Peripheral Visions:
Design in ephemeral New Zealand print
c1880 – 1914

By

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Abstract

My thesis is an investigation of design in print in New Zealand circa 1880 – 1914, the period in which it is generally accepted graphic design began in the industrial Western nations. The medium of design studied is New Zealand's most significant printed product, popular everyday ephemera, which is contextualized within local and international print production, technology, and debates concerning design. The research aim is to contribute to new approaches in the proto-discipline of graphic design history, specifically the current debates concerning purpose, scope and methods, by writing a local study that has relevance here and internationally. In this way it joins the growing number of local and national design studies of countries customarily defined as politically, culturally and geographically peripheral. It further explores alternative approaches by using formal analysis as a tool for the interpretation of visual codes and their rhetoric in print to enable the appraisal of local significances and international relationships.

The study follows a model of graphic design as visual communication encompassing purpose, production, and reception, to argue the historic significations, activities, and values of local graphic design are of critical import for their role in social and cultural formation at both national and international levels. It argues against traditional binary models of centre to margin design transmission to assert alternative theories of networks, and of the hybridity of forms (particularly in colonial societies). Theories that, like this study, seek to apprehend complexity and more appropriately explain research findings that indicate the spread of design in print is an active circulation of signifying forms in a process of influence, adaptation and exchange.

The argument engages five theoretical debates that are further concerned with contemporary issues of history and its methods as they impinge on graphic design history. They are the current issues of historiography and calls for interdisciplinarity; the status and importance of ephemeral print; relationships of graphic design to modernity; concepts of the peripheral and networks; the use of semiotics in interpreting the visual rhetoric of typography and image.

This investigation, allowing for problems with the survival and attribution of material, is formed by three case studies that encompass a range of processes, media and products. The first considers typography and letterpress through the linked printing and writings of compositor/printer Robert Coupland Harding; the second charts the career of lithographic designer and illustrator Robert Hawcridge and his use of visual syntax, rhetoric and iconography. The third considers the composite local illustrated magazine the *New Zealand Graphic* and the role of design in editorial and advertising matter.

New knowledge is diverse, establishing crucial facts about design here, its forms, and the importance it was accorded in supposedly slight material. Widespread and unexpected influences and networks of exchange are traced, and the considerable but neglected role of graphic design in social and cultural formation and the early articulations of a national identity are appraised. While of significance for the development of graphic design history, the findings also have relevance for the wider investigations of new history, including transnational, cosmopolitan, technological, and material histories.

List of Abbreviations

ACL	Auckland Central Library
ANT	Actor-Network-Theory
ATF	American Type Founders Company
ATL	Alexander Turnbull Library
DCL	Dunedin Central Library
DSA	Dunedin School of Art
Hocken	Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena
JCBR	John Cawte Beaglehole Room Victoria University of Wellington Library
JDH	Journal of Design History
Leodis	http://www.leodis.net/display.aspx?resourceIdentifier=200457_40903872
Morse	Morse Research Center for Graphic Arts, Zimmerli Art Museum at Rutgers University, New Jersey
MTG	MTG Hawkes Bay – Museum
NZPC	New Zealand Parliamentary Collections
OAS	Otago Art Society
ODT	Otago Daily Times
PP	Papers Past http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz
Toitu	Toitu Otago Settlers' Museum
USSCo	Union Steam Ship Company of New Zealand
WCL	Wellington Central Library

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Few photographic images of the material in this study exist and I am grateful for the permissions to photograph original work. This had to be done in situ and posed many difficulties, for obvious reasons, of placement on tables or book cushions only, inadequate and artificial lighting (no flash permitted), work bound in volumes, and work in variable condition. Taking the photo was only the beginning of a long process. All work reproduced here is as faithful to the original as possible. All colour originals are reproduced in colour, black and white and tonal works in monochrome.

For Trevor

design critic, research assistant and coffee maker par excellence

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Introduction.

The visual as material evidence of history

My thesis has its long genesis in my teaching of art and, increasingly, design history from 1990 to graphic design classes. New Zealand design history barely existed as a topic then, and there were few local studies. Most of the research for my New Zealand courses was original and I was encouraged by students' enthusiastic engagement with historic print, for its own sake and for the ways it made sense of the present. Students used the formal analysis I had developed as a teaching tool as a valuable and stimulating part of understanding and enacting their professional codes. Teaching design appreciation to general classes I found that apprehension of the significations of visual communication lay a very small distance below the surface of consciousness and once the viewers' acquired some understanding of visual rhetoric their interpretations become remarkably perceptive (a testimony to the power of the medium and skills of the designer), and they could express a sophisticated understanding of visual messages. Later, with the growth in publishing on New Zealand subjects, I became frustrated with the way images from ephemeral print were used. In coffee table design picture books celebration was substituted for serious appraisal. In historical texts images enlivened or illustrated the text but their rich formal rhetoric, with the power to reinforce, contradict, extend, or add nuance to writers' arguments, was ignored. Internationally, graphic design history was seeking an identity as a discipline, and it seemed timely that New Zealand graphic designs should be treated as documents of substance in their own right, with their own history, and further recognized as robust material evidence capable of making significant contributions to social and cultural histories.

Aim

Consequently, the intention of this research is to make a study of graphic design, in ephemeral print in New Zealand circa 1880 – 1914 (the period in which research locates the beginnings of graphic design as a practice), contextualized within local and international print production and debates concerning design. The thesis aim is to contribute to graphic design history, specifically the current debates concerning purpose, scope and methods, by writing a local study that has relevance for both New Zealand, and international graphic design history.

Purpose, method, scope

In seeking to address the problematic issues in graphic design history, this study takes the premise that historical strategies of visual communication design (subsequently referred to as graphic design) as a practice and as material evidence have social and cultural¹ import. As part of the modernising industrialised capitalist world, graphic design grew concurrently with the formation of modern nations, including New Zealand, to the extent the histories may be considered interrelated. It argues local histories have a vital place in, and lively contribution to make to, new forms of knowledge. This study will utilise formal analysis as a tool to demonstrate an alternative and new approach to achieving the thesis aim. In doing so it asks two questions:

Research Questions

1. How [can] the local use of imported visual codes contribute to new models of graphic design as an active circulation of signifying forms in a process of influence, adaptation and exchange?
2. Considering graphic design as communication that encompasses purpose, production, and reception, how might the use of formal analysis allow for the appraisal of its historic signification, activity, and value in culture and society?

In the absence of a local survey history, establishing matters of fact —when, why, who for, who by, in what forms, and to what reception, did graphic design begin in New Zealand, and what governed its appearance? — (Tony Fry *Design History* 12) has been integral to the research.

In contributing to current debate in graphic design history, the thesis will engage five theoretical concerns, which are discussed in detail in Chapter One: historiography, ephemeral print, modernity, margins localities and networks, and semiotics.

Overview

The thesis is organized into four chapters: a review of literature and methodology and three case studies, framed by the Introduction and Conclusion. Case studies have been chosen to, in part, mitigate the widespread problems of loss and the difficulties of dating and attribution of ephemeral material. For each case study material was known to exist, and together they were further representative of technologies, practices and conventions of the time, which in a broad consistency of purpose, codes, and reception,

traverse the variables of making, media and genre in different localities. The first two studies are of individual practitioners, each working within one of the two main mediums in print, the third of a complex, multiple-media periodical production.

Thesis Structure

Chapter One: Colonisations, Territories and Border Crossings

Chapter One integrates a literature and theory review of international writings, structured by the five debates relative to this study. It concludes with an explication of the methodology.

Chapter Two: The Globalised Letter: typography, letterpress, Robert Coupland Harding and *Typo*.

Chapter Two is an investigation of the changes in design principles and practices in letterpress printing evidenced in the job printing and typographical journal (*Typo*) of author, designer, compositor and printer, Robert Coupland Harding. Harding's practice as a printer/compositor fulfills Patrick Cramsie's identification of the process of designing as integral to print from its invention (10). Harding's role as a critic and commentator in a highly active global network of printing trade journals argues against binary models of exchange, and is crucial for understanding the economic, social, and cultural factors behind the radical changes in typography of the time. His "Design in Typography" series in *Typo* extends the readings of his work, and with his critical reviews of typefaces, support the argument of Harding's international significance, first for Artistic Printing and eventually as a proto-modernist. Analysis and identification of typefaces, ornaments, and compositions, provides evidence of how conventions were used, changed and replaced, how they functioned commercially and symbolically in society and culture in relationships between the local and global.

Chapter Three: The Localised Image: lithography, illustration, Robert Hawcridge, Wilkies, and design education.

Artistic letterpress printing was stimulated by competition from lithography. This medium, and the changes and innovations in illustration and lettering and their visual rhetoric, are investigated by a study of Robert Hawcridge during his employment at J. Wilkie Ltd, and then as the Head of the Dunedin School of Art. Hawcridge had an art and trade education in England that was unattainable in New Zealand at the time. He is an example of a designer employed in the print industry at the cusp where "designing

becoming separated from making” (ibid) and his work, while strongly concerned with local needs, displays a quick awareness of international innovations in style that argue for the unpredictability and eclectic nature of networks of influence. His status and known role as a designer and educator provides evidence of public awareness and appreciation of design in both its aesthetic and commercial functions. He contributed to cultural formation through influential images of modernist and nationalist identity, and socially significant works of commemoration for the New Zealand Government.

Chapter Four: Native Talent: the *New Zealand Graphic and Ladies’ Journal*.

The neglected role of periodical print in local history is investigated by a study of the *New Zealand Graphic and Ladies’ Journal* 1890 – 1908/*Weekly Graphic and New Zealand Mail*, April 4, 1908 - 1913. Multiple technologies and the design practices of various compositors, illustrators and advertising agency designers representing a range of trade and art training, come together in this composite genre of the illustrated magazine. The study will argue local adaptations of international style were crucial in social construction. The magazine used design as an instrument of power to image gender and national identity. It used forms of modernity and the indigenous emblems of scenery and Maori, to establish a widely accepted visual representation of New Zealand. To support the argument, type and image analysis is accompanied by statistical data, utilizing David Reed’s categories and methodology, to track changes in technology, editorial, and advertising in local and imported material.

Conclusion

The Conclusion evaluates and synthesises the conclusions from Chapters Two, Three, and Four against the thesis aim and research questions of this Introduction, and the theoretical concerns of Chapter One.

¹ The term ‘culture’ is understood as *inherent* to other spheres, and comprising “all the meaningful activities and practices which constitute a given society” (Liz McFall 153).

Chapter One

Colonisations, Territories, and Border Crossings: a literature and theory review of disciplinary perspectives

The aim of writing a local study that has relevance for both New Zealand, and international graphic design history engages many current epistemological concerns. This inquiry is positioned within ‘new history’, a critical, postmodern interrogation of the subjects, forms and methodologies of ‘traditional’ history, notably of great men, great works, the belief in empiricism as the foundation of irrefutable historical enquiry, and narrative its form of explication. The complex writings of historiographers such as Keith Jenkins, Hayden White, and Frank Ankersmit, posit ‘facts’ as a construct of language and therefore inherently unstable, and claims to truth as relative and affecting only closure. New history, criticized for offering only relativism and localism in the place of universalist liberal values (Terry Eagleton 39, 45-68), nonetheless opens a space for studies such as this which argues investigating the local is essential for the understanding of any ‘universal’. New history also demands the explicit identification of theoretical and methodological approaches to avoid all naturalising assumptions. This investigation challenges methodologies that create dichotomies of value in graphic design history and assign the ephemeral to low or negligible status and the local to exclusion or marginality from a centralised discourse. Instead it joins with recent scholarship in exploring multi-disciplinary perspectives. The following literature and theoretical review discusses five debates relevant to the questions of this thesis.

1. Strategies of exploration: the historiography of graphic design

Although the phrase ‘graphic design’ was not coined until 1922 (Ellen Mazur Thomson 35, Philip Meggs 300), this investigation retrospectively utilises the term to describe the activity of designing for print from the late nineteenth century, the time ‘design’ became the subject of theory, recognised as socially, politically, and economically important, and widely debated (Lara Kriegel). Design in print since Gutenberg’s invention is commonly subsumed into histories of graphic design (Meggs, Johanna Drucker and Emily McVarish, Stephen Eskilson, Cramsie, Paul Jobling and David Crowley), the term used as a synonym for many forms of visual communication, beginning with the earliest marks of pre-history. This inquiry uses the name ‘graphic design’ not to confer a retrospective judgement of a universal, essentialist practice, or to identify a (significant)

dimension of what is now called print culture (Elizabeth Eisenstein, Leslie Howsam, Frances Robertson), but to signify semantically the coherent links of purpose, activity, technology, trade practices and products of the study period with the activity subsequently defined as graphic design.¹

Empire? The aegis of design history

Graphic design history is commonly positioned within the broader field of design history, and this writing will first address the resistance of the key term ‘design’ to definitions. Attempts to codify the word, such as Herbert Simon’s, “everyone designs who devises courses of action aimed at changing situations into preferred ones” (111), or Richard Buchanan’s “the conception and planning of the artificial” (129) become too inclusive to determine a discipline. Fry’s tortuous description, as much negative as positive, is a resistance to such maxims:

I regard [design] as an interactive set of variable relations between a multiplicity of objects, effects, operations and functions...it cannot be synthesized into a unity...It does not operate [however] as a stable system. There are no fixed and steadfast structural relations between all the different components of design...design needs to be recognised as one of the major means by which the world in which we live...is prefigured and manufactured. Design is used to order, organise, make operational, make visible, and to promote the ‘modern’ world. Design is essential in the economic and cultural production (the encoding) of our world as well as in its economic and cultural consumption (the decoding)...Design, therefore, is implicated in how our cultural and economic circumstances are reproduced (*Design History Australia* 17).

Unpicked, Fry’s emphasis on activity, contingency, instability, relativity and the formative and transformative power of design, gives valuable recognition to the social and temporal nature of the pursuit. Other writers, including Kjetil Fallan, concur in locating design within the made, modern world of industrial, mass-produced products (1, 4, 22-24), without denying the synonymous use of ‘design’ with industrial production is covertly value-laden, privileging products and practices that were overwhelmingly modernist, technology centred, Western, and male (Cheryl Buckley, Judith Attfield, Pat Kirkham, Jill Seddon).

Fry, no doubt for efficiency, uses the general term 'design history' to stand for industrial or product design history. While he and Fallan warn of the impossibility of generalising about a field both integral to and pervasive in life, they maintain the dual convention of the term 'design', acting as both a universal and a specific signifier while other recognised domains must carry a qualifying descriptor ('interior' for instance). The term 'graphic', originating in the Greek word for writing or drawing, from 1451 became inextricably associated with printing (Cramsie 9), and with industrialisation become appended to 'design'. Consequently graphic design history occupies a vital if small presence in academia, and in the two oldest scholarly journals, *Design Issues (DI)* and the *Journal of Design History (JDH)*. While Fallan's recent survey has one, highly restricted acknowledgement of graphic design as a "more or less self-contained subfield to design history" (xii), other writings (Fry, Grace Lees-Maffei, Clive Dilnot, David Raizman) acknowledge graphic design as integral to design history when in a service capacity through mediating channels of advertising and marketing.

The relegation of graphic design to a border-area domain must be set against the advantage that in design history theoretical discussions are comparatively advanced. Since the late 1980s design history has sought to define itself as a discipline and respond to the theoretical developments of deconstructionism, signalled for example in Fry's referencing of historian White and cultural theorist Jean Baudrillard. Informed by new theories of representation and of social, cultural and economic relations in capitalist societies, others have also rejected earlier linear, reifying approaches. For Fallan:

Design history has become a complex and wide ranging discipline. It now examines design in all its multifariousness, from conception to development, production, mediation and consumption. Its subject matter has expanded so far beyond the myopic attention to 'good design' and 'great designers' that once dominated the discipline (147).

Writers now decline to offer revised definitions of the activity and products of design, seeking instead to avoid the naturalization of the concept (Fry, Dilnot, Jonathan Woodham, Lees-Maffei, Fallan).

In *Design History Australia*, Fry proposed five categories of research as a revitalisation of design history: "the object in space; the common object (social history of design); design

as culture; design as gender; design as economy” (21). Rejecting approaches that present “design as a certain sort of fixed object”, and a “fabrication” of a natural aesthetic evolution, he seeks a “more complex multi-view” (41) to give due weight to what Bruno Latour has called the “extraordinary career of the term” to the dominance it has in the world today (“A Cautious Promethea”). Lees-Maffei suggests historical inquiry might focus on how designed material acts not only as historical evidence but also as “an outcome of social needs and desires” (41). A move to broaden design history into design studies (Guy Julier), has not gained momentum. Fallan agrees with Julier’s premise that “design culture as an object of study ... includes both the material and the immaterial aspects of everyday life. On one level it is articulated through images, words, forms and spaces. But at another it engages discourses, actions, beliefs, structures and relationships” (7). Even so he argues for retaining the emphasis on *history* while engaging with a focus on culture, because “the entangled nature of our interactions in the material world link design with social and cultural research at the most everyday level” (149).

Nation? graphic design as an independent territory

An independent identity for graphic design began with the establishment of the International Council of Graphic Design Associations (ICOGRADA) in 1957. *Graphic* is an important prefix to *design*, acknowledging differences in purpose, media, technology and ‘use’, and as a field grew further in the 1980s (Teal Triggs 326) with publication of Meggs’, *A History of Graphic Design*, (1986) now in a fifth edition (2011). This foundational survey focused on designs in the Western world “to distinguish works – and their creators – that influenced the ongoing evolution of the discipline” (x). Meggs’ aim, “to identify and document innovation in semantic and syntactic aspects of visual communications” (ibid) laid the foundations for a consideration of the importance of style, which this study argues is a vital part of meaning in design. However these identifications did not result in considerations of the activity of design in society, but followed Nikolaus Pevsner’s *Pioneers of the Modern Movement* (1936, revised as *Pioneers of Modern Design: from William Morris to Walter Gropius*) to establish a now problematic, art history influenced, teleological narrative, culminating in twenty-first century graphic design. Meggs’ *History* was written for an audience of practitioners, design educators and students, to make them conversant with their field and establish a tradition and a hierarchy. It was consequently structured by simplified critical periods and canonical works of individual designers, establishing a vocabulary of professional terms, proper names and stylistic identifications.

Historical surveys subsequent to Meggs', such as Richard Hollis *Graphic Design: a Concise History* (1997), Jeremy Aynsley *Pioneers of Modern Graphic Design: A Complete History*, (2004), Roxane Jubert *Typography and Graphic Design: From Antiquity to the Present* (2006), Eskilson *Graphic Design: A New History*, (2007) and Cramsie *The Story of Graphic Design: From the Invention of Writing to the Birth of Digital Design* (2010), extended this model with varying emphases, for example Jubert on typography and Cramsie on style. Despite some exceptions such as Jobling and Crowley's investigation of the political importance of print, particularly in the crucial period of the nineteenth century, and Drucker and McVarish's thematic rather than linear structure, local histories must position themselves against this dominant model.

Triggs summarised debate on the purposes of graphic design history writing for the 2009 *JDH* special edition "The Current State of Design History", and proposed that designer authored magazines and pamphlets (using New Zealand's *National Grid* as one example), could be a viable alternative to academic approaches ("Designing Graphic Design History"). In a 2011 article "Graphic Design History: Past, Present and Future," she acknowledged "there remains a sense (in comparison to related disciplines) that graphic design history is less established as a discipline, and perhaps less exploratory in terms of defining approaches to studying its own history" (3). Despite this, she has ignored the question of the naturalization of the narrative form in writings, despite the issue being raised by Victor Margolin in 1994 ("Narrative Problems of Graphic Design History"). Triggs presents history as natural, autonomous and self-explanatory and does not ask what might be framing discourses and suitable theoretical approaches. 20 years after Fry's challenge to "go further by questioning the contemporary and historical cultural meaning of product, form and use" (*Design History Australia* 12), investigations of social and cultural significance remain slow to transfer to graphic design history.

More recently studies of image-text relationships in nineteenth century periodicals have been structured by thematically organized, theoretical discussions on the strategies of representation (Peter Sinnema, Gerry Beegan, Joshua Brown). Russell Bestley's 2007 PhD dissertation, *Hitsville UK: punk rock and graphic design in the faraway towns 1976-84*, sought to develop a practical, transferable method of formal analysis to characterize and map regional punk graphics in Britain. In 2012 Polly Cantlon and Alice Lo used analysis of typefaces and layout to evaluate the design of landmark modernist publications

against their didactic content. In 2011, the collection of essays edited by Leslie Atzmon, *Visual Rhetoric and the Eloquence of Design*, demonstrated the most concentrated use of interpretive strategies to date to argue against “certain predominant strands of scholarship [that] see aesthetic form as an empty vessel that carries no intrinsic content” (xii). Graphic design is the subject for several key essays, which investigate how visual rhetoric both reflects and influences cultural patterns (Atzmon, Beegan, Barry Curtis).

Permeable borders: exploring interdisciplinarity

In apprehending design as “a general terrain of multiple activity” (*Design History Australia* 12) Fry identifies the problematic of all design history writing (including this investigation) in the protean nature of design which is not just situated in society, but is vitally, mutually constitutive with it. He counsels:

It is clear just how large a design history project can be and how even modest projects are usually a part of a larger picture. A design project, once undertaken, is difficult to contain. Design history is not discrete, not fully explanatory on its own terms. It is always posited in a larger and most complex history. Such a history is fundamentally the history of a culture and its political economy (13).

The difficulty of encompassing design history within one discipline is clear. Fallan is among the advocates of interdisciplinarity as the way forward, not least for the pragmatic reason that “design history has a long tradition of appropriating theoretical perspectives and methodological approaches from other disciplines” (60), although this borrowing is rarely mutual. Rick Poynor, who had initially argued for retention of the graphic design canon,² in 2011 diagnosed the malady of retarded development of the field³ as the result of a lack of independence from teaching and practice, where history is “essentially an afterthought, a comparatively minor adjunct to the design studio” (“Out of the Studio”). With few specialist teachers or institutional support he finds a common purpose with visual studies, but analysing the Nicholas Mirzoeff edited *Visual Culture Reader* confronts a common problem: “this much-reprinted title finds no space for any discussion of graphic design among the 60 texts that fill its 740 pages ... Not a single writer associated with graphic design history, theory, or commentary contributed to the book. When visual culture writers summarize the areas that concern the new discipline, graphic design is not one of them” (par. 19). Undeterred, Poynor concludes the

integrative approach and robust academic viability of visual culture suggests graphic design history has much to offer and gain by building alliances in the field.

The premise that design in print makes culture physically manifest and offers meanings that are social as well as aesthetic and functional is also theorized in print culture. For book and print historians it is axiomatic that ideas are transmitted through print (Eisenstein, Howsam, Robert Darnton), and the interweaving of the social, the literary and the material, encompassess “a history of communication and of social and political transformation” (James Raven, xviii). D. F. McKenzie founds bibliographic theory in the premise that typography, layout, and graphic devices, the material signs constituting a text, signify the ways designed forms effect and affect readings, linking to society and people of the time and their roles making and receiving (“Panizzi Lectures” II). In the focus on a particular medium, print culture and graphic design history share the material artifact and a concern with its codes yet, as with visual culture, the acknowledgement of graphic design in print culture is rare. Recently Robertson has considered how “print culture, as a business of design and graphic communication, is also part of design history” incorporating “vast literature on print culture from graphic designers and working practitioners of all kinds”, ranging from enthusiastic trade literature to recent “more distanced and critical registers of analysis directed at their own history and practice” (7). While some writers (Michael Twyman, Robin Kinross, Patricia Cost, Doug Clouse) straddle print culture and graphic design, most surveys explanatory of the field (David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery, Howsam) disregard graphic design as graphic design historians ignore the rich sociological approaches of print culture.

2. Common ground: the significance of ephemeral, everyday, and popular print

From mediæval playing cards to sixteenth century religious indulgences, printing has produced items, termed ‘jobs’, that were fragile, low cost, often serial, intended to be short-lived but comprising a steady and remunerative trade. This flow of material became a flood with the mechanisation of print and in its association with the topical and the immediate, became the site for design development and reform. Twyman considers the twin drivers of technology and new needs led to change in and through design in everyday print:

The most important innovations in printing after about 1800 were not made by the book printers, but by numerous craftsmen, engineers, artists, and designers ... In many ways the most original aspects of printing since 1800, both from the design and technical standpoints, are seen in jobbing and periodical printing. Unlike the book printer of the period, who continued with conventions established some three hundred or more years before, jobbing and periodical printers were faced with new problems to solve, new processes and materials to use, new clients to serve, new kinds of information to translate into print. What emerged was a new approach to design which distinguishes the nineteenth-century printer from his eighteenth-century counterpart and leads to the new profession of graphic design in the twentieth century (*Printing 2*).

Twyman favours the term ‘everyday’ for ephemeral, jobbing print, while Simon During reminds us the term is an ideological construction, and that “everyday life is not the same everywhere, at any one time, and the experience is also subjective to the individual. The everyday does not possess a single reality, or a single history, it is multiple, and many histories relating to it escape how we remember, and how history is officially stored” (24). Accepting the immense variability of what is ordinary and unremarkable about the everyday, the concept of frequency, familiarity and accessibility remain pertinent. Closely linked to the ‘everyday’, the ‘ephemeral’ has multiple material forms. As the editor of Maurice Rickards’ *Encyclopedia of Ephemera*, Twyman relies less on the limitations and inconsistencies of his well quoted definition of ephemera as “the minor, transient documents of everyday life”(7), than on the provision of a wide range of artifacts of job printing to delineate the field, providing the guide for this study.

The related word ‘popular’ entangles ‘ephemeral’ and ‘everyday’ in issues of status and taste as modernist, Enlightenment-based dichotomies confer distinctions of high and low value. In seeking to define the boundaries of the struggle for power and legitimacy in culture, Pierre Bourdieu noted an inverse relationship between economic profitability, popularity, and cultural status (“The Field of Cultural Production” 81-2). Everyday, ephemeral print, inextricably bound into the economies of the market place, and popular, as in reaching a wide audience through the reproduction of multiples, is rarely given value in terms of cultural consecration and is neglected as an area of study, despite a new concern in social history with the quotidian. Some exceptions in design history, such as Sigfried Giedion’s *Mechanization Takes Command*, (1948) and Adrian Forty’s

Objects of Desire: Design and Society (1986), replaced the individual genius with the god of technology, but they remain comparatively rare. ‘Everyday’, ‘ephemeral’ and ‘popular’, while overlapping, are terms used discretely, rather than interchangeably in this study, and theoretically and materially conform to Fry’s category of ‘the common object’:

of everyday, regular encounter and use, seldom classified or displayed as ‘good design’. Common objects have major social importance as the spectrum of artifacts which constitute and articulate the material fabric of our everyday world. They rapidly acquire a condition of semi-invisibility ... They are familiar and become taken for granted ... At the basis of understanding of common objects is the recognition that historically they constitute the things most people make, work and live with. A history of such objects is, then, a history of the material fabric which spans our entire economic and cultural life (32).

Print culture concedes the semi-invisibility and ‘taken-for-grantedness’ of everyday print has pragmatic problems for research (Howsam, Maureen Perkins). Twyman has noted:

... the imbalance, which seems to exist in histories of printing, between the treatment given to books and other kinds of printing ... mainly, I suspect, for the simple practical reason that books have been conveniently preserved in quantities in libraries all over the world, while many other kinds of printing have not. Most other items of printing survive only by chance ... It is hardly surprising therefore that, with one or two notable exceptions, historians have avoided the subject of jobbing and other non-book printing (*Printing* 1-2).

Some print historians argue a dominantly economic rather than literary view of printing trades better recognizes ephemera (Raven, Florence Jumonville). John Lewis argues for studies of ephemera to be in contexts because the unselfconscious nature of jobbing print and its reception makes it the most social print medium often providing “a truer picture of the time” (14). Peter Stallybrass documents the economic importance of the subsidizing income from jobbing printing, without which the production of books would have been severely curtailed, as without popular advertising newspapers and magazines could not have flourished. When, to these causes for neglect are added those of status and taste, criticisms of the selectiveness of historical enquiry appear justified. In Bourdieu’s description ‘other’ or ‘non-book’ printing qualifies as “industrial art,

which is doubly suspect, being both mercantile and ‘popular’” (83). Many graphic design histories also disguise the commercial, impermanent nature of all material to favour the glamorous and collectible productions of the poster and private press printing.⁴

Ephemeral print in the period of this study is widely acknowledged as the vehicle for the transition from an essentially typographic to an image-based world through the rise of display (advertising) typography, lithography, and photomechanical pictorial reproduction (Meggs, Beegan, William Ivins). In serving new demands, job printing display type encapsulates purpose, to attract attention and be looked at before being read. Used in headings rather than text blocks, in situations of visual competition, its message must be taken quickly yet effectively and to that end connotative meaning of form becomes as important as denotative. Kinross suggests that from the late nineteenth century layout design merged with display typography independently from book publication (*Modern Typography* 47) to create graphic design, a judgement shared by Clouse (2008) and Angela Voulangas (2009), and Cost (2011). With Twyman they argue that with the proliferation of images, jobbing became the most commercial and the most innovative print in its concern with design and symbolic communicative values.

A focus on ephemera is particularly appropriate for the location of this study in New Zealand immediately following the colonial period, when book publishing was associated with great commercial risk and usually undertaken offshore (Penny Griffiths, Ross Harvey, Keith Maslen 44-5). The history of the missionary presses and colonial newspapers has been well established by writers such as Guy Scholefield, Roderick Cave, and R. B. O'Neill, and in line with international developments in print culture and the history of the book, studies of the readership of New Zealanders are also increasing (Lydia Wevers) but the influence of everyday material, including periodicals, has barely been investigated. Imported ephemera — newspapers, magazines, advertisements, display cards, post cards, posters — kept New Zealanders in touch with visual styles, as did the multiplicity of products from New Zealand's own lively and active print trade, absorbing and refracting these influences in service to the local and the development of a vernacular. Tony Ballantyne and Jane McRae acknowledge that print here worked most effectively in its ephemeral forms as newspapers, proclamations, notices, advertisements and pamphlets. The beginnings of an awareness of this history have been made with the publication of primary material from archives, usually of categories such as posters (Ellen Ellis, Hamish Thompson, Peter Alsop, Gary Stewart, Dave

Bamford), book and magazine covers (Thompson, Richard Wolfe) Christmas cards (Sarah Ell) and exhibition ephemera (Barry Hancox). There are also some histories of firms (Jack Illott), and discrete small studies or small exhibition monographs of individual designers, including some valuable recent, larger studies (David Bennewith, Peter Simpson), but there is no New Zealand equivalent of Geoffrey Caban's *A Fine Line: A History of Australian Commercial Art* (1983). Kathleen Coleridge's methodologically sympathetic study "Ornamental and Display Types used by Commercial Printers in Colonial New Zealand" and the statistics of Harvey's "Economic Aspects of Nineteenth Century New Zealand Newspapers" are helpful beginnings. Apart from Ann Calhoun and Michael Smythe, most writings have slight theoretical or contextual bases and are primarily celebratory constructions. A New Zealand initiated annual (from 2012) on-line journal *Anti-po-des* aims to support the development of a design research culture with an emphasis on the social. Its broad remit, encompassing all design fields has yet to include topics of graphic design history.

Ephemeral print constitutes what most people look at, see, and 'read'. As such material is purposefully produced to be current it has, in this concern with being up-to-date, an enhanced ability to reflect the time, place, and conditions of its making. Homi Bhabha argues "modernity as a *sign* of the present ... gives the practice of everyday life its constituency as *being contemporary*". Cultures and the "conditions of existence" are created and maintained by the constant iteration of the sign as idea and stereotype (348). In *À la recherche du temps perdu*, Marcel Proust's hero continually notes everyday print: "We have put something of ourselves everywhere, everything is fertile, everything is dangerous, and we can make discoveries no less precious than in Pascal's *Pensées* in an advertisement for soap" (Vol 4, 87). For Proust the everyday is not marginal in its mnemonic power.

3. Modern ground: graphic design and modernity

For Fry design began:

within the history of modernity - a history of how the world was made modern. All modern notions of design are products of the rise of post-Enlightenment reason. Design's development is inseparable from the attempt to rationally order the world, to command 'nature'. The context for such development was the rise of an internal logic of an economic system – the capitalist mode of production.

At its crudest, capitalism was developed by design and it developed design, as we know it, in this process (*Design History Australia* 17).

The key terms modern, modernism and modernity are contested, slippery and indeterminate in meaning, as a result the explication of their frequent use in design writing is often omitted. Fallan concedes “the vagueness of the term notwithstanding, modernism is an important and adequate term, because it itself was an integral part of the items and cultural reality it is used to describe. The term participated in creating the history and was not, like so many other compatible terms, created post facto” (112). He favours Călinescu’s duality of modernity, the first a rationale of society through science, technology, economic, and political systems, with notions of progress and the second a radical aesthetic (111), most celebrated as the high culture of modernism. Everyday graphic design, formed by the first modernity and finding forms of symbolic expression in the second, is commonly overlooked in the reification of modernism.

The systems that arose in the modern world stimulated and were served by the rapid transportation of information, and societies (particularly in Western democracies) became constituted culturally by consumption, popular media, and the visual. During the period of this study (Hobsbawm’s ‘long nineteenth century’), Baudelaire originated the term ‘modernity’ to describe the social effects of the theorised ‘modern’ of Marx, Weber and Durkheim. His explication “by modernity I mean the transitory, the fugitive, the contingent” (13), describes an experience that is remarkably appropriate for a history of printed ephemera. This inquiry uses the term ‘modernity’ to signify “the rise and materialization of Enlightenment thought” and as such logocentric, phallogocentric and Eurocentric, grounded in the notions of progress and social evolution (Fry “Geography” 207), but equally acknowledges it as a visual and emotional experience.

Paul Greenhalgh suggests the modernist belief in the socially determinist role of design through its ability “to *transform the consciousness* of those who were brought into contact with it ...[and] the potential to shift their psychological outlook” (95), is not a radical disjunction from nineteenth century ideals but a continuum of the concern for social morality, and the unity “between aesthetics, technics and society, in order that an appropriate design of the highest visual and practical quality could be produced for the mass of the population” (91-2). Like earlier design reformers, modernists believed in aesthetic advance towards universal and principled form for design (ibid, Raizman 77),

an attitude Raizman believes became manifest with the Aesthetic Movement in the 1890s (103-11) when design, as a trade practice, a topic of professional discussion, and a wider concern in society, became concurrent with and integral to what was referred to as the 'modern'. The disruptive modernity of the avant garde (Cubism, Futurism, dada, Surrealism) recognised everyday, mass produced print as the signifier of the modern world, and used it in works to challenge the definitions of art and its practice.⁵

The entanglement of design with capitalism through the joining of art and industry, aesthetics and the marketplace (Kinross, Jobling & Crowley, Kriegel, Twyman, Fry) occurred worldwide. By the 1990s New Zealand had institutional design education, as well as fully mechanised letterpress, typesetting, lithography, and photographic image reproduction, making print an increasingly visual, democratic, and designed product for a popular market. For pastoral economies such as New Zealand and Australia, where manufacturing and urbanisation were not applicable but the modernities of consumption and leisure were (Caroline Daley 423), print represented advanced industrialisation, making their modernity visually manifest through symbolic style.

4. *Internationalism: margins, localities and networks of relationships and activity*

The debate concerning binary concepts of centre and peripheries/margins is critical for the investigations of Research Question One, how the local use of imported visual codes can contribute to new models of graphic design as an active circulation of signifying forms in a process of influence, adaptation and exchange. For Fry:

Marginality has most commonly been configured in a binary model in which it is the "other" of centrality. Two ways of viewing this configuration dominate. One poses marginality on the geographic edge of a metropolitan centre, in either national or international terms. The second view has, as its basis, power, rather than location. Being on the edge of centres of political or economic power thus becomes defined as powerlessness, irrespective of any physical distance from any centre of power. ("Geography" 204).

Margins of power

Fry's two marginalities are concerns of new history as it appraises historic modernity through the lens of postcolonialism and feminism, requiring the silences concerning the

colonised (by culture, ethnicity or gender) be addressed. While Buckley's "Made in Patriarchy" alerted writers to the gender bias inherent in design history, Attfield argues the continued urgency of feminist perspectives, as design continues to shape the environment and make assumptions about women's place within it. Graphic design provided "the imagery women used to form their identity" (350), positioning women as consumers, not makers/originators. The absences and invisibilities of women in design history can to an extent be redressed by a consideration of how and why women were invisible at the production stage (Seddon) and enable a better understanding of "why dominant masculine values are constantly reproduced in the material world" (351-2).

Local studies such as this add to gender two further levels of complexity arising from the implication of graphic design in colonisation, those of colonised indigenous peoples and of peripheral settler societies. For Ballantyne, "being colonial was defined by a set of relationships between the colonists and the people they dispossessed *and* a set of relationships that connected those colonists to the United Kingdom, Ireland and component parts of the Empire" ("Thinking Local" 139). Edward Said, in his influential book *Orientalism* (1978), considers the failures of both empirical and imperial history to accommodate those outside the geographical, ethnic and cultural boundaries these histories created, constructing them as 'other,' controlled in representation by the societies those histories served. Bhabha questions alternative histories: "if we contest 'grand narratives', then what alternative temporalities do we create to articulate the differential (Jameson), contrapuntal (Said), interruptive (Spivak) historicities of race, gender, class, nation within a growing transnational culture?" (249-50). His proposal of the concept of hybridity to oppose the homogeneity of modernism (362) and create "other historical sites, other forms of enunciation" (65), has resonance for this study. Recent writings such as those of Karen Fiss, Artemis Yagou, Lisa Banu, and Anandita Ghosh, call attention to issues of economic dependency and race. They demonstrate how the perceived absence of design outside the 'first world' is the result of the structuring discourses of Western models, and the inability of these to recognize the authenticity of transformations on the margins. Nonetheless, while there are valid design 'herstories' and indigenous writings, local histories such as this cannot substantively rewrite the masculine, Eurocentric nature of design and modernity.

Margins of geography and culture

Survey histories (Meggs, Fallan, et al) have little to say about design outside the triangle of America, Britain and Western Europe, despite the claims of commentators such as Lees-Maffei that “the globalization of design history remains a priority for all interested in the present and future validity of the discipline” (*Design History Reader* 469). Woodham concurs; “[if] the history of design ... is not to become another form of global cultural imperialism there is a need to value highly analysis of the local and the national as a means of building up geographically appropriate insights and a greater range of methodological approaches” (“Local, National and Global” 258). Anna Calvera’s rationale is pragmatic “to get a place in history and enter inside its boundaries, it is necessary to have a history, and to have a history, it is necessary to build up local and national histories and begin to tell them” (375).⁶ For Margolin, confining ‘design’ to industrial mass production implies “an implicit hegemonic structure of relations between nations. There are those nations where design occurs and those where it does not.” He sees graphic design as less affected by geography; “the case of graphic design is different. It has spread much more widely than industrial design and over a much longer period” (“A World History” 237). Yagou has warned of national studies making assumptions of localized, shared characteristics (1). This thesis uses the term ‘local’ for the association with locus, the place of a happening, as opposed to ‘national’ with the implications of a political state, as historians agree New Zealand’s nationhood was nascent, or in a process of forming during the period of this study (James Belich 117-8).

An alternative to simplifying dichotomies such as centre and periphery, are network models, which may better explain how material circulates to reflect and contribute to social change. A network model may also allow consideration of tensions and asymmetries of power in relationships such as those of geography, economy, ethnicity, gender, as these too, as “a condition of isolation, inbetweenness, and ineffectuality”, can persist in a network (Fry “A Geography” 204). Although it has only recently been used in historical studies,⁷ Fallan considers Actor-Network-Theory (ANT) as applicable to design history, suggesting it can act as “a mental corrective and conceptual backdrop” (69), “facilitating new and dynamic ways of thinking about design” (71). ANT, originated by Latour, has at its core the idea that facts and entities, including ‘society’ “are produced and sustained by networks of interacting agents – nonhuman as well as human, objects as well as organisms” (cited by Barbara Smith, “Dolls, Demons and DNA” 25). As described by John Law, geographies, whether national, regional or local,

are not topographically conformist but constituted by networks, “nation states are made by telephone systems, paperwork, and geographical triangulation points” (7). Lees-Maffei reminds us “the urgency of current efforts to globalize design history may give the erroneous impression that design itself has only recently become global. In fact, historic trade routes have ensured that designed goods have been physically transported around the globe, carrying with them international influences and enabling design dialogues between nations and cultures for centuries” (*Design History Reader* 467). The entwined actors and actants who sustain activity in networks of design in print are not just the compositors, clients and commentators but also printer’s samples and type specimen books, trade journals, advertisements, illustrations, presses and inks, and the metal type, stereos and blocks that produce the multitudinous and fugitive sheets of printed paper that physically travel throughout the world. In his article “On Recalling ANT” Latour eschews the semantic change in the term ‘network’ in the digital age, explaining ‘network’ used not to indicate iterations, but “a series of *transformations*—translations, transductions—which could not be captured by any of the traditional terms of social theory. With the new popularization of the word network, it now means transport *without* deformation, an instantaneous, unmediated access to every piece of information. That is exactly the opposite of what we meant” (22). Even with such provisos, ANT is deliberately (provocatively) contradictory in order to avoid the traps of reification, seeking instead to find alternatives to Enlightenment thinking and dubious dichotomies such as agency and structure (which Latour suggests may not be opposed, as McFall argues culture and economy are not, 153), by insisting on “the performative character of relations and the objects constituted in those relations” (Law 7). Latour insists a social order is very likely a *circulating* entity, and “the *summing up* of interactions through various kinds of devices, inscriptions, forms and formulae, into a very local, very practical, very tiny locus” (17); the *locus*, and *devices* are central to this study.

Calvera theorises circulation and transformation as polycentric, a geography of concentric peripheries around centres suggested by Braudel,⁸ where “there is a process of the adaptation of ideas and aesthetic references, or technological innovation, coming from abroad and, through feedback, results become subtly different” (380). Networks and polycentrism have much in common with transnational history, a challenge to the traditional view of peripheries such as New Zealand as isolated, distinctively pragmatic, and models of exceptionalism (Giselle Byrnes). The topographies of relationships ANT is alert to underlie this revisionist approach in the greater understanding of the histories

of settler societies and their common patterns of development. Ballantyne rejects the model of a dominant, productive centre (Britain) and consuming, dependent peripheries (the colonies), instead postulating cross-cultural exchange between localities in the “important histories of cooperation and interchange that transect the border”, with his model the British Empire. In “Thinking Local” he examined “how colonists in a specific location accessed information and developed cultural understandings and ... shared their ideas”(138), noting print “was a way in which the world entered”(147).

5. Map reading: visual syntax, semiotics and semantics

As visual and textual constructions with a primary purpose of communication, ephemeral print offers rich material for semiotic investigation informed by visual and cultural studies and validates the use of formal analysis for the appraisal of the historic signification, activity, and value of graphic design in culture and society (Research Question Two). Understanding such communication through semiotics means accepting movement, process, relationships and instability. Of what is usually acknowledged as the three divisions of semiotics - semantics, syntactics and pragmatics – syntactics’ concern with the relations among signs in formal structures is particularly important for designed print and the identification of style. ANT’s ideas of relational materiality and circulating entities, as described by Law, are understood as “a ruthless application of *semiotics*”, and as a “*semiotics of materiality*. It takes the semiotic insight, that of the relationality of entities, the notion that they are produced in relations, and applies ruthlessly to all materials—and not simply to those that are linguistic” (3).

The writings of Roland Barthes on the signifying relationships of image and text — advertising in *Mythologies*, photography in *Camera Lucida* — concern graphic design. In *Image Music Text* he describes a visual message as encompassing three sites; “a source of emission”, “a channel of transmission” “and a point of reception” (15). In a graphic design, the ‘source’, concerned with purpose, may be multiple and embodied in a client, producer, compositor, designer, printer; the reception in readers or audience, intended or unintended, is equally diverse. The channel of transmission (the medium), Barthes describes as “a complex of concurrent messages” formed in print by image, text, layout, and context to create meaning (ibid). While postulating emission and reception is social, Barthes confers some autonomy on the emission. He accords every message a dual nature — “a *denoted* message, which is the *analogon* itself, and a *connoted* message”, and it

is the “collusion of a denoted message and a connoted message which is the – probably inevitable – status of all forms of mass communication” (17-18).

Others have elaborated Barthes’ model (John Walker, Darnton, Lees-Maffei). Stuart Hall’s studies of visual communication (for television), elaborated in “Encoding, Decoding”, theorises four stages: production, circulation, use, and reproduction. Production (need, emission) consists of “apparatuses, relations and practices of production” (91) that include formal rules specific to the syntagmatic encoding of the material agent, designated the professional code. When the product is distributed or circulated (the channel of transmission) it becomes primarily discursive and “must be then translated – transformed again – into social practice if the circuit is to be both complete and effective. If no ‘meaning’ is taken there can be no ‘consumption’” (91). Each stage in this process is necessary for communication to be fulfilled, while the enactment of one part does not guarantee the next. Decoding, use, or appropriation of meaning, is theorized as the result of a degree of alignment or symmetry between encoding and decoding, which possibly never achieves a complete fit but always has some alteration (adaptation, transformation) as a re-presentation, or re-production.

In Hall’s theory the stage of circulation marks the most discursive form of the message, which is apposite for his time-based medium but also for ephemeral print. Similarly viewed in a moment, meaning is created syntagmatically through repetition and scale of distribution, not in one period of time or of any one item, but of multiple and incessant productions and reproductions that achieve ubiquity and establish and alter conventions over time. Whitney Davis has reminded us that very little of the close looking and close reading of works by the designer (in order to work using personal skills and abilities within their professional code) is undertaken by the beholder in the decoding stage (127). Decoding will always be variable, partial, and subjective, even by an intended audience, so conventions and their readings may be considered dominant, negotiated, or, if a message is understood but not accepted, oppositional codes. Many disciplines (visual and cultural studies, design history, print culture) have become concerned with the ‘reader’, ‘consumer’ or ‘receiver’ at this ‘point of reception’ (Roger Chartier). For this study, the reconstruction of the historic ‘reader’ is difficult and lacking empirical data, not least, as with ephemeral material, the evidence is elusive and fragmentary. Consideration of the reception of any design must rely on “a close reading of [these] material objects within their historical context to suggest some plausible meanings”

(Beegan *Mass Image* 209), consequently there must be a degree of deduction and extrapolation.

As early as 1980, Ross Atkinson argued for semiotics as an essential part of analytical bibliography (the foundation of descriptive and enumerative bibliography, 60-61). Analytical bibliography shares with graphic design history the scrutiny of the material artifact, for McKenzie as a “sociology of texts” (“Panizzi Lectures” 5), with emphasis on the meanings encoded in form and materiality. However Twyman argues bibliography is incapable of handling the diversity of ephemera found for example in nineteenth century lithographic products, with their limitless range of letterforms, integration of pictures and words, profusion of colour, and diversity in the arrangement of parts, failing to order easily identifiable genres (“Panizzi Lectures” 174-5). This process of interpreting “the complexities of image and text in their material production and social effects” Sinnema defines as “ekphrasis” (31), suggesting it must favour a reliance on connotation in reading images. In acknowledging language is omnipresent in dealing semiotically with visual form (46), he theorises all elements of graphic language are interdependent in manifesting “the various ways in which the reading subject knows the world, relies upon many of the same assumptions about the way the world operates, and thereby functions according to a set of meanings already comprehensible to those readers who pick it up” (30), an premise shared by Beegan (*Industrialization* 222).

For Barthes, in the interlinked codes of denotation and connotation, connotation is “always historical” (19), to large extent grounded in learned and socialized conventions. As a result connotative meaning is also localized, geographically, culturally, and temporally, to a greater or lesser degree. Research using semiotics, as proposed by Barthes, must take into account the situatedness of all communication, acknowledging that there is no universal or ‘essential’ code (Fry, Latour, Law, Hall), although many conventions are widely understood. In the late nineteenth century, debates over artistic printing were in part localised. British critics claimed the popular ‘American Style’ was vulgar and brash, American printers decried British conservatism, and both considered the German use of ornament excessive. The criticisms were within the role allocated to design in international economic competition and support Hall’s contention that coded meanings become more active ideologically “where *already coded* signs intersect with the deep semantic codes of a culture” (97), in this case myths of national character.

Apprehending connotative meaning allows for open readings and attention to location, while the concept of polysemy considers how signs undergo change. During explains polysemy as “a technical word for the way in which a particular signifier always has more than one meaning, because ‘meaning’ is an effect of differences within a larger system” (6). In cultural studies this notion leads to “more dynamic and complex theoretical concepts which help us describe how cultural products may be combined with new elements to produce different effects in different situations” (7). Cultural production by ‘negotiation’ returns us to theories of hybridization, enabling the researcher “to see how particular individuals and communities can actively create new meanings and signs from cultural products which come from afar” (ibid), and further consider how meanings in particular situations may be ordered by material interests or power relations, at issue in any margin whether gendered, geographic or ethnic.

A semiotic approach removes any printed artifact from the focus of connoisseurship to allow it to be more deeply investigated as a socially constituted code. Nonetheless, following Barthes, this inquiry considers style and aesthetics as an integral part of any message. Cramsie, locating the organizing principle of ‘style’ in oratorical origins in Classical Greece, argues it is important to restore the gravity of the term as a “recognizable way of doing or making something” (12). ‘Style’ has been problematic in design history, with uses ranging from a pejorative implying “superficial surface characteristics” and something counterfeited or dishonest (Beatrice Warde 84), to “a philosophical project of the deepest order. Style is intrinsically rhetorical, the expression of a series of more or less convincing propositions about life and the way it might be ordered” (Bruce Mau 27). The term has an historic component, with negative connotations growing after the 1930s and the era of ‘styling’ in design. As used in this study, style refers to a recognizable, identifiable and unified set of mannerisms of form that express “distinct inherent values” (Steven Heller and Louise Fili 11). Even if invisible to a reader (in the sense of unregarded), style is connotative and operates as “a social, historical and philosophical marker” (Cramsie 12). For Dick Hebdige style, a complex signification to do with identity, ideology, and assertion, is of most interest when modified, a signification of new and replacement ideologies (17-18, 81-96).

Aesthetics are a key component of any professional code and its connotative meanings, as they are culturally formed and consequently modified by place and time, despite temporal claims of objective standards. Concurring with During, Atzmon perceives

design aesthetics as profoundly rhetorical, operating most powerfully at the level of meta-beliefs, to “orchestrate an array of cultural themes ... involved in the generation and proliferation of cultural belief systems” (xiv). She argues “the material and aesthetic qualities of designed artifacts likewise embody a range of meanings that owe much to the designer’s beliefs and intentions as well as to the historical contexts in which the artifacts were designed” (xiii). A problematic noted by Sinnema occurs when images that should be disturbing to readers are ultimately unchallenging, through the negation of accompanying text or their organisation to be aesthetically pleasing (44). Beegan gives evidence of conventional, reassuring images modifying disturbing text (*Industrialization* 212-7). Such aestheticisation (as differentiated from the aesthetics) can be both a signifier of intention, and a reminder of the ambiguities at the heart of semiotics.

Methodology

Materials, selection, case studies

The evidence base of original material in this thesis has been located in public libraries, museums and archives throughout the country and to a lesser extent in private collections, and the methodology for its study flows from the theories cited above. The case studies cover a diversity of subjects, media, location, education, work, and design practice found in New Zealand at the time. The choice of work for reproduction was directed by visual form and temporal placement. Synchronic comparisons allow a selection of work judged to be typical or distinctive for the designer, medium, purpose, and/or period. Diachronic comparisons enable the appraisal of a piece in relation others that preceded or followed in time, to allow tracing of stylistic influence and exchange as well as social and cultural concerns. Such selection assisted the reading of connotative meaning and the way it is changed through adaptation and modification of codes.

Analysis

The value of this study lies inseparably with the method, “first, design is of great importance and significance in the modern world. Second, precisely because of this, the *form* that designing takes in this emerging world is of social and ontological importance; so, too, is its history” (Dilnot “The State of Design History” 218). With graphic design, the fundamental characteristics of form, the “semantic centre of gravity,” consist of the combination of words and/or pictures arranged on a single spatial plane, “invariably framed by the simple geometry of the rectangle, with all the compositional forces this

format brings to bear ... The power of two dimensions is exploited by all forms of graphic reproduction ... exerting an influence across the whole of the visual arts” (Cramsie 10). This power mediates our understanding of visual representation and the world. Furthermore, “it is both geared towards and a product of a process of reproduction ... its particular form will have been influenced by the technology used to reproduce it” (11). These characteristics frame the formal analysis of selected work. Within the syntax of the medium, the focus is on the elements of design⁹ and their visual gestalt when disposed on a printed sheet by a compositor/designer/printer, to be noticed, (decoded) consciously or unconsciously, by a reader. Embedded in these codes are borrowings, influences, and historically situated social, cultural and aesthetic meanings, which enable historical periods to be understood by their distinct form (style) in visual representation (Stanley Morison *Typographic Arts*), assisting the understanding of connotative meaning (G. Thomas Tanselle 68). Formal analysis is a dis-integration, or unpacking of the visual to investigate the elements of style and iconography, not only for the purpose of placing it historically (formalism), but in this case also geographically, in order to further “investigate the causes of an apparent configuration” (Davis 46).

Such an approach is rare in graphic design history, relying on a degree of historical scholarship still developing in the field. However one recent example, for practitioners as much as historians, is the innovative *Anatomy of Design* by Heller and Mirko Illic, which visually traces genealogies of formal influence (avoiding the difficulty of language) for 49 graphic designs, a process likened to archeological excavation. Atzmon’s call for “a reconception of formal analysis of visual objects, for a new focus on visual form as a site of rich rhetorical material” seeks to fortify, not eliminate the language based “techniques for the analysis of visual phenomena” (xxi) as “there is no intrinsic opposition between material visual form and theory” (xx). The problems of terminology for this study, such as the manifold meanings of ‘image’ and the connotations of a mere copy or likeness, are acknowledged but are too widely used in the field to change.

For analytical bibliographers letterforms have significance as “the oldest, largest and most complex set of abstract visual features produced by human culture (Bradshaw cited by Nicholas Barker 246) and as typefaces, the most ‘invisible’ sorts of design artifacts, can help identify printers, printing shops, dates, and changes. For this investigation the identification and sourcing of typefaces, ornament and illustration are analogous to what James Secord termed the “literary replication” of ideas that can

become identifiable ‘cultural tracers’ in social history (41-42). While the denotation of type may communicate linear narrative, the letterforms communicate persistent non-linear meanings (xvi) and typefaces, as well as identifiable styles and image iconography, as tracers (or ‘traces’, Bhabha 234) can indicate networks of exchange, social and cultural ideas and design influences. However widespread piracy in the nineteenth century, followed by licensing of typefaces to other foundries when patenting began in the last quarter of the century, means foundry attributions must be regarded with some caution. As this is a history of *design* in print this thesis has endeavoured to trace typefaces to originating foundries and their type designers and has relied principally on the researches of William Loy, Stephen Saxe, Clouse and Cost in U.S. Patent offices.

The analysis of image iconography builds on John Berger’s influential *Ways of Seeing*, which posits seeing as preceding reading and images as embodying a way of seeing, to be interpreted by an individual way of viewing, formed from learned conventions and cultural assumptions (Berger 9-11). In graphic design, image, text, and their relationship, always performs a particular communication purpose enabling their visual rhetoric to be analysed, identified and treated as information. This deconstruction allows comparisons and intertextuality with other material, local and global, to indicate use and popularity (rather than accord value), and reveal the process of mediation design enacts, taking forms and conventions and culturally recoding them for another setting.

Conclusion

This thesis asserts graphic design history is the most appropriate field to investigate material of such pictorial and visual variety as found in late nineteenth century ephemera (Twyman “Panizzi” 174-5) and, in a meeting of related disciplines, develop the analysis and verbal representation of visual representation. As there is as yet no dedicated history of graphic design in New Zealand, and as the analysis of codes and rhetoric of popular print to determine the social role of design represents an innovative, cross-disciplinary investigative approach, the contribution to new knowledge and understanding lies in both the subject and the methodology. In meeting the thesis aim, the following chapters interrogate material design, and the practice of its making, through the lens of the concerns discussed above, which are not only the preoccupations of graphic design history. This study relates to many fields of history in that it is interpretive and does not seek to prove a hypothesis. Tanselle’s warning that “primary evidence ... is not unambiguous simply because it is ‘primary’” (60), is heeded. As much as possible a

triangulation of the analysis of original primary material, with documentary evidence will be used to avoid the dangers of simplistic and over-inductive interpretation and fulfil the study's stated respect for the material as evidence of history.

¹ Practice led the definition. American William Dwiggins originated the term in 1922 to describe his activities, initially in advertising, of illustration, lettering, calligraphy, and layout, then book and type design. The popular alternative term was commercial art.

² At the 2005 "New Views: Repositioning Graphic Design History" symposium.

³ He cites the three issues of *Visible Language* 1994-5, dedicated to exploring graphic design history, but failing to produce any lasting or substantial scholarly research.

⁴ Heller, in "Advertising, Mother of Graphic Design" argues advertising was the origin of contemporary graphic design, but lost favour in the early twentieth century as the self-conscious profession sought respectability via a formalist aesthetic rather than a commercial ethos.

⁵ "Go back to Paris around the turn of the century, and follow an artist as he returns from the Louvre to his studio at the end of the day... Beside, beneath and behind him in that stroll, in the apparently trivial and marginal things taken for granted along his path—in the cheap reproductions he brushed past on his way out of the museum, in the brightly coloured commercial posters along the boulevard and in the shop windows of the department stores, in the newspapers and cartoon journals of the morning, stacked up in kiosks along the quai, and even in the mean scrawlings on the walls of the darkened side streets—was an alphabet for art's new language. There, in germ, lay another telling power of the coming age—modern urban culture ... and shortly a spark would arc over to create a permanent circuit between high art and the low culture of the modern city" (Kirk Varnedoe and Adam Gopnik 15).

⁶ The call for national design histories was first made at the 3rd International Conference on Design History and Design Studies (ICDHS), held in Istanbul in July 2002.

⁷ For example Kevin Hetherington (52).

⁸ The quote translated from Braudel: "En guise de conclusion" (1977) *Les Ecrits de Fernand Braudel. L'histoire au quotidien*. Paris, Editions de Fallois, 2001, 248.

⁹ Generally the elements are classified as point, line, shape, tone, texture, form, space, colour; the principles as emphasis, movement, rhythm, pattern, balance, unity. See for example David Lauer, and Paul Zelanski and Mary Pat Fisher.

Chapter Two: The Globalised Letter: typography, letterpress, Robert Coupland Harding, and *Typo*

Introduction

Navigating networks

Enmeshed in radically changing technology, intense trade competition, and the growth of popular, democratic and fluid markets, print was not immune to aesthetic criticisms of Victorian excess, or public concern with the social and moral dimensions of design which drove nineteenth century reform (Kriegel). This chapter begins the exploration of the issues of design in print in the dominant technology of letterpress, its major component of typography and product of ephemeral print as they were apprehended in New Zealand through the printing and writings of Robert Coupland Harding (1849-1916). As a locally educated, self-employed compositor, printer, commentator, and scholar of catholic interests, Harding made a substantial contribution to contemporary design discourse in print, through his printing and his self-produced journal *Typo: A Monthly Newspaper and Literary Review devoted to the Advancement of the Typographic Art and the Interests of the Printing, Publishing, Bookselling, Stationery, and Kindred Trades* (1887 to 1897). His use of typographic form, and his widely circulated and reprinted design columns and criticisms provide specific, concrete examples of local practice and meaning within the circulation of ideas and ideals in the meshes of international trade journals that provided the forum for industrial, social and aesthetic debate. Following Harding's adoption and adaptation of aesthetic style allows for the consideration of his activities in, and contribution to, the cultural, social, and economic role of design in letterpress job printing, first through the connotations of Artistic Printing, then early modernity.

In the thesis aim of contributing to new approaches to graphic design history through inter-disciplinary, non-traditional local histories, the material studied is the rich textual and visual archive of *Typo*, combined with Harding's job work, contextualised within cultural, social, and industrial change. The chapter will use formal analysis for the identification and appraisal of layouts, typefaces, and ornament enabling the tracking, geographically and temporally, of design ideas relevant to and embodied in typographic form, in order to understand visual transmission and influence in design within concepts of marginality and networks.

The chapter falls broadly into three parts: contextualisation; Harding's job printing; *Typo* and writings on design. The first part situates Harding within the practice of job printing locally and internationally, and appraises his early work as evidence of the growing influence of design reform with his participation in networks of printing journals and trade transmitting visual influences. In the second, selected job printing from 1880 to 1896 encompassing the style of Artistic Printing are analysed to show his use of type and ornament, their sources are identified and his stock appraised to further demonstrate transmission of influence, ideas, and their change. The third part is a consideration of *Typo* and Harding's practical and theoretical writings "Design in Type" and "Type Specimens" that articulate his relationship to modernity and the issues of ornament, in order to evaluate the significance and values accorded to design in print, and Harding's role in their construction.

Context

The globalised artisan: Robert Coupland Harding

Harding grew up and was educated within a milieu of printers, photographers and painters,¹ when New Zealanders freely engaged with concerns from "home", still seeing themselves as "co-owners of the British Empire and of Old British culture and heritage" (Belich 12). What is crucial however in his professional life beyond 1886, as "native-born Pakeha outnumbered immigrants and ties with Britain were beginning to wane" (Keith Sinclair 31), was his increasing engagement in wider international exchange. His career as a journalist, and newspaper and job printer, spanned a time of critical change in global print design, beginning with the Aesthetic Movement and Artistic Printing. He began *Typo* as design became a concern in the industry and society, and ended his printing career as the change to modernity was becoming apparent.

Harding has been accorded recognition in his own country. Although remembered in his obituary as a journalist ('Late Mr. R. C. Harding' *Evening Post* 18 December 1916 8), he was reinstated as a typographer in Andersen's 1940 biography² for *A History of Printing in New Zealand*, and this esteem has notably continued in the writings of McKenzie from 1983, and others since.³ Local fame can risk the dangers Fry has warned of, the superficial commentary and uncritical celebration that arises from attempts to construct local histories with conventionalist, centrist approaches (*Design History Australia* 43). From McKenzie's judiciously worded estimation that Harding "has a

strong claim to be considered New Zealand's first and most eminent typographer" ("Harding"), he has acquired the gloss of *the* first, the country's "own printing guru" (Rosslyn Johnston 272), which is problematic in seeking alternatives to canonical methodologies. As theorised by Calvera "peripheral narratives related to local matters have always the same structure: a nation is only known by a highlight moment or personage but nobody knows anything about the historical background which explains the work and the character of this highlight moment" (374).

This chapter does not seek to add to Harding's lustre or subscribe to his identification as an antipodean great *man* of print (Fry *Design History Australia* 43), but to understand his contribution to design by examining him *within* the historical background. He is undoubtedly significant, and the temptation to heroicise and place him within a 'local canon' is founded on his (textual) presence on the larger stage of the typographical journals and in subsequent international publications, including those of Cave, Coleridge, and McKenzie, Maurice Annenberg *A Typographic Journey Through the Inland Printer, 1883 – 1900*⁴ (1977), Matthew Young *The Rise and Fall of the Printers' International Specimen Exchange*⁵ (2012), and Simon Loxley *Type: the Secret History of Letters*⁶ (2004). Completed in 2014, Harding and *Typo* formed the focus of the Marsden funded project at Victoria University, Wellington, 2011-2014, *The Printers' Web: Typographical Journals and Global Communication Networks in the Long Nineteenth Century*.⁷ However, apart from McKenzie's 1993 tribute "Robert Coupland Harding on Design in Typography", no detailed research has considered Harding's role in the promotion of design in print⁸ as it gradually became "distinguished from, as well as related to, the work of artisans and laborers" (Raizman 77), or the effects of Harding's effort to regulate the flux of profound change by a search for standards "through the application of principles that might stand beyond the whims of fashion, the quest for profits, and the innovations of industry" (ibid). Nor have researchers examined the visual aesthetics of his work in relation to his writings. This study is an attempt to address that lacuna.

Commercial modernity: job printing

The production of ephemera changed radically in the early nineteenth century "with the introduction of large, bold, eye-catching types which were designed specially for the purposes of advertising" (Twyman *Printing* 68). The success of job printing as a trade was predicated on the availability of these new display types being produced by the foundries. Eighteenth century decorated type – shaded, in-line and floriated – became a

riot of new designs in the nineteenth, “to meet the market, expanding with ever-greater rapidity, for ephemera” (77). While mechanization spread rapidly, hand composition and impression, as practiced by Harding, was important for display setting and hand-operated or small, powered machines with low overhead costs for small jobs, stayed in many print shops well into the twentieth century.⁹ In the same way artisanal craft and ideals embodied in his work, persisted alongside modern efficiencies of factory production, “because so many jobs in printing are related to the scale of human needs and the relatively stable size of social groups” (8). The compositor remained as the last embodiment of four hundred year old skills and values as typesetting machines became dominant internationally by the early twentieth century.

Even when embellished by ornament, the primary “visual means” (Kinross 28) of job printing were the display typefaces and their layout. While the auction catalogue of his library after his death reveals Harding was a serious book collector (Meghan Hughes) and an aficionado of illustration, his primary expertise, his design theories, and his printing practice, were all concerned with the life blood of letterpress — typography. Design began with the metal typefaces cast and marketed by typefounders in a highly skilled and specialised industry, separate to and much smaller than the global printing industry.¹⁰ With industrialisation design innovation to meet the demand for display faces moved from Europe to Britain. From here typefaces,¹¹ spread throughout the Empire and beyond to be the major component of an international printing trade, the speed of this trade explaining the contemporaneous appearance of typefaces and ornaments in print from widely dispersed locations.

By the second half of the century innovation had shifted to a rapidly industrialising America, which became dominant in the technologies of lithography, offset and rotary presses, typefounding and, by the end of the century, hot metal composing machines (Cost 14-15, *Typo* 24 October 1887 77). The electrotyping of type matrices (Cost 15-5) sped up production and increased competition through the widespread pirating of designs until copyright and patent laws caught up in the 1870s. New inks, paper, and press refinements allowed compositional versatility. The mechanisation of punch-cutting from the 1880s increased the speed of typeface manufacture and automated typecasting machines allowing “molten lead alloy to be molded into ever more delicate designs” for ever more decorative typefaces, ornaments, and combination borders (Clouse and Voulangas 19-20). At the same time “the embrace of aesthetic reform by

consumers in the United States emboldened manufacturers and tradesmen to satisfy market demands with a loosely interpreted notion of the ‘artistic’” (16). When technologies were competitive nationally, such as the simultaneous development of typesetting machines in America (Bruce Foundry, New York) and Britain (Miller & Richard, Edinburgh), it was design and marketing as much as the strength of industry that gave American foundries the edge.¹²

Job printing shared the tensions in commodified culture between philosophic and artistic ideals and commercial practice (Michele Bogart 8). While the cultural status of job printing, analysed by Bourdieu, was low (“The Field of Cultural Production” 81-2), its accessibility to new mass audiences made it a focus for design reform. As tastemakers came to understand the communicative role of style they sought to control and educate this broad populace. As much as manufactured products, ephemeral print reveals the “complicated relationships between economic change, aesthetic innovation, and cultural formation” (Kriegel 8). Harding’s writings occasionally demonstrate the ambivalence between the educated ideals of the literate job printer and the perceived low values of his market. He apprehended the important, democratic role of job printing, “a noble calling” (*Typo* 26 May 1888 37), and unlike many of the time,¹³ was a persistent advocate of the beneficial activities of advertising. His article “The Illiterate Customer”, published December 1895 in the *Inland Printer* (Annenberg 518-9) is based on his own experiences and illustrates the tension between professional standards and business survival.

Letterpress job printing in New Zealand at 1880

Histories of local print, while acknowledging the role of the foundational Church Missionary Society (CMS) Press, begun by Colenso in 1834, consider print practice in newspapers in general, and the social, cultural and political content of the papers in particular (Griffith Harvey Maslen 47-8 and 128). Against the textual emphasis on the newspaper, Colenso’s production of single sheets, including government proclamations and gazettes, is a reminder that the most insubstantial ephemeral print is found at the very beginning of New Zealand’s history (Paul Moon). In the second half of the century many small firms (like Harding’s), served the lively needs of regional towns and communities with a combination of newspaper and job printing, and retail sales.

New Zealand printing in the nineteenth century had two distinctive features. The first was the almost complete dependence on imports (and import agencies) for technology

(presses and equipment, type, paper, ink) and trade skills (printers initially had their training offshore). This guaranteed structures within printing shops that were consistent and understood worldwide. Where size permitted specialization and a hierarchy, traditional organization and religious metaphors remained. The head of the shop was the ‘Master of the Chapel’, journalists, compositors and pressmen had separate skills and status, and young apprentices, or ‘printers’ devils’, undergoing “initiation into the mysteries of the craft” (*Typo* 26 March 1887 17), were trained on the job (Harding attempted to train at least one devil). Printing was classified as a trade, and unions and typographical associations, initially short-lived, became most active at the time of the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act of 1894 (Griffith Harvey Maslen 75). Trade structures and training affected visual form, which New Zealand also imported. Design was primarily in the hands of men — the compositors, sometimes at the direction of a master or editor — who applied visual conventions used globally. However, owing to distances from the centre, difficulties in supply chains, skill constraints, variant needs and audiences, these were modified and early print developed a degree of improvisation that became accepted later as a conscious vernacular.

Despite inherited patriarchal attitudes, the workforce was not exclusively male. In Harding’s time the place of women, yoked to the issue of lower wages, the employment of boys and the untrained, but disguising more misanthropic attitudes to gender,¹⁴ became an industrial issue world-wide. In New Zealand trained female compositors worked notably at the *Star* newspaper in Auckland, and Whitcombe & Tombs in Christchurch, in some cases provoking strikes by the men (“Trades and Labour” *Typo* 30 August 1890 87-88). From the Factories Act of 1891 (Provision 56 “Girls under fifteen not to work as typesetters”) apprenticeship legislation steadily closed training and employment in printing to women,¹⁵ although they were obviously in the industry in significant numbers. In New Zealand the census of 1886 recorded 108 females (1999 males) in printing establishments (*Typo* 26 February 1887 10), but they are invisible in history, confined to menial tasks and denied status as trained tradespeople.¹⁶ Harding’s support for female compositors was consistent. In *Typo*, 1892 and 1893 he reports on women’s admittance to the London Society of Compositors and the Edinburgh Typographical Society, as well as their employment in America, noting “the colonies are not always to the fore” (26 November 1892 85). He reported on an all-female London printery¹⁷ (26 April 1890 48), female compositors in France (*Typo* 29 September 1888 84), and America, where they had their own journal *Printer Girl* (*Typo* 26 January 1889

10) which he received (29 June 1889 68). He also had in his library the history of Britain's all-female printery *The Victoria Press*,¹⁸ although unlike some others he did not train his daughters as printers.¹⁹

The second distinctive feature is that against the modest scale of the industry relative to almost every other country or colony, printing carried enhanced economic and symbolic importance in New Zealand's otherwise barely industrialised economy. William Ball Sutch's 1940 retrospective economic survey and *Typo*'s census reports demonstrate, that in numbers, capital invested, labour, intellect, influence, and added value, printing was "one of the leading industries of the colony" (26 February 1887 10), and would continue (for example in the story books of Whitcombe and Tombs) to be the country's main example of industrial mass production. While economies of scale stimulated the centralization of print in larger towns towards the end of the century, the national significance of the printing industry remained and may partly explain the drive to be up-to-date with both technological and stylistic developments, and generalised accusations that design was poor or the work old-fashioned (Griffith Harvey Maslen 56, R. Johnston 272, 510) are contested in this study.

The love of type: Harding's first designs

In 1863 Harding was working as a compositor, printer and journalist on his father T. B. Harding's newspaper, the *Hawkes Bay Times*. In common with most newspaper offices, the cash flow was provided by job printing and retail sales of stationery, books and sheet music. The job work undertaken in a colonial society is clearly itemised in the full column advertisement of 1868 offering "Cheap Printing ... of all kinds of job-work, including posters, hand-bills, circulars, custom-house forms &c, &c, ... books and pamphlets executed with accuracy and despatch"²⁰ (*Hawkes Bay Weekly Times* 28 December 316). It is an ambitious range for a town that in 1871 had a population of only 2,179, and two other competing newspaper and job printing establishments (Laraine Knight 53). The further claim "having received from Melbourne a large and select assortment of new types is prepared to execute ... every description of ornamental printing in black or coloured inks" (ibid), gives evidence of the closely linked trans-Tasman world of this time.²¹ In the 1860s Melbourne, prospering with the discovery of gold, had several print and foundry agents. American trade was growing but American ships using the Pacific routes reached New Zealand first. This indicates the type advertised was almost certainly from Britain (*Typo* 26 May 1888 36), although at

the end of British dominance in typefaces, an important consideration when the origin of typefaces was a sign of both commercial and aesthetic influence.²²

The advertisement, almost certainly composed by Harding, is up-to-date in displaying ornamental type and fashionable work as market attractions. Each line of the advertisement is in a different font (17 fonts in total), in four type categories (ornamental, modern roman, sans serif, blackletter) and in six variations (expanded, condensed, bold, italic, upper case, lower case). A small, engraved block of a handpress, three ornamental rules and two lines of curved type, the whole set with generous white space, convey typographic versatility in attractive contrast to the dense columns of black print on the remainder of the sheet.

Typographic innovation did not guarantee survival in a small market however and in 1872 the *Times* closed. Harding reopened it in 1873 on his own account, inaugurating a column in Maori and printing on a larger sheet, a point of difference soon copied by the competing *Telegraph*. Harding's bi-lingual innovation was unusual in settler newspapers but astute, as it fell in a period spanning the years of the demise of the government newspaper *Te Karere Maori* in 1863 and the first iwi-based niupepa in 1880 (Paterson 11). Despite Harding's knowledge of Maori language (Te Reo), and his lifelong friendship with Colenso, his work shows no evidence he succumbed to the practice of appropriating Maori forms to construct or embellish lettering (see Fig. 2.10). His 1873 transcriptions of proceedings from the Hawkes Bay Native Lands Alienation Commission are written in a fine, flowing hand but of interest to this study are his marginalia. Portraits of the witnesses, one in a feather cloak, illuminate their words. Grotesques — a giant bird sitting on a man, a duck with a woman's head — four figures surrounding a large sans serif letter F, a top-hatted gentleman running through the rain, flowers, faces, stars, shields, monograms, landscapes, animals, figures, Christian crosses, music scores and notes, take form on the blue paper. And everywhere letters, foliated, flourished and swashed, reveal his passion (ATL. MS-Papers-1267).

Harding's drawing came to fruition after 1874 when he discontinued the *Times* to concentrate on job printing (McKenzie "Harding"), and sent his own border design to the MacKellar Smiths & Jordan Foundry (MS&J, formerly Johnson Foundry) in Philadelphia.²³ In 1879 it was patented as the *Combination Book Border Series 87* under the names of Smith and Herman Ihlenberg (Clouse 146). German-American Smith

(Schmidt) was a proprietor, but the resident and successful in-house designer Ihlenberg was effectively an anonymous tradesman. As he would have been involved in the redrawing and punchcutting of Harding's undoubtedly hand-drawn design, and although Harding received little credit, financial or otherwise, this was not unusual for the time. The *Book Border* is significant for many reasons. Harding submitted it to an American rather than to a British foundry, evidence of a shift in traditional trade allegiances. It provides evidence of the difficulties of assigning design 'authorship', and the inadequacies of the canonical model of the originating, creative individual in an industrial age. Most importantly for the apprehension of design as a process of circulation in networks, Harding's *Book Border*, originating from a 'margin', became popular and used worldwide,²⁴ demonstrating the inadequacies of the one-way centre to periphery model. His own account of the border's evolution from a traditional ribbon and scroll demonstrates his philosophy that innovation arises from tradition and is therefore culturally rather than geographically determined (*Typo* 27 June 1891 85). In terms of design the *Border* also marks a stylistic change to the use of combination borders and ornament, which made the early 1880s vital in Harding's career.

Multiple, interwoven, international: networks of trade and aesthetics

Design reform:

By the end of the nineteenth century a global paper trail of popular print provides visual evidence that style was of universal importance. In Britain, design reforms of the second half of the nineteenth century, as detailed by Kriegel, framed a discourse of taste in which 'good' design was not only crucial for trade superiority over competitors, but also had a moral imperative as part of the social contract (138). The aim was "to make the decorative arts – and life in general – more 'artistic'" and indicate "a heightened sensitivity to beauty and an enlightened or informed engagement with design culture" (Clouse and Voulangas 15). Decoration signified the redemption of commerce by art, in what became known as Artistic Printing as well as in Art Manufactures, arising alongside paralleled in popularity by the Aesthetic Movement. Economics played a role in the competition from chromolithography, "the first challenge that letterpress printing had faced and, in answer to purpose-drawn lithographic letters, the typefounders were obliged to produce a wide and ever-changing range of letterforms which could match the variety, freedom, and invention of the lithographic draughtsman" (Twyman *Printing* 75). The Arts and Crafts Movement spread new ideas of the equality of all the arts

(Karen Livingstone and Linda Parry 10-37) and from 1890 Morris's incunabula-inspired typefaces and Kelmscott Press books provided the new 'old-style'. Print played an important role in promoting aesthetics through articles in the illustrated art journals (140) and supply-side ephemera as the vehicle for the wide dissemination of style and taste (122). Within the industry, manufacturers' catalogues and type specimen books increasingly provided stylistic exemplars²⁵ and in the trade journals the vexed topic of design was accorded greater attention (Twyman *Printing* 49) through commentary, debate, instruction, competitions, published exemplars, and the designed form of the journals themselves.

Trade Journals

Trade journals arose in the second half of the nineteenth century as a response to the pressing technological, commercial and cultural changes in print. In Bourdieu's terms, the dynamic habitus (*Distinction* 170, "Field" 89) of printing required greater knowledge sharing, and the journals became the most comprehensive field for this ("Field" 77-79). Printers were part of the global migrations of people and their journals followed the same transport and postal routes. Much of their content was shared (and if necessary translated), by cut and paste journalism and they were vehicles for reciprocal publicity and advertising, transcending national, cultural and linguistic boundaries. In the first issue of *Typo* Harding inaugurated a regular column "Our Exchanges"²⁶, and noted the receipt of four journals and seven type specimen sheets. Over time this material became so numerous that he was often forced to forego comment on the contents and publish the titles only (29 June 1889, 61 & 67). At the end of 1889 he lists the journals received to date (*Typo* was always sent in return): 11 English, 36 American, 7 German, 3 French, 2 Argentinean and one each from Australia, Canada, Belgium, Spain, Italy, Denmark, Sweden, and Roumania, a total of 67.²⁷ He regrets the absence of two German and one Italian journal, but is confident of their receipt (28 December 1889 67). Annenberg observed "there are hundreds of printing periodicals on record" from this time (2), many short lived or published irregularly. Few single printers or firms could access such a number, and exchanges not only gave New Zealand, through *Typo*, a far reaching presence overseas, Harding's reprinting of articles brought a wide diversity of print news here. Harding rightly notes his exchanges are remarkable for including all the major journals of the printing world. In demonstrating the popularity and wide dispersal of the medium they also show a clear predominance of those from America.

The international dissemination of the journals allowed for the rise of interlocutors such as Theodore Low De Vinne who, through their practice and writings, became leaders of design discourse. They formed part of Harding's professional milieu and even allowed a degree of self-identification. The trope of typefounder Thomas MacKellar's life and career (*Typo* 26 March 1887 17), his overcoming adversity by virtue and persistence, his success through "taste, skill, and ingenuity," his authorship, and position as church elder, have echoes of Harding's autobiographic reminiscences in "Old Time Memories" (5, 3). McKenzie has supplied numerous examples of Harding's personal correspondence and exchanges of publications with foundry owners, print historians and publishers, and Hughes has confirmed many overlap with his network of book collectors (61, 72; see also Esta Chiang). He counted many correspondents as friends, in 1888 thanking De Vinne for the gift of his privately circulated "beautiful and valuable little quarto volume *Historic Printing Types*" (28 January 4), and acknowledging a personal loss in his obituary for William Blades, biographer of Caxton and his typefaces (28 June 1890 66). The letters in the Alexander Turnbull Library (Turnbull was another correspondent)²⁸ from his mentor William Colenso, demonstrate the depth of discussion on print, and the breadth of other subject interests they shared. Harding also had over 25 art periodical titles in his library. Of one, the *Art Journal*, Kriegel has written "thanks to its pictorial capacities, it assisted in the project of promoting visual literacy that had been so important to design reformers, and to the illustrated press" (140), a role taken over from 1893 by another in Harding's library, the influential *The Studio*.

For design, the journals were transmission channels for changing ideas expressed through visual as much as textual means, like magazines they were mediating devices for the eye as much as the mind (Lees Maffei 354). Among graphic design historians Thomson has argued the origins of graphic design (in America at least) were not in modernism imported from Europe in the twentieth century, but in the late nineteenth century concern for design and aesthetics in printing and advertising trade journals and magazines (36-59). Most she names, including *Pacific Printer*, *Inland Printer*, *Collier's*, *Artistic Printer*, were imported into New Zealand. John Southward, in his influential *Practical Printing* (1882) wrote he "cannot too emphatically impress upon all who are interested in the art of printing that it is absolutely impossible to understand and appreciate its successive developments without a careful study of the trade journals", the source of instruction and improvement in the craft which, by keeping printers abreast of the times, generated "vast benefits" (vi). Subscribed to, swapped, borrowed, and copied,

the journals may be apprehended as a genesis of crowdsourcing. They created a lively network of print concerns and were key mediators in the adoption/appropriation, adaptation, and exchange that fulfils the key determinant of an actor-network in ANT — activity on multiple levels, from multiple locations.

Trade

American trade in the Pacific increased notably with the Australasian gold rushes (Bryans 78) and in 1876 Fred Wimble, typebroker from Melbourne, attended the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition, securing “the right to sell MS&J type in Australia and New Zealand, and until 1888 MS&J’s were the sole American typefaces sold in Australia. MS&J was also the first American type foundry to sell typefaces in Europe.” The firm had “responded to domestic competition, in part, by cultivating foreign markets and becoming one of the few American printing-related industries to sell its products abroad” (Clouse 30).²⁹ In “Typefounders and Trade Journals”, Harding wrote “twelve years ago, all the type in the colony was of English Manufacture. The first American type reached New Zealand in 1876; the first German type in 1877; and now every printer in the colony has American job-letter, and most of the offices have German type also. Year by year the proportion of English type grows less” (*Typo* 2 May 1888 36). Harding also identifies himself as the first local buyer, through Wimble’s, of MS&J type,³⁰ although he had begun collecting other specimens and corresponding with “the most eminent European and North American printers and founders” while still an apprentice in the 1860s (McKenzie “Harding”). Clouse records how the early nineteenth century trade dominance of England over America in print and typography was reversed at this time, and MS&J successfully marketed types in England and Europe in the late 1870s (31). The rise of American foundries was also in part attributable to their reformist and innovative approach to design. Clouse concludes all the marketing strategies of MS&J, including the energetic work of agents such as Wimble, “would have been useless had the company not offered products that appealed to their customers” (31).³¹ Harding’s undoubtedly well-founded assertion that in eleven years from 1876 (and before *Typo*) every printer in New Zealand had American display types, testifies to the sensitivity of the successful foundries to the market where the imperative was to be in fashion, and the fashion was to be artistic.

Visual influence and style

Following the model of the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations in

London in 1851, the importance of subsequent exhibitions lay as much in the politics of cultural expression as it did in those of the economic or social (Louise Purbrick 5). In the craze for Orientalism with its specialist genre, Japonisme,³² wares on display in London at the 1862 International Exhibition, the Museum of Ornamental Art, and shops like Liberty's, influenced the public and designers. One devotee was Christopher Dresser, whose books *The Art of Decorative Art* (1862) (Widar Halén 127-128) and *Studies in Design* (1875) were popular in Britain and America.³³ In New Zealand by 1882 there was also a notable demand to possess "something Japanese" (Anna Petersen 65). While early jobbing types of the American foundries probably copied ornamented French and German typefaces, the first displays of Japanese applied arts at the 1876 Philadelphia Exhibition (Clouse and Voulangas 20) helped stimulate MS&J to explore Orientalism (45 & 49) and the following year they patented four type designs, *Copperplate*, and *Japanesque* numbers 1, 2, and 3. Designed by Ihlenberg (Clouse 108-9), these faces adapted oriental calligraphic strokes to western letters. In 1879 MS&J registered the immensely popular *Japanese Border Series 88, Sections 1 – 4*, to designer William Jackson (Clouse 147). With motifs of oriental fans, herons, bamboo and butterflies, this series allowed for ornament to be constructed in diagonals, and was followed by the equally successful *Combination Orient Border Series 90* of 1880, then Chinese, Egyptian, Assyrian, and Moorish styled borders. Harding, appreciating the informality and lack of stiffness of the Japanese borders, used them enthusiastically in *Harding's Almamac* (Figs 2.7, 2.8), however he was clear about their misuse when he reviewed them some years later stating "no other combination has been so misapplied, so roundly abused, as this" (*Typo* 25 February 1888 90).

Clouse and Voulangas date the rise of American typeface innovation and the related new style of Artistic Printing from the late 1860s (19). Mid-century immigration from Germany of trained type designers and engravers such as Ihlenberg³⁴ (Loy 42-53), set standards for Americans, such as the Bentsons, father and son, to emulate (Cost). Near contemporaries of Harding, these designers worked at the time of growing innovation as Artistic Printing allowed a bold and controversial renunciation by letterpress of its former restrictive geometry of the rectangle and horizontal line, and typefaces and ornaments carried embedded in their form, aesthetic and cultural messages that today immediately evoke the age and its values. Artistic Printing was a logical conclusion to popular taste, when "the Victorian conception of lettering was a very elastic one, and

letter-forms were often elaborated and distorted with abandon either for decorative purposes or in order to create an overall mood ” (Twyman *Printing* 75).

The crucial visual exemplars for the new style did not begin to appear until 1870 when Ohio printer Oscar Harpel, published *Harpel's Typograph or Book of Specimens*. Harpel's had extremely high production standards, comparable with fine printing, and showcased the latest and liveliest work of American job printers, demonstrating the full range of typefaces, ornaments and colours available at the time and stimulating demand. By promoting craft as well as design experiment, *Harpel's* suggested a new aesthetic potential for letterpress that chimed in with the popularity of decoration. In America, it “became a standard addition to printers’ libraries and was sold by type foundries and offered as a prize at speed-typesetting competitions” (Clouse and Voulangas 24).

Following Harpel, William Kelly, founder of the equally ambitious *American Model Printer* in 1879, also began to offer opinions, advice and samples as the approach gained its name, encouraging it as a style in his succeeding journal, the *American Art Printer* (1887-1893), and during his editorship of the *Inland Printer* (26). In England in 1880 Thomas Hailing, through the agency of printers Field & Tuer, publishers of the *Paper and Printing Trades Journal*, instigated an international collection of printer’s samples, the *International Printers’ Specimen Exchange*. Running to 16 volumes from 1880, it was the most important of several such exchanges unique to this period of collective activity (Matthew Young 43-8). With an inclusive policy encompassing old-style and Artistic approaches, the *Exchange* succeeded by a focus on the visual. Harding’s involvement in Artistic Printing is further evidenced by the acceptance of the 1888 *Typo* title page (Fig. 2.14) for Volume X of the *Exchange* (35). Tuer’s role as critic, mediator and commentator was taken over by Robert Hilton, editor of the *British Printer* and “a strong admirer of new American and German typography” (25). Hilton, a relentless promoter of Artistic Printing, came to favour a quieter variation, the ‘Leicester Free Style’ as an attempt to assert British supremacy.³⁵ When the *Exchange* ended in 1897, artistic printing can be said to have finally ended as a style.³⁶

Artistic Printing still polarises opinion. With a bias toward book printing, many type historians denounce this period (A. F. Johnson), pass quickly over (Twyman), or ignore it altogether (Robert Bringhurst). Kinross identifies it as a trade aesthetic, condemned for “an absence of any rules or obvious logic in the disposition of visual elements; the simulation of ‘freedom’ in the patterns made from these elements; the use of letters and

ornaments that defy ideas of normative construction” (40). Others give more contextualized and generous appraisals. Nicolette Gray identifies the period from 1880-1892 as the culmination of the century’s aesthetic achievement in type, significant as the time when a highbrow minority market and a lowbrow mass market, became apparent (91). Clouse and Voulangas offer an appreciative description difficult to surpass:

Artistic printing is distinguished by highly idiosyncratic compartmentalized spaces. Moving away from the tradition of centred columns of text surrounded by white space, artistic printing was often built from fields of pattern and colour or suggested overlapping geometrical shapes. The unexpected and the irregular were favoured: extruded diamonds, oval, lozenges, rectangles with clipped corners, and flared bow ties. Fields required borders, and borders became heavily embellished vehicles for ornament. Artistic printers carved out the architecture of the page with boxes, ribbons, bands, and diagonals, encrusting the framework with ornament and filling corner angles with a variety of fan shapes and spider webs. Diagonal bands created an impression of asymmetry, though shapes were often carefully balanced and encased in symmetrical frames (35 & 39).

Printers relished the unprecedented freedom for individual expression, as tinted and textured grounds, coloured inks, rule bending, display types, borders and ornaments enabled a release from the uniformity and dominance of the plain letter and rigid layout. They escaped into exuberant illusions of space and movement through the diagonal line, the vaunting curve and the twining tendril, as more and more effects and eccentricities were explored.

Artistic Printing was a response to the highly competitive business environment printers faced, and the public desire to be of the time and for both new styles were synonymous with social advancement. Harding embraced the new aesthetic fully and it called on his high-level mental and physical compositional skills. Self-employed, with a growing family to support, he worked hard and endangered his health to survive in Napier (see Colenso MS Papers 1888), and while he may have been more an aesthete, idealist, and philosopher of print than a businessman, he was astute enough to understand the commercial imperative behind fashionable style. Kinross’s assessment, that aestheticism lent an “intellectual sanction to a style that was commercially motivated” (40), is in this

way correct, but his use of the term ‘trade’ is as a pejorative. This idealistic contrast of modernism with Artistic Printing, a “degenerate extreme” (ibid), is overly simplistic. With the exception of privately funded presses catering to an elite, printers did not survive if they were not commercial.

Artistic Printing was perfectly of its time, elevating everyday, ephemeral products for a growing and receptive mass market, exploiting and promoting technological and visual innovation. The success of job printing at this grass roots level both stimulated a wide reading public and subsidised more serious and refined efforts. A perusal of many of the surviving books, including non-fiction, imported into this country at the time and held in the major libraries reveals the popularity of decorative, artistic fonts for title pages, as a popular aesthetic migrated to more ‘serious’ print. Artistic Printing upheld many fundamental values of traditional print, prizing the quality of the imprint, seeking new standards and above all stimulating discourse about design, even though its forms were later repudiated. Despite many contributory influences there is no doubt it originated in America (and consequently often called ‘American style’), and with remarkably little time lapse, spread worldwide (Clouse and Voulangas 138). It was extensively adopted in other countries, as Tuer’s *Specimen Exchange* demonstrated, not least New Zealand. The tracking of both the means and the style from America to here presents important new evidence supporting revisionist challenges such as Daley’s, to the common view New Zealand “always bore the cultural imprint of its parent (Britain)” (425). This reified attribution of influence (R. Johnston 586, Griffith Harvey Maslen 57), lasting well into the 1950s, is challenged in popular visual culture by the evidence presented here that popular, everyday printing in the late nineteenth century was most strongly in the ‘American style’, and the infiltration into New Zealand of American architectural pattern-books in the 1880s (Sinclair 21) had its equivalents in Harding’s German and American specimen books, trade journals, and magazines, and above all its materialisation in his work.

Harding’s job printing

Becoming Artistic: Harding in 1880

Harding serves as an appropriate model for the significance of Artistic Printing to the trade, not least through the ways he was influenced. In the 1920 sale catalogue of his library, *Harpel’s Typograph* is not listed by name, although it may be among generalized

entries such as “312. Printers’ Reference; etc. 14 Books” (9). All three of Kelly’s journals are listed in entries 335 and 342 (10) and Andrew Tuer’s *Paper & Printing Trades Journal* is listed at 358 (10). Lot 336 “International Printer” is possibly Tuer’s *Specimen Exchange*.

Possibly Harding’s earliest Artistic attempt is a concert programme of 1880 (Fig 2.1). Often doubling as fliers or small posters, programmes testify to the popularity of concerts, travelling artists, and the theatre in meeting the entertainment needs of colonial society, and kept as mementos they have survived better than other ephemera. Of the display fonts used by Harding, three are from Caslon and one from Stephenson Blake, both of London. The most prominent fonts are from MS&J, as are the two sets of delicate ornament. The decorative “Concert” block at the head of the programme is in a pictorial American style. Ihlenberg’s *Relievo* (followed in 1879 by *Relievo No. 2*), represents for letterpress the peak of contemporary defiance of conventions. By piercing the two dimensionality of the page with a convincing illusion of depth, the one-point perspective projects the block sans serif shaded letterforms from behind the picture plane and out from the surface of the paper. The *Relievo* fonts were extremely popular, featuring in ephemera around the globe and still in use in New Zealand in early twentieth century chromolithographed labels. Ihlenberg’s *Filigree*, described by Clouse as one of many “hybrid Roman/Gothic/Medieval letters” (42), epitomizes the eclecticism of Artistic typefaces. Available in several heights, able to be used as stand-alone initials or whole words, and with detachable curls and tendrils, it was extremely versatile. *Relievo* and *Filigree* were used frequently by Harding, *Relievo* in other display printing, and *Filigree* in *Typo*. In layout, the sheet is composed symmetrically on a vertical axis but has a new formal distinction by being contained within a delicate border and with a clear division into horizontal panels rather than lines. For an evening of enjoyable entertainment the design can be seen as appropriate and sensitive to meaning. The need may be unpretentious, a few friends performing in the schoolroom before a dance, but the values are democratic and social – culture, however popular or modest, may be served by refined, artistic means.

2.1. R. C. Harding, *Concert Programme*, 1880.

The beginnings of Harding's investment in Artistic typefaces and the reach of new networks of business, aesthetics and trade are further indicated in *Harding's Almanac* of the same year. The retrospective criticism that Artistic Printing lacked a clear rationale and ignored the suitability of decoration to the message (Clouse and Voulangas 185), might be leveled against the use of the elaborate *Chippendale* border,³⁷ and the striped and foliated *Ornamented* typeface used to advertise coal and timber merchants on page 206 (Fig. 2.2). As visual messages are shaped by the environment in which they appear, the decorative variety of advertisements in the *Almanac* is made clear when they are viewed in context. The facing page advertisement (207), unconstrained by borders, works by contrast, with a more appropriate sparseness for the coopers, Boyce & Fail,

despite the whimsical levitating barrel (Fig. 2.3). The display typefaces are from Britain, Germany, and two American foundries – the Central in St. Louis, and MS&J.

2.2. R. C. Harding, advertisement for G. Dolbel & Co. *Harding's Almanac*, 1880 206.

By 1883, Harding's own advertising in the *Almanac* is virtually a manifesto of the rationale and means of artistic printing:

For all classes of Ornamental Printing we possess facilities unsurpassed by any office in New Zealand for the production of high class printing. The plant includes the choicest Productions of English, American and Foreign Typefounders, and the latest Novelties are regularly added to stock. ... Having a very competitive assortment of the finest Typographical Scripts, Ornaments, and Combination Borders, the advertiser can execute Programmes, Certificates, &c, equal to the work produced in Copperplate Printing and Lithography, and at lower charge (289).

HARDING'S 1880 ALMANAC.

207

Central Foundry St Louis
Typographic Flourishes
(RCHAC 54 no. 874)

BOYCE & FAIL

MS&J, Ihlenburg
Phidian 1870
(Clouse 100)

GENERAL COOPERS

Klinkhardt
Ribbon

WEST CLIVE

ARE PREPARED TO EXECUTE

ALL KINDS OF WORK IN THE TRADE

ON THE SHORTEST NOTICE

Caslon
Ornamented

Generic
fat face

AND AT THE MOST REASONABLE PRICES

Orders by Letter punctually attended to.

2.3. R. C. Harding, advertisement for Boyce & Fail *Harding's Almanac*, 1880 207.

The Artistic exemplar: Harding in the mid-1880s

Harding's early pieces were transitional between the conventional Victorian typographic composition of horizontal lines of different fonts and the radical new approach combining a structured layout with an elaboration of decorative effects. Artistic Printing was not the easiest style for letterpress printers to follow. In attempting to move into curves and diagonals, printers engaged in complicated work more demanding of

dexterity, thought, and time than any conventional layout. Clouse and Voulangas describe how the locking of elements into the forme for printing became a challenge: “While type foundries manufactured specialized tools and spacers that facilitated the new, ambitious style, some artistic compositions were so complex or so clumsily heavy that they had to be set into plaster, which permanently locked all the elements into place” (39). As a result the most astonishing examples are for printers’ self-promotion or exhibitions, the majority of the work shown by Clouse and Voulangas. Like a business card they make a statement of identity where style is a key means of differentiation and communication. By the early 1880s two of Harding’s own trade cards demonstrate his experimentation and skills, promoting his wares to existing and potential customers, and showcasing his artistry to his peers in the printing trade.

2.4. R. C. Harding, trade card, c.1885.

While the dating of the first card (Fig. 2.4) can only be estimated,³⁸ it cannot be earlier than 1883, the year its latest typeface was patented. Even if co-existent with the card of 1884 (Fig. 2.5), they both precede the peak of Artistic Printing and show Harding's work as an exuberant and individualistic adaptation of the style. The first, printed in bright red and black ink on cream card, showcases the latest mock medieval fonts *Harper* and *Chaucer*. The text is offset between characteristic densely patterned borders, the use of red providing emphasis within a harmony of colour, line and shape. Similarly the five display fonts are unified by the repeated rhythms of their matching curls and angled serifs. The division of the composition into functional panels of information counteracts the liveliness of the typography to create a playful and confident statement. Harding admired the typefaces of the Central Type Foundry (St. Louis), praising their fonts as "worthy of the foundry which originated the *Harper*," the "most original and the earliest of these eccentric forms," (*Typo* 28 May 1887 33). By 1887 his earlier enthusiasm was tempered and he warned against the popularity of the "grotesque and exaggerated imitation of the old-style character, with the letters irregular in size, and in some cases out of line," cautioning they were "very liable to abuse" for the wrong purpose, and shuddering at books printed entirely in *Harper* (30 July 1887 50).

The second design (Fig. 2.5), used as both a trade card and letterhead, is printed in one colour, purple, on white. It is a more eccentric composition, operating by contrasts: the whorls of *Chaucer* type with an unidentified outlined bold slab serif and the brutal solidity of *Relievo No. 2*; the detailed three-dimensional forms of the urns and pediments against the delicate, attenuated, filigree spirals of the line ornaments; the whole a clash of classical gravity against rococo airiness. Compared to the formal robustness of the earlier card it is stylistically disparate, but perhaps seeking to impress with the range of means in Harding's stock. Both cards, unusual in Harding's oeuvre in their landscape format, have a freshness and energy of colour and decorative freedom. Compared to other work viewed in New Zealand ephemera collections at ATL and Hocken Library from the same date, and international specimens reproduced in Clouse and Voulangas, they promote the new with an abundance of effects and a lightness of white space.

2.5. R. C. Harding, letterhead and trade card, 1884.

Through the 1880s the mainstays of Harding's business were *Harding's East Coast Directory and Local Guide*, and *Harding's Almanac*.³⁹ Almanacs have a long history as astronomical guides, for use in agriculture, and to mark festivals. Coleridge records one early almanac printed here from 1857-9 (110). They were early examples of job printing for everyday life and have a transnational history, providing a point of entry into the popular culture of the colonies through the provision of local information. Perkins has described Australian almanacs as a notable exception to the dependence of colonial readers on imported material, and "one of the first examples of original Australian writing and publishing" (10). They were similarly part of the flood of popular vernacular print in colonial Bengal (Ghosh 107). Their popularity and use for advertising made

2.6. R. C. Harding, double page spread *Harding's Almanac*, 1886 136-7.

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and weighted with a pediment to suggest a piece of Renaissance architecture or a memorial tablet, the line below in *Filigree* mimicking engraving. While arguably inappropriate for the business advertised, the effects link to Harding's earlier Artistic work (Figs 2.2-3), although he resists the temptation to indulge in over-decoration with borders, and uses contrasting plainer fonts. The facing page (137) displays an elaborate header, again scrupulously symmetrical, with the diagonal bands adding movement to the illusion of floating in outdoor space and the exoticism of lush foliage, fluttering butterflies and swinging bird, is suitable signification for a garden guide. Also appropriate, but of more radical composition is the advertisement for nurseryman F. Sturm (Fig. 2.7), where tightly structured yet airy divisions innovatively segment the page into panels reminiscent of a Victorian hallstand or bamboo what-not, with shelves filled with plants and curios creating a verdant effect. The typography is a mix of earlier favourites such as *Glyptic* and the most up to date old-style in *Century* and *Chaucer*, all suggestively sprouting whorls and tendrils.

Harding's own advertisement (Fig. 2.8), belated in announcing the take-over of his father's business, demonstrates an increasing formal control. Meticulously centre-balanced and falling into thirds,⁴¹ the composition is stable and weighted to the bottom of the page. Playing against this, elegant ornament including his own *Book Border* frames and directs the focus to his multi-lingual retail trade offering Maori, Danish and Swedish bibles and Maori prayer and hymnbooks, while his primary occupation as a printer is barely noticeable. The variety of typefaces is sprightly and Harding's curved name springs from the text as the focal point in a clear, balanced hierarchy of information.

2.7. R. C. Harding, advertisement for F. Sturm *Harding's Almanac*, 1886 144.

2.8. R. C. Harding, *Harding's Almanac*, 1886 16.

The wide use of decoration indicates a receptivity of the public to Artistic Printing that should not be under estimated, neither should the speed in the transmission of style to meet popular taste. Tracking by display typefaces shows the quickest acquisition of the vital typefaces here is two years, for example between the 1878 patenting of *Filigree* and its use in 1880 (Fig. 2.1), and the 1884 patenting of MS&J's *Combination Border Series 95* and it's use in 1886 (Fig. 2.8). This gap is consistent for other foundries, such as the 1884 patenting of Central Type Foundry's *Century* and Harding's use in 1886 (Fig. 2.8). Two years allows for manufacture, marketing and selling, with specimen sheets posted

to agents or printers after patenting, then time allowed for ordering, receipt and use. It is not exceptional, nor does it locate New Zealand on any geographical or temporal periphery. Clouse and Voulangas comment that an 1881 sample from San Francisco using MS&J's *Japanese Border Series 88* two years after patenting, was a quick response to developments in taste on the other side of the continent (158). Harding's acquisition and use of up-to-date typefaces at this time was an indication of style, and as such Harding accorded them a great deal of attention, but they were not the only marker. Artistic Printing also changed the architecture of the page, challenging and replacing the rectilinear structure and horizontal sequence of Victorian typographic layout with new divisions and adventurous compositional strategies he also explored (Fig. 2.7).

Harding's typographical stock

In 1886, Harding's inventory of typefaces and ornaments was undoubtedly extensive (and expensive) but was it exceptional as McKenzie claims ("Robert Coupland Harding" 187)? His conclusion, made from a comparison of the auction catalogue of Harding's stock in 1897, with the *List of printing materials* c.1886, from jobbing printers Matthews, Baxter & Co., Dunedin (published in Maslen's *Victorian Typefaces in Dunedin*), must be questioned, not least because of the unequal time (ten years) separating the two. Stock identified in Harding's 1886 *Almanac* allows a clearer comparison. Maslen has tentatively dated the *List* to that year and as its newest fonts were patented in 1884, the minimum take-up time demonstrated above supports this dating. The expectations are that Matthews, Baxter, publishers of Wise's directories and estimated by Maslen to be a sizeable establishment in "the first city in New Zealand for wealth and population" (3), would have a sizeable typographic inventory. Maslen lists the firm as having a total "of thirty founts of Ornamenteds" each in a small quantity, suitable only for setting single lines (12), and six sets of ornamental fleurons, ribbons and borders. Of the 30 fonts, 23 may be classed as typefaces, as distinct from single fonts. Of the 19 able to be sourced and dated, 12 are from before 1870, and only seven from the later period of Artistic Printing, with a single American face, MS&J's *Filigree* (1878) among the most recent. The predominance of British typefaces is not surprising as Matthews, Baxter were brokers for Caslon. In Harding's 1886 *Almanac* exemplars shown to this point (Figs 2.6-8) 21 typefaces, some in several font sizes, can be identified, and 29 series and sections of ornaments and borders. The remaining 72 pages of advertising in the *Almanac* have many more, mostly American, mostly from MS&J.⁴² On the evidence of the *List*, and Matthews, Baxter ephemera studied in Hocken Library, their work appears conservative

and, in this critical sense, still colonial. That they were typical of *some* local printing establishments before Harding began *Typo*, supports McKenzie's claim his stock was exceptional, but only for the date of 1886. It further suggests that subsequent enhancement of other New Zealand printers' stock may at least in part have been owing to Harding's activities.

Beyond the Artistic: Harding's later job printing

By 1887, when Harding begins *Typo*, his design progression indicates he is already bringing to Artistic Printing the perception of the need for order. His criticisms in *Typo* of typefaces and effects he earlier favoured demonstrate that his formative ideas and their refinement, have come through a mix of practice, observation and exchange. By 1890, Harding's job printing combines a more judicious use of display fonts with the careful selection of borders and ornaments, the white space of the page integral to balance. It is a distinctive mix of principled and structured design illustrative of his "Principles of Design", with the accoutrements of Artistic Printing. Comparison of the very different cultural approaches to information, time, and history in English and Te Reo (Maori) calendar pages in the *Almanac* importantly demonstrate how local purpose can adapt style to dictate the very form of ephemeral print within wider social and political circumstances. The calendar in English (Fig. 2.9) is essentially to convey numerical information and the layout is as a table formed by three columns and four rows all contained by rules. Only three fonts are used, blackletter for the initials of the days, a modern roman for the dates, and a condensed, bold uppercase sans serif for the months, allowing differentiation of the categories of information. The communication is clear and functional. The German Renaissance-style borders and pediments, and the year date in MS&J's *Arboret*, blur the distinction between letterpress, engraving and lithography. As calendars were commonly placed in a visually accessible position, often hung on a wall, the borders add refinement and dignity to the functional, ordinary and everyday.

2.9. R. C. Harding, Calendar *Harding's Almanac*, 1890 13.

The Hanuere (January) page of Maramataka (the calendar in Maori, Fig. 2.10) is composed in the “new style” with a minimum of rules, tabular rather than a table (*Typo* 27 October 1888 86). The content is also different. The full and new moons, essential for traditional fishing, planting and harvesting, are noted under the month’s header, and two left-hand columns contain dates and days, with Sundays isolated. The corresponding rows of text offer a mix of corresponding biblical notations and historical events. The biblical references, such as Tiu 10r 12 (Deuteronomy 10:12), focus on the Old Testament and God’s instructions to the Jews to be obedient (missionaries capitalized on an identification of Maori with the Jews). The calendar, in visual form and astrological and religious content, has much in common with Harding’s Danish

calendars (Knight 18)⁴³ but the historical dates are more sinister. They include the reminder (January 5) of the controversial execution in Napier of the Pai Marire warrior Kereopa for the alleged murder of missionary Carl Volkner, and significant defeats of Maori in the Land Wars. Lachy Paterson describes pakeha print in Maori at this time as conforming to a common discourse of propaganda favourable to colonisation (12), even while Maori in Hawkes Bay and elsewhere were increasingly resentful of land seizures. Harding's continuation of the evangelisation of Maori through print, and his use of visual material reinforcing settler dominance, places him firmly within this discourse through the articulation by design of cultural difference and control, while his other more progressive attitudes to Te Reo in print give evidence of the ambivalence and contradictions at the heart of colonist culture.

HARDING'S 1890 ALMANAC.		6
Bruce <i>Roman Scroll</i> (RCHAC 16 no 252)
1890.	HANUERE.	XXXI RA.
○ Ra 6, ka hua te marama, 5h. 7m. p.m. ● Ra 21, ka mate te marama, 11h. 19m. a.m.		Caslon <i>Condensed Concave</i> (RCHAC 12 no 212)
1	W Kotinga. Ata, Ken. 17 r 9—Rom. 2 r 17 Ahiahi, Tiu. 10 r 12—Koro. 2 r 8 ki 18	
2	TAI Ka timata te whawhai ki Whanganui, 1865.	
3	P Te matenga o Te Makarini ki Nepia, 1877.	
4	H (5) Ka whakamatea a Kereopa mo te kohuru i a Te Wakana, 1872.	
5	E R. 2 i muri i te Whan. Ata, Iha. 42—Mat. 4 ki r 23 Ahiahi, Iha. 43—Mat. 3	
6	M Whakaaturanga.* Ata, Iha. 60—Ruk. 3 r 15 ki r 23 Ahiahi, Iha. 49 r 13 ki 24—Hoa. 2 ki r 12 * Te Whakapono a Atanatiu.	
7	Tu	
8	W	
9	TAI	
10	P	
11	H Ka horo a Ruapekapeka, 1846.	
12	E R. 1 i muri i te Whakaat. Ata, Iha. 51—Mat. 7 r 7 Ahiahi, Iha. 52 r 13 me 53—Mah. 7 r 35 me 8 ki r 5	
13	M	
14	Tu	
15	W	
16	TAI	
17	P Timatanga o te whawhai ki Peiwhairangi, 1845.	
18	H	
19	E R. 2 i muri i te Whakaat. Ata, Iha. 55—Mat. 11 Ahiahi, Iha. 57—Mah. 11	
20	M	
21	Tu	
22	W	
23	TAI Ru nui ki Poneke, 1855.	
24	P	
25	H Whakatahuritanga o Paora. Ata, Iha. 49 ki r 13—Kar. 1 r 11 Ahiahi, Her. 1 ki r 11—Mah. 26 ki r 21	
26	E R. 3 i muri i te Whakaat. Ata, Iha. 62—Mat. 14 r 13 Ahiahi, Iha. 65—Mah. 15 r 30 me 16 ki r 16	
27	M	
28	Tu	
29	W Ka u a Kawana Hopihona ki Peiwhairangi, 1840.	
30	TAI	
31	P	

2.10. R. C. Harding, "Maramataka" *Harding's Almanac*, 1890 6.

Moving to Wellington in 1890, Harding continued with job composition, including an unremarkable book cover *Potona*,⁴⁴ featured as a supplement to *Typo* 24 September 1892, and from 1892 printing the quarterly *Journal of the Polynesian Society* (Fig. 2.11).⁴⁵ While his *Almanac* advertisements were extrovert, the *Journal*'s symmetrical layout, roman fonts, generous white space and Renaissance-style ornament communicate a classicism more associated with traditional book design, connoting the gravitas of scholarship for an early publication of local intellectual culture.

2.11. R.C. Harding, *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 5.1 (March 1896) 17 (2).

Typo and “Design in Type”

Judged by contributions to the *Printers' International Specimen Exchange*, in 1886 the popularity of Artistic Printing was still rising (M. Young 17), but a reaction had begun as criticism of its excesses spread from Europe to America by the end of the decade (Clouse and Voulangas 33, 167-8). These focused on decoration (including type) to the extent the form and use of ornament itself ignited controversy. Design debates, conducted first through the agencies of the Museum of Ornamental Arts in London and the linked Government Schools of Design, employed value-laden terms such as ‘falsity’ and ‘honesty’ in the debate over ornament, arousing anxieties deeply embedded in histories of culture and religion through the negative concepts of artifice, concealment, and deceit masking truth (James Trilling 148).

Trade journals had by this time become “vehicles for generating and transmitting professional ideals” (Thomson *Origins* 37) as they attempted to articulate appropriate visual forms for the continuously evolving medium of job printing. Consequently, a call for the definition, teaching, and application of design skills for display composition emerged with the ideas of design reform. Tuer had begun reviewing typefaces in the British *Paper and Printing Trades Journal* in 1873, and then critiquing work sent in, but these efforts were “not enough to further the education and ambitions of a large number of printers” (M. Young 6-7). The *International Printers' Specimen Exchange* had been active in promoting Artistic Printing but was slow to adapt to further change. The *Inland Printer* epitomised many journals in voicing the complaint that everywhere the wealth of new fonts and ornament had led to reckless overuse, and “designs, unmeaning and offensive to good taste, are scattered promiscuously from a poster to a business card” (“Incongruities” 15). It also typified the piecemeal and uncoordinated attempts to address these concerns. A regular column by Alfred Pye, “On Job Composition” (by 1887 renamed “Talks With the Boys”), advised young printers to place artistry before income, and cultivate “artistic taste” (November 1883 5). In 1886 the article “Initial Letter Designing” (October 1886 172), was a fragmentary response to an apprentice compositor soliciting design advice. From the mid 1880s the journal began design competitions, grading the entries, printing selected examples and providing critiques (6 March 1885 184-85, 5 February 1886 304), these were however subjective and added further mystification. From 1886, articles by Gustav Boehm on job printing (“the art branch of the entire business”) provided generalist advice on aesthetics (“A Discussion

on Job Composition” 6 March 1887 378 and “A Plea for the Eye” 10 July 1887 711-13). The widespread confusion over how to both judge and achieve aesthetic standards in print, the key to the desired advance of design, was not ameliorated from the urban centres, but was first carefully and systematically addressed by Harding in *Typo*.

Harding’s life and training, his devotion to typography, his work, and his activities in print networks formed the depth of his knowledge of historic and contemporary print and determined his ambitions for *Typo*, one of the first and one of the few journals produced and written by an independent, individual devotee.⁴⁶ The majority were produced in the metropolitan centres of the industrialising nations by printing firms, type foundries,⁴⁷ and typographic associations,⁴⁸ with the advantages of capital and labour. Regional precedents were the trade union journals *New Zealand Press News* and *Typographical Circular* (1876-79), the Dunedin produced *Colonial Printers’ Register*, later *Griffin’s Colonial Printers’ Register* (1879-81, R. Johnston 245), and the *Australasian Typographical Journal* begun in 1870 as the organ of the Australasian Typographical Union. By the 1880s this had “a steady circulation of about 600, [and] was distributed widely throughout Australia and New Zealand” (R. T. Fitzgerald 53) but shrank to a two page newsletter by the end of the century (91). Publishing regular accounts of printing in the colonies and elsewhere, its remit was to focus on trade, labour and politics.

Typo adhered to the typology of the international printers’ journal in its eclectic mix of original and reprinted material, packing into the average 10 pages of each issue technical expertise, economics, training, union and industrial conditions, gender controversies, print history, reports, gossip, poetry, whimsy, and musings, borrowing even the titles of regular columns such as “Our Exchanges” and “Wrinkles” from the genre. Harding’s intention after all was for *Typo* “to provide a recognized channel of communication between those engaged in these [printing and related] industries” and “to make it a thoroughly successful and representative trade journal” (*Typo* January 1887 1). The first American reviews were unanimous in finding it a journal “replete with sensible and well-written articles, which bear the mark of a cultivated and conscientious disciple of the art” (25 June 1887 45). *Typo* was further distinguished by the innovative treatment of design and behind the *raison d’être* for *Typo*’s birth lay Harding’s aspirations for resolving this critical issue and he inaugurated two related series of articles that were unique. “Design in Type” ran as an unbroken sequence of 60 articles, from January 1887 to December 1891. Fully aware of the inadequacies of guidance in other journals,

Harding stated his intention to publish “from month to month a series of original articles of a practical character on the general principles of display work and ornamental composition” (29 January 1887 2). “Recent Specimens” (1887-1890), later named “Type Specimens” (1891-1897), ran throughout *Typo*’s life and displayed, analysed and critiqued display typefaces and ornament from American, German, British, and French foundries.

While Harding’s thinking was expansive and communal, local subscriptions to *Typo* remained low, as few as 500 in all the colonies in 1891 (26 December 154), a constant financial stress for Harding which he tirelessly attempted to improve.⁴⁹ He sent *Typo* to New Zealand (and Australian) libraries,⁵⁰ which Ballantyne has shown were crucial for knowledge formation (“Thinking Local” 142-3). He noted it could be found in every print shop throughout the country, he posted it overseas to correspondents, dealers and foundries, and ran a small advertisement in the *Inland Printer* from 1888 to 1891. His exchanges of other journals with *Typo* has been already detailed. In this way he was successful in inserting *Typo* into an international typographical network, transforming it from a local production to one with multiple sites of use and places of exchange (Fry *Design History* 67), in Fry’s terms a peripheral production avoiding marginality by joining to “a network, a system of circulation, or a community of knowledge” functioning in dispersed forms (*Geography* 16). *Typo* enabled Harding to take on an expanded identity through his involvement in design reform, a role Kriegel has identified as that of “working men engaged in a complex process of self-fashioning ... look[ing] to their positions as skilled producers to gain cultural capital” (163).

Acknowledging precedents

McKenzie’s writings on Harding make some repetition of his selections inevitable in this study, it also allows others to be easily referenced to permit a different emphasis. Since the publication of his essay “Robert Coupland Harding on Design in Typography”, new theories and research (E. Thomson, Clouse, and Voulangas, Cost, M. Young, Kriegel) have extended the understanding of the contexts for the evaluation of print, not least of Artistic Printing. This appraisal furthers McKenzie’s by being related to Harding’s specimen reviews and addressing the regret he could not show work from *Typo* as visual evidence of his practice.

Harding too was knowledgeable of wider precedents for his series, particularly his extensive coverage of ornament. The auction catalogue for his library (1920) identifies

him as a polymath and autodidact, at one with an age that valued self-education, with a concordant enthusiasm for instructive literature. Harding owned Ralph Wornum's *Analysis of Ornament: the Characteristics of Styles: An Introduction to the Study of the History of Ornament* (1860). Keeper of England's National Gallery, lecturer on decoration, and writer of material used by the British Schools of Design, Wornum is cited by Kriegel as proposing "the rules of decoration were as sacrosanct as the 'mechanical laws' of the universe" (138), and he shared Owen Jones' belief that design could be improved through the study of selected examples from other cultures. Jones' writing for the *Art Journal*, seven volumes of which are in Harding's library catalogue, indicate the growing importance of serialised articles in specialist periodicals. Southward's *Practical Printing: A Handbook of the Art of Typography* (1882) was similarly based on a series "originally written, and published in monthly installments in the *Printers' Register*", to provide updated material in a time of rapid technological change (Southward iv).⁵¹ Harding owned seven volumes of the *Printers' Register*, as well as *Practical Printing*, which he described as "the best printers' handbook in the English Language" (McKenzie "Robert Coupland Harding" 203). Southward, an editor of the British *Paper and Printing Trades Journal* reciprocated, praising Harding and *Typo* in December 1890, which Harding, as was his custom, reprinted (*Typo* 28 February 1891 53). Essentially practical, Southward's instruction offered only brief, generalized advice on aesthetics, as Harding cannot have failed to observe.

"Design in Typography"

Harding diagnosed the 'problem' plaguing design in job printing as one of aesthetic education, where in the midst of an unparalleled abundance of means, "the workman who is deficient in artistic perception and training, will go astray when left to his own judgement, and the greater typographic resources at his command, the more melancholy will be the result" ("Introductory" January 1887 1).⁵² He proposed to address this in a series that would cover general design principles systematically, beginning first with the broad essentials of display, then proceeding "to the subject of decoration, with especial reference to the abundant material now at the disposal of the compositor, and the limitations inherent in the nature of his work" (ibid). As McKenzie incisively observes, the words "*design, principles, system, judgement* ... recur constantly in his writings as the beacons which drew him on with an unwavering sense of direction" ("Robert Coupland Harding" 192). He could have included *rule*, as the series laid down tenets foundational for all composition.

Harding detailed his core principles of design in the first seven issues of *Typo*, from January to July 1887:

1. 29 January “Design in Typography”
2. 26 February “General Rules of Display”
3. 26 March “Harmony in Display”
4. 30 April “Contrast in Display”
5. 28 May “Decorative Material”
6. 25 June “Ornamental Types”
7. 30 July “Systematic Design”

Writing in the language of the time for an envisaged global audience, Harding sought to articulate a rational, lasting, and universal system for the design and composition of typographic form. He was clear that “as used in these articles the term [design] signifies primarily, the general or fundamental idea of a work as distinguished from its details”, according design first place in the sequence of three components of job printing, the second, display (defined by larger, advertising typefaces) and the third, decoration, which must be “subordinate to the general design” (30 April 1887 23). His definition, familiarly modernist today, was strikingly radical for its time. In the 1921-27 New Zealand Patents and Trademarks Act, ‘design’ meant “only the features of shape, configuration, pattern or ornament applied to any article by any industrial process or means”,⁵³ an obtuse and outdated definition maintained until 1966.

Similarly modernist, the value Harding accorded to the *function* of print meant no details superseded his understanding that compositional skill existed primarily for the service of the message, a clear fitness of purpose expressed in repeated advice: “a good compositor will always be ready to avail himself of the material most appropriate to the work in hand” (29 January 1887 2), “the limitations of subject and material must in every case be considered” (26 February 1887 7), “the nature of the job to a great extent determines the style to be chosen” (26 March 1887 16). Harding’s enumeration of design principles continued to be innovative in its hierarchical organization. In 1893 these precepts reappear in advice to entrants in the *Studio* magazine title-page competition: “the first aim of lettering is legibility, and this should be secured with almost equal attention to consistency of style ... a jumble of Gothic, Roman, italic, and nondescript “ornamental” styles should not be employed in the same design”

(“Awards” 21). Reworded but the same in essentials, the principles, first articulated by Harding, regularly appear in graphic design advice well into the twentieth century, and from writers who considered artistic printing an aberration. Jan Tschichold’s *die neue typographie (the new typography)*, based on Bauhaus experimentations, sought principles explanatory of the then new modernist approach. Considered revolutionary in 1928 was his proposition (in translation), “‘form’ is not independent, but grows out of function (purpose), out of the materials used (organic or technical), and out of how they are used” (65). Morison’s influential “First Principles of Typography” (1930), a “rationale of book-typography” (5) opened with the much-quoted statement “typography may be defined as the craft of rightly disposing printing material in accordance with specific purpose” (7), reiterating Harding’s identification of the primacy of purpose.

In issue two, “General Rules of Display”, Harding follows the determination of purpose with the conceptualizing of “one well-defined general idea of construction”, that should be maintained throughout the design, with “the due subordination of details to the general effect” essential to the unity, or harmony of the design overall (7). Format and proportions, and the need to create emphasis, balance, and contrast were to guide the construction of any work, an insistence communicative purpose and aesthetic satisfaction were inseparable. As his series was to consist of “original articles of a practical character” (*Typo* 29 January 1887 2), each was accompanied by illustrative examples. After briefly counselling commonsense grammar and punctuation, the bulk of advice concerned visual perception. His strictures were to avoid the mathematical centre for any focal point, lead into a principal line of type with one that is subsidiary and unequal, keep important lines away from the bottom of the page, create emphasis by using bold letterforms, seek contrasts of light and shade, and with the divisional emphasis of rules and the careful control of white space, use visual proximity and separation to effectively group information. He attributes to the Germans the use of “a somewhat elongated ellipse, with two points corresponding to the two centres” to position elements needing the greatest emphasis (see Fig. 2.16). He is traditional only in his persistent support of symmetry (Wornum’s first principle of ‘correct’ ornament, 10).

In March and April Harding wrote of harmony and contrast, “the two regulating principles of display, and under these heads all effects of form, color, and light-and-shade may be classified ... without contrast there can be no display; without harmony there can be no artistic effect. According as one or the other principle of arrangement

predominates will the character of the work be determined” (26 March 15). Always an advocate of control, even at his most exuberant, Harding suggests harmony is achieved by the limitation of typefaces, (suggesting that the discipline of limitation to a single font, ideally a roman typeface, will teach compositors the basis of unity) or the restriction to those faces sympathetic through similarity in form, a technique that would later (1970) form the basis for a ‘new’ teaching of typographic composition at Yale University (Meggs 437-9). He ends his range of instructive examples for harmony with the reiteration all work must suit the purpose, and begins his next article on contrast with the same reminder “contrast, both in form and color, is the leading feature as a general rule in posters, handbills, theatrical announcements, &c. ... aesthetic considerations must give way to those of a more practical kind” (*Typo* 26 March 23), that of effective communication. He delineates how contrast is achieved within letterforms, in variants of type style in one face, and through their arrangement in words and lines, rather than the endless change of typefaces that was still a common convention. Size, weight, the use of upper and lower case, condensed, bold, expanded and italic forms of one face retain unity, while further impact can be achieved in the judicious selection and use of ornamental (display) typefaces. His advice always aims for a unity of functional denotative information with aesthetic, connotative style.

In issue five Harding begins his analysis of decoration, “we find a wide field before us, and one, so far as the English typographic manuals are concerned, as yet unoccupied ... not one systematic treatise on the every-day subject of typographic ornament exists in the English language”. He is only too aware that the injudicious use of ornament, “too often selected without system and used without judgement,” has made decoration an issue in the trade, and he reinforces his dogma of appropriateness to purpose, “simplicity, unity of design and harmony of effects”, with “simplicity preferable to complexity” (28 May 31). The first task he sets himself is to classify all decorative material, a pressing need as “the aesthetic revival of the past ten years or so has added several entirely new classes of ornament to the compositors stores, besides permitting a freedom of treatment formerly impossible” (ibid). He creates 10 sequential categories, recorded by McKenzie (“Robert Coupland Harding” 194), with the “object to show that in this department, as in all others, there are fundamental principles involved, which cannot be violated or ignored without causing trouble, annoyance, and imperfection in the final result” (28 May 31).

In the June instalment “Ornamental Types”, Harding sought to address the arbitrary nomenclature of typefaces used by manufacturers, a critical issue that had long bedevilled compositors and critics and McKenzie admires his attempt at “both a taxonomy and grammar” of typefaces (“Robert Coupland Harding” 203). Many writers today claim Artistic Printing spawned letter variants indiscriminately, “with different proportions, weights, and decorative excrescences” (Lupton 23). In contrast to the historical evolution of sublime, rational forms, they find eclecticism supreme, novelty triumphing over symmetry, irrationality over convention and eccentricity over sense (Twyman *Printing* 123) in defiance of “ideas of normative construction” in typefaces (Kinross 40). This historical trope of collective typographic insanity accords modernism the salvation of typography, ignoring very real developments, such as Harding’s, from within the trade.

Harding’s classification was logical yet revolutionary, bringing order to ‘chaos’, first by revealing the essential typographic forms of alphabetic characters, and then devising a system that made sense of “the way these are modified, decorated, or distorted” (*Typo* 25 June 1887 39), by this understanding allowing job printers to use display faces with discrimination. He began with the sans serif, historically oldest and visually plain, “an ancient form, simple and legible” (ibid)⁵⁴ as the base to demonstrate six ways any letter can be modified — by expansion, contraction, forward or back slopes, and thickening, regular or variable. He then shows how the sans serif may be ornamented by seven different devices, including shading, rimming, and floriating, and how more complex characters, such as romans, gothics/blackletter, and scripts are similarly modified, even suggesting combinations can be formularized (a direction now taken with the use of digital media to design type). His second innovation is to consider how the development of lower case letter forms (releasing fonts from the limitation of titling) allows the classification of typefaces from the sans serif into “three great divisions (1) Gothic, or Old English; (2) Roman; (3) Script” (40). His coverage of the gothics (or blackletter) includes Schwabacher (associating this type with German identity).⁵⁵ He then classifies roman typefaces by the form of serif and in doing so anticipates French typographer and graphic designer Maximilien Vox,⁵⁶ who in 1955 classified type into ten groups largely distinguished by the shape of their serifs, the Vox system becoming one of the more widely accepted means of international type classification today.

July's instalment, "Systematic Design", was a plea for typefounders to consider utility and rather than haphazardly produce material of limited use, to rationally design typefaces that coordinated with each other and size them uniformly (a need partially met when the American point system was standardized in 1886).⁵⁷ His desire was also for system in formal properties, "a rational system of gradation of styles" that, despite the inferior designs of "cumbrous antiques ...fat romans ...hideous Italians and grim borders," had been used in older specimen books (30 July 1887 49). His belief founders should develop fonts more complimentary in style to each other, assisting compositors to better use their typefaces and achieve harmony, anticipated the first, late nineteenth century type families such as *De Vinne* and *Century*. Coordinated by sharing common design traits, they became models for twentieth century typeface development.

As one of the earliest articulations of principles for visual communication design in print,⁵⁸ Harding's first seven articles of the series are the most important for this study for the role they played in changing the fundamentals of design in print:

Reading accounts of the typography of this period ... one receives the impression that the printing trade had entirely lost its standards of good work, having sunk under the dross of novelty display letters and emaciated text types printed on shiny paper. This is an essentially stylistic view of the matter, and one that leaves out of account the element of rationality that was still then present within the trade" (Kinross 41).

For Kinross, "De Vinne represented the possibility of a proper typography coming from within the trade. But he was to prove an exceptional voice, and the future would lie with the typographer" (42), as modernity is announced by the separation of the type specialist from the trade. *Typo* is evidence De Vinne was not an exception, as Harding also, and earlier, contributed significantly to the rationalisation of design "when the attempt to raise standards, and to rediscover the lost aesthetic factor, began to be conducted within trade printing and publishing" (41), an apposite description of Harding's activities in "Design in Typography." Kinross found the masculine "element of rationality" he admired in De Vinne's work also in the standardization of measure, and the solid core of commercial work, "the ordinary jobs of printing for information and instruction and pleasure," (41) familiar from Harding's career.⁵⁹

For Kinross modernity arrives both structurally and visually: the division of skills “brings us near to an essential constituent of the sense of ‘modern’ as it is here being used. Modern typography exhibits a rational impulse, both internally in ordering its own workings, and externally in the face it presents to the world” (16). Kinross’s view of a “lost aesthetic” is challenged in this study, but his definition of modern printing accurately describes Harding’s activities:

When printing becomes typography is also when printing becomes modern. Printing becomes modern with the spreading of knowledge about itself; with the published description of its practices; with the classification of its materials and processes; with coordination of dimensions of materials, enabling their exchange and better conjunction; with the establishment of a record of its history” (9).

Harding encouraged the professionalisation of print through the establishment of professional associations and the recording of its own history and his most important article on missionary printer William Colenso, “New Zealand’s First Printer” was published in the *Inland Printer* (March 1890 1-3).⁶⁰ His involvement in the quest for order in the industry, while focused on design, also extended to training. He noted changes through legislation regularizing apprenticeships, and although he attributed an improvement in British printing to the national drawing curriculum (*Typo* 28 June 1890 61) he had surprisingly little to say on the teaching of design here.⁶¹ As a compositor proud of his skills, Harding expected these to be learnt on the job and his allegiance to craft did not make him less perceptive of the dramatic, even destructive role of technology. His prophetic comments in “A Hundred Years Hence” foresee the end of printing, as “invention takes sudden and unforeseen directions. The type-writer of today is only a germ of greater things to come. Photography, once a scientific recreation, is now indispensable in every branch of graphics” (*Typo* 27 January 1894 85). Despite the demise of *Typo* and Harding’s career as a printer in 1897, he continued to make significant contributions to the *Inland Printer* well into the twentieth century (at least to 1905, McKenzie 205 n. 33).

Harding, like De Vinne, was one of the internationally important designer/makers who contributed to contemporary debate about their working practice, to “become aesthetic arbiters, urban interlocutors, and the subject of cultural history” (Kriegel 163). He combined an understanding of the issues of typographic form with the role of

typographer and printer. McKenzie places Harding, to this study mistakenly, within the period of colonial printing (“Robert Coupland Harding” 204) but his ambitions for design, his role in sharing knowledge through printers’ networks, his quest for the systematisation and standardisation of elements for the most commercial and popular use of printing overwhelmingly qualify him, by Kinross’ definitions, as an early modernist. But he was not a simplifier and his attitudes to ornament complicate this alignment with modernity.

“Design in Type” and ornament

Commentators acknowledge the multiple philosophical issues surrounding ornament, from the rise in the production and popularity of decoration in the mid-nineteenth century, to the rejection of the twentieth. For many, changing attitudes are framed within the profound shift to the modern world (David Brett), as the intensely debated ethical and moral issues of design centred on ornament and came to affect all of the applied arts and architecture. Harding’s lifetime encompassed Owen Jones’ *Grammar of Ornament* (1856) and Adolf Loos’ “Ornament and Crime” (1908). Jones’ *Grammar*, a vocabulary of ideal decoration using exemplars from diverse cultures, was influential in the attributions of meaning and value to ornament. Loos’ declaration ornament was “no longer the expression of our culture” (99, also cited in Clouse and Voulangas 185, Trilling 134) used analogy to present the removal of ornament as synonymous with the evolution of civilization towards efficiency and economy (Trilling 132-3). As a part of printing from its invention, ornament had always “served as an essential signifier of function” (Atzmon 393). In the nineteenth century, with improved foundry technology, the logic of the market place drove the popularity of ornament to a peak as Artistic Printing responded to a public desire for art to redeem industrialization.

In “Design in Typography”, Harding devoted 53 articles to the detailed study of ornament, beginning in August 1887 with “Typographic Flourishes,” and ending on November 1891 with “Renaissance Borders”. With the practical discernment of a printer, McKenzie devotes seven pages to this epic treatise (“Design” 194-203).⁶² It remains to be said here that Harding subjected the bewildering variety of ornament to the same systematic approach as typography, reiterating the rules of composition “are the outcome of four centuries of experience, they allow full scope for individual taste and originality of style, and they cannot be neglected without injury to the work” (*Typo* 31 August 1889 97). Significantly he based his classification of ornament on their

elemental, geometric forms, ordering further elaboration as mathematical and modular. He recounted the histories of individual ornaments, and in hierarchies of use considered the virtues and defects of their aesthetic and practical application. In essence he mounts a modern rational defense of ornament before Modernism engendered the fallacy all ornament was wrong and must be suppressed.

Even as Harding wrote, attitudes were changing. *Typo* reprinted an article from the *Inland Printer* describing De Vinne's inclination "to a severer style of typography—to what he calls 'masculine printing'—to strong solid impressions" (26 February 1887 9). Studies of other cultures, proliferating with colonisation, came to associate a love of unrestrained decoration as a marker of the most primitive peoples (Clouse and Voulangas 181). In a transposition from ethnic to social hierarchies, the fundamental and undemocratic distrust of mass audiences by the taste-making elite was exhibited in the association of 'incorrect', 'ignorant' or 'tasteless' decoration with popular print (183, Ballaster 79). Ornament also gained a gendered identification with femininity, and criticism was increasingly cast in gendered terms ("power is the expression of manliness" Dresser 163). This new idea of masculine printing, defined as simple, plain, appropriate, honest, workmanlike, well judged, placing legibility to the reader first, was couched as oppositional to feminine printing of "ornamental effects" and delicacy (Kinross 41-42). The masculine disposition of modernism that associated design with a deeper philosophical purpose than the superficial embellishments of feminine decoration is well studied (for example Penny Sparke *As Long as it's Pink*) and Harding is unusual in not using gendered vocabulary in his reviews. He remained committed to the communicative abilities of ornament and its essential connotative role (aesthetic and emotional) in the visual rhetoric of "beauty" (Dresser 83) in the letterpress repertoire. His insistence training was essential to apply and interpret ornament well motivated his rationalisation of form and construction to address the vexed issue of how printers could understand, judge and use ornament and decorative typefaces effectively.

By the turn of the century ornament rapidly fell from favour and Harding's description of the more eccentric typefaces and ornament as "monstrosities" was surpassed by harsher critics who associated all decoration with moral and social deformity, degeneracy (Clouse and Voulangas 185, 189), and a seductive but morbid sexuality (Trilling 117). To Curtis "decadence has always been a term applied to perceived obsolescence and extinction events in design, particularly in relation to a perceived drift

away from function towards complex symbolism and mannerist form” (260). In the German Werkbund from 1907, Muthesius’ advocacy of standardization for industrial efficiency, supported by Loos’ challenge to the authenticity of decoration in an age of mechanization, triumphed over Van de Velde’s espousal of individual artistic expression (Meggs 227). The designs that emerged from the Werkbund and would go on to influence the Bauhaus, the writings of Tschichold, and Western modernism in general, equated undecorated ‘functional’ form with the ultimate expression of beauty and morality: “today we see in a desire for ornament an ignorant tendency which our century must repress” (Tschichold 69). Despite modernism’s hegemonic desires, the twentieth century shift to clean, geometric forms was far from total. For Woodham, the modernist rejection of ornament was largely symbolic (*Twentieth Century Ornament* 112), as tradition coexisted with modernity (8-9). “The so-called rejection of ornament was a rejection of ornament *as practiced in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries*,” of “clutter, eclecticism, inconsistency, naturalism, minuteness, lack of subordination, spatial ambiguity” (203-4). As evidenced by specimen books, controlled ornament, historicist (the legacy of the Arts and Crafts) and modernist (rules, arrows, geometric shapes), remained in both fine printing and ‘low’ commercial ephemera as printers continued to respond to consumer taste (L. Young 393) in “a commercial ecology that recognized attraction as a more complex issue than the ethical aesthetics of simple prioritized functionalism” (Curtis 264).

A love of decoration continued in print and graphic design, from 1960s retro Victoriana, the postmodern stylistic eclecticism of the 1970s, to a greater of ornament reappraisal as typefaces were revived for digitization at the end of the century. Today Harding’s attempt to integrate ornament and structure, compositionally and connotatively, comprehending the role of ornament in expressing fantasy and emotion within rational principles of graphic communication, is an approach that has been revalidated. Twenty-first century practitioners such as Jeffrey Keedy and Marian Bantjes use the pixel as the elementary geometric unit of ornament identified by Harding, and relish fields of active pattern. Alice Twemlow sees some of the resurgence of ornament as “stylistic nostalgia” and an ironic “celebration of uselessness” but at best it recaptures a “complexity, meaningfulness and a seriousness of intent”. Practitioners recreate ornament in a manner Harding advocated over one hundred years ago: the reinterpretation and re-design of historic forms by contemporary sensibilities, using up-to-date technology. As then, there is now argument for a new understanding of the

historical and cultural values of ornament (L. Young 396, 402), of the kind he provided. Perhaps Harding can be compared to Dresser in his understanding “that a society as complex as the one he lived in had a place for elaboration as well as simplicity - and for everything in between” (Trilling 214).

Harding was encouraged by at least one overseas journal to publish his series “Design in Typography” in book form, but for once he saw his distance from typographic centres, notably printing museums, as one of many practical obstacles that denied this fulfillment (McKenzie “Robert Coupland Harding” 203), although he prepared a manuscript and wrote of his ambition to greatly extend “the chapters on the general principles of design” (“Conclusion” *Typo* 26 December 1891 149). What remains of the greatest significance was his identification of principles for design in print to guide the planning and execution of all work, his emphasis on suitability to purpose, and his rationalisation of typefaces. These anticipate the basic modernist precepts that were to transform graphic design in the twentieth century, from the visual theories developed at the Bauhaus,⁶³ onwards to guides such as David Lauer’s *Design Basics* today, now based on studies of visual perception, the brain, and gestalt theory.⁶⁴ His perceptive treatise of ornament remains unique, but is validated in postmodern sensibilities.

Harding’s design principles and *Typo*

The design of *Typo* had a very different purpose to Harding’s job printing and visually demonstrates his philosophic shift from Artistic Printing took place within a continuum. His audience was typefounders, publishers, agents, printers and compositors and he would have been aware of the judgement of his peers. The neat and compact text layout of *Typo* remained consistent throughout the 10 years of its existence; two-column (towards the back three) 8 point (brevier) English roman text type, force-justified to avoid rivers of white, with comfortable spacing and leading for legibility, separated and enclosed on each page with fine rules. Running heads provide date and page information, footers the volume and issue, the first page title panel changed irregularly. Leading articles began with headers (Caslon’s *Ecclesiastic* and MS&J’s *Filigree* favourites) and a drop-capital or illustrated initial. Miscellaneous material was separated with small ornamental rules, and advertising matter placed towards the back. Apart from the “Design in Typography” and “Type Specimens” columns, visual and compositional variety was provided by the supplements and advertising. From March 1889 to 1891,

Typo was issued in a two-colour wrapper, changed generally every six months and printed by Raithby & Lawrence, Leicester (28 March 1889 26), although Harding's imprint remained on the footers (Fig. 2.12). Harding's part in the design, distinguished by German-style borders and an elaborate headpiece, is unknown. Advertisers for the wrappers did business through *Typo*'s London agents John Haddon & Co., possibly supplying their own blocks or stereotypes.

2.12. *Typo* wrapper (front), 1890.

Of greater significance was the coloured title page, an annual production for binding volumes from 1887 to 1891. These established *Typo*'s visual identity, demonstrating Harding's discrimination in typeface and ornament selection and illustrating his design principles. The first four are essentially variants on one composition, and show a progression of style embodying changing ideas through a gradual move to increased simplicity (Figs 2.13-5), and the design from 1890 (Fig. 2.16) will be analysed in most

detail. The last, in 1891 is an asymmetrical composition which, judged by Harding's own principles lacks visual impact and unity and must be considered unsuccessful.

2.13. R. C. Harding, *Typo* title page, 1887.

The festively coloured inaugural cover (Fig. 2.13) has decorative German borders with English vignettes and corner pieces, and two local blocks from A. D. Willis, Wanganui — the coat of arms, and Mount Taranaki (Egmont) with cordyline — as icons of place.

2.14. R. C. Harding, *Typo* title page, 1888.

The 1888 design (Fig. 2.14), accepted for Volume X of the *International Printers' Exchange* had presswork by Harding's brother Thomas Bennick Jnr. Of it Harding wrote "in its design and scheme of colour, we have followed the principles of harmony and contrast laid down in our article on p. 15 of our first volume" (29 December 1888 113). He elaborates these in detail and identifies the type as English (from four foundries) and the ornament as mostly German, as in 1887.

2.15. R. C. Harding, *Typo* title page, 1889.

In 1889 (Fig. 2.15), the four-colour design (omitting black), with lively red/green complimentary hues, uses a German silhouette running border “in the antique style” (28 December 1889 137), to create an airy rococo feel.

2.16. R. C. Harding, *Typo* title page, 1890.

In 1890 (Fig. 2.16) the high quality imprint is on fine pressed (calendared) paper stock allowing the details and contrasts of shape and line to be fully appreciated. The layout is portrait format rectangle framed and reinforced with two borders. The composition is structured by an underlying grid, which places important elements along the (invisible) intersecting lines dividing the rectangle into thirds vertically and horizontally. Each central division is further marked with a decorative block or scroll to draw the eye. Harding's early marginalia indicates he drew well, but his reputation was as a practitioner who composed at the case. Regrettably no dummy layouts or drawn roughs for compositions have been found so whether Harding actually used a grid or visualized as he composed is to date unknown. However such compositions were far from

instinctive. The positioning of ‘*TYPO*’ follows Harding’s design principles in detail. He avoids the mechanical centre for the placing of key elements in a composition (26 February 1887 7), and the two centres of the format’s ellipses (29 January 1887 2) determine the position of the heading and the coat of arms. Balance on the vertical centre line maintains symmetry in decoration through the mirroring of elements (26 January 1889 3), and the two halves across a horizontal centre line are visually balanced.

Unity is achieved typographically with a limited range of typefaces. The two lines in a blackletter style (British) associated with newspaper mastheads evoke print traditions, their weight moderated again by generous word spacing. The widely letter-spaced focal point “*TYPO*” is in Caslon’s *3 Line Titling* in dynamic red. Except for two lines, the subsequent text is also in uppercase modern roman, in a conventional sequence of diminishing heights. The extreme contrast of this category follows the lightness and precision of fonts issued by the Didot family in France in the late eighteenth century. Many type historians, such as Clouse (35) consider the Didot ‘moderns’ as the first advertising display faces, which may explain why Harding, the consummate job printer, judged modern roman to be “the most perfect and artistic character ever devised; and which, in point of beauty, is not likely ever to be surpassed” (March 1888 21); “the modern [roman] face has reached a stage, so far as regularity and beauty are concerned, where further improvements can scarcely be expected” (26 September 1891 127). Kinross has written, “[as] a term of stylistic categorization, ‘modern’ now describes the treatment of serifs (flat and unbracketed), modeling of stroke width (abrupt and exaggerated), and the shading or stress of letters (vertical) and implies order and rationality” (20). McKenzie has made the association of order and rationality with Harding, but it is not usually made with the Victorian Age or Artistic Printing.

Borders and ornaments show Harding’s admiration for the German product (*Typo* 30 July 1887 52). The inner border, an illusionistic fancy, part hanging curtain, part curling, foliage-pierced scroll, is Schelter & Giesecke’s *Cartouche Combination* which, poignantly, Harding used on the cover of the auction catalogue of his printing business seven years later. There is a range of light and shade on the sheet, with the illusionistic dark background to the scrolling border, against the crosshatched curls and the airy expanse of white but contrast, to Harding the indicator of display (which is not the purpose of the covers), is undramatic. The 1890 title page exists in two colourways. In both the inner border is printed in a rich chocolate brown. This version (Fig. 2.16) continues the

four colour scheme of the first *Typo* title page (Fig. 2.13), alternating blue, red, and black for the text and ribbon border, a lively effect relying on the contrast of two primary colours. The other adds black and a tertiary mauve to the brown, creating a very different, sophisticated aesthetic statement.

The symmetry and restraint of the covers, when compared with examples in M. Young, and Clouse and Voulangas, is unusual for much Artistic Printing of the time. Harding, demonstrating his principles, has achieved clarity through a clear hierarchy of information, generous white space, print ‘colour’ and hues, and the effective contrast of tones for the purpose of communicating confidence, control, and culture as an expression of the contemporary. The design acknowledges tradition while promoting the development of “one of the rarest qualities to be found in the trade. Simplicity, unity of design” (26 May 1887 31).

“Type Specimens”

On 26 December 1891, Harding concluded “Design in Typography”, summarising his purpose and achievements, and writing “this chapter, though “last” is not “final” ... that in months to come, many new lines of job-letter and handsome combinations may be illustrated as well as criticized in our columns” (149), passing the mantle of typographic instruction to the continuing column, “Type Specimens”. Beginning as “Recent Specimens”, “Type Specimens” aimed “to critically note every new and original design in types, borders, combination ornaments, and initials” (29 June 1889 61). This was vital information. Compositors were at the end of a chain of form making which began at the foundries, who responded to the perceived needs of the market identified by sales figures, agents’ reports, type journals and reviews. A printer’s stock at hand, the criteria, rate of selection and purchase of new material applied further constraints on the compositor’s activities. Aesthetic decisions existed in tension with cost, pragmatism about wear and tear, and business considerations of clientele and market. Intense competition made all decisions risky but conferred added importance on fashionable style. Harding’s column had the aim of influencing this process from the beginning. His reviews were stubbornly independent and, guided by his principles, he criticized as much as he praised.⁶⁵ A growing disenchantment with the extreme eccentricities of late Artistic Printing is apparent by 1890 as he grumbles “what next” when faced with the indescribable and he is forced to resort to emotional adjectives – “horrible”, “detestable”, “barbaric”, “absurd” – and the supreme condemnation, “eye-torturing”.

Although an enthusiastic user of MS&J's products in *Harding's Almanac*, he notes a retrogression in standards, for example in their *Combination Border* (No. 96), *sections one and two*, "the stiffest, raggedest, and most ungraceful yet produced" (30 July 1887 52).

He marks the gradual decline of Artistic Printing and the rise of historicism, subjecting the typefaces and influence of William Morris to astringent scrutiny as he praises Caslon's pica roman No. 26: "bold, clear, legible, and harmonious, it is more gratifying to the eye than any fancy letter ever devised. Yet this is precisely the kind of type that "aesthetic" and "artistic" printers neglect. It passes our comprehension how publishers and readers have so long tolerated the wretched affectation of sham "old-style" work when modern faces have been brought to such perfection" (30 July 1887 52). On the same issue he has no difficulty disagreeing with his friends, writing of Talbot Baines Reed's *A History of Old English Letter Foundries* (1887), "the reversion to the old-face of the last century has Mr. Reed's approval. To our mind it is a blot on the typography of the age – a pitiful sham and an anachronism at the best" (28 January 1888 4). In *Typo's* last issue, he presents a detailed critique of Kelmscott imitations "as have hitherto characterized the productions of careless or ignorant workmen", accepted only because of the expensive materials of their production (27 February 1897 3). This is balanced by favourable reviews of some of the great typefaces inspired by old-style but more rationally constructed, such as *De Vinne*, *Cushing* and the *Jenson* types (27 August 1892 60) developed with the amalgamation of foundries into American Type Founders. Still in the ATF specimen book of 1912, they were among the few typefaces to survive into the twentieth century. He predicts history will judge the *Yellow Book*, *Evergreen* and *Savoy* "with mild contempt", and describes Beardsley's posters as "a chamber of horrors" (27 February 1897 3). Yet consistently seeking balance he adds, "the revolt against mere conventionalism, and the striving after fuller freedom of design, characteristic of the new movement are signs of a healthy awakening" (ibid).

The 1890s had begun with Harding's disastrous shift, "leaving the crowded field of job-printing in Napier for Wellington" (28 June 1890 66), and his partnership with printers Wright & Eyre, dissolved in December 1892. For one issue (March 1891) *Typo* becomes *The Monthly Record of Scientific and Educational News; Circular of New Books, New Editions, Standard works etc., in which is incorporated Typo: A Monthly Trade Journal and Literary Review*, as his financial position becomes increasingly precarious. His pleas for subscriptions increase and advertisements for the sale of his Napier business, "A Bargain", continue.

He completed 12 issues of *Typo* for 1891, six for 1892, one per year 1893 and 1894, with nothing until the final double issue of January/February 1897, before his business failure. As *Typo* became irregular, Harding lavished attention on production, making colour a feature (Johnson 589) while maintaining his interest in ornament (Fig. 2.18). The ‘missing’ issues, those he never wrote or printed, are a great loss to typographic history, yet what was produced clearly illustrates, through commentary and visuals, a continued development to the more geometric, lighter and simplified designs of the modern era (27 January 1894 4). His column of 26 December 1891 (151) predicts the coming popularity of ATF’s *Algonquin* and *Columbus*, “bold, legible, carrying plenty of colour” (31 December 1892 91), the selection of American fonts heralding early modernity with the high cross-bars, abbreviated serifs and mono-weight of *Quaint* and *Herald*, and the ultra-bold of *Algonquin* (Fig. 2.17). An Art Nouveau influence is seen in Schelter & Giesecke’s *Propaganda* Script (28 October 1893 82 and Fig. 2.18) and in Woellmer’s *Japonia* and *Fantasia* (27 February 1897 8). While Harding continues his appreciation of borders and ornaments he notes in 1897 that their continued proliferation causes “one to wonder, as we often do, where a sufficient market is found for all the novelties” (1).

For Bringhurst “typography makes at least two types of sense, if it makes sense at all. It makes visual sense and historical sense” (9). The visual is on display, but it is only to the scholar that the historical is revealed. Harding’s columns are unique, fascinating and important to typographic history for recording in detail the progression at the end of the century. All of the major typefaces that have come to define this vital period have been noted in his column, and a remarkable number of fonts and ornaments documented uncritically in Loy, and Clouse, are reviewed by the practical and discerning Harding, with the result they emerge from a generalised mass to be individually, historically, and critically situated. “Type Specimens” forms an essential corrective to later misrepresentations of the period as one of an abandonment of critical judgement.

Type Specimens.

As we mentioned last month, we have received a copy of the latest specimen-book of the DICKINSON Foundry, Boston, and sample fonts of some of their recent designs in job-letter. The latter have all been referred to more or less fully in our pages; but we take the present opportunity of illustrating them, especially as some of them are closely allied to still later productions of the same house. First, as a typical style, we will select one which we do not consider by any means a model job-letter, but which has thoroughly taken the fancy of the American printers, the Quaint. It was designed by one of the partners of the firm, Mr J. W. Phinney, and so great has been the demand for this letter and for its complementary style, the Quaint Open, which

10° Quaint.
ORNITHORHYNCHUS PARADOXUS : 24

10° Quaint Open.
ORNITHORHYNCHUS PARADOXUS : 24

18° Quaint.
BLACK AND WHITE COWS

18° Quaint Open.
BLACK AND WHITE COWS

36° Quaint. 36° Quaint Open.
QUAINT OPEN

works with it in register as a two-color letter, that many tons have been sold, and three casting-machines are still constantly employed in turning it out. Elsewhere we show a synopsis of the characters. Two forms of the N (as may be seen by specimen lines above) are supplied with the larger sizes. It is cast in seven sizes, 10° to 48°. Closely resembling this style is the Jagged, cast only in three sizes, all on 12° body. It differs chiefly from the Quaint in having a somewhat lighter line. Lighter still—in fact, a hair-line style, though

6° Outing, No. 42.
THE SPLENDOR FALLS ON CASTLE WALLS

6° Outing, No. 44.
AND JUDGY SUMMITTS OLD IN STORY. THE LONG LIGHT SHAKES ACROSS THE LAKES, AND THE WILD CATARACT LEAPS IN GLORY still maintaining the same general character, is the Outing, in seven sizes, cast to line, four on nonpareil and three on pica bodies. No. 43 works as small caps to 42, 44 to 43, and 45 (about 3° size), as small caps to 44. Admirers of this style can have a very similar letter

6° Erratick.
AT THE CLOSE OF THE DAY, when the hamlet is still

10° Erratick.
DICKINSON FOUNDRY, BOSTON.

18° Erratick.
At Summer's eve, when heaven's aerial

30° Erratick.
MASSA CHUSETTS

Mrs. Sippi & Miss Souri

From the HUB!

with lowercase, the Erratick, which is somewhat expanded. It is cast from 6° to 48°, and like the others has several characters duplicated. As in the case of the Quaint, a full series of open letters are cast, either to be used independently, or to register in color-work. The series is closed with Virile, new to us—a condensed letter of similar character, also with lowercase, in seven sizes, 12° to 60°.

Another condensed style, but much more regular and less fanciful,

18° Herald.
THE BOAST OF HERALDRY, THE POMP OF
Full many a Gem, of purest ray serene

36° Herald.
Volume 5 TYPO, No. 60

is the Herald, five sizes, 18° to 60°. Very similar, but extraordinarily condensed, is Globe, which must be one of the thinnest letters made. Complete with lowercase and figures, in four sizes, 24° to 60°. The Algonquin is a bold and handsome letter, in three sizes, 42° to 60°.

60° Algonquin. 60° Algonquin Ornamented.
Black White

The Algonquin Ornamented works with it in color, with fine effect. When thus used, it is necessary to put a uniform thin space between the solid letters. Proper spaces are put up with each font. One more letter we illustrate—the Skjæld—a style very different from any of those that we have been considering. It originally came out in nine sizes, under the name of Typotheta, caps only; but became at once so popular that lowercase was added. It is cast from 8° up to

12° Typotheta.
VAIN, DEAS! THE ENDEAVOR
12° Skjæld.
Poor Wisdom's chance against a glance

24° Typotheta.
ANTIQUATED

24° Skjæld.
Sannove Solbakken

60°. The first half of the book shows a fine collection of plain faces, sanserifs, and modern and old-style romans. Stenograf (12° only), is a light type-writer face, perfectly regular in alignment, as is warranted by the late improvements in type-writing machinery. In ornaments, there are the numerous Elzevir Borders and Bands that

2.18. R. C. Harding, "Type Specimens", 28 October 1893 77.

From 1892 Harding replaced *Typo's* title page with first page headers, illustrating his contention that understanding the principles of composition allowed full scope for individuality. In January 1892 (Fig. 2.19) he pays homage to tradition through disciplined symmetry, the colour scheme of red and black, and decoration of conventionalized natural forms. As with the 1890 title page (Fig. 2.16), it is hard to

consider a compositor as consciously methodical and rational as Harding was unaware of the rigid underlying grid of mathematically proportional repeats of the rectangle of the page, reinforced with rules, which establishes compositional regularity. Challenging old-style typefaces, Harding demonstrates his belief that historic forms could only be redeemed by re-design informed by contemporary principles, constituting the page as a modernist typographical wolf in classical sheep's clothing.

2.19. R. C. Harding, title and first page, January 1892 61.

2.20. R. C. Harding, First page title (detail), 27 January 1894 1.

In 1894 the title page (Fig. 2.20) appears to respond to the rise of the image in type journals, the *Inland Printer* for example, from 1891 favouring increasingly pictorial magazine-style headers and title pages.⁶⁶ In bright compliments of red and green, Harding's typographic elements — the heading MS&J's *Filigree* (reviewed 24 Sept 1887 65), the syntax of the large stereo of birds on a branch (from Nops, London) — are of the nineteenth century in style but the tonal realism of the image mimics a photograph, and with the simple ornaments looks forward to the twentieth. The image, its organic shape reflected by the heading, is balanced, contained and ordered by the right-angled rule and repetition of ornaments, their verticality emphasized by the colour red. The radical asymmetry now successfully conveys informality and freedom, and suggestively looks forward 30 years to the principles of Tschihold, and László Moholy-Nagy, who advocated versatility and elasticity for modern composition (Richard Kostelanetz 75).

Harding's last printing appears to be the *Catalogue of Printing Types Machinery and Materials comprising every requisite for the best book, newspaper, and job work being the extensive plant of Mr. R. C. Harding, Wellington, who is relinquishing business*, 1897,⁶⁷ a logically organised 60 page treasure trove of typographical identification. A preliminary sourcing of fonts and

ornaments has found material from five British foundries (225 entries) favouring lining and text type, with Caslon dominant (78); 12 from American foundries (188 entries) favouring display types and ornament, by far the most from MS&J (79); 10 from German foundries (73 entries) favouring borders and initials, the most from Schelter & Giesecke (29).

In contrast to canonical approaches, this study does not position Harding as an isolated genius, arising from a South Pacific sea of print mediocrity. Hughes' contention that "Harding was in some ways a man without peers. His areas of expertise, printing and typography, placed him in an isolated position in late-nineteenth century New Zealand. The nation's printing trade at this time was industrial, not artistic, as was Harding's speciality" (97), is disputed by evidence in this study. The *Inland Printer* article "Printing at the Antipodes" (July 1886, reprinted from the *Pacific Printer*) claims:

English and American writers frequently write as if the whole of the English speaking and writing world was embraced between San Francisco and Dover, paying little attention to the British Provinces of North America, and none at all to the numerous colonies which lie under the Southern Cross, embracing Cape Colony, Australia and New Zealand ... It is in Australia and New Zealand that the greatest development has been made, and it is here that business is the most active and taste is developed the highest (601).

The indication that at least some local printers were achieving high standards before *Typo* began, suggests Matthews, Baxter's stock of the same year may be less typical, than the range apparent in *Harding's Almanac*. Harding, commonly seen as "influential in raising printing standards" (R. Johnston 587) was not alone in his quest for quality, or in keeping abreast of innovations coming from overseas, nor was *Typo* the only publication printers viewed or could learn from. What Harding did offer was the first rationalized design advice and incisive critiques of local as well as overseas printing, and it took printers of similar understanding to apply these. Ephemera collections in public institutions offer evidence some printers here adopted Artistic Printing as quickly as Harding, probably in conjunction with demand. A programme for Madame Summerhayes Concert, July 13 1882, with the imprint of the *Evening Post* (Wellington) uses the *Chippendale Border*, *Relievo No. 2* and MS&J combination borders and ornaments found in Harding's 1880 programme (Fig. 2.1) and *Harding's Almanac* (Figs 2.2, 2.7). By

1886 German borders are becoming common in ephemera sighted by this writer (see also R. Johnston Plate 54, 514). 1890s ephemera from Dunedin printers S. N. Brown gives evidence of far greater display stock than Matthews, Baxter, with many the same as those reviewed, used, and held by Harding in 1897, as well as the move to comparative simplicity he was advocating (Fig. 2.21)

Otago Agricultural and Pastoral Society.
Dunedin, 189

Corner of Princes and Stafford Streets,
Dunedin, 189

TELEPHONE 838.

Dr. to JAMES WREN & CO.,
PAINTERS, GLAZIERS, HOUSE DECORATORS, SIGN WRITERS, &c.
(Calico Signs and Pictorial Advertisements a specialty.)
Importers of and Dealers in Paperhangings, White Lead, Oils, Colours, Window Glass, Brushware, Varnishes, &c.
ESTIMATES GIVEN FOR GENERAL REPAIRS.

Corner High and Princes Streets.
Dunedin, 189

AGENT FOR
La Khedive
Turkish
CIGARETTES.
Swan Brand
BRIAR PIPES.

Bought of S. JACOBS,
TOBACCONIST.

IMPORTER OF
HAVANNA
AND
MANILLA
CIGARS.

GREAT KING STREET.
Dunedin, 189

Bought of H. MCINTOSH & CO.,
COAL + MERCHANTS.
All the various Coals kept in Stock. Firewood supplied in any length.
Furniture + Carefully + Removed.
Tons. Cwts. Qrs.

PRINCES STREET & OCTAGON.
DUNEDIN, 189

Dr. to DAVID SCOTT
(Late MCGREGOR WRIGHT)
PICTURE-FRAMER, GILDER, AND ARTISTS' COLORMAN.
SIGN AND TICKET WRITER, GLASS EMBOSSE, AND GENERAL DECORATOR.
Plain and Ornamental Lead Light Windows Made to Order.
To Account Rendered ...

Central Type Foundry
Atlanta 1876
(Loy 74, *Typo* 28 May, 1887 33)

Central Type Foundry, Schoeder
De Vinne c1888
(Loy 109, RCHAC 12 no. 209)

Stephenson Blake
Concave

Barnhardt
Brothers and Spindler
West Old Style c1892?
(Loy 36)

MS&J, Ihlenburg
Aboret No. 2 1888

Generic modern roman

2.21. S. N. Brown, Collection of letterheads, 1890s.

Direct lines of influence from Harding are impossible to draw, nonetheless R. A. McKay, writing for the trade in 1940, locates his influence in his new approach to design: “he led the return to pure design as opposed to fantastic bending and the alleged pleasing appearance of a multiplicity of type-faces” (105). Despite low subscriptions there is evidence most print shops knew of *Typo*, even if only through article reprints in international journals, and it clearly stimulated an enhanced awareness of design locally which continued into the twentieth century in stylish work throughout the country. A 1906 programme by W. A. Wilkinson, Auckland (Fig. 2.22) demonstrates the simplicity and order of typefaces, layout, and ornament advocated by Harding, so his direct or indirect contribution continued, within the general quest for high standards in New Zealand letterpress print design.

2.22. W. A. Wilkinson *Sinbad the Sailor*, front and back covers 1906.

Harding's influence overseas is similarly difficult to 'prove', although he was clearly an interlocutor for change. In Britain design reform gave artisans the opportunity to transcend class and have a public voice (Kriegel), gaining them unprecedented social and cultural capital. In comparatively egalitarian New Zealand the challenge was to transcend distance and the lack of a cultural tradition. This made Harding open to all design dialogue, regardless of origins. Testimonials, many reprinted in *Typo*, (R. Johnston 274, McKenzie "Harding"); the often unattributed but frequent times his articles were reprinted in foreign journals, McKenzie for example noting Harding's writings in the *Colonial Printers' Register* from 1880 ("Robert Coupland Harding" 202) and recording by title 11 of over 30 contributions to the *Inland Printer* (205 n. 33); the presence of *Typo* on other international stages ("Typo is represented at the great newspaper exhibition at Aix-la-Chapelle, and at the exhibition of the world's trade journals at Leipzig" *Typo* 30 June 1888 45), testify to his activities. His job printing was also recognized, through international reviews of *Harding's Almanac* (McKenzie "Robert Coupland Harding" 192, *Press Notices* no. 91) and the subscribers to the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*. His recently discovered scrapbook *Press Notices* shows while not all reviews were complimentary; his design advice was always treated seriously.⁶⁸ His global presence, then and now, is undeniable.

Conclusion

This chapter has begun the fulfillment of the study aim to write a history of graphic design in ephemeral print in New Zealand c1880-1913, by beginning with a case study of design in letterpress printing in the work and writings of Robert Coupland Harding. This chapter has provided new factual information on the identification of typefaces, ornament, and style through formal analysis, and tracked them temporally and geographically, to understand their significance and enable a deeper understanding of the integral link between Harding's printed works and his writings. It has begun the realization of the two research questions, of how design circulates in a process of influence, adaptation and exchange, and the way analysis may contribute to understanding design's historic messages and values in society. The chapter aim of contextualisation has been met by positioning Harding and his work within design reform and debates, and stylistic and philosophic change of the time. It has established his activities and their particular significance within relationships formed by networks of influence, internationally and locally. Findings within the five themes of the study begin

with the contextualization of Harding's work and writings, drawing from the disciplines of history, print culture, and visual culture to appraise the critical background to the "highlight personage" he has become locally.

New knowledge from this study places the form of everyday, popular, ephemeral print at the forefront of print innovation and at the heart of social, cultural, and moral concerns of the time. Harding was deeply involved with typographic form (the professional codes of letterpress) from an early age, and the chapter narrative demonstrates how his education was extended by the web of trade material, particularly typographic journals then becoming available, linking him to global print and its concerns. His participation in these networks enhanced his acute awareness of the issues, aesthetic and commercial, as they became applicable worldwide, and that he himself faced. This chapter has further enhanced the understanding of how job printing allowed Harding to explore and develop his individual approach and gain a reputation for design in sympathy with the flourish of Artistic Printing. Analysis of typographic style has deepened understanding of connotative meanings conveyed by the most 'invisible' element of print. Through the tracking of typefaces, ornament, and style, evidence is provided of the speed of transmission of material from America, and the extent of American visual influence, to its dominance in print here by the late nineteenth century, a development formerly unacknowledged in print histories. Comparisons of stock have also allowed reappraisal of the assumptions of mediocrity in local print, and provided evidence that although Harding was undoubtedly a mediator, he was not alone in the quest for standards of print and design here. This chapter positions *Typo* as Harding's strategic vehicle for reaching a wider audience and extending his network, one with a distinctive, traceable presence, and the platform from which he addressed the urgent and widespread problem of design, in the trade and in society.

Harding's activities in networks of correspondence, trade, and journals refute binary models of design transmission from centre(s) to peripheral margins. Whether through the *Book Border*, originating from New Zealand, manufactured, marketed and attributed to an American foundry, and circulated worldwide, his writings in various forms, or *Typo*, his presence and immeasurable influence, were both local and international, and suggests a further dimension to Calvera's peripheral-centred approach of design transmission. This extension of the model is to one where the forms arriving from elsewhere undergo not so much an adaptation as an amplification of potential. They

may be domesticated for local consumption, but more importantly are returned, improved, extended, for global circulation. Instead of the subtle difference of ‘feedback’ (Calvera 380), a ‘periphery’ may profoundly ‘feed-forward,’ as Harding did, first as an arbiter of Artistic Printing, then as a pioneer of theories of typographic modernity. In such cases, delay in design transmission may be of negligible significance and a design ‘periphery’ (as part of a network envisaged by both Fry and Latour), can be a nexus of power, enhancing circulating forms and instrumental in change. At a time when the belief was that design reflected national character (A. V. Haight 207), Harding’s revolutionary vision was of local print confidently part of a universal culture determined by the highest design standards, to the extent it could be more open and internationalist than that of the producing nations. It consequently suggests Harding was initially an integrator as much as a mediator, of the global and the local, the past and future, and of decorative and rational style, and finally an innovator of early modernism.

The American advances in type design, both artistic and rational, and the growth of systematization through type families that Harding advocated and often anticipated, aligns him for the first time with the critical shift from the decorative eclecticism of the Victorian Age to twentieth century modernity. His emphasis on *function* in typographic form, the service to the message, remade an often submerged but traditional value in print into a broader tenet of modernism. He understood function could be encompassed within fashionable style, as evidenced by his own printing. McKenzie’s assertion of Harding’s “independence of fashion” in understanding the foundational principles of composition (“Robert Coupland Harding” 202) is complicated by the argument of this chapter that he came to develop them *through* his immersion in stylistic change.

Consequently, the most overlooked aspect of Harding, and ultimately that of greatest significance, is his role as a modernizer, philosophically, theoretically, and stylistically (seeing style as also apprehending both theory and philosophy). His career supports the concept of design modernity as a continuity of late nineteenth century developments as theorized by Greenhalgh (91-2) and Raizman (103-11). In a long genesis from his life as a job compositor and printer, through observation, conception, and realisation, it is possible Harding articulated, in his search for standards, one of the first treatises on visual perception in 2-dimensional design of the modern age. Through his column “Design in Typography” he provided a guide to the rationalization of design in

typographic form familiar through later developments in centres of radical modernity, and which continues to be relevant now. In the complementary “Type Specimens” he was unique in conducting critical and independent appraisals of typefaces within the swinging tides of taste. Consequently, through the networks identified in the chapter, Harding, a small, non-cosmopolitan, and geographically remote practitioner, was able to maintain his activities in international aesthetic discourse at a critical time, and arguably be as influential on design outside as inside his own country. Harding’s appreciation of ornament, refuted in high modernism, remained shared by the trade, to undergo aesthetic revival from the 1960s, extending the relevance of his writings into the postmodern period.

Chapter Two supports contentions graphic design is both constituent and a product of modernity as it became detached from a trade practice to be an occupation in its own right, and *Typo* has enhanced significance as it represents the junction of inclusive trade concerns with the beginning of a specialist field of typography as a distinct practice, in criticism and typographic design. McKay in 1940 wrote of this split, identifying graphic design as an activity well developed outside the industry. Display compositors, were also “students of layout and design with the experiences and accomplishments of world-printing to draw on”, while the designers of the advertising agencies who “supply dummy lay-outs to work from have had a beneficial effect upon typography, although their knowledge is theoretical rather than practical” (“Cavalcade” 105). It has been widely acknowledged Harding was an exceptional typographer and a principled designer, and this study suggests he was also a facilitator of the international transition to modernity in print as the result of his perceptive participation in rich professional networks of exchange and cumulative shared knowledge. He anticipated many changes but did not foresee the separation of the activity of design (to become graphic design), envisaged by him as both crucial and integral to the occupation of compositor/printer, from the trade that commanded his allegiance, even as he himself embodied that new figure, the typographic designer.

¹ For comprehensive biographies see McKenzie “Harding, Robert Coupland” *DNZB*, also Johannes Andersen “Richard Coupland Harding: Typographer”.

² While otherwise reliable, Andersen unfortunately calls him Richard Coupland Harding.

³ Harding and *Typo* are a significant, but scattered part of Johnston's 2002 thesis "Colour Printing"; Noel Waite has included Harding in several survey articles and his presentation "New Worlds of Typography" at TypeShed 11, 14 February 2009, and Typeradio broadcast on "This Way Up" 21 February 2009; *National Grid* co-editor Jonty Valentine's essay to the 2009 Objectspace exhibition *Printing Types: New Zealand Type Design Since 1870*, which included Harding's *Book Border*; Luke Wood's "Introductory" to selections from *Typo* with McKenzie's biography, *National Grid* 4, December 2007, 5-16. See also Sydney Shep "Robert Coupland Harding and the Memorialisation of William Colenso." Harding appeared as the featured designer on designersalmanac.com on October 19 2014 with a reprint of his Te Ara biography, posted by Kansas designer David Vogel. <http://designersalmanac.com/2013/10/19/october-19-robert-coupland-harding/>

⁴ For example "The Point System in Typefounding", 478-480, "The Illiterate Customer" 518.

⁵ P. 35.

⁶ P. 67.

⁷ Project leader Sydney Shep. <http://printersweb.wordpress.com/>

⁸ R. Johnston contributes new material on colour advice incorporated into "Design in Typography" (586, 590-91) otherwise her comments on design are generalized and indebted to McKenzie.

⁹ In a letter to Alexander Turnbull (1908) Harding writes of his double demy Columbian Press, at present leased to an Otaki newspaper. Made in 1841 it was exactly the same as the CMS press Colenso printed the first Maori New Testament on (ATL MS papers HAR 46617). However use of older technology should not imply ignorance of the new, as Harding also operated a stereo plant ("For Sale" *Typo* 28 June 1890 42).

¹⁰ There are a multitude of authoritative accounts of typefounding and typefaces and this study is in debt to Twyman, Kinross, Jubert, Cost, Bringhurst, and the primary material of type journals and specimen books.

¹¹ Type historians such as Johnson and Jubert identify these faces as the sans serif (also known as gothics), the slab serif (Egyptians, Clarendons) and the styles as expanded, condensed and emboldened (the first was Fat Face). Coleridge has identified some of those in early New Zealand print from the 1840s to the mid-1860s (109).

¹² As well as a superior technical and aesthetic product, Harding notes this change was partly a trade issue insofar as the British refused to deal directly with the trade journals whereas the Americans valued distant markets and advertised their wares while they were fresh (*Typo* 2 May 1888, 36).

¹³ He did not share the prevalent Victorian view of advertising as "vulgar, dishonest and of dubious value" McFall 157.

¹⁴ A long, anonymous letter to the *Inland Printer*, reproduced in Annenberg, ended with the conclusion, "we are compelled to fight women, because woman never can, nor never has, shown herself the equal of man in the printing business" (411).

¹⁵ "35 female typesetters ... unsuccessfully petitioned Parliament in 1891 against legislation which effectively prevented their being apprenticed. The Auckland Female Typesetters' Union formed in Auckland in 1899 with 10 members, too late to keep the occupation open to women" (Anne Else 196).

¹⁶ Women regularly circumvented these restrictions. In London Emily Faithfull challenged "one of the most tightly regulated and jealously guarded of the older trades" when she began the Victoria Press (1859-

1881) to train women as compositors (Felicity Hunt). Among many other pertinent writings “Cockburn has shown how ideologies of gender entered into and shaped the material conditions of those who worked in the expanding printing industry, resulting for example in the exclusion of women from the best paid work. So gender differences shaped the process as much as the product” (Ros Balaster et al 81). The reference is to Cynthia Cockburn’s “The Material of Male Power” *Feminist Review* 9 (Autumn 1981) 41-58.

¹⁷ “Two lady journalists, the Misses Emilie and Georgina Hill, have established a woman’s printing works Westminster Bridge Road, London, where women can be trained as compositors, proof-readers, short-hand writers, and reporters. The *Westminster and Lambeth Gazette* and *Woman* will be printed on the premises.” (*Typo* 26 April 1890 48).

¹⁸ J.H. Bethune, *Catalogue of the Library of the late R. Coupland Harding*, 1920 p. 9, no. 311 and probably W.W. Head’s 1869 account of its history.

¹⁹ As Alfred George, credited as the first job printer in Hastings (1886), who trained his daughter Alice as a compositor (Les Cleveland).

²⁰ That Harding continued able to print “posters, handbills, circulars” is strongly suggested by the large sized woodtypes on sale in his auction catalogue in 1897 (59).

²¹ From the 1850s to 1870s, type of a utilitarian nature was cast in Sydney and exported to other Australasian colonies by Alexander Thompson and the Davies Brothers (Dennis Bryans 76), but it is unlikely this was the type advertised.

²² See the discussion on national styles in Clouse and Voulangas, 29-30.

²³ Harding persistently calls it the Johnson Foundry, its name in one form or another from 1833 to 1867 when it became MS&J (Clouse 10).

²⁴ Figgins (Britain), Woellmer (Germany) and Mayeur (France) having rights to sell (*Typo* 27 June 1891 85).

²⁵ McKenzie writes Harding had “by far the finest collection of specimen books in Australia and New Zealand, and perhaps of any in private hands” (“Robert Coupland Harding” 189). Sadly most have been lost.

²⁶ Like much of *Typo*, “Our Exchanges” was a format item copied from journals such as the *Inland Printer* (1. 11 August 1884 20).

²⁷ Harding had over 35 trade journal titles in his library auction catalogue, but many were described only as “several others” or “a bundle.”

²⁸ With Sir George Grey, Alexander Turnbull, and Dr Thomas Hocken, all major book collectors in New Zealand. The collections of Turnbull and Hocken established the two major institutional libraries named after them. The copies of *Typo* held in the Hocken library were Hocken’s own.

²⁹ MS&J sold typefaces in South America as early as the 1850s (Clouse 30).

³⁰ McKay also recounts this event in “Cavalcade of Printing: General History” 112.

³¹ R. Johnston’s survey of trade ads in *Typo* for 1887 and 1888, has the highest number of overseas advertisements coming from British firms, although those from America were only slightly fewer (225-227). This does not necessarily contradict American trade dominance, and may have changed in later years.

³² Japonisme would transform the fine arts, in Britain influencing the Aesthetic Movement, in France Post-Impressionism and Art Nouveau.

³³ In 1873 he wrote a report on the design of household goods for the American Government and gave a lecture tour in 1876.

³⁴ Clouse describes Ihlenberg as the company's "greatest asset and integral to its success" (60). Harding knew little of the type designers and essays about them by American printer and broker William Loy did not appear in the *Inland Printer* until 1898. Nonetheless Harding must have been familiar with Loy's work in the *Printers' International Specimen Exchange* and his many other journal articles. It is not known if he corresponded with him.

³⁵ The political machinations surrounding the *Exchange* are covered in detail by M. Young (33-42).

³⁶ Harding's offer to similarly publish specimens of printers' work as supplements to *Typo* did not succeed (*Typo* 28 September 1892 71)

³⁷ Although Harding's auction catalogue of 1897 (set by him) attributes the *Chippendale Border* to MS&J (no. 243 16) it is not listed as their design by either Loy or Clouse. It may not have been patented, which seems very unlikely, or the attribution is a mistake. The detailed shading and delicate filigree lines suggest a German foundry.

³⁸ A conclusive year dating would allow an appraisal of the design for the time and place. The heading indicates it was before Harding fully took over his father's business (c1880), and while still working under the name *Hawke's Bay Times*, although the paper ceased in December 1874.

³⁹ Harding's *Directories* were begun in 1879 and in 1880 amalgamated with the new *Almanac*.

⁴⁰ McKenzie quotes some brief favourable reviews ("Harding").

⁴¹ This compositional rule of thumb in art and design uses three equal divisions, horizontally and vertically, as guides for the harmonious placement of elements, and was first recorded in the late eighteenth century as a device for achieving harmonious balance in the new genre of landscape painting (J Smith 15-17). Of course it may have had an earlier genesis in print.

⁴² The full identification, dating, and tracking of stock in the 1897 auction *Catalogue* (60 pages, 1052 entries many of multiple material with "hundreds of items not enumerated" 60) of Harding's plant is beyond this study. However a preliminary count of those that can be reliably classified is of interest in supporting findings. The majority of entries are from British or English sources (218 entries, but only five foundries, the most stock coming from Caslon and Stephenson Blake), followed by American (188 entries, 12 foundries, the stock from MS&J just surpassing that of Caslon). The third largest attributions are to German foundries (74 entries, 10 foundries, the most from Schelter and Giesecke). Of course the amount of stock does little to indicate frequency of use, as the exemplars of Harding's work demonstrate, and in a broad generalization of categories the Americans dominate in display faces, the British in text faces, and the Germans in borders. British stock seems to have been among the earliest acquired, and as text type, possibly less affected by changing attitudes. Many faces and ornaments, mostly American, identified in Harding's work are also not named in the catalogue. Nonetheless the collection is fascinating for demonstrating the wealth of decorative material available and also suggesting the financial investment required to purchase it.

⁴³ Andersen records Harding and his father publishing a booklet and magazine in Danish (236-7).

⁴⁴ Harding is known to have printed at least one other book in Wellington, Edward Tregear's *Hedged with Divinities* (*Evening Post* L 36 10 August 1895 2).

⁴⁵ Harding's work (or his oversight) is demonstrated by the symmetrical, one column force justified layout with wide white margins, set in modern roman type, each article beginning with an ornamental heading and plain drop capital, or occasionally a decorative initial. In 1895 the imprint changes to Whitcombe & Tombs, but the printing from p.73 to the end of volume four is attributed to R. Coupland Harding, who continues as printer until page 160, volume 6, 1897.

⁴⁶ A later example was *Typographica* (1911-27) by type designer Frederic W. Goudy. The only other regular contributor to *Typo* was Tom Mills, furnishing union reports. New Zealand socialist, journalist and editor, Mills had a career in print arguably as illustrious as Harding's. He regularly contributed "Our New Zealand Letter" to the *Inland Printer* on industrial issues, and articles to over a dozen other print journals, as well as leading newspapers and periodicals from London to New York (McKay "Tom L. Mills" 237-240, and "Tom L. Mills, Veteran Journalist").

⁴⁷ For example: *The Typographic Advertiser* (1855-92) begun by the Johnson Foundry (later MS&J).

⁴⁸ For example *American Model Printer* (New York) from 1879-1883 was the organ of the International Typographic Union, replaced in 1889 by *The Typographic Journal*. *Typografische Monatsblätter* was from the Printing and Paper Union of Switzerland.

⁴⁹ Even resorting to poetic pleas — "May new supporters come – a sight that cheers – And slow subscribers pay their long arrears" (31 December 1887 92).

⁵⁰ New Zealand had 300 in 1889 (R. Johnston 589).

⁵¹ Harding shared Southward's admiration for Johnson's *Typographia* of 1824 and Hansard's *Typographia* of 1825, with one of either of these recorded in his library catalogue.

⁵² McKenzie accords high value to Harding's essential practicality in "Design in Typography", attributing criticisms of printing of the time as arising from the ignorance of commentators today. "Harding's remark there that the intelligent and artistic compositor can, if required, give a valid reason for the selection and position of any particular line or ornament is a salutary reminder to us of our own deficient understanding when we now come to read such signs in the texts of his times" ("Robert Coupland Harding" 192).

⁵³ National archives, Agency PC, series 4.

⁵⁴ Kinross concurs, describing the sans serif as "a kind of ur-letter, ancient and elemental" (28).

⁵⁵ How typography represents nationality has frequently interested design historians, see for instance Heller, "The Meanings of Type" (40).

⁵⁶ Harding's articles were regularly translated for European journals of the time, it is suggestive, but not known if Vox (real name Samuel Monod) had read them.

⁵⁷ Harding had a long article published in the *Inland Printer*, August 1894 (1. 11), presenting more scientific principles to improve this system (478-480).

⁵⁸ Explicating and systematising typographic design principles is different to using them. Although "the principles of typographic clarity have scarcely altered since the second half of the fifteenth century, when the first books were printed in roman type. Indeed, most of the principles of legibility and design explored in this book were used by Egyptian scribes writing hieratic script with reed pens on papyrus in 1000 BC" (Bringinghurst 10), they appear to have been apprehended and taught through working practice and no pre-Renaissance textual instruction has survived.

⁵⁹ Harding was a persistent advocate of the rationalization of English grammar and spelling.

⁶⁰ In the study of print history by scholars such as De Vinne and Talbot Baines Reed, Colenso's previously unknown achievements found wide appreciation, and the provenance of the article demonstrates the interchange between the local and global. Colenso had first presented a paper on the beginning of printing in New Zealand to the Hawkes Bay Philosophical Society on the 17th October 1887. This was printed, with his portrait, in the November issue of *Typo* (87). The paper was then extended into a small book, *Fifty Years Ago in New Zealand: A Commemoration, a Jubilee Paper*, issued by Blades, which formed the basis of Harding's article in the *Inland Printer*. Harding's stated motivation was similar to that for this study — to correct the asymmetrical geography of printing history, by the addition of his corner of the world. The continued recording its own history by the local printing trade, including *A History of Printing in New Zealand 1830-1940* (edited by McKay), questions Alan Loney's claim that "most printers then [the 1940s], as now, have no interest in the history of their business, of the intellectual side of their own activity" (135).

⁶¹ This is surprising as the Wellington School of Design (begun 1885) was, in the 1890s, growing and progressive in approach and the founding Head, Arthur Dewhurst Riley, deeply interested in both design and technical instruction (Noel Harrison 34-48). Later as Wellington Technical College, then Wellington Polytechnic, Victoria University and now Massey University (Wellington) it became a leader in graphic design education, training among others typographers Joseph Churchward and Mark Geard.

⁶² McKenzie has noted Harding's "Design in Typography" was also systematically presented and the alphabetic progression of illustrated, initial letters was literally "an A, B, C of typographic design" ("Robert Coupland Harding" 193). These did not epitomize design change as much as his new specimens but, prominent in size and position, appear more an expression of personal taste. In the A to Z from January 1887 to December 1888 (X and Y are omitted), the initials display the classical fancies of the Otto Weisert foundry of Stuttgart and mark a peak of extreme eclectic elaboration. From January 1889 to December 1890 the alphabetic progression (J and X omitted) is in *Amoret*, by Herr Poppelbaum of the Krebs Foundry, Frankfurt-am-Main which Harding would still describe in 1897 as "one of the finest series of Art Initials ever designed" (RCHAC 12), but by then their whimsical motifs of foliage, birds and playful cherubs epitomized the ornament condemned by critics. January to September 1891 (A to I) are the *Olympic* initials of Brendler & Marklowsky, Vienna, in October and December (J and L), are again Weisger's classical letters. In the *Olympic* initials the rigid rimmed roman letterform is embellished with voluptuous female nudes barely, and rarely, concealed with flowing drapery so they create a strongly voyeuristic spectacle on the page. More fanciful than allegorical (the goddess of the A reaches for an Olympian cockatoo) they suggest Harding remained an admirer of Art, and the academic preoccupation with the nude, even as he was rationalizing typography.

⁶³ McKenzie makes a brief association with modernism, finding a parallel between Mondrian's first nature-based abstractions and Harding's earlier analysis of geometric structures underlying complex forms of ornament ("Robert Coupland Harding" 198)

⁶⁴ Now in its 8th edition.

⁶⁵ McKenzie recounts how the *Inland Printer* in 1894 succumbed to pressure from the foundries, smarting from his criticisms, to discontinue their reprints of Harding's column (204 n. 9).

⁶⁶ From 1894 Will Bradley, judged one of the first American graphic designers, contributed illustrated covers (initially imitating Beardsley), which continued as exemplars of style into the twentieth century.

⁶⁷ Until his death in 1916, he worked as a proofreader and literary editor for the *Evening Post*, Wellington, devoting himself to the Philosophical Society and his networks of correspondence and book collecting (Hughes).

⁶⁸ “A very interesting feature is a series of decidedly able and valuable articles on “Design in ‘Typography” which contain a vast fund of practical instruction ... their completeness and comprehensiveness gives every evidence of an extensive knowledge and acquaintance with the best methods and styles of printing in vogue all over the world. *American Lithographer and Printer* 20, vii 89.” (*Press Notices* no. 72).

Chapter Three

The Localised Image: illustration, lithography, Robert Hawcridge, Wilkies, and design education

Introduction: image making

“To many observers, 1870s America seemed obsessed with printed imagery; the range and breadth of illustrated periodicals had become excessive, threatening to engulf the printed world in (as one historian has put it) a ‘frenzy of the visible’” (Joshua Brown 8); this frenzied engagement with the visual, in all its printed forms, equally applied to other Western countries. Harding acknowledged the limitations for design and imagery in letterpress when he wrote “the engraver or lithographic designer has a greater scope for the originaive faculty than the artistic compositor” (*Typo* February 1887 7). Chapter Three has the aim of establishing matters of fact in hitherto unexamined local histories by presenting a case study of the work of lithographic designer and illustrator Robert Hawcridge (1865-1920) who, unlike Harding, was English born and trained. It considers the image in popular print in New Zealand as the complement to text, and as vital to print and design history as letterpress typography (Twyman *History* vii), placing it within social attitudes to the proliferation of pictorial material and reproduction technologies of the time, notably lithography, chromolithography, and photomechanical process.

With the identification of Hawcridge’s work and his career, this chapter will answer thesis Questions One (how the local use of imported visual codes contributes to new models of graphic design as a process of the active circulation of influence, adaptation and exchange) and Two (considering purpose, production, and reception, how might the use of formal analysis allow for the appraisal of design’s historic signification, activity, and value in culture and society) by examining how the materiality of media and the rhetoric of iconography and style in a range of image based design and illustration, acts to convey messages. It will use the identification of stylistic influences to continue the tracing of networks of influence, local and international, and the degree of exchange. Continuing the methodology of formal analysis, the modification of imported forms will be appraised in order to consider how and why they were adapted for local purposes, and as an integral part of the process of design circulation. Thus the unexamined career of Hawcridge in New Zealand from 1889 to his death in 1920, allows the investigation of how, in media other than letterpress, the skills of a highly trained practitioner may be

transferred through practice and teaching; how they can affect local production and standards, in industry and education, while at the same time being modified by the opportunities and constraints of local conditions; and how they both build on and develop visual conventions for a wide range of communication purposes of social significance. In doing so the chapter will also illustrate the evolution, activities, and status of a designer in print here, notably in the relationship with modernity.

Chapter Three begins by contextualising the practitioner within issues of technology, ephemeral print, the popularity and controversies of ornament and image reproduction, and the transmission of visual influence. It then divides the study of Hawcridge into advertising, editorial illustration, commemorative design, and his role in education, before concluding with an appraisal of his significance for the study.

Context

Lost histories

Hawcridge, through his work and his personality, was well known and respected in his time, but is little known today. He is absent from cultural histories (except Gordon Brown's brief essay), which continue to advocate that cultural 'achievement' and 'maturity' remain enshrined in the fine arts and literature. The 2014 centennial of World War One has revived a small memory of him, especially in the city of his death, through his commemorative work. Apart from the little known *Red Funnel*, his work is dispersed here and overseas, and much is lost or unattributed. Unlike Harding there is no sequential or contained corpus to study from an impressively varied and substantial career, and only brief biographies in "Personality Parade" and by Rosemary Entwistle.

Hawcridge was born in England in 1867 and commenced his art education at Bradford Grammar School under the distinguished T. R. Ablett,¹ then at the start of his own career and developing his analytical and observational approach to drawing. Hawcridge won prizes under his instruction before continuing at the Bradford Technical College in 1882, where he was the first Behrens Scholar in the Weaving and Design of Textile Fabrics, moving to Leeds to study under the painter and illustrator (William) Gilbert Foster,² and taking articles as a lithographic apprentice to the firm of Alfred Cooke,³ Colour Printer to Queen Victoria, where he remained until May 1889. His education, as described by his New Zealand colleague Alfred (A. H.) O'Keefe, endowed him with "a

good working knowledge of several languages ... and there was very little in the way of painting or drawing that could stick him” (O’Keefe 161). It also placed him, in the period and the medium, at the heart of the ferment over the reproduced image.

Machine Artistry

Images were not ‘invented’ in nineteenth century print but, relief printed from engravings on wood, or intaglio on metal, they had always been a part of printing, allowing a combination of text and image. Beegan attributes wood engraving, developed in England from the late eighteenth century and used for the images in the original illustrated magazines (*Penny Magazine* in 1832, the *Illustrated London News* in 1845) with first meeting (and probably stimulating) public demand for pictures (“Mechanization” 257). However wood engraving, compatible with metal type in letterpress printing, was only the first in the rapid rise and fall of successive media (“Mechanization of the Image,” *Mass Image*). New reproduction technologies, particularly lithography and photography, revolutionized methods, quality, and public perceptions of the visual arts, and mechanization of these techniques allowed for an unprecedented increase in pictorial material. For Ivins the arrival of illustrated magazines in the first decades of the century demonstrated the “public liked pictures and drawings and cared nothing about methods of reproduction” (107). This changed mid-century with the sudden lift in quality by professional, art trained illustrators using lithography and “it was not very long before the emphasis in the illustration shifted from the fact that the pictures were engravings to the fact that they were supposed to be facsimiles of drawings” (ibid). Commercially, lithography “gradually became a mainstream competitor to letterpress printing in many areas, and almost supplanted intaglio printing for pictorial work” (Twyman *Panizzi* 9).

The engraved image was distinguished by the syntax of line, a stiff network of fine hatchings and marks in formal compositions transposed from the fine arts. Commercial pressure from the mid-nineteenth century led to a division of labour in production and a growing dependence on photographs for reference, resulting in poorly articulated subjects and an emphasis on tonal rather than linear qualities (Beegan “Mechanisation”). The process of lithography has been well documented (Twyman *History* 2, R. Johnston 115-8),⁴ and it competed with and surpassed wood and metal engraving to become the dominant image reproduction technology in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Lithography preceeded, then for a time co-existed, with black and white, and halftone

photomechanical reproduction, known in the industry as ‘process’ work (and the blocks as zincos). For Ivins, “the advantage of lithography was that the artist’s drawing and the print were practically identical” (110) as the artist was able to work directly onto the surface of the lithographic stone (or later, a grained metal plate). No reworking was needed. It “completely did away with any need for the translator-middle man engraver with his inevitable systematized grammar and syntax of linear webbing” (ibid). Similarly, process was able to reproduce the artist’s pictorial line without distortion although the quality of the reproduction depended on many technical factors, such as presswork and paper, with extensive retouching common well into the twentieth century (Beegan *Mass Image* 28), and both Beegan (*Mass Image* 42, 73) and Ivins (126-8) explain technological change in detail. Process required skilled operatives but unlike lithography the originating artist more often worked outside the printing industry, as Beardsley did, but creating work specifically for mechanical reproduction (Joseph Pennell 9).

Pictorial and popular

Both Beegan, focussed on letterpress, and Twyman, on lithography (*Panizzi Lectures, History of Chromolithography*), locate the demand for images in the production of everyday material as both a driver and a consequence of the growth of popular print. For Twyman, “in chromolithography it was printers of ephemera who were among the first to take advantage of the opportunities offered by machine printing and other advances in technology. Items of this kind were needed in large numbers to meet the growing consumerism of the second half of the nineteenth century” (*History* 188). No less than letterpress, firms required large capital investment and faced strong competition at the same time they had to adapt to mechanization and a rapid succession of new skills and technologies. Demand allowed printers supplying large markets to specialize, for example in labels for “tobacco manufacturers, seedsmen, thread and cloth manufacturers, wine and spirit merchants, perfumers ... hotel proprietors and manufacturers of canned food” (ibid). As a consequence, different image media became associated with different products, uses and purposes to the extent the materiality of their appearance became part of their message. In the 1880s, at the time of Hawcridge’s training, the centres of lithography were spread from Germany to France, England, and America, and the industry was highly mechanized, and essentially global (Twyman *History* 7). By the 1890s his employer Alf Cooke was claiming to have “the largest, cleanest, healthiest and most completely fitted printing works in the world” employing “750 workpeople in full and continuous work” (Cooke as cited in Twyman *History* 390).

Home industry

Lithography began in the Southern Hemisphere when the first lithographic press landed in Sydney in 1821, and was established in all five capitals of the Australian colonies by 1852 (R. Johnston 110). R. Johnston's record of the technical history of lithographic and colour printing here is substantially reinforced by Twyman's international study (*History*). Lithography was initially and pragmatically used for maps, and when it offered commercial advantages of economy (R. Johnston 159, 208), or artistic effects (116). As in England it was rarely used for text, which remained in letterpress (127-9, 202-3). By this time it also had a well-established use publicising the colonies.⁵ The first lithographs produced in New Zealand are dated by R. Johnston to a Maori alphabet of 1838-9 (124), and by 1841, "a lithographed almanac [was] executed in Auckland" (McKay "Calvacade" 103), and the industry may be said to have begun. Chromolithography was introduced by 1865 and was soon winning renown (*ibid*). R. Johnston has further detailed how Australasian inventors made significant contributions to the application of photography in image reproduction in printing, through such methods as collotype, photolithography and photozincography (151-2), helping the relatively quick take-up of photomechanical image reproduction here in the early 1890s.

The smallness of scale and reliance on imports noted of letterpress in New Zealand applied equally to lithography. Many of the skills required were shared with or came via Australia, and as with letterpress, many specialists arrived with the gold rushes. Also by the internationalism of the 1880s, publications such as new periodicals and art journals, and imported print ephemera, were transmitting visual influence, and globalised trade practice was spreading technologies (Twyman *History* 8). However with lithography there are added distinctions. Image reproduction technologies were slower to spread. R. Johnston estimates it was not until the 1860s that firms became securely established and the 1880s when local lithographs could be described as common (135-6). Because of the advantages of economy and versatility (Twyman *Panizzi* 45) and the availability of skills, lithography became so common that it dominated image reproduction here (R. Johnston 132, 144), despite engraving's longer history (110). Firms added lithography to letterpress production rather than specializing, and by the end of the century such businesses were found in the main towns (R. Johnston 236-70). Dunedin boasted many, including J. Wilkie, the Caxton Press, Mills Dick, John McIndoe, Fergusson and Osborne, and the *Otago Daily Times* (ODT).

Because of the labour intensive nature of the printing process and the range of skills required at all stages, especially in chromolithography, technical manuals became arguably as important for the progress of lithography (Twyman Panizzi 11) as the trade journals, which were dominated by letterpress concerns.⁶ Most importantly, the difficulty of self-teaching ensured an emphasis on technical training on the job and for some time this required the importation of trained personnel, for example Henry Heath Glover (R. Johnston 237), Joseph Gregory (243), and Hawcridge himself, to pass on skills and knowledge and mediate new developments (245). Poster artist Peter McIntyre, while self-taught in drawing, learnt his trade from a printer before setting up the Caxton Press, known for chromolithographic posters (McIntyre 25). Drawing skills were essential for the artists, and most had some art training. As well, specialist journals such as *American Lithographer and Printer* (1883–c1967), *British Lithographer* (subsumed into the *British Printer* 1896, and *Modern Lithographer* 1905), as well as the *Inland Printer* and *Penrose's Annual*, were known to be in printshops and are found in library archives here. They all, and increasingly, featured images as exemplars of visual style.

It was common locally and internationally for firms to maintain a mix of mechanized and hand presses (Twyman *History* 389). All technology and materials were imported here and R. Johnston records powered machines from 1851 (141, 192), the predominant output ephemera, with the higher end production of books and prints a rarity (ibid).⁷ The competition, and the different capabilities of letterpress and lithography, particularly in the context of demand for images, use of colour, and decorative 'artistry', implies they were oppositional and separate aspects of visual design in print, however in terms of the interplay of mutual influences they were closely linked. The two technologies were frequently combined, sometimes with the use of transfer paper, and many lithographic designs (able to keep for years on a stone) allowed for the addition of letterpress text. More than letterpress, lithography was a male occupation. Some females who made lithographs, such as Miss Cotton (Cantlon 29), Edith Halcombe (45), and Emily Harris (47-8) were artists and illustrators and not trade trained.⁸

Ornament and image: reception and rhetoric.

Artistic Printing may have defined popular taste in Victorian typography (Chapter Two), but in emphasising the visual qualities of letterforms, and in the proliferation of decorative and pictorial ornaments, it was responding to the compositional and

decorative challenges posed to a small extent by copper engraving and then more seriously from lithography. For Twyman lithography was the first technology to break the traditional mould of letterpress printing, and its extraordinary range of pictorial effects and ability to integrate text and image reproduction in a new unity of graphic elements stimulated design innovations such as new display letterforms, fluid compositions, and asymmetrical (informal) pages (*Panizzari* 171). Monochrome lithography, patented in 1800, and its development into multi-colour chromolithography⁹ in the last half of the century facilitated the cultural ascendancy of the image in print, and the corresponding freeing of letterforms from the constraints of the metal type block and linear composition. Equally, the rise of lithography and process line blocks symbiotically sharing the growth of the illustrated press and everyday ephemera, allowed an entrée into integrated print design for the graduate of artistic training. The occupation of a lithographic designer came to encompass more than the sketch artist, etcher, engraver, or photographer, who rarely had any say over the disposition of their images in a total composition or in relationship to text on a page. As a result lithographic designers were at the top of a hierarchy of lithographic workers (Twyman *History* 412).¹⁰

Image control

Chromolithography played an ambiguous part in the moral and political debate about the social consequences of ornament and design that accompanied Artistic Printing. Initially it was a key means of illustrating ‘correct principles’ in design reform. Of Owen Jones’s *Grammar of Ornament* (1856), Twyman has stated “this book alone testifies to the impact chromolithography had on ideas about ornament and pattern in Britain” (228), and in Dresser’s publications the colour illustrations were arguably as influential as the text. Jones’s 1862 publication *Victoria Psalter*, and his 1864 *One Thousand and One Initial Letters*, with “twenty-six plates, one for every letter of the alphabet, each showing dozens of ornamented variants” (ibid), extended this influence to lettering in both lithography and typeface design. However, the freedom lithography allowed to embellish and decorate, judged as frivolous in cheaper popular print, became another focus of criticism, but one appearing as less of a concern for the trade than in Artistic letterpress, perhaps because the lithography had the competency to be able to change itself quickly.

Arguably the greater controversy was the effect on art and society of the popularity and pervasiveness of the image itself, and the increased subordination of the text. Beegan

(*Mass Image* 188-206) considers this controversy as part of the crisis preceding modernism and the creation of democratic and mass societies, as “critics took a number of positions regarding the new reproductive technologies ranging from those who embraced them as a means of uplifting the masses to those who condemned them as undermining society as a whole” (188). He identifies the first notable critic as William Wordsworth, defending with his sonnet “Illustrated Books and Newspapers”, the noble primacy of the written word against the lower stage of “dumb art”¹¹ (190). John Ruskin attacked both method and product — the debasement of the engraver by piecework and the corrupting commonality of image reproduction when “the vilest destructive and corrosive art stands on the street corners” (as cited by Sinnema 74-5). He entangled issues of style in this condemnation, deploring the move in visual art away from the ideal toward the rapid, informal and ‘accidental’ (Beegan *Mass Image* 152).¹² In America, this view was shared by the influential editor of *The Nation*, E. L. Godkin, who advised anyone “who enjoys these chromos and wants to study art to purpose, may begin when he has put them well out of his sight” (*The Nation* Jan 10 1867 36 as cited by Peter Marzio 105).

Commercial producers and publishers of images argued unapologetically that image reproduction had the power to enlighten and democratise knowledge, while still maintaining the status of art (Sinnema 13). The focus on the image, and the dangers of its symbolic and emotional appeal undermining “the rational and intellectual foundations of word-based social order” (Beegan *Mass Image* 189), opposed elite against mass culture. There is no doubt image reproduction destabilized existing hierarchies and artistic values, and the resultant moral issues joined the concerns over typographic form, engaging debates of taste, class, high and low culture, democratic print, the debasing of the aesthetic, and social transgression. However, these concerns were not taken up by a trade responding to the market. In New Zealand by the end of the century, the heat of such aesthetic and moral arguments had waned. As the public became familiar with the Arts and Crafts dictum of equality between all arts, it had also become accustomed to expect, and receive, a continuous supply of images.¹³ For the last quarter of the century, the “considerable physical and material efforts” (Twyman *History* 7) and enormous range of complex skills of the lithographer (416-7) in constructing a visual world were both indisputable and widely admired (Beegan *Mass Image* 189). Chromolithography accessed all levels of society, and all ages, from sentimental cards and scraps from Louis Prang in America (196), illustrations in books and periodicals, to fine art reproductions.

From the centre to the edge: Robert Hawcridge in New Zealand

Internationally, traditional lithographic apprenticeships were under threat in large firms with increased specialization of skills (Marzio 149, 166-171), however Alf Cooke catered for the full range of markets and Hawcridge's work provides evidence his learning at Cooke's was comprehensive. His time as an apprentice may have been the six years common in the trade by the 1880s (Twyman 402), or a shortened time may have made allowance for his age and previous education, as he claims that by the time he left Alf Cooke's he was their principal showcard designer ("Personality Parade" 53). He certainly wasn't an anonymous operative as Cooke wrote him a personal reference when he left "to try his fortune in the New World, with my regretful approval,"¹⁴ testifying Hawcridge had served his apprenticeship and been in continuous employment, giving "full satisfaction ... as a conscientious, well-behaved¹⁵ and industrious employee, I should not care to have better service" (*Testimonial*). Like William Potts and Benoni White at A. D. Willis's in Wanganui,¹⁶ Hawcridge arrived in New Zealand fully trained and experienced, the literal embodiment how skills in printing spread throughout the world.

3.1. Interior, Alf Cooke's Crown Point Printing Works pre-1894.

The large hall lit by skylights has presses near the light from the gallery windows and on the ground floor under them, surrounded by paper stores.

3.2. Robert Hawcridge, Dunedin, no date. Most likely taken for his marriage in 1889.

In coming to New Zealand in August 1889 Hawcridge initially found work with the New Zealand Tablet Printing Company although their magazine *New Zealand Tablet*, an organ of the Catholic Church, did not use images, the company was “then commencing business in lithography” (*Evening Post* XCIX 8, 9 January 1920 8). No work from this brief time has been attributed and Hawcridge omits this employment from his 1909 *Testimonial*. In October that year he was employed by James Wilkie, owner of the printing firm J. Wilkie and Company and he remained there until early in 1909.

At Wilkie's

Although nearing the end of its dominance, Dunedin's economic vigour had enabled it to lead much of New Zealand print and publishing in the nineteenth century (Griffith, Harvey, Maslen 118-9). Founded in the early 1870s, Wilkie's had a successful specialisation as a manufacturer of stationery from 1885, and in 1889 was a growing concern diversifying from letterpress to lithography and chromolithography (*Cyclopedia of New Zealand Otago and Southland* 357). Wilkie was obviously a sympathetic employer, educated and supportive of the fine arts and music¹⁷ and Hawcridge's employment appears characterized by “the old relationship of shop owner, lithographer, and artist working harmoniously and respectfully” (Marzio 174). If Wilkie's motivation in employing Hawcridge was to distinguish his firm and gain a competitive edge, it was through the added value of visual artistry and printing skill. Both materials and technology would have been familiar to Hawcridge,¹⁸ despite R. Johnston's estimation

of a time-lag in skills and technology of a decade and a half when compared to England in the late 1880s, although this shortened significantly as the century ended (210), and from the evidence of submissions to *Penrose's Annual* from New Zealand printers,¹⁹ was negligible by the early twentieth century. Wilkie's had first installed lithographic machinery in 1887 and Hawcridge's training at a leading international firm would have added to his attractions as an employee. In April 1891 Wilkie died and his partner Thomas Barmby continued the business before selling it to W. and T. Somerville and P. Clark in 1894. When Wilkie's became a limited liability company in 1902 under the same ownership, Hawcridge was allocated shares to the value of £50. This was a sum he was apparently owed but can also be seen as recognition of his status and importance.²⁰

Media control

Hawcridge made Wilkie's a name of renown for lithography and illustration throughout New Zealand so that the 1905 *Cyclopedia of New Zealand* could write "the firm is well known throughout the colony for its high class lithographic work" (357). For the duration of his employment the name of the designer and the firm were almost synonymous. As evidenced by Hawcridge, the nature and scale of the New Zealand economy required a versatility of design skills, rather than specialization. Over twenty years he personally produced, and had reproduced, work for virtually every commercial need, in every available medium. The wide range of media and purpose was matched by a resourceful application of conventions and style in both design and illustration.

Atzmon has argued this focus on "material, visual aesthetics" is essential "for understanding the important rhetorical functions of design artifacts" (xix), and Beegan concurs that "each reproduction process suggested to viewers a specific way of apprehending the world and encouraged some viewpoints while closing others" ("Industrialisation" 210). He credits process with beginning the acceptance of artists such as Hawcridge signing work created for reproduction in a new field of image making outside conventional art practice (139-41). In utilising photographic technology to reproduce artwork, process displayed the profound influence of the medium. New forms of representation learnt from photography contributed to the public appreciation of everyday life with subjects previously deemed unsuitable for art (134), and with new compositions and styles communicating an "of the moment" quality by depicting movement and by devices such as cropping to produce an appearance of informality and spontaneity seen in much of Hawcridge's work.

Art and commerce: advertising, identity, and business promotion

Outside self-promotion, detailed descriptions of everyday commercial design are rare, making the review of the “bright and attractive display” of Wilkie’s at the 1898 Otago Jubilee Industrial Exhibition of great importance. It details the range of work undertaken by the firm, acknowledging “their claim to distinction rests on the unique designs and undoubtedly quality of their lithographic productions.”²¹

Overshadowing in point of size the numerous frames of posters, show cards, labels, and printed stationery is a huge frame containing a section of the largest picture poster probably ever executed in the colony. This poster has been so much before the eyes of the public that the features and figure of the Indian girl depicted are too familiar to need description ... Equally attractive posters also are those of the New Zealand railways, gorgeous in red and blue, and Joseph Ford’s with its excellently drawn and displayed sheep, whilst the children engaged in washing black kittens white by means of “Silkstone” soap appeal to the eyes as much as ever. Among the show-cards those of Wood Bros’, the well known one of Donaghy and Co., several of Nelson, Moate, and Co.’s, and an excellent one of Robbie Burns command attention in a large collection—all of striking design and bright appearance. A copy is displayed of Prictor’s Jubilee picture of Dunedin,²² which is a wonderful example of perspective drawing, every building in the town being distinctly recognisable. Among the other branches of lithographic work a frame is exhibited containing the illustrated catalogues and pretty seasonal circulars issued by the D.I.C. ... Another collection of catalogue covers, containing those of Booth, Macdonald and Co., Joseph Ford, and the New Zealand Provision and Produce Company, would bear comparison with high-class work from any firm in the older countries. In society stationery of their own manufacture we were much struck with the artistic series of ball and concert programmes, brochures and stationery for the various Sounds excursions despatched by the Union Steam Ship Company. Among commercial engraved stationery of varied and eminently suitable character the invoices of Messrs Sargood, Son, and Ewen, Donaghy and Co., and Thomson, Bridger, and Co., struck us as very fine. ... It is impossible to avoid remarking, however, the astonishing variety of the designs, all of which, we are given to understand, are from the brush of the firm’s designer, Mr R.

Hawcridge, whose name is well known in art circles apart from his applied art. Under his management the lithographic department has grown to be the most extensive in New Zealand, a larger staff of artists being employed than any other house in the colony (“Jubilee Industrial Exhibition: Some of the Exhibits, J. Wilkie and Co.” *Otago Daily Times* 11.105 5 May 1898 2).

The identification of Hawcridge is important for understanding his role and status. Sinnema argues divisions of labour were not straightforward at this time, and “the professional identity of the illustrative artist was heavily contested” (54). Hawcridge’s title as “designer” in contrast to the “staff of artists”²³ in the lithography department, provides a clear semantic distinction indicating an understanding by the writer (and therefore the readers) they are different roles. R. Johnston, in her case studies of the lithography firms A. D. Willis of Wanganui, and Bock & Cousins of Wellington, notes that such a separation of tasks was not uncommon (219). Wilkie’s employment records from this time have been lost, but it is known that by 1902 E. W. G. H. Watts, and possibly James G. Proctor, were working there as lithographers. The increasing division of labour within the industry, however informal the hierarchy, ensured that a distinction between lithographer/draughtsman and artist became important for pay, although all were ‘producers’ within a larger system (Sinnema 55). Work signed by Hawcridge can be assumed to have been executed by him, but for much material the only attribution is to the firm (Fig. 3.3), even when clearly carrying elements familiar from Hawcridge’s signed work (although the execution at times lacks his finesse). The inference is that while he was responsible for the origination and planning, the “staff of artists” would perhaps provide the key drawing (Twyman *History* 559-68), or redraw on the stone or plate, all or part of the design, particularly for work classed as small jobs,²⁴ and a number of these artists would to some degree be taught or influenced by Hawcridge.

As well, the above excerpt shows the extent of Wilkie’s business and the client base of many of the largest and most important firms in New Zealand’s oldest mercantile city. Latour has proffered the term ‘worknet’ as a better signifier than network for its emphasis on activity, movement, circulation, in the construction of the social by human and material actors and actants.²⁵ Worknet could be a metaphor for how the local designer may act as intermediary between economic and cultural demands, and through the appropriation, and adaptation of visual codes from elsewhere, transform messages that may themselves be appropriated and adapted in networks of exchange. It is also

descriptive of how business itself can be a network of opportunities and challenges, linking Hawcridge through his employment, the physical proximity of Dunedin businesses, his public and Masonic Lodge activities with a wide range of clients.

The range and quality of work attributed to Hawcridge in the review is clearly impressive, despite the omission of much of his illustration by the focus on overtly ‘commercial’ jobs for the public sphere (accepting that all art is to some degree, at some time, involved in commercial transactions). What is identified encompasses the ephemera Twyman judged as vitally important in the evolution of graphic design (*Printing 2*, “Panizzi” 171). Excepting Prictor’s jubilee lithograph of Dunedin however, few of the designs named have been found to date, the Indian girl and the “gorgeous” railways posters an especial loss to local graphic design history. Consequently, the examples used in this study must represent what is known from a far wider range.

3.3. USSCo, menu header, chromolithograph on card, no date.

The header of a Union Steam Ship Company of New Zealand (USSCo) ship with the red funnel livery (Fig. 3.3) has connotations of the speed and thrust of modern steam-powered sea travel. The distinctive roman lettering of “Union Line” with exaggerated serifs suggests a late-nineteenth century dating. The card allows for letterpress or handwritten additions of menus underneath.

Nineteenth-century embellished billheads stylistically reflected their origins in hand engraved copper plates which allowed a freedom of lettering and decoration later extended by lithography. The style was detailed, linear and “closely related to that developed by designers and engravers of security documents, bonds, share certificates, and paper currency” (Rickards 50). Wilkie’s lithographic billhead (Fig. 3.4) has the typical strapwork, scrolls, tonal gradations and shadow effects suggesting three dimensions (ibid). Dating from the time of Hawcridge’s employment he would have been au fait with the style as he is described by jeweller C. Möller as the leading designer for copperplate engraving in the Dominion (*Testimonial*), although it is a lighter version of the characteristic ‘gas-light’ style. All lettering, in three display styles, is hand drawn and only the coat of arms indicates locality.

3.4. Billhead, J. Wilkie & Co, 1899.

The Donaghy’s letterhead (Fig. 3.5), from the 1890s, has Hawcridge’s signature under the right hand horizontal band, identifying the long-lived design as his. It applies late nineteenth century conventions, when images of “goods and equipment, transportation methods, commercial and industrial architecture” were profuse (Rickards 51), the depiction (often exaggerated) of manufacturing premises intended to impress with the

size and industrialisation of the concern. Both designs are typical of the time in one colour (Twyman *History* 430), and asymmetry (Rickards 51), but the lettering is unusual as a key decorative feature, marked by the freedom and individual character of each letter, the linear qualities emphasised by shape, outline and shadow. A subtle indication of place is suggested by a Maori koru in the spiral on “Donaghy’s.” Miscellaneous original material in Donaghy’s file at Hocken Library suggests Hawcridge also prepared trademarks drawings for Donaghy’s ‘Moa’ and ‘Kiwi’ rope brands, although printed evidence of their use has not been found (Figs 3.6 and 3.7).

3.5. R. Hawcridge, letterhead, Donaghy's Rope & Twine, 1936.

3.6. R. Hawcridge, drawing for trademark 'Kiwi', no date.

3.7. R. Hawcridge, drawing, "Trademark Moa Brand", no date.

The *Red Funnel* was a monthly magazine published by the USSCo from July 1905 to October 1909 and printed by Wilkie's. With 122 pages, and reported to be starting "with a guaranteed monthly circulation of some 16,000" (*Tablet* XXXIII 28 13 July 1905 20), the magazine was available for sale in bookstores and to passengers on a shipping line that was building one of the largest fleets in the world. In America, a few early graphic

designers were able to undertake art director roles in the total design of magazines, Edward Penfield at *Harpers* from 1891 to 1901 and Will Bradley at *Colliers* from 1907 (Meggs 198), but this was in what was possibly the world's largest economy. In New Zealand Hawcridge in his *Testimonial* claims to have designed and largely executed all editorial and advertising matter in the *Red Funnel*, an assertion supported by the company's Chairman Sir James Mills (*Testimonial*), and Wilkie's own advertisements (Fig. 3.8) which interestingly describe the image reproduction process as engraving.

3.8. Halfpage advertisement, J. Wilkie & Co, *Red Funnel* I 1, 1 August 1905.

Because of this the magazine was unusually cohesive in appearance, even to the front and back advertisements (a quarter of total pages, initially unpaginated). Overseas and local firms advertised (Fig. 3.9) but there were no imported campaigns such as those found in other periodicals (see Chapter Four). Instead all ads were designed at Wilkie's and strongly adapted to, and revealing of, local values and lifestyles, if occasionally in an international style (such as the adapted Arts and Crafts of Fig. 3.9). As a comprehensive appraisal of advertisements is beyond the scope of this study one trope illustrative of the use of a global dimension to local identity (that of the globe, often flattened to a circle) is considered. This icon appeared throughout Hawcridge's career, and is here used to

signify travel, as the focus of demand for a product (Fig. 3.10), the international reach of a local business (Fig. 3.11) and, as the rings of Saturn, to visually locate consumers within a modern brand (Fig. 3.12).

FEBRUARY 1, 1907. THE RED FUNNEL. XXV.

Pioneer Builders of Turbine Steamships for Mercantile Purposes.

WILLIAM DENNY & BROTHERS

Turbine Steamer LOONGANA

Saloon S.S. MANUKA

DENNY'S - DUMBARTON, SCOTLAND

S.S. MAHENO ON STOCKS

SHIP BUILDERS FOR

- British India S.N. Co
- Allan Line
- Union Steam Ship Co (New Zealand)
- Australasian U.S.N. Co
- Shaw Savill & Albion Co
- L & N.W. Railway Co
- British and Burmese S.N. Co
- New Zealand Steam Shipping Co
- I.B. & S.C. Railway Co
- South Eastern & Chatham Railway Co

DUMBARTON-SCOTLAND.

3.9. Fullpage advertisement, William Demy and Brothers, *Red Funnel* IV 1, 1 February 1907 xxv.

3.10. Fullpage advertisement, Fox's Mixture, *Red Funnel* I 1, 1 August 1905.

3.11. Fullpage advertisement, New Zealand Express Co, *Red Funnel* I 1, 1 August 1905.

3.12. Fullpage advertisement, R. Hudson & Co, *Red Funnel* I 1, 1 August 1905.

The ads are a whimsical mix of realistic and symbolic communication and as tonal productions they may have originated as lithographs or paintings or, as some designs held by the Hawcridge family demonstrate, some lithographs appear to have been printed, retouched, and then reproduced photographically. This seems an unnecessarily complex method, explicable perhaps by the erasure of a design from the stone. Text is hand lettered and shows an awareness of the simplifying trend of early modernity, with never more than three styles of display lettering, generally a roman, monoweight slab serif, and a script. Each provides variable visual weight and movement, drawing emphasis and attention by contrast, without sacrificing the simplicities of early modern

style. Compositions are relaxed and figures have a degree of informality, often looking out to engage the viewer. The global trope could appear borrowed from metropolitan centres of international trade and finance, made famous years later at the 1939 New York World's Fair, and is appropriate for the magazine's audience of tourists. But it is arguably as relevant to New Zealanders who, like Hawcridge, had circumnavigated the globe to reach here. This physical and emotional apprehension of the world was far more commonplace than the cliché of isolation at a time when to be 'European' (i.e. cosmopolitan) and a citizen of the world was a lived reality for many New Zealanders who travelled for work and pleasure, mixing with other nationalities, socially as much as politically. For the less moneyed classes there was the globalism of socialism and workers' internationalism (Charles Emmerson 5-7). As the ads also show, firms dependent on export trade had a keen appreciation of globalisation. Hawcridge also favoured personification for many products, a fisherman for cod liver oil, a dairymaid for milk powder, and briefly a Maori female for Aulsebrooks biscuits. The indigenous Maori were becoming a popular subject for brands and trademarks (Wolfe *Well Made* 26, 38-40). The Aulsebrooks wahine was used briefly, but had little cultural sensitivity in the version of traditional costume (Fig. 3.13), although that would change (Figs 3.39-41).

3.13. Fullpage advertisement, Aulsebrooks biscuits, *Red Funnel* I 4, 1 November 1905.

The local illustrated

Hawcridge's illustrations range through media and approach, and display a virtuosity in line and tonal realism, as well as a stylized, flattened and ambiguous treatment of form and space. As with his advertisements lettering, when used, is a vital part of the message and formally integrated with the pictorial. The most substantial body of illustrative work identified is for a range of New Zealand magazines, including the *New Zealand Graphic and Ladies' Journal*, the *Phonographic Magazine for Australian, Tasmanian and New Zealand Shorthand Writers*, and the *Red Funnel*, as well as many weekly and Christmas issues of newspapers. Whether the work was freelance or through Wilkie's agency is unknown, certainly many illustrations were not published or printed by Wilkie's. This could be because, as R. Johnston explains, it was common here to outsource work to specialist concerns (222-3). However the size of some clients, such as Brett's in Auckland, would indicate it was Hawcridge's services specifically that were sought.

Hawcridge's first significant publication indicates his influences and style. The small book (185 x 162mm, 22 unpaginated, goldtipped leaves) *West Coast Sounds of New Zealand* (Fig. 3.14) was an illustrated account of a trip by Hawcridge and James Wilkie in 1890, travelling a popular tourist route by sea and overland. The narrative was by ODT journalist and mountaineer Malcolm Ross, then secretary to Sir James Mills of the USSCo which ran the summer cruises through the Sounds (now called Fiordland).²⁶ Chromolithography and tinted lithographic illustrations were by Hawcridge, with some linear tailpieces by Wilkie and the publication of the book by Wilkie's in 1892,²⁷ was possibly as a memorial. The cover, a chromolithograph on board with 13 identifiable colours, gives the first indication, through the framing of the scenery and the contrast of the flat shapes of the bush against the more naturalistic flowers, that Hawcridge will depict the landscape with a mix of realism and contemporary stylisation. Inside, the letterpress text occupies the left hand pages with either a header or sidepiece, and fullpage illustrations are on the right. As with the cover, the lettering and images of headers, sidepieces, and fullpages are formally unified (Figs. 3.14 – 3.19) through treatment, composition and the six warm monochrome tones of their depiction. Double page spreads are clearly designed in sequence, however page tissue guards make this difficult to show photographically (Fig. 3.15).

3.14. R. Hawcridge, cover, *West Coast Sounds of New Zealand*, 1892.

Hawcridge's stylistic qualities in this early work can be traced through subsequent years. His response to the landscape is lyrical, and in his asymmetrical compositions, sensitivity to nature, and finesse in execution he displays a Japanese-like artistic sensibility. Hand lettering used for titles is simple, linear and fluid. His play with framing devices for scenic views has connotations of fine art painting, and of a window through which the viewer looks into the space of the subject, even when forms within are simplified and flattened (Fig. 3.18). Details that come forward out of the frame to the picture plane of the page (Figs. 3.16 – 8), or that sit on its white ground and overlap the frame (Fig. 3.19), link the imaged scene with the viewers' own space. In this way there is a

movement between the eye and the subject, an active looking that can give visual pleasure, engaging emotion through the contemplation of aestheticised nature.

3.15. R. Hawcridge, double page spread, *West Coast Sounds of New Zealand*, 1892.

3.16. R. Hawcridge, header, *West Coast Sounds of New Zealand*, 1892.

3.17. R. Hawcridge, sidepiece, *West Coast Sounds of New Zealand*, 1892.

3.18. R. Hawcridge, fullpage illustration, *West Coast Sounds of New Zealand*, 1892.

3.19. R. Hawcridge, fullpage illustration, *West Coast Sounds of New Zealand*, 1892.

17 years later Hawcridge was no less concerned with place. *Ballads About Business and Backblocks Life*, a modest collection of poetry by Hamilton Thompson, was provided with a visually integrated cover and frontispiece by Hawcridge (Fig. 3.20). Printed by the *Otago Daily Times* and *Witness* Company Ltd. in 1909, it is symbolic of local identity, with a musterer, border collies, sheep, bush, and Hawcridge's linear lettering.

3.20. R. Hawcridge, cover *Ballads About Business and Backblocks Life*, 1909.

Hawcridge's first magazine work, for the *New Zealand Graphic*, appears to be the Christmas Number in 1893. The cover design (signed "Bob Hawcridge"), a lithograph on red paper, was printed in Auckland so may have used a transfer process. In an asymmetrical composition, the hand-drawn text scrolls around the personified Old and New Year, and the emblems of place of native clematis, Mount Cook (Aoraki), and the Southern Cross. The outlined, tonal and filigree treatments in the lettering fully exploit the creative freedoms of lithography (Fig. 3.21). Inside the signed header for the story "Only a Maori" demonstrates Hawcridge's facility with letterforms and pattern (Fig. 3.22) loosely referencing kowhaiwhai in a mix of naturalism and stylization.

3.21. R. Hawcrige, cover, *New Zealand Graphic Christmas Number 1893*, 20 December.

3.22. R. Hawcridge, header, "Only a Maori", *New Zealand Graphic Christmas Number 20* December 1893 17.

3.23. R. Hawcridge, "The Currency Question", *New Zealand Graphic* 9 March 1895 225.

Hawcridge provided illustrations to the magazine in 1894, and in 1895 his political cartoons appeared regularly (about every second month) and included the cover for 16 November. He appears to relish the role of the sketch artist as social and political commentator and his fullpage cartoon for the 9 March demonstrates his facility with the relaxed and spontaneous line (Fig. 3.23).

It may have been at this time Henry Brett, through H. Nelson, head of the firm of Nelson Moate and Co., made him an offer of employment (H. Nelson *Testimonial*). Through the same agent, Hawcridge was also offered £450 per annum to work for the Lithographic Department of the *Christchurch Press* (ibid). He declined both offers, continuing to intermittently to provide work for the *New Zealand Graphic* such as the painting “Milford Sound, New Zealand,” reproduced as a double page chromolithograph, Christmas 1896. His last illustration appears to be 29 December 1900, captioned “Colonial Christmas — The Dance in the Woolshed” (1220).

The institutional practice of removing covers to bind issues of periodicals means few chromolithographic covers have survived, although it is known Hawcridge was responsible for many other than the *New Zealand Graphic*. In 1898 he designed the Christmas cover for the *New Zealand Tablet* as a symmetrically composed combination of sepia and green tinted lithography and photographic half tone images. With the exception of the cross at the head of the design and the Irish shamrock at the base, this cover speaks unequivocally of place in the decorative framing of vignetted photographs of Mitre Peak, Mount Egmont (Taranaki) and Mount Cook (Aoraki), framed with New Zealand flora, rococo scrolls, and Art Nouveau tendrils to be stylishly up to date (Fig. 3.24). Hawcridge’s lettering, in a now signature mono-weight linear style, is also of the moment with its rhythmic simplicity and quirkiness of detail in the occasional growth of the restrained serifs into a tendril, and the way some descenders go below the base line. Inside the issue he also provided (signed) headers and tonal illustrations.

In the same year Hawcridge designed the lithographic cover for the *ODT and Witness* Otago Settlement Jubilee (Fig. 3.25). Here, a tinted lithograph of the immigrant ship *John Wycliffe* greeting the arrival of the *Philip Laing* is contained within a simple linear frame, and between two titles. The bottom title in a distinctive, angular outline script, the newspaper name in a simple, outlined and monoweight style, essentially a sans serif

with small glyphic letter endings. This well established style inspired the variant typeface *Copperplate Gothic* by Frederick Goudy (released by ATF in 1901), demonstrating the continuing circulation of influences between letterpress and lithography.

3.24. R. Hawcridge, cover, *New Zealand Tablet Christmas Number 1898*.

3.25. R. Hawcridge, cover, “*Otago Daily Times and Witness* Otago Jubilee Settlement Number 1848-1898”, 1898.

The heavy advertising that preceded and announced Christmas numbers used Hawcridge’s name as a signifier of quality and a drawcard for purchasers. The *New Zealand Tablet* Christmas Number of 1898 is described as “enclosed in a handsome colour-printed cover designed by Mr. Hawcridge, typical of the floral and scenic beauty of New Zealand” (*New Zealand Tablet* XXVI 22, 23 December 1898 18). Similarly, the advertisements for the publication of the *ODT and Witness* Jubilee edition included the statement “capitally executed Illustrated Cover from a design by Mr R. Hawcridge” (*ODT* 10961, 9 December 1897 1), as did separate advertisements for the newspaper’s 1898 Christmas Annual “with finely Lithographed Cover from a design from Mr R. Hawcridge” (*Otago Witness* 2340, 5 January 1899 20). The *Otago Witness* review of the

Phonographic Magazine Christmas Number in 1899 also noted “capital illustrations by Mr. R. Hawcridge, our local artist” (2340 5 January 1899 38). He does not rest on his laurels and in 1905 his cover for the Christmas *ODT and Witness Annual* is signed (Fig. 3.26), and is significant for his continuing technical and stylistic innovation.

The materiality of lithographs lay in the marks made by the artist drawing on the stone. Crayon had recognizable textural and tonal effects, and brush lithography had come to rely on hatching and stippling to blend colours and indicate tone.²⁸ This syntax, particularly recognizable in cheaper printing with limited colours, helped contribute to negative attitudes to the medium from the end of the nineteenth century. Twyman has noted today that “for over a century attitudes to chromolithography have been largely hostile, particularly to items that were produced to appeal to the popular tastes of their day”, the abbreviated term ‘chromo’ coming “to have a distinctly pejorative interpretation”, despite lasting “longer than any other colour printing method” (*History* 9). Chromolithography’s survival well into the photomechanical era of the twentieth century can be attributable to a change in mark making and formal compositions, or as Twyman describes it, a “reinvention” (269-92) of style and syntax. The radical simplification of form that came to mark pictorial modernism by the end of the 1920s, was first developed by the Beggarstaff Brothers in England in the 1890s (Meggs 190-1) but by 1910 found its full expression in Germany where it was known as plakastil, or poster style (248-57). It was used in the 1920s and 30s for many of the highly regarded London Underground and London Railways posters, all reproduced using chromolithography (Twyman *History* 285-7). The visual features of pictorial modernism are the radical simplification of form to flat shapes, the use of outlines, and flat colour. Text is minimal and letterforms are simple and bold. Twyman cites Frank Pick, General Manager of the London Underground, explaining that flat-colour treatment was necessary “in order to get away from the old fashioned chromolithograph” (*History* 287).

Hawcridge’s 1905 cover is asymmetrical, and provides a visual narration of the contrasts of a Southern hemisphere Christmas with that of Scotland. In the foreground a couple dressed festively in red and white, celebrate the season by boiling the billy for a bush picnic. The flowering rata and the ferny log situate them outside in nature even as they stand on an abstract ground of flat, bright, summery yellow. The familiar nineteenth century ‘chromo’ syntax of line and stipple has gone, except in the barely visible area of blended colour at the top right, suggesting the freezing fogs of a Scottish winter. The

hand drawn lettering is the ancestor of *Copperplate Gothic*, bold, simple, and block with an outline. The figures are similarly outlined with the effect they are flattened and their shape rather than form is emphasized. In this cover Hawcridge is not looking back to Art Nouveau, in which he was fluent, but forward to the outlined, flattened shapes and new simplicity of poster style, a simplicity that rarely found expression here before the 1920s. Hawcridge, and his cover, were regarded highly enough for the *Witness Annual* to be distributed by the newly established (1901) New Zealand Government Department of Tourist and Health Resorts, the Superintendent, T. E. Donne, also commissioning the Department's inaugural letterhead from Hawcridge. Well-travelled and a serious art collector, Donne regularly purchased Hawcridge's pen and ink drawings²⁹ (*Testimonial*) and likely recognized how 'of the time' this cover would appear to overseas tourists.

Hawcridge's, mainly monochrome, editorial illustrations were produced for a wide range of publications, many probably as yet unlocated. The *Phonographic Magazine for Australian, Tasmanian and New Zealand Shorthand Writers* (1892-1903) was edited in Dunedin by H. P. Harvey and S. C. Cope and printed at Wilkie's. The *Otago Witness* reviewer wrote of it "the issue before us ... is really a superior production, viewed alike from the literary and artistic standpoint. It is printed in tinted ink, is profusely embellished with high-class illustrations, and we need say only this much for the lithography: that while it may be equaled, it would be almost impossible to surpass it" (2272 16 September 1897 38). Many of the magazine pages were lithographed shorthand, following the medium's long established use for duplicating music and handwriting (Twyman *History* 487-8). Hawcridge's contributions, often fullpage, are humorous standalone illustrations or informative visuals accompanying non-fiction articles such as "A Cruise in the Islands: Tonga, Samoa, Fiji" (VI 7 1 December 1897 135-142). These illustrations are a seamless mix of media, and their referencing of traditional Samoan mats and patterns are ethnographically accurate. For "Some Samoan Notables" (Fig. 3.27), a symmetrical composition frames the subjects with frangipani, ferns, and a border embellished with one of Hawcridge's signature linear patterns, suggestive perhaps of water, growth patterns on trees, or even the traditional tattoo, *pe'a*. Beegan has described how at this time, in magazines and books, such linking and framing devices of drawn or painted embellishments functioned to create a new space for decorative art in popular print (*Mass Image* 175-6). Here, while the notables are positioned for photography in conventional stiff, static poses, Hawcridge provides a context that is fresh, full of rhythmic movement, and symbolically appropriate.

3.26. R. Hawcrige, cover, *Otago Daily Times and Witness Annual* 1905.

3.27. R. Hawcrige, "Some Samoan Notables", the *Phonographic Magazine* VI 7, 1 December 1897 141.

Entwhistle's brief biography of Hawcrige for *Southern People*, makes the claim his work was published in the lively Dunedin arts magazine the *Triad*, (1892-1915), however a thorough search of issues to 1910 has failed to locate any likely work except a new tonal illustrative masthead (5 1 April 1897). His most exclusive body of work was illustrating fiction for the *Red Funnel* from 1905, despite the misleading signatures of "Shirley

Yorke”, “Horace Wynne”, and “Hal O’Ween”, on some. The failure to trace these artists, and anecdotal evidence from the family that Hawcridge used pseudonyms in the *Red Funnel* supports his *Testimonial* claim he was the sole designer/illustrator, even to the challenge of creating and maintaining significantly different artistic styles.³⁰ It is apparent that the *Red Funnel* maintained high print values, and that illustrations demonstrating quality of thought and finish were expected, whether in the freer black and white line drawings, or the media of wash or gouache which often had the tonality and realism of a photograph, a quality accentuated inevitably by halftone process reproduction. Illustrations (some photographic) averaged one per double page spread, some issues (VII 2 1 September 1908) running to over 80 pages. The images considered here represent Hawcridge’s range of media, stylistic progression, and innovation.

In the wide range of page decorations and headers drawn by Hawcridge, the visual integration of elements and the stylistic unity between them is immediately apparent. The strikingly asymmetrical composition of “With Joy in Arcady” (Fig. 3.28) uses a combination of the Aesthetic Movement’s suggestion of decadence in the subject matter and voluptuous outline, with the whiplash of Art Nouveau in the satyr’s tail enclosing the nymphs. Fluid serif lettering completes a sensuous title for the short story. In “Paddy Grady” (Fig. 3.29) the swagman emerges from the picture plane to penetrate the outline lettering, creating a play between one and two dimensionality, and contrasting the bold flat overlapping lettering with the hatched three-dimensional figure. The “Red Hot Dollar” double page spread (Fig. 3.30) serves as an example of the importance accorded to magazine layout at this time and the standard reached by designers such as Hawcridge. The engine and carriage are authentically American, the figure captured in convincing forward motion. The momentum of the lettering and illustrations, each towards the centre of the page creates a dramatic and dynamic effect of excitement, and typifies the move in all forms of art toward the modernity of the rapid and informal, in subject and execution, that Ruskin had so abhorred. As an illustrator of fiction Hawcridge demonstrates he can move beyond nineteenth century conventions where the expectation that “pictures were, quite literally, to illustrate – epitomize and support – the narratives to which they ‘belonged’” (Sinnema 148), to create an independent yet complimentary visual narrative no longer in subservience to the text.

3.28. R. Hawcridge, header “With Joy in Arcady”, *Red Funnel* II 2, 1 March 1906 145.

3.29. R. Hawcridge, header “Paddy Grady”, *Red Funnel* IV 6, 1 July 1907 580.

3.30. R. Hawcrige, double page spread “The Red Hot Dollar”, *Red Funnel* IV 2, 1 March 1907 116-7.

Hawcrige’s supple mono-weight line, built up by hatchings (Fig. 3.29) takes on a new character when it mimics the unevenness of a wood engraving, undergoing an artistic revival, creating an atmosphere intimate and nostalgic (Fig. 3.31). He also used the tonal medium of paint and wash to emphasise character (Fig. 3.32), suggesting the veracity of a photograph while free to create dramatic effects. In a last illustration before leaving Wilkie’s, Hawcrige returned to a crayon lithograph for chiaroscuro (Fig. 3.33), to create a gentle, intimate image of a child by lamplight. The slight figure of the girl with her fair curly hair, seen in several of his paintings, suggests he used one of his daughters as a model.³¹

rooms when there were for sale the furnishings of a big house that had lately come on the market. She was picking her way about the goods, hunting for her coal-scuttle, when, looking up, she saw, on top of

he stood on the steps of a stately mansion. Would-be buyers passed it in indifference to gaze on the costlier wreckage of that dismantled home, but to Alison Greville it became at once all in all.

"Kiss the rosy face swept by its tangle of brown curls."

a handsome and quaintly-carved escritoire, a beautiful oil painting of a child—just a sweet, engaging boy face, a little lad in old-fashioned costume grasping a ball as

Forgotten was the humbler mission on which she had set out. Trembling almost with excitement, she stood by this child face, keeping guard as it were, till the

3.31. R. Hawcridge, illustration "Kiss the rosy face ...", *Red Funnel* V 5, 1 December 1907 505.

3.32. R. Hawcridge, illustration "He felt the tubes tighten! ...", *Red Funnel* VI 2, 1 March 1908 191.

3.33. R. Hawcrige, illustration "Such interesting sewing it was!" *Red Funnel* VIII 2, 1 April 1909 253.

Serial progression

The *Red Funnel* followed the formula for magazines Reed has described as "fiction and a broad range of topics that counterpointed one another" (17) and throughout its life purchased fiction by well-known authors, at least three going on to publication as books. "The Boy Who Stole a Voyage" by Ethel Turner was published in London by

Ward Lock in 1907 as *Stolen Voyage*, within a small collection of children's fiction and using Hawcridge's original illustrations (Figs. 3.34 and 3.35). "The Little Anarchist" by Arthur W. Marchmont was published under the same title, also by Ward Lock with Hawcridge's illustrations in 1911, four years after its serialization in the *Red Funnel*. These works were by authors with an established audience, they conferred status on an illustrator but also presented a challenge for them, in characterization and ability to realize and extend the text. Both were stories of adventure, the latter set in revolutionary Russia, unusually from a woman's viewpoint. For "The Boy Who Stole a Voyage", Hawcridge's header successfully portrays the frustrated 'mother's boy' of the title, the bold heading in the growing fashion of brush lettering. The unusual sequence for the boot cleaning episode (Fig. 3.35) owes something to the sequential story telling of comic strips, but with a more sophisticated composition.

3.34. R. Hawcridge, header "The Boy Who Stole a Voyage", *Red Funnel* I 2, 1 September 1905 150.

3.35. R. Hawcridge, illustration "The Boy Who Stole a Voyage", *Red Funnel* I 3, 1 October 1905 266.

For literary and artistic values, the most important series Hawcridge illustrated were stories based on oral traditions of the South Pacific. The first, a long narrative poem "Tama: A Legend of Samoa" (II 5 1 December 1905 387-94), established his approach to such material as one that was research based, serious, and adult. The title page (Fig. 3.36) is unique in New Zealand art as an early, accurate use of Polynesian pattern.

3.36. R. Hawcridge, title page “Tama: A Legend of Samoa”, *Red Funnel* II 5, 1 December 1905 387.

Hawcridge borders the pages of the tale with vertical hieratic panels, where beasts, plants, and tapa cloth patterns twine and frame the sensuous and muscular figures, creating drama and a series of powerful rhythms on the page (Figs 3.37-8).

3.37. R. Hawcridge, double page spread "Tama: A Legend of Samoa", *Red Funnel* II 5, 1 December 1905 392-3.

3.38. R. Hawcridge, panel "Tama: A Legend of Samoa", *Red Funnel* II 5, 1 December 1905 389.

“Tama” was followed in 1906 by the first of “Maoriland Fairy Tales” (II 6 1 July 1906 542-552) by Edith Annie Howes, a pioneer of indigenous children’s literature (Celia Dunlop) and they ran intermittently throughout the magazine’s life before Howes published her first book in 1910. Ostensibly written for children, the stories proved popular with adults by giving an introduction, if saccharine, to Maori culture.³² To the nineteenth century growth of children’s literature, artists such as Walter Crane, Randolph Caldecott, and Howard Pyle (Simon Houfe 137-60) had brought a new standard of robust, lively, and authentically detailed linear illustrations which appealed to grown-ups, and Hawcridge’s illustrations place him in this tradition. They are strongly delineated, sophisticated and stylish, treating the subject matter with artistic seriousness. Hawcridge varies his approach between stories and while he makes use of increasingly popular kowhaiwhai pattern (Fig. 3.42), also explores costume, flora, and fauna as elements of identity. His work has a closer relationship to Dittmer’s more theatrical and Art Nouveau influenced *Te Tobunga*, published in 1907 in London, than with the standard children’s fare. For the story “Tawhaki’s Climb” (Fig. 3.39) Hawcridge shows a rare influence of the Arts and Crafts style prevalent overseas, although before the 1906-7 New Zealand Industrial Exhibition popularized it here. Gordon Brown considers the illustrations “show how a design is enlivened by the use of motifs in a manner typical of the Art Nouveau style; the source abstracted for stylistic ends” (27), although the result here is a thoroughly Europeanised world.

3.39. R. Hawcridge, “The Sky-Fairy watches Tawhaki”, *Red Funnel* III 1, 1 August 1906, 85.

Hawcridge’s most impressive, and ethnographically respectful work is when he allows his own confident figure drawing and observed indigenous nature to meet in immaculately composed images, an original mix where modern flattened, simplified forms create pattern and movement that work against the three dimensionality of tone and scale, evoking a mythical world with qualities of both reality and a dream (Figs 3.40–4). His original artwork for these illustrations shows some preliminary drawing in blue pencil (invisible in photographic reproduction) but most are executed directly in pen and ink, at a size (310 x 210 mm), over one and a half times larger than the final page (Figs 2.40-1). The delineation of the negative shapes of outline lettering is in white gouache, and the minimal amount of any other retouching gives evidence of his confident hand skills. The stippling on Hinemoa’s arm and Tutanekai’s torso are

common to brush lithography (Twyman *History* 186), while the outlines show the “overriding influence was Whistler’s doctrine of the ‘essential line’ in which every drawn line must carry a positive visual meaning” (G. Brown 26).³³

3.40. R. Hawcridge, original artwork for title page “Hinemoa’s Swim”, 1906.

3.41. R. Hawcridge, title page "Hinemoa's Swim", *Red Funnel* III 5, 1 December 1906 515.

3.42. R. Hawcridge, border detail and endpiece "Hinemoa's Swim", *Red Funnel* III 4, 1 December 1906 521.

Tama's Flight across the Mountains.

3.43. R. Hawcrige, "Tama's Flight across the Mountains", *Red Funnel* IV 2, 1 March 1907 179.

3.44. R. Hawcridge, "The Floating Island", *Red Funnel* IV 2, 1 March 1907 182.

The collection *Maoriland Fairy Tales* was published in London by Routledge in 1913. The illustrators of the vapid colour plates and some inferior black and white illustrations are

not identified, neither is Hawcridge although at least four are his images, including Figures 3.43 and 3.44, however the quality of reproduction is poor. The appropriation of ethnic material by settlers, without permission, cultural understanding, or respect, became a controversial practice by the late twentieth century and retrospective judgements were often harsh (Peter Gibbons). Hawcridge's borrowings from Samoan and Maori culture were of the time, and dictated by the textual material and (excepting the Aulsebrooks wahine Fig. 3.13) arguably not disrespectful so it is possible to say they display an admiration for his subjects. The increasing care with ethnographic accuracy may be attributed to Hawcridge's friendship of "many years" with Augustus Hamilton, Director of the Colonial (later Dominion) Museum in Wellington, and one of the distinguished contributors to Hawcridge's *Testimonial*.³⁴ To a degree his depictions of Maori and Pacific Island culture were unusual in their artistic quality. Gordon Brown identifies a symbolic level of connection between late century movements (Art Nouveau, the Aesthetic Movement, Symbolism, Gauguin, the Nabis) and historic Celtic art and other 'primitive' styles, which provided inspiration and iconography free of academic taint, inspiring the use of linear and colour pattern to define imagery (26). In New Zealand, Maori culture in particular allowed a stylistic exploration of motifs and patterns particular to place, which was in line with the most contemporary practice, and Brown singles out Hawcridge's illustrations as some of the best examples (27).

Artistically modern

Hawcridge was a serious painter³⁵ and working member of the Otago Society of Arts (OAS) from his arrival in New Zealand. He was also a committee member of the 'Easel Club', which met at the studio of A. H. O'Keefe who had returned from the Atelier Julian in Paris in 1895 (Triad 3 5 25 July 1895 7). Una Platts has Hawcridge exhibiting with OAS from 1890 to 1904 and then in 1917, but his work was reviewed in other years (*Otago Daily Times* 16548 23 November 1915 6), and he gave the exhibition opening address in 1919. At times he exhibited work made for reproduction (ODT 9266 6 November 1891 2) and his "really clever" black and white work was his most popular (ODT 9588 18 November 1892 3). Hung with fine arts notables including Frances Hodgkins, Goldie, Claus Fristrom, D. K. Richmond and Owen Merton, his watercolours and oils drew both criticism and praise, the unsigned reviewer (William Hodgkins) judging his work best in the exhibition for 1895 and 1896 (ODT 10519 16 November 1895 2 and 10643 7 November 1896 2). He arguably made a more critical contribution with his designs for the exhibition programme covers that were some of

the first, and finest, examples of Art Nouveau here. For Gordon Brown, “the work of the black-and-white graphic artists reveal the essential characteristics of the style far more clearly than we find in the paintings of the period” (27). He created the first cover in a sequence lasting well over a decade, a month after beginning employment at Wilkie’s, and for three years the covers vary the theme of the classically draped female figure as symbol of the arts. In 1894 however he extends the techniques begun in the *West Coast Sounds*, with an exuberant decorative swash, suggestive of the Art Nouveau motif of a peacock’s tail tumbling across landscape and portrait frames (one enclosing his characteristic native beech trees) to signify the art of painting (Fig. 3.45).

3.45. R. Hawcridge, cover, *Otago Art Society Eighteenth Annual Exhibition 1894*.

3.46. R. Hawcridge, cover, *Otago Art Society Nineteenth Annual Exhibition 1895*.

In 1895, the year Art Nouveau gained its name in France, Hawcridge's cover was a formalised expression of the style using the hallmark motif of poppies, in aesthetic brown ink, with his initials framed as a monogram (Fig. 3.46). Here the vertical repetition of the straight stems of the poppies plays against the S curves of their leaves, the curls repeated in the S and Y of the lettering and the 95 of the numerals, with the characteristic effect of rhythm and flowing movement, and the vitality of a force held in balance.

3.47. R. Hawcridge, cover, *Otago Art Society Twenty First Annual Exhibition 1897*.

In 1897 Hawcridge has moved into an interpretation more fitting with the geometry of Jugendstil, the German development of the Arts and Crafts and Art Nouveau (Fig. 3.47). Here the simple plant forms are organised into repeats and laid in strong horizontal bands of pattern. The lettering is similarly restrained to a block sans serif.

3.48. R. Hawcrige, cover *Otago Art Society Twenty-Second Annual Exhibition 1898*.

In 1898 (Fig. 3.48), a two colour print (magenta and black) reveals inspiration more directly from Japan in the depiction of the national motifs of the circle and chrysanthemum, simplified by outline, silhouetted for pattern, and layered with a vignetted New Zealand landscape. The lettering continues the lively movement. Hawcrige's approach is artistic, a personal combination of Japonisme and French Art Nouveau graphics from popular print, such as those by George Auriol for the Parisian nightclub, "Le Chat Noir" (Figs. 3.49 and 3.50). Like many New Zealand painters (G.

Brown 30), Hawcridge was obviously knowledgeable of French stylistic developments, beginning presumably before he came to New Zealand through French lithographic exhibitions in England and the many international exhibitions held there and in Europe in the last quarter of the century (Twyman *History* 334-5). He must have viewed French lithographic ephemera and been aware of English graphic work displaying similar influences, and he clearly followed Dresser's advice to study and learn from the art of Japan (*Studies in Design* 7). Once here, art periodicals such as the *Art Journal* and the *Studio*, which dispersed design influences and regularly featured articles on French posters and illustration, were easily accessible.³⁶ OAS covers demonstrate that influences from print and Hawcridge's artistic milieu did not cease when he came to Dunedin.

3.49. George Auriol, cover, *Chat Noir Guide*, 1887.

3.50. George Auriol, cover, *Chat Noir Menu*, c1891.

By 1903, Hawcridge had moved away from Art Nouveau and responded to the rejection of excessive decoration (Fig. 3.51) as detailed in Chapter Two. The composition is symmetrical, the framing ribbon completely flat, as is the silhouetted landscape. The text continues the handlettering in *Copperplate Gothic* style.

3.51. R. Hawcridge, cover *Otago Art Society Twenty Seventh Annual Exhibition 1903*.

The activities of the art societies at this time in New Zealand have been described by Gordon Brown as hindered by amateurism (22). By contrast, Hawcridge was employed for his artistic skills and abilities but in the commercial, industrial sphere, as a

professional. He was unapologetic about this, writing in his *Testimonial* that his painting career was essentially secondary because of practical constraints; “the painting of pictures is not a profitable transaction in New Zealand”. Most significantly, his covers for the OAS were not only suitably artistic, but well in advance of the art on exhibition.

Spectacular, specialised: illuminated addresses

The most artistic opportunities for Hawcridge were provided by commissions for illuminated addresses. Designed, handlettered and illustrated they were made to exist as originals and were rarely reproduced. Evoking the glittering pages of mediaeval manuscripts, they arose in England from the 1850s as one offshoot of the gothic revival, “created to mark special occasions or celebrate a person’s achievements” and were thus very personalised (“A Token of Our Regard...”). Nonetheless, they were well known to the public and often publicly displayed, with their presentation a formal occasion before an audience. As well, they were reported in great detail in the press, which presupposes a public familiar with both their symbolism and the descriptive artistic terminology.³⁷ In New Zealand freelance artists and firms (Bock and Cousins, Henry Brett, Wilkie’s) specialised in addresses. Wilkie’s began advertising their service after Hawcridge left, an indication of the reputation and value of the business built up under him (Fig. 3.52).

3.52. Back cover, *Red Funnel* VIII 2, 1 March 1909.

While commercial productions, Hawcridge's addresses demonstrate an interchange of ideas and styles with the work he made for reproduction. While positioned within a set of conventions that referenced heraldry, calligraphy, and artistic allegory, they were an opportunity for him to hone his hand skills and explore and refine styles. They are the first work mentioned in his *Testimonial* where, from among "hundreds of other addresses," he singles out 12 for special mention, including one for Dunedin businessman, Wolf Harris, exhibited and praised at the Royal Colour Society Exhibition, London. Some addresses were elaborately cased in wood marquetry or bound in embossed leather and, in the form of albums, ran to multiple pages. Others were simpler, often a single sheet, mounted on card. They have in common immaculate execution and, against comparable works of the time, a unity of decoration and stylised pictorial naturalism.

The address for the Reverend A. P. Davidson, on his retirement from Knox Church and return to Scotland in 1894, is one of the largest, in a case of inlaid wood with 14 Bristol board leaves, (28 pages), all signed by Hawcridge. After the second leaf, each page is bordered on one side with a local scene. The elaborate title page (Fig. 3.53) is rich in ecclesiastical references, from the convex arc of church windows, to the fluid interpretation of gothic lettering in the heading. The layered decoration, framing a realistic view of Knox church, is densely detailed, with Hawcridge's characteristic use of plants as symbols of place, the thistle for Scotland and clematis for New Zealand. The second page of the address (Fig. 3.54) is exceptional in Hawcridge's known stylistic oeuvre, demonstrating his knowledge of Oriental decoration and its wide popularity in the nineteenth century. In a rich colour scheme of plum and green, the calligraphic text is surrounded with a deep border of Oriental pattern,³⁸ with four corner medallions dedicated to auspicious fortune, such as the crane for longevity. Davidson was not a missionary but his writing for international encyclopaedias may have inspired the design for this page.

3.53. R. Hawcridge, frontispiece, Address to the Reverend A. P. Davidson, 1894.

East, Hawcridge creates a gold Persian inspired medallion, intriguingly asymmetric. This frames Seddon and his cabinet, most of whom (such as John McKenzie, Minister of Lands, top) Hawcridge had already caricatured for the *New Zealand Graphic* (16 March 1895 249). No doubt referenced from photographs, the likenesses carry mere fidelity into characterisation and are astonishingly fine in their detail.

3.55. R. Hawcridge, second leaf (third page), Address to the Right Honourable R. J. Seddon, 1899.

3.56. R. Hawcridge, Address to Alexander Kyle Esq, 1899.

In the same year, a single sheet address for teacher Alexander Kyle on his retirement (Fig. 3.56), demonstrates a more relaxed and personalised visual rhetoric. In a warm colour scheme, Hawcridge frames three South Island mountains with light and elegant rococo scrolls. The keyhole mount cut to the shape of the painting, has become detached, but its absence reveals how work was framed.

3.57. R. Hawcridge, title page, Address to R. J. Seddon from the Mayor and Councillors of Dunedin (detail), 1902.

The 1902 address from the Mayor and Councillors to mark Seddon's visit to Dunedin (Fig. 3.57), is elaborately bound in red and black leather, though the size is modest (320 x 255 mm) and in style is markedly informal, as seen in the stylised flatness of the shamrock and thistles (Ireland and Scotland, joined by roses of England at the bottom of the page). Of particular interest are the letterforms, both elaborate and simple, which were a measure of the training,⁴⁰ skills, and creativity of the lithographic artist, positioned to receive influences from calligraphy and signwriting, and interchange these with type design for letterpress (Twyman *History* 88, 207-10, 140). In this way, lithographic lettering, even as it was responding to current ideas of design, was in Twyman's words, significantly "artist driven" (181), and Hawcridge uses the freedom of the medium to provide two-colour, tinted, shadowed and outlined letters of different style, size and hue. On the reverse of each leaf are three scenes from the city environs, each in a custom keyhole mount. The reverse scene of the second leaf (Fig. 3.58), rendered with the lightness of a sketch, is a glimpse of a scene of leisure as a couple stroll in sunshine towards an oriental gazebo. On the mount a few gestural brushstrokes indicate toitoi plumes and leaves, and the harmonizing lettering is linear and aesthetic. The everyday subject, the plein-air effects of light, free paint application, complimentary

colours, and the dynamic focal point of the red parasol combine in a convincing excursion into Impressionism.

3.58. R. Hawcridge, reverse of second leaf (page 4) “In the Gardens”, Address to R.J. Seddon from the Mayor and Councillors of Dunedin, 1902.

The address to Captain Robin, a local hero of the first Boer War (Fig. 3.59), changes the conventions of civilian addresses to those concerned with patriotism. Commissioned by the Otago Hussars formerly under his command, it was given to Robin to celebrate his return from Queen Victoria's Sixtieth Jubilee celebrations in England. Supportive of the war, the Queen with Star and Garter, is shown at the top flanked by Britannia and Athena, a common pairing by the nineteenth century (Marina Warner 48-9), here as emblems of the British nation, victory, war, and wisdom. Captain Robin is depicted twice, mounted and in parade and service uniforms. New Zealand scenery and flowers as emblems of place, surround him. It was customary for Hawcridge to include a monogram of the recipient's initials, here as a wax seal to the signatures of his men. The elements of imperial visual rhetoric — the monarch, military uniforms, the spear-held fringed banner — indicate a military sub-genre of addresses. Hawcridge was commissioned to create a number of these: another to Captain Robin from the City of Dunedin, to Colonel Baden-Powell on his defence of Mafeking, to the United States Consul in South Africa for his benevolence during the Boer War, and to Admiral Togo from his New Zealand admirers after the Russo-Japanese War (1907).

3.59. R. Hawcridge, Address to Captain Alfred William Robin, 1897.

Hawcridge's handmade addresses were perhaps the greatest showcase for his skills and their prestige counteracted any assumption that an artist was an advertising hack if he did commercial work, a stigma becoming attached to the new term 'commercial artist' in the early twentieth century. Hawcridge brought to the ersatz, stereotyped forms of this genre, a freshness and naturalism that radically extended the elaborate decoration and exaggerated rhetoric into something more significant of place and the time.

Commemorative, patriotic

Sinnema considers participation in national celebrations, such as exhibitions, political events, and royal visits, with their parades, processions, decorations and social events, "involved and developed a consciousness of belonging to a national collective" (182). The plethora of commemorative graphic and pictorial productions that accompanied such events were just as importantly contributors to this consciousness, informing expectations and through visual recognition and their use as mementos, to the construction of shared memory lasting well beyond the event, and even later to be used as illustrations to history. For the public unveiling of Dunedin's Boer War memorial (1906), Hawcridge designed an eight colour chromolithographic memorial tablet, "Otago's Fallen Soldiers" (Fig. 3.60) and oak-framed copies, 1066 x 838mm were given to the province's state schools to display, no doubt with the intention of inculcating military virtue in young boys.⁴¹ His four corner paintings were photo-engraved in London, the whole then printed at Wilkie's (*Otago Witness* 2743 10 October 1906 16). The design is unusually, but not inappropriately, severe in its geometric symmetry (symbolically the shape of St. George's Cross) and rigid organisation into squares and rectangles. The lettering of the names of the dead is in four variations of Hawcridge's *Copperplate Gothic*, customised by a subtle rectangularity. The heading lettering is shadowed to create a moderate three-dimensional effect for emphasis. The few symbols of Empire, the crown, flags, and soldiers at the centre bottom, are of secondary importance to the monochrome scenes of New Zealand troops in action in four key battles. The upper right image, "Battle Scene, 'New Zealand Hill' Boer War", (painted 1904) depicts the New Zealanders storming a hill in the battle of Slingsfontein (Fig. 3.61). The composition is dynamically asymmetrical, the movement tumbling and rising up the picture plane in a realistic and illustrative style, romanticised by gesture, with every figure and action individualised, the story told in images not words.

3.60. R. Hawcridge, memorial tablet "Otago's Fallen Soldiers", 1906.

3.61. R. Hawcridge, original artwork "New Zealand Hill", 1904.

The Boer War tablet allowed Hawcridge to transcend traditional conventions to be more contemporary and austere. The expectations for his large body of official design for the Government and Royalty were conservative. The first major Royal Tour of New Zealand, by the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York (later George V and Queen Mary), took place in June 1901. In April of that year Hawcridge had been awarded third place in a competition to design invitation cards for the official receptions at the four main centres. In the event the four cards were designed by arguably the pre-eminent chromolithographic artists and firms in New Zealand at the time: Hawcridge at Wilkie's in Dunedin, William Schmidt and Henry Young at Brett's in Auckland, and Benoni White at A. D. Willis in Wanganui.⁴² Hawcridge's design (for the Auckland reception), a combination of conventional European heraldic devices and decoration with emblems of the indigenous, is the only one of portrait format and in contrast to the other three, simple in composition, and without elaborate, overburdened framing devices and lettering (Fig. 3.62). Seen retrospectively it is already expressive of the Edwardian rather than the Victorian era, as well as technically up-to-date in the skilful mix of chromolithography and halftone reproduction of photographic images.

3.62. R. Hawcrige, invitation “Visit of Their Royal Highnesses”, 1901.

If this commission confirmed Hawcridge's national reputation, it was only one of many, in diverse media. In his own words, "out of the seventeen addresses presented in the City of Dunedin to the Prince of Wales, on the occasion of his visit in 1901, sixteen were my work" (*Testimonial*). None of these remain in the country. His souvenir programme for the Dunedin children's demonstration contrasts to the invitation by being informal, light hearted and festive (fig. 3.63). As well, his "designs were successful in bringing to Dunedin, for F. Hyams, the order for the Colony's presentation casket to the Duke of York. For this casket I made also the detail working drawings for the jewellers, lapidaries, and enamellers, superintending the work, and personally modelling the figures, etc., for casting in silver" (ibid, Figs 3.64 and 3.65). As a designer, Hawcridge worked for cabinetmakers (Scoullar and Chisholm), wood turners and carvers (Wilkinson Brothers), metalfounders (Shacklock), modellers (R. Wardrop), architects (J. Salmond, R. H. Fraser) and jewellers (J. Hislop, and C. Möllers & Sons). He designed jewellery and medals for Möllers, who "secured several of the largest Government contracts on the designs executed by him for our firm" (*Testimonial*).

3.63. R. Hawcridge, "Souvenir Programme Children's Demonstration", 1902.

3.64. Presentation Casket designed by R. Hawcridge, *Royalty in New Zealand*, 1902.

3.65. “Presentation of the Address by the Premier aboard the ‘Ophir,’” *Royalty in New Zealand*, 1902.

Jock Philips describes the 1906-7 New Zealand International Exhibition as a celebration of the achievements of 15 years of Liberal Government; “Richard Seddon argued for an exhibition in Christchurch as a way of proclaiming New Zealand’s distinctiveness and imminent greatness” (2). Culturally the Exhibition is credited with popularising the Arts and Crafts with the New Zealand public and the art schools (Calhoun 109-10).

Hawcrige’s designs for the proclamation and invitation had the task of further identifying the Government with the nation by using a clear allegorical message. He centred the Proclamation text, flanking it with descending images of the symbolic Maori warrior, the reigning monarchs, Seddon and his principal ministers, notables of Canterbury, and images of New Zealand industry, finishing with a view of the proposed Exhibition buildings at the base. The design is unified by a severely limited colour scheme (orange, red, black white and grey), and framed by clematis and Maori carving. Headings are of sober block letters and contained within borders of simple rules. Also innovative was Hawcrige’s chromolithographed invitation cover “Haere Mai” (Fig. 3.66), where he symbolises the bi-cultural ideal with two females, Maori and European, framed by a carved gateway (waharoa) and wrapped in the national flag, their

gestures of welcome echoed by the fluid, dancing lettering. Against a plain black ground, the triadic colour scheme of red, blue, and warm yellow enhances the central focus.

3.66. R. Hawcridge, cover, New Zealand International Exhibition invitation, 1906.

Making designers: Hawcridge at the Dunedin School of Art

Hawcridge was deeply involved with his community and cultural activities. He helped establish the Masonic Lodge Maori, becoming Provincial Grand Master during World War One. Against international competition his design, complex and dense with symbolism, was chosen for the new Masonic membership certificate (engraved in Auckland by G.L. Henderson). He was the annual (Honorary) judge, and frequent lecturer, for the Dunedin Photographic Society. In 1901 he even found time to submit a design for a clothes peg to be patented, but by 1909 he was ready for a change. He applied for the position of Head of the School of Art in Dunedin on the retirement of David Hutton, and was successful, taking up the position in April 1909. His employer at Wilkie's, Mr. Somerville, paid tribute at his farewell:

Hawcridge had "left a lasting impression on the lithographic trade of the Dominion, and by force of example he had lifted it from a very low standpoint to a standard of excellence which was quite on a level with that of the older countries. In a recent trip around Australia he had looked in vain for work of superior quality to that of Mr Hawcridge, whose versatility and knowledge of every department of design had been a constant source of astonishment to him during their lengthy connection ("Presentation to Mr R. Hawcridge" *ODT* 14488 2 April 1909 8)

The summation of Hawcridge's importance is as significant as his reply describing his vision for the School of Art:

He hoped in his new sphere to direct the training of art into a course which would be of practical benefit to the tradesman, and while doing everything in his power to give every facility to the art student to pursue his studies, he intended to devote his personal energies to providing courses of instruction to those engaged in the various industrial pursuits in which special art knowledge was becoming more and more a necessity" ("Presentation to Mr R. Hawcridge" *ODT* 14488 2 April 1909 8)

By 1909, the School was facing criticism from the Government Inspectors of Technical Instruction for lagging behind the 'modern' focus on the applied arts, which had been

given added impetus by the 1906-7 Exhibition (G. Brown 18). Part of this criticism sprung from disenchantment with the British programme of instruction known as the South Kensington System,⁴³ adopted by the School in 1894. Even by the 1890s South Kensington was crumbling as a coherent and credible educational system in Britain (Raphael Denis 11-25). It had failed to educate an artisan class to be designers for industry and in design education for the printing industries such had proved ineffectual in teaching the practical skills required. In 1913 it was abandoned in New Zealand. In April 1909, benefitting from extensive remodelling long requested by Hutton, Hawcridge and his eleven staff, including A. H. O'Keefe, began immediately to extend the School's curriculum and attract students, and its progress under his leadership is well documented.⁴⁴ Hawcridge's supporters had no doubt he was the man for the job, with R. H. Fraser writing:

Your early training in the Art world must have been very complete for you to have reached that stage of proficiency which justly entitles you to the credit of being one of the most advanced lithographic artists in the Colonies... I have a good deal of experience in London Schools, for 25 years have worked in nearly all branches of Decorative Art, and I have not met one whom I would consider your equal (*Testimonial*).

Gordon Brown notes Hawcridge's "flair for gaining the interests of businessmen in the school, much to its benefit" (19).⁴⁵ These businessmen had been his clients and had written to support his application, wanting the school to provide, in the words of R. H. Fraser⁴⁶ "a good practical course" (*Testimonial*). Like Henry Brett, they accepted the sphere for the painter in New Zealand was "a very restricted one" and "that every School of Art, especially in a country like this, should aim not merely at the imparting of instruction in drawing and painting, but that these studies should be given a practical bent" (ibid), leading to employment as a designer or 'art worker' and benefitting both them and industry. That he shared this philosophy Hawcridge had made clear. In his 1910 Report to the Otago Education Board he stated "No effort has been spared to meet the requirements of tradesmen of every class ... the increased attendance at the trade-classes during the winter months has been very gratifying" (Appendix H Dunedin School of Art and Design 45). Hawcridge's own education, a balance of art and trade training, contributed to purging his work of academic rigidity, and helps explain why a successful practitioner in the commercial world rather than a fine artist, was chosen to

lead the School of Art. Unlike Harding and small letterpress businesses, Hawcridge did not work on his own account, an impossibility for lithographic artists because of the need for specialist machinery and equipment, nonetheless he united an understanding of the fields of art and industry, an ideal of the time.

As well as fulltime day and parttime evening students, the School was required to hold classes to instruct teachers and trainees in drawing, a part of their pupils' Certificate of Proficiency examinations (in some years Hawcridge travelled to Oamaru for these). In 1913 the School gained a new Arts and Crafts Department and the services of Nelson Isaac, "a brilliant young craftsman" (H. V. Miller 5). Alongside the drawing and painting programme, it now offered the gamut of arts and crafts activities, modelling, metal-work, repoussé enamelling, woodcarving, art jewellery, stencilling, art needlework, pokerwork as well as photography, ticket and showcard writing, architectural design and the history of architecture. Perhaps as importantly were the evening classes held for tradesman, where signwriting, gilding, decorating, glass embossing, woodcarving and drawing for mechanical engineering, carpentry and joinery were taught. Advertising for the "Third Quarter" classes in the *Otago Daily Times* in 1913 lists a bewildering range of day and evening classes covering over 30 separate subjects (15823 23 July 1). The School is also publicised variously as the "School of Arts and Crafts" (1913) "School of Art, Design and Art Crafts" (1913) and the "School of Art and Artcrafts" (1919).

Little evidence has been found of Hawcridge's graphic design teaching, except one pencil rough by Ernest Heber Thompson, one of his fulltime students (Fig. 3.67). Thompson fought overseas in World War One, and illustrated life in the trenches for troop publications, some exhibited in the Reed Gallery of the Dunedin Public Library ('Keepsakes' 14 August 2014). He survived the war to live in England becoming, as the exhibition notes describe "a distinguished artist and teacher." His pencil rough for Donaghy's indicates he was taught the design process, common throughout the twentieth century, of preparing a detailed concept (or rough) for the client's consideration.

3.67. E. H. Thompson, pencil rough for Donaghys Twine, c1913.

Despite Hawcridge's energy and extremely long working hours, the War began, by a process of attrition (men enlisting and women filling their jobs), to affect the School rolls, and the influenza, and diphtheria epidemics of 1919 delayed recovery (Jim Tomlin). In his report of February 1919, Hawcridge records student numbers had fallen to near their pre-1909 level. Before writing his next report, he died of tuberculosis in February 1920. The Otago Education Board, so adamant in retaining control of the School at Hutton's retirement in 1908, was happy to give up subsidising it now, and the School eventually became part of King Edward Technical College.

When Hawcridge is remembered, it is mostly for his position at the School of Art but even then, his time is ultimately presented as a failure to safeguard the institution (Entwhistle), overshadowing his very substantial achievements in making art education more responsive to the needs of society. He became Head when the South Kensington System was in decline. Arts and Crafts activists such as Crane and W. R. Lethaby brought some improvements that delayed the inevitable collapse (Beegan *Mass Image* 95), but the focus that developed, while popular with females, was aimed more at an idealised studio practice and had no greater success preparing students for the

commercial world. It began to be seen that the home of art training for industry should be the technical schools, certainly those with a commercial orientation trained the most successful illustrators (150). However no schools had success in combining the education in art and trade needed for lithography⁴⁷ and much formal art education struggled to produce the new styles of illustration popular in the illustrated press and children's literature. The trade courses Hawcridge introduced, particularly in practical drawing and perception, lettering, ticket and showcard writing, were popular, but the few rolls extant recording the occupations of the students show that the printing trades rarely took advantage of the opportunities offered. Printing jealously guarded its apprenticeship system, which it continued to formalise, and from 1910 graphic design developed more strongly through a mix of art training combined with work in advertising agencies, publishing houses, and commercial studios (Cantlon 85, 88-90). The development of design courses in art schools placed within technical education, as the place where designers would be trained, vindicated Hawcridge's approach.

Memorials

Hawcridge's position curtailed his own work until the War years when his painting "The Storming of the Dardanelles, 1915" was acquired by the City Council to hang in the Town Hall. It also became a popular postcard. In 1918, commissioned by the Otago Peace Committee, he wrote, designed, and illustrated a 48-page booklet, *Souvenir of the Great War 1914-1918* that was lithographed by George Watts at Wilkie's, and distributed to every school child in the province.⁴⁸ As with the Boer War, Hawcridge followed the Great War closely, displaying a scholarly interest in military history, and from the inception of ANZAC Day in 1916, giving a public address on the meaning of the Gallipoli campaign and other New Zealand engagements. For the booklet his chromolithographed cover (Fig. 3.68) is bright with the panoply of the allies' red white and blue flags and colourful national shields, flanked by a New Zealand soldier and sailor, leaning their elbows on the edges of a marble mausoleum and gazing towards the Royal coat of arms. The folds of the flags soften the symmetry of the composition, but it is the figures above all who gave the image its relaxed and distinctive 'colonial' lack of formality. The stance of the servicemen, the soldier at ease and with a cigarette in hand, the sailor resting on folded arms and in bare feet, convey the reputation for nonchalance and unregimented bravery that became part of the image of the New Zealand forces (Belich 105-6, 109).

Inside the booklet Hawcridge has embellished the pages with alternating decorative borders that direct attention to the text. Each individual page features photo-process blocks inserted into ornamental headers with decorative page framing (Figs 3.69-70). Some pages are formal and some asymmetrical but together balance across the gutter. Wide white margins give the pages a lightness that would have made them attractive for young readers at a time when many textbooks were dense with closely leaded, small point sized text, narrow margins, and few illustrations.

3.68. R. Hawcridge, cover *Souvenir of the Great War*, 1919.

3.69. R. Hawcridge, page 30 *Souvenir of the Great War*, 1919 30.

3.70. R. Hawcridge, page 42 *Souvenir of the Great War*, 1919 42.

At the same time (1919) Hawcridge won first prize (£50) for the design of the Certificate of Service to be awarded to members of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force (over 100,000 men). On its release after his death, a detailed description by the Associated Press appeared in almost every New Zealand newspaper,⁴⁹ with the cryptic judgement “there is nothing gaudy about the whole and its meaning cannot be misunderstood” (*Oamaru Mail* XLIV 14745 21). Certainly parts of Hawcridge’s visual syntax were familiar to the public through widely used visual allegory and symbolism (Fig. 3.71), so that the meticulous detail, such as the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew on Britannia’s shield, did not need reporting. However, radically different, the informal, active stance of the soldier and the almost domestic pose of Britannia (Fig. 3.72) were developed by Hawcridge himself, beginning with the *Souvenir of the Great War*.⁵⁰ The emphasis on line, as outline, stipple or hatching, while serving to suggest form, also functions to flatten the confident drawing and decoration and maintain the formal graphic qualities of the two colours on white. Belich claims the New Zealand war effort at sea is a missing dimension of World War One, and the ships supplied from here were effectively under British command (109-110). Their central place on the Certificate strongly references Britain, as does the visual metaphor of New Zealand (although technically a dominion) as a young cub of the British lion. These were officially required sentiments, nonetheless in tune with much Dominionist public feeling (108-112). Hawcridge’s certificate was arguably in more New Zealand households than any other printed material of the time, and would have been valued according to the very diverse attitudes held about the war.⁵¹ Some certificates were framed for hanging, some probably destroyed, others, like Figure 3.72, folded up and put away along with the memories of the Great War.

3.71. R. Hawcridge, certificate, *Dunedin Competitions Society*, 1903.

3.72. R. Hawcridge, “Certificate of the Services”, 1920.

Conclusion

Chapter Three, has continued to realize the thesis aim by charting the career of Robert Hawcridge. It has provided new factual knowledge, including the details of Hawcridge’s training and employment, and the wide-ranging activities of a designer within the lithographic industry here. For Research Question Two, formal analysis has grounded the estimation of his considerable importance, and the range of purpose and form found in his work gains significance as illustration and lithographic production in New Zealand is contextualized within international developments. Evidence is given of Hawcridge’s substantial influence on business, and local art and design, through those who worked with him, and the reception by the many and various sections of society who were the audience for his work. Judged solely by his published obituaries, Hawcridge was well known to the public throughout the country. As his testimonials show, his work, even the most overtly commercial, was widely appreciated by the business, arts, and intellectual community, and his influence further extended through his teaching and leadership of the School of Art. For Research Question One

considering models of design as circulating and constantly adaptive, the chapter has provided rich examples of how stylistic innovations are modified, and at times enhanced, for place, adding a new perspective to the researches of R. Johnston, and McKay by giving evidence of the use rather than the existence of technologies and allowing appraisal of similarities and differences in an international context, such as the uncontested demand by the public here for imagery. The multiple influences on Hawcridge's work have been identified as an unpredictable but fertile mix from the contemporary art of Europe and the lithographic medium, art informing his use of style and lithography his range of techniques.

Research findings have added further new material to the thematic investigations. The reception of Hawcridge's work demonstrates the important role of ephemeral print and the image in forming taste. Appreciation of artistic value and style in print is not intrinsic to an audience but formed by visual literacy. The crucial exemplars may have flowed from overseas but by Hawcridge's mediation gained resonance for the transplanted and altering local culture already becoming aware of its own difference. Although some of his work undoubtedly travelled, little evidence has been found of it being noticed overseas, although it was obviously known to some extent, after he left Alf Cooke's. This does not make it any less significant locally, as his work in a diverse range of forms, for a varied range of purposes, was widely distributed, with the visual rhetoric identifying and reinforcing a sense of place and contributing to social formation. In the case of Hawcridge high-level adaptation seems integral to the process of adopting stylistic approaches. The local becomes an "alternative experience" of visual material as "patterns of interpretation shared globally are adapted and became significant in the understanding of a very local reality" (Calvera 376).

New knowledge is further built on the success of Hawcridge's career, the demand for his work, notably the pictorial, providing evidence that New Zealanders were aware of and receptive to, the pleasures and advantages of good design for promotion, advertising, commemoration, and identity. Hawcridge's progressive modernity is a key part of this acceptance and is found in the wide range of his work through changes in visual style and approaches to representation. These do not follow any rigid trajectory and are fluid but cumulative in both his pictorial productions and his letterforms. The changes from elaborate nineteenth century decoration, to the gestural shorthand of Impressionism, the integrated movement and rhythms of Art Nouveau, and the

organized simplicity and subtle geometry seen his twentieth century designs, are clear. In the example of Hawcridge, the trope that conservatism and provincialism in style must be the result of isolation from the metropolitan centres ignores how visual knowledge is accessed by both practitioners and communities, and visual literacy acquired through the rapid evolution of style in popular illustrated print.

Hawcridge's significant formal adaptations and innovations seen in his illustrative work, (for example *West Coast Sounds*, "Maoriland Fairy Tales"), extended the text by locating it in the world of contemporary style and thereby further contributing to the construction of the viewers' world, and their sense of social connection (Beegan *Mass Image* 24). In doing so he elaborated the assumptions, ethnic, social, gendered, national, that existed in pictorial representations, by developing new tropes of New Zealandness. By informing the written texts in this way he conferred status on subjects (such as "Tama" and "Maoriland Fairy Tales") that may otherwise have been considered trivial or negligible, extending their ideological representations beyond cliché and stereotype. With the OAS covers he mediated international style here, even as it was developing overseas, adding to the status of the arts. Hawcridge supplemented allegorical conventions with contemporary motifs from the landscape and leisure and in this way his images made sense to his audience. His work was early in the exploration of indigenous iconography and contemporary signs of country and identity for Pakeha, Maori, and Samoan culture.

Hawcridge's war commemorations, perhaps his most widely distributed and socially significant work, directed the comprehension of events and helped construct meaning and interior realities for the viewer (Beegan *Mass Image* 1). Unlike his earlier illustrations, these contributed to the strengthening of New Zealanders' identification with the British (Eldred-Grigg 463). Beginning with his addresses, and the memorial for the Boer War, within the most conventionalized visual forms and symbols, he brought imperial rhetoric to an accommodation with compositional and linear modernity that retained the dignity of the intention. Extending this into widely distributed material commemorating World War One, he established the representation of the New Zealander in the armed forces as one that is now embedded in national identity and the national psyche.

Hawcridge's significant adaptations of circulating pictorial styles functioned through repeated tropes of representation to consolidate each other, and to create and reinforce

readers' suppositions about their society.⁵² For Sinnema these representations were simulacrum, images that seemed to transform the appearance of reality into objective fact, "the representation through which ideological subjects know the world" (26). Within the syntax of each technology of reproduction, the familiarity with the media and rhetoric of images accessed through recognisably local iconography allowed an audience to form its own judgements of technical and artistic quality. Furthermore, the publicity surrounding Hawcridge's work, consistently identified with his name and invoking praise, in consequence accorded local (as opposed to imported) design (and the reproduced image), a high profile here and made it a matter of public discourse and appreciation. His designs provide proof of the ability of 'peripheries' to reach high standards in visual culture, in New Zealand relatively early in the life of the nation, and while the country was judged as backward in the fine arts, it was receptive to the modern and the new in popular visual design. Similarly Hawcridge's contribution to art and design education was vital in moving the understanding of 'design' as signifying a study for a finished piece of work in the arts or an applied decoration, to a modern apprehension that it belonged in the commercial world, and as a distinct area of activity (Dormer 333).

Pertinent to the development of graphic design in New Zealand, it can be seen that Hawcridge's exceptional versatility, control, and sensitivity, allied with an ability to select media and approach to suit the purpose of the work, was in the service of a clear understanding of a designer's role. Although lacking the scale and specialization of larger countries, New Zealand nonetheless developed the divisions of labour that have been identified by graphic design historians as marking the beginnings of the profession. Hawcridge's employment in a printing firm sympathetic to his talents, his range of work, and stylistic awareness identify him for the first time as professionally the equivalent of American pioneer American graphic designers Bradley, Penfield, and Louis Rhead (Meggs 195-8). The visual syntax of style is however the symbolic expression of Hawcridge's true modernity, which is in his practice, particularly through the separation of conception and execution. Sinnema has described the difficulty pin-pointing the occupational activities, status, and nomenclature of the proto-graphic designer (51-7), consequently, applying the usual trade terms, such as lithographic artist or lithographer to Hawcridge carries a great deal of ambiguity. There was no consistent name for what he did or who he was, at least until the 1920s, as definition followed practice.

Hawcridge's practice, defined by activity and structure if not by semantics, is that of a graphic designer and it reveals modernity as always adaptive. Most significantly, it demonstrates there is no one style or syntax in the semiotics of communication that functions for all purposes, all clients and audiences; that modernity in graphic design is more various and diverse than represented in graphic design histories; and that inherent adaptation, which circulates to engender innovation, is vital for communication with local publics and, while not exclusive of critical acceptance, may arguably be the most important role of graphic design. It is this development of design as a contingent, synthesising process that most defines Hawcridge and his work as modern. And it reveals the existence, activities and status of the graphic designer, in all but name, in New Zealand at this time. Hawcridge did not describe himself as a lithographer or lithographic artist, craftsman, calligrapher, lettering artist, illustrator, painter, or teacher, although he was at various times all of these, but as a "lithographic designer" (*Testimonials*). Thus it is the practitioner (such as Dwiggins in coining the term graphic designer) who announces the arrival of the professional practice in New Zealand.

¹ Author of *How to Teach Drawing in Elementary Schools* (1889), *Ablett's Drawing Copies* (n.d.), *The Future of Drawing in Scientific Work and in General Education* (1917). Ablett wrote the Introduction to *Brushwork*, by Elizabeth Corbet Yeats, also applying for a patent (no. 14,381) for appliances for drawing and painting (1895). As the Hon. Secretary of the Royal Drawing Society his lectures for the Teacher's Certificates awarded by the Society were published in 1910. Many of Hawcridge's fellow pupils, such as Sir William Rothenstein and Ernest Sichel, went on to success as artists and educators.

² While any other degree of family relationship is unknown, Gilbert was not the brother of (Myles) Birket Foster, the noted engraver and illustrator, as claimed in *Invicta News*, 1.1 (June) 1945, 53.

³ Printing was one of Leeds' most important industries, in small and large printing houses and the local engineering companies, which produced printing machinery such as the 'Wharfedale' press and gave the city's industry an early advantage in colour printing. Cooke's was established in 1866 and noted for its chromolithography. By the end of the century it claimed to be the world's largest printworks and enjoyed Royal Patronage.

⁴ Using excerpts from pioneer Sydney lithographer John Degotardi's book *The Art of Printing in its Various Branches: With Specimens and Illustrations*, 1861.

⁵ For example through Edward Jerningham Wakefield's *Illustrations to Adventures in New Zealand*, published in London by Smith and Elder in 1845.

⁶ In the drive to be fully representative of the local printing trades, *Typo* published some material about lithography, for example on the leading American popular lithographer Louis Prang (27 Oct 1888); noting the invention of the airbrush for lithographic work (25 June 1887 41); and the invention of cheaper artificial stone (25 April 1891 55). Otherwise Harding rarely dealt with lithographic issues, despite the

indications of his library catalogue that he was an aficionado of book illustration. Twyman identifies the 'supremacy' of letterpress as part of the baggage lithography carried from its use for duplicating and for cheap print ("Panizzi" 171. Robertson labels it a protean but "improper" printing medium 77).

⁷ Local lithographic ephemera, comparable in variety with that produced overseas, is detailed by R. Johnston (511-529). In 1888 one of the first books produced here using chromolithographic illustrations, the *Art Album of New Zealand Flora* by Mr. and Mrs. E. H. Featon, caused enough financial stress to end the partnership of the printers, Bock & Cousins, of Wellington.

⁸ It is not known if Miss Maxwell practiced lithography. She had two engravings, "Natural Wonders of New Zealand" published in Harding's 1890 *Almanac* (192), and she advertised in *Typo* as an artist and engraver (29 September 1888 84). Hawcridge praised her wood engraving (*Typo* 28 December 1889 145, 26 April 1890 42) and it is likely she was the Miss Maxwell who exhibited paintings and designs with the OAS (*Otago Daily Times* 7427 4 December 1885 1), worked at the Dunedin Teachers' Training College and assisted Hawcridge with classes at the Art School ("Reports on the Dunedin School of Art" Appendix H 1910 46).

⁹ For Twyman, more than one colour (black as a colour) is what qualifies the term chromolithography, not an item printed in a single colour (8) or with tints.

¹⁰ Extant photographs of lithographic artists show them wearing suits and ties (Twyman *History* 412).

¹¹ Composed after the launch of the *Illustrated London News*.

The full text:

Discourse was deemed Man's noblest attribute,
And written words the glory of his hand;
Then followed Printing with enlarged command
For thought -- dominion vast and absolute
For spreading truth, and making love expand.
Now prose and verse sunk into disrepute
Must lackey a dumb Art that best can suit
The taste of this once-intellectual Land.
A backward movement surely have we here,
From manhood, -- back to childhood; for the age --
Back towards caverned life's first rude career.
Avaunt this vile abuse of pictured page!
Must eyes be all in all, the tongue and ear
Nothing? Heaven keep us from a lower stage!

http://www.litscape.com/author/William_Wordsworth/Illustrated_Books_And_Newspapers.html

02.09.2014.

¹² This controversy gained public notoriety through the libel case artist, lithographer, and proponent of a modern style, James Whistler brought against Ruskin in 1878 and which was well publicized in New Zealand.

¹³ Descriptions of processes were regularly published. See *Auckland Weekly News* June 26 1897 11 for an impressive account of chromolithography.

¹⁴ Hawcridge was following the woman he would marry, Jeanette Haigh.

¹⁵ The epithet of “well-behaved” would not go unnoticed at a time when the rise of labour problems and unionization was becoming an issue in the British printing industry. Lithographer’s Unions were not established in New Zealand until the first decade of the twentieth century (R. Johnston 222).

¹⁶ R. Johnston 292-302.

¹⁷ He was the Chairman of Jurors for “Photographs, Portraits and Landscapes” at the 1889-90 Dunedin South Seas Exhibition.

¹⁸ R. Johnston lists the international manufacturers whose inks were available here (234-5), as well as suppliers of calendared paper (196).

¹⁹ For example the colour reproduction of Kingsley-Smith’s illustration “A Maori Maiden” XI 1905-6.

²⁰ No record of Hawcridge’s wages has been found to date. R. Johnston has noted that Herbert Deverell, a skilled lithographic draughtsman and designer, was recruited by the Government Printer in Wellington in the 1870s at a salary of £400 per annum. This was at a time when a good compositor might get £3 pound a week, or less than half £400 in a year (222-223). It might be assumed Hawcridge’s shift to Wilkie’s from *The Tablet* included a strong financial incentive.

²¹ The firm was awarded a gold medal for lithography at this exhibition.

²² This impressive chromolithograph in ten colours, measuring 558 x 863 mms (22 x 34 inches) was a panorama of the city from the hills at Belleknowes “as perfect in detail as a map” (*Otago Witness* 2287 30 December 1897 16). Printed at Wilkie’s and published by Messrs V. J. Pricor and Co. it was sold at the time for 2/6d. It is a rare New Zealand chromolithograph in the style of a watercolour, a method which required advanced skills in the lithographer (Twyman *History* 167-8). In multiple, naturalistic colours and tints it has an applied grain mimicking handmade paper (672).

²³ In interesting synchronicity Twyman finds a “staff of artists” mentioned at the English firm of Francis Bedford and he suggests their anonymity indicates they are assistants to the lithographic designer (*History* 183).

²⁴ The names of some higher ranked employees are known, such as George Watts, working under Hawcridge then as manager, and Percy George (R. Johnston 247), lithographic foreman (ibid 244).

²⁵ Latour, Bruno. “A Cautious Promethea?” Oral aside at his conference presentation.

²⁶ The author’s copy was purchased from America, its provenance is unknown.

²⁷ The date of publication (1892) is frequently recorded as 1897. However the date of presentation written on the cover of this copy (1894), and a review of the book in the *Otago Daily Times* in 1892 (9530 12 September 1892 4) provide evidence 1892 is the correct date.

²⁸ From the 1880s mechanical tints, patented by American Benjamin Day (brand name Ben Day) were available in a considerable range of patterns and tones, mimicking crayon, stipple and line (Twyman *History* 495-9). Magnification of Hawcridge’s available lithographs suggest he made all such effects by hand.

²⁹ As he did for Benoni White, lithographic artist with A. D. Willis, Wanganui

³⁰ He even provided sketches and signatures for two of the ‘artists’ for an autograph book, now held in the Hocken Pictorial Collections and no doubt appreciated the praise Horace Wynne’s work was given in newspaper reviews; “the black and white is excellent, the graceful fancies in outline by Horace Wynne being specially noteworthy” (*Evening Post* LXX 139 9 December 1905 11), and “as before, the strong and spirited outline sketches signed “Horace Wynne” are among its most attractive features” (*Evening Post*

LXXI 29 3 February 1906 11). “Shirley Yorke” illustrated humorous sketches and yarns (unusual subject for a woman) with overstated characters and an exaggerated outline effective for emphasizing action.

³¹ For example *The Enemy at the Gate* (Hocken Pictorial Collections).

³² At this point an explication of the generic term Maori is apposite, as identity is as much by tribe (iwi), sub-tribe (hapu) or family (whanau) and also through physical and emotional landscapes. For Ihimaera “the notion of Maori identity is, in fact, problematic. There is no racial or full-blood definition ... Much of our identity has to do with whakapapa” (bloodlines). Consequently, there’s no one answer to the question who / what is Maori – people identify themselves” (14). For this study the unifying but generalist term Maori will be used throughout.

³³ Perhaps one of the most written about artists of the time, Hawcridge could not have avoided knowing of his doctrines before and after he came to New Zealand.

³⁴ Hamilton knew Hawcridge and his work from his time in Dunedin as Registrar of Otago University (1890-1904), when he published his influential *The Art and Workmanship of the Maori Race in New Zealand* (1896 – 1901). To Petersen “the tastes and values of the Arts and Crafts movement underpinned those of Augustus Hamilton, the person most responsible for raising the profile of Maori art around the turn of the century” (67).

³⁵ His work was exhibited in the New Zealand Centennial Exhibition in Wellington, 1940 (Platts 120).

³⁶ The *Studio* was copiously illustrated, informal, inexpensive, and followed new journalism, demonstrating “the dramatic and democratic transformation that modern methods could achieve in art publishing. The magazine championed pen-and-ink illustration and used process to depict new developments in art in a fresh and accessible way” (Beegan *Mass Image* 204).

³⁷ The description of the address presented to Mr. and Mrs Brough of the Brough Comedy Company, active in supporting the Patriotic Fund (for the Boer War), testifies as much to the visual literacy of the public as to Hawcridge’s mastery of the genre: “The address was a beautiful piece of work. The design, by Mr R. Hawcridge (of Messrs J. Wilkie and Co.), was in the dainty rococo and allegorical manner, created in the renaissance period of French art by François Boucher, whose influence is at present dominating decorative art. From a panel representing the region of stars, in which the Southern Cross is decoratively suggested, Cupids with castanets and tambourine are dragging, with harness of roses, a triumphal car, in which is seated a female deity typical of the dramatic art. She raises her savage mask to see, with evident pleasure, a floral offering which is being borne upwards to her by an amorette. Sprays of forget-me-nots, raising their heads, desirous of reaching the goddess, complete a composition equally charming in colour and arrangement. The address was in album form, bound in green calf gilt, with a sunken panel and buff calf, worked in repoussé. This, also original work, is from a design by the same artist. It contains a trophy of masks, combined with a thyrus and a torch, which are intertwined with a spray of laurel.” (“The Brough Company at the Princess Theatre” *Otago Witness* 2267 12 August 1897 39)

³⁸ In the detailed description of this address this page is described as “pure Japanese” and in the genre of addresses “an entire innovation” (*ODT* 10029 21 April 1894 2)

³⁹ Inset into the cover is a chromolithograph by Hawcridge of a blacksmith by his anvil, looking out to the right (in the direction of the page opening) suggesting the manual worker looking with confidence to his future when toil is over.

⁴⁰ Hawcridge's lettering skills are of too high a professional standard for him not to have been trained, when hand lettering was an integral part of lithographic apprenticeships (Twyman *History* 89-90).

⁴¹ Stevan Eldred-Grigg in his revisionist study of the First World War considers the way the state and imperialist sections of the community "worked hard to make the children serve [the] war" (298) and aggressively developed cults of militarism and imperialism in schools (96). As a designer Hawcridge may have held contrary views to his paid work, but his activities fundraising for the Boer and the Great War and the visual and textual rhetoric of his self-written *Souvenir of the Great War* for school children, aligns him with imperialist views.

⁴² Hawcridge's artistic skills and versatility arguably place him ahead of these. White's poor figure drawing and eccentric lettering in particular suggesting his training (in Ireland) was not as extensive.

⁴³ The South Kensington System was the name for a British Government sponsored programme of drawing and design education, developed on the impetus of Henry Cole following public concern over the poor standard of manufactures at the Great Exhibition of 1851. It had the aim of training designers for industry and developed a National System of Art Instruction that was taught in most provincial schools in Britain, and in advanced levels in art schools. Its complex hierarchy of awards and titles conferred respectability on the arts and its success became an issue of national unity. It was a popular export to America and the British colonies and the founding heads of the first four New Zealand art schools had trained under the system and eventually affiliated their schools to the programme. As a result it influenced art education here for many decades, despite being abandoned in 1913 (Cantlon 10). By the turn of the century the system was promoting Arts and Crafts style. The main criticism of the system was its abject failure to train designers for industry, its focus on copying rather than invention, and its rigidly bureaucratic hierarchy of exams (Denis).

⁴⁴ G. Brown, Calhoun, Miller, Otago Education Board, Tomlin, and through Hawcridge's own reports published in the *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives*.

⁴⁵ One example is the five guineas prize offered by the Westport Coal Company (through Dunedin businessman Mr. G. Joachim) for a calendar design (ODT 14891 21 July 1910 3). The aims of the School were also well supported by the City Council and the Trades and Labour Council (see for example "School of Art: Opening of New Arts and Crafts Rooms" ODT 15770 22 May 1913 8)

⁴⁶ One of Dunedin's eminent architects, responsible for the Dunedin Town Hall. He was also an Arts and Crafts proponent ("Local and General" *Otago Witness* 2249 8 April 1897 23).

⁴⁷ The London County Council School of Photoengraving and Lithography, begun as the Bolt Technical School, by 1900 had around 400 students. However long term it was not very successful or popular and numbers declined thereafter (Beegan *Mass Image* 96). Smythe records lithography being taught at Elam School of Art and Seddon Memorial Technical College (named in 1913) in Auckland at the end of the nineteenth century but does not supply references (94).

⁴⁸ Belich also describes such flag waving patriotism as a new part of the state school indoctrinations (118).

⁴⁹ The commentary provides ample evidence how difficult it is to convey the full meanings of one image in text, and that the two are not equivalent. "Surmounted by the Royal Crest, the title of the certificate is in plain lettering. Upon the left is a space for the theatres of war served in, and on the right for the name of the soldier. Below this is the New Zealand coat of arms, with fern leaves. A little lower down, on the left, is a typically New Zealand scene, immediately below which, extending to the bottom of the

certificate, is a frame of Maori carving to contain further particulars. The Navy at sea occupies the full centre of the design, and below it are the Lion and his cubs, the former with a paw on the breast of a vanquished eagle, whose broken wing spreads over the right-hand bottom to form a footstool for Britannia, with shield and trident, who is holding on her knee the scroll of Imperial fame upon which a New Zealand soldier, holding with one hand his rifle and bayonet, is writing his country's name. A border of roses surrounds the whole, with the shamrock and thistle in a place of honour by Britannia's side." (*Oamaru Mail* XLIV 14745 21 July 1920 4).

⁵⁰ It cannot be discounted that Hawcridge was also influenced by the informality and veracity of drawings by soldiers at the Front such as ex-pupils Ernest Thompson and William Bell (See Eldred-Grigg 269).

⁵¹ The high symbolic value of the Certificate of Service was underlined in September 2000 when the New Zealand Government formally pardoned the five New Zealand soldiers executed in World War One for military offences and presented the descendants with the Certificate (*New Zealand Listener* 248 3905 (March 21-27) 2015: 54-5).

⁵² For example in the development of 'types' and ethnicities in representations of people.

Chapter Four

Native Talent: *New Zealand Graphic and Ladies' Journal*

Introduction: Composite Design

Beegan has judged “the active and complex layouts of type and image in the process-illustrated magazines mark the beginning of modern graphic design” (*Mass Image* 38). Chapter Four extends the previous two chapters by considering a local variant within the international rise of illustrated magazines through a case study of the weekly *New Zealand Graphic and Ladies' Journal*, 1890 to 1913. This genre presents itself as an exemplar for the modern design examined by Giedion in *Mechanization Takes Command*, plural, systematic, often anonymous, mechanized production (719), utilising new technologies and visually innovative. As composite, not singular objects, magazines were the industrialised product of the division of labour between “editors, advertisers, journalists, illustrators, typographers, designers, art directors,” recording “the incredibly complicated flow of life in a breadth of detail that is unavailable in any other medium” (Jeremy Aynsley and Kate Forde 2). This very multiplicity challenged visual coherence and their popularity made magazines a focus for the typographic criticisms of design reform and anxieties related to image reproduction. As “a general terrain of multiple activity” (Fry *Design History Australia* 32), the magazine’s ubiquitous, everyday presence qualifies it as an archetypal common object (*Ibid*).

By tracing networks of influence locally and internationally, the aim of this chapter, encompassing the two Research Questions, is to investigate what governed the magazine’s visual form and semantics in editorial and advertising material and the role given to design. In agreeing with Sinnema that the commercial is the primary motivating force and subtext of the genre (205), the relationship between a magazine and its audience becomes critical for appraising why and how imported forms (themselves modified by location)¹ are appropriated and adapted. Apprehending change as a response to demand, including that of topicality, the further aim of the chapter is to evaluate the contribution of the design of the magazine to local society and culture consistent with Fallan’s argument that design is a practice that engages discourses, beliefs and relationships (7). In their emphasis on the visual as well as the pictorial, it is accepted that illustrated magazines played a crucial role in the creation of the

professional practice of graphic design (Beegan, Aynsley and Forde, Thomson) and this study will seek evidence for this in New Zealand.

In structure the chapter begins by examining the form and international popularity of periodicals, their presence in New Zealand, the establishment of local magazines, and the complex relationships of industry, art, economics, audience and reception. The main study of the *New Zealand Graphic* is diachronic and follows the methodology of earlier generic studies by Cynthia White, Reed, and Ellen Garvey, by using significant primary data to categorise and chart content. It extends these with analysis of the visual form of the magazine as a design artifact, where “layout, the kind of paper used, the size of the magazine, typefaces, column width, the number of columns, and the space between lines all carry rhetorical messages that intentionally and unintentionally influence and persuade the reader of the significance and meaning of the magazine and its contents.” (Beegan “Industrialization” 212).

For coherence data and analysis are organised into two sections, the first studies Weekly issues, including Supplements and Special issues, and the second the Christmas Numbers. In each, editorial and advertising material is separated. While acknowledging Garvey’s contention that the relationship between advertising and editorial in women’s magazines at this time was so symbiotic that to split them is to distort the readers’ experience (*Adman* 4), this separation is justified by significant differences in the local variant. The weekly *New Zealand Graphic* was not exclusively a women’s magazine and featured far less advertising (in the issues studied never more than 21% and an even smaller number targeting women) than those published overseas (according to Reed, by 1900 in all leading American magazines, advertising “outstripped the editorial pages,” 72). In both sections editorial design is studied sequentially, through analysis of mastheads and first pages or covers, layout and typography, and illustration (image reproduction technology, style and iconography of the sketch and process line blocks, style and iconography of the photograph). For weekly issues this is followed by the study of advertisements, international and local. The persistent themes of gender and ethnicity that emerge in the weekly magazine are considered. Supplements and special issues are accorded a brief estimation of purpose, form, and audience. This order is reversed for the Christmas numbers, advertising is studied first, then editorial matter, and the way it is distinguished by different uses of typography and image and the distinctive role of covers in catering to an expanded audience. The dominant tropes of

modernity and indigeneity using stereotyped scenic, gender, and ethnic representations are considered with regard to formations of identity in settler societies.

Context

Precedents: converging and diverging

This chapter owes much to earlier work, while seeking a different emphasis. The studies by Garvey and Reed build on those of White on the women's press in the nineteenth century (1970), Margaret Beetham on the content and gendering of women's magazines (1996), and Frank Mott's comprehensive history of American magazines and their context (1938-68). These are all situated in Western centres of production and are strongly text based. They acknowledge the increasing importance of design in editorial and advertising but omit it from analysis, with the result the visual codes of text and image, which defined the illustrated magazine of the time, remain submerged, as if their presence simply and naturally speaks for itself. Reed notes how the appearance of magazines expressed their content, and was used to confer a market edge (10, 53, 68). Garvey observes that the new American magazines of the 1890s "took advantage of new technologies and economies of scale to offer more illustrations and livelier layouts than the elite magazines" (9), and Beetham writes of "the steady increase in the importance of illustration against letterpress" in *Woman* in the 1890s, but it is not within their brief to offer substantive supporting data. They are of great importance in considering how the growing force of advertising also shaped the magazine by helping build new markets and habits of consumption, returning enviable profits to publishers while contributing to popular knowledge and visual culture. Beegan attributes the success of the magazines to the public desire for images (*Mass Image* 42) which, while both serving and complimenting textual content, were nonetheless the key element in this mélange as illustrated magazines became "innovators in image production and their fragmented and miscellaneous structure was ideally suited to the insertion of a variety of illustrations" (ibid). They attracted the eye, informed, diverted and amused, and developed the habit of reading in the middle classes that matched the circumstances of waged employment and urban commuting (Reed 93).

Among print historians Kinross's focus on book and small press design and typography leaves magazine design relegated to the low stream of trade aesthetics and the prizing of technical ingenuity over "taste" (40). Twyman acknowledges the importance of

illustrated magazines for their use of image reproduction technology in the late nineteenth century, but considers them as a genre *en masse* the banal equivalent of television today (*Printing History* 95). Among graphic design historians Meggs accords them their place in the development and use of new technology, while his writing demonstrates a sympathetic response to their vitality and graphic innovation. Heller locates the beginnings of American graphic design in the increasing artistry of advertisements (436), many seen in imported magazines and on the pages of the *New Zealand Graphic* for products available here. They demonstrate how style becomes an active signifier for gaining attention and stimulating desire and consumption. Unfortunately Heller does not go further in considering that the vehicle of the advertisements, the illustrated magazine, could make a stronger claim to being “the engine of *style*” (ibid).

In New Zealand, R. Johnston considers the *Auckland Weekly News* and the *New Zealand Graphic* are comparable pictorial productions (440), with the *New Zealand Graphic* able to be called the country’s first illustrated paper by virtue of being “conceived in the magazine style, concentrated on the visual side of reportage” (441). Her wide and detailed history of colour in New Zealand print does not consider design apart from some generalised comments — the introduction of “spatter style” chromolithographs towards the end of the 1890s is noted (438) and the comment made “by 1908, the cover of the *Auckland Weekly News* had an almost modern look” (439). Yet what these passing observations indicate is important: the “spatter-style”, first used in Art Nouveau posters by Toulouse-Lautrec in the early 1890s, indicates the rapid circulation of stylistic techniques, while a “modern look” suggests simplicity and a tendency to geometry in both type and image. The visual messages these convey, particularly in a market that has been brought up on imported products, is arguably as important as the technical abilities to print in colour, particularly when the audience expands beyond these shores, as it did for the *New Zealand Graphic*.

Magazine modernity: composition and form

Nineteenth century illustrated magazines grew internationally with the rise of capitalism and fully exploited the industrialization of printing (Aynsley and Forde 4-5). They are technologically important for being among the first to utilise new paper making techniques, inks, rotary web perfecting presses with curved stereotype plates, mechanical production of type matrices and typesetting, and reproductive

photomechanical technologies for line, tone and eventually colour images (Reed 27-45). These technologies, which came into use in New Zealand by or during the 1890s, led to the diversification of magazines from a primarily literary genre to one defined by a significant proportion of pictorial material (for this study over 25%), and their visual appearance, allied to their unique construction, made them socially and culturally important (Beegan *Mass Image* 42-44, 99). Garvey, in her study of commerce and magazines, links the miscellany of short fragmented articles, snippets and images demanding only short attention spans with the *grand magasin* or department store and its shop floor and window displays offering a form of open consumption, for looking as much as for reading, and diversion by novelty and entertainment (*Adman in the Parlor* 3-4). Similarly, Beegan in his studies of nineteenth century image reproduction, finds the source of the term in the Arabic makhazin or warehouse, where a wide range of goods is on view (*Mass Image* 9). This semantic content, signaling compositional variety, an emphasis on visual display and browsing, distinguishes ‘magazine’ from the synonyms ‘journal’, ‘periodical’ and ‘serial’, when used to indicate something published sequentially. With magazines, ephemerality is a virtue, yet the term holds a central paradox, the reader must have the ability to return to the spectacle through a regular, predictable, publication schedule (usually weekly or monthly) with continuity of visual identity and content, while at the same time anticipate novelty and change (Aynsley and Forde 1). Despite the more serious term ‘journal’ in the full title, ‘magazine’ is the most apt term for the *New Zealand Graphic*, which throughout its lifetime carried typical magazine content, of “comment, gossip, news of celebrities, entertainment coverage, sports reports, and fashion” (Beegan *Mass Image* 42).

‘Piccadilly in Puhoi’: Illustrated magazines imported into New Zealand

Nineteenth century immigrants valued links to their home country (primarily Britain), and news from it in (if already out-dated) newspapers and magazines. At the same time, there is evidence that, from membership of Empire and the venture of immigration to the far side of the world, they had a global consciousness and actively sought to access a wide range of information. As well they needed to learn about the new land they had come to settle and the progression of its development. A sense of inferiority, the ‘cultural cringe’ of early twentieth century New Zealand arts and literature (Belich 326-331), is not often found in the nineteenth century. Settlers repeatedly expressed their belief they were creating a “Better Britain” of the South Seas, at the same time as they sought to maintain the sense they were, confidently, very much a part of a wider and

progressively modernising world (21). The supreme medium for dissemination of local and international information was print (Ballantyne *Thinking Local* 145). Ballantyne's study of the intellectual life of Gore, a typical small town in the late nineteenth century, notes print material provided in clubs, libraries, athenaeums, reading rooms and improvement societies was "central to processes of community formation and key sites for the cultivation of political understanding and literary taste" (150). Against evidence of the wide dissemination of popular magazines, he strangely omits these from his study, recording only the *New Zealand Country Journal* and Henry Brett's *New Zealand Farmer*. Yet magazines, integrating fiction and social commentary with advertising, profusely illustrated and skilfully designed, should not be negligible subjects for historians, despite the traditional subordination of the visual to text. No matter how brief the lifetime, the material for its moment is widely seen, becomes of, and forms, daily culture (During, Hall) and New Zealanders' participation in the flourishing magazine industry, as well as the enthusiastic consumption of the imported product, is evidence the population (even in Gore) were fully immersed in the culture of magazines. This is hardly unusual, as items of trade periodical publications traversed the (mainly English-speaking) world and were the paper and ink arteries of the British Empire (Ballantyne, "What Difference Does Colonialism Make?").

The multitude of references found in the daily press reveals the constant presence of magazines in society and their value in culture. Booksellers advertised the arrival of new books, magazines and papers with each overseas mail and appealed for advance orders (Fig. 4.1). Circulating and public libraries published lists of their periodicals (Fig. 4.2), and magazines were an essential attraction for clubs and institutes. Local firms offered services for binding magazines, transforming the ephemeral to the permanent and collected, and bound and unbound, magazines were regular fare at local auctions (Fig. 4.3). Indications they circulated well beyond their first purchase are further confirmed by their use as charitable donations (Fig. 4.4), and as targets for theft (Fig. 4.5). Their inclusion in cargo lists suggests their proportionate value (Fig. 4.6), and shipping news so regularly announced the arrival of "passengers and periodicals" that it is hard to judge which were most eagerly awaited (Fig. 4.7). It would seem there was no part of the country where the latest magazine was not anticipated and consumed.

FRANKLIN'S BOOK ASSOCIATION,
85 AND 88 GEORGE STREET.

NEXT YEAR, NEXT YEAR. Orders for Magazines, Periodicals, and Newspapers should be sent now. Orders to be accompanied with amount of Subscription. Annual Subscriptions (with and without postage) are:—Young Ladies' Journal, 14s and 18s; Family Herald, 10s and 11s 6d; Family Reader, 10s and 12s; do (quarterly division), 7s 6d and 8s 6d; Something to Read, 10s and 12s; do (quarterly division), 7s 6d and 8s 6d; London Journal, 10s and 12s; Cassell's Magazine, 10s and 12s 6d; Chambers' Journal, 10s and 12s 6d; Leisure Hour, Sunday at Home, Good Words, 10s and 12s (extra numbers included); The Idler, Strand Magazine, Cornhill, &c., 9s and 11s; English Mechanic, 2s (posted); The Engineer, Engineering, 40s and 42s; Illustrated London News, Graphic, 35s and 40s; Myra's Journal of Fashion, 9s and 12s; Weldon's Ladies' Journal of Dress, Fashion, and Needlework (divisions), 6s and 7s 6d; Weldon's Illustrated Dress-maker (divisions), 5s and 6s 6d; Diaries for 1893. Stationer, Bookbinder, Paper Ruler, Account Book Manufacturer, Printer, Agent for the Publications of the New Zealand Government.

ALEXANDER SLIGO,
42 GEORGE STREET, DUNEDIN.

BOYS' OWN ANNUAL, GIRLS' OWN ANNUAL. Little Wide-Awake, English Illustrated Magazine, Our Little Dots, Infants' Magazine, Children's Friend, Child's Companion, Young England. Barrack Room Ballads, by Rudyard Kipling, 7s; A Soldier's Children, by John Strange Winter, 4s; Portraits and Autographs, 1s 3d; A Wake-up, 1s.

4.1. *Otago Daily Times* 5 December 1892 3 c6.

CANTERBURY COLLEGE.

CHRISTCHURCH PUBLIC LIBRARY.

THERE are OVER TWELVE THOUSAND BOOKS in the Circulating Department.

Nearly thirty-two separate Magazines and Periodicals, and large numbers of New Books, are
RECEIVED EVERY MONTH.

F. G. STEDMAN,
Registrar.

Registrar's Office, Canterbury College,
May 30th, 1890. 6563

4.2. *Press* 31 May 1890 1 c4.

Hugh Conway, Bret Harte, Mark Twain, Hawley Smart, Du Boisgobey, Gaboriau, the Globe series of Detective stories
&c., &c., &c.

MAGAZINES—Bound numbers of Illustrated London News, from 1875 to 1881
Bound numbers of The Graphic, from 1878 to 1882
Bound numbers of Good Words, from 1878 to 1883
Bound numbers of Chambers' Journal, from 1861 to 1883
Bound numbers of The Nineteenth Century, from 1878 to 1882
Harper's Monthly, London Society, The Argosy, Xmas Annals, 1879 to 1881, Belgravia, Temple Bar, Family Herald, Leisure Hour
&c., &c., &c.

4.3. *Evening Post* 9 April 1891 3 c5.

The Superintendent of the Home for the Aged Needy, Adelaide-road, desires to thank the following for their thoughtful kindness to the old people under his care:—Mrs. Jon. Burn, for pastry, carpet, and periodicals; Mrs. W. R. Williams, for pastry, apples, and periodicals; Miss Woodward, for periodicals; and Mrs. E. Richardson, for a number of books.

4.4. *Evening Post* 14 February 1895 2 c5.

A despicable practice has sprung up amongst some frequenters of the Public Library of purloining portions of the illustrated papers and magazines in the reading-room. Three whole pages have been torn out of the last number of St. James' Budget, while there is not another journal in the room which has not been cut about. An illustration of the German Emperor's yacht was snipped out of one paper in less than an hour after the journal had been placed on the table. The practice of mutilation has assumed such a serious aspect that the authorities are taking special steps to ensure the detection of future offenders.

4.5. *Evening Post* 4 September 1893 3.

FROM CAPE TOWN.—Cynisca, barque, 840 tons, RJTB.

IMPORTS.

(SPECIAL NOTICE.—Consignees desirous of having their names appear in this part of our columns, together with their consignments, may have the same inserted on payment of a small charge.)

Per Anglian, from Sydney: 1000 felloes, 25 bbls kapok, 15 cases 10½ chests tea, 608 bags 192 mats sugar, 84 cases sewing machines, 90 do starch, 144 kegs nails, 50 casks whiting, 206 bags bone dust, 30 cases jam, 19 acid cases, 20 sacks maize, 230 half cases fruit, 5 double cases fruit, 36 cases jam, 21 cases syrup, 10 sacks pease, 10 cases nails, 124 boxes soap, 8 cases paper, 40 bales hemp, 10 casks resin, 1 cash register, 7 cases periodicals, 30 cases chicory, 23 cases whisky, 2 quarter-casks wine, 150 bars iron, 2 tons rivets, 1 case bottles, 1 case envelopes, 14 cases, 20 pkgs sundries.

4.6. *Otago Daily Times* 3 August 1895 1.

The National Mortgage and Agency Company received the following wire on Saturday from Wellington:—"Coptic arrived last night; periodicals and part passengers Omapere to night; remainder and cargo Penguin Thursday."

4.7. *Otago Daily Times* 13 February 1893 1.

A tentative judgement of the imported magazines popular with New Zealanders can be made from titles advertised in the hundreds by booksellers throughout the country. One example is the *Monthly Record* (amalgamated with *Typo* 28 March 1891) featuring a “Price List of English and American Periodicals supplied by Lyon & Blair.” Large increases in cost against the cover charge, and the division into town and country prices suggest some include shipping or postal fees,² waived by importers Gordon & Gotch in 1890 because of the sheer volume of traffic (*Auckland Star* 30 August 1890 3). Of the 134 titles, 114 qualify as a magazine or periodical rather than a daily newspaper, and can also be traced to publishers (not every magazine title can be traced to a country of origin). Of these, 92 are British and 22 American.³ Following Reed’s circulation-based criteria, they are not always representative of the most popular publications in their countries of origin, however three from America, *Scribner’s Monthly*⁴, *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine* and *Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*, are among the ten best-selling American magazines for the year 1890 (Reed 61, 236-8, 243). Aimed at a middle-class market, they were printed by Harding’s friend Theodore De Vinne, a major influence on international typographic reform (Cost 87-89), and whose *Century* typeface was the first specifically designed for a periodical (Chapell and Bringhurst 221). Consequently, they were magazines of high repute and influential through their design and print values.⁵ Also on Lyon & Blair’s list is Britain’s commercially triumphant and visually influential weekly, the *Illustrated London News* (6d), and four others on Reed’s seven top British titles of the time: *Boy’s Own Paper*, and *Girl’s Own Paper* (1d), *Family Herald: A Domestic Magazine of Useful Information & Amusement* (2d), and the *Strand* (6d). While the title lists are dominated by London publications, there is a gradual increase in American magazines as the decade passes. Mrs Izett of Manchester Street, Christchurch, advertises regularly in the *Press* as an “American Newsagent”, listing the prestigious *Harper’s* as well as cheap weeklies such as the comic *Puck* (7 January 1895 1).

The extraordinary range of magazines advertised is part of the growth of what Garvey calls the “new readership” (9-10), in a period described by Reed as “vernal” for magazines (91). As prices fell with new printing technologies and revenue from advertising, magazines for new interests such as mechanics, science, agriculture, and sport proliferated. Their variety appealed to a far from homogenous market of widely diverse incomes and interests but many they remained specialist. The circulation of established illustrated and women’s magazines also rose.⁶ Imported magazines kept the

New Zealand public abreast of the symbolic visual language of the age in both commercial and editorial material, and demonstrate Kriegel's contention that the "explosion of print culture brought aesthetic appreciation and artistic pursuits to an expanding public sphere in unprecedented ways" (22). They publicised art and design when it became of national concern (for example "The Progressive Art Movement" 13 November 1912 32-36) and the quality magazines set benchmarks for illustration, technology and graphic style for both the audience and makers of the local product.

Brave Ventures: A local history of illustrated magazines.

Imported magazines could connect New Zealand to the wider world but they could not comment on, respond to, or allow participation in local concerns. To meet this need, and to allay feelings of deprivation from irregular shipping in the colonial period, the first magazines produced here were in title at least, imitations of what had been known in Britain. Ian Grant records that while the London *Punch* "regularly made the long sea voyage to the new colony", its formula unleashed energetic local copies in all the main centres, "at least five calling themselves *New Zealand Punch*," with probably more than a dozen in total by the 1880s (*Unauthorized Version* 8). While these rudimentary and short-lived imitations may never have seen the light of day in England, and while they may have been completely unsuccessful at competing with the original, this was probably not their prime motivation. They gave voice to issues of the here and now, and a chance for talent to find expression here.

Viable local periodicals were the weekly editions published by the main daily newspapers. Known in Britain as 'budgets', they gathered together much of the news and illustrations from the previous week (Beegan *Mass Image* 42). The *Auckland Weekly News*, 1863-1971 (originally subtitled: *A Journal of Commerce, Agriculture, Politics, Literature and Art*)⁷ provided the main competition to the *New Zealand Graphic*, although the respective titles clearly differentiated their genre. The *Weekly News* served the growing, rural population of Auckland province, a model other newspaper weeklies followed.⁸ The 1902 *Cyclopedia of New Zealand* described the content as covering "every phase of farming life, and special sections are devoted to reports from country districts, to sporting, athletics, market quotations, to ecclesiastical news, to mining and agriculture, the garden, the farm, the dairy, exhibitions, and poultry" and included several pages of fiction, "interesting and instructive literature for the family circle" (271).

As a primarily manufactured product, born of technology and commerce, magazines grew with the concentration of settlement into urban centres creating base markets, and the establishment of infrastructures of transport and postal networks allowing expansion of distribution. The *New Zealand Graphic* was established as the European population began a significant increase in towns (Scholefield 22). At the same time, the country was becoming unified, physically by road, rail,⁹ and telegraph networks, and psychologically by feelings of distinctiveness and separateness, if within the bounds of Empire (Belich 21), for the first time allowing a local periodical to become effectively national. With the advent of international telegraph services in 1876, the United Press Association began in 1879 and newspapers no longer had to rely on the shipping of printed overseas papers for belated news, helping the stability of the local newspaper industry. In the 1890s newspapers became consolidated into larger concerns operating from the main towns (Griffith, Harvey, Maslen 129-130), more willing and able to risk the high capital investment in technologies that reduced the price of production and kept them visually competitive (R. Johnston 568). The rise of business confidence led to a surge of speculative local periodical production, against the well-established imports.

Henry Brett, owner of the *Auckland Star* and founder of the *New Zealand Graphic*, ignored the ‘budget’ format and looked to overseas models for his ventures into periodical publishing. His first, *New Zealand Illustrated Tit-bits*, was advertised as containing “beside original matter, carefully selected extracts from the best English, American, and Australian journals” (*Auckland Star* 24 December 1885 2), the title a direct copy of *Tit-bits* (*from all the most interesting books periodicals and contributors in the world*), begun by George Newnes in 1881. *Tit-bits* was itself a model of ‘scissor and paste’ journalism,¹⁰ selecting an eclectic but entirely textual range of material from other printed sources. This formula, and the range of ambitious promotional competitions Newnes ran, made it a huge commercial success (Reed 87), and a prime example of the atomized eclecticism of the late nineteenth-century magazine. Predictably, *Tit-bits* itself was widely plagiarised, Reed notes “after six months there were 12 imitators, another half-year there were 22” (89). “Our London Correspondent” in the *Auckland Star* noted nine “similar journalistic ventures” starting in the last six weeks, naming one, *Scraps*, with images and cartoons, as one of the few likely to last (22 December 1893 1). Teaser ads for *New Zealand Illustrated Tit-bits* offered the enticements of competitions, fiction, no advertising, comic illustrations and cartoons, for a cheap 2d. McKay defines it as “a comic paper, lithographed throughout” (231).

In 1887, Brett began the very successful *New Zealand Farmer* agricultural journal, still extant under changed ownership, then in June 1888, a new magazine *New Zealand Family Friend* is advertised in the place of *New Zealand Illustrated Tit-bits*. The title is suggestive of the long running British *Family Herald*,¹¹ known for its devotion to fiction (69%) and wholesome general topics (Reed 83). It was however entirely textual, whereas *New Zealand Family Friend* had “first-class illustrations, and a number of humorous sketches” (*Auckland Star* 21 August 1888 4). McKay categorises it as a woman’s magazine (231), but as well as fiction, fashion and children’s sections it also had nonfiction and sports news, judiciously mixing international events with local history and interest. It advertised widely (*Press* 20 September 1888 1, 7 January 1889 3) and had content reprinted (*Otago Daily Times* 6 August 1888 2, *Otago Witness* 2 November 1888 26). In essence the *New Zealand Family Friend* was a locally modified product attempting to attract a national audience in a small market. McKay notes of Brett’s pioneer magazines that, “for a then population of about 25,000 people, remote from other centres except by intermittent coastal services, these publications were ambitious in the extreme” (231). As experimental combinations, *New Zealand Illustrated Tit Bits* and *New Zealand Family Friend* provided Brett with his dry run for the *New Zealand Graphic and Ladies’ Journal*, and issue 1 of May 31, 1890 was confusingly numbered Vol. VI, No 22, as it incorporated the two previous publications.

Industry, Art and Economics

The *New Zealand Graphic and Ladies’ Journal* ran until 15 February 1908, when the title changed to the *Weekly Graphic and New Zealand Mail*. On 25 June 1913, it was sold to the firm of Wilson and Horton and subsumed into the rival *Auckland Weekly News*, and the Christmas numbers incorporated into Brett’s *New Zealand Christmas Annual*, nonetheless it had retained the respect of the trade and its reputation for quality until the end (McKay “Sir Henry Brett” 104). It was independent by title and genre from the *Auckland Star* but profited from the relationship. While there was no official auditing bureau, in 1894 the *Star* advertised a verified daily circulation of 11, 216 copies daily (23 August 3), in 1898 15, 325 (Harvey 61), claiming to be “the most widely circulated paper in New Zealand” (Michael Brett). It was described by the 1902 *Cyclopedia of New Zealand* as “one of the greatest successes known in New Zealand journalism” (126). The *Auckland Star* was typically also a job printer and the departments of lithography, engraving, and letterpress at the “Star Printing and Lithographic Works”¹² were the

home of the technologies and skills that the *New Zealand Graphic* utilised, as well as earning the capital to launch it.¹³ It was also well known, if not notorious, for the training and employment of female compositors, Harvey recording “about 50 (5 men, 45-50 women)” in 1890 earning on average £1 per week, a third of the wages paid to men (76-7). One was Emily Gibson, a suffragist and Labour Party pioneer (Charlotte McDonald 325-327, Sandra Coney 32, 48). Sutch considered printing owed its progress to aesthetic “advances in design and layout” (168) which through the value added by the skilled worker (170), qualified it as the country’s most important secondary industry. To date, little is known of the specific practices, collaborative or otherwise, of these anonymous tradesmen and women such as Gibson, but from the obvious attention to visual form they likely followed processes and organisation standard overseas. Typically, “In most illustrated weeklies a dummy was made up by the assistant editor a week before publication, with spaces for photographs and drawings decided on first and the texts then arranged around them. The art editor then chose and briefed the illustrators. After the illustrations were completed and the text proofed, the editor would cut up the columns of text and the images to adjust the balance and harmony of the pages” (Shorter as cited by Beegan *Mass Image* 162 n.9)

In 1890, Henry Brett and his editor and business partner Thomson Wilson Leys were respectively 47 and 40 years old. British born they had worked in newspapers all their lives and in Auckland were developing a publishing enterprise of books, handbooks, a regular colonist’s guide, and almanacs. In combination they were enormously successful and aware of the commercial, technical, and visual requirements for contemporary printing, both becoming managing directors of Brett’s Printing and Publishing Company in 1900. As members of New Zealand’s wealthy classes they regularly travelled overseas (Britain, Europe, America) and in common with many publishers here, such as James Wilkie and A. D. Willis, were pillars of the community with high social status. Their obituaries record in detail their newspaper publishing, philanthropic works, and contributions to the growth of community, educational, and arts institutions, but no tributes were paid to their magazine publishing (Brett *Auckland Star* 21 January 1927 8, Leys 29 September 1924 4).¹⁴ It is not recorded if Leys was the first editor of the *New Zealand Graphic*, but by the twentieth century this crucial position was held by arts and drama critic W. E. Rathbone, formerly a London journalist, replaced in 1909 by author and town planning advocate Charles C. Reade,¹⁵ the continuing combination of professionalism, business acumen, and artistic sensibility helping explain the magazine’s

appeal and relative longevity. A further factor in the energised magazine production of the 1890s was vigorous competition (Reed 91),¹⁶ the price sensitivity of the market critical to success (105, Garvey *Adman* 9). The first issue of the *New Zealand Graphic* certainly represented value for money against imported and local competition. The *Auckland Weekly News* was £1 2s 6d per annum, single copies 6d, in 1888 (R. Johnston 426) whereas *New Zealand Graphic* was £1 per annum, 10/- six monthly, 5/- quarterly, (with free post to mail subscribers) for 20 pages, all editorial material plus a bi-fold supplement. Initially advertised at 6d a copy, Brett dropped the price to 4d by the issue date, although in the first year he took no advertising revenue.

Constructing the reader

Brett promised his *New Zealand Graphic* readers content that “can be read aloud in any home” (*Auckland Star* 18 June 1890 4). Confident his audience, educated by imported magazines, had the discrimination to be appreciative of high printing and design standards, and aware of the role of style and fashion, he offered “smartness, reliability, freedom from vulgarity” (30 August 1893 3), “an illustrated weekly journal superior to anything previously brought out in New Zealand” (29 May 1890 1), and “a bright, smart society paper for smart people”, “the organ of the cultured classes” (30 August 1893 3). From the outset the selling point was “the high standard of excellence” (26 May 1890 4, McKay “Sir Henry Brett” 231) of the fiction, current affairs, features for the ladies and, most consistently, the illustrations, for their ‘artistic’ qualities and technical reproduction. Throughout 1890 regular advertisements focus on their profusion, “the pictures being equal to any produced in the English Illustrated Papers,” with “the Ladies’ Columns and Fashion Plates specially catered for” (*Christchurch Star* 29 April 1890 1). Readers were attracted with previews of each issue and encouraged to “post one to your friend in the country” (*Auckland Star* 18 June 1890 4). The textual rhetoric of “the very latest”, “exciting events of the day”, “current notes”, “recent news,” emphasised topicality, as did changes in the visual codes carrying meanings, aesthetic, social, and commercial. Over 23 years these allow the appraisal of influences from elsewhere, and of those specific to place, as a policy was ‘puffed’ of the “cordial encouragement of the native artist ... giving place to all that is best among the literary and art products of the colony, which can find suitable expression in its pages” (31 May 1890 8). The title appellation “New Zealand” implied identity was an essential component of the periodical’s political and material composition and ‘nationalised’ audience, to the extent even apparently insignificant topics selected for visual

representation communicated the magazine's fundamental presuppositions about the world it strove to picture and the readers it attempted to captivate (Sinnema 85).

Weekly Issues Editorial: turning the changing page

1890

The title *New Zealand Graphic and Ladies' Journal*, references the esteemed London publication the *Graphic*, itself modeled on the long established *Illustrated London News*, (Sinnema 19-20) and astutely combines it with the reliably remunerative women's magazine. Viewed or held in the hand, the *New Zealand Graphic* immediately conveyed a message of identity. In size it remained throughout its life 16 x 11 inches (400 x 290cm), a folded sheet of 'Large News' size printing paper (32 x 22 inches) known in America as 'Imperial', the same size and price as the *Illustrated London News*, the *Graphic*, and the American *Ladies' Home Journal*. It was advertised as being "printed on superfine calendered [white coated] paper equal to the paper used by those magazines" (*Auckland Star* 26 May 1890 4), the thin sheen indicating it was hot-pressed allowing, for the time, a reasonable quality of image reproduction.

Davis has argued traditional art historical formal analysis of individual items within a periodical decontextualises artifacts by removing them from within the visual competition of a page (39), isolating the form historically from its causes (46). In cultural and historic ways of seeing, much visibility is deductive, apprehended by inference, not closely looked at and rarely in isolation (121-127). In particular, typography as text is apprehended for content, rather than closely inspected for the deposition on a page or for the form of the characters (126). Davis' substantive theory of visual culture adds weight to the argument of bibliographers, type and graphic design historians,¹⁷ that type operates powerfully through connotation and that an impression of the message in the form (independent of the content) is communicated, even unconsciously, to a reader/viewer. In the case of the magazine 'reader', the connotations of typography, apprehended as a total page or a single heading, are a vital part of the visual-cultural experience and begin with the encounter of the first page.

The first issue (the wrapper has not been located)¹⁸ established the centred typographic masthead (Fig. 4.8), using an Old English (Blackletter) font of the type favoured by newspapers for the *New Zealand Graphic*. The subhead *And Ladies' Journal* is an eccentric,

artistic lowercase display font, which adds piquancy. The front page illustration was usually an imported engraving, mostly of unmistakably British subject matter.

4.8. Masthead, front page, 16 April 1892.

The first masthead was followed and irregularly alternated with a distinctive illustrative block that integrated the title with deliberately chosen, if not cliché, signifiers (Fig. 4.9). A painter's palette, brushes, mahl stick, and rolled canvas communicate artistic endeavour, and nibbed pens literature and illustration. In the bowl of the *GRAPHIC* G are a mallet, chisel and calliper, symbols of sculpture. A classical bust can be identified as Minerva, the Roman goddess of wisdom, the arts, and trade, by the laurel wreath of victory and plumed helmet decorated with winged horses. The uppcase, handlettered title imitates fonts of artistic printing originating from MS&J, such as *Oxonian* for “*THE*” and *Cloister Shaded* for “*NEW ZEALAND GRAPHIC*”. “*LADIES JOURNAL*” follows sub-heading conventions of lesser emphasis with a linear sans serif and outline capitals,

feminised on a scrolling ribbon. The title and images are set against, and intertwined with, delicate plant tendrils and fern fronds beloved by the Victorians and already serving as an emblem of the local. Partly obscured by the palette are what may be the ribs of a fan or hair ornaments, decorated with linear koru shapes. The iconography emphasises a universal message of the creativity of the visual arts, the decorative qualities of femininity and the idealised role of print media, with subtle referencing of New Zealand.

4.9. Masthead, front page, 5 March 1892.

The use of two mastheads alternated their suggestions of the magazine's two models; the *Illustrated London News* of the time favouring a decorative pictorial masthead while the *Graphic* used an eccentric and purely typographic title. As it is, the message is ambiguous, shuttling between statements of the Victorian, pictorial, symbolic, decorative and feminine, and modernising, purely typographic style. Over this time, other leading magazines, such as the *Ladies' Home Journal* from 1890, began replacing their decorative mastheads with simpler typographic blocks.

The layout of the *New Zealand Graphic* was of three equal, force-justified columns judged as Brevier (8 point) body text, in an unidentified transitional roman typeface similar to *Baskerville* (vertical stress, moderate contrast). Leading and margins are moderate, text imposition is of a good quality, creating an even texture and crisp contrast. Each page has a running head "THE NEW ZEALAND GRAPHIC", with page numbers at the top outer margin, both separated from the text by a fine rule. Playing against this clear, consistent framework, a variety of display type is used for larger headings, the expressive quality usually contrasted with a sober upper-case condensed sans serif for the smaller sub-heads (Fig. 4.10). Columns that appeared regularly, "New Zealand Society Gossip", "Current Topics", "For the Ladies", "Youth" and "Children's Pages", the "Graphic Funny Page", are identified with blocks integrating text and image. Important content is further distinguished with decorative initials and rules. The illustrations are sized to fit while placing within the pages is varied, some formally, some asymmetrically balanced (Fig. 4.10). They make up 32.5% (6.5 of the 20 pages), increased to 38.6% by a two page visual supplement. Of the 66.25% text pages (13.25), fiction accounts for 23.75% (4.75 pages), comparable to the 22.40% fiction in *Century Illustrated* magazine the same year (Reed 236), and nonfiction 42.75% (8.5 pages).

The strongest feature of the first issue was the predominance of imported material (71.25%), including the fiction (the serialization "at considerable expense" of Wilkie Collins' last novel "Blind Love", with the original woodcut illustrations),¹⁹ making the issue less a copy than a facsimile of imported models. Local material is the first part of the serialised non-fiction "Nation Making: a Story of New Zealand Savageism and Civilization" by Josiah Clifton Firth,²⁰ presented without illustrations in a symmetrical sober layout indicative of serious content. There is also a small line and tone illustration "The Wellington Wharf" illustrating news of a strike, and a double page supplement of line artwork entitled "1889-1890 New Zealand and South Seas Exhibition" drawn from

images taken by photographer David Alexander de Maus. Composed to suggest photographs laid out against a ribbon banner and decorations, this begins the practice of marking special events with pictorial supplements exhibiting the talent of the *New Zealand Graphic* illustrators and displaying the firm's technology, undoubtedly adding to consumer appeal.

The first issue (31 May) only modestly fulfilled the claim of melding the local and international, however the speed of change was remarkable. As the magazine became established throughout 1890, the balance of material moved increasingly in favour of the local, and the visual content developed a technological and stylistic confidence. The 12 July number (3) features the first reproduction of black and white halftone photographs "Champion Bicyclists of New Zealand," continuing the attribution of photographic images, as well as a portrait of Major Mair for the article "The Siege of Orakau" (7). This double page spread (Fig. 4.10) provides a measure of the developing technical and design skills of the magazine's producers, two months from its inception.

4.10. "The Siege of Orakau", 12 July 1890 6 & 7.

The single column heading is set in a modern, lightweight upper-case roman font, with the sub-head a linear uppercase sans serif. In this way the heading does not detract from the striking engraving of Rewi Maniapoto, spanning two columns and looking directly out of the page at the reader, a pose of confidence and challenge. The leading decorative initial is a carved “T” and Maori warrior, showing an ethnographic accuracy usually lacking in imported material. This and the three illustrations, almost certainly locally produced, demonstrate the mix of technology that was a feature of international magazines of the 1890s. Here it provides an aesthetically pleasing play of shape and detail, between the unframed, organic outline of Maniapoto, the rectangular sketched landscape of the siege establishing scale, terrain and wildness, and the oval portrait of Mair, looking away to the right, a pose associated with self questioning and reflection. The rhetoric of the vignettes, fading to the edges, aestheticises their subject (Beegan “Industrialization” 214-5), the dark tones of the images increasing their emphasis against the lighter grey of the text and white space, while the more informal setting of verse against the ordered columns of the narrative displays an artistry on a par with the best overseas (see Reed 54 Fig. 13).

Editorial: mastheads and first pages 1891-1913

The Victorian pictorial masthead was abandoned by 1895; the alternative typographic form remained until the early twentieth century. In 1905 it was radically simplified (Fig. 4.11), “*The New Zealand Graphic*” set in an ATF font, *Lining Florentine Old Style* No. 502 (ATF 584), “*and Ladies’ Journal*” in a generic bold old style roman, similar to the revived and popular heavy Caslons. The single rule under the masthead enclosing the serial number and publication details is strengthened to a double, remaining a consistent feature of identification. The first page illustrative engraving has been replaced by a political cartoon (probably a process line block considering the speed needed to ensure topicality), shifting the message away from that of the nineteenth century and the women’s magazine genre. Within a year the masthead changes again (Fig. 4.12), “*The New Zealand Graphic*” to an ultra bold brush-style font, rather like a very heavy *Livermore* (ATF 846), “*and Ladies’ Journal*” to upper case ATF font *Typo Gothic* (formerly known as *Tiffany* ATF 666), a more individualistic version of the enormously popular *Copperplate Gothic*. The symmetrical title is enclosed in linear borders and balanced with six small fleurons.

The New Zealand Graphic and Ladies' Journal

VOL. XXV.—NO. 25

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 23, 1905

Subscription—25/- per annum; if paid in
advance 20/- Single copy—Sixpence.

"HANDS ACROSS THE SEA."

4.11. Masthead and front page, E. F. Hiscocks, "Hands Across the Sea", 23 December 1905.

4.12. Masthead and front page, E.F. Hiscocks, “Here, There and Everywhere”, 14 April 1906.

On the 15 February 1908, Brett purchased the *New Zealand Mail*, the weekly edition of the (Wellington) *New Zealand Times*, and amalgamated it with the *Graphic*, changing the title to the *Weekly Graphic and New Zealand Mail*. The new masthead (Fig. 4.13) has no border, but *Typo Gothic* remains for “*And New Zealand Mail*”. “*The New Zealand Graphic*” is now a bold, old style roman version of the ATF *Roycroft* series, originally drawn for the *Saturday Evening Post* magazine in 1898. This shift is again a specific sign of magazine modernity, the quickening pace of change in masthead typefaces (three in eight years), rapid for the genre, but in line with the speed of alteration in typographic fashion.

4.13. Masthead, front page, 2 September 1908

Editorial: layout, typography, headers

Constrained by a weekly production cycle, the formal structure familiar to readers of the rectilinear nature of the page and the three-column layout, allowed limited compositional freedom. By 1895, fiction is compressed into four columns, with reduced white space and page margins. By 1899, with mechanised linotype, the original 8 point transitional roman text type is updated and the layout of text pages more symmetrical and regularised, important enough to be advertised as “chaste” (*Auckland Star* 23 December 1905 14). At the turn of the century the appearance is a textual density of a uniform light grey tone and increasingly the identification of content and the attraction to text on pages of visual uniformity depended on headers, which followed the masthead progression from pictorial to typographic.

From 1890 to 1899, fonts popular and familiar in jobbing printing (and shared with the Star Printing Works) were favoured for headers. For the first three years the typographic message was strongly one of Artistic Printing, and the typefaces predominantly American, most identified from MS&J (12) and one from Schelter and Giesecke. Popular fonts are *Crayon*, designed by Ihlenburg, patented 1886 (Fig. 4.14), *Ruskin* and *Fresco*, designed by Jackson, patented 1880 and 1883 respectively (Figs 4.15 and 4.16), and the German *Renaissance Gothic* circa 1891 (Fig. 4.17).

4.14. *Crayon* heading, 6 February 1892 124.

4.15. *Ruskin* heading, 3 September 1892 878.

4.16. *Fresco* heading, 2 July 1892 662.

4.17. *Renaissance Gothic* heading, 19 November 1892 1138.

In 1892 display faces were used for fiction and nonfiction (43% fiction, 57% nonfiction) and chosen for their ability to connote the artistic, attract and signal importance, and express an article's content. *Crayon*'s foliate letterforms and linear curliques suggesting

rhythm and femininity, is used for romantic fiction, and articles about the “South Seas” (Fig. 4.14) and the Women’s Franchise League. The placement of headings across more than one column follows an innovation by *Scribner’s*, a design strategy that “endorsed a new standard graphic design in American popular periodicals which both boosted the importance of page layout and demonstrated how typography could be used to direct the reader’s attention” (Reed 53, 63). Further graphic emphasis was provided with rules separating author and subheading lines; using ornamental drop capitals to begin body text; and contrasting subheads with headings by using either linear sans serif or dignified, condensed modern roman typefaces (Figs 4.15–7).

By 1895 (23 December), while the content of local nonfiction had increased (13/27 text pages, 51.50% total content) and contained an increasing variety of material (music, literature, art, sport, Maori subjects, religion, society, manners and advice), the variety of display fonts had diminished, instead there was an increase in ‘functional’ sans serif, condensed modern roman and some outlined italic faces. The altered typographical appearance is not expressive of content so much as a response to design reform and the crisis in the industry caused by mechanical typesetting. The first system, Linotype, began use in America in 1886, crossing the Atlantic in 1887. The attraction to newspaper and magazine publishers was the acceleration of type composition, and both the elimination of the need for labour to remove and restore type from the forme, and the keeping of vast stocks of type. Once stereotypes (papier maché moulds) of pages had been made for printing on rotary presses, the type was re-melted for further casting in the matrices of the linotype machine. It followed that serial publications could “increase their pagination without a comparable increase in compositors or space” (Reed 44). The *Auckland Star*, which printed the *New Zealand Graphic*, installed the first five Linotype machines in the country in 1897 (McKay “Cavalcade” 107).

As discussed in Chapter Two, the modernisation of type fell into two opposing styles: rationalised sans serifs and, paradoxically, old-style faces²¹ influenced by William Morris. The modernization of typography, through technology, economics, style and philosophy, and tied to the growth of mass audiences, was supremely expressed in magazines and by 1900 *New Zealand Graphic* was selecting typefaces marked by an underlying geometry (seen in the regularity and lack of contrast in the revived roman faces). From 1890 the running head on each page was an upper case old-style (see for example ATF 126), alternating in the early twentieth century with a sans serif, and with

the name change in 1908 is the newly released, enormously popular ATF *Cheltenham Oldstyle* (S. Carter 18-9, ATF 147). Relatively restrained artistic display fonts, such as *Jefferson* (Loy 109) and *Cloister Expanded* (Clouse 103) appear occasionally, for fiction or articles about New Zealand scenery or Maori, but overall, from 1905 a typographic unity is achieved using the newly designed typeface families (Fig. 4.18): *De Vinne*, *Columbus* (Clouse 134-5), *Post Oldstyle Roman* (ATF 516-525), *Century Oldstyle* (ATF 242-250), *Lining Jenson* (ATF 456-464), *Bookman* (ATF 420-425) and an increasing number of modern sans serifs including *Della Robia* (ATF 406) and *Globe Gothic Extended* (ATF 773, Fig. 4.19). Their use in the *New Zealand Graphic* supports Jubert's contention that "at the end of the century care over type and layout ... grew" (107), but then the evidence shows that the magazine had always given attention to typographic appearance.

The creation of harmonizing type families allowed for variety within typographic unity and the *New Zealand Graphic* exploited their increasing range of styles – expanded and condensed, italic, outline, and particularly, bold. Kinross considers the embolding of typefaces one of the significant contributions of nineteenth century typographic invention, and in the early twentieth century the use of bold forms for plain type, with the addition of simple borders and rules, allowed for emphasis within the magazine without resort to novelty, forcefully demonstrated by the unified visual sobriety reporting the death of Seddon (Fig. 4.20), compared with the page memorialising Sir George Grey (Fig. 4.8). Davis contends that formal and stylistic aspects of visibility, the culturality of vision, change rapidly and recursively because they are embedded in temporal ideas and culture (10). Throughout the magazine, the process from nineteenth century decorative complexity to twentieth century plainness is notable, conveying a message of typographic modernity completely in step with international trends and demonstrating those responsible for the selection and composition of type in the *New Zealand Graphic* were fully cognizant of developments of the day in communicating an identity of indisputable modernity.

The N.Z. Weekly Graphic

Coronation Number

VOL. XLV.—NO. 24

JUNE 14, 1911

Subscription—25/- per annum, if paid in advance, 30/- Single copy—6d.

The Week in Review.

NOTICE.

The Editor will be pleased to receive for consideration Short Stories and Descriptive Articles, illustrated with photos, or suggestions from contributors.

Bright, terse contributions are wanted dealing with Dominion life and questions.

Unless stamps are sent, the Editor cannot guarantee the return of unsolicited MSS.

Popular Pictures.

I was always interested to note the popular taste in matters of art, and the referendum taken in Christchurch by the West-End Picture Proprietors, with the object of ascertaining as exactly as possible the type of picture preferred by the general public, presents many points of interest. Topical pictures came first, with 374 votes; then drama, travel, comic, scenery, industrial and historical. Second pictures only gained 26 votes. Amongst the most popular single pictures were "Wandering Back His Love," and the query as often asked as to the whereabouts of "My Wandering Boy." It would seem as if most people liked to see in pictures from the great events of the day. The Coronation pictures are likely to be in great demand, and they will probably rival in interest the pictures of prize fights. Sentimental pictures always appeal to a big majority, and things that make you feel inclined to cry are sure of a welcome. How often one hears the exclamation, "Oh, it was something lovely. I felt like crying all the time." The patriotic melodrama has its effect both on the gods in the gallery and the capacious critic in the stalls. When many years ago the "Daily Mail Gazette" took a vote on the most popular poet, the choice fell on Eliza Cook. "The Old Armchair" seemed to have affected the minds and hearts of the readers of that paper almost as much as did the subsequent poem printed in that journal.

When I went to my little bed some little thoughts came into my head. I thought of one I thought of you, But most of all I thought of you.

This was written by Eliza Armstrong, and met with such enthusiasm that it was quoted in the House of Commons, and was made a subject for one of "Punch's" most famous cartoons.

When Good Manners are Necessary.

In a recent libel case, Mr. Justice Edwards held that it was necessary for a reporter to be, as Tennyson phrased it, "graciously born and bred," because he might be sent to interview Sir Joseph Ward, and it would be essential for him to possess that culture and fineness of mind of which our Premier is so great an exponent. Mr. Justice Blundel at it would be necessary for a newspaper man to know "how to behave, and to possess a good address and gentlemanliness." He only mentioned the Premier by name, as being "the first gentleman

in New Zealand," but doubtless he had in mind all the other members of our Ministry as well as an overwhelming proportion of our members of Parliament. The last copy of "Punch" to hand has an excellent picture of a provincial mayor saying to a representative of the Press: "Come in, take a seat. I always treat reporters as if they were gentlemen." That shows the tact, or "touch" facility," as Boskin defined it, by which men in high official positions make their social inferiors feel thoroughly at ease. It would appear from the judge's remarks that the great reason for possessing "a good address and gentlemanliness" lies in the fact that one might some day meet Sir Joseph Ward and other important people. The disposal of the old theory that it was the first duty of a gentleman to be kind to women and children and all helpless things, and to be tender-hearted to the old and poor and the unhappy. We live and learn.

Defective Motherhood.

Dr. W. H. Symes, the well-known Christchurch doctor, attributes many of the physical defects of our young people to what he calls defective motherhood. He says: "I think it would be a great improvement if the education of girls after 12 years of age were conducted on special lines, quite different from those of boys, and that all other considerations should yield precedence to the object of fitting girls to become good wives and mothers. Factory employment and even excessive athletic pursuits also cause dire results from the above point of view, and I think it would be a great advantage to the community if girls were debarred from entering factories before the age of 20." This may be one cause, but another lies in the fact that many of our mothers are overworked. In the country it is impossible to obtain any kind of domestic help and the women toil at household duties when they are totally unfitted for them. This fact has been certified to by hundreds of medical men. They all state that there are more cases for the gynaecologist in New Zealand than in any other country in proportion to population. If we wish to improve our physique, we must devise some means of lightening woman's burden. It may seem a small matter, because it is not political. No votes depend on it, no cheap glory is gained by advocating it. It cannot be brought about by legislative prohibition or party cause. It is just one of the things that really matter, and so politicians avoid it. Even when people who know tell us that our children are not physically sound, we avoid discussion by turning our attention to the all-important question as to how many people expected in the streets of Waihi previous to the present year of grace.

Racial Decay.

Manuscript an Australian writer, Mr. Baile, has pointed out in his work on "Racial Decay," the dangers we incur. Mr. Baile, in an able review of the book, puts the matter thus: New Zealand is as large as Great Britain and as fertile. Its population is between one-third and one-fourth of that of Great Britain. It is composed of the sons and grandsons of the most enterprising and adventurous people in the Old Country and the New Zealand people have realised to an extraordinary

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degree the institutional and industrial ambitions of democracy everywhere; yet the rate of cultural increase in New Zealand is actually lower than in Great Britain, and has tended steadily to decrease. The Australians are sparsely scattered over the fringe of the great island continent. It is a continent which could support without the slightest difficulty tenfold the present population, and at the same time raise the general standard of well-being. Yet its sparse population tends to concentrate in great cities of disproportionate size compared to the country population, just exactly as is the case in England and the United States, and in so many of the countries of Europe; and it increases so slowly that, even if the present rate were maintained, the population would not double itself in the next century, while, if the rate of decrease of the last decade continues, the population will have become stationary by the middle of the century. If this is so, then the men who rally to the battle-cry of "A White Australia" have indeed ground for anxiety as they think of the looming myriads steadily increasing north of them in Asia. In private life no man can permanently hold land of which he makes no use, and in the life of nations it is absolutely certain that in the end no race can hold a territory save on condition of developing and populating it.

The Lonely Wife.

For real loneliness for women must go into the backblocks. Here are those who never see other women for weeks together. Their lives are passed in one unceasing round of household duties. They get prematurely worn and old; they grow listless, apathetic, and indifferent. They face their hardships heavily at first, they try and not show what they miss in being cut off from all social enjoyment. Their interests become narrow and dwarfed by degrees, and in the end they find that all the rest of life has gone. They simply exist from day to day. The lonely wife is one of the saddest products of our time. Women want companionship. In the backblocks they simply cannot get it. They live all pride in a house that no one sees, they lose all personal pride in their appearance. They cannot keep up the intellectual side of life. Cut off from art, literature, and the real world, they become intensely lonely within themselves. With men it is different. They have companionship of a sort, and they have their work. The woman has nothing, but the knowledge that her youth is passing, and passing in that intense solitude that is the more pathetic because it is the solitude that does expression

to woman's highest and best instincts. Lowell speaks of "this hourly misery, a woman's soul, and that hourly misery dies from sheer inaction."

Speaking the Truth.

Addressing a labour demonstration at Swansea recently, in support of the local dressmakers who are out on strike, Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., that much abused advocate of the rights of the labouring classes in Britain, said there was one feature of recent strikes which to the public was very mysterious. They all seemed to spring from very small causes. The explanation was the growing solidarity of working-class consciousness, without which the workers could never emancipate themselves from existing conditions. Fault has been found with the Swansea girls on strike for making the Socialist rooms their headquarters. They could not condemn the girls for going where there was an open door for them. They could not condemn the Socialist Independent Labour Party for opening the doors for them. What about the doors of the churches—and chapels and halls attached to them? They might read tomorrow morning that he had been again attacking the Church. A fortnight ago he pointed out that a large share of the responsibility for the continuance of war lay at the doors of the Christian Church, and he said the same thing, deliberately and emphatically, about every social and industrial evil. "These people," he continued, "have no right to pose as disciples of Jesus of Nazareth if they don't bound out from their churches every money-changer in them." Mr. Keir Hardie has the audacity to tell the truth. We wonder how many of our local Parliamentarians are similarly affected.

The Meaning of the Coronation.

Most people look upon the Coronation as a kind of holiday pageant. But the pageant and the procession, the pomp and show, are merely incidents or accidents surrounding—most appropriately—something real and emphasising the central act. The essence of what takes place is the religious rite when the Sovereign is anointed, and vested, and crowned. The great act is rightly called the "anointing" of a king. It does not make him king; he is that already; but it declares that the King is consecrated as Christ's servant, and that he owes fealty to Him. The sword of justice is laid first on the altar, and then brought to the King that with it he may do justice, and defend widows and orphans, and refuse what is amiss. The orb is set under the Cross, in token that the whole world is subject to the power and empire of

4.18. *Columbus* (magazine title), *Copperplate Gothic* ("Contents"), 14 June 1911.

METROPOLITAN AREA

4.19. *Globe Gothic Extended* heading, 4 September 1912 21.

4.20. "Death of Mr. Seddon", 16 June 1906 20.

Illustrated headers, decorated drop capitals and ornaments

From its inception, the *New Zealand Graphic* used headers that combined text and image for parts of the magazine where eclectic fragments were gathered into regular columns of commentary and anecdote, and for special interest sections, including the women's and children's pages. These provided a clear identity and assisted readers in navigation through the pages. Usually running across two columns, they added variety and visual style and were updated regularly. While the first have the appearance of imported generic blocks (Fig. 4.21-2), by 1895 they are a mix of imported (Fig. 4.23) and local (Fig. 4.24).

4.21. Header, 2 January 1892 2.

4.22. Header, 9 January 1892 36.

4.23. Header, 2 March 1895 215.

4.24. Header, 2 March 1895 197.

In 1896 they combine the elegant (Fig. 4.25), with the fantastical decorations of the Aesthetic Movement (Fig. 4.26). From 1900, with the exception of the children's and funny pages, and a new column "Life in the Garden", they too become increasingly restrained, organised, and contained by linear borders (Fig. 4.27).

4.25. Header, 2 May 1896 95.

4.26. Header, 25 July 1896 111.

4.27. Header, 14 October 1908 56.

Custom headings were created for leading local fiction and nonfiction. Initially a combination of typeset font and linked illustration (Fig. 4.28), improvements in the magazine's process reproduction replaced these with unified letterforms and image (Figs 4.29-30). They often run across three columns, using local subjects to build a set of signs for 'here'.

4.28. Header, 23 January 1892 77.

4.29. Header, 3 March 1895 203.

4.30. Header, 1 January 1892 6.

By the middle of the 1890s an increase of custom artwork contributed strongly to the identity of the magazine, differentiating it from imported competition, and helping create a reputation for local artistic values. In the March 2 issue, 1895, the 7 (29.2%) pages of editorial illustration includes large illustrated headers (1.5 of the illustrated pages), offering artist/designers the opportunity to develop their skills, express content and follow fashionable style. In 1896, the innovative header for the Waiorongomai gold mine in the Bay of Plenty (Fig. 4.31) geometricises Maori motifs within an angular ribbon border and simplified dynamic lettering, to create a successful visual modernity appropriate for the subject and ahead of its time in New Zealand. Then by the twentieth century pictorial headers become rare, and even when confined to fiction they move towards a semi-abstract stylisation and a linear simplicity in harmony with the typography (Figs. 4.32-3).

4.31. Header, 20 June 1896 714.

4.32. Header, 28 July 1906 19.

4.33. Header, 2 September 1908 55.

Decorated drop capitals and ornaments also function to attract the browsing eye, indicating content and inviting the reader to enter the text. In the first five years Renaissance style decorated initials were used generously for leading articles and stories (Figs 4.14 and 4.16), with occasional custom initials (Figs 4.10, 4.34-5), then radically simplified in the twentieth century (Figs 4.32-3, 4.36).

4.34. Custom initial, 11 December 1901. 4.35. Custom initial, 11 December 1901.

4.36. Header and drop capital, 23 December 1905 13.

Typographic ornaments were rarely used in the 1890s, the magazine preferring shaped rules, often with small flourishes, for emphasis and the division of space (Figs 4.14-7). In the twentieth century plain rules join with plain ornament: small, simple, stylised and arranged in pairs or lines, they harmonise with the increased geometry of typefaces and page layout (Figs 4.13, 4.20, 4.36).

Editorial illustration

From 1890 to 1908, the *New Zealand Graphic* was unequivocally of the genre of the illustrated magazine, although there were significant fluctuations in the amount and source of pictorial material. Illustrations made up 43.75% of the magazine in 1890, falling to their lowest (27%) in the issue 2 March 1895, the year Beegan marks as notable for an international shortage of illustrators (*Mass Image* 158). This drop may also have been for economic reasons. Imported engravings were expensive²² and the delays with shipping made them unsuitable for accompanying the rise in local, topical material. It would have been easier and cheaper to produce them here but perhaps there were not yet enough artists and artisans to make any quantity. Despite this low point, the source of images is significant. Once the *New Zealand Graphic* was established subjects, artists, and reproduction technology steadily localised, and interest rose in the pictorial reporting of ‘typical’ New Zealand. In the issue 2 March 1895, 17 of the 31 illustrations are local and more tellingly, they take up 5.5 of the 6.5 pages of illustration, an impressive rise from 7.40% of all images in 1890 to 84%.²³ By now imported blocks, many from Nops, the leading London image agency, are only used consistently for the fashion pages. Vapid and bland, they contribute little that is distinctive, justifying Beegan’s description of Nops as “generalized and standardized in its approach, and it is during this time that the terms *cliché* and *stereotype* took on their current meaning” (163). By 1900 (30 June), when pictorial material makes up the highest percentage of pages (40%), 8.5 are local and 10.75 imported. With the title change in 1908 images fall to 28.50% of the magazine with 70% imported. This marks the apparent shift of genre as illustrated newspapers began eclipsing illustrated magazines (J. Brown 235). The *New Zealand Graphic* now claims it will guard its “reputation for superb illustrations and maintain its position as the premier pictorial publication south of the line” but does not want to be seen as just a picture gallery, intending as well to provide “essential” reading material for everyone (15 February 1908 1). This lower percentage of visual material (29.75% in 13 November 1912) remains until the magazine’s cessation, although in 1912, by far the majority (79%) of all illustrations are again local²⁴ and they remain the strongest point of distinction between the *New Zealand Graphic* and imported magazines.

The syntax of the medium

From 1892 to 1895, the imported frontpage engraving (Figs 4.8-9) was replaced by local images, as the magazine took advantage of two powerful new image reproduction

technologies, the photographically produced process block for line drawings, and the halftone reproduction of photographs or tonal work. McKay describes Brett's as "a pioneer in the matter of printed illustrations" ("Sir Henry Brett" 233), crediting the firm with first introducing process engraving into the country. Around the time the *New Zealand Graphic* began, line illustrations for Brett's book publishing were hand-drawn onto wax moulds then electrotyped and it seems likely this method may have first been used in the magazine, to be quickly superseded by photographing the drawing, suitably in pen and ink rather than pencil, for exposure onto a block. No process remained stable and New Zealand printing had an inheritance of constant technological improvisation, invention and innovation, some of this detailed in McKay's history of process engraving ("Cavalcade" 119 -125) and by R. Johnston (172-9). Unlike typesetting, image reproduction technology was not initially developed and marketed by large corporations and knowledge gained from local initiatives was shared through the established networks of printers' journals, supply agents (*Penrose's Annual: the Process Yearbook* began in 1894 with many New Zealand contributions over the years), and the migration of tradesman.

Reed credits the *Century Illustrated Magazine* as one of the first in America to use halftones in 1885. In this process the continuous tones of a black and white photographic negative, projected through a ruled, lattice screen on to a light sensitive metal plate, are translated into a series of dots of greater or lesser density which is then mechanically etched for printing. Techniques and reproduction quality improved rapidly from 1890 when the Levy brothers in Philadelphia began manufacturing diamond-ruled, cross-line screens on an industrial scale (Reed 36). Levy screens were marketed in New Zealand, although whether they were used in the *New Zealand Graphic*, which printed its first halftones in July 1890, is not known. From inception the photographic image reproduction was of a high quality, as demonstrated by the full-page portrait of the late Right Reverend John Luck on the 1st February, 1896 (123) conspicuously signed "N. Z. Graphic Photo Engraving" (Fig. 4.37).

H. J. Hughes, Auckland

THE LATE RIGHT REV. JOHN EDMUND LUCK, O.S.B.

FOURTH ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOP OF AUCKLAND—DIED 23RD OF JANUARY, 1896; AGED 55 YEARS. R.I.P.

4.37. Halftone, 1 February 1896 123.

In the 1890s, halftone reproduction had become cheaper than other media. Supported by publishers it became an unequivocal signifier of modernity (Beegan *Mass Image* 131) within the range of available technologies which persisted to provide variety and a look of liveliness as much as topicality. In the *New Zealand Graphic* (and others such as the *Illustrated London News*) technology was “deployed according to developing notions of appropriateness, moral considerations as well as aesthetic, economic and practical factors” (9). This visual diversity conforms to the seven modes of illustration described by Kevin Barnhurst and John Nerone (65). Pen-and-ink sketches, fine tonal illustrations, political cartoons, halftone photographs, customised illustrated headers and editorial icons, and occasional steel engravings, maps and technical drawings, co-exist side by side and create fluid and lively messages for the eye. Homogeneity was not an ideal,

although this mix began to change in the twentieth century. On 30 June 1900, halftones (62% local) make up 22% (or 10.50 pages) of the illustrations and 40% of the magazine. By the 23 December 1905, halftones make up 68% (16 pages) of all illustrations. With the decline in pictorial material from 1908 (2 September) the figure falls to 64.50% (13.35 pages) rising again by 13 November 1912, to 87% (18.75 pages of which 75.50% are local). In the twentieth century process artwork, while still used to frame and link collections of photographic images, gives way to the grey uniformity of halftone images. Still, the magazine maintained its technological leadership with an increasing number of colour Supplement images in the pictorialist style even, unusually, of the modern world of work (Fig. 4.38).

4.38. Supplement, "Toilers in the Dust", 9 October 1912.

Process line blocks and the reproduced sketch

The process, or relief line block made possible new subjects and styles of illustration, as art became strongly influenced by photography (Chapter Three 111). From the 1870s to 1900 the most fashionable technique was the sketched line, conveying a rapidity and energy of execution accepted as symbolic of the pace and spontaneity of contemporary life, the suggestive 'impression' worth more than the deliberate, academic line (Beegan *Mass Image* 137). Its speedy reproduction was helped by the use of transfer textures and

tints (Chapter Three n. 25). The popularity of the line sketch matched journalistic writing and allowed a new breed of illustrator to make a living using skills not taught in the academy. Sinnema argues when an audience accepts an artist's view as humorous and interpretive and carrying the authority of an artistic vision that has congruency with their own, the sketch was preferred to any 'objective' photographic representation, the signing of work further allowing a viewer to identify (and identify with) it (35). From 1890 line illustrations in the *New Zealand Graphic* were signed, indicating recognition, and audience popularity in a country that could not yet support fulltime fine artists.

Freelance illustration was one of the few opportunities for women, the majority of art school graduates at the time, to earn money with their skills (Cantlon "Constantly Inventive" 54-7). Signatures appearing irregularly in the *New Zealand Graphic* include Mary Morton (Platts 174), and Ethel Lovegrove reporting on the spot as a 'Special' artist for shipwrecks when disasters still defied photographic recording (19 April 1892 386). From 1894 to at least 1896, male freelance artists include E. F. C. Clarke (Platts 67), J. S. Allan, W. Deverall, C. Stickley, and Robert Hawcridge (Fig. 4.80), and the harder to identify "C. W." and "S. W." (perhaps Seddon Wildeblood). Kennett Watkins (Fig. 4.85), a drawcard for the heavily publicised serial "Utu: A Story of Love, Hate and Revenge" by Tua-o-Rangi (Margaret Bullock), contributes illustrations for most of the magazine's life as a "delineator of Maori life and character" (*Auckland Star* 30 August 1893 3). The drawings of Harold William Young, a lithographic artist for the *Auckland Star*, continue intermittently into the twentieth century, with Claude Kerry and "W. S." probably William Schmidt, known to be contributing to the magazine at this time. 1901 adds C. J. Nicklen and "SCATZ." Grant records *Weekly News* illustrator Vyvyan Hunt drawing cartoons for the *New Zealand Graphic* from 1895 (*Unauthorized Version* 42) but his signature cannot be identified. From 1908, as the sketch becomes rare, a new generation is represented by the illustrations of Marmaduke Matthews (11 October 1911 312) and Tom Quick.

By 1892 several illustrators appear so regularly that it may be assumed they were employed full-time, and each had a recognisable style used for particular content. Tom Ryan (Platts 210) appears until 1895 (Fig. 4.39) and with Claude Kerry (144) provides scenes of the land and pioneering activity. The images work to create a sense of New Zealandness, bolstering this national belonging by also identifying those excluded, usually the Irish and the Chinese (Fig. 4.12). The artistic code accorded to engraving,

and the pose of the bare breasted wahine outside a crude whare (Fig. 4.39) aestheticised both the person and poverty of Maori, applying picturesque conventions to represent “Others” (Sinnema 117) while simultaneously invoking a trope of native indolence, here counterbalanced diagonally below by a portrait from life.

4.39. Tom Ryan, “Pelorus Sound”, 3 January 1892 23.

4.40. Francis West, “New Zealand Spring”, 1 October 1892 999.

Francis West provides regular vignettes to mark the seasons (Fig. 4.40), his framing devices, like Hawcridge’s, centre the viewer as the observing eye and connote art, and also photography. From 1892 to at least 1900 (dated by Platts only from 1897, 135), Ashley John Barsby Hunter, one of the longest serving artists on the magazine, regularly draws social and political satire (Fig. 4.41). In the model of international pen-and-ink artists such as Charles Keene (admired by Sickert and Degas) and the celebrated Phil May,²⁵ some locals became popular household names, with “a following among thousands of readers who depended on the weeklies for their news and gossip” (Grant *Unauthorized Version* 42).²⁶ Hunter’s early work includes some formal compositions, but there is clear evidence he and other artists cultivated the rapid, hand-drawn sketch style for ‘socials’ – the engagement and recording of everyday contemporary life and class.

4.41. Ashley Hunter, “Victory”, 15 September 1893 201.

From the turn of the century Edgar B. Vaughan adds a relaxed influence of Art Nouveau line and a very different commemoration to Hawcridge’s of the 1901 Royal Tour (Fig. 4.42) as the Duke of Cornwall makes a satisfying departure with all his gifts from Maori. Starting employment in 1903, by 1905 the chief artist is the popular E. Fred Hiscocks who provides the front-page cartoon until its discontinuation in 1908 (Figs 4.11 and 4.12). More than any earlier artist Hiscocks was master of the sketch and its direct, abbreviated, epigrammatic style, and he regularly freelanced for other New Zealand weeklies.

And Ladies' Journal.

SATURDAY, JUNE 29 1901.

[Subscription—25s. per annum; if paid in advance 20s. Single copy.—Sixpence.

IT IS SAID THAT THE DUKE OF YORK HAS LEARNT AT LEAST ONE MAORI WORD DURING HIS BRIEF SOJOURN IN NEW ZEALAND; HE IS HERE SEEN SOLILOQUIING IN MAORI.

4.42. Edgar Vaughan, “Kapai The Maori!”, 29 June 1901.

Illustrations in the *New Zealand Graphic* were very often composites of different aspects of the subject and accessible to a quick reading of the surface (Figs 4.12, 4.39, 4.43). They were national in that they communicated a ‘knowing’ response to local visions and local nuance, a subjectivity contributing to the social consciousness and cohesion of their audience. They were also of the moment, befitting Beegan’s description that “the technological duplication of the pen-and-ink illustration defined it as a modern art form that was much more immediate, accessible and democratic” than academic art (*Mass Image* 21), synonymous with a new political consciousness, and an interest in social life and leisure (99-100).

4.43. H. W. Young, “Some New Zealand Dwellings”, 29 December 1900 1215.

Despite Harding’s criticisms in *Typo* of the “doleful paraphernalia” of New Zealand illustrations (27 July 1889 70, 81), magazine work allowed local artists to develop skills and techniques specifically for reproduction and in the magazine’s miscellany, their work was integrated with prestigious international artists such as Charles Dana Gibson (1 February 1896 124), Kate Greenaway (27 June 1896 750), Horace Taylor (23 December 1905 59), *Daily Telegraph* artist A. Pearson (23 January 1896 85) and others. For Grant the artists of this period were copyists rather than innovators, showing “striking similarities in style, form and even content” with work from overseas while “local events, personalities and prejudices have given a distinctive flavour to New Zealand cartooning” (*Unauthorized Version* 4). However at a time of the rapid international circulation of influences (Beegan *Mass Image* 149), stylistic similarity may

have been the expectation of the audience and magazine work here undoubtedly contributed to the success of so many local artists who continued successful careers in Australia, Britain and America.²⁷

One feature that did not become localised was the “Funny Page” ending every issue. In the twentieth century it is expanded with syndicated American cartoons and comic strips of the ‘classic’ early period. R. F. Outcault’s from 1901, James Swinnerton’s in 1905. 1906 features Rudolph Dirk’s “Katzenjammers”, Windsor McKay’s “Little Nemo in Slumberland”, F. Opper’s “Happy Hooligans” and Outcault’s “Buddy Tucker.” His “Buster Brown” appears weekly until the magazine ceases. American comics in particular are associated with a subversive appeal to the underdog, the little person facing, and sometimes triumphing, against the regulatory and normalising forces of the modern, organised, adult world (Brian Walker 28-40). It is not insignificant they developed in a rapidly modernising nation of immigrants, at a period associated with the imposition of routine waged work and the growth of leisure. While the appeal of American comics is considered universal, their popularity here suggests a part of the national psyche less conservatively loyal and empire loving, more aware and wary of class and committed to democratic ways than has been portrayed (Eldred-Grigg 51, Belich 252).

The halftone photograph

As the halftone became familiar, mixed media arrangements integrating lettering, artwork and photographs, familiar from Chapter Three and known as mosaics (Beegan *Mass Image* 176) became a drawcard (Fig. 4.34). Compensating for the inability of photography to create a coherent diachronic narrative (Beegan “Industrialization” 234) this example uses background decorations of palm trees, frangipani and stars to link images laid out as if in a photograph album, the illusion enhanced by implied overlapping and folds. The title lettering is linear, simplified and suggestive of bamboo, the artwork complimenting the exotic, natural subject, presenting the Friendly Islands (Tonga) as unspoilt, but also undeveloped, a suitable territory perhaps for Seddon’s imperialist ambitions.²⁸ Such images mark a growth in content about New Zealand’s Pacific neighbours in the Polynesian islands, Japan, China and America,²⁹ and a geographical expansion of the ideology of New Zealandness (Eldred-Grigg 452-6).

4.44. Front page, 12 September 1896.

The increase of halftone reproduction in the *New Zealand Graphic* occurred in tandem with the rise of local topics concerned with modern life, and the commodified activities of leisure and sports (now placed near the front of the magazine), civic events, a smattering of arts and literature with an emphasis on entertainment, a large regular column on gardening, and a larger devoted to society gossip. Photographs served these interests best, and set pieces named the photographer or studio supplying the image (a roll call of the New Zealand industry). Unattributed material suggests staff photographers were increasingly employed. From 1902, photographs are mostly reproduced, with little text and no advertisements, in a centre insert (pages 17 to 38 in 1908, 17 to 40 in 1912), on heavier, super-calendared paper, the smooth cool white providing a bright contrast to the tones of the photographs and occasional artwork (Fig. 4.45).

4.45. Supplement, 1 February 1896 122-3.

Many photographic assemblages of people at leisure have the quality of snapshots (Fig. 4.46) but like paparazzi photos today, were popular for giving an enhanced sense of the actuality of and connection to, those shown. From 1900 the magazine ran images from the “Camera Sniper” who caught leading personalities “on the hop” (*Auckland Star* 1 August 1899 5). The results are often poorly shoehorned into the compositional device of an album, sometimes exceeding 12 images a page, and fulfil the criticisms of the *Studio* editor Joseph Gleeson White that the cheapness of the halftone process meant that many artistically “worthless” photographs got printed (Beegan *Mass Image* 204). Certainly aesthetics were sometimes sacrificed to unremitting rectangularity, poor composition, and tonal monotony, to meet what seems the audiences’ need to see themselves imaged in the media.

4.46. “Lyttelton Regatta”, 21 March 1896 311.

The rhetoric of iconography

In technology, style, and reception, images contributed to the message of being modern while their iconography performed an additional, and different, characterisation of the local. Beegan argues the popular illustrated press democratised culture by offering a wide range of readers, broadly defined by social group and gender, “new opportunities to understand themselves and their world” (*Mass Image* 209). In the example of the *Illustrated London News*, Sinnema contends representation was driven by an “underlying urge to fabricate a national identity” (8). As Londoners and New Yorkers “wanted to see who they were” (Beegan *Mass Image* 4, 6, 18-19), so New Zealanders too wanted a sense of themselves, their activities, and social groupings that related to British and American social modernity but with aspects of difference. In a country barely 50 years old, the *New Zealand Graphic* employed the sketch and the photograph to undertake the social purpose of constructing an imagined community, and define it as distinctive by place, race, gender, work and leisure.

A sense of place in the world

While the weekly issues presented a low key but persistent and comprehensive picturing of New Zealand, the representation of the wider world indicates external relationships that are more complex and open than imperial. Traditional images of Britain, favouring thatched cottages and Cornish fishing villages rather than her industrial cities, declined by the turn of the century, although reports on royalty and English society's 'smart set' continued. Eldred-Grigg writes of the popularity of Germany and an interest in Japan in the press (48, 51, n. 150) but more notable in the *New Zealand Graphic* was the focus on America in the twentieth century and, as with Harding, evidence of the magazine's trade relationships, including the purchase of stereotypes from a range of American publications for reprinting here. On 26 May 1906 the *New Zealand Graphic* printed the typographically (with *De Vinne Italic*) and rhetorically spectacular front page of the *Oakland Tribune* reporting the San Francisco earthquakes (Fig. 4.47), and on 21 July a foldout of photographs of the ruins of the city.

4.47. *Oakland Tribune*, 18 April 1906. *New Zealand Graphic*, 26 May 1906 23.

The visit of the American Navy here and in Sydney (the ‘Great White Fleet’), was marked with a photographic supplement, and reprinted illustrated articles extolling America’s progressive mercantile and social spirit began appearing regularly (“Purged by Fire: The Training and Life of New York Firemen — A Great City Department where the People get what they Pay for and the Men earn their Pay,” 2 September 1908 28-30; “The Romance of Chicago: The Record of a Dominant Spirit of Hustle,” 18 November 1908 44-8). As argued in Chapters Two and Three and further exemplified by the *New Zealand Graphic*, local print at this time was not in thrall to Britain in terms of visual form or content, or in reflecting related business and social attitudes.

Masculinity: pioneers, progressive politicians, and players

The challenge to *New Zealand Graphic* artists and photographers, lacking the extreme class systems and urban environments of the ‘old’ and ‘new’ worlds, was the creation and development of iconographic types. The male pioneer emerged as one, a rugged but respected hardy toiler (Fig. 4.48), although the stereotype concealed the negative side of crew culture, drunkenness, sporadic violence, and itinerancy.

4.48. S. W., “A Day in the Gumfields” and “Logging up a Bush Clearing”, 16 July 1892 722-3.

The patsy to the pioneer was the ‘new chum’, or remittance man, a colonial version of the internationally recognized effete English aristocrat, who gave locals a chance to reverse the patronage of the British and make fun of their upperclass (Fig. 4.49).

4.49. "How Maoriland Lost a High-Toned Colonist", 21 December 1901 1177.

The soldier was allied to the pioneer as the brave spearhead of civilization against savagery, embodying national values of courage, toil and stamina, and the country's primary historic European values. The guerilla bush fighter of the New Zealand Wars of the 1860s was swashbuckling in unruly gear assembled from kilts, blankets and

bandoliers but with the Boer War, militarism became visual. Soldiers, sober in full uniform, are thus identified with standard imperial troops and their photographs taken before departure were regular fare. Romanticized and coded, the valiant poses of battle illustrations depict them as “splendid pink chaps resolutely defending the white man’s burden” (Reed caption to Pl. V). From 1896 the front page features an almost entirely male cast of politicians and worthies, dominated until his death in 1906 by the premiere Seddon who, with the torso of an American industrialist, was easy to draw. He also epitomized the imagination, energy and ambitions of the young country (Fig. 4.11) and few other politicians were treated as kindly (Fig 4.50), although the *New Zealand Graphic* was not above satirizing his (and the country’s) aspirations to importance.

4.50. E. F. Hiscocks, “Spenlow and Jorkins”, 7 July 1906.

Photography established further contemporary types. The urban business or civic gentleman, taking in the horse racing or yachting regatta (Fig. 4.46) is visually

standardized in a dark suit, but he is outnumbered by sports and sportsmen. The champion cyclists of 1890 are soon followed by a regular fare of horse racing, yachting, rowing, cricket, tramping, mountaineering, and from 1901, rugby (Fig. 4.51). The spectators and participants are always men, and the photographic reportage, beginning with static poses, gradually captures movement as the magazine's visual representation of the European male centres on activity. In pioneering extraction, construction, and taming of the land, through warfare, political energy and commercial enterprise to a culmination in sport, the male New Zealander becomes defined by action.

4.51. “With the Victorious New Zealand Footballers in England”, 23 December 1905
28.

Femininity: facts and fancies

As with overseas magazines, the *New Zealand Graphic* targeted the European female reader through dedicated content, and editorial and commercial material constructed her look, so that her role as much as her health, clothing, hair, and appearance was shaped by the models offered. As both Garvey and Beetham (124-6) have demonstrated, the role of magazines was vital in configuring woman as consumer and reinforcing her association with women's sphere, the home and family, but offered only modest opportunities for employment. While women writers and illustrators found an outlet for

freelance publication, and women composers on the *Auckland Star* may have worked on the *New Zealand Graphic*, men remained in control of magazines here determining their form and content (what women should want and how they should be defined) and the gendered positions of (male) producer and (female) consumer changed little. Beetham acknowledges the complex and ambiguous genre of the women's magazine in her interrogative title, *A Magazine of Her Own?* Femininity was a concept contested with increasing vigour in the 1890s with the rise of the 'new' woman, while the imagined female reader the magazine sought to reach and mould was constructed by the norms of traditional society. This conflict was integral to changes in gender relationships as more women sought extended education, entered the paid workforce, and birth rates fell. Visual representations of females that appear in the magazine reflected social change and contradictions and played a role in the formulations of, and attitudes to, women in New Zealand.

Beetham considers the concept of the new woman as a further manifestation and symbol of the profound transition from the Victorian age to the modern world, manifested in culture by ideas of both innovation and decline (115-6). The new woman demanded equality with men, legally, politically and socially, challenging and threatening the security of traditional masculine values in a time of crisis for gender identity (Beetham 116-118). For many the new woman represented the glorious potential of her sex, to critics she was a source of both anxiety and ridicule (Coney 15). Her representation in the *New Zealand Graphic* remained little different to elsewhere, in text she was described as plain, bespectacled, with buck teeth and thin hair (25 October 1890 7) and in images stereotyped as abnormal, a source of satire. The magazine lost one popular subject when New Zealand women won the vote on 19 September 1893³⁰ (Fig. 4.41) but continued the attack with the issues of women's demands for paid employment, the cycling woman, and dress reform. Garvey devotes a chapter to the "contested terrain" (106-134) of the woman 'on the wheel' of the new safety bicycle, an activity that literally and symbolically allowed women to be free from social constraints in dress, exercise and behaviour through a new physical mobility. Debates, social, moral and medical, were driven by the prevalent gender anxieties, focusing on women's sexual being and capacities for motherhood. While editorial illustrations in the *New Zealand Graphic* depicted the trousered woman as deviant and ridiculed their male supporters (Fig. 4.52), they were generally more good natured than many at the time.

The magazine was correspondingly exercised over dress reform and the photo of a dress reform wedding in Christchurch in 1894 (15 July 1893 663), became notorious on both sides of the Tasman (Coney 113). By the twentieth century the focus shifted to what women had lost in their 'delusory' quest for independence. In this trope (Fig. 4.53), even as she reaches the altar of fame, the 'liberated' woman (suitably dressed) cringes with doubt and guilt as she looks back to what she has forfeited.

4.52. “Reform Facts in Dress”, 2 March 1895 201.

LOOKING BACKWARD.

4.53. "Looking Backward", 13 November 1912 45.

As the reader of magazines, as well as newspapers, became increasingly configured as female (Beetham 122), gender assumptions are undercut by the contradictory nature of the magazine's variety, and their wide dispersal beyond the supposed readers (Ros Ballaster et al 45 and Figs 4.1-5). It is important to avoid naturalising gender preferences by presupposing romantic fiction, illustration, fashion, and society gossip cater for and determine women, who would not be equally interested in political issues, nonfiction, or advertisements for architects, cleaners, and cars, as they controlled household purchasing or sought to enter the male sphere.

A further difference: ethnicity

In the inbetween spaces of colonial settler societies there can be two levels of marginality: that of the settlers, detached but with an inheritance from a centre, and that of the displaced, coloured indigenous peoples. Postcolonial writers such as Frantz Fanon, Said, and Bhabha have theorized the ideological construction of this 'other' as an exercise of both colonial fantasy and power through the articulation of difference which, inscribed on the body, is immediately visual. As a consequence, the fixity of the 'native' stereotype is always characterized by strategic ambivalence and contradiction manifested in "the constant need to see visual stereotypes" (Bhabha 96 and 188) "anxiously repeated" (94). The enunciations of race are a distinctive feature of the *New Zealand Graphic* and the linked relationships between text and image on its pages. The truism of the time, "that the Maoris of New Zealand, one of the finest dark races, are rapidly approaching extinction" ("A Dying People" 6 April 1895 313) provided the rationale for European dominance; the contradiction in the same article an account of successful entertainers Wherahiko Rawei, and Hine Taimoa³¹ fundraising for the reform of Maori housing and health. In the weekly issues, historic and contemporary Maori feature regularly in illustrated articles. Educational and social initiatives are generally treated with respect and the celebrity of Maori racehorse owners suggests sport already provided an entrée to European society. Images accompanying such articles were usually photographic and informal, while the sketch allowed for more stereotypical representations. In studying the Victorian creation of 'types' Beegan argues the working class, or cockney, could be typified when no longer a threat (*Mass Image* 147), and the same may be true of representations of Maori. In illustrations drawn 'on location', Maori were outside the modern world of waged work, either placed in a canoe or in front of a traditional whare (Figs 4.39, 4.43) in poses taken from conventions of studio painting. At this time most Maori lived rurally and were educated separately to Europeans, yet cartoons indicate they were much seen in town, for trade and at sporting events. Their customs, their attempts to adapt European ways (Fig. 4.54), and their perceived child-like inability to read the social and visual settler codes, made them objects of both fascination and satire for cartoonists, although the humour did not always discriminate purely by ethnicity (Figs 4.55, 4.49).

Town and Country.

4.54. "Town and Country", 19 January 1901 17.

4.55. "Sketches of the Maori Sports at Waiheke", 4 April 1896 375.

The Maori female could also be fitted into the stock characters of the comic pages, and as ugly, overweight, or domineering she was, like European females, a target of misogynist stereotyping (Fig. 4.49). One Hawcridge cartoon considers the serious problems Maori faced from alcohol and the loss of their land, depicting the wahine of power as warrior, verified and admired by history, simultaneously in the posture of a haka and of a contemporary trousered new woman, taking matters into her own hands, but this was an unusual portrayal (Fig. 4.56).

4.56. Robert Hawcrige, “The Latest New Woman”, 9 February 1895 131.

Maori were accorded a high position in colonial hierarchies of race and the *New Zealand Graphic* paid homage to Maori of high rank and status (mana). As an indigenous aristocracy (Fig. 4.84) they were considered the last link to the romanticised ‘old time Maori’, the ambiguous noble warrior/savage cannibal. However, this deference retained a colonial authoritarianism and pride of ownership, no longer menacing they had become “our” Maori, whose subjection to the white colonizer reinforced attitudes of racial superiority. The copious amounts of local fiction that thrilled the, supposedly female, reader with thinly veiled descriptions of sexual attraction between the races furthered ambivalence, such as when Henare Te Moana, son of a great chief and hero of

the story, “A Gentle Savage”, by Mrs Bullock (16 January 1892 54–55) is described in lingeringly detailed prose as a stereotype of desire.³²

The presence of identifiable types in the imaging of ‘the New Zealander,’ making difference immediately visible, suggests Bhabha’s further contention that hybridity is the product of colonisation, but differences immediately arise. Bhabha has written principally of coloured subject peoples on the Indian subcontinent, the West Indies, and in Africa. In the Australasian colonies white settlers quickly outnumbered the native inhabitants and in New Zealand the replacement of the culture they left behind became constituted by borrowing from other models (within and beyond the British Empire and from Maori themselves), creating layers of colonisation, all varying the supposition that hybridity is “a strategic reversal of domination” (160). Settlers included significant numbers of Irish, Scots, German and other nationalities who did not fully identify with Britain and, against the grandiose rhetoric of imperialism, many immigrants had negative experiences of the actual economic and social condition of late Victorian era. Collectively, Maori may be seen to have suffered colonisation from both imperial and settler governments, but tribal alliances were contradictory, splitting colonial space and affiliations, partially but never entirely oppositional (the hybridity of culture among Maori, especially in print, is beyond this study). Colonial authority had many forms. Culturally, the use of design in *New Zealand Graphic* can be apprehended as the sign of the production of colonial power (159) by settlers, or a disruption of the power of the centre over them. It can be judged as hybrid by the synthesis of disparate influences notably of value and form, making the transformations, and ambivalences, of this local production so important.

Weekly Issues: Advertising, sales and selling

Overseas, the acceptance of advertising changed the form, the economics, and the social significance of magazines when in the early 1890s advertising effectively came to pay for their production. Circulation increased through the virtue of a low cover price, and then further determined advertising sales³³ (Garvey *Adman* 11-12, Beetham 142, Reed 14, 21-23). Magazines developed a symbiotic relationship with advertising as they changed from selling themselves directly to the reader, to selling their readership to advertisers (Garvey 11). Undoubtedly advertising revenue helped the *New Zealand Graphic* grow from 20 to 72 pages in 23 years, an almost four-fold increase, without changing the

sixpenny cover price. It also helped pay for the better quality paper of centre pages, ironically kept free of advertising. In 1908, when the *New Zealand Graphic* purchased the copyright, subscription and advertising lists of the *New Zealand Mail* in their amalgamation, the editor's first appeal is to advertisers, local and international (15 February 1) to remain loyal, and the national reach is presented as a unique advantage.

Economically, magazines depended on advertising in two ways: through the revenue from advertising sales, and because they were themselves a commodity needing to advertise. Reed's judgement is that in the final decades of the nineteenth century American magazines, transformed by advertising revenue and printing technology, adopted promotional techniques to extend their audience rather than alter content (76). Here, Brett's awareness of the commercial imperative of advertising to help pay for the "heavy outlay of capital" needed to set up the magazine (*Auckland Star* 26 May 1890 4), is shown in the publication of advertising rates³⁴ throughout the first year.³⁵ Still, no advertisers took the risk of such an untried venture until 1891. Forthcoming issues, supplements, and the "extraordinary" Christmas numbers, were heavily publicised following Harding's favourable announcement of the magazine in *Typo* (28 June 1890 2). For several years from 1892, Brett printed weighty testimonials entitled "Opinions of The English Press." The *Liberal Review* judged it "highly entertaining", the *Review of Reviews* praised its "powerfully drawn cartoons [and] amusing illustrations of local politics", and the *Daily Post* stated "in all respects it is equal to many illustrated journals in England ... It is very remarkable that such a paper should be found in a colony" (*Auckland Star* 15 November 1892 3). The wrappers featured the promotional device, proven overseas, of competitions (Reed 65). An annual one for fiction stipulated "the incidents and general features of the story must refer to life or adventure in New Zealand as typified in the cities, the country, on the gold-fields or gum-fields, on a sheep run, in a wealthy home, or a struggling farm" (7 May 1892 473). Prizes were cash (£5, £3, £2) and the chance of publication, as these stories formed the literary core of the Christmas numbers and were often reprinted in the *Auckland Star*. New attractions at the turn of the century, such as completing a typographically bisected word, and regular drawing (*Auckland Star* 18 July 1899 6) and photographic competitions (*New Zealand Graphic* 10 March 7 1902) for local subjects³⁶ assume a visually literate audience.

Socially, advertising is credited with creating the modern consumer world of desire, satisfaction, status, and identity, intrinsically part of the growing activities of shopping,

selecting, purchase, and use. As many of these activities related to the domestic world and its responsibilities, advertising quickly developed a special relationship with women (Beetham 145-148). The absence of wrappers in institutional holdings of the magazine makes it difficult to know if there were any advertising contests of the type documented by Garvey to train the attention of women and children (*Adman* 51), however engagement with advertising is evidenced in photographs of the popular poster balls held in many towns and showing women and children in costumes skillfully imitating advertisements (Fig. 4.57). These demonstrate an acute familiarity with advertising trademarks, illustrations, and typography and closely link the local with the international, the commercial with the domestic, in fashionable social events.

A STRIKING COSTUME FOR A POSTER BALL.

4.57. "A Striking Costume for a Poster Ball", 28 September 1901 605.

Composing advertising

Advertisements become noticeable in the *New Zealand Graphic* by 1892 and on the 2 March 1895, there are 23, constituting 17.70% (4.25 pages) of the content, with the rates now managed by agents countrywide. Unusually, the advertisements are not isolated to the end as ‘back matter’ but follow the idiosyncratic practice of the *Illustrated London News* to spread over half of the magazine (14 pages), allowing greater integration with editorial content. Garvey identifies this as a radical practice for the time, found “in a very few magazines in the 1890s; it was not until the late 1910s that significant numbers of magazines mixed ads among articles and stories throughout, ultimately creating the magazine form we are familiar with today, with stories chopped up to continue on non-consecutive pages” (*Adman* 4). Beetham places this development earlier (149), but whether an advanced practice or not, from 1900 the *New Zealand Graphic* omits all advertisements from the central illustrated section of heavier quality paper, conventionally grouping them towards the end of the magazine. By 1908 advertisements are clustered in front pages and make up most of the back matter, leaving many pages, to all intents, exclusively editorial material. However two tactics disrupt this appearance: the placement of advertising on pages where they are closely linked to and appear to illustrate editorial content, something advertisers would undoubtedly pay for, and from 1900, their designed disguise as editorial matter in full-page layouts or insertion at the end of column text blocks.

The late nineteenth century is accepted as the time when brand names, with their accompanying graphic identities and trademarks, became established, and national and increasingly international advertising became the key to a product’s success (Reed 14), and from 1892 the *New Zealand Graphic* provides evidence of the wide reach of global brand marketing. Although local ads for proprietary foods, medicinal, and appearance products grew, that market remained dominated by overseas brands anchored by the traditional pills and potions (Ayers), food (Mellins infant and invalid food, Bird’s custard), soap (Pears’), and appearance (Brown’s corsets, KoKo hair tonic). On the 2 March 1895 there are 11 (.5 page) local advertisements and 16 (3.75 pages) international.³⁷ On 2 September, 1908, there are 38 local (6.5 pages) and 50 international (6 pages) advertisements, evidence local ads were becoming more ambitious in scale. Local ads dominate for gardening (9), agricultural products (2), and services such as photography, dentists, engineers, land agents, surveyors, banks and insurance companies. The international ads dominate medicinal advertising (10 to 1) as well as

food and soap (4 to 0) (Fig. 4.67). By now international advertising had the important role of introducing and marketing new technologies. Tyres, phonographs, sewing machines, bicycles, typewriters (the Yost) and automobiles (Oldsmobile) appeared on the pages of the magazine soon after they entered the market overseas.

Global Persuasion

In an import dependent economy, international brand advertising offered New Zealanders the same products available to a consumer in London or New York and incorporated the local audience into the language of the global market. Magazine business helped advertising became more professionalized as agencies developed from selling media space to providing copywriting and illustration services, then campaign management (Reed 105, Raymond Williams 329). The Victorians had developed early techniques of persuasion (Meggs 159), and by the 1890s recognisable marketing tropes were becoming encoded in agency designs. Brands prominent locally, such as Ayers, Homoea, and Pears', overtly targeted women with "heavy and prolonged campaigns" that marked the beginnings of "full scale modern advertising" (Williams 328), each concerned not only with brand recognition but also the association of the product with values and lifestyle. The form, and sequence, of these advertisements illuminate the role of design. J. C. Ayers advertised regularly in the *New Zealand Graphic*, relying on repetition and 'real life' testimonials (often locally particular) to build a sense of reliability in the suspect marketing of patent medicines. They used a formula developed by the American agency N. W. Ayer (no relation), known as "Ayer's Number 1", a portrait format with a bold caption and headline above an illustration in the top 3/5s of the composition (acting like a window), with a base of body text in 1 or 2 columns, ending with a logotype or trademark (Fig. 4.58).

The Father of Wellington
 Eighty-eight Years of Age; Cured of Rheumatism
 One Bottle Made the Cure.

Ayer's Sarsaparilla

Mr. John Plimmer, of Wellington, New Zealand, sends us his photograph from which the above illustration was made. He is known as the "Father of Wellington." He is eighty-eight years of age and one of the best-known residents of the city. His letter, which we give below, was written in a strong, clear, bold hand. He says:

"I consider Dr. Ayer's Sarsaparilla a great remedy for the rheumatism. I had suffered from that painful disease for many years. I was asked to try Dr. Ayer's Sarsaparilla and so I purchased a bottle. This one bottle of it cured me and I have not felt the slightest return of the trouble since. I always keep a bottle of it in the house, for I find it a very refreshing remedy for many conditions."

After reading this letter you are certainly not surprised that in all parts of the civilized world people call Dr. Ayer's Sarsaparilla

"The World's Greatest Family Medicine."

This great remedy takes out all poisons from the system and makes the blood pure and rich. You cannot have rheumatism, scrofula, boils, pimples, nervous exhaustion, and general debility if you will use Ayer's Sarsaparilla.

During the trying hot summers a few doses of it will rest and refresh you. It is a wonderful medicine for weak and delicate children, too; it gives them all the strength and vigor that belong to youth.

AYER'S Sarsaparilla

Restores the Sick to Health.

AYER'S PILLS are the best liver pills you can buy.

4.58. "Ayers" advertisement, 27 July 1901 181.

In a deviation from histories of the triumph of the image (Beetham 147), as typography proved constantly amenable to new methods of emphasis, advertisements in the *New Zealand Graphic* do not follow a trend to the pictorial. For 7 January 1895, purely typographic ads total 2 pages and those with illustrations 2.25 pages. In 1900 (30 June) advertisements are 6.25 pages (13%) of the magazine, 4 pages of typographic ads and 2.25 of illustrated. This rises in 1905 (23 December) to 13.50 pages (21%), 8 pages typographic and 5.50 illustrated, with illustrations falling equally between local and international ads (11 each). For 1908 (2 September) 7.25 are typographic and 5.25 illustrated. In 1912 (13 November) typographic ads again exceed those illustrated, 8.25 pages to 4.25 with the total percentage of advertising stable at 17.50%. The illustrated

advertisements do not favour full or half page advertising and there is no evidence the magazine followed overseas trends by using advertising revenue to pay for more editorial illustration (Reed 76), or that illustration dominated advertising, instead, whether for economic or aesthetic reasons, the evidence suggests commercial modernity in the *New Zealand Graphic* was strongly, and deliberately, typographic.

Colonial soap

International advertising was arguably as influential as editorial matter in the weekly *New Zealand Graphic*, because of its familiarity, regularity, and the universalising role of its rhetoric. Reed contends leading publications exercised editorial selection of advertisements deemed appropriate to their identity in order to maintain appeal and further enhance circulation (22, 74). The long running Pears' soap ads in the *New Zealand Graphic* may support this contention and it is possible they were further selected for design integration. Their brief consideration is also appropriate given that, as writing in the magazine demonstrates ("Nation-making", "For Hearth and Home"), this country participated in the discourse of colonisation as a destiny of the white races to bring order and the 'cleansing' and 'civilising' structures of progress to lands of darkness and ignorance (see Fig. 4.88). Anne McClintock's study *Imperial Leather*, an examination of the intertwined realms of race, gender, sexuality and class in colonisation with the role of the commodity racism of soap advertising, allies soap to the cult of domesticity and bourgeois respectability, as encoded in the tropes of cleanliness, purity, gendered obedience and domesticity exemplified by Pears'. Pears' slogan became embedded in social life, print and speech (Garvey *Adman* 80-82) here, as shown in "The Female Franchise Question" (21 May 1892 555),³⁸ where the central vignette replaces the motif of the crying baby reaching for his Pears' with a woman reaching for her vote, and the parodied caption "She won't be happy till she gets it" (Fig. 4.59).

4.59. Ashley Hunter, "The Female Franchise Question", 21 May 1892 555.

From 1892 Pears' was one of the first advertisers in the *New Zealand Graphic* to run regular half-page ads, often several in one issue, changing every six to twelve months. For most of the 1890s these utilised visual tropes of domesticity of the type analysed by McClintock, idealising the 'angel of the hearth' where in one, framed by roses and butterflies, a young mother cleanses the naked blonde baby on her lap, the focus her white hand delicately clasping a dripping sponge (Fig. 4.60).

4.60. "Pears'" advertisement, 2 March 1895 209.

The same hand, disembodied but standing in for the whole woman,³⁹ appears in further Pears' ads in a common practice of fragmenting the body as part of the process of reconstructing it out of commodities (Beetham 150). By the end of the century the female is represented entirely by the effects of her domestic labour with depictions of babies, bath-time, kittens, white linen and soap. In the age of the halftone Pears', in common with other major advertisers, continued to favour illustration perhaps as it was more reliable for a standard quality of reproduction when processes and paper stock remained variable, but a more important reason may have been the nature of the visual codes. The photograph was associated with the recording of everyday life, the private

made public, rather than the depiction of symbolic or imagined situations. As well as illustrating products and their use, they also portrayed individuals, which worked against consumer identification with a type (unless the individual was a celebrity). Even when extensively retouched (Beegan *Mass Image* 177-185), photographs were accepted as quasi-documentary, irrevocably linked to notions of reality and truth. Aspirational advertising, embedded in the tropes of fiction, relied on creating familiar scenarios the viewer could identify with by the purchase of a product (Beetham 149-150). The allure of desire and imagination in advertising precluded the photograph, whereas the artistry of illustration associated the product, through style and medium, as part of a symbolic and idealised realm. Pears' subsequent advertisements in the *New Zealand Graphic* were selected from those circulating internationally and did not feature imagery. Instead they conformed to the typographic modernity of the magazine, often introducing the fonts that would become popular on its pages and helping to integrate commercial and editorial style. In 1895 ads feature the ATF *Columbus* (Clouse 134-5) and *De Vinne* (ATF 590-605). In 1908, the linear borders, bold headings, and old-style typeface *Roycroft* (ATF 502), harmonise Pear's advertisement (Fig. 4.61) with the editorial emphasis on text, typography, and geometric organisation.

4.61. "Pears'" advertisement, 2 September 1908 56.

Demonstrated by the source of advertisements, New Zealand periodicals, including the *New Zealand Graphic* were critical for the growth of a New Zealand advertising industry. In the issues surveyed, local ads account for 11.75% of all advertisements in 1895, rising to 36% in 1900, 43% (33 ads) in 1905, 52% in 1908 (25 ads) and 50% in 1912. Charles Haines had been the first agent to begin managing advertising services in Wellington in 1891,⁴⁰ followed by John Ilott who worked with Brett on *Te Aroha News* and *Upper Thames Advocate*. Working with the *New Zealand Times* in Wellington in 1892, Ilott became managing agent for the *Auckland Star* group (including *New Zealand Farmer* and the *New Zealand Graphic*) and many of the country's major newspapers. Expanding services with demand, by 1911 he employed five others fulltime: his son known as Jack, a typist, an accountant, a copywriter, and artist Wal Burge from Australia (Ilott 17-18).⁴¹

Overseas, the professionalization of advertising became the key to independently verified circulation figures (Reed 14) and the growth and reform of the nineteenth century 'snake oil' industry into a modern, regulated practice. In 1898 the New Zealand Newspapers Proprietors Association (later the Newspaper Publishers' Association), began and by 1910 had developed licensing and accreditation of advertising agencies, and formalised and standardised their commission payments by the newspapers (Ilott 22). In 1912 there are 30 entries in *Wise's New Zealand Trade Directory* for advertising agents and contractors, and Gordon & Gotch, Hadfield & Company, Charles Haines, J. Ilott Ltd., and the New Zealand Advertising Agency of Dunedin are prominent, offering campaigns, copywriting and design. In competition, jobbing printers such as Wilkie's, and job departments of the newspapers, also offered advertising services. From 1888, New Zealand Railways, initially through the advertising arm of the Department of Internal Affairs, had been producing advertising aimed at a tourist market, as did the Department of Tourism and Health Resorts from 1901 (Fig. 4.62) with *De Vinne* prominent in heading type. Both were major clients for the *New Zealand Graphic*, regularly taking full-page advertisements, which in line with formal changes in the magazine were strongly typographic.

In 1912, the initialing of a series of small ads in the *New Zealand Graphic* for Partridge's store in Auckland, C. M. Emanuel, Icy-Kol shampoo, Security safes, and Skeate's jewellers, identifies the creator as well-known sketch artist and cartoonist John Collis Blomfield (Figs 4.64-6).⁴² Grant records him working for the *Wellington Free Lance* until 1908 (*Unauthorised Version* 42), when he became engaged in advertising. The ads typically have illustrations and lettering hand-drawn in his recognisable style, giving them a quirky identity and providing evidence that here, as overseas, artistic celebrity could have commercial benefits.

4.64. J. C. Blomfield, 'A Bad Tooth', 13 November 1912 46.

4.65. J. C. Blomfield, 13 November 1912 15.

4.66. J. C. Blomfield,
13 November 1912 9.

4.67. 13 September 1911 49.

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Advertising: variations and disruptions

From the turn of the century the increase in local advertising provides a measure of economic and social change. Advertisements for clothing and food indicate the growth of retailing and shopping (James Smith's, Smith and Caughey), boarding schools the rise in secondary education, hotels the rise of travel and tourism, engineers and architects a rise in infrastructure and building. Advertisements for boats, sporting goods, jewellery, garden plants, books, and insurance give evidence of an established society with more leisure and discretionary spending. The modest, everyday form of many local ads follow classified advertising methods, where the primary function is to give notice of a product or service, claim attention and announce availability, and can appear unsophisticated alongside those of the large global brands. While the types of product helps explain the pragmatism of such ads, there is a pride in displaying premises, and apparent regard for plain speaking indicating ambivalence towards the slicker techniques of persuasion.

Similarly, magazine tropes of femininity are not undisturbed. Reed, writing of Newne's *Tit-bits*, observes "by presenting information as discontinuous corpuscular fragments, its ironic contradictions, its diversionary qualities were emphasized. By eliminating the context, connections were ignored and undermined" (88). In the *New Zealand Graphic*, the juxtaposition of commercial and editorial matter at times acted disruptively as oppositional codes (Davis 127), such as the article considering the abolition of the House of Commons above a Pears' ad, placing the domestic and the public sphere in eloquent proximity (Fig. 4.60). Advertisements promoting bicycles balanced the negative stereotype of the new woman. A Yerex & Jones 'advertorial' with a photograph of a smiling, healthy girl cyclist is accompanied by the verse: "There's the walking girl and the talking girl, And the girl with nerves of steel; But the pearl of pearls, the girl of girls, Is the girl that rides a wheel." (16 December 1896 19). In 2 March 1895, the editorial column "Personal Paragraphs" includes a photograph of a wedding party. Against the thematic grain of women's fulfilment, with the bride, draped in white, at her defining moment of entry into the world of domesticity, an ad for Calliope Cycles appears prominently at the bottom of the page (207). Made in Christchurch, the most popular model the Calliope 'Scorcher' was aimed at the female market at a time when cycling represented the threat of the mobile woman, casting her femininity aside and embracing real as well as symbolic freedom (Garvey 112). Three pages further on (210), amongst "Orange Blossoms" and "Society Gossip" are two advertisements that use the familiar discourse of female pathology. One for Herr Rassmussen's pills, to permanently cure

“complaints peculiar to ladies”, the other for Dr. Frikart’s female pills, “guaranteed to remove all irregularities, no matter from what cause arising” (Fig. 4.68). Though couched in euphemisms of the time, such medicines were commonly, and optimistically, employed as abortifacients.⁴³ Their design uses the embolding of rules and upper case type to mimic editorial headings, claiming visual attention and implying veracity, and their placing on the women’s pages effectively disrupts the editorial celebration of matrimony and female ‘norms’. It is tempting to suppose the compositor responsible may have been one of the emancipated females employed in the *Auckland Star* stable.

In increasingly sophisticated ways, advertising complemented and contributed to the visual identity of the *New Zealand Graphic* and, like the magazine, utilised new technology and graphic styles in an eclectic mix of forms. When fiction was no longer illustrated from the mid-1890s, pictorial advertisements were placed on the fiction pages and provided visual variety on others. Line blocks remained in use throughout the magazine's life, but by the turn of the century many ads used halftones. When engravings disappeared from editorial pages, they remained in catalogue style ads favoured by jewellers. In the rapid circulation of visual codes and the nuances of their changes it can be difficult to establish whether advertisements stylistically influenced editorial matter or vice versa, and perhaps this is unimportant, what matters is the synchronic repetition and diachronic evolution of the visual language within the pages. The design of all advertisements was to draw the attention of the magazine browser, attuned to variety, to inform and persuade. In doing so they also needed to communicate, through typography and image, a relationship to contemporary life, so their design was a balance between repetition and change. Garvey reminds us the effects of advertising were social as much as economic, training readers to be configured as consumers (4). Advertising promoted and reinforced gender, class, and racial perceptions, and infiltrated its visual and symbolic codes into the ways people apprehended the world as well as themselves, but examples have shown it could also act subversively. The international advertising found in the *New Zealand Graphic* shows the beginnings of the persuasive techniques of the twentieth century, "a cultural pattern in which the objects are not enough but must be validated, if only in fantasy, by association with social and personal meanings" (Williams 335). In local advertising the consumer association is with the social and cultural values of the country, where everyday life aspired to modernity that in a condition of incompleteness was understated. Hyperbole was saved for the supplements, special issues, and Christmas numbers.

Supplements and Special Issues

As articulated in Brett's advertisements, the *New Zealand Graphic* arose from the desire "in literary and art circles for a medium through which the beauties of New Zealand scenery might be systematically delineated. In a land which has inspired so many poets and artists, the pictorial journal ought to find a natural home" (*Auckland Star* 26 May 1890 4). The fulfilment of this ambition was partly the role of supplements, special and souvenir issues to mark outstanding events and, especially, the Christmas numbers (a practice well established internationally by 1890). Supplements to the *New Zealand*

Graphic, usually one or two extra pullout pages within the standard issue, came without extra charge (unlike special numbers), and colour was heavily advertised as an added attraction (R. Johnston 388). Often exclusively of local subjects (Fig. 4.45), they were visually ambitious, and showcased new technologies such as chromolithography and later, process colour photography (Fig. 4.38).

Events covered with special issues included international exhibitions (six here between 1865 and 1925), Queen Victoria's Jubilee (1897), the royal visit by the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall (1901), and the coronation of Edward VII (1902). Royal commemorations were marked by distinctive covers commonly utilising conventions of heraldry and traditional symbols of empire and monarchy familiar from Chapter Three, at odds with the eclectic modernity of *New Zealand Graphic* weekly issues. However, for the coronation of George V in 1911, a restrained and formally balanced monochrome blue cover features the central allegorical figure of Victory (Nike) for peace (Fig. 4.69). Popular as the spirit of the age (that year modelled to stand atop the Rolls Royce radiator), she was drawn by regular artist Tom Quick bare-breasted, with wings outspread, and draperies moulding to her naked form (although looking alarmingly self-conscious in her pose). The hand-drawn lettering has the geometric characteristics of *Camelot Old Style* (ATF 455, in an outline style used for the 1905 Christmas number cover) and is also of the moment, the distinctive high crossbars precursors of 1920s Art Deco letters.

4.69. T. Quick, cover, 14 June 1911.

Christmas numbers

Advertising the local

In advertising *for* the Christmas numbers, the *New Zealand Graphic* boasts its own processes of production (“Full-page Engravings Beautiful Halftone Pictures” *Auckland*

Star 2 November 1897 3), the contents (exhaustively listed) devoted to “the pictorial representation of New Zealand”(10 October 1898 3), and the size and aesthetic quality (“An Artistic Triumph for Maoriland” *Weekly Graphic and New Zealand Mail* 11 October 1911 16).⁴⁴ The aim is to impress readers with the magazine’s industry, command of technology, and commitment to their information and pleasure (Sinnema 30). Beginning with the first Christmas number (1890) a “Large and Specially Attractive Number, composed entirely of Seasonal Tales, Articles, Poetry, Conundrums, &c. A SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT Of Eight pages is added making this ... the LARGEST AND MOST ATTRACTIVE CHRISTMAS NUMBER EVER ISSUED IN NEW ZEALAND AT THE PRICE” (3d), promotion was extensive, puffing the Christmas colour supplements as “affiches”, a term obviously familiar to readers.⁴⁵ Increasingly, the perceived audience for the Christmas number was offshore,⁴⁶ and reminders of the posting dates are regularly advertised (*Auckland Star* 28 November 1895 9).

Advertising *within* the Christmas numbers is varied and distinctive. With none in 1890, by 1895, advertising is 6.75 pages (25%), four of international ads. In notable contrast to the weekly issues, products aimed at men (whisky, tobacco, insurance) are more prevalent than soap, corsets, and hair shampoo, and are visually expressed by the masculine typography. The 2.75 local pages are mostly for tourism, somewhat suggestive of information graphics, with gridded layouts and plain typography (sans serifs and slab serifs Fig. 4.70). This graphic language developed in the second half on the nineteenth century for the communication of complex information, such as timetables, that were new features of society transformed by technology and travel, and is credited with providing the early model for the rational and detached functionalism of modernity (Kinross 30-40).

NEW ZEALAND HEALTH RESORT TOURISTS' WONDERLAND.

THE HOT MINERAL SPRINGS & GEYSERS. BATHS

Are established at WAIWERA, TE AROHA, OKOROIRE
ROTORUA in the North Island
And at HANMER in the South Island

Excellent Accommodation for Visitors is furnished. As Health Resorts all these Springs are year after year attracting a larger number of Visitors, who derive great benefit from the Thermal Waters. These have been found efficacious in the following diseases: CHRONIC, ARTICULAR and MUSCULAR RHEUMATISM, GOUT, RHEUMATIC GOUT, SCIATICA, SKIN DISEASES, LUMBAGO, NEURALGIA, NERVOUS EXHAUSTION, UTERINE AFFECTIONS, DISORDERS OF THE DIGESTIVE ORGANS, Etc. The Springs are all favoured with fine climates, with beautiful scenery either surrounding or in their immediate vicinity. Access is now easy by rail or coach.

The Magnificent Mountain, Bush and River Scenery of the North Island
Egmont, Ruapehu and Tongariro Mountains, the Wanganui and Waikato Rivers, Lakes Taupo, Rotorua, Rototiti, Rotoma, Waikaremoana, And the WONDERFUL SCENE OF THE TARAWERA ERUPTION IN 1895

THE UNSURPASSED MOUNTAINS AND LAKES OF THE MIDDLE ISLAND

Mount Cook, 12,349 Feet high; Lakes Manapouri, Te Anau, Wakatipu, Wanaka, Hawea, Lake Brunner and many others.

THE FAMED GORGES OF THE OTIRA AND BULLER RIVERS.

THE SUTHERLAND FALLS, 1902 Feet high SECOND HIGHEST IN THE WORLD.

THE WEST COAST SOUNDS

Now visited by the ordinary steamers of the Union S.S. Co., running between Melbourne and New Zealand. They are acknowledged to be superior in point of beauty and grandeur to the well-known Norwegian Fjords.

THE GLACIERS OF THE SOUTHERN ALPS THE REGIONS OF EVERLASTING SNOW AND ICE. * * *

THESE ARE NOW EASILY ACCESSIBLE

TO MOUNTAINEERS

The great attraction of many lofty peaks, still untrodden by the foot of man, is offered; whilst certain parts are as yet unexplored.

Travelling facilities at moderate fares are now provided by the Government Railways, by Steamers and well-conducted lines of Coaches, so that nearly all the above are within easy reach of even invalid or lady tourist, while the more adventurous, New Zealand offers a field unequalled in variety. Good Hotels exist on all Tourist Routes. The salubrious climate ensures not only healthy travelling change, but comfort in travelling, independent of the curative benefits to be derived from sojourn at any of the Mineral Springs.

NEW ZEALAND

GOVERNMENT RAILWAYS.

TOURIST SEASON, 1895-96.

TOURISTS' EXCURSION TICKETS.

FIRST CLASS, £8 (A) Available over all Government lines throughout New Zealand (private lines excepted) for six weeks from date of issue.

FIRST CLASS, £5 (B) Available over all Government lines in the North Island (private lines excepted) for four weeks from date of issue.

FIRST CLASS, £6 (C) Available over all Government lines in the Middle Island (private lines excepted) for four weeks from date of issue.

These Tickets will be issued on any date (Sundays excepted) between the 1st November, 1895, and 1st March, 1896, and are obtainable as follows:—A and B at Auckland, Napier, Wanganui and Wellington; and A and C at Lyttelton, Christchurch, Dunedin, Port Chalmers, Invercargill and Bluff Railway Stations.

HOT LAKES.

Return Excursion Tickets from Auckland to Rotorua, available for three months. Fares—First Class, £2 5s; Second Class, £1 10s.

TE AROHA HOT SPRINGS.

Auckland to Te Aroha and back by rail only. First Class, £1 10s; Second Class, £1 (available for two months). ROUND TRIP TICKETS—Auckland to Te Aroha by rail, Te Aroha to Thames by coach, Thames to Auckland by steamer, and vice versa, are issued at the following rates, available for two months. First Class, £1 14s; Second Class, £1 8s.

OKOROIRE HOT SPRINGS.

Auckland to Okoroire and back. First Class, £1 15s; Second Class, £1 2s 6d (available for two months).

THE COLD LAKES AND THE GLACIAL DISTRICT OF OTAGO.

WAKATIPU, WANAKA, HAWEA, MANAPOURI, TE ANAU, SUTHERLAND FALLS, &c.

Return Excursion Tickets, available for two months, will be issued from 1st November, 1895, to 31st March, 1896, as under:—

TO KINGSTON (Lake Wakatipu) including saloon steamer passage (Kingston to Queenstown and back).	First Class	Second Class
Christchurch (via Waimata line or Invercargill)	£5 12 6	£4 0 0
Dunedin (via Waimata line only)	2 10 0	2 0 0
Dunedin (via Waimata line or Invercargill)	2 17 6	2 5 0
Invercargill (via either Kingston or Gore and Waimata line)	2 0 0	1 10 0
Invercargill (via Kingston line only)	1 12 6	1 5 0

HANMER PLAINS HOT SPRINGS.

Through booking by rail and coach to the Springs. Through Tickets by rail and coach to Hanmer Springs will be issued at Christchurch, Papanui, and Kaiapoi daily during the summer months (and thereafter twice weekly, viz: on Tuesdays and Saturdays) available for return for two months. Return through fares: First Class, 30s.

THE SOUTHERN ALPS AND AORANGI

(The Ice Region of New Zealand)

("The Cloud Piercer.")

THROUGH BOOKING TO MOUNT COOK.

Tickets for the through journey by rail to Fairlie, thence by coach to Mount Cook Hermitage, will be issued between the 1st November 1895, and the 31st March, 1896, as follows:— RETURN FARES (including coach fares)—From Dunedin: First Class, £5 10s; Second Class, £5 2s 6d. From Christchurch: First Class, £5 5s; Second Class, £4 17s 6d. Available for return for two months, subject to the coach portion of the journey being completed on or before April 30th, 1896. The grandeur of the scenery of this district has no parallel outside the polar regions.

TO PEMBROKE (Lake Wanaka) including saloon steamer passage, Kingston to Queenstown and back, and coach Queenstown to Pembroke and back.

First Class, 70s.

From Dunedin (via Waimata line only)

The steamer service is conducted by the Lake Wakatipu Steamship Company. The Coach Service is conducted by Messrs. Craig & Co. The Railway Department does not hold itself responsible for the running of steamers and coaches.

CHRISTMAS, NEW YEAR AND EASTER HOLIDAYS.—Excursion Tickets at very low fares will be issued at the various Railway Stations. For further particulars see advertisements in daily papers.

And is now prepared to do all classes of
DYEING and CLEANING at Lowest Rates

Works : MARKET ROAD, EPSOM.

Country Orders by Post receive special
attention.

Telephone 1743

Receiving Deposits Karangahape Road—
Opposite Tabernacle, Onehunga—Mr. Le
mau; Mount Eden—Mr. Cuckey; Poneke—
—Mr. Wood.

Goods collected from and delivered to on order.

T. M. LANE & SONS
Ship, Yacht, Launch Builders and Designers

OIL LAUNCHES ON SALE AND BUILT TO ORDER.
Estimates and Designs on Application.

Sole Agents for the MONARCH OIL ENGINE
From 1½ h.p. up to 150 h.p., (2 and 4 cycle).
MOTOR LAUNCHES A SPECIALTY.
KING'S DRIVE, AUCKLAND, and TOTARA NORTH

Best House in New Zealand for Large Hair Nets. Sole Agent for the Famous Crown and Royal Hair Frames.
Ladies' Hairdressing, Haircutting, Singeing by a Skilled Lady Hairdresser. Ladies' Combing made up.
Orders Through Post receive prompt attention

Go-carts, Sewing Machines, and
Household Requisites the Latest
Goods at the Lowest Prices . .
CASH or from 2s. 6d.

S. S. CLARKE, KARANGAHAPE ROAD
AUCKLAND
Illustrated Catalogues Posted Free

Mineral Water, combines a Grecian nymph (with glass) and a harvest scene, set against indigenous nikau and ferns. Other fullpage ads are for New Zealand Railways, the New Zealand Government Department of Tourism and Health Resorts, and Collins publishers. While these are principally typographic, they use contemporary typefaces and clean geometric layouts. Unlike editorial matter advertising does not become exclusively local and international advertisements are mostly for insurance, housewares (including sewing machines), appearance and medicinal. In contrast, the local advertisements extend the range of products in the weekly issues: alcohol, clothing, engines, jewellery, cooking stoves, clothes and food, as do the services, for shipping, agriculture, real estate, accommodation, engineering, cleaning, architecture, decorating, signwriting, hairdressing, dentistry, optical, accounting, importing, auctioneering, bricklaying. They represent all of the services and amenities expected in a consumer society of the time, using visual forms that intentionally signify modernity. The variety of advertising for the local market, in a publication that was popularly exported, builds an image of the country as productive, prosperous, and progressive (Figs 4.71-2).

32 NEW ZEALAND GRAPHIC CHRISTMAS NUMBER. JOURNAL, INC.

EDWARDS' "HARLENE" FOR THE HAIR
 GREAT HAIR PRODUCER, RESTORER & DRESSING.
 A LUXURY AND A NECESSITY TO EVERY MODERN TOILET.
 The very finest dressing, specially prepared & perfected. Fragrant & Refreshing.

"HARLENE"
 Produces Luxuriant Hair. Prevents its Falling Off and Turning Grey.
 UNEQUALLED FOR PROMOTING THE GROWTH OF THE BEARD & MUSTACHE.

**THE WORLD-RENEWED
 REMEDY FOR BALDNESS.**
 For Curing Weak and Thin Scalps. Preventing Thinning, and Restoring the Hair luxuriously full, for Sporting, Short, Beard, etc., also for Retaining Grey Hair to its Natural Color.

IT IS WITHOUT A RIVAL.
 Physicians and Analysts pronounce it to be second to no other hair dressing.

WHY NEGLECT YOUR CHILDREN'S HAIR?
 EDWARDS' "HARLENE" Preserves, Strengthens, & Invigorates it. Prevents and Cures all species of Scurf, keeps the Scalp Clean, and Always all Irritation.

LOSING HAIR AFTER INFLUENZA.
 Remember that every hair which has fallen out will grow again if the scalp is kept clean and healthy by the use of EDWARDS' "HARLENE". It will also prevent the hair from falling out again.

1s. 6d. and 2s. 6d. (Cable 2s. 6d. and 4s. 6d. per Bottle, from Chemists, Hairdressers, and Purveyors all over the World, or sent direct by Post-Order.)
 EDWARDS' "HARLENE" CO., 85, High Holborn, London, W.C.

GRAND HOTEL, ROTORUA.
 CONTAINS OVER EIGHTY ROOMS. REFRESH WITH EVERY MODERN LUXURY AND CONVENIENCE.
 COOKING AND OTHER DEPARTMENTS FIRST-CLASS.
 Country situated close to Rotorua, Te Anau and Whangarei Bays.
 Daily's Breakfasts accepted.

W. A. BOULTON, Manager.

GEYSER HOTEL, * * OKOROIRE, * * LAKE HOUSE HOTEL.
 WHAKAREWAREWA.
 For information and details of the various services of this place, apply to the Manager.

Building Accommodation First-Class.
 Rooms, bath, and other facilities for the comfort of the guests. The whole of the Accommodation of the Thermal District are situated at Whakarewarewa.

THE WHOLE OF THE ACCOMMODATION OF THE THERMAL DISTRICT ARE SITUATED AT WHAKAREWAREWA.
 The hotel is situated on the shore of Lake Taupo, and is the most convenient place for the accommodation of the public.

Food, 15s. per day, all day, 20s. per week.
 COOKING DEPARTMENTS ACCEPTED. C. E. WELDON, Manager.

OKOROIRE.
 All Visitors to Okoroire are specially advised to visit OKOROIRE, and to stay at the OKOROIRE HOTEL.

WELL-BUILT CONVENIENT, CONVENIENT ONLY IN THE DISTRICT.
 Okoroire is the most attractive spot in the whole of the Thermal District.

ROTORUA REFRESH WITH EVERY COMFORT.
 Rotorua is the most attractive spot in the whole of the Thermal District. The hotel is situated on the shore of Lake Taupo, and is the most convenient place for the accommodation of the public.

LAKE HOUSE HOTEL.
 Situated on the shore of Lake Taupo, and is the most convenient place for the accommodation of the public. The hotel is situated on the shore of Lake Taupo, and is the most convenient place for the accommodation of the public.

One of the most comfortable, best appointed, and most conveniently situated hotels in the district.
 First-class house, first-class management, and first-class service, all at the lowest possible rates.

Rooms, 15s. per day, all day, 20s. per week.
 COOKING DEPARTMENTS ACCEPTED. T. C. URQUHART, Manager.

4.72. 19 December 1896 32.

In New Zealand at this time, indigenous flora and fauna, and Maori, were increasingly utilized for local trademarks and brand identity (Wolfe 24 – 39) but few of these appear in the advertising pages of the *New Zealand Graphic*. Unlike editorial illustrations, Maori were only symbols of the country in advertising for government tourism and Puriri mineral water, while the ads for Northern Roller Mills unusually integrates them into a community of diverse ethnicity and class, united by consumption (Fig. 4.73).

4.73. “Northern Roller Mills” advertisement, Christmas number, 1908 vi.

Christmas numbers: editorial

Composition and media syntax

The first Christmas edition (20 December 1890) of 24 pages was in size, typography, and layout the same as the weekly issues but the content was not. The 11 pages of text (75% fiction and verse, 25% nonfiction) were all local with the exception of 2.75 pages of unattributed children’s pages. The 35 illustrations accounted for 13 pages (54%) with 10 imported and 25 local images, mostly of scenery and Maori. The imported illustrations were engravings, the local are line blocks (two signed “STAR Steam Litho”),

and the two cover halftones, portraits of the Governor Lord Onslow, his wife and child, are naturalised with native clematis decoration. In line with competitors such as the *Weekly News* Christmas was initially marked by two productions of the *New Zealand Graphic* (both at times called numbers). This study distinguishes those dated in the Christmas week as issues, and those with only a year date as a number.

From 1893 Christmas numbers were printed on coated paper (R. Johnston 441), important for the quality of image reproduction needed to do justice to the five full-page chromolithographed illustrations of that year, as well as the halftone photographs. The 1895 issue (18 December) consisted of 28 pages of high quality super-calendered paper, at least 10 gsm thicker in weight (an estimate is 100 gsm) than that of the normal issue, the 1/- price unchanged to 1913. As with many of the issues extant, the colour pages have been detached. Content is 5.50 pages (19.75%) editorial text, 2.25 a fictional story “The Vengeance of Ramari” by Mrs B J MacLean. 15.75 pages (56.25%) are pictorial.

In 1908, the now entirely separate Christmas number totals 60 pages between coloured front and back covers. Compared with weekly issues, photographic halftones have more than doubled and all are local – of Maori in traditional dress, scenery well known or little discovered, popular pastimes (yachting, at the beach), and progress in farming and railways. Two supplements are a contrast of now old-fashioned chromolithography (“The Drop Scene: Wanganui River, N.Z.”), and an impressive three fold halftone panorama, “Volcano Land in our Dominion: Ngauruhoe and Ruapehu, from the Summit of Tongariro”, photography here giving veracity to nature’s spectacle. One page only (1.50%) is editorial text (an account of climbing in Tongariro National Park), designed as a double page spread with text run around decorated photographs (Fig. 4.74). 46.50% of the number is illustrated, 44.50%, (18.50 pages) with a mix of halftone photography combined with decorative artwork, tinted mauve or grey-green (Fig. 4.80).

4.74. Christmas number, 1908 18-19.

The rhetoric of identity: indigeneity, environment and gendered ethnicity

The covers of the Christmas numbers are distinguished by their subject of the Maori female (Figs. 4.75-6) beginning with “A Maori Belle” of 1894. As a stereotype she appears in many illustrations to fiction, such as those by freelance artist Kennett Watkins⁴⁷ (Fig. 4.77). Artwork in 1895 is of the highest standard yet achieved by the magazine (Figs 4.78), with the majority of illustrations treated as fine art reproductions, printed full page on quality paper, with integrated vignettes, framing, and titles (Figs 4.77-8) a European decorative style described by Reed (73). These qualities confer conviction and graphic integrity to the creation of a visual spectacle mixing the familiar and the exotic, and set the mark for the content, representation, technical, and aesthetic values for future numbers. From the full colour cover, to the inside integration of text and image, design in the Christmas *New Zealand Graphic* distilled, concentrated, and promoted national identity, with Maori and scenery as a total package of indigeneity to an obsessive extent. In the manifold reasons of popularity, profitability, and new technology, competition from the nationalist agendas of local rivals⁴⁸ to meet demand

“largely directed towards the photographic portrayal of the New Zealand environment” and the “Maori belle” (R. Johnston 434-7),⁴⁹ emerges as a powerful market driver.

4.75. Tom Ryan, “A Maori Belle”, 18 December 1894.

THE NEW ZEALAND GRAPHIC,

LADIES JOURNAL

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1895.

PRICE: (WITH COLOURED SUPPLEMENT) 1/-

THE CHIEFTAIN'S DAUGHTER.

4.76. Tom Ryan, "The Chieftain's Daughter", 18 December 1895.

4.77. Kennett Watkins, illustrations to 'The Vengeance of Ramari', 18 December 1895 4-5.

4.78. 18 December 1895 13.

4.79. Robert Hawcrdige, 'In and About Dunedin', 18 December 1895 16.

Glorious scenery

As part of the manifesto to illustrate the country's natural beauties, the *New Zealand Graphic* continually featured scenic images that reflected complex Victorian ideas of

'nature' and the picturesque, to lure the wealthy traveler and health-seeker traversing the globe in search of the sublime, the wonderful, and the healing (Margaret McClure 9). Images of natural marvels, from the North Island geothermal district to Milford Sound in the South, became recognized as distinctively New Zealand as much as Maori. Scenery, painted, drawn, and photographed, was the staple of editorial images but was always presented as under ownership of the settlers. The scenic dominated the Christmas numbers, and although it did not replace Maori on the cover, was the subject of the most ambitiously designed pages (Fig. 4.80), where flora and fauna popular in artistic framing and decoration directed the interpretation of the more objective photograph.

The land is also, conversely, a resource for exploitation, a sign of the progressive nation. Change is charted, from the Kennett Watkins illustrated poem by Samuel White, "Ode to the Vanishing Forests of New Zealand" in 1898 (Fig. 4.81), to the photographic collection "The Picturesque Side of New Zealand's Famous Kauri Industry" in 1908. Images of breaking-in bushland, logging, and mining become common at the same time editorial reporting documents the rise of concern for the loss of forest and scenery through the march of civilization. Farmland only acquires scenic values, and then gradually, into the twentieth century, when there is a corresponding rise in images of the build environment, accompanied by suitably modern typography. By this time the majority of the population lived in towns, and against a growing idealization of the natural landscape, the city offered concrete signs of the modernizing nation (Fig. 4.82). These failed to attain much iconographic resonance as the scenic images astutely offered an alternative set of values to the metropole. Supported by the hyperbole of advertising, "Laughing Waters under Rain-washed Skies; River, Forest and Freedom; Where the Throbbing World Sinks to Silence" (October 1911 10) images contrast the crowded, hectic urban life in modern cities with an uncontaminated, healing, arcadia as the enlightened home for healthy social values.

4.80. Christmas Number 1906.

Noble Chiefs

Illustrations to romantic fiction, such as those by Mrs Bullock, Europeanise, gentrify, and stereotype the Maori protagonist. In her 1893 Christmas story, “Only A Maori”, the highborn hero’s garb of gaiters, knee breeches, and floppy tie symbolises his natural nobility compared to the villain of the story, an aristocratic Englishman in pursuit of his pakeha sweetheart, but Hawcridge’s framing effects, and the isolation of the lovers in a circular bubble, perceptively locates them in a dream world (Fig. 4.83).

4.83. Robert Hawcridge, illustration to “Only a Maori”, 20 December 1893 17.

As well as stereotyping Maori, the Christmas numbers submerged individual histories and tribal identity in romanticised myth. The ethnographic, pre-contact Maori was idealised in the stance of an active warrior. His descendants were traditionally dressed but photographed in studios against plain backgrounds, passively posed, and detached

from the land. Literally and symbolically, they are framed by European aesthetics, which emphasise the trope of decline (Fig. 4.84).

4.84. Christmas number, 1906 8.

Dusky Maidens

In representations of the Maori female, the mix of ethnographic voyeurism and proprietary attitudes becomes intensified. She was popular as an embodiment of motherhood, in multiple versions of Anna Rupene and child,⁵⁰ appearing in this guise on the Christmas cover of 1905. The skillful 1906 representation is similarly one of dignity (Fig. 4.85). In her role as a dusky maiden, symbolic of the race (or land) tamed, she becomes subject to conventionalized treatment of the female as the subject of the masterful male gaze, to which is added the sexual desire for the 'other', expressed visually in skin, hair, eyes and costume. That her poses, often bare breasted and with arms raised, a gesture of display as well as submission, graced the covers and inside pages of a magazine which advertised itself as a publication of taste, suitable for all the family, gives evidence how deeply embedded in European consciousness and the imperial project this trope was.⁵¹ The chromolithographic, plakastil style cover of 1904 by J. F. Ward, depicts a piupiu clad Maori wahine, different from the Art Nouveau

female subject in that she is barebreasted, framed in a highly decorative halo of huia feathers and linear Maori pattern (Fig. 4.86). The idiosyncratic design meshes geometricised Jugendstil (German Art Nouveau) in the decoration, Arts and Crafts in the formality and centre balance, and a popular print modernity in the colour scheme and comic style block lettering. The naturalistic potted palm and kiwi again remind us this hybridity serves a prime message of place.

4.85. Cover, Christmas number 1906.

4.86. J. F. Ward, cover, Christmas number 1904.

The Art Nouveau framing of the dusky maiden continued in 1906,⁵² and in 1908 the hybrid components were intensified (Fig. 4.87). The magazine title is made prominent by handdrawn, inline white and gold *Copperplate Gothic* lettering, stylised and flattened clematis paniculata flowers, and abstract pattern which strongly emphasise the geometry

of Jugendstil; the sophisticated colour scheme is dark and light green, lemon yellow and gold. These elements enclose and focus the eye on the central tinted photograph of a native beauty. Her traditional feather cloak draws attention to her concealed nakedness, the erotic pose that of a corset model (Fig. 4.71), unacceptable in editorial illustration if she were European (Beetham 148). For ethnic women, “the overt eroticism of their representation” (Alicia Carroll 24) was conventional, in an impulse that united the ethnographic and voyeuristic with the decorative and artistic (Stephen Hamilton 17).

4.87. Cover, Christmas number 1908.

On the title page, a vignette of a young Maori girl continues the colonial framing (Fig. 4.88). Here the pubescent ‘budding beauty’ has been ‘civilised’, her hair is contained, her ‘Mother Hubbard’ dress modest and symbolically white and she is framed by maidenhair fern. However the phallic bulrushes, and heart and rose on her breast reveal the persistent undertones of eroticism. While the cover design emphasises the “commonplace that the primitive was associated with unbridled sexuality” (Carroll 2), the visual rhetoric of the title page alludes to the trope of the European woman as agent of purity and domestication (Carroll 3, 16). The native girl is modelled in her image, yet retains the defining allure of race.

4.88. Title page, Christmas number 1908 1.

The dusky maiden was not an invention of New Zealand settlers, but a product of the European imagination made manifest in text and image and dating back to discoveries of the Orient (Said 4-5), and the early voyages of exploration in the Southern Ocean. Like the “eminently handsome” Maori male of fiction, she inhabited another European construct, what McClintock called the pornotropics, the warm and exotic lands of colonization which served as “a fantastic magic lantern of the mind onto which Europe projected its forbidden sexual desires and fears” (22). In New Zealand she appeared in tales of runaways, sealers, whalers, and Pakeha-Maori during first contact in the Bay of Islands, and was made responsible for the fall of more than one missionary. She had a long history in popular print, but it was as the designed personification of a country that she appeared on the covers of the Christmas *New Zealand Graphic*.

In considering the role of magazines in the formation of modern nations, Kaitlin Kayer has written of the agenda of *Ladies' Home Journal* editor Edward Bok for American women to “learn, decorate and execute certain American ideals” in a process of developing patriotism known as Americanization (1). This relied principally on popularizing the iconographic symbolism of the flag, eagle, and personified Liberty. Inextricably linked to business and ‘the American way’, Bok’s campaign met unprecedented success in helping establish the signs of American identity and their accompanying values. Here, the allegorical Zealandia, a pale, gown-clad female, was insipid against Liberty, Britannia, or Marianne, and failed to capture the popular imagination. New Zealand appears unique in developing the indigenous inhabitants into icons of nation, and using their culture “to provide the descendants of the settlers with a history peculiar to themselves” (Jane Stafford and Mark Williams 11). That the blending of fact and romantic fantasy in the concept of ‘Maoriland’ was “peculiar” is affirmed by the continual satirisation of this strategy in the aggressively nationalist *Sydney Bulletin*.⁵³

Gibbons has warned that treatment of the European signification of Maori within a discrete discipline such as graphic art and design, is in danger of missing contextualisation within the total postcolonial discourse of the European treatment of indigenous culture which apprehends it as part of a wider colonising strategy (“Cultural Colonisation” 31-5). He describes cultural appropriation thus:

Pakeha can valorize and utilize elements of Maori culture as they please, without direct experience of Maori people or their culture, without any appreciation of

how the cultural elements relate to their whole original cultural context, and without any authorization from the proprietors of that culture. ... The process may be called cultural appropriation. ... cultural appropriation involves the unauthorised utilisation of elements of the signifying systems of the indigenous people by a settler society through incorporation of these elements into the signifying systems of the settler society ("Cultural Colonisation" 32).

By the above definition the Christmas numbers, through the visual representation of New Zealand by the indigenous, exercised power over Maori by stereotyping and appropriation. Bhabha has reminded us ideas of 'nations' rely on unifying and totalising myths, and these are performative (358), they must be enunciated, made visible, and iterated, and this was the crucial role of design. Framed by contemporary style, Maori were intrinsic to national identity, but their space in the nation was allocated and their image was controlled, an epistemological strategy that through visual representation incorporated Maori into the European imagination and enabled the historical space of the settlers to emerge from the medium (Paul Carter). Hamilton contends the use of the symbolic Maori in a later magazine (the *Mirror*) effectively rendered contemporary Maori, and their concerns, invisible (15), however Petersen claims for the early twentieth century there is no evidence of Maori opposition to their representation, but much of them welcoming the attention as recognition of their integral place and importance in the country, a semblance of status, despite European motives (69-71).

Conclusion

Further investigating the two Research Questions towards the thesis aim, this chapter has collected new primary data and used formal analysis to examine the integrated, complex role of design in a local form of the late nineteenth century illustrated magazine, the *New Zealand Graphic and Ladies' Journal*. It has also accomplished the chapter aims of contextualizing these within relevant international and local changes in print technology, economics, and society in order to study how and why different geographies and cultures adapt models and conventions developed in the genre. The *New Zealand Graphic and Ladies' Journal* began as an ambitious imitation of its competition,⁵⁴ high quality imported magazines, and kept pace with international change in commerce, technology, form, and content in the incorporation of advertising and a focus on contemporary society (Reed 64). Concurrently, the magazine in all its forms

(weekly issues, supplements, special issues and Christmas numbers) was modified by the market here to articulate a visual rhetoric of place, described by historians as the first development of a national consciousness⁵⁵ (Belich 50). In another competitive move in 1908 the magazine became an illustrated weekly newspaper but did not change its intent to portray New Zealand's emergent vision of itself in the world. Throughout its life the *New Zealand Graphic* also gives evidence of the growth of graphic design here, and the ability of the producers to apprehend and manipulate changing visual codes.

In a first study of design in an historic New Zealand illustrated magazine, new knowledge is diverse, and in a subject of such complexity, the thesis themes deeply interwoven. Evidence of change in the status of ephemera through the popularity and range of illustrated magazines available here, and the precedents and motivations (alongside the economic) for launching the *New Zealand Graphic and Ladies' Journal* has been provided. The inaugural title, catering to men and women, indicated the broad appeal necessary in a small but crowded market and the identification of its middle class models (*Illustrated London News*, *Graphic*, *Ladies' Home Journal*, *Scribner's*, *Harper's* and *Century*) initially from both Britain and America, locate it socially. These also provided further competition, although this only partially explains the magazine's ambitions to match them in style and quality. As the *New Zealand Graphic* evolved, the design demonstrated an unambiguous, persistent American influence, from the consistent use of their rationalised typefaces, the rococo framing of photographic images, and the twentieth century regularisation of layout. It also demonstrated an American attitude to competition, notions of progress and modern style, in a quick appreciation of technology and visual trends.

While Britain was one source of design ideas (Kriegel 199), notably the Arts and Crafts, it was the adaptation of professional codes from popular print culture in America that most influenced the *New Zealand Graphic*. The exchange of ideas between the metropolises at this time (London, New York, Paris, Vienna, Glasgow) is well documented in design history (Meggs, Aynsley, Jubert, Heller) but this small study demonstrates they were not passively received 'on the margins' but underwent further modification for place and audience, in a form of domestication. Fry considers imported magazines "registered the look and operation of a modern world" ("A Geography" 25) while essentially transferring ideas to a dependent margin where modernity was not intrinsic, but replicated, in a power relationship that is not reciprocal. This study suggests this is an

oversimplification for visual communication design, that influences are more multiple, power may lie in selection and synthesis creating new combinations, and that the dynamic practiced is more complex when the assumption of modernity is a strategic part of identity that is transferred back, and when modernity itself is fluid.

The priority the *New Zealand Graphic* gave to creating both a social and a national identity and in marketing this image overseas, required it to transgress the problem of “the historically situated colonial culture of production without identity” (Banu 311), where any local production to meet local needs is unaccountable by virtue of derivativion from the metropolis. This situation was no less endemic in print than in products⁵⁶ and the magazine promoted identity for local and offshore audiences with two strategies: through the locations particularized subjects of imagery, and the internationally applicable stylistic connotations of typographic form. Regular formal change both expressed and constituted this purpose, on one level undoubtedly contributing to the novelty, variety, and fashionableness demanded in the genre, on another connecting aesthetic practice with the everyday life of the reader. In editorial and advertising matter, this change stayed in step with the rationalised, standardised changes in style symbolizing new values. Utilising the syntax of visual media by promoting process and half tone image reproduction, and by adapting the rhetoric of typographic form and illustration style (discarding Victorian media and decoration) the *New Zealand Graphic* unequivocally signified a belief in, and alignment with, progressive modernity.

At the same time, visual iconography was notably concerned with imaging the environment and gendered ethnicity, in a dialogue of the international and ‘here.’ The separate Christmas numbers, with exclusively local pictorial matter and mostly local advertising, displayed the indigenous landscape and people, and to a lesser extent the progress of settlement, as attractive and powerful icons of identity. Popular overseas,⁵⁷ their status as a showcase of design and print was crucial to market success and as annuals they continued long after the demise of the weekly magazine in 1913. The representation of Maori, accepted by the viewing audience of the time, may be distasteful to postmodern sensibilities. Carroll, writing of nineteenth century British novelists in *Dark Smiles*, questions the assumptions that the use of the tropes of orientalism and the exotic indicated the makers were “wholeheartedly committed

participant(s) in the national project of Empire” (xvi). The same interrogation of assumptions must stand for the creators of the *New Zealand Graphic*.

The artists, designers, composers and editors responsible for the dynamic stylistic changes in typography and image (and the skills with associated technologies) found in the magazine, which signified genre, content and topicality to the audience as much as they were content themselves, were in part responding to demand, in part stimulating it. During a lifetime engagement with stylistic modernity, the aesthetic education and visual literacy of these workers expanded with that of the audience, continually educated by the magazine it self.⁵⁸ Advertising, increasingly serviced by the young industry here, became more sophisticated and aligned with editorial purpose. In scale comparably smaller and in forms and techniques less aggressive than global brand advertising, its increased presence particularises a local, capitalist, commodity culture (Williams 328).

The study of designed change in the *New Zealand Graphic* significantly supports network theories that there is no static model for graphic design, that transmission, influence and innovation most follow descriptors of ANT ‘worknets’: active productive processes defined by multi-directional movement. This further suggests a concept of design as manifold, constantly adaptive, and intrinsically bound up with locality and audience. Whether in the metropolis or its hinterland, the appropriations of professional codes are part of a socio-cultural process which always allows a degree of freedom to modify and to adapt, and helps the understanding of cultural evolution in different regions (Calvera 379). Without adaptation design fossilizes.

The *New Zealand Graphic* was vital in assisting the establishment of a local settler culture and its particular gender patterns, building on myths begun in advertising for settlement (Belich 22, 50). It adapted professional codes of modernity to articulate values of material and social progress, at the same time it elaborated images of the indigenous to make them a recognisable set of icons symbolising the country, and both aspects of identity were accepted here, and exported and established overseas. In this way, the vitality of the design, constantly purposeful in constructing identity, takes on enhanced significance as the driver for the magazine, for local social and cultural formation and expression, for recognition elsewhere, and for the skills and artistry with which these are communicated. In the Christmas numbers, the most intense constructions of national identity can be seen bringing an imagined community, and nation into being as it was

still physically being constructed. In the now controversial representations of Maori, the *New Zealand Graphic* contributed to “multiple discourses” in depictions “of the desirous English self and the racial or ethnic other” (Carroll xvi), which in any representation must be understood as a construct (socially, culturally, historically). Like the form of the magazine itself, this study has shown these representations are various, contradictory, able to be subject to multiple readings simultaneously, and shifting over time and place.

The fabrication and maintenance of a unique national identity had some commercial imperative with the rise of tourism but it had a longer history. It evoked and met “solidifying ideologies” (Sinnema 46) of the country as a place of natural beauty, one whose progressiveness was marked by harmonious class and race relations (if not of gender) between industrious settlers and exceptional natives. Design in the *New Zealand Graphic* used the visual language of modernity, entangled as it was with representations of indigenous identity, to offer an alternative set of values to the metropole, making a claim for the values of natural and human resources. Social and racial health and cohesion in arcadia could be contrasted with human discord and degeneration in contaminated, unnatural cities. The visual rhetoric of this nationalism was “constructed out of desire” (47) and realized through design. As a mediating channel the magazine fed back and made familiar a fragmented world to enable a unification in the reader’s mind (Beegan *Mass Image* 109), cohering these fragments into thematic threads that wove a contingent pattern of identity and reflected the yearnings of the time.

In a wider sense, this local study acts to extend and enrich understanding of graphic design as both a product of commerce and a process for cultural exchange and formation when apprehended socially and geographically. Magazines are concerned with culture and society, and can be seen not as singular products of a dominant central locale but as heterogeneous forms through adoptions and adaptations to new sites and users, in the hands of new initiators, undergoing various transformations, that in the *New Zealand Graphic* support theories of hybridisation. The magazine achieves design legitimacy, if such a validation is needed, as a model of the complexity and ambivalence of this process. The rapid and substantial growth and quality of local material, and the known careers of illustrators, further provides evidence the *New Zealand Graphic* played the role of an incubator for local talent, the form confirming the practice of graphic design here, and its exceptional ability to synthesise the international and the local in a production of effective visual coherence.

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- ¹ Reed has concluded that the widely different industrial structures of Britain and America, and the “entirely different audience” for magazines in each country ensured different and nationally identifiable products (99, 129 – 30) which nonetheless crossed the cultural and economic divide of the Atlantic as popular imports and when both Britain and America had periods of publishing foreign editions (Reed 98).
- ² The American cover prices of 35¢ and 25¢ respectively, become in New Zealand 15/- for *Harper's* and *Scribner's* and a heavy £1.2.0 for *Century*. The cheapest magazine, at 4/- per number for town purchasers is *Chatterbox*, a small periodical for children. The most expensive include *Engineer* and the British society magazine *Queen* at £2, the *Economist* at £2.10, and the *Pall Mall Gazette* (Daily) £3.5.0.
- ³ Unexpectedly, two popular Australian publications, the *Sydney Bulletin* and *Smith's Weekly* are rarely sighted, perhaps an indication local readers were more interested in dissemination from the metropolitan centres rather than other ‘peripheries’.
- ⁴ In a commercial takeover *Scribner's Monthly* became replaced as a title in November 1881 by the *Century Illustrated Magazine*. In 1887 Charles Scribner & Sons launched *Scribner's Magazine* as a competitor (Reed 57). It is to be presumed that this is the magazine in Lyon & Blair's list.
- ⁵ Other magazines with a reputation for quality in design that are advertised regularly include the *Strand Magazine*, and the weekly *Illustrated London News* and *Graphic*, family magazines *Cassell's* and *Chamber's*, and *Saint Nicholas*, the artistically acclaimed American magazine for children.
- ⁶ Fragile but well printed pages of the *Young Ladies' Journal*, from 1880 to 1891, were found 100 years later papering the walls under the scrim of our Greytown cottage when we renovated. Illustrations such as “Her Handsome Seducer”, showing a beautiful, defiant maiden facing down a darkly scowling scoundrel, and full-page, detailed depictions of dress, capture the flavour and appeal of the illustrated romantic fiction and fashion, irresistible in their highly visual nature.
- ⁷ R. Johnston uses the *Auckland Weekly News* for her genre study of colour in the special numbers of the weeklies (525-464).
- ⁸ The first weekly *Otago Witness*, began in 1851 preceding its later owner, the *Otago Daily Times*. It withstood the competition of the failing *Saturday Advertiser*, issued by the (Otago) *Herald*. In the place of the *Advertiser* the *Weekly Budget* was launched in 1893. The Christchurch *Weekly Press*, run by the *Press* newspaper company to 1928, began in 1865, the *Canterbury Times* was started five months later by the *Press's* rival, the *Lyttelton Times*. Both saw their market as country settlers and offered fare similar to the *Auckland Weekly*.
- ⁹ The importance to the magazine of a countrywide transport network was signified by a special 24 page pictorial issue on the 4 November 1908 to mark the completion of the North Island main trunk railway.
- ¹⁰ Satirized by Dickens in Martin Chuzzlewit (Chapter 6) in the cutting and slicing plagiarism of the New York *Rowdy Journal* war correspondent, Jefferson Brick.
- ¹¹ The *Family Herald* was advertised regularly in New Zealand, including in the *New Zealand Graphic* (2 March 1895 195). The tone of its fiction was satirized in Stella Gibbons' novel *Cold Comfort Farm*.
- ¹² “The Cheapest House in New Zealand for Cash” with “all the latest inventions in plant and machinery are constantly being added to ... the prompt production of first-class specimens in the art can be guaranteed” (*Auckland Star* 12 November, 1891 2). Such boasts were not hollow, the *Star* was one of the first to acquire rotary stereo-plate presses in 1887 (McKay “Sir Henry Brett” 229, *Typo* 30 July 1887 56).

¹³ Brett needed to be commercially, technologically, and stylistically able to compete with local as well as international magazines.

¹⁴ In the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* a line is given to Brett's introduction of photo-engraving in the *New Zealand Graphic* in 1890, and for Leys, well-known as editor of the *Auckland Star*, the magazine is simply named as one title in the Brett Company stable.

¹⁵ Reade wrote frequently on urban planning, the "modern art of designing cities". See for instance *Auckland Star* 7 August 1909 13, suggesting sympathy with the magazine's modernity and ideals.

¹⁶ The 1890s were not just a peak time for the 'new' magazines overseas, but in New Zealand also. While many were short lived, the decade saw the optimistic and speculative beginnings of over 40 new magazines here and R. Johnston has counted 22 in circulation in 1900 (425). Some, such as the *New Zealand Cyclist* and the *New Zealand Phonographic Magazine*, reflected new interests and audiences, others such as the *Prohibitionist*, the *Socialist* and the W.C.T.U. *White Ribbon* served political agendas. Many were art and literary periodicals and emerged towards the end of the decade. They include some locally important titles – *Triad: A Monthly Magazine of Music, Science and Art* (Dunedin 1893 - 1915), the *Spectator* (Christchurch 1895), the *Sketch* (Dunedin 1898), the *New Zealand Illustrated Sporting Review* (1899), and the *New Zealand Illustrated Magazine* (Auckland 1899-1905).

¹⁷ Robin Kinross's *Modern Typography* for example, is one study dedicated to demonstrating how typographic form is an integral part of its time and cultural traditions.

¹⁸ Although none of the bound copies extant in libraries have wrappers, their existence can be surmised from this example, knowledge its competitor the *Weekly News* had a wrapper, and references to competitions with details printed "on the cover". From this it would appear the wrapper, coloured or otherwise, was predominantly typographical, and by 1893 carried advertisements.

¹⁹ By Anglo-French artist Charles Amédée Forestier, their dramatic quality and integration within the text suggest the *New Zealand Graphic* may have purchased the pages as stereotypes from England, possibly the ones used in the earlier *London Illustrated News* serialisation.

²⁰ The title of the book published that year and described by D. B. Waterson as "a curious amalgam of personal justification, social philosophy, religious homilies, autobiographical recollections, ethnographical observations and travellers' tales" ('Firth, Josiah Clifton' *DNZB*).

²¹ Kinross suggests the revival of old style typefaces began with the recutting of Caslons in the middle of the nineteenth century, inspired by William Blades scholarly study, *Life and Typography of William Caslon*, published in 1861 (29).

²² Beegan gives figures for 2d a square inch for line blocks in England in 1894 (*Mass Image* 92). Harding had reported in *Typo* in 1889 that a fine, large steelplate engraved portrait would cost about £100 (30 November 133).

²³ From 1895, illustrations for imported fiction virtually disappear, mirroring the change in editorial text: fiction, the marker of the women's magazine genre, halved from 1890 to 1895 (26.25% to 13.60%), then declined further to a low of 5% in 1908, before rising to 9.25% in 1912.

²⁴ The changes in illustration statistics again relate to changes in content. From 1900, nonfiction never falls below 30%, peaking at 49.25% in September 1908. From the turn of the century the mixing of miscellaneous local and international material together in regular columns such as "Topics of the Week"

and “Minor Matters”, complicates the identification of sources for textual material. Where these can be clearly identified, local nonfiction material increases. By 1908 local material is equal to imported, and by 1912 local material makes up 31% and imported 9.4% of the total nonfiction pages.

²⁵ May, the master of the abbreviated sketch, attributes his stellar London career to his time on the *Sydney Bulletin* in the late 1880s, a publication well known in New Zealand and the employer of New Zealanders such as George Finney and David Low. The *Auckland Star* frequently ran cartoons by May and articles about him, for example “Phil May’s Career”, 7 September 1901 1 and “Reminiscences of Phil May” 19 September 1903 1. Of his unrivalled influence see Beegan *Mass Image* 140-150.

²⁶ As well as Hunter and Fred Hiscocks for the *New Zealand Graphic*, other drawcards were William Blomfield (“Blo”) for the *Observer* and his brother J. C. Blomfield for the *Free Lance*.

²⁷ In 1926, the *New Zealand Artists’ Annual* gives the examples of George Finney, Fred Hiscocks, Harry Rountree, Tom Glover and David Low (35), as early, successful expatriate sketch artists, but omits many others such as Sam Begg and Joe Sinel. Hiscocks, after serving in the New Zealand Expeditionary force in the First World War, became a cartoonist for the London *Daily News* from 1925.

²⁸ Perhaps fortunately for Tonga, it did not become a colony of New Zealand as Samoa did.

²⁹ The relative paucity of material about Australia is unexpected. Editorial material on ‘Australia’, before and after federation (1901), was mostly embedded in the mix of local and international ‘snippets’, and sometimes in the gossip columns.

³⁰ Ashley Hunter’s cartoon of the dignified, enfranchised Zealandia (Fig. 4.42) has its counterpoise in another of her as a Fury, wielding the whip against immoral men (30 September 1893 9).

³¹ In the *Hay’s Free Press*, Kansas, 10 July 1912, Hine Taimoa was described “a native-New Zealander who came up from an environment of semi-savagery and is today the most brilliant woman of her race. She has addressed large audiences in this country and was last winter the principal speaker on the program of the Illinois Teachers’ Association meeting in Chicago. The story of these- stalwart islanders from New Zealand, is one of stirring Interest.” The Rawe’s, “full-blooded Maoris”, are an example of how, like women (Beetham 2), Maori were able to negotiate confining agendas and adapt, negotiate and exploit stereotypes, finding confirmation of their status in their visual appeal. They were a popular and long-lived act on the entertainment circuits of New Zealand, Australia and America, at least from 1891 to 1912. They advertised widely under the name “The New Zealanders in Song, Story and Picture: from Cannibalism to Culture”, and entertained their audiences with illustrated lectures, jokes, costume, song and action, raising money to improve the living conditions of their people. By maintaining cultural ownership and control of their own representation their performances reinstated Maori as the independent inhabitants of New Zealand, in control of their own destiny and “fit for the highest walks of civilized life” (*New Zealand Graphic* 6 April 1895 89)

³² He is “eminently handsome. Tall and muscular, with well-set head and dignified carriage, the aristocrat spoke in every line of his supple figure. His features were noble, his forehead showed capacity, his aquiline nose bespoke power of will, his quivering nostrils sensitiveness, his mouth was firm and his full dark eyes unusually fine, but alas! His skin was of a tinge repugnant to European ideas of comeliness”. He was also highly educated, well connected and moral. He becomes friends with a prominent settler and falls in love with his daughter, “of faultless beauty, hair like burnished gold ... mouth ripe and sensitive”.

His proposal of marriage to her is angrily rejected by both the father and daughter - "How dare you!" - but he rescues them from the flames when their home is attacked by criminals, before perishing himself. The moral is unclear.

³³ Garvey puts the date of this crucial shift at 1893.

³⁴ "Notice to Advertisers" of the magazine's rates; "CASUAL NOTICES 5/- per inch per insertion. STANDING CONTRACTS 3 months 4/-, 6 months 3/6. Pars 1/- per line, blocks allowed" (21 May 1890 9)

³⁵ Five times in the Christchurch *Press* in November 1890, and throughout that year over 42 times in the Canterbury *Star*, 20 in the Wellington *Evening Post*, a small number in the *Waikato Times* and over 371 in his own paper.

³⁶ The five categories are revealing of popular subjects: New Zealand scenery, landscape or seascape; pictures of colonial life; study in child life (European or Native); scenes in Native life; work and play.

³⁷ The categories of local advertisements are women's medicinal (1), women's (3) and men's clothing (1), tea importers (1), girls' education (1), accommodation (1), bicycles (1) and printing (2 for the *Graphic* printing office), the international are women's medicinal (5), appearance (hair and cosmetics 3), soap (Pears' 1), accommodation (1), pianos (4), typewriters (1) and printing (the *Family Herald* magazine 1).

³⁸ Another of many examples of this entry of advertising into local language is the title of 'Zambuk' for the St. John personnel who provided first aid at sports fixtures from the early twentieth century. Zambuk was a popular English-made ointment and cure-all advertised in the *New Zealand Graphic* and sold in a black and white tin, the same colours as the St. John's insignia and uniforms.

³⁹ The female hand, long an allegory in art for the temptress (offering an apple), or the virtuous woman (the hand shielding the pudenda), when coerced into advertising becomes the sign of woman's civilising power, as long as she remains in her rightful domestic sphere. This motif is also popular in advertisements in the *New Zealand Graphic* for other brands such as the miracle-working hand of Homocrea cream (2 March 1895 200) and Zambuk soap (5 March 1907 36).

⁴⁰ The Wellington agent for the Wairarapa *Times Age*, in the twentieth century Haines expanded to provide copywriting and artwork and establish a major agency.

⁴¹ Chandler and Company, a specialist display firm, began early in the century in Auckland then expanded to Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin. Chandler's also recruited overseas and in 1906 employed artist David Paine from Birmingham, although they subsequently became noted for the early employment of local women as commercial artists. In 1910 Ilott's began publishing *Cuts*, a catalogue of block illustrations to compete with imports.

⁴² The brother of the celebrated cartoonist William Blomfield ('Blo'), he was born in Thames and was taught art by private tuition.

⁴³ For a summary of writings on abortion in New Zealand, and attitudes in print media during the 1930s see Joanna Richdale's article "The 'Problem' of Abortion in 1930s Aotearoa New Zealand."

⁴⁴ McKay devotes some space to describing the highly skilled processes of chromolithographic printing at the Shortland Street premises, which began in the middle of the year for the Christmas issue (232).

⁴⁵ "In the thousands of New Zealand homes where the coloured supplement ... enjoys an honoured place on the walls." (*Auckland Star* 30 October 1900 3). For critics such chromo-lithographs were "the symbol of the dilution and taste by the masses" (J. Brown 8)

⁴⁶ Christmas numbers (from 1895) and weekly issues were a significant export item. The country after all, was “27 days from England, via San Francisco, 30 days via Canada and Vancouver. Direct liners from London to New Zealand, time about 6 weeks. India to New Zealand, 3 weeks. Australia to New Zealand, 3 ½ days” (Christmas 1906). Brett’s also had London agents.

⁴⁷ Principal of the Auckland Free School of Art 1879–96.

⁴⁸ From others such as the *New Zealand Illustrated Magazine* (Auckland 1899-1905), and the growing popularity of other publications about Maori, including those by Whitcombe & Tombs (Gibbons 32).

⁴⁹ From her study of the *Auckland Weekly News*, including the Christmas numbers.

⁵⁰ After the multiple Lindauer portraits, from 1880, of Heeni Hirini (Ana Rupene), based on a Foy Brothers photograph of the 1870s.

⁵¹ A Brett publication of 1892, *Frontier Life, Taranaki, N.Z.* by the former government surveyor Edwin Brookes, had a chapter entitled “The Dusky Maori Maiden”. An excellent discussion of the contemporary Polynesian view of this European obsession in history can be found in A Marata Tamaira “From Full Dusk to Full Tusk.”

⁵² In 1907, the cover painting by C. Kingsley-Smith of two European women in ‘Regency’ dress, with a background of pohutukawa flowers, unconvincingly offered a fanciful European history on these shores.

⁵³ See for example reprints in the *Auckland Star* 10 June 1895 2, 9 September 1898 1).

⁵⁴ Hamilton’s claim the later *Mirror* (1922-1963) was the “first serious attempt to compete locally with imported quality magazines” (14) reveals the thinness of historical research into popular and ephemeral print here, and is challenged in this study.

⁵⁵ Spanning Australian Federation and the attainment of Dominion status.

⁵⁶ Initially New Zealand was a popular subject of travel literature written by non-residents and published overseas (Wevers).

⁵⁷ McKay has estimated “the greater number were posted overseas” (“Sir Henry Brett” 232).

⁵⁸ J. Brown cites Harris’s contention “The single generation of Americans living between 1885 and 1910 went through an experience of visual orientation that had few earlier precedents” (235).

Conclusion

Settlements, possessions, and imprints of identity

The aim of my thesis has been to contribute to graphic design history, specifically the current debates concerning purpose, scope and methods discussed in Chapter One, by writing a local study that has relevance for both New Zealand, and international graphic design history. It has argued that historical strategies of visual communication design (graphic design) as a practice and as material evidence have import in social and cultural formation, and are enmeshed within modernity, and that local histories have a vital place in, and lively contribution to make to new forms of knowledge. The investigation has sought to achieve the aim by asking two research questions:

1. How the local use of imported visual codes contribute to new models of graphic design as an active circulation of signifying forms in a process of influence, adaptation and exchange?
2. Considering graphic design as communication that encompasses purpose, production, and reception, how might the use of formal analysis allow for the appraisal of its historic signification, activity, and value in culture and society?

Towards achieving the aim, this thesis has utilised the methodology of formal analysis, and controlled the challenging scope of the subject by focusing on five current and relevant epistemological debates positioned within the approaches of new history: design historiography, the significance of ephemeral print, significations of modernity, models of margins localities and networks, and interpretive theories of semiotics.

Robertson's assertion "print culture can only make sense as the plural, as a diversity of differing practices" (3) supports the structure of three case studies. The first two chapters are representative of the main nineteenth century print media of letterpress and lithography and their respective emphasis on typography and image, although developments in photographic image reproduction of process and half tone made technological separation less clear cut by the end of the century. The third case study appraised the combinations of text and image and their enabling technologies, in the popular genre deemed most significant for early graphic design, the illustrated magazine. The three studies (as three chapters) have covered a diversity of locations, training, industry practices and their tensions, as individuals became specialist in design within

the collective medium of print, some creatively individualised (Harding, Hawcridge, signed artists in the *New Zealand Graphic*), others anonymous employees (*New Zealand Graphic* compositors, art editors/directors), as is known to be typical in the practice.

This chapter considers the fulfillment of the thesis aim and two research questions in general, before discussing the conclusions in detail within the five theoretical debates. This is followed by appraisal of the limitations of the study, issues that may be further addressed, and a summation of significance of this investigation.

Unexpected differences and surprising similarities

In providing the factual basis for the questions that guided this study, research has established new and contextualised critical knowledge of the activities of letterpress printer Robert Coupland Harding (Chapter Two) in his uses of Artistic Printing and his contribution to international theories of design forming and formulating modernity which extend beyond McKenzie's discerning foundation. Through the first full appraisal of his work a case has been made for lithographic designer Robert Hawcridge (Chapter Three) as a nationally significant practitioner and educator, and one of the earliest local graphic designers in all but name. Chapter Four, the first historical study of design in a New Zealand magazine, began the collection of data to chart the changing composition of the *New Zealand Graphic*, as the source and purpose of material, its technology, typographic form and pictorial iconography was directed towards social construction and the formation of national identity.

Apprehending the three case studies as activities within one history, the development and roles of graphic design here can be discerned and constructed because of the knowledge of how the practice developed internationally, and by contextualizing it within these developments. As found elsewhere, this period was one of the increasing specialization and segregation of the 'designer' here (in an eventual movement away from the printing trades), evolving from the typographer/lettering artist and illustrator. Similarly, New Zealand participated in the growth of design-centred discourse and art and aesthetics based training, and in the rise of new market models and reproduction technologies, with remarkably little time lag. As the designer became segregated both within (Hawcridge) and outside (advertising in the *New Zealand Graphic*) the trade, accumulated meanings of design in print transferred to graphic design practice and, in

the hands of practitioners such as Harding and Hawcridge, underwent stylistic transformation that expressed a radically changing world.

Research Question One, asking how the local use of imported visual codes contributed to new models of graphic design as an active circulation of signifying forms in a process of influence, adaptation and exchange, is answered in the empirical foundation of all three chapters, specifically in the study of the material artifacts. This foundation, established by the analysis of selected printed work (linked in Chapter Two with Harding's articulation of design theory), further provided evidence in answer to research Question Two, how this method may be used to appraise the historic signification, activity, and value in culture and society of the designs. The selected designs in all chapters (with unequivocal examples such as Hawcridge's Certificate of Service Fig. 3.72, and covers of the *New Zealand Graphic* Christmas numbers Figs 4.86-8) identified primary concerns with contemporary expression and a concern for the style of the new, and the constructions of national identity. These foci differed in concept and degree in all three studies but confirm the importance accorded to the design, the meanings, and the reception of the print studied. Chartier contends "printing penetrated to the very heart of intimate popular culture, capturing in unpretentious objects ... the traces of an important moment of existence, the memory of an emotion, the sign of an identity"(56). This study suggests that while the print *medium* may have penetrated popular culture it was the designed *form* that carried, and conveyed, the profound traces of life, emotion and identity.

Formal analysis continually contributed to the answers to Question One, allowing the tracking of influences and networks that in all cases were both local and international, with the designer and the designs the mediating link. The structures of the typefounding industry placed printers everywhere in international networks of trade. The consideration of the circulation and modification of influences in typographic material by the way it was used in the *New Zealand Graphic*, and by Harding, and the appearance of forms in lettering before they were cast in metal (as with Hawcridge's 'Copperplate Gothic' lettering), indicates adaptation was a process integral to graphic design, and one where conventions developed globally and through exchange. Harding's significant involvement in the philosophies of form underpinning modifications and change can best be explained using models of circulating and shared knowledge. Findings that trace influences on illustration styles in Chapter Three confirm this but also demonstrate that

within recognisable international style, image adaptations are more strongly customised for the local, notably in subject and iconography.

The pragmatic aspect of the case study methodology of this thesis, has meant Chapter Two has considered a ‘highlight’ personage (Calvera 374), one who has transcended the local to be known on a wider stage. In Harding’s case international recognition has been a crucial part of the conferring of his local importance and his inclusion may be criticized as maintaining a traditional canonical methodology. However this Conclusion asserts that while earlier studies, notably those by McKenzie, have been essential for appraising Harding’s work, this study has provided new evidence that extends understanding of, and locates his activities within relationships, with findings supporting his relevance for theories of design exchange and influence. No such ‘highlight’ value has been attached to Hawcridge or the *New Zealand Graphic*, which may be a contributory reason why neither has been studied to date, but this has made findings from their research unexpectedly broader, providing examples of the variations and degrees of purpose and form and further enriching the model of design circulation. In attempting to avoid the valorization of all subjects, “a flawed exercise in self-deception” (Fry *Geography* 20), and the dangers of superficiality in celebratory models of local history. The chapter materials have also expanded Fry’s category of the common object by including consideration of the careers and motivations of the designers, although all suffer the problem dogging research in historic ephemera, that of loss. Although both Harding and Hawcridge were known to have designed posters, hand bills and many other single sheet items, and the *New Zealand Graphic* produced wrappers and innumerable supplements and inserts, few have to date been found. Inevitably the focus of the studies is the work that has survived, notably the periodical forms, of *Typo*, the *Red Funnel*, and *New Zealand Graphic*.

Historiography, interdisciplinarity

In the study of graphic design within the discipline of design history, despite differentiation by the fundamental two-dimensionality of the paper substrate, formal language, and specific trade practices, the assertions of design historians of the need for cross-disciplinary tools is supported by this thesis. Despite the ubiquity of graphic design conferring the invisibility of the ‘normal’ and an almost seamless absorption into life, the role it plays in communication, denotative and ‘literal’, connotative and symbolic, as demonstrated by these studies, functioned to represent society to itself in

every level and formation. All chapters have shown examples of visual form signifying ideas and mediating between local producers and consumers, and distant geographies. Informing, instructing, persuading, entertaining, and offering aesthetic satisfaction, the designs simultaneously carried meaning and were open to interpretation. Because of the nature of their subject, local as much as centrist graphic design histories demand a varied repertoire of approaches in order to follow the “many different trajectories, complexities, pluralisms, multidimensionalities, contradictions, discrepancies, juxtapositions and serialities” (Fallan, 63) that make up the field. The findings of this study have demonstrated the way influences are adapted and returned to justify why local histories, their circumstances and above all their differences (eclectic, impure, untidy) need to be known. Their invisibility in established history need not indicate a lack of fit, rather they reveal new dimensions of understanding and offer an opportunity for non-universal approaches to develop, not as (lesser) versions of them, or compensations to the desire of (still dominant) centrist histories to be now inclusive. That said the beginning of local histories remains relational to those dominant approaches.

Temporal narration has been unavoidable in establishing the new factual matter of the case studies, that of Robert Hawcridge most closely following a traditional monograph, albeit one contextualized within multiple themes. Thus an untidy hybridity suggested above marks this history, and is continued in the explorations of interdisciplinarity. All chapters have benefitted from the technological and communicative interests of print history, its awakened interest in the quotidian and the social focus on readership. Theoretically and methodologically, this historical ‘reading’ of graphic design from New Zealand has used formal analysis to the degree accepted in Analytical Bibliography (particularly in the identification of typefaces), and interpretive methods (particularly of image iconography) from Visual Culture, as both allow appraisal of the sociological import of designed form in print. None of the three chapters are seamless, and of synchronic connections there is evidence Harding knew the *New Zealand Graphic* (and Brett), and that Brett knew Hawcridge well and used his work. Mutual influences such as the *New Zealand Graphic* compositors reading *Typo*, or Hawcridge’s use of Art Nouveau affecting its later use on the magazine’s Christmas covers can only be assumed, suggesting even in a small country, unities of ‘national’ histories may disguise the self-absorption, unevenness, and isolation of locales.

Popular and ephemeral print

This thesis has been cognisant of John Lewis's call to find the true value of insubstantial print in the study of contexts (14). With *Print History and Visual Culture*, it has argued for recognition of the importance of the ephemeral, popular, everyday printed product in social and cultural formation, specifically through its role in the development of graphic design. The findings for all chapters support theories that in the late nineteenth century social construction (particularly in colonial societies), the growth of populations and their 'needs', and of new economic and political formations, are deeply connected with the mechanization of print and proliferation of popular, quotidian print material. Chapter Two finds Harding's work, principally in the ephemeral forms of job printing (notably but not exclusively *Harding's Almanac*) and his journal *Typo*, were the basis for the explication of principles in "Design in Typography" and "Type Specimens." It explains how these, with his published articles, made a perceptive contribution to international debates. Hawcridge's work for advertising and business identity made him well known in the printing trades here, and arguably his more popular signed illustrations, magazine covers, commemorative, and patriotic designs, transforming stock conventions with contemporary style and local iconography, gave him a higher national profile among a general public. While he was also known overseas through the *Red Funnel*, his greatest influence was on local formations of identity. These were treated with sophistication and the publicity surrounding his work as a designer and educator kept his public visually literate and conversant in matters of design appreciation. The *New Zealand Graphic* as the first national illustrated magazine, had international subscribers and an audience in America and Britain, developing visual signs of national identity that became widely recognized.

This study has considered design style and aesthetics not as markers of high culture but, as acknowledged by readers, an integral part of design as a social text. In slight and insubstantial material, all three subjects technologically and stylistically mediated, enhanced, and made relevant the new. Harding visually promoted Artistic Printing, and then the rationalization of typographic form, which related strongly to the theories and principles he developed. Hawcridge communicated a persistent influence of Japanese art, and translated the Aesthetic Movement, Impressionism, and variants of Art Nouveau, Jugendstil, and Plakatstil, in lithography, chromolithography and process reproduction through recognizable local applications to an appreciative audience. The *New Zealand Graphic* brought to its readers technological (process, half tone

reproduction, mechanical typesetting), typographical and compositional innovation, giving cohesion to the fragmented medley of the magazine form through the persistent but complex pictorial representations of national identity in editorial, and increasingly advertising matter.

The commercial imperative of print, notably for Hawcridge and the *New Zealand Graphic*, is linked to the role of regular stylistic change through the reception of the market. The importance given to style supports the argument that ephemeral products are of vital significance not only in the economics of print, but also in the visual expression and configuration of social concerns of the time, and meet an audience 'need'. Harding was most deeply involved with the moral issues that arose around Artistic Printing and flowed into the modernist rejection of ornament, particularly for an audience within the trade, involved with changing professional codes for public communication. While there were similar controversies over lithographic and process image reproduction and their popularity in illustrated magazines, these appear short lived and unable to withstand the strength of demand for pictorial material, and the commercial imperative to provide it, so little evidence is found of this debate affecting Hawcridge or the *New Zealand Graphic*, or their wider public. The value given to design in all three studies, and the purposeful adaptations through development (Harding), interpretation (Hawcridge's OAS covers), or customisation (Hawcridge's World War One Certificate of Service, *New Zealand Graphic* Christmas covers) demonstrate how meanings are embedded in the cultural forms of typography and image and how, through the vehicle of local ephemeral print, design gains power as evidence and fabricator of history.

Modernity

This thesis concludes that graphic design in New Zealand print arrived as a product of the modern world of capitalism. As the study of advertisements in Chapters Three and Four indicate it was complicit with the growth of consumerism and the marketplace. Most significantly, as the designs studied change, they offer variant forms of modernity that complicate Fry's description of "the process of transfer and transformation of the material fabric of one social text, from one culture of place to another across time and space" ("A Geography of Power" 210). All chapters have demonstrated how, as codes, design conventions can be recognised as socially formed and produced, learnt, read, valued, altered and superseded through the formal and iconographic changes, expressing shifting philosophies of society and culture, exemplified in the controversies of

ornament. However as Fry's social text, this study asserts the activity of transformation is far greater and more powerful than that of transfer, while supporting his contention that design and modernity are inseparable (ibid). Certainly with New Zealand print, when the medium was culturally significant as a metaphor for industrial production in general (Robertson 4), this latter assertion carries considerable weight.

All the chapter subjects, in both practice and the formal syntax of design, were deeply implicated in visually manifesting modernity as it was developing, but within varied philosophical positions. Harding's alignment was with the goal of an internationalist, universalising culture of standards (modernism's desire for hegemony) within the democratic fraternity of printing, his design principles a blueprint for what was to come. The judgement of this study, that Harding was ultimately a modernist, is at odds with the common association of him with colonial print, but it is substantiated by his writings. Hawcridge understood the commercial values of high quality and the pragmatism of business, and shared the modernist understanding that graphic design was an activity in its own right and, particularly for marketing and advertising, vital for contemporary industry. His adaptations of (often radical) contemporary style demonstrate the speed of change in art of the time, his understanding of modernity and his versatility in meeting varied purposes and audience expectations. In the case of the *New Zealand Graphic* the value of constant design change to be abreast of fashion appears integral to success against local and international competition, as well as establishing the critical association of the country with modernity. Hawcridge and the *New Zealand Graphic's* modernity was not just Calvera's change in mentality and openness (376-7), but also innovative in the offering of an alternative, less industrialized form, progress with nature and human values intact, and without the evils of extreme industrialization, urbanization, or wealth distribution, its power demonstrating Hall's contention the degree of alignment between a code and its reception is an indicator of its success (91).

Harding's design principles and typographic criticisms, Hawcridge's sophisticated domestication of art styles, and the *New Zealand Graphic's* rapid adoption of new technologies of mass production and steady move towards typographic, compositional and stylistic order, visually postulate modernity through a wide repertoire of approaches. For all, the varied preoccupations with identity align design with the period of the formation of modern nations and the dominance of the Western 'First World'. However

these readings of modernity from New Zealand complicate concepts of cultural imposition. They suggest instead a very intentional and varied activity of appropriation, adaptation and exchange, which acts to enrich and extend understanding of the term to encompass complex plural modernities, rather than the singular model, presented or implied, in so many traditional histories from Pevsner, to Meggs, to Eskilson, postulating with little irony its culmination in “the triumph of the international style” (Eskilson 284). The congruency of purpose if not of means between the three studies demonstrates the expression of modernity was widespread in ephemeral print media and in geographical locations spanning the country, indicating it was not an isolated or singular expression peculiar to some locales, but an integral part of New Zealanders’ mindset that was in this way psychologically national.

Circulating entities and networks

Challenging the binary oppositions of centre and periphery that transnational histories have been at pains to erase, nonetheless involves using the terms ‘peripheral’ (the thesis title) and ‘marginal’ with irony, to acknowledge attitudes to New Zealand’s geography, size, and presumptive lack of power, while attempting to avoid overstatement. In being challenged as concepts, these terms are not displaced, in fact they are integral to arguments for theoretical and methodological change in this study. These include Bhabha’s argument for the concept of cultural hybridity, Calvera’s multi-directional movements and peripheral-centred approach, and activities in actor-networks. The commonalities of activity, circulation, and adaptation/transformation are confirmed by this study, to the extent they suggest alternatives to the traditional centre/peripheral approach must be considered as plural, and encompass the ability to enhance and feed-forward (not simply exchange) as demonstrated by Harding.

The tracking of typefaces and stylistic influences has supported concepts of the circulation of influence most thoroughly in Chapter Two. This has also extended the rich knowledge of Harding’s participation in international networks of correspondence and writing for printing trade journals (commonly accessed by most printers including Hawcridge, and the staff of the *New Zealand Graphic*), and placed him very much in the centre of these. His activities here most fit the descriptions of an Actor-Network, with Latour’s qualifying term ‘worknet’ descriptively appropriate for the protagonists in all three studies through their roles as producers. Worknet could also be a metaphor for how the local designer may act as intermediary between economic and cultural

demands, and through the appropriation, and adaptation of visual codes from elsewhere, transfer and transform messages (key terms for ANT) that may themselves be or have been appropriated and adapted in networks of exchange.

The global history of letterpress is better documented than lithography, and in Chapter Three Hawcridge's employment at Wilkies, a firm close in range of output if not in scale to Cooke's, demonstrates how it also spread internationally through routes of transport and trade (Twyman *History* 332). Hawcridge's trope of the globe is a visual metaphor for the local consciousness of the cultural and economic links bringing together a far wider world, and placing New Zealand within it. The range of his influences, their sources and his participation in exchange and adaptations, yet to be fully identified, fit a peripheral-centred approach (Calvera 373). Instead of centre to periphery, the movement is multi-directional and transmission by a single direction is repudiated for movement between multiple centres (in this way resembling ANT), a theory more cognizant of the global flow of trade, skills and people in the age of colonisation. In this model, studies of local adaptations, if understood by comparisons of locally particular forms (in this study typographic form and images of identity), can contribute to the construction of new, general models of design, allowing the local, formerly ignored, to be considered in the dynamic network of collaboration creating change.

In the case of the *New Zealand Graphic*, as a composite production the networks of activity and sources of influence identified are also numerous, and from research to date suggest a multi-directional, multi-centred circulation. The form of the *New Zealand Graphic*, recognizably of the genre of the middle-class illustrated magazine (then newspaper) yet with a medley of distinct differences, most resembles the hybridity described by Bhabha, of the object retaining the semblance of the original but incessantly, even subtly, proclaiming a difference (164).

The emphasis on location in this study allows "the analysis of different patterns of connection which embody or represent different topological possibilities" (Law 7), supporting Calvera's call for a geographical approach to design histories (372-3), and enabling an apprehension of the complexities Fry has called for (*Design History* 13). The evidence of networks and the multiple sites of influence identified here, Harding from Britain, Germany and America; Hawcridge from Britain, France, Germany, Japan and the South Pacific; the *New Zealand Graphic* (initially) from Britain and (increasingly)

America, expressly challenge assumptions of an overwhelming British heritage and influence and contradict R. Johnston's assertions that "the custom of the time (351), especially in matters relating to artistic taste, was to look to Britain for the template." (430). The three case studies demonstrate a surprising lack of visual influence from Britain and the strength of that from America, a wider global influence in the visual form of print that complicates Belich's assertion this period was one of "recolonisation" for New Zealand, a tightening of ties with the 'mother country'.¹ Links to Britain (trade, capital, government, personal ties) were undoubtedly strong, but New Zealand chose to visually express its difference, notably the identification with socially progressive modernity, through American style, portraying a country that at this period had some confidence about finding its independent place in the world. Considering transnational history this study demonstrates networks concerned with print design existed beyond the boundaries of Empire, and that even by the end of the nineteenth century these were global as much as transnational, or in Bhabha's term *international* (56).

Semiotics and messages

The use of formal analysis to identify typefaces, styles, and their modifications has enabled identification of networks that were not only concerned with trade, but were also social, intellectual and aesthetic. The apprehension of the social meanings, including the inferences they may have held for readers, relied strongly on the interpretive role of visual semiotics for both type and image and have been extended into the concepts of the syntax and rhetoric of visual form. Through the methodology this study has significantly demonstrated how the use of semiotics in formal analysis can support network theories such as ANT. For Harding the most profound philosophical change was embedded in the cultural forms of print expressed in typography and ornament, whereas Hawcridge's concern lay with image iconography, style, and lettering, and the *New Zealand Graphic* with the complex expression of current style in image, typography and layout through the integration of new technologies of mass production. The emphasis on design as a process (such as that delineated in Hall's code) entangled with individual training, talents, and activities in networks allowed local print to meet the need for typography, illustration, and magazine form and content to be constantly topical, unequivocally signifying the 'now'. As an audience needed "to feel they knew what was happening at the moment" so they needed to see it in the forms of the moment – a knowingness Beegan describes as pleasurable, communal and "shared through conversation and through simultaneous consumption, it was active and it was

social” (*Mass Image* 22). In this way the semiotically apprehended messages of stylistic change and modification are also emotive and expressive.

The ‘knowingness’ of the visual messages revealed in print similarly applied to the constructions of national identity embedded in work by Hawcridge, and in the *New Zealand Graphic* Christmas Numbers. For Barthes, any appraisal of “the inextricable whole made of meaning and form” remains ambiguous – “at once true and unreal”, but despite the inherent instability of visual language the overriding message is the one most capable of being read because of its dynamic focus (*Mythologies* 128), gaining the power of myth in its ability to naturalize or make innocent the signification with the result it becomes read as factual (131). Repetition and recognition are key parts of this process, Berger postulating “every publicity image confirms and enhances every other. Publicity ... is a language in itself which is always being used to make the same general proposal” (131). The content and form of such work by Hawcridge and in the *New Zealand Graphic*, over time pieced together a myth of New Zealand and its inhabitants, adding emphasis to Law’s contention nation states are made of paper (7). A construct of the ‘ideal’ reader (Sinnema 205), the European New Zealander was capable of urbanity but at home in, and in control of, the natural world. She was the (at times misguided) moral consort, he was energetic at work and play. Respectively they were appreciative of advancements in art and technology, collectively (if slowly) forming a sense of national belonging.

Visual representations of New Zealand met a powerful demand and incorporated the land into the European imagination, enabling the historical space of the settlers to emerge through design in the print media. However this identity lacked the dimension of a vernacular of locally authentic traditions. In this condition, a local culture could not “make legitimate claims to universal honesty, that most desirable of normative values” (Greenhalgh 330). The only vernacular was that of the indigenous Maori and the identity fabricated through print by a settler society desiring unity and authenticity, was of a local tradition of the indigenous. At times contradictory, but by persistence operating as publicity images, this identity’s hybridity is fully expressed in its visual representation of stereotyped ‘native’ tropes and scenery, exploiting the allure of the ‘exotic’ (Fiss 3) within an epistemological strategy of possession. These were synthesized with changing Western philosophical expressions of style, material, and technological processes in a continual alignment with modernity, a melding of an admirable heritage in arcadia with concepts of evolutionary civilization visually and distinctively New

Zealand. The result is a hybridization of culture by a synchronic process common to all colonies (Bhabha 160, 247) despite differing forms.

Paths not taken and ways forward

This thesis has begun a local graphic design history by identifying graphic design in New Zealand as an issue by the 1880s, and locating the beginning of the practice in the 1890s. It has traced it as a philosophical concern (Harding), through the differentiation of the design practitioner by training and in trade structures (Hawcridge), to its vital role in the economic, social and cultural imperative of the aesthetics of style in the illustrated magazine (*New Zealand Graphic*). In doing so this study must acknowledge its limitations. Graphic design history must come to terms with the issues of gender, notably the female, as overwhelmingly subject and rarely object and my research immediately came up against the difficulty of the significant absences of women, made more plangent by their very occasional presences, the consequences of a time in history when they were constrained from entering a field that was situated in the exclusionary practices of the printing trades. Change comes toward the end of the study, outside of the trades, in new training in the art schools and employment structures in advertising studios.

Nonetheless, women are not the main protagonists here, although they overcame large obstacles to leave small signs of their presence which, integral to the social focus of this study, are acknowledged whenever possible. Their history has yet to be written. Similarly Maori have a separate history in their own print production that has been the subject of textual but not visual study. Here they too appear most frequently as subject and while they retain possession of their collective identity and maintain much history orally, as producers they are otherwise invisible in Eurocentric design histories.

It was also beyond the remit of this study to deal specifically with the role of print ephemera in the politics of class or government, although these issues were becoming complicit with those of race and gender in society, particularly prior to World War One. Harding in *Typo* was at times a forthright political commentator, aware and active against what he judged as the ignoble uses of the printers' art in content as much as design. Although much of the material studied was more widely circulated than their 'ideal' reader, issues of class are implicit in the readership of the *Red Funnel*, the OAS catalogues, and the target audience of the *New Zealand Graphic*. This investigation acknowledges technology (such as new type casting enabling artistic faces, chromolithography and mechanical typesetting), covered in detail in many studies, for

example by Reed internationally, and R. Johnston locally, has a critical link with the change and semantics of visual form that can only be briefly acknowledged here.

All of the individual chapters could be enhanced by comparisons of similar material, both local and imported. The exploration of *Typo* as an archive of great importance to the history of typography and its design, has further potential. Much remains to be done in identifying more of Hawcridge's work from both his commercial and educational occupations, and more clearly tracing his networks beyond New Zealand. The *New Zealand Graphic* is a rich source for multiple approaches and has many avenues to explore that this chapter could barely acknowledge. Most relevant would be the identification of personnel concerned with design and their activities in its production and in networks of influence, and the closer examination of the relationship between the messages in textual content and visual form in editorial and advertising. Some comparisons have been made within the magazine genre, however a stronger evaluation against individual magazines would allow a clearer identification of commonality and difference, locally, nationally, transnationally, and internationally. So saying a structure for comparative or complimentary studies has been begun.

The use of formal analysis could be systematized to contribute to new teaching tools, such as those developed by Bestley, and could be developed as a digital matrix. All the subjects of the case studies would provide rich sources for investigations using the technologies of the new field commonly called digital humanities. However despite the applications of Optical Character Recognition (OCR), and Geographic Information Systems (GIS), the superior resources of this field have remained focused on the tracking, mapping, and spatial analysis of historic texts, in Fry's terms, entrapped in the logocentrism of modernism in a postmodern age, and not always able to make complex data easily accessible (a graphic design problem since the nineteenth century). Thus Digital Humanities appears to ignore the assertions of the last 100 years that knowledge has become increasingly visual and image based. In future, the extension of digital technologies to analyse typographical form, styles, and images, and then to serve comparative studies, has the potential to revolutionise the field.

Claims

This investigation concludes that fulfilling the aim of the thesis, to write a local graphic design history, alternative in subject and method, which investigated and contextualised

the coding and decoding of historic typography and image has required a complex apprehension of graphic design. It has demanded recognition of the study material as a way station within processes or circuits of communication, and the consideration of how messages are originated, produced, distributed, received (consumed) and mediated, here and in the wider world. The placing of a designed and printed artefact within such a process acknowledges that it is not just a material object in history but also a product of theory and discourse sited in a range of disciplines. As a communication it is incomplete until received and as an intended audience is usually specific to the purpose, any model of communication must take into account the situatedness of the message. Positioning the artefact within a time, a place, and a process returns it through preceding theories of material, period, exchange and message codes to the social, cultural, and geographical place of its existence as a particular form of discourse in a particular society. It is only in such full contextual significance that it can be argued location is critical for interpretation, and that design in what have previously been considered peripheries — of material (historic printed ephemera), location (of geography and value), and scale — has social and cultural importance that belies its apparent inconsequence. As a result, *Peripheral Visions* has the ability to enhance local and national histories. With similar divergent approaches it acts in graphic design history not just to make the field more ‘representative’, ‘diverse’ or ‘pluralistic’ but, by enriching the discipline and acting to disrupt design hegemonies, may contribute to fundamentally altering the field itself.

¹ What Belich calls ‘recolonisation’ occupies the first seven chapters of *Paradise Reforged*.

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Appendix One: Statistics Tables

New Zealand Graphic and Ladies' Journal Selected Issues

Issue	Pages	Source	Editorial text		Editorial illustration			Advertisements		Total	%
31 May 1890	20		Fiction	Non-fiction	Engraving	AW Line/tone	Pht ht	Typographic	With image		
		Local	-	5.25	-	.5	-	-	-	5.75	28.75%
		International	5.25	2.75	1	5.25	-	-	-	14.25	71.25%
		Mixed L & I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
		Sub-total	5.25	8	1	5.75	-			20	
		%	26.25%	40%	5%	28.75%	-	-			100
		Total	13.25 Editorial text		6.75 Editorial illustration					20	
		Total %	66.25%		33.75% (39.7% with supplement)						100
“ “ Supplement	2	Local				2					
2 March 1895	24	Local		7.75	-	3.75	1.75	.25	.25	13.75	57.30%
		International	3.25	2.25	-	1		1.75	2	10.25	42.70%
		Mixed L & I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
		Sub-total	3.25	10	-	4.75	1.75	2	2.25	24	
		%	13.60%	41.50%		19.80%	7.30%	8.40%	9.40%		100
		Total	13.25 Editorial text		6.50 Editorial illustration			4.25		24	
		Total %	55.30%		27.00%			17.70%			100%

Appendix One: Statistics Tables

New Zealand Graphic and Ladies' Journal Selected Issues

Issue	Pages	Source	Editorial text		Editorial illustration			Advertisements		Total	%
30 June 1900	48		Fiction	Non-fiction	Engraving	AW Line/tone	Pht ht	Typographic	With image		
		Local		5.25		2	6.50	2	.25	16	33.3
		International	5 (3)	3.50	2.25	4.50	4	2	2	23.25	48.4
		Mixed L & I		8.75						8.75	18.2
		Sub-total	5	17.50	2.25	6.50	10.50	4	2.25	48	
		%	10.50%	36.50%	4.75%	13.50%	22.00%	8.00%	4.75%	100	
		Total	22.5		19.25			6.25		48	
		Total %	47%		40%			13%		100	
Issue	Pages	Source	Editorial text		Editorial illustration			Advertisements		Total	%
23 December 1905	64		Fiction	Non-fiction	Engraving	AW Line/tone	Pht ht	Typographic	With image		
		Local	-	13	-	3	11.50	3	2.5	33	51.50%
		International	7.50 (4)	6.50	-	4.50	4.50	5	3	31	48.50%
		Mixed L & I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
		Sub-total	7.50	19.50 (43)		7.50	16	8	5.5	64	
		%	11.75%	30.50%		11.75%	25%	12.50%	8.50%		100
		Total	27		23.50			13.50		64	
		Total %	42.25%		36.75%			21.00%			100

Appendix One: Statistics Tables

Weekly Graphic and New Zealand Mail Selected Issues

Issue	Pages	Source	Editorial text		Editorial illustration			Advertisements		Total	%
2 September 1908	72		Fiction	Non-fiction	Engraving	AW Line/tone	Pht ht	Typographic	With image		
		Local		10	-	2	4	3.25	3.25	22.50	31.25%
		International	3.50	6.50	-	5.25	9.25	4	2	30.50	42.25%
		Mixed L & I		19	-	-	-			19	26.50%
		Sub-total	3.50	35.50		7.25	13.25	7.25	5.25	72	
		%	5%	49.25%		10%	18.50%	10%	7.25%		100
		Total	39		20.50			12.50		72	
		Total %	54%		28.5%			17.5%			100
The Weekly Graphic and New Zealand Mail											
Issue	Pages	Source	Editorial text		Editorial illustration			Advertisements		Total	%
13 November 1912	72		Fiction	Non-fiction	Engraving	AW Line/tone	Pht ht	Typographic	With image		
		Local	1.50	20.75	-	.75	16.25	4	2.25	45.50	63%
		International	5.25	1.5	-	2	2.50	4.25	2	17.50	24.50%
		Mixed L & I		9	-	-				9	
		Sub-total	6.75	31.25	-	2.75	18.75	8.25	4.25	72	
		%	9.25%	43.50%		3.75%	26%	11.50%	6%		100
		Total	38		21.50			12.50		72	
		Total %	52.75%		29.75%			17.50%			100

Appendix Two: Statistics Tables

New Zealand Graphic and Ladies' Journal Selected Christmas Numbers

Issue	Pages	Source	Editorial text		Editorial illustration				Advertisements		Total	%
‘Christmas Number 1890’	24		Fiction	Non-fiction	Engraving	Litho	AW l&t	Pht ht	Typographic	With image		
20 December		Local	3	5.25		2	3.50	.50	-	-	14.25 (25)	59.50%
		International			5 (8)	.50	.50	-	-	-	6 (10)	25%
		Mixed L & I		2.75	1 (5)				-	-	3.75	15.50%
		Sub-total	3	8	6	2.50	4	.50			24	
		%	12.50%	33.50%	25%	10.50%	16.50%	2%				100%
		Total	11		13						24	
		Total %	46%		54%							100%
Issue	Pages	Source	Editorial text		Editorial illustration				Advertisements		Total	%
‘Christmas Number 1895’	28		Fiction	Non-fiction	Engraving	Litho	AW l&t	Pht ht	Typographic	With image		
18 December		Local	2.25	3	-	2.25	12	1.50	2.50	.25	23.75	85%
2 pg. Supplement missing		International	.25		-				3.25	.75	4.25	15%
		Mixed L & I			-				-	-		
		Sub-total	2.50	3		2.25	12	1.50	5.75	1	28	
		%	9%	10.75%		8%	43%	5.25%	20.50%	3.50%		100%
		Total	5.50		15.75				6.75		28	
		Total %	19.75%		56.25%				24%			100%

Appendix Two: Statistics Tables

New Zealand Graphic and Ladies' Journal Selected Christmas Numbers

Issue	Pages	Source	Editorial text		Editorial illustration				Advertisements		Total	%
'Christmas Number 1908 New Zealand Graphic'	64		Fiction	Non-fiction	Engraving	Litho	AW l&t	Pht ht	Typographic	With image		
		Local		1	-		[25]	28.50	4.25	23.75	57.50	90%
n.d.		International		-	-				2	4.50	6.50	10%
		Mixed L & I		-	-							
		Sub-total		1				28.50	6.25	28.25	64	
		%		1.50%				44.50%	10%	44%		100%
		Total	1		28.50				34.50			
			1.50%		44.50%				54%			
Cover	4	Local	-	-	-		.75	.25		2	3	75%
		International			-				1		1	25%
		Mixed L & I	-	-	-							
Supplement 1	2	Local	-	-	-	2 (chr)					2	100%
Supplement 2	2	Local						2			2	100%
		Sub-total				2	.75	2.25	1	2	8	
All	72	Total	1			33.50			37.50		72	
		Total %		1.50%		46.50%			52%		100%	