in its themes' interweaving and variously played. Personal and public history have the sounds of many voices: from fortissimo through mezzo-forte to pianissimo; rallentando and crescendo, leggiero and risoluto. History in Smith's Dream has a voice of simpler nature; it is third-person speaking to us and first-person speaking for us.

In that earlier novel, that aspect of the voice which sounds 'other' or distinct from the surface narrative is a collective first person who has seen and knows all. Its 'eye of God' quality is both technical and temperamental, for it speaks from outside, seemingly aloft. As the authoritative spirit of the people's gained wisdom, its statements, recurring, are often sectioned off. Within the

10. Morrissey, review, p.393.
11. Rose, review, p.27.
14. Stead, dust-jacket of hard-back edition: 'It's a novel rather like that Haydn symphony in which the players one by one blow out their candle and leave the stage, yet somehow magically the melody continues.'
narrator's double nature, it is the assumed persona. Reliable always, to be taken at its word, it summarises the national drama being recounted.

The narrating voice of *All Visitors Ashore* is an assumed mask with many facets. As a prismatic device, its effects become complex as these days of '51 are viewed from diverse angles. The mask's parameter belongs to the older Curl Skidmore, highly self-conscious in his first-person status. He, in turn, assumes omniscience in third-person narration; adopts his own younger voice and limited perspective; converses with himself, his characters and readers; includes 'public' voices intermittent and political.

None of these viewpoints (not even the older Curl's, whose imagining mask encloses all facets) is finally reliable for a discerning reader. The analogous symphony, in its entirety - from its opening 'tea towel' phrase to its resounding 'red towel' end - must be perceived and finally understood as a layered work, complexly ironic. An understanding of that which has unfolded does not derive from one obtrusive voice; it develops in the observing of viewpoints in concert - the tensions between them, their flights and eccentricities - for the voices inhabiting (and including) the narrator's own serve as chords struck in the textual present: notes integral of the drama's 'verbal music'.

The first-person mask assumed in *Smith's Dream* is autonomous, provides an overview, reliable in retrospection; its function is textual accompaniment *not* integral of plot-movement. It is heard from a time always overlaying Smith and Volkner's. In *All Visitors Ashore*, the reader's gained wisdom is not thus imparted; in the way of *Heart Of Darkness*, it is his acquisition - responsive and extra-
In the general style of fiction current with its history, the crisis receives at times direct and detailed focus. The 'at the time' quality of language and mood derives from 'copy' borrowed - speeches and bulletin phrases. These 'liftings' of material (much of it well known) not so much recall 'in the present, in the raw' as repeat it, or as imitate its flagrant style: I "should add that I was not misquoted," said the radio,

'when I was reported upon my arrival back in New Zealand as having said there is no country in the world can hold a candle to this lovely land of ours. It's because I want to keep it that way that I call on you to support what I and my Government have done.'

'... taken control of our waterfront industry,' said the radio, 'an industry vital to the health of our economy ...'°

'... an enemy within,' said the radio, 'just as unscrupulous, poisonous, treacherous and unyielding as the enemy without, an enemy who works by day and by night, who gnaws his way into the vitals of our economy as the codlin moth does to the apple ... '17.

In lengthy speeches and brief passing phrases, 'in the present, in the raw' is plundered and plagiarised, as befitting the fictional time - its own, and boldly so.

Of equal interest as an 'at the time' feature, a comic-satiric tone clearly re-emerges after intervening decades of creative dormancy. Unlike the re-worked 'copy' previously cited, this recurrence of comic spirit belongs to Stead himself. Although in ways different from 'the lighter side of the Left', All Visitors Ashore recalls its mocking cast, in hyperbole, in dark humour and a

16. AVA, p.34.
17. AVA, p.35.
sense of the ridiculous. Chapter Six, 'The Comic Strip', exemplifies these well, sending up and cutting down, ironic, often dry:

What made Melior Farbro dream his cartoon series? Does the artist foretell, or does his dream create the reality? Why in the ten weeks since he began his series has New Zealand turned itself into a comic strip? Here are men who are not allowed to work and who are told they are on strike.... Here is a population agreeing that it must be denied any statement of the case against the Government so that democracy may be preserved.... Here is a cartoon strip Prime Minister supported by a cartoon strip Minister of Labour who sings solo and duo and in concert with all the newspaper editors of the nation ...18

And 'My word,' thinks the Prime Minister, and 'Oh yes,' he thinks and he thinks 'How true,' listening to himself on the radio ...

And 'Evil' taps the Herald leader writer, and 'Violence', and 'Evil' again and 'Intimidation', and 'Terrorism', and 'Gangsterism', shifting from buttock to buttock uncomfortably in his seedy office thinking, 'When the hell are they going to issue me with a new chair?' ...19

And from his hospital bed Mr Roy Belsham whom the Prime Minister has described as maimed and whom the hospital describes as recovering from slight concussion and abrasions inflicted by a blow on the head with a plaster dog, broadcasts to the nation urging old unionists to join the new obliging unions, of which he is the President ...20

And up on her verandah at that very moment Mrs Battle is pleased but hiding her pleasure because it isn't good for the boy, inspecting her son Charles who is dressed in his ticket-clipping uniform, the only uniform he has ... and back straight, Charles, shoulders back please, head up, that's it, toes at ten-to-two ... and off he goes, marching up the drive to do his duty, to join the Civil Emergency Organization, to keep the Reds at bay, to drive them out from under the bed. Mrs Battle is with you, Prime Minister, and so is Charles ...21

And 'The Government must act rather than talk,' writes the Star leader writer ... determined to meet the Challenge, and especially the Challenge of his rival on the bad chair in the Herald Office down the road ...
'The Police Will Be Armed. And ... The Police Will Shoot.'

18. AVA, p.87.
19. AVA, p.88-89.
20. AVA, p.95.
21. AVA, p.96.
And 'Bang Bang' says Charles Battle to himself....

* 

The subject-nature of the crisis' treatment - typical, in early writing, in intensity of focus - recurs with the quality of the subsequent phase: that most clearly apparent in Hilliard. This later development allows history in its foreground, yet brings to bear upon it a strong artistic imperative. While history as more than background in All Visitors Ashore is a feature perhaps requiring some later defence, Stead's artistry of treatment clearly does not.

* 

At other points, also, of its presentation, the dispute recalls Gee's unemphatic regard. In passages (and there are many) of personal subjective record, politics drift by only vaguely and often not at all. As happenings 'out there', they seem not assertive reality. To the-artist-as-a-young-man 'hero', they are less than immediate concerns.

* 

The more complex function of the crisis in later fiction - as in 'The Shilling', by Zavos, for example - exists in the combining of occasional subject-focus with a clear device function: counterpointing worlds. This later development is exploited in Stead's novel in the juxtaposing of private and public. While the tenor implicit in these similar cross-hatchings differ as widely as the authors' wider intentions, both works exploit the crisis as a vehicular device.

Like 'Faith of our Fathers' in relation to 'The Shilling', Stead's later longer work re-angles the view, highlighting more

detail of historical circumstance. Like All Visitors Ashore in relation to Smith's Dream, the second Zavos work traverses flexible boundaries of background and foreground, of subject and device.

In its combination of detail-exactitude, the sudden 'zoom' into focus on historical data, and the clear virtue of regard in retrospect, the best sections of Strangers And Journeys are technically recalled. Although in mood and purpose, the close-ups are dissimilar, likeness exists in shared aspects: analytical known material woven, without discord, into the fictional pattern and, despite its 'short' focus, bespeaking the virtue of distant perspective.

* 

Cross's finely wrought use of the dispute as outer structure, as a formal host, has its echo, also. All Visitors Ashore opens with the lock-out about to begin, an ominous probability. It closes in the days after the snap election ('Sidney George Holland thanked his stars and his people...') The sense of enclosure - the past within the present - is strong in Cross's novel, absent in Stead's; common to both, however, is the crisis' confirmation as socially significant in the authors' perception. By selection of it as chronological frame (one day in Cross, critical months in Stead), this judgment is made explicit by structure itself. Within and about these temporal parameters are woven many fictions which attach always, even if lightly, to known points of public 'reality'.

23. Jones' phrase for this characteristic of AVA is 'intense realization'. ('Reflections on a Bumper year in Fiction', p.30)

24. The street-clash of Bloody Friday, portrayed in common by 'current' writers, by Shadbolt and twice by Stead, exemplifies the developing creative possibilities which distance has provided within the 'close focus' scene.*

25. AVA, p.143.
The time- and space-montaging in *After Anzac Day* is recalled in Stead's use of similar technique. While *All Visitors Ashore* as a whole is montage - of a temporal kind, simply a 'double present' - space-montage dominates the text, as characters are viewed successively: same time, different places. Not always but often, the means echo Cross and Woolf's: sounds commonly perceptible in various quarters. In Stead, these frequently are the waterfront crisis broadcasts - public sounds into private domains:

[Nathan] took out the pan to make himself an omelette and all at once he was very hungry. That was a good sign - and to celebrate it he turned on the radio.

'... knowing that you want what I want,' said the radio, 'a future free from intimidation and industrial anarchy and sabotage, free from fear ...'

And you [Patagonia] my little olive-skinned lover stepping up the beach from the water naked in the night, who can say ... after the lapse of these thirty and more largely barren years what was in your mind? ... it was not to you Curl Skidmore turned, Patagonia, but to the little kitchen (one appetite doing service for another) where he began to make toasted cheese and coffee, turning on the radio to listen while he worked.

'... should add that I was not misquoted,' said the radio, '... I call on you to support what I and my Government have done.'

And through the wall Mrs Battle ... said to her forty-year-old son whose shirt displayed the emblem of the eagle, 'Turn it up Charles, it's Mr Holland.'

Thus, in these respective Cross and Stead novels, the events of public history share some creative functions. They are 'out there' phenomena, incursive to private living and to subjective record: 'precipitating' elements; they have strong device-functions in provision of structural unity and as (greater and lesser) 'images' of societal nature.

The 'device of model' role played by history in Smith's *Dream* has no relevance to Stead's purpose in his second novel. In matters historical, the works share, however, more than obvious commonality of eventual content. Both heighten the ethos of 1951, its 'them and us' way of seeing and lack of general protest. The first work heightens its potential darkness; the second overstates it, rendering it comic and childish. Both, although differently, engage the waterfront crisis in purposeful conflation of separate times. Already described at length, that in *Smith's Dream* entwines features of past and present, of here, Vietnam and Germany. In *All Visitors Ashore*, the conflation merges a time significant as social history and a later time, personal and literary.

Within the thesis' context of 'domestic' analysis, it may be acknowledged, in passing, that the novel abounds with the seemingly familiar in the realm of character. However inviting as matter for research, it must, in itself, be regarded as peripheral - as outside this focus on historical event, its 'place' in fiction, its expression of social myth. There is relevance, however, in observing that which is crafted: how known history and people become a new 'fiction', for in the changes and/or fidelities the author's purpose is implied.

Graham Adams, in his review entitled 'Ready Steady Gone', describes the novel as 'myth-historical', with real characters and events ... used as a basis until 'the fiction takes over and makes its own rules.'27

Those 'real characters' (or, at least, some aspects of them) derive from well-known figures in politics and the arts. Some, like Holland, Holyoake and Sullivan, Fairburn, Baxter and Mason (R.A.K.),

have their own name as well as characteristics. Others, like Farbro, Skidmore and Skyways, are composite fictions which 'recall' familiar features - of Sargeson, McCahon, Mason (Bruce) and Frame. Despite the temptation, however, to identify such sources, the matter more relevant to pursue is, rather, the characters' creative 'gathering' in these particular days.

To the extent that Skyways derives from Frame, Farbro from Sargeson (and Curl from Karl Stead), there is time-change to note between fiction and actuality. In his tribute to Frank Sargeson in 1978, Stead specifies warmly their months of close living, four years after the time of industrial crisis:

There is a whole book, a novel, perhaps, to be made out of just one year, 1955, when Kay and I lived in a glassed-in veranda right on Takapuna beach, Janet Frame was writing Owls Do Cry in the hut behind your house, and you were working on your plays.28

A further example of creative transporting literary history to political history's time occurs with the 'Mason' material performed by Curl, at the poetry reading raided by police. The work, recited in part, comes from The End of The Golden Weather, for which writing did not begin until 1959.29 These exemplary 'shifts' into fictional re-timing are, thus, respectively, four years and eight years.

There seems to have occurred a conflation of experiences, both personal to the author: a creative 'drawing together'. Although the politics and the people are ultimately 'fictions', both proceed, as responses, from actual acquaintance.

Of 1951, Stead's perception is strong and negative:


For me ... it was a very exciting time but it was also a disillusioning time because it taught me what I regard as basic lessons about New Zealand and the New Zealand political scene and how shallowly rooted our democracy is and how easily we give it away, because the legislation of that time was really quite extraordinary legislation which just sold out all normal democratic rights and people accepted it and then re-elected the government which had done this.31

Of the literary figures (or their familiar elements), Stead sums up tersely their creative origins:

I don't have to pretend to have known these people, they have been my friends and mentors. Why should I have to pretend?31

Within his public concerns - political and social (to which both his novels overall give voice) - there occurs, thus, Stead's experience in friendship and in writing. The '51 setting of politics and of these relationships can be seen as simple conflation of significant experience. From observation of national character and the history of his lifetime, from personal development as writer and acquaintance with others creative, Stead distils essential items and, in fiction, encloses them: 'the tenants of fiction and the tenants of non-fiction ... share the same living space.'32

* In common with Campbell's The Dark Water: A Novel, All Visitors Ashore raises 'background/subject' questions - especially, at which point does material win subject-value?

Before its publication, in private correspondence, Stead advised that his novel was 'not really' political, that the disputatious


31. Ibid., p.33.

32. Ibid.
setting was '(important) background'. This time-contextual function attributed to the crisis has since been seen by later critics, all of whom generally talk of 'background'. Perhaps, given constraints of space and general readership, the term has validity as a reviewer's descriptive term, in that the characters, their inner lives and private actions are set within the context of public upheaval. As a critical term, however, 'background' is inadequate, denying the history its fictional place and its range of functional properties. The same, to lesser extent, would be a critically valid comment, applied to crisis-material in The Dark Water.

Of the lingering 'melody' in the Haydn analogy, the political strains continue with energy equal to that of other themes and voices. The presentation mood of the crisis material is ultimately emphatic and so the sounds remain. As in Campbell's novel, they are not peripheral or incidental; they are important aspects of authorial intention.

In addition to its several deviceful properties, that of singular or central subject is not claimed for this history. That which is claimed for it is subject quality in terms of textual 'space' and its effect upon the reader. While for the characters, certainly, it seems to be 'out there', less real than their immediate and private realities (seems even to be 'grey background' to their own foreground experience), for the reader, seeing whole the text and history's

33. Stead, letter to Lawrence Jones, '... I have a novel set in Auckland in 1951 due for publication in London in a couple of months .. it's not really a 'political novel' - [but] the politics is (important) background, I think.'

34. Additional to those already cited, see Jane Clendon, 'Waving the Red Towel', Cue, 13 October 1984, p.77; McEldowney, 'Recognisable figures in a New Zealand Setting', ODT, 24 October 1984, p.28; Ian Cross, 'Salad Days', New Zealand Listener, 10 November 1984, p.45.
entrances, it is active, often intrusive and more affecting than any back-drop. The events of public politics play a part not dissimilar to that of the jungle-interior in Heart of Darkness; given, likewise, much textual foreground, being, likewise, the social context, it acquires subject-value as an outside phenomenon. Although tritely drawn, Campbell's high-country Arcadia is similarly active and affecting as a 'background'.

Several further observations should be made on this matter: among them, that of significance conferred indirectly. The refrain, always reminding, that this year '(properly counted) is the first year of the second half of the twentieth century'; the precedence which these months take in the conflation of separate 'times'; the title with its allusion to departure and farewell (and, by implication, to staying behind); the connection or linkings made — by sounds, in thought or action — between the many disparate characters; the crisis as single common factor: these work suggestively, signifying indirectly.

Second, the functions of history in fiction — as all previous discussion shows — are neither singular nor mutually exclusive, except in earliest phases. In analysis of each work, the function which has primacy has been deemed the one definitive, while accommodating of others. For this final primary text, the claim must be made that subject/device functions emerge ultimately equal. Given the properties of device, easily recognised and defended (counterpoint; thematic; structural and structuring), and given the history's subject — quality which can be validly argued, its co-existing properties of background and foreground incorporate or

35. This version occurs on p.22 and recurs in varied forms.
become the products of all these creative factors.

The most commonly cited passage from *All Visitors Ashore*

addresses directly the issue of background-function:

> History is always written as if the doings of ordinary nameless faceless persons ... were a grey ill-defined background to the stage on which the politicians strut and strike attitudes and make decisions and laws, but of course history is not reality, it is merely fiction badly written, and in reality it is the other way about....³⁶

Alongside this declaration, one could provocatively place Milan Kundera's alternative view: historical events used to form[ ] a commonly accepted backdrop for thrilling scenes of adventure in private life. ... No longer a backdrop, [history] is now the adventure itself, an adventure enacted before the backdrop of the commonly accepted banality of private life.³⁷

Both of these statements hold true for the novel, each being supported from a different angle of vision. One 'angle' is more conceptual, significant, external; the other more internal, ordinary, experiential. The former belongs to Stead (and, in part, to the older Curl); the latter belongs to the characters as the 'persons' on 'the stage'³⁸

* 

In surveying the fiction of 1984, Lawrence Jones observes:

'Amazingly, the year

that produced *The Bone People* also produced *All Visitors Ashore*, an utterly different kind of book, yet one that may become as much a landmark. It is the logical climax to this discussion of the fiction of a year, for it brings together almost all of the modes and elements ... examined so far, but plays them in a new and different key, producing something rich and strange.³⁹

³⁶. *AVA*, p.128.


³⁸. *AVA*, p.128.

Setting aside the opening sentence, Jones' assessment applies equally to Stead's work in relation to 'the fiction of a year' - of a year in fictional focus, 1951.

Those features which are new - either in Jones' year of fiction or in this discussion's fiction about a year - are metafictional elements and myth's ironic treatment. The former, already noted as a stylistic feature, has rich illustration following Pat's abortion, as 'we' (old Curl and reader) trace 'the real story', assisted by young Curl ("Look here, aren't you laying it on?"). Regarding the second feature (myth's ironic treatment), precedence must be collated to defend its novelty.

In all preceding works, myths have been portrayed, and, in their presentations (deliberately or otherwise), all have been revealed as behaviour-determining. Pakeha national mythology - particularly Dream - and myths flourishing adjunctive to it (such as the Cold War and Man Alone) have appeared as fictional elements in several preceding works. Only in the 'current' writings and The Dark Water is national myth presented with authorial endorsement. In all other waterfront fiction where its elements appear, national myth is questioned, considered in terms of effect and loss of validity. Every treatment, like Campbell's, has serious intention.

The writers 'in the present, in the raw' and of the Left speak from the viewpoint of their own social myths: generally, those of class and historical dialectics. Their purpose in this is grave, perceived to be survival, personal and democratic: withstanding traditional siege. In presenting the mythology working against them, they approach most nearly Stead's later irony. The 'approach',

40. AVA, pp.132-134.
however, lies in form and means only; irony remains a weapon and expressive of mythic view. In Campbell's novel, the Dream of Rural Utopia and (its parasite) the Communist Threat are woven into fiction from the author's own mythology. Myth is presented as true, and the truth-telling is serious.

In 'No Conscripts' the mode of myth is all but absent, except for the general mythic concept of helping one's fellow-man. In Hilliard's 'New Unionist', two myths can be found 'active' - in Knight's 'Red' view of the wharfies, in Hilliard's 'scabby' view of Knight.

In Sole Survivor ('the in-passing record'), Cold War mythic thinking is presented in '51 and as a continuing effective political ploy. Both believers and 'users' are unsympathetic characters; Gee's implicit stance is one of judgment. In the two Zavos stories, the myths again relate to Threat, with additional insight given on the Church and indoctrination. Both the Cold War view and religious mythic thinking become exposed by Zavos as destructive systems.

Cross focuses on myth of all three levels - private, national and archetypal. His primary concern, however, lies with the two Great Dreams: those of Pastoral Arcadia and of the Just City. The novel's intention is clearly iconoclastic, to expose in both myths 'the fault in the glass' and their historical legacy of blood and 'bad happenings'. The mood is one of indictment and urging for renewal.

In Shadbolt's treatment of myth, emphasis falls more on failure and on myth's role in recurring patterns of history. The novel lacks wholly any note of frivolity, portraying the clash of Dreams in the mode of social realism. In Smith's Dream myth's treatment seems even more dark as mythic consequences are ominously projected. The Pilgrim Dream's adjuncts, Man Alone and 'exotic' Threat, combine with
yet another, Security in Equality, to provide a cultural recipe for autocratic rule. Irony exists nowhere; the call is to waken from sleep, for in sleep we dream and, in dreaming, court nightmare.

Suddenly, almost from nowhere, myth's treatment becomes funny and its content a kind of motif on a par with juice extractors - or towels, strategic mirrors, a gammy leg which shuffles (step, drag). From the maker of Quesada and In the Glass Case, even his Julian Harp's bird-flight does not seriously herald this.41

In the search for precedence among the writings of others, only O'Sullivan's Miracle offers more than vague likeness in its deflationary 'intricate play on much that [we] hold dear'.42 The Girl Guide salute image in All Visitors Ashore recalls the customary salute in the earlier novel,

raising three fingers on the right hand ... a signal of fellowship and respect for the new Trinity of rugby and eternal sex and war.43

There is similar sporting with names (Miracle Hornbeam, Mother Marmite, Stumpy, Sagwheel, Frother and Craft); and with political figures (the Prime Minister 'in drag', and the American Ambassador, building a plaster whale in Thorndon).

Miracle, even so, beyond its elements of myth-deflation, is unlike Stead's sporting in essential features: the latter's concern (and playing) with the creative process itself - kaleidoscopic points of view and subjective record; interaction with history as corners of the web's attachment; the cavort's sparkling tone, unlike the other's


42. O'Sullivan, Miracle: a romance (Dunedin: McIndoe, 1976); the cited phrase occurs in the back cover notes.

43. Ibid., p.74.
black humour; that Miracle lacks the dimension of simple realism, being in essential nature an allegory of ideas. Its 'sending up' of mythic concept, however, is precedential.

In All Visitors Ashore, Stead's satiric regard alights on ideology, personal and public. Ideology, being mythic in nature and activity, is revealed in this work (as in all others) as informing the events which Stead's players enact. It is invoked in this novel only to be mocked. The most obvious is public, the crisis' mythic field: of "this lovely land ... these desperate and evil men ... in the dead of night";44 "communist masters".45 The Cold War vision wins, not delivering us this time to Volkner, but to 'a time when tennis clubs and barber shops

would glitter over the land, when babies would be delivered by storks and found under cabbage bushes, when a Girl Guide salute would signify cleanliness of body and mind and a worker would know better than to ask for five and twopence when his master was offering four and tenpence ha'penny.46

The myth is turned in irony in Charles' "bang bang"47 and "snip-snip";48 in Sergeant Robinson (another believer), who talks of "troublemakers" and 'has troubles with false teeth' and so 'dunks his round-wine biscuit';49 in Melior's balloon-strip paintings; in the discomfort of the buttocks of the Herald's leader writer. Co-protagonists in this ideological conflict have cast upon them like satiric regard: speeches which send the Vicks poster into further

44. AVA, p.89.
45. AVA, p.140.
46. AVA, pp.143-144.
47. AVA, p.97.
48. AVA, p.65.
49. AVA, p.91. (As a 'tenant of fiction' Sergeant Robinson has moved works, from Mason's recalled childhood in The End of the Golden Weather.)
paroxysms of coughing; little Kenny who should stop 'cruising' now his union is in the gun; Curl Skidmore's father, 'poor precarious Member'; Nash 'endangering [his] balls' straddling the cliché-ed fence. And, indeed, 'it's a lockout', and men are willing to work, but Kenny is sunk in 'torpor' when there is 'work to be done for the union'.

Of other national myth, only Morrissey finds a trace: dreams of Pastoral Arcadia and Man Alone deflated to almost unrecognisable minuteness:

While Rangitoto's shape remains a constant motif backgrounding movement, the New Zealand bush (so beloved of our fiction writers) has shrunk to a single central cabbage tree urinated on by Rosh, the dog.

Religious myth (Christian) is invoked only for politics: "... the nation must ... pray that in ... strike back ... combat terrorism ... ." or in blasphemy: 'the boss says, "... Three right answers, and you're fired," and Curl Skidmore says, "Thank God." "Don't thank Him, thank me," says the boss'. It becomes invoked, also, in Skyways' letter to the Blessed Virgin, but, as rapidly becomes apparent, Cecelia will 'talk' to anything:

50. AVA, p.23; p.25; p.27.
51. AVA, p.6; pp.9-10.
52. AVA, p.125.
53. AVA, p.91.
54. AVA, p.27.
55. AVA, p.62.
56. Morrissey, review, p.395.
57. AVA, p.89.
58. AVA, p.69.
'Blessed Virgin, it's what they did to your Son and I think the camera lady would welcome it if dogs could be crucified but as it is she'll settle for the gas chamber. Melior is calling me to dinner and he has opened the door so there's a straight yellow path through the shadows and I shall fear no evil but as I write that my Zen master from the web says Go forward Cecelia Skyways, look for no protection but become your fear.'

Religious myth (Buddhist) appears only steeped in irony, in conversation with a spider, Master, Bodidharma. He is vocal, '(if only silently)', approving/disapproving plans and offering 'many warnings against the building of dreams.' Unheeded, he will castigate "I might as well save my breath to cool my porridge as my father used to say... well I'm not going to go on about it it's very true I've worked my fingers to the bone for you and got very little thanks but it's not going to continue sooner or later the worm will turn .... I'm not going to make a doormat of myself .... I won't just stop your pocket money I'll get your father to tan the hide off you so help me I will ...

Religious experience - of satori and of Grace - occurs, as Jones notes, only on one occasion: for Curl during sexual intercourse in the outhouse flat.

Private dreams abound in the characters' activities, as each pursues or acts upon the Idea of something. Cecelia clatters her 'railway words', learning to be a writer; 'a triple-fool' in Curl (who is only twenty-one) seeks 'Fame, Great Love and Extinction ...

60. AVA, p.16.
61. AVA, p.63.
62. AVA, p.72.
63. Ibid.
64. AVA, p.79.
65. AVA, p.114; Jones, 'Reflections on a Bumper Year', p.31.
66. AVA, p.3.
in equal measure'; 67 he is 'another would-be writer', 68 in his head 'unwritten novels'. 69 June and Jim are departing for a better place, and Jim (having read Hemingway) has yearnings for Spain. 70 Pat is learning to be a painter and will succeed (the later de Thierry), Felice a soprano, Charles a defender of freedom. Above all, Curl and Pat enact the idea of Love, adoring not each other but the 'dream' itself; he is 'mystery-man ... brilliant-future man ... lover-man and all the rest'; 71 she his 'little olive-skinned lover', 72 Tuhoe, French, English, and Celt.

*  
The passage of three decades must surely be considered as a developmental factor relevant to this novel. As 'time takes the heat out of every cause', 73 as other writers turn the 'cause' in varying lights, he who follows on has both less and more to do. All Visitors Ashore, in what it does not and can attempt, stands post-Hilliard, post-Cross, post-Shadbolt, post-Smith's Dream; 'And what is spoken remains in the room ... And whatever happens began in the past'. 74

From its 'currency' in '51, the history of the dispute has been depicted variously relative to intention; and intention, in complex ways, is the product of its times. With the single constant being

67.  AVA, p.5.

68.  AVA, p.10.

69.  AVA, p.18.

70.  AVA, p.11.

71.  AVA, p.121.

72.  AVA, p.33.

73.  Stead, 'A Poet's View', p.323. (The phrase, in full context, can be found in the dissertation Epigraphs.)

experiential evocation, history as fictional elements has been woven in diverse textures, building on one another, emphases always in change. Stead, in inheriting this worked material, may choose to weave differently the eventual content, to add new tones or new points of attachment; he does this on the basis of past examples and at his point of greater distance from the history itself. The metafictional quality of All Visitors Ashore and history in this new mode of entertainment are temporal developments exploited with mastery.

The need to persuade has faded; so, also, to inform of Facts. The shutters have been, already, thrown back on the paths of culture and its mythic patterning of national history. Integral with creative intention, 'real history' in Nehru's terms has occupied many places on the literary function-continuum. Stead, three decades on and excelling in verbal art, illuminates the motto of Mt Eden South, 'the little school' (and polling booth):

IT IS TONE THAT MAKES MUSIC\textsuperscript{75}

75. AVA, p.143.
24. The fictional portrayals have in common their 'observers' (respectively Ian Freeman, Arthur Buckman and U. A. Skidmore). The first is appalled and angry, the second is fearful, and the last dreams in a coffee shop, writing a love poem. All three portrayals have wounded marchers. The earlier two present them as committed and earnest; Stead's little Kenny Blayburn just finds himself 'washed up' there (p.98) and is later mistaken by Melior to be 'a [small] sack of potatoes'. (p.100)
APPENDIX I

Reality, Truth and Fiction: The Lovelock Version Controversy

Although Shadbolt's novel, The Lovelock Version, lies outside the scope of this discussion, the controversy which it has caused does not. Public reactions to the book have been such that the author has felt compelled both to explain and to defend his views of the relationship between history and fiction.¹

Against his critics who assert the exclusiveness of the two disciplines, Shadbolt argues that the relationship between them is, ideally, dynamic, complementary and mutually sustaining. The 'historical record' is neither sacrosanct nor the exclusive property of the historian; the creative imagination is a faculty which, in the final analysis (and wittingly or not), the historian as well as the fiction writer must employ.

The main point of divergence between the 'exclusive' and the 'complementary' factions is the nature of reality itself. All matters at issue in this inter-disciplinary demarcation dispute seem to arise from different understandings of what is 'true', of what is 'real' and of how definitively this can be realised.

Michael King, one of Shadbolt's critics, regarding objective reality as an absolute, would contend that the fiction writer should not 'play footsie' with it;² that any 'imaginative leaps' which he might like to make must be faithful to historical evidence 'where such evidence is available'.³ In response, Shadbolt refuses to


2. The phrase is Doris Grumbach's, cited from her discussion of American writer-journalists who 'play footsie with fiction' ('Sorting out the Threads of American Literature', ODT, 29 October 1980, p.18).

acknowledge any such obligation at all, for objective reality does not exist, per se. This denial, applied to the craft of fiction, he presents as the writer's mandate to use the historical record as it suits his own creative purposes and as his imagination responds to it.

Shadbolt's view appears extreme only if one reads his term 'objective reality' loosely. There seem to be no grounds for assuming that he, like Bishop Berkeley, needs a bucket of slops tipped on to him to become aware of the existence of a tangible world outside his head; to know that the material world is more than just a 'product of our own mental processes'. Shadbolt's rejection of objective reality does not mean that he in any way subscribes to idealistic or Platonic theories of knowing and of the world's 'unreal' existence. His argument with 'exclusives' like Michael King has not arisen from a denial of the reality of human beings, historical events and natural phenomena. Shadbolt's contention is, rather, that the possibility of capturing or defining the objective reality of human experience is only the historian's myth or fiction. Being beyond realisation or definition, it cannot be said to reside in any one mode of account: 'reality itself is unattainable; we are fallible when we try to reach it ...' 5

Shadbolt's theory of knowing, whether consciously or unconsciously held, has something in common with Piaget's 'creative and constructionist conception' of the child's apprehension of reality. Piaget claimed that children


construct reality ... in much the same way that artists paint a picture from their immediate impressions. A painting is never a simple copy .... The artist's construction involves his or her experience but only as it has been transformed by the imagination. Paintings are always unique combinations of what the artists have taken from their experience and what they have added to it from their own scheme of the world. ... What children understand reality to be is never a copy of what was received by their sense impression; it is always transformed by their own ways of knowing .... From Piaget's standpoint, we can never really know the environment but only our reconstructions .... Reality ... is always a reconstruction ... never a copy.6

Piaget and Shadbolt both, therefore, discount the possibility of a definitive, objective capturing of the reality of events, without ever denying the existence of the real world. In effect, the mind as it perceives is never simple camera or projector; it is always creative, receiving, understanding and reconstructing reality according to its own unique terms of reference. Hence, 'every man's realism differ[s] acutely from every other ....'7

The paradox implicit in Shadbolt's view, therefore, is that the historian is intent on pursuing a 'fiction' (that objective reality or truth can be found in man's attempts to copy it), while a writer of fiction like himself works within the 'truth' (that 'finally no one knows everything about anything; or anything about everything')8).

The positions taken up by Shadbolt and his opponents in this fiction/history debate can be clarified further by applying them to the time-worn question of the sound of surf, unheard. Both groups would accept, no doubt, the waves' breaking as a fact of natural history. How these break and how they sound, some people would confidently describe or define; others, like Shadbolt, would contend


that, 'like an archeologist making sense of shards', we can only 'in the end imagine' how they might. For those who endorse the immutability of objective reality, the fall of surf possesses and produces its own sound; for others, that sound exists only when received and transformed, for the only 'knowable' reality of the wave comprises both water and perceptual response to it. Beyond human experience or perception, there can be no absolute knowing: only imagining and educated hypothesis.

This is a position similar to the one at which the German theologian, Rudolph Bultmann, and the post-Bultmann School arrived, following attempts to demythologise the Kerygma. Remove all elements of the first century mind, 'strip away the gold of the icon ... to reveal the figure of the man, Jesus of Nazareth, as he really was', and one loses the historical Christ along with the myth. His 'reality' cannot be separated from - indeed, his 'reality' is - the individual's human experience of him.

This does not mean that the historian's 'history', its real-life characters and events are all simply fair game for perverting or twisting. To rewrite history to the extent that it denies human experience would negate the very principle which should inform fiction writing: the affirmation of human experience, common or uncommon. This principle can, however, manifest itself as surely in fantasy and fabulation as it does in overtly 'realistic' or

9. Ibid.


11. See also Kant's assertion that 'consciousness is so constituted that it cannot but ... interpret the empirical data which it receives.' Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, ed. E.A. Livingstone (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1977), p.285.*
'historical' fiction. The crux of the matter is whether a facet of human experience is being affirmed, not the literary form in which the writer chooses to present it.

That sacrifices of accepted realism are made in some aspects of a work does not mean, necessarily, that human experience has been denied. Shadbolt himself cites Shakespeare ('a certain notorious history-bender') as one example of a writer who rearranges history for his own artistic purposes. Although Shadbolt does not labour it, the point being made is that, in order to make his statement about some facet of human nature and behaviour, Shakespeare denies known historical details; the historian's 'truth' is subordinated, therefore, to the dramatist's elucidation of another.

This is no new thing. From Man's beginnings as a creative being, his visual and literary art forms, the recording and transmission of his history, have presented us not with The World, common and unchanging, but rather with his metaphors of it. As such, they reflect his emotional/intellectual responses to the subject and are moulded, one way or another, by past tradition and current trends. Whether Egyptian or Mayan, Renaissance or Surreal, the way of seeing conveys emotional truth or realism rather than something absolute, objective or eternal.

Whether Shadbolt's personal version of the Gallipoli affair affirms any human truth or denies much is not, in itself, a crucial question. What is more important in The Lovelock Version controversy are the issues raised about the 'place' of the creative imagination in the recording of human experience, and further, the limits which


this creative imagination should (or need not) observe when working within factual rather than fictional situations. Given the impossibility of separating any human knowledge or experience from perceptual response and man's personal apprehension of it, an extreme 'purist' stance of one truth, one definable, objective reality is untenable. On the same basis of 'inseparability', however, an extreme stance of any truth, any web spun without attachment to life at some corner,14 precludes integrity.

The resolution of the debate, if any is possible, must lie between these two extremes. It is resolved in the acknowledgement that, finally, the historical record can never be said to be 'this' or 'that' or even complete, for its facets are infinite and the means to their elucidation are necessarily various. Shadbolt comes close to this in declaring

Man does not live by history alone. Nor, for that matter, will such as those who stormed Chunuk Bair live by way of history alone. (Regimental chronicles, personal diaries, soon yellow; and even descendants, with time, forget.) The hope of the imaginative writer is to make something more durable and perhaps luminous from their dust.15/16

Dan Davin, reviewing (coincidentally) an historical presentation of military manoeuvres at Gallipoli, comes close to it, also:

We must accept ... that the truth as distinct from the facts can be transmitted direct to the feelings and the imagination only by the power of art. In this book we have the facts, told plainly ... The truth itself must await the dramatist, the novelist, the epic poet, some latter-day Homer or Tolstoy or Stendhal, who will be able to bring home to his own and following generations the tragedy and the comedy and the heroism that are static, implicit, here in this plain narrative and in these pictures.

14. The Virginia Woolf Epigraph, to which allusion is made, comes from A Room of One's Own (1929; London: Granada, 1977), p.41.

15. Shadbolt, Letter, p.11

In Davin's terms, the facts of the historical record are only 'the still life that some great artist may some day animate'.

Whether historical records are the shards which fiction 'make[s] sense of', the 'still life' which fiction animates, or the bones of the body of history to which fiction adds human flesh, the concept is one of both complement and tension. The novelist, in his attempts 'to represent and to give order to experience', works at the interface of fact and truth, and the measure of his artistry is, to a large extent, his recognition of their coincidence or their difference.

In his collection of critical essays on 'political' novelists, Irving Howe observes that

even as the great writer proudly affirms the autonomy of his imagination, even as he makes the most severe claims for his power of imposing his will upon the unformed materials his imagination has brought up to him, he yet acknowledges that he must pit himself against the imperious presence of the necessary.... He [understands] that imagination is primarily the capacity for apprehending reality, for seeing both clearly and deeply whatever it is that exists.

It is in this knowing of what is necessary that the fiction writer's integrity is either affirmed or denied.


19. Ibid., p.23; ibid., p.241,'Orwell: History as Nightmare' (underlines added).
End Notes to Appendix I

8. In this lecture, Shadbolt claims to 'write fiction to engage with the human truth which non-fiction can mostly never offer. Non-fiction is often more fictional, in the literal sense....'(p.279)

11. 'Knowledge is thus the result of a synthesis between an intellectual act and what is presented to the mind from without.' (Underlines added)

16. 'Look within and life, it seems, is very far from being "like this". ... Life is not a series of gig lamps symmetrically arranged; life is a luminous halo, a semi-transparent envelope surrounding us from the beginning of consciousness to the end. Is it not the task of the novelist to convey this varying, this unknown and uncircumscribed spirit, whatever aberration or complexity it may display ...?'
APPENDIX II

Social Myth, its Active Properties, as Cause-Effect in History
An expansion, with Biological Destiny as exemplary myth

Those who believe in the Biological Destiny of the sexes would have it that the domestic nurturing role of women is a natural and absolute social truth. Rather than a truth, it is a cultural phenomenon. Statements defining it are empirical conclusions, descriptions of what occurs accepted as prescriptions.

The concept of a 'woman's place' exemplifies mythic thinking on the basis of several inter-relating features, none of which pertains to lacking validity. First, it does not depend on analytical data for its confirmation and continued existence:

It doesn't come down to facts, as a scientific problem does .... Facts can be disproved, and theories based on them will yield in time to rational arguments.¹

Myth, like facts and theories, can clearly be disproved but, unlike them, it cannot or will not be killed by it:²

Myth has its own furious, inherent reason-to-be because it is tied to desire .... Myth incorporates emotions, and against these logic will not automatically prevail ....³

... the logic of the outer world may prove myth wrong, but it cannot reach the engine and shut it off.⁴

Myth, thus, is much more than mere wishful thinking. Its content usually expresses psycho-emotional drives: fear, for example, in racist and sexist myths; fear of death or spiritual hunger in myriad religious myths; lust for power in the Third Reich myth of a master race; the human need for hope in Utopian myths - for a world better than the one which is known.

1. Janeway, Man's World, Woman's Place, p.32.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p.35.
In content, therefore, myths express something 'true', even while history or private experience might be exposing its untruth; that which is 'true' is the inner need or drive, within the myth-subscriber, which the content has objectified.

Second, Biological Destiny is a mythic concept in that its mood (seeming indicative) is actually imperative; it prescribes more than describes, declaring certain things as 'true because we feel they ought to be true.' These two initial features inter-relate, clearly, with the second 'explaining' in part some myths' strange persistence - beyond realisation, against likelihood, counter to experience, even into nightmare. If social myths express that which 'ought to be', the need to endorse and nurture them might increase the more that the myths seem to be failing.

Third, myth has the capacity to affect group behaviour where its content includes some 'correspondence with reality'. Cold War theorists, Irish Catholics and Protestants, sexists and feminists reflect this mythic property as active.

Fourth, myth provides a means of ordering experience, patterns in terms of which one interprets or apprehends: it 'affect[s] individuals ... through holding up roles for them to play'. This is clearly so in the Biological Destiny instance, but is no less true of any other social myth: the myth of life-after-death (to which this life stands as preparatory); the mythic Cold War view (each side


8. Ibid., p.76(this idea is acknowledged to be Talcott Parsons').
opposing 'aggression'). The private effect of myth is that 'those who believe in it act to make it come true', not just on occasion but on a broad front of their lives. Raymond Williams has noted this 'larger' as a societal feature, also.

Acceptance of a social myth - the great Pioneer Dream, biologically determined destiny, earth as testing-ground for Paradise - does not simply lead adherents, from time to time, into words and actions revealing the acceptance. The consequence, rather, is consistent, predictable behavioural choices: the acquiring and working of land, preparing (or not) for a career, involvement in Church life and eschewing certain practices. These typify role-choices determined by myth and, moreover, as featural details, imply their wider contextual pattern, for role is not the actions which express and sustain it; it is a concept of placement within a system. In the sense of placement, possibly, lies myth's most powerful function.

The implication of complete pattern in every role which myth provides can be illustrated by analysing the concept of man as breadwinner or, in Lawrence's grander terms, as 'the pioneer of life'. Each defines a male role by way of explicit statement and, in doing so, conveys much about probable social context. Both statements suggest that the society in question distinguishes between roles on the basis of gender. The necessary condition of the designation (that men are bread-winners or pioneers) is that women are not usually or expected to be these. If women are not the bread-winners, two probabilities follow: fewer women than men in this society's

9. Ibid.

10. Refer earlier section, p.21.

paid work-force, and more women than men in voluntary and low-paid tasks. If the bread-winner role is ascribed to one sex, this society must contain many economic dependents. Because of the human age-continuum, those in the 'dependent' sector probably out-number, by far, those in the economic 'supporting' sector.

The assigning of the pioneer role to men suggests that this society expects, or even requires, some distinctions in temperament related to gender. Those who are not men are, by implication, non-adventuring by nature or by cultural conditioning. If the bread-winner-pioneer role lies with men, the consequent social pattern is men not as child-caregivers. As the bread-winner term itself connotes single or 'superior' earner, the care of children by women may be reasonably assumed. Even further, one may surmise that this care is given at home, for institutional or commercial child-care has practical close links with a 'joint bread-winner' concept.

If men are usually the income earners and women usually child-nurturers, economic power within the family must belong to fathers; if men are usually the pioneers (women at the Lawrentian fireside), not only economic power but also assertiveness and confidence, in the main, become male prerogatives. This society is likely, therefore, to be patriarchal and patrilineal in its family structure, and similarly male-dominated in its Establishment institutions.

Thus, a social role— an individual's or a group's— never exists in a vacuum, is no autonomous part. It determines (and is determined) within a comprehensive network of many roles dynamically
inter-dependent. Moreover, the blueprint for a community's social structure - that is, the spectrum of roles, either available or desired - lies within that community's social mythology. Embodying 'consciously held purpose' and/or deeper emotional drives, myth's raison d'être is an ordering of the world. Thereby Man 'places' himself and others in relation to him, identifies aims and values and behaviours as appropriate, and finds the fragments to shore against a state of chaos.

The example of consequence-chains from the 'bread-winner male' concept stands as minor introduction to major defending material, wherein it will be argued that New Zealand's social mythology both informs, and is performed in, patterns of private and national history.

12. This factor makes even the gradual alteration of a social role a complex matter. The changing role of women, for example, must effect changes of some sort throughout the whole social pattern - within home and work, within law and institutions, within relationships and power structures: within the world as once viewed.*


14. Ibid.
End Notes to Appendix II

6. A propos of the 'failure of the dream', Oliver refers to 'New Zealand the way you want it', noting that 'voices become the louder as it ceases to be so.'

12. The example of gender and destiny reveals another feature of myth: that accepting a mythic view is not necessarily liking it. Myth, thus, can lead to ambiguous behaviour. This occurs in either of two cases: where myth satisfies, on the one hand, the need for ordering pattern, but provides, on the other hand, personally distasteful content; where content has been rejected intellectually but not emotionally.
APPENDIX III

Anxiety, Anomia, Caesarism: Conservatives' Paranoia

Hard-core conservatism among lower socio-economic groups, in both their political and social attitudes, is an interesting phenomenon in that, unlike middle-class conservatism (with its vested interest in resisting social change), that of wage-workers seems more reactionary than philosophical and, to some extent, denies self-interest.

As a prime example of this 'irrational in politics', M. Brinton cites the situation of pre-war Germany:

In the early 1930's the economic crisis hit Germany. Hundreds of thousands were out of work and many were hungry. Bourgeois society revealed its utter incapacity even to provide the elementary material needs of men. The time was ripe for radical change. Yet at this crucial juncture millions of men and women (including very substantial sections of the German working class) preferred to follow the crudely nationalistic ... exhortations of a reactionary demagogue, preaching a mixture of racial hatred, puritanism and ethnological nonsense ... .

Brinton's description of the 'average British middle-aged working class voter' could, without any great imaginative leap, well apply to Knight, were we able to know more about him:

He is probably hierarchy-conscious, xenophobic, racially prejudiced, pro-monarchy, pro-capital punishment, pro-law and order, anti-demonstrator, anti-long haired students and anti-drop out. He is almost certainly sexually repressed.

Gordon Rattray Taylor makes similar observations about the working class voter in the United States:

... it is often the manual workers who favour authoritarian and reactionary measures ... . Many sociologists have commented on the reactionary attitudes of the lower middle-classes, both in the United Kingdom and in the United States of America, where the "hard-hat" is notorious.

2. Ibid., p.17.
for his intolerant attitudes. 3

Explanations offered for this phenomenon are varied and obviously in the main unprovable. However, in common many put forward two suggestions, which seem to make some sense of the New Zealand political climate. Generally speaking, the first could be called the 'anxiety factor'. In simple terms, this notion suggests that, confronted with social change and social problems over which they feel they have no control, people will often respond by welcoming the simple solutions which authoritarian leaders ostensibly offer. Taking the notion further, this response will be most marked among those groups whose sense of helplessness and frustration is greatest. In terms of social, economic and political power, those who most often feel at the mercy of 'the system' are those who either do not know how to work that system, or who lack the means to do so. Historically unable to rely on strength in unity, those individuals whose resource is their labour (as opposed to capital), and whose sole weapon is the withdrawing of that one resource, are the most likely victims of the social 'anxiety factor'. This is to say, there seems to be a direct inverse relationship between a group's anxiety level and its sense of power, its freedom of choice and manoeuvrability, its sense of options available to it.

As in Germany in the thirties, it was easier to blame Jews than to comprehend complex economic circumstances, so in New Zealand in the nineteen seventies it was easier to scapegoat Island overstayers and solo mothers than to understand vagaries in the overseas terms of

trade; so it was easier in 1951 to blame the Soviets for our internal problems than to comprehend lampblack, price-wage inflation and the post-war economy.  

This type of response to anxiety or frustration is one which Alvin Toffler ascribes to the 'Super-Simplifier':

With old heroes and institutions toppling, with strikes, riots, and demonstrations . . . he seeks a single neat equation that will explain all the complex novelties threatening to engulf him. . . .

His search is for 'a unitary solution' such as Knight finds in the 'commos' and their leaders.

The French sociologist, Emile Durkheim, in Suicide: A Study in Sociology, resurrects the term 'anomy', or 'anomia', to describe the condition of social frustration that results from a perception of society as increasingly chaotic and of oneself as increasingly helpless within it. 'Anomic' people, as later defined by the Canadian Robert McIver, are those who, observing that 'effort proved vain because of social conditions . . . heed[.] only their own interest or whim . . . with no sense of social responsibility or commitment.' Obviously, this description fits Eric Knight well.


6. This observation perhaps goes some way towards explaining both the Values Party's lack of electorate appeal and the Social Credit League's increasing electorate appeal during the 1970s.


Gordon Rattray Taylor goes on to state that one result of such anomia is the turning 'in desperation to anyone who will restore order and define unambiguous social goals.' This someone's 'methods or eventual aims' can be overlooked in the welcome 'relief from anxiety' which his system brings. 'Thus anomia, if severe, leads to fascism.' The history of Western nations (Argentina and Italy, for example) bears witness to the fact that the potential for fascism is realised, not in spite of the working classes but to some considerable extent through the working classes. It is a response phenomenon which for obvious reasons Franz Neuman calls 'Caesarism', proceeding from anxiety and sometimes deliberately fed by talk of outside threat or conspiracy.

Taylor's comments about this 'risk of dictatorship' or authority-reverence are generally applied; Bill Pearson's in his Landfall Country essay, are not. He regards the 'typical' New Zealander and sees in him specific and ideal traits for being subject to fascist rule:

The New Zealander delegates authority, then forgets it. He has shrugged off responsibility and wants to be left alone. There is no one more docile in the face of authority . . . generally he does as he is told . . . when the wrong affects more than one the solution is 'the government'. . . . No people is easier material for governing. Though 'Hitler' and 'dictator' are common as terms of abuse . . . there is a lurking respect for the dictator because he has all the authority and gets things done without argument or compromise. When the Upper House went no one cared. It was only the workers from the big unions, and the watersiders themselves, who were concerned at Mr Bolland's emergency regulations, and a few intellectuals. . . . There was a very real danger that the emergency organisation of volunteers willing to assist police and provide scab labour might have turned into a minor local Ku Klux Klan. Mr Holland, governing by radio, without a parliament, seems to have emerged from the waterfront dispute more popular than ever.


The reason why the New Zealander is willing to invest his responsibility in a strong, benevolent ruler is that he himself is afraid of responsibility. 11

The second fairly common reason suggested for such authority-reverence in a given society are the patterns of child-rearing and the family power-structure in that society. Granted, it is no new thought that the mores of a community are transmitted, for better or for worse, primarily through its basic social institutions; that within the family lies the key to social change or the lack of it. It is interesting, however, to consider the possible links between this sociological fact and a community's political behaviour or character: that is, its apparently natural tendency to respond to, or to reject, particular political and economic systems. Although, obviously, there can be no definite or simple answers, some questions are, nonetheless, worth the asking: to what extent can Hitler's rise to power be explained by the German family's patriarchal power-structure; to what extent do child-rearing practices which are disciplinary rather than approving produce adults with diminished potential for questioning the 'system' or the status quo; to what extent do the differences between the 'family-socialisation' of children in Sweden and in South Korea (or in Tanzania and Japan) determine the political institutions which these children will later tolerate, reject or demand?

In Brinton's opinion the extent is large:

If people are unaware of the intrinsically repressive character of so much that they consider . . . 'natural' (hierarchy, inequality and the puritan ethos, for instance), if they are afraid of initiative and of self-activity, afraid of thinking new thoughts and of treading new paths, and if they are ever ready to follow this leader or that (promising them the moon), or this Party or that (undertaking to change the world 'on their behalf'), it is because

there are powerful factors conditioning their behaviour from a very early age and inhibiting their accession to a different kind of consciousness.\textsuperscript{12}

Jane and James Ritchie offer similar views, on the basis of research in New Zealand child-rearing patterns:

Obey, quickly and with good grace. If a child learns this lesson and learns it well he will please his parents and get praise. The process has a deadly efficiency. We think it is very likely that the message is so well learned that it dominates much of the authority attitudes of a great many New Zealanders . . . this training pattern interlocks with a great many other patterns in our society . . . The relative absence amongst the general public of critical concern about educational institutions and provisions; the subservience to restrictive high school regimes; monitor systems and corporal punishment; the absence of social anger at arbitrary bureaucratic action . . . the lack of support for political and social protest; castigation of those less conforming, the authority questioners who are so essential to the health of democratic processes - all these . . . are rooted in the family obedience pattern. The atmosphere of childhood is alive with one message above all others: Do what you are told, and do it now!\textsuperscript{13}

These conclusions are not unlike those of Wilhelm Reich, who, in the Preface of his \textit{Character Analysis}, states that the patriarchal family 'creates in children a character structure which makes them amenable to the later influence of an authoritarian order.'\textsuperscript{14} It achieves this, deliberately or not, through child rearing practices that are by and large repressive, requiring that children are 'obedient . . . "good" and "adjusted" in the authoritarian sense'.\textsuperscript{15}

The general effect of such upbringing is, in Reich's view, that rebellion and questioning become very difficult in adult life,

\textsuperscript{12} Brinton, \textit{The Irrational in Politics}, p.15.

\textsuperscript{13} Jane and James Ritchie, 'Obeying', in \textit{Child Rearing Patterns in New Zealand} (Wellington: A.H. and A.W. Reed, 1970), p.84.


because 'any rebellion is laden with anxiety.'

Erik Olssen, examining 'the Plunket Society's influence in moulding the national character', echoes Reich's thesis:

'. . . the passionless people, the authoritarian Kiwi, and the big boys who don't cry are in some part the creation of King and Plunket. If we have a national character, it's here that we've got to start our search; if we suffer a collective neurosis, it's only by probing the origins that we can begin to grapple with it.'

'Obedience was the foundation of self-control and "self-control the basis of morality"'. The 'real dynamic behind the society under Truby King's leadership was to produce in New Zealanders a definite character structure . . . self-reliant, self-regulating, moral, obedient, fit, and under complete self-control.'

This character structure was designed for upwards mobility, self-employment, or executive action. It was trained to be compulsively averse to unacceptable feelings, spontaneity or sexuality. These were dangerous for a vulnerable man, in a vulnerable social stratum, who belonged to a small utopia surrounded by the teeming hordes of Asia.

An ideal cultural environment for the growth of Cold War attitudes is ominously suggested in Olssen's last phrase.

This characteristic was noted by Chapman, also, in his 1953 essay. He speaks of New Zealand as a 'conservative arid country' (and observes this especially in the field of politics), a society

16. Ibid.


18. Ibid.


whose children, once past the "Sturm und Drang" normal in the period of adolescence, simply 'relapse into convinced conformity.'

3. On the day of writing, Ronald Reagan has just become President of the United States in an overwhelming victory. According to the ODT, 6 November 1980, p.1, he did so by 'sweeping the big industrial states of the north', and by 'cutting into the traditionally Democratic organised labour.'

6. The former party insists on acknowledging all manner of social problems and the individual's responsibility for their solutions; the latter party absolves the individual by attesting that both the cause of and the key to our difficulties lie simply within the economic system.
APPENDIX IV
The Day After Anzac Day: An On-campus Perspective

By Thursday, 26 April, the dispute was approaching its height. It had, by then, run almost half its course, this being the second day into week eleven; a further eleven weeks and two days remained.¹

Seven days before this Thursday, moves by deregistered unionists could well have (or should have) brought the crisis to an end. On 19 April, in writing to Walter Nash, the Waterside Workers' Union had accepted Holland's 'Seven Points' and agreed to the principle of compulsory arbitration. Such acceptance and agreement were, as far as it knew, the full requirement of it for resumption of normal work. Moreover, such acceptance and agreement represented a total concession on the disputatious issues.

Five days before Anzac Day, it had become clear, however, that the rules of the game had quietly been changed; the men were not allowed to return to work, and the Government declared its intention of establishing new waterside unions at all major ports.² The new aim of the Government (and of Sullivan, in particular) was no longer the resolution of the Waterfront Dispute but, by means of it, the destruction of a national waterside union.

The day before Anzac Day, a Whangarei union was registered, and, on the day of Cross's novel, new unionists began work in New Plymouth. Within a week, the armed forces (literally armed)

1. 26 April was the seventy-second day of the one hundred and fifty-one (14 February - 14 July. (See Bassett, 'Labour Leg-ironed', pp.13-14)

2. At this stage, only five of the eventual twenty-six had been formed. These five comprised sixty-five men. (See Bassett, p.155) A sixth had been registered, but did not begin work until two days before Anzac Day. (See Bassett, p.243, footnote 75)
would conduct 191 men to work in Auckland.³ By the last day of April, eleven ports would have new unions.⁴

On this day of 26 April, the Federation of Labour Conference was voting in Wellington against the Trade Union Congress, by means of a disciplining ten-point resolution.⁵ The events of this day confirmed, yet again, that the organised labour movement was bitterly divided, and that the Federation was the ally of the Holland Government.⁶

Five days after Anzac Day, deregistered miners would allegedly be involved in an abortive attempt to blow up a section of railway line in the Waikato.⁷ In response to this 'atroc...
growing sense of frustration and helplessness.¹⁰

Within three weeks of Cross's chosen day, a 'peaceful procession of watersiders' would be 'suddenly attacked by police in Queen Street, Auckland.'¹¹ Bloody Friday was only thirty-five days away.¹²

¹⁰. Bassett, pp.168-169, refers to the noticeable increase in violence towards the end of April. See also Scott, p.108.*

¹¹. Simpson, Road to Erewhon, p.136.

¹². NZTW, 15 June 1951, p.1 and p.3. 'Bloody Friday' is the paper's name for 1 June. See also Simpson, p.136: 'At the hospital, thanks to unsympathetic members of the hospital board, the injured were sewn up without anaesthetic "like so many sacks of potatoes."'
6. 'On several occasions, delegates endeavoured to have the question of the 'Emergency Regulations' debated, but their right was denied'. The resolution blamed 'the entire dispute on the "persistent refusal of the watersiders to accept the principle of conciliation and arbitration" and the "isolationist policy of the watersiders".' It is noteworthy that this resolution post-dates the NZWU's letter to Walter Nash.

10. On the day that the new Auckland Union was formed (28 April; see Meade, "New Zealand Waterfront Unions", p.29), A. Farr, a former old unionist wishing to join this Cargoworkers' Union, was assaulted. Bassett, ibid., cites also the attacks on A.S. Belsham (Kenny's 'victim' in All Visitors Ashore) and R.S.P. Hurst. Belsham, the new Union's president was hospitalised after being 'visited' by three men.
Lee As Donovan's Model: The Party's Electoral Problems

The decline of Labour has its presentation mainly through Bill Page and his trade union associates. Further light, however, is shed upon it through Donovan, John Rankin, and his wife, Margaret.

Donovan's appearance, his disaffection with the Party and the Party's with him suggest strongly that, in some aspects at least, John Lee is his model in history. Cross emphasises Donovan's lack of concern with subtleties, his belligerency and fighting spirit. Like Lee, he has a large head, porous skin and a 'square jaw'. Although for different reasons, both men have criminal records and have 'done time'; they share, also, an eye for women. Cross's intrusion into John Rankin's recollections - that Donovan was

known to have considerable courage, and now that he had collected a middling portfolio in the Labour Government expected to go near to the very top. Near, but not all the way.¹

- could appropriately be applied to Lee. Moreover, Cross dates the Party's disposal of Donovan specifically as 1940; Lee was expelled at the Labour Party Conference on 25 March, 1940, three days before Savage's death. Donovan, 'without official Labour support',² contests the 1943 election; Lee, as leader of the Democratic Soldier Labour Party, contests the seat of Grey Lynn in 1943. Both men are defeated, after eight years on the Government benches.

In style, too, Cross would seem to draw deliberate parallels between the two men. He refers to Donovan as one of 'the soap-box

1. AAD, p.56.

2. AAD, p.151. Cross does not specify the election year. However, Donovan clashes with his caucus colleagues over the Party's war programme, ruling out the possibility of 1938 as the year of his defeat. There was no election in 1941. His 'route to the political slaughter-house' (p.150) was not so rapid as Cross suggests.
orators from the streets of the 1920's', as one who 'raised a fist and said, "We're going to fix any lousy Tory who tries any sabotage around here," and then banged it down.' Lee, by his own definition, is 'simple on a soap-box'; others observe that 'he doesn't sit still for one moment.

He thumps his desk in the manner of a demagogue. He waves the stump of his missing arm to emphasise his points. Donovan's eyes have a 'belligerent squint', glitter 'with a half-century of angers'; Lee has a 'fierce eye' and, like the other, is fifty years old when removed from office.

These men share not only certain physical and behavioural characteristics, their length of parliamentary service in Government-held seats, the year in which the Party 'dumped' them, their age at the time, the eventual failure to regain their seats in 1943, their past experience in gaols and trade unions; they share also their military service in World War One and a falling out with their colleagues over military matters. Lee was on active service with the army from early 1916 until August 1918, discharged with a

3. AAD, p.151.
4. AAD, p.56.
7. AAD, p.55.
8. AAD, p.150.
10. Lee was born in October 1891. On 25 March 1940, he was in his fiftieth year.
11. *
'decoration for gallantry and [an] empty sleeve'. 12 His lasting pride in 'soldiering' is clearly expressed in the naming of the DSLP. 13 Donovan, also, has served 'his country in war, his party in office'; he clings to 'his First World War ideas'. 14 Neither man, therefore, is anti-war per se. For both, however, some of their final difficulties within Caucus relate to the Party's conduct of the war. They are fighting, patriotic men and essentially anti-militarist.

Although Donovan's 'whole style' needs 'scaling down', 15 the particular issue singled out by Cross in the man's demise relates to the war programme. Intransigent, Donovan believes that the Party should

be organising something decent for a couple of million people here. Not getting torn to pieces by brawls on the other side of the world. 16

The ideas to which he clings are about money: 'about money-being better spent for the good of human beings rather than on munitions'. 17 Lee, while ardently anti-fascist, believed that the war against 'poverty at home' should continue unabated; 18 that the planned social and economic reforms should not be shelved.

The war against Hitler Lee strongly supported, but its conduct contravened two matters of principle on which he would not compromise. The first was the issue of conscription, the involuntary


13. See Olssen, John A. Lee p.143, for an account of Lee and 'left-winger's' attempts to have a war veteran Member placed in Cabinet, in 1939. Lee had a particular point to make in the eventual naming of his new party.

14. AAD, p.150.

15. AAD, p.56.

16. AAD, p.150.

17. Ibid.

manning of the Armed Forces. Although the Party itself was reneging on its traditional stance—and went on, even, to compound the 'betrayal' further, after the war—Lee remained staunchly committed always to the voluntary system.19

The second was the issue of conscription of wealth, a basic tenet of the Party's Principles and Objectives.20 Lee's repeated call for conscription, not of men but of wealth, is echoed in Donovan's 'money for ... human beings rather than ... munitions'; in Donovan's determination to 'dish out £100,000 as a Christmas bonus to the unemployed'.21 Lee's call for 'active prosecution of the domestic programme despite the war'22 is echoed in Donovan's refusal to listen 'to the obvious case for altering his plan of action'; his rejecting 'the arguments for shelving the department's plan for the duration'; his insistence 'that the war should not be used to limit the party programme'.23

The Government's departure—or seeming departure—from basic tenets of party philosophy might explain the disaffection of men like Lee and Donovan. Cross, as intrusive omniscient narrator, uses his portrayal of the Minister to provide yet another, however. Both explanations are given in the final words:

... Donovan could not have been entirely wrong, for the Labour Party never recovered from the war; the war cut the party adrift from its past, confused its doctrine. The soap-box orators from the streets of the 1920's were exhausted

21. AAD, p.57.
23. AAD, p.150.
and there was no second generation to carry on: their social legislation had made nearly impossible for them to perpetuate their own breed.24

* 

The aspect of the Labour Party's electoral difficulties which John Rankin presents is the general one of 'ageing' and the effect of this process on political and social attitudes. His drift away from a 'radical past',25 the 'usual pinko stuff'26 and his Hill of Dreams,27 has already been discussed in the context of his 'spectator' stance in the dispute28 and of his 'poetic' link with the dead Joe.29 The political significance of the drift is the link between ageing and increasingly conservative attitudes. The problem is in-built and on-going for any organisation which is ideologically 'radical' or 'liberal'. Despite individual exceptions, it is generally true that radical attitudes often become outgrown, and that the reverse process occurs only rarely. Conservative political parties, therefore, do not face the comparable dilemma of a volatile or unstable support group - in terms of dichotomous personality, or of extreme left- and right-wings, or of 'outgrowing'. Youthful conservatism, as it matures, tends to become only hardened conservatism.

The aspect of Labour's electoral difficulties which Margaret Rankin presents is the general one of class prejudice and snobbery, exacerbated by 'threat-paranoia' and popular misperceptions about the nature of the Party.

24. AAD, p.151.
25. AAD, p.55.
26. AAD, p.56.
27. AAD, p.228.
29. Ibid.
11. The word is that used by Bill Page when the union moves against him. It has been re-used here to signify the parallel situations of Donovan/Lee and Jennie's father: that of being ejected from the cause, rather than active rejection of it; their 'scabbing' in the sense of standing as an Independent against the Party, or joining a new union to work against the old.

20. These state that 'the natural resources of New Zealand belong to all the people ...'; that 'people are always more important than property and the state must ensure a just distribution of wealth'; that the Party must 'ensure the just distribution of the production and services of the nation for the benefit of all the people'.
APPENDIX VI

Smith's Security File with the Special X

Smith's file, overall, is an interesting document, providing social landscape as much as Smith's 'background'. Its matters of deep concern reveal an authoritarian society: historically conservative, patrist and 'threatened'. Within the novel's textual time-scheme, Smith's adolescence and early manhood occur in the late forties and early fifties (his involvement in the dispute being while he was at Library School - which, despite Oliver's objection, is his post-sixth form year - and close to a military training for youths of eighteen). The social climate informing Smith's file seems, from records, a re-creation of that fervent Cold War time. Landfall editorials describe New Zealand in this period as failing in its relations with 'other civilizations, to look for what is finest and most enduring ...'; as currently 'content with the obvious points of contact brought about by politics and trade'; as viewing its neighbours as 'Powers, to be wooed or guarded against'.

The Enemy's designation as specifically 'Red' relates not only to Stead's own Cadet experience (which, in the literal 'past' time-scheme, coincides with Smith's), but also to attitudes widely recorded. These years after the war, with their escalating anti-Sovietism, were the context of the introduction of Peacetime Conscription. Statements and pamphlets public at the time (and previously cited in relation to 'No Conscripts') make clear that the Enemy was designated 'Red'. Erik Olssen, in his biography of John A. Lee,

cites the latter's main concern, in 1947, as being the 'Tide of Anti-Russian Hate':

As early as 1945 he realised that fear of Russia and Communism constituted the main weapon of reaction .... In 1947 he sadly realised that reaction was winning .... \(^2\)

Sutch's assessment of these years - those of the 'beginning' of Smith's file - is explicit in its confirming of a rampant Cold War myth. Given the 'climate' which Sutch describes, Smith's security file becomes very credible: not in its image of Smith or his motivation, but in its existence and the nature of its items. Long though the assessment is, Sutch is useful to consider in full:

In 1945 [Fraser] embraced the US view that the Soviet Union, though still an ally in war, was to be regarded as the belligerent leader of communism, that there were only two political camps in the world - the communists and the anti-communists - and that those who doubted this should themselves be objects of suspicion. This, the Truman Doctrine, was promoted in New Zealand after World War II by the two main Labour leaders, Fraser, the prime minister, and Walsh, a former member of the executive of the Alliance of Labour and of the Communist party, president of the Wellington Trades Council, and from 1953 president of the Federation of Labour.

These two men, usually working in concert and with the support of the businessmen and farmer groups, used the inculcated fear of communism as a weapon to isolate all with radical, left-wing, socialist, or even traditional Labour views. ... [U]nder the cover of and using the propaganda of the US Truman Doctrine, movements of social reform or even of social amelioration became objects of suspicion. ... Particularly in the years 1947 to 1949, the Labour leadership seemed to be standing on its head. So remote from reality had Fraser become that in 1949 he used the resources of the state both to conduct propaganda and to try to deny a voice to those with opposing views on the referendum on peacetime conscription. ... The main point of this episode ... is that his unscrupulous campaign represented an undemocratic attitude to civil liberties... \(^3\)

Smith's attracting Security attention, although legally still a minor, 'fits' the period of our social history in which Stead has

\(^2\) Olssen, John A.Lee, p.200.

\(^3\) Sutch, 'Civil Liberties after 1939', p.275.
placed it. There is a general factor, also, in Smith's youthful becoming suspect, which aggravates (or is aggravated by) the specific fear of communism. Leaving aside his protests' content, to question or 'stand alone' is, traditionally, suspicious activity within our social pattern.4

The file-item of the chess games deserves particular acknowledgment, as a detail of social realism which gradually acquires significance. As a schoolboys' activity, its inclusion is quite reasonable, especially for one developing 'intellectual pretensions', and for another with authority-status in an hierarchical system. The game (or mention of it) acquires retrospective significance as ensuing events remind us of its nature. That essentially it is a war-game, derivative of military manoeuvres; that finally its purpose is the protection of authority; that 'moves' are proscribed according to status and expendability; these aspects of the board-game are played out in these human lives.

The contest which Smith wins, defeating his Head Prefect, is replayed several times in the course of the novel. In the initial match, between the schoolboys, Smith's victory in itself contravenes the game's ethos. In both literal and figurative senses, the match is replayed, Jesperson versus Smith, at Special X headquarters. The former, significantly, carries the game on his person - 'a travelling set'6 - during military duty. In the literal replay, Smith wins yet again, making strategic piece-sacrifices to weaken the opposing


5. SD, p.13.

6. SD, p.30.
defence.7 (The 'game' which Smith plays later, once settled as the motel manager, is not dissimilar in terms of strategy.) The interrogations themselves have a spirit of battle: a confrontation between two 'pieces', the black - seemingly stronger - moving in to 'remove'. Smith's eventual physical escape is defensive play; against the odds of lesser power, for a third time Jesperson 'loses'.

Smith's slipping through 'enemy lines' to reach Rotorua (part of this manoeuvre involving a horse)8; the guerillas' counter-move in the Buck's Motel massacre; the final hunting of 'Charlie' on the Coromandel; all are moves in a war-game which has two endings. In one, Smith wins through, repeating his fifth form victory; in the other, Jesperson is avenged in the check-mate of Smith's death. Beyond them as individuals are the forces which they represent: in the chess-game analogy, other pieces of like colour (some of which, during the contest, have served a function and been removed);9 in terms of socio-political commentary, authority and dissent.

Relative to this theme, it should be noted that Smith plays chess with Bullen,10 who, in leading the guerilla forces, is Jesperson's political equal. To the extent that the conflict has a chess board analogue, Smith's moves become determined by the strategies of both. Scrimmins' opposing piece is Buff; through image Willoughby's is Jess.

The figure which is used by the headmaster, Connors, ('we knew at

7. SD, p.31; p.32.*

8. At risk of taking the image too far: in the game replay at Special X headquarters, the Knights are the principal determinants of who wins and who loses.*


10. SD, p.78.
last a voice had spoken for us'),\textsuperscript{11} is that of the cock-fight, 'an ancient sport'.\textsuperscript{12} It intersects in tenor with that of the chess game: unnatural aggressions, serving only the pride of others; incitement and revival to serve ends not our own. It is a contest with strict rules, without combatants' rewards. It is apt that the eulogy for Connor's death comes from Yeats' 'Meditations in Time of Civil War'.

*  

A more general item of interest emerging from the file is the 'persona' which it creates: Smith the Dissident. As an instance of mythic thinking, it belongs to the Special X; it is their myth operative (on the four defining counts) which creates their own role and Smith's in relation to it.

\textsuperscript{11} SD, pp. 136-137.

\textsuperscript{12} SD, p. 78.
End Notes to Appendix VI

4. The Appendix covers material from Pearson ('Fretful Sleepers'), Brinton (The Irrational In Politics), J.and J. Ritchie (Child Rearing Patterns in New Zealand), Reich (Character Analysis and The Mass Psychology of Fascism), Chapman ('Fiction and the Social Pattern'), Olssen ('Producing the Passionless People' and 'Breeding For the Empire').

7. See p.30, also: 'Smith drew white ....' The eventual escape occurs during the second interrogation, when Smith confronts Volkner (p.45). He effects the retreat successfully because of physical agility; Volkner, (a chess 'king'? ) incapable of pursuit, must call on supporting forces in order to give chase.

8. Jesperson (p.31) says, 'I'll have it with the horse.'; Smith (p.32) then 'exploit[s]' the consequent 'weakness' using, specifically, 'both bishops and a knight', Smith's encounter with the girl and her horse (pp.58-62) facilitates his break-through and reaching Rotorua.
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