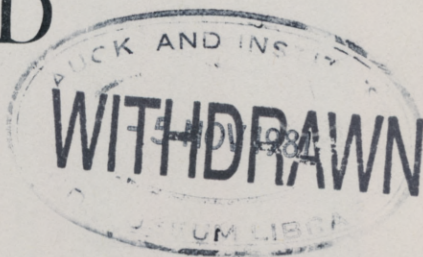


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OCTOBER 1977
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A COLLECTION OF DRAWINGS
MADE BY WILLIAM ELLIS
ON COOK'S THIRD VOYAGE

In 1976 the Alexander Turnbull Library was fortunate to be able to purchase an unique collection of Cook-associated drawings made on the third voyage by William Ellis. This was made possible by a handsome grant through the Hon. Alan Highet (Minister of Internal Affairs and Minister of the Arts) from the funds of the Lottery Board of Control and a grant from the Macarthy Trust, augmented by a generous private donation from Mr D. G. Medway of New Plymouth. The balance of the purchase price was provided by the Alexander Turnbull Library Endowment Trust Board.

The great research value of this collection of 131 drawings on 49 folios, is amply demonstrated by the following three articles contributed by experts in the fields of scientific history, ethnology and ornithology. The drawings are primarily a working collection, constituting source material for research, rather than exhibition items of pictorial appeal. Nevertheless, several have already been selected by Dr E. H. McCormick for inclusion in the major Omai Exhibition to be presented by the Auckland City Art Gallery in October 1977, on the publication of his monumental work¹ on Omai, the Tahitian who was taken to England by Captain Furneaux on the second voyage and returned home by Cook on the third.

The aesthetic quality of the new drawings—executed in watercolours, pen and wash, ink and pencil—is not comparable with that of the landscapes in the Rex Nan Kivell Collection, Canberra, and the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich,² nor of the drawings in the British Museum (Natural History).³ Some, however, do reflect the artist's undoubted talent *e.g.* folios 4 'South View of Mangia-nooe' (ink and wash), 8A 'Trading place at Anamokka or new Rotterdam Isles' (pencil) and 25, pencil drawing of Tahitan girl (see plates III, V, I).

The collection as a whole provides great opportunities for further research, not only to art historians studying both Ellis and the 18th century artists of exploration, but also to science historians—as so capably shown by Dr Hoare in his article—and scientists in several disciplines, as well as to 'pure historians' if one may venture to use that term. The Turnbull Art Collection⁴ is maintained on the principles established by the Library's founder, in that its holdings are basically of New Zealand and Pacific material of historical or topographical significance. Inevitably it thus makes a strong contribution to art history and certainly contains many examples of considerable artistic merit along with much that is essentially of solely research interest. Thus

the Ellis drawings fit very comfortably indeed into the Library's accepted policy of art acquisition.

The Turnbull collections relating to Captain Cook provide the research worker with the most comprehensive and concentrated facilities of this nature available anywhere in the world. Alexander Turnbull acquired virtually all material published prior to his death in 1918 and his library is particularly strong in pictorial matter, including a great many proof plates (often untitled—a boon to bibliographers if a curse to cataloguers) and the innumerable subsequent issues newly engraved from the original prints. The late J. C. Beaglehole deposited in the Turnbull his extensive holdings of photocopies of all known manuscripts from the three voyages, which he obtained in the course of his editing of Cook's journals for the Hakluyt Society.⁵ Also included are photographs and microfilms of the greater bulk of the paintings and drawings made on the voyages. The Library has continued active collecting in all these areas.

Mr Turnbull took the opportunity of securing any original manuscript Cook items that came his way, but little did and here the Library is regrettably weak despite its great strength in published works. It is an apt coincidence that much of what he gained was of considerable scientific and historical value, like the Ellis drawings; Bayly's *Journal* (1773-74) as astronomer on *Adventure* and his *Log* (1776-79) and *Journal* (1777-78) in the same capacity on *Discovery*; the *Log* (1768-70) of Lieutenant Hicks on *Endeavour*; a copy of Banks's *Journal* (1768-71) on *Endeavour*, made for his friend Phipps (Lord Mulgrave) and some minor holograph letters and fragments by Cook, Banks and others. Some years ago the Turnbull and Mitchell libraries joined forces in an attempt to purchase at auction in London the Palliser Hudson logs of the second and third voyages, the last of the various 'Cook Logs' in private hands. With no little difficulty £16,000 was amassed, a sum in excess of what Sotheby's believed could be adequate. In the event, an American buyer paid some £60,000.

In pictorial material the Library's holdings of original Cook-associated items have been even more lamentably deficient. There is one intriguing sheet of pen and watercolour studies of Pacific artefacts (mostly Hawaiian), of unknown provenance and attribution, but it would seem to have been part of the original Turnbull collection. These studies were first published in 1975.⁶ The late Mrs Balcombe-Brown of Wellington donated in 1934 a small sketchbook of delicate watercolour drawings of New Zealand plants. It bears attributions to William Hodges, but some years ago the present writer believed that this could be erroneous and that George Forster was the likely artist. Dr Hoare, pre-eminent authority on the Forsters, father and son, confirms that the drawings may well have a Forster connection although rather perhaps copies

made by his sister than by George himself. Not all agree. The only other item is a large red chalk drawing of 'A man of Tanna' (New Hebrides) attributed to Hodges. This was purchased at Christie's, London, for 500 guineas by the Alexander Turnbull Library Endowment Trust in 1973. In 1964 the Library attempted to purchase Parry's oil of Omai, Banks and Solander. The Endowment Trust contributed £1,500 and donations from Her Excellency Lady Fergusson and others brought the sum available for purchase up to £2,300, estimated as ample by Sotheby's. But at auction the painting sold for £3,800.

The present collection of Ellis drawings possesses an impeccable provenance. From the 18th century until recent years it was owned by the Astley family, who had been engravers in Liverpool. Further research is necessary to ascertain whether, as seems possible, the Astleys were directly concerned with the plates in the ill-fated account of the voyage written by Ellis. Its existence had been hitherto unknown, even to Professor Beaglehole.

As Dr Hoare points out, it is most surprising that Ellis has been so ignored until the present time, despite his evident calibre as an artist in the few known collections of his work, the well-earned tributes bestowed upon him by Captain Clerke and, in our own times, J. C. Beaglehole and Dr Averil Lysaght, fellow New Zealanders both. So relatively little of his work is known that one can only hope that more may yet appear. Biographical details have been so sparse that all Cook scholars are indebted to Michael Hoare for allowing himself to be diverted briefly from the Forsters to produce his introductory view of Ellis. It is pleasing that his appetite has now been whetted to discover more and perhaps we may hope for a biography of Ellis from him in the future. So much is still conjecture at this point.

Presumably it was the publication of his unauthorised account of the third voyage that militated against greater recognition of Ellis by his contemporaries and those subsequently, coupled with his sadly early death. An added factor may well have been the wealth of Webber drawings that were drawn upon to illustrate the official account. Every engraver of note in England was employed in preparing the plates but even so publication was delayed until 1784, awaiting completion of the illustrations. The title-page confirms the importance that was placed upon them by the Admiralty: '... with a Variety of Portraits of Persons, Views of Places, and Historical Representations of Remarkable Incidents, drawn by Mr Webber during the Voyage, and engraved by the most eminent Artists'.⁷

The list of drawings in the Ellis Collection—see pp. 28-37 below—shows the wide coverage of native peoples, their habitat, artefacts and natural history. Geographically, it could not be better—ranging from New Zealand, through the Cook Islands, Tonga, the Society Islands and

the Hawaiian Islands to the North-West American coast and across the North Pacific to the Siberian coast. We could have wished that New Zealand were represented by more than only two items, both of which are early figure drawings—and the artist markedly improved in this genre as the voyage also advanced. But it is the Pacific area which is so particularly important in the scientific discoveries made by Cook and his men.

The great importance of these newly acquired drawings chiefly lies in their all having been drawn *ad vivum* actually on the voyage, whereas all the Ellis watercolours in other collections are finished studies worked up after the artist had returned to England. The Turnbull collection, moreover, provides much most useful detail formerly unknown, not having been recorded by other artists of the time.

Michael Hoare lauds this extension of the graphic legacy of Cook's voyages; he notes the marked relation between some of the drawings and the plates in Ellis's book, where the engravings certainly do not do him justice as an artist, and also the interesting comparisons to be made with some of Webber's work where details are now confirmed by Ellis;⁸ and he praises Ellis's accurate topographical detail in geological illustrations, while at the same time there is an experimental approach in his art.

Janet Davidson confirms that the collection offers further 'extraordinarily valuable evidence', particularly because of the artist's interest in the detail of Pacific canoes, the minor but significant differences from Webber in similar drawings by both men, and the provision of the first recorded view of the Cook Islands. She adds that the figure studies are of great importance to the ethnologist—one supplies missing details of tattooing and others are an important addition to the records by Parkinson and Webber of dancing and costume in Tahiti.

David Medway finds this 'small but important collection' a valuable supplement to the ornithological drawings in the British Museum (Natural History), especially since no less than 5 of the 14 bird studies record species not included therein.

The Ellis Collection is one of the more significant additions, in the way of scholarly source material, that has been made to the Alexander Turnbull Library in its nearly sixty years of Crown ownership. One must be grateful for the ready and generous co-operation that made possible so noteworthy a purchase. And regret that John Beaglehole cannot share our excitement in this new discovery. No great library can remain static and still be great. A number of worthwhile acquisitions, including this, prove that the Turnbull is certainly a living institution, not resting on its laurels but continuing to grow, the better to fulfil its function as a leading Pacific research library.

A. A. ST. C. M. MURRAY-OLIVER

NOTES

- 1 McCormick, E. H. *Omai*. Auckland, Auckland University Press, 1977.
- 2 Murray-Oliver, A. A. St. C. M. *Captain Cook's artists in the Pacific 1769-1779*. Christchurch, 1969, plate 109 'View up the Valley which goes from Matavai-Bay . . .' (from the collection in the National Library of Australia); plate 95 'View of Adventure Bay, Van Diemens Land . . .' (from the collection in the National Maritime Museum. Also the same author's *Captain Cook's Hawaii as seen by his artists*. Wellington, 1975, plate 49 'View of Kealakekua Bay' (Public Record Office, London).
- 3 Murray-Oliver, A. A. St. C. M. *Captain Cook's Hawaii as seen by his artists*. Wellington, 1975, plates 54-9, six watercolours of birds, two of fishes (from the collection of the British Museum (Natural History)).
- 4 The foremost collection of colonial New Zealand art, with some important Pacific and Australian items, totalling over 10,000 paintings and drawings with approximately 12,500 prints.
- 5 Cook, James. *The journals . . .* Edited by J. C. Beaglehole. 4 vols and portfolio of charts. Cambridge, 1955-67.
- 6 Murray-Oliver, *Captain Cook's Hawaii . . .*, plate 32.
- 7 Cook, James and James King. *A voyage to the Pacific Ocean . . . Performed under the direction of Captains Cook, Clerke, and Gore, In His Majesty's Ships the Resolution and Discovery. In the years 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779 and 1780 . . .* 3 vols. and folio of plates. London, 1784.
- 8 Of particular interest in this respect are folios 1 ' . . in Kerguelen's Land' (see Dr Hoare's comments and Plate II), 19A Priest in ceremonial mourning dress, 24 'Girl of Otaheite bringing presents' and 41 'A man of Unalashka' (see plate VII).

WILLIAM WEBB ELLIS,
COOK'S SCIENTIFIC ARTIST;
PROBLEMS AND POSSIBILITIES

William Hodges, the artist on James Cook's second voyage, in the *Resolution* (1772-75), was one whose graphic style and artistic perspectives were profoundly influenced by his Pacific and other extra-European experiences. In 1793 he wrote:

A constant study of simple nature, it is well known, will produce a resemblance which is sometimes astonishing, and which the painter of ideal objects can never arrive at.¹

Cook's three voyages contributed significantly to an evolution in artists' ideas and perspectives on how to view, record, reproduce and compose visually the rich and 'curious' objects and phenomena seen in exploration. Science and the more practical interests of naval men, argues Bernard Smith, helped change the artist's vision in the South Pacific, influencing him away from neo-classical or other preconceptions of art form to a more naturalistic and a more rigorously scientific—and hence accurate—record of what was seen: 'typical landscape' and interests in individual life or still forms or groups of such forms (including islanders and their natural and material environments) emerged as developing desiderata for the artist's styles and skills. In consequence, the graphic records of Cook's and later voyages became experimental; like the voyages themselves in all their aspects they explored and opened up new frontiers to the European experience. All this evolved in the Pacific, a vast region ripe to influence the European mind, science and ideas for another one hundred years and ready—for good or ill is not material in this argument—to be influenced by Europe in art, culture, religion and ways of life. 'In the end', notes Smith, 'scientific method triumphed in both the description of nature and man'.²

'Scientific method' involves, of course, both theory and the trials and observations upon which theory advances—experimentation. In the latter, William Webb Ellis, surgeon's second mate in the *Discovery* on the third voyage, stood high among Cook's scientists and artists. Ellis strove to be both scientifically accurate and delicate in his artistic recreations and experimentally artistic in his work on views and landscapes and in the recording of individuals or groups—animal, vegetable or mineral. Of course, becoming an 'experimental gentleman' on Cook's voyages was not in itself the sole passport to success in all 'departments' of natural philosophy and art—the stimulation, the advance (as in science itself) lay in the very trial and error, in the unknown 'novelty'

of the experience. Novelty and curiosity counted for much but, increasingly, so too did technical competence as art, science and natural philosophy set more rigorous demands. In all these 'branches' Cook's voyages opened up new facets in a new era in the European experience.

The 74 pages of drawings on 49 sheets of paper recently acquired by the Alexander Turnbull Library form an honest, unvarnished, immediate record by an experimental, visually perceptive, skilled hand and mind. They represent the honest striving by an eye unhindered or not conditioned, we must suppose, by classical or neo-classical artistic training—an effort to reproduce in Hodge's words 'a constant study of simple nature'. They represent, too, and graphically, the evolution of one man's skill during 'a long, tedious and disagreeable' four years and three months of exploration (1776-80).

That third voyage was a fatal voyage; in lives a costly voyage. Valuable, skilled and influential were the men who died. For Ellis it meant the loss of his Captain, his scientific medical superior and his immediate patron. Beaglehole summarises the melancholy list: 'On 4 October [1780] the ships were in the Thames; without Cook, without Anderson, without Clerke'.³ Those three influenced Ellis.

Ellis was not the sole young man to learn much from this voyage. His friend the bardic 'highly Welsh', highly literary and 'darting' David Samwell put it best in 1781: 'there never was such a Collection of fine Lads take us for all in all, got together as there was in the *Resolution* & the *Discovery*'.⁴ Among those likely lads, among the Andersons, Blighs, Burneys, Kings, Portlocks, Rioux, Samwells, Vancouvers and so on, William Webb Ellis stands as perhaps the most obscure.

His graphic legacy (now considerably extended by this latest collection) and one book—a surreptitious career-destroying two-volume work on the voyage—are his gifts to posterity from those floating, questing, highly important 'schools' of Pacific science and exploration led by the master, Cook. And of Ellis's posterity we know more than of his antecedents. What we know about him, anyway, is little enough.

He was, said Samwell, his friend and fellow professional medical man (Samwell sailed in *Resolution* as surgeon's mate and then, after Anderson's death, as surgeon in *Discovery* from August 1778), 'a genteel young fellow and of a good education'.⁵ He joined *Discovery* on 22 March 1776. Behind him was a Cambridge education and some medical experience at St Bartholomew's Hospital, that ancient venerable institution.⁶ Here is a glimpse, perhaps, of where his artistic delicacy and precision may have been enhanced in the study and drawing of anatomy. But that, like much else with Ellis, is speculation.

On the voyage through his pen, pencil and brush he becomes a more real young man. He had, notes Beaglehole, 'a patron in Banks'⁷—Banks, now the scientific stay-at-home but Banks still the scientific supercargo

in absentia on all great voyages, English and others, from Cook onwards.

Ellis's Banksian patronage was mediated through that devil-may-care and rather whimsical man Charles Clerke (1743-79). Consumptive, ailing, dying, Clerke 'in the *Resolution* at sea', bereft of Cook and burdened with his command, wrote to Banks on 10 August 1779 off Kamchatka. This valedictory letter—Clerke knew he was to die soon—is a 'document that carries most pathos in all the records of these voyages'.⁸ It gives us, too, some of our most valuable clues concerning Ellis's rise to notice, to his emergence, in short, as a scientific artist.

Clerke, we surely must conclude, had seen some early talent in his surgeon's mate. Perhaps he discerned it during that first desperate 'damn'd long stretch'⁹ from England to the Cape between August and November 1776 as Clerke, belatedly released to his command from the King's Bench Prison, pushed *Discovery* to overhaul Cook, three weeks in front. Did Clerke see in Ellis, too, a kindred spirit 'down on his luck', for Ellis, slender evidence suggests, was, like Clerke, not a man of unlimited means? Together anyway, decided Clerke, they would 'serve' Banks in art, in science, in collecting.

Clerke willed to Banks in that last letter the 'best collections of all kinds of matter I could that have fallen in our way in the course of the voyage'. Collecting, however, was hindered by poor health. Among what there was Banks might 'find many . . . worthy of your attention and acceptance. I have bequeated you the whole of every kind, there are great abundance so that you will have an ample choice'.¹⁰

But abundance of what? Drawings, specimens, observations, artifacts? There came also with the collection 'a very worthy young man', W. W. Ellis. This courier would 'furnish [Banks] with some drawings & accounts of the various birds which will come into your possession'. This surgeon's mate, dictated Clerke to King,

has been very useful to me in your [*i.e.* Banks's] service in that particular, & is I beleive [*sic*] a very worthy young man & I hope will prove worthy of any services that may be in your way to confer upon him.¹¹

Worthiness, art, science and a dying commander's testimonial therefore gained Ellis, newly arrived at Deptford in October 1780, a ready *entrée* into the Banksian salons at Soho Square. By Banks he was certainly 'noticed'.

But, just over twelve months later, relations between patron and artist were low and they involved money. Like the Forsters before him—and others would follow—Ellis threw himself on Banks's generosity. His collateral was his drawings.

Ellis, bludgeoned, blinded, fooled, avaricious merely (we do not know precisely) had turned in his poverty first to a publisher and offered to

write a book on the third voyage. His publisher, as sometimes those gentlemen did, treated him badly.

On 14 December 1781 G. Robinson of Paternoster Row published twenty-one dated engravings for inclusion in Ellis's book. Only three of those engravings were, it seems, supervised or done by Ellis himself.¹² The rest, all based upon Ellis's voyage sketches or paintings, some of the elements of which can be clearly related to the Turnbull collection, were farmed out, such was the haste, to other engravers—J. Collyer, J. Heath, E. Scott and W. Walker.

The book appeared in 1782 as the two-volume *An Authentic Narrative of a Voyage performed by Captain Cook and Captain Clerke in His Majesty's ships Resolution and Discovery during the years 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779 and 1780; in search of a north-west passage between the continents of Asia and America. Including a faithful account of all their discoveries, and the unfortunate death of Captain Cook*. (London; 'Printed for G. Robinson . . .; J. Sewell . . .; and J. Debrett . . .'). It had a title to sell; a title, as a first account, to capture a public agog for more on the immortal Cook. It must have sold well for it went soon to a second edition in London in 1783. In the same year an abridged translation by Johann Christoph Adelung appeared in Frankfurt and Leipzig.¹³ In 1782, such was the interest, George Forster devoted eight pages to a review of the first English edition in the influential *Göttingischen Anzeigen von gelehrten Sachen*.¹⁴

But Ellis's book did not enrich him personally and its engravings certainly did not do him justice as an artist. Banks, the Board of Admiralty and others were not, it seems, amused. The book, writes Beaglehole, is 'inadequate but interesting'; the two volumes are 'at least . . . unpretentious'.¹⁵ In the latter characteristic we might say in mitigation, they were perhaps like their author.

Samwell and his 'fine lads' read the *Narrative* and by May 1782 were ready to pronounce upon it. Samwell wrote that they all agreed

. . . that the greatest part of it is written from Memory; he tells no Lies 'tis true but then he does not tell you half the odd adventures we met with; it is an unentertaining outline of the voyage . . .¹⁶

It is Ellis's book, however, that we must first take in the hand when we study his landscapes, drawings and views.

It is suggested that inscriptions on the majority of the Ellis drawings now in the Turnbull are contemporary with the drawings themselves.¹⁷ Volume and page references on the drawings relate also to passages in Ellis's *Narrative* or plates therein. Examples of this occur in the drawing of the harbour (probably Christmas Harbour) in Kerguelen's Land (vol. I, p. 12); the 'South View of Mangia-nooe' (Mangaia), Cook

Islands (vol. I, p. 33); and in the detailed pencil sketch of a village on Anamooka (Nomuka), Tongan Islands, with an inscription referring to vol. I, p. 59. Such inscriptions, if by Ellis himself (and strong evidence points to the fact that they are) provide, of course, a very useful aid in identifying the more precise locations of the subject drawings or paintings.¹⁸

One point is clear; the art historian of Cook's voyages will have in these Ellis drawings—many of them experimental as the artist wrestled with problems of proportion, perspective and representation, especially in his human figure work—a most unusual and useful guide to the collection of one artist's skills and technique as the voyage progressed. For there is no doubt that Ellis improved with time in his human figures. His representation of Polynesians is still very much 'European' but, nearer the end of the voyage, his depiction of Aleut Eskimos (see e.g. 'A man of Unalashka', folio 41 in the collection and plate VII), shows how much his technique had improved. Of interest, too, in the collection are Ellis's experiments in positioning, proportion, symmetry and shape of the human figure (see e.g. ff. 16B, 29A and B).

Banks was, it seems, genuinely sorry that Ellis compromised his future career by publishing *An Authentic Narrative*. . . On 23 January 1783 he wrote to Ellis, who may still have been living at his old address in Gough Square, Fleet Street, chiding the younger man for not seeking his advice before publishing the book.¹⁹ Banks, the implication is clear, would have used his immense influence at the Board of Admiralty to further Ellis's naval and hence, perhaps, his medical and artistic careers. The appearance of the surreptitious account drove a formal wedge between Ellis and his patron and erstwhile employers. But just how effective was that wedge—was it final?

By the end of 1781 and certainly by early in 1782 Ellis was on his beam ends. He had been to Banks for a loan of £30, got it, and in a last move of sheer desperation had gone again to Soho Square bearing some 'drawings'. Banks, generous as ever, cancelled the debt and gave Ellis a further £20 for the 'drawings'. He also offered Ellis assistance in gaining some revenge or satisfaction with the booksellers (perhaps Robinson of Paternoster Row?) 'for his Judaic treatment'. 'If you would heartily join in it I would assist'.²⁰

What did Ellis do, apart from writing a book, between his arrival home in October 1780 and his appearances before Banks begging—for such it must have been—late in 1782 or thereabouts?

We know something. He worked on drawings for plates for the official publication of the third voyage. That, at least, is what John Webber (1752-98), the official artist on the voyage, reveals in a letter to Banks of 27 September 1782.²¹ Now here are interesting, fascinating facets of Ellis the artist; how much did he work with Webber during and after

the voyage and how much part, disgraced by his *Authentic Narrative* albeit, did he play in the art and engraving work for that much delayed official *Voyage to the Pacific Ocean . . . for making Discoveries in the Northern Hemisphere* (3 vols, London, 1784)? What, we must now ask of the art historian, are the connections between Ellis's and Webber's views and paintings in their various forms—of Christmas Harbour, for example, at Kerguelen?²²

'No voyage undertaken in the days before photography,' writes Bernard Smith, 'ever returned so well documented with pictorial illustrations' as this third voyage of Cook. 'Nor had so great an area of the earth's surface come under one artist's observation'.²³ We must now say two artists. In Smith's book William Ellis is relegated—indexed as a 'seaman'!—to an acting 'natural-history draughtsman', as scientific artistic assistant to the surgeon and excellent unofficial naturalist, William Anderson. Of Ellis's delicate landscapes, of his achievements in toning using his characteristic grey-greens and greenish-yellow, we read nothing in Smith. But it must have been on those landscapes and upon the finishing and perfecting of his natural history drawings that Ellis laboured during 1781-82 and certainly later.

They brought back so many drawings and charts from the third voyage that a committee, with Banks and Webber involved, sat to select those which would go into the official narrative.²⁴ That was one reason why it was so delayed. Ellis must have been associated with that enterprise; even if only on the fringe as an adviser.

He was certainly intimately—in art at least—associated with and influenced by Webber. Bernard Smith speaks of Webber as lacking 'Hodges experimental attitude to his art'; Webber is

. . . essentially illustrative. He sought to depict as faithfully as he could not only memorable incidents but also the dresses, houses, and customs of the people visited on the long voyage. He drew vegetation both in its individual plant forms and in mass with great care and attention as though he was seeking to satisfy the critical eye of professional botanists. Indeed, it is likely that the care which he took in thus depicting plant form was influenced by the sustained interest in botany which characterized the three voyages. This must be stressed. For the minute precision of his rendering of plant forms is a feature only of his finished work.²⁵

Webber was, in short, scientifically accurate—or strove to be. In Ellis he found a 'complement', one who was, Beaglehole writes, a 'relief' from Webber yet

by no means an equal contributor to our visual impression of the voyage; a bonus, not part of the documentary bargain struck by the Admiralty.²⁶

Dr Peter Whitehead, editing for publication some of the fish drawings from Cook's voyages, makes the perceptive remark that in his drawing Ellis sometimes (often?) looks over Webber's shoulder.²⁷

What do we have from Ellis the scientific artist?

Certainly his most widely used drawings have been those which he passed (and sold?) to Banks after the voyage: 'A Collection of Drawings executed between 1776 and 1780 by William Ellis surgeon's mate on HMS Discovery and Resolution during Captain Cook's Third Voyage to the Pacific'. This bound volume of 115 paintings and pencil drawings is in the British Museum (Natural History), London, and consists of representations of 90 birds (ff. 7-76), 15 fishes (ff. 97-111) and the rest of crustaceans and mammals, including a walrus. The bird drawings Latham, the ornithologist, for his eighteenth century descriptions. In her work on the Banksian collection of bird drawings Averil Lysaght (together with those of the Forsters and Parkinson) were used by John notes that those by Ellis 'are water-colour drawings of considerable charm and delicacy' and in many cases include life-size pen and ink sketches of the head of the bird which helps to identify the species.²⁸

Dr Lysaght's ornithological work is the most complete yet on any of Ellis's drawings and paintings. Obviously the pencil, ink and wash drawings of whole birds, birds' heads and feet in the Turnbull collection, which display the characteristic Ellisian fineness and delicacy, must be considered as a part or perhaps a stage in the evolution of the drawings which finished up in the Banksian Library (see ff. 32-5, 38 (see plate XI), 40 (see plate IX), 42 and 48 of the collection). Beaglehole reproduces a number of Ellis bird drawings in Cook's *Journals* in black and white and Murray-Oliver some of the Hawaiian species, in colour.²⁹

If Webber is the botanical illustrator of the third voyage, mainly within his broader compositions—very few formal botanical illustrations have survived—then we must allow that Ellis, apart from the zoological interest and emphasis he shared with Anderson, has some claim through his drawings to a successful although perhaps minor interest in accurate geological illustration (see ff. 1, 39, 43A (see plate VIII) and 43B). He also displays, like Hodges, a fascination with atmospheric and light effects. He makes, however, no concessions to classical or neo-classical form and composition in landscapes.³⁰

Perhaps topography and the production of coastal profiles were, if he did not start with anatomy, the means and media whereby Ellis came to his art. The detailed pencil drawing (folio 5A) and the ink and colour wash drawing (folio 4, see plate III) of Mangaia Island are, surely, earlier studies for the watercolour drawing 'View of Discovery Island' (Mangaia, Cook Islands), signed and dated in 1779, and now in the Hocken Library, Dunedin. As Janet Davidson points out elsewhere, Ellis

had a keen eye for topographical detail and this collection certainly enhances his reputation in this area.

Before the acquisition of these 131 drawings for critical scholarship, Ellis was represented in the British Museum (Natural History) by the 115 drawings and paintings aforementioned, by 16 watercolour landscapes in the Rex Nan Kivell Collection in the National Library of Australia, Canberra; in the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich (10), the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu (3), the Mitchell Library, Sydney (1), the Public Record Office, London (1) and in the Hocken Library, Dunedin (1). Compared with Webber his known representation and output seems small. All the more welcome, therefore, to wider 'Cook scholarship' are these Turnbull acquisitions. Since, apart from the astronomer William Bayly and the Kew gardener David Nelson, no civilian scientists were carried on the third voyage, it is to the naval 'scientists' Anderson, King and Ellis that we must look for the scientific record of this exploration.

Until now Ellis has been the least known of Cook's artists and scientists. Any addition to the body of information concerning him is welcome to all scholars of Cook. Ellis—mute except for his book, drawings, paintings, a couple of letters and some scanty notes—leaves us tantalized and puzzled. No Ellis log is known or none has survived, although Samwell said he helped Clerke write up 'his log &c'³¹

Whitehead has pointed to the 'remarkable contrast' between the 'determination, courage, good planning and great care' exhibited by all the scientific staff of Cook's three voyages and the later 'delays, misfortunes, dissensions, intrigues (and at times downright malice) that so beset the publication of the results'.³²

Through his own folly or straitened circumstances Ellis perhaps became part of the 'misfortunes'. But we would like to think the magnanimous Banks soon forgave him, even if he could do little to advance him in the Navy. The Forsters, whose career Ellis must have felt was something like his own with debts, unofficial narratives, sales of drawings to Banks and so on, returned to Germany to pursue their careers. In 1785—perhaps guided or recommended by Banks—William Webb Ellis took ship for the Continent, going (so it is said) to take up an appointment under the patronage of the 'radical and rational' Habsburg Emperor Joseph II (1741-90) for a voyage of discovery. But Ellis's odyssey ended in June 1785 when he fell to his death from the mainmast of a ship before reaching Ostend.³³

To know more of Ellis, to find more relics of Ellis and put flesh on to that 'worthy', delicate surgeon and artist we will need to search some Continental archives; to search, too, in Cambridge and St Bartholomew's for an undergraduate and a medical student. Of seven

of the crowded creative last years of a young man's life we know something.

On a voyage where, allegedly, Cook cursed all civilian scientists and 'science into the bargain'³⁴ Ellis, approved by naval commanders to prosecute science and art, is a bonus. Anything he adds is noteworthy.

MICHAEL E. HOARE

NOTES

1 Smith, Bernard. *European vision and the South Pacific, 1768-1850*. . . Oxford, 1969, p. 58 (quoting from Hodges, William. *Travels in India*, 1793, p. 153).

2 Ibid, p. 7.

3 Beaglehole, J. C. *The Life of Captain James Cook*. London, 1974, p. 686.

4 Ibid, p. 501, Samwell to Gregson, 20 November 1781.

5 Cook, James. *The journals* . . . ; III, *The voyage of the Resolution and Discovery 1776-1780*. Edited by J. C. Beaglehole. 2 parts. Cambridge, 1967, p. lxxxvi (quoting Samwell to Gregson, 16 May 1782). This work subsequently referred to as *Journals III*.

6 *The Gentleman's Magazine*, LV, Pt. II, 1785, p. 571. This is the only short obituary notice so far known on Ellis.

7 *Journals III*, p. lxxxvi.

8 Beaglehole, op. cit., p. 682.

9 *Journals III*, pp. 1513-4, Clerke to Banks, 1 August 1776.

10 Ibid, p. 1542-4, Clerke to Banks, 10 August 1779. Original in the Mitchell Library, Brabourne Papers, MS 78-1.

11 Ibid.

12 Artist and engraver are given for these plates.

13 *Zuverlässige Nachricht von der dritten und letzten Reise* . . . A copy is in the Alexander Turnbull Library. The best bibliographical description of Ellis's books is in du Rietz, Rolf. *Bibliotheca Polynesiana* . . . Oslo, 1969, pp. 126-7.

14 St. 54, 4 May 1782, pp. 433-40.

15 *Journals III*, p. ccvii.

16 Ibid, Samwell to Gregson, 16 May 1782.

17 *A collection of drawings executed between 1776 and 1780 by William Ellis* . . . , typescript catalogue prepared (1975?) by the South Sea Library, London. This catalogue, copies of which are in the Alexander Turnbull Library, provides the first catalogue of the collection. It contains the numbers of drawings referred to in the text hereafter.

18 Evidence is presented briefly in the above catalogue.

19 Banks to Ellis, 23 January 1782, copy in Dawson-Turner Copies, 2, 89, British Museum (Natural History). See also Smith, Edward. *The Life of Sir Joseph Banks* . . . London, 1911, pp. 52-3. Ellis had addressed an apologetic letter of 25 December 1781 to Banks from Gough Square, Fleet Street, just as his book was coming from the press. See *The Banks Letters* . . . edited by W. R. Dawson, London, 1958, pp. 220-1.

20 Banks to Ellis, 23 January 1782.

21 Webber to Banks, London, 27 September 1782, *Banks Letters*, p. 862.

22 A watercolour, 'View of Christmas Harbour in Kerguelen's Land, 1776', attributed to Webber, is in the Dixon Library, Sydney, and another wash drawing of the same picture is in the British Museum. The Alexander Turnbull

Library Ellis Collection contains a detailed wash and ink drawing of a harbour in 'Kerguelen's Land' which may relate to the Ellis watercolour in the Nan Kivell Collection (No. 53P) of the National Library of Australia, Canberra. See Vaughan, T. and A. A. St. C. M. Murray-Oliver, *Captain Cook R.N.* . . . Portland, 1974, pp. 62-3.

23 Smith, Bernard, op. cit., p. 78.

24 Beaglehole, op. cit., pp. 691-2.

25 Smith, op. cit., p. 77.

26 *Journals III*, p. ccxiii, which see for Beaglehole's fuller assessment of Ellis's contribution to the third voyage 'graphic record'.

27 Whitehead, P. J. P. *Forty Drawings of Fishes made by the Artists who accompanied Captain James Cook on his three voyages* . . . London, 1968, p. xv. Whitehead describes Ellis as one of the voyage's 'scientific staff'. The range and quality of fish drawings published is wide.

28 Lysaght, A. M. 'Some Eighteenth Century Bird Paintings in the Library of Sir Joseph Banks', *Bull. Brit. Mus. (Nat. Hist.) Hist. Ser.* 1 (6), 1959, pp. 251-371, p. 322. Ellis's birds are listed herein, pp. 322-39.

29 Murray-Oliver, A. A. St. C. M. *Captain Cook's Hawaii* . . ., Wellington, 1975, plates 54-7. This work also contains other Hawaiian engravings and drawings by Ellis, including two of fishes (plates 58-9).

30 See e.g. 'View up the Valley which goes from Matavai-Bay; with the River, in the Island Otaheite, South Sea', Rex Nan Kivell Collection, National Library of Australia, Canberra. Reproduced in colour in the Alexander Turnbull Library's exhibition catalogue (compiled by A. Murray-Oliver) *The Rex Nan Kivell Collection of Early New Zealand Pictures*, Wellington, 1953.

31 *Journals III*, p. ccvii, Samwell to Gregson, 16 May 1782. As Beaglehole notes this is difficult to follow since Clerke's extant logs are in Clerke's own hand. It is the '&c' of which we would like to know more.

32 Whitehead, op. cit., p. x.

33 *The Gentleman's Magazine*, LV, Pt. II, 1785, p. 571.

34 The episode is reported by J. R. Forster, *Journals III*, p. 502.

THE ELLIS DRAWINGS: AN ETHNOLOGICAL VIEWPOINT

The pictorial record of the voyages of Cook and other explorers provides ethnologists and prehistorians with extraordinarily valuable evidence of the people of the Pacific, their artefacts and customs, and the landscapes within which they lived. As more such material has been studied and published, appreciation has grown of the conventions within which the artists worked, the differences between original drawings and engravings, the differences between the work of one artist and another, or between different versions by the same artist. Thus the pictorial record has come to be more critically appreciated. Any new or previously little known collection, no matter how sketchy, is likely to add in some way to this record, supplementing existing material and perhaps giving new insights into previously known works. This is certainly true of this collection of drawings by William Ellis from Cook's third voyage.

The collection is of ethnological importance in several different respects. A group of landscapes varies from rather sketchy outlines to quite detailed pictures of islands seen from the sea; the best of these provide important views of man-modified landscapes, particularly in the vegetation patterns they depict. Although there are only two drawings of isolated items of material culture—a Hawaiian cloak and a fan, probably from the Cook Islands—there are a number of drawings of canoes, objects which obviously intrigued Ellis. These vary in quality, but add to the existing record of canoes in different areas. A third major group of drawings consists of portraits of people, named and unnamed. Like his contemporaries, Ellis was not particularly successful in capturing Polynesian features; the importance of the portraits, therefore, lies largely in details of hairstyle and beard, costume, headdress and ornament. Several portraits of named individuals are naturally of special interest. A final intriguing aspect of the collection is that several scenes and portraits are very similar to well-known illustrations by Webber and in some cases confirm or throw further light on details in the latter.

Among the most interesting of the landscapes are two views of Mangaia from the sea (ff. 4 (see plate III) and 5A). These are of historical interest since they probably come close to representing the first view of any of the Cook Islands by Europeans. To the ethnologist, the details of vegetation are important. The *makatea* or raised coral perimeter of the island is heavily wooded, whereas the interior is much more open, having been cleared and cultivated for centuries. A canoe with two men in the foreground provides ethnological detail of a different kind, and reflects both Ellis's interest in canoes and his difficulty in capturing their occupants in a natural attitude. This scene gains additional value from

the description by Ellis himself in his account of the voyage¹ and descriptions by other members of the expedition.² A view of Eua in the Tonga Group (folio 12) is similarly important for its details of vegetation; two joining views of Nomuka (ff. 13A, 14A) depict the quite different coastline and vegetation of a low coral island, particularly the coconut palms rising above the level of the undergrowth. Another scene at Nomuka (folio 8A, see plate V) shows a similar view of the trading station to that well known from Webber's illustration.³ It is interesting to note that whereas Ellis shows some identical detail (such as a cooper with a barrel) his scene contains fewer people, less formally grouped, and shows minor but significant differences in the construction of a smaller Tongan house at the side of the large main house.

Ellis drew canoes, with or without people in them, everywhere he went. Some of his drawings are sketchy and at least one, almost certainly a Hawaiian canoe, is wrongly attributed to Tahiti (folio 21A, cf. 47A). None the less, his is a valuable record, not only of the larger double canoes of Tahiti and the 'royal canoes' of Tonga, but of the smaller everyday fishing canoes of the various island groups. A carefully executed sepia ink and wash drawing of three different views of small Tongan canoes (folio 18, see plate IV) suggests that he took the trouble to study in some detail a canoe on the beach, as well as sketching canoes as they came within range of the ships.

Most of the portraits are head or head and shoulder views; some are very detailed (notably those of North-west Coast Americans), others provide only frustrating glimpses of ornaments sketchily indicated, although hairstyle and beard are usually carefully depicted. Several full-figure studies and one or two others are of great importance. To the ethnologist perhaps the most important item in the collection is a portrait of a seated Hawaiian man in profile, displaying a fully tattooed left arm and hand (folio 45, see plate VI). The shoulder tattoo exactly parallels that depicted by Webber;⁴ the detail of the lower arm and hand supplies what was missing or obscure in known illustrations of Hawaiian tattooing by Webber.⁵

A sketch of the head and shoulders of a Tongan wearing elaborate headdress and small necklace (folio 9B) is of great interest. The page reference to Ellis's published account, in what is presumed to be Ellis's hand, in the top right hand corner, suggests that this may be Fatafehi Paulaho, the 36th Tui Tonga. If so, this drawing presents some remarkable differences from the engraving of Webber's portrait of the same subject,⁶ both in feature and in the nature of the headdress. Ellis's drawing shows an older man than Webber's and moreover comes closer than most of his portraits to depicting typically Polynesian features. Webber's portrait has been criticized for not bearing any resemblance to a forty-year-old man of great corpulence;⁷ does Ellis's sketch come

closer to a portrait of Fatafehi Paulaho and if so, is his version of the feathered bonnet more accurate than that in the engraving from Webber?

There are only a few full-figure portraits. A back view of a naked Maori warrior brandishing a *patu* (folio 2) is a careful figure study and depicts the hairstyle already well known from the work of Parkinson in particular. A view of a Tahitian priest in mourning costume (folio 19A) is very similar to the illustration in Ellis's published account.⁸ Of much greater interest are two portraits of Tahitian girls. One (folio 24) is very similar to the well-known drawing by Webber of a Tahitian girl bringing presents⁹ and supports the correctness of the crinoline effect. The other, of a Tahitian girl dancing (folio 25, see plate I), is important in two respects. It illustrates a different position of the arms than other Cook voyage pictures of Tahitian dancing and it gives a different, simpler and indeed more comprehensive version of the costume worn by women for dancing. It is an important addition to the record by Parkinson and Webber of dancing and dance costume in Tahiti;¹⁰ it is also a charming picture, irrespective of its ethnographic importance.

In a brief appraisal it is possible to mention only a few individual items. In conclusion, however, it may be said that many of the drawings are of considerable interest and some are of real importance to the ethnologist.

JANET DAVIDSON

NOTES

1 Ellis, William. *An authentic narrative of a voyage performed by Captain Cook and Captain Clerke, in His Majesty's Ships Resolution and Discovery* . . . 2 vols. London, 1782, v. 1, pp. 33-4.

2 Cook, James. *The journals* . . . ; III, *The voyage of the Resolution and Discovery 1776-1780*. Edited by J. C. Beaglehole. 2 parts. Cambridge, 1967, p. 78. This work subsequently referred to as *Journals III*.

3 Cook, James and James King. *A voyage to the Pacific Ocean . . . Performed under the direction of Captains Cook, Clerke, and Gore, in His Majesty's Ships the Resolution and Discovery. In the years 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779 and 1780* . . . 3 vols. and folio of plates. London, 1784, plate 13. Also in Murray-Oliver, A. *Captain Cook's Artists in the Pacific 1769-1779*. Christchurch, 1969, plate 103.

4 *Journals III*, plate 59A.

5 Cf. Emory, Kenneth P., 'Hawaian tattooing', Bernice P. Bishop Museum Honolulu, Hawaii, *Occasional papers*, 18 (17), 1946, pp. 235-70.

6 Cook and King, op. cit., plate 18; Murray-Oliver, op. cit., plate 106.

7 *Journals III*, p. 117, f.n. 3.

8 Ellis, op. cit., v. 1, facing p. 130.

9 Cook and King, op. cit., plate 27.

10 Oliver, Douglas L. *Ancient Tahitian society*. 3 vols. Honolulu, 1974, p. 333.

THE ELLIS BIRD DRAWINGS

Introduction

Charles Clerke in his final letter of 10 August 1779 to Sir Joseph Banks wrote that he 'must beg leave to recommend to your notice Mr. Will. Ellis one of the Surgeon's mates who will furnish you with some drawings and accounts of the various birds which will come to your possession'.¹ The Ellis bird paintings which thus went to Banks are now in the British Museum (Natural History) where they have been identified most recently by Lysaght (1959).² They consist of 90 water colour drawings of the whole bird with, in many cases, accurate life-size pen and ink sketches of the head of the bird depicted. One of them, Folio 57 of the White fronted Tern *Sterna striata* from New Zealand, is the type of the species illustrated (Lysaght, 1959; Medway, 1976³).

The Alexander Turnbull Library collection of Ellis bird drawings consists of eight folios depicting fourteen species, all those identified being from the North Pacific area. Stresemann (1949, 1953) has indentified the birds seen in that area during Cook's third voyage.⁴ Unlike the London collection, the Wellington one contains only two drawings of the whole bird (Folios 38 and 40), the rest being drawings or line sketches of the head only or the head, feet and bill.

This small collection is nevertheless an important one for at least two reasons. Not only does it consist of original drawings executed *ad vivum* by Ellis in the North Pacific area in 1778 and 1779 during Cook's third voyage; it also includes species not depicted among the more extensive collection of Ellis bird drawings in London and is thus a valuable supplement to that collection.

I have not been able to compare these Ellis bird drawings with his drawings of the same species in the London collection. I have however, with the materials available to me, endeavoured to identify the species illustrated as accurately as possible. The identity of the bird in Folio 40 has, however, eluded me.

The Drawings

FOLIO 32 Three ink and wash drawings of birds' heads with foot and bill detail.

Inscribed in ink:

'71. Guillemot Colymbus N.W.C. of America and elsewhere'.

'72. Brown Sheerwater N.W.C. of America'.

'73. Fullmer, N.W.C. of America'.

Numbered in pencil: 1.210. Watermark: Pro Patria. 31 × 19.8 cm.

71. Common Murre or Guillemot (*Uria aalge*)

This drawing of the head only with a line extending back from a ringed eye seems to represent the 'bridled' form of this species. The closely related Thick-billed Murre or Guillemot (*Uria lomvia arra*) was figured by Ellis from a specimen taken at Unalaska in 1778 (Folio 50; *Lysaght*, 330).

72. Short-tailed Shearwater (*Puffinus tenuirostris*)

Both the Sooty Shearwater *Puffinus griseus* and this species, brown shearwaters with dark bills, migrate into the North Pacific Ocean after breeding in the Australasian region. The rather shorter-looking bill of the bird illustrated indicates that it is most likely *Puffinus tenuirostris*, a species which is represented by Folio 40 of the Ellis paintings in the British Museum (Natural History) (*Lysaght*, 328).

73. Pacific Fulmar (*Fulmaris glacialis rodgersii*)

This species is represented by Folios 41 and 42 of the Ellis paintings in the British Museum (Natural History) (*Lysaght*, 328, 329).

FOLIO 33 Four pencil, ink and wash drawings of birds' heads with foot and bill detail (see plate X).

Inscribed in ink:

'74. *Tringa lobata*, N.W.C. of America'.

'75. *Picus tridactylus*. Norton's Sound, N.W.C. of America'.

'76. Gull N.W. Coast of America'.

'77. Butcher bird, caught at Sea between Asia and America'.

Numbered in pencil: 1.210. Watermarks: G. R 31 × 20 cm.

74. Red-necked or Northern Phalarope (*Lobipes lobatus*)

This species is represented in the Ellis paintings in the British Museum (Natural History) by Folio 63 (*Lysaght*, 332).

75. Alaskan Three-toed Woodpecker (*Picoides tridactylus fasciatus*)

This species is represented in the Ellis paintings in the British Museum (Natural History) by Folio 20 (*Lysaght*, 325).

76. Black-legged or Pacific Kittiwake (*Rissa tridactyla*)

This species is represented by Folio 51 of the Ellis paintings in the British Museum (Natural History) which is of a bird from Kamchatka (*Lysaght*, 330).

77. Great Grey or Northern Shrike (*Lanius excubitor*)

This species is not represented in the Ellis paintings in the British Museum (Natural History).

FOLIO 34 Two pencil, ink and wash drawings of birds' heads with details of feet.

Inscribed in ink:

'78. Gull, N.W.C. of America'.

'79. Blue pettrel, N.W.C. of America'.

Numbered in pencil: 1.210. Watermark: Pro Patria. 18.1
× 20 cm.

78. Herring Gull (*Larus argentatus*)

The yellowish bill and pinkish legs indicate an adult of this species but the red spot on the bill is absent.

79. Fork-tailed Petrel (*Oceanodroma furcata*)

On Cook's voyages the name 'Blue Petrel' was commonly given to members of the genus *Pachyptila*, a genus which is, however, peculiar to the southern hemisphere. The bird illustrated in this line drawing of the head and feet has a sturdy, hooked bill with a conspicuous dorsal tube and hind toe represented by a minute claw. It seems clearly to be a Storm Petrel (Family *Hydrobatidae*). *Oceanodroma furcata*, which is the lightest coloured storm petrel abundant in the northern Pacific where it breeds, is the species most likely to be called 'Blue Pettrell'.

FOLIO 35 Pencil and wash drawing of bird's head.

Numbered in pencil: 1.210. Watermark: none. 10.5 ×
16.1 cm.

Bonaparte's Gull (*Larus philadelphia*)

No locality or other data accompany this drawing but the dark head and bill with a white half circle behind the eye identify this species which is not represented in the Ellis paintings in the British Museum (Natural History).

FOLIO 38 Ink and wash drawing with pencil sketch of the head (see plate XI).

Inscribed in ink:

'37. The White-headed Eagle, of King George's Sound, on the N.W. Coast of America. *Falco Leucocephalus Linnai*' and in pencil at foot:

'(*Falco Leucocephalus Lin*)'.

Numbered in pencil: 1.210. Watermark: Pro Patria. 30.8
× 19.7 cm.

Bald Eagle (*Haliaeetus leucocephalus*)

A species not represented in the Ellis paintings in the British Museum (Natural History). It was recorded by Clerke as being very common at Nootka Sound in March-April, 1778.⁵

FOLIO 40 Detailed ink and watercolour drawing of a dead bird (see plate IX).

Watermark: none. 37.8×24.8 cm.

The general shape and colouration of this bird with short strong legs, long strong toes, short rounded wings and short tail all seem to indicate a member of the *Rallidae* (Rails). However I have not been able to identify the species illustrated and the drawing is reproduced here in the hope that someone may be able to determine its identity. It does not appear to be represented in the Ellis paintings in the British Museum (Natural History).

FOLIO 42 One pencil and one pencil and wash drawing of a duck's head.

Inscribed in ink:

'80. Head of the duck from Unalaschka. See No. 26'.

Numbered in pencil: 11.243. Watermark: Pro Patria.
 12.4×19.8 cm.

American White-winged Scoter (*Melanitta fusca deglandi*)

Identified by the broad-tipped shortish bill, with nostrils in the large culmen knob, and crescentic white patch under and at the back of the eyes. This species is not represented in the Ellis paintings in the British Museum (Natural History).

FOLIO 48 One ink and wash drawing of a duck's head.

Inscribed in ink:

'Anas capite albo, sinceo. The Velvet headed Duck. Drawn at Kamtschatka. May 1779'.

Numbered in pencil: 2.211. Watermark: none. 8.4×13.9 cm.

Pacific Harlequin Duck (*Histrionicus histrionicus pacificus*)

The general shape and all pale grey colouration of the bill, coupled with the statements that this duck was velvet and white headed, identify the duck in this drawing as the Pacific Harlequin Duck which breeds at Kamchatka. This species is represented in the Ellis paintings in the British Museum (Natural History) by Folio 34 (*Lysaght*, 327).

DAVID G. MEDWAY

NOTES

1 Cook, James. *The journals . . . ; III, The voyage of the Resolution and Discovery 1776-1780*. Edited by J. C. Beaglehole. 2 parts. Cambridge, 1967, p. 1543.

2 Lysaght, A., 'Some Eighteenth Century bird paintings in the Library of Sir Joseph Banks (1743-1820)', *Bull. Brit. Mus. (Nat. Hist.)* Hist. Ser. 1 (6), 1959, pp. 251-371. Subsequent references to this: *Lysaght*.

3 Medway, D. G., 'Extant Types of New Zealand birds from Cook's Voyages', *Notornis*, 23, 1976, pp. 44-60, 120-37.

4 Stresemann, E., 'Birds collected in the North Pacific area during Capt. James Cook's last voyage (1778 and 1779)', *Ibis*, 91, 1949, pp. 244-55; 'Additions and correction to "Birds collected in the North Pacific area during Capt. James Cook's last voyage"', *Ibis*, 95, 1953, p. 371.

5 Cook, op. cit., p. 1330.

THE ELLIS DRAWINGS: AN INVENTORY

The collection consists of 49 leaves but there are frequently several sketches on any one page, and many bear drawings on both sides (indicated in the following list by adding A and B to the folio number—B for the verso): hence 74 pages yield a total of 131 drawings. This list has been based upon the catalogue prepared by The South Sea Library but has been considerably amplified. The varied pieces are all on eighteenth century papers, the majority watermarked. Most of the inscriptions are in a hand that clearly corresponds with writing known to be by Ellis on material held in other collections. Seven signatures appear in the Turnbull collection, one being the variant form 'W. W. Ellis' which the artist sometimes used. The many queries in the inscriptions relating to localities would imply that Ellis added these after the voyage; and they would seem to confirm that he used several different sketch-books at any one period, and at random—f.14A shows a view of Nomuka in the Tongan Islands while the verso, f.14B, has a sketch of a walrus. Some pages bear small numbers in ink (not quoted in the list); they apparently refer to pagination of a drawing book.

I have studied all drawings by Ellis known in other collections in England, Australia, Hawaii and New Zealand and they are all finished works—the material in the Turnbull collection is unique* in that virtually all are original sketches *ad vivum*, thus being of much greater value to the research worker. Of particular importance to the historian are the portrait studies of Tongan, Tahitian and Hawaiian chiefs who were closely associated with Cook—f.9B Fatafehi Paulaho, 'King' of Tonga; f.20A Teto'ofa, 'Admiral' of the great Tahitian war fleet immortalised by Hodges; f.23B Amo, consort of the Tahitian 'Queen Oberea' [Purea]; and f.44A Palea, who had greatly befriended Cook and his men at Kealakekua Bay until he was (according to Clerke's account) involved in a small fracas on the afternoon before the fatal Sunday.

* Since Dr Hoare wrote his article, on a recent visit to Australia he discovered seven more original field drawings by Ellis tipped into a volume of Dixon's *A voyage round the world* (London, 1789) in the National Library of Australia. These sketches complement the Turnbull holdings, being also working drawings done on the third voyage. I have not yet seen the originals myself. The items are: (1) Men in canoes in Sandwich Sound pen and wash 16.5 × 26.3 cm, (2) Portrait of a priest of Sandwich isles pen and wash (unfinished) 11 × 6 cm, (3) [A *morai* in the Sandwich Islands] pen and wash 22.5 × 32.4 cm, (4) Portrait of a man from N.W. coast of America Lat. 80.50. Snug Corner Cove pencil 10 × 9 cm, (5) A view of Hippa Island, Queen Charlotte Sound water-colour and ink 17.7 × 24.4 cm, (6) Chinese fisher boats pencil 14.8 × 25.5 cm, (7) Chinese [faces and figures] pencil 26.8 × 17.8 cm. It is hoped that still more of the series may now be identified elsewhere as a result of the publication of these articles.

A. A. St. C. M. M.-O.

f.1 (Plate II) 'View of the Entrance in [Christmas Harbour] in Kerguelan's [sic] Land. The other View is taken in the Harbour' ink and colour wash 27.4 × 37 cm watermark: none Inscribed in ink u.r.; title partly defective where margin torn. Verso inscribed in pencil 'Vol. 1, p.12' (refers to Ellis in his *Narrative* describing the desolation of Christmas Harbour). A detailed scene in in Kerguelen Island, painted in grey, palest brown and yellowish tonings; in foreground dead seal being eaten by gull, penguins and at right men in longboat and one man ashore, a massive rock formation mid-centre across the bay, *Resolution* and *Discovery* anchored at harbour entrance, with high rock archway off bluff behind them—this arch appears in Scott's engraving in the *Narrative*, facing the reference above. Cf. 'The other View' by Ellis, a watercolour (53P) in the Rex Nan Kivell collection, National Library of Australia, Canberra (reproduced in Beaglehole, *The Life of Captain James Cook*, pl. 31), the same scene but much more stylized with some major variations; Webber's wash drawing in the British Library (Add. MS 15513.3), very similar to f.1 but much more formal (pl. 10 in Cook, *The Journals . . . III*, ed. Beaglehole, pt. 1); and the engraving by Newton after Webber (pl. 4 in Cook and King, *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean . . .*)

f.2 'New Zealand Warrior' pencil 29.6 × 18.4 cm watermark: GR Inscribed u.r. in ink. Nude Maori from the rear (excellent anatomical detail, especially the musculature indicated), right arm upraised brandishing *patu*, a fringe of beard apparent, hair dressed in top-knot with 2 feathers. Cf. Parkinson's wash drawings in the British Library (Add. MS 23920.54a/55) (plates 7 and 6 in Banks, *The Endeavour Journal*, ed. Beaglehole, v.2; and the engravings after them (pl. 13 in Hawkesworth, *An Account of the Voyages . . .* and pl. 16 in Parkinson, *A Journal of a Voyage . . .*).

f.3 'A Woman of New Zealand' pencil 26 × 18 cm watermark: none Inscribed l.l and signed and dated l.r. in pencil 'W. Ellis fecit. 1777.'. Full-face, head and shoulders of young Maori woman, triple earring of feather balls in her left ear, cloak loosely over her right shoulder. Never reproduced.

f.4 (Plate III) 'South View of Mangia-nooe [Mangaia-nui], distant two Miles. See Ellis's Voyage, Vol. 1, p.33 and the Chart in Vol. 1.' (refers to coming up to Mangaia) ink and colour wash 24.1 × 36.9 cm watermark: LVG Inscribed on lower margin and signed l.r. on margin in ink 'W. Ellis fecit'. When Cook discovered these islands named after him, the first to be sighted was Mangaia, the most southerly of the Lower Cook Group, on 29 March 1777. The drawing, in pale brown, yellow and grey tonings, shows the island as heavily wooded on the coast, breakers on the reef, in the foreground a canoe with small outrigger, paddled by two men, and confirming King's description of the prow carrying 'a perpendicular piece of about six feet long the uppermost end of which was shaped like the figure V' (Cook, *Journals III*, pt. 1, p. 78). Cf. the Ellis watercolour in the Hocken Library, Dunedin, 'View of Discovery Island, March 1777', s. & d. 'W. Ellis 1779'. Mangaia was sighted by *Discovery* and Edgar had named it Discovery's Island.

f.5A 'South View of Mangia-nooe distant 2 Miles. See Ellis's Voyage Vol. 1 p.33 & the Chart in d°.' pencil 18.2 × 30.1 cm watermark: GR Inscribed u.r. and signed l.r. in ink 'W. Ellis fecit'; also, u.r. 'Whatdue? [Atiu]; see back; Atooi?'—all crossed out. A preliminary sketch for f.4 but with marked variations and much less detail. The canoe, however, in ink and pencil, is identical in detail

but the left-hand figure here appears to be only a small boy. Ellis seems a little confused, for Atiu was the second of the Cook Islands discovered, on 31 March.

f.5B 'Whatdue or Watieu [Atiu] Ellis's Voyage Vol. 1 p.45.' (refers to both men and women being clothed much in the Tahitian manner) pencil and wash Inscribed u.r. in ink and also u.c. 'Whatdue' in pencil. Three heads—quarter-face, profile and full-face respectively—the first man with long hair down his back held by a clip at the nape of the neck, the second and third wearing turbans, one with flowing plumes, the last with tufted feathers surmounting it and tied through a ribbon on his right.

f.6A 'Whatdue or Watieu See Ellis's Voyage Vol. 1, p.45.' (see f.5B above) ink 20.2×16.8 cm watermark: GR Inscribed u.r. in ink and also u.c. in pencil 'Whatdue'. Detailed rough sketch of a different type of canoe than that in f.5A, with much longer outrigger, and seat.

f.6B 'Whatdue?' pencil Inscribed u.r. in ink. An elaborately-constructed fan, if not from Atiu then probably still of the Cook Islands.

f.7A 'Canoes of Whatdue, or Watieu. See Ellis's Voyage Vol. 1 page 45.' pencil 16.8×24.6 cm watermark: none Inscribed in ink below upper margin. Two quick sketches of outrigger canoes, disproportionate, each paddled by one man, that on the right having 3 coconuts behind him, with an island barely indicated at right rear.

f.7B Faint outline of hills. pencil

f.8A (Plate V) 'Trading place at Anamokka [Nomuka] or New Rotterdam Isles See Ellis's Voyage Vol. 1. p.59' (refers to 'The chief of the island furnished us with a large hut . . . in the front of which the market was held . . .') pencil 19.3×31.2 cm watermark: GR Much less formally composed than Webber's watercolour of the same scene and lacking his attention to the varied trees. To the left, under coconut palms, a cooper is shown and a group of Tongans around a sailor in front of the main house toward the right, with a smaller open house very clearly detailed beside it. (Heath's engraving at p.72 of Ellis's *Narrative* features the latter fairly faithfully but the view is from the rear of the 'market-place' and is titled as being at Amsterdam.) The harbourside activity shown by Webber is not included by Ellis. Tasman had named Nomuka as Rotterdam Island, and Tongatapu as Amsterdam Island, when he discovered the Tongan Group in 1643. Cf. Webber's drawing in the British Library (Add. MS 15513.7) and Byrne's unusually accurate engraving from it (pl. 13, Cook and King, *Voyage* . . .).

f.8B 'Amatafoa [Tofua]. S.S.W. View. Distant 8 miles.' pencil Inscribed in ink l.c., repeating a pencil inscription immediately above the drawing Lightly shaded profiles of the adjoining islands of Tofua and Kao in the Tongan Group.

f.9A 'Tonga taboo [Tongatapu] or New Amsterdam Isle S. Seas.' ink and pencil 29.2×18.9 cm watermark: none Inscribed in ink u.r.; also in pencil u.c. 'Tonga-taboo' and u.l. '1.63' (refers to Finau taking Cook to the island of Hunga Ha'apai). Outline sketch of a girl with shoulder-length curling hair, wearing a small necklace and with cloth wrapped around waist and legs.

f.9B 'Feenou [Finau] Vol. 1 p.66'—the name having been crossed out. pencil Inscribed in pencil u.r. (refers to 'Fatafee-Powlahow . . . above the middle

size, exceeding fat, and appeared to be about forty.') Outline sketch of head and shoulders of a mature plump-faced man, which could well correspond with the description of Fatafehi Paulaho just given. Taking this into account and the crossing out of Finau's name, the portrait seems likely to be of the T'ui Tonga, as Janet Davidson postulates, allowing for the marked variations between this drawing and Hall's engraving after Webber (pl. 17, Cook and King, *Voyage* . . .).

f.10A 'Canoe of the King of Anamooka or Rotterdam I. S. Seas. See Ellis's Voyage Vol. 1 page 70.' ink and pencil 13.9 × 19 cm watermark: none Inscribed above lower margin and signed in ink l.r. 'W. Ellis fecit'. Sketch of large double canoe with elaborate superstructure, decorated, with thatched 'deck-house' toward rear; mast and large triangular sail barely indicated in pencil. Prominent at the stern is the long raked 'flag-pole' remarked upon by Ellis; the reference given in the title reads: 'The royal canoe was distinguished from the rest by a small bundle of grass, of a red colour, fastened to the end of a pole, and fixed in the stern of the canoe in the same manner as our ensign staffs.'

f.10B 'Royal Canoe of Anamooka or Rotterdam, one of the Friendly Isles in the South-Seas, see Ellis's Voyage Vol. 1. page 70.' pencil Inscribed above lower margin and signed in ink l.r. 'W. Ellis fecit'. A rough sketch of the same vessel depicted in f.10A but here shown with about a score of figures aboard.

f.11 'Friendly Isles?' pencil 18.8 × 30.4 cm watermark: GR Inscribed in ink l.r. and in pencil u.r. '1.70' (refers to quotation at f.10A). Another rough sketch, not dissimilar to f.10B, of another Tongan double canoe, with 11 figures shown around a large deck-house and sail set with much more complex rigging.

f.12 'View of Middleburgh [Eua], one of the Friendly Islands. S. Sea.' ink and colour wash 39.6 × 17.3 cm (folded down centre) watermark: none Inscribed in ink on lower margin; inscribed in pencil on verso '1.59 70'—crossed out and corrected to '88' (refers to 'Eaoowe . . . by far the most pleasant of the whole, and is interspersed with lawns, hills, and dales, as beautiful as can be conceived.') Southernmost of the Tongan Islands, Eua is seen from the sea, with a small boat on the beach, wooded coast-line and bare hills above. Edgar confirmed the enthusiasm of Ellis, writing of 'some of the most Romantick & beautiful Valleys in the World . . . the whole Island is a little Paradise.' The drawing indeed makes it look most attractive.

f.13A & f.14A 'Friendly Isles? S. point of Annamokka [sic] Capt. D' pencil 18.3 × 30.9 cm (each piece—to be joined as a panorama) watermark: GR (on each) 13A inscribed in ink 'Friendly Isles?' u.r. and in pencil '1.59.70' crossed out, corrected to '1.87.' (p.86 in fact refers to Nomuka as being 'of a very moderate elevation, and is well clothed with trees of various kinds . . .') 14A inscribed in ink u.r. 'Friendly Isles?' with the rest of the title given above, in pencil l.r. Parallel pencil lines, double, stretch across the junction of the two pieces and are followed by a question mark, possibly to mark the position of a canoe at sea. The coastline is shown from at sea, with heavy growth above the rocky shore surmounted by numerous coconut palms, and a low rock face where land ends at right, the 'S. point', on 14A. In the centre of the left-hand view, 13A, below a small beach backed by a low rocky bank, is inscribed in ink 'yellowish'.

f.13B Rapid sketch of double canoe with mast and deck-shelter, taken head-on, possibly from the ship, looking down upon the canoe. pencil

f.14B Rough sketch of large-tusked head and forepart of walrus. Inscribed in ink, u.r., 'Morse'. A walrus is included in the Ellis works in the British Museum (Natural History).

f.15A 'Friendly Isles?' ink and wash 29.5 × 18.6 cm watermark: GR Inscribed in ink u.r. and below in pencil '1.59 70', crossed out and corrected to '1.91' (refers to descriptions of the Tongans, continued to p.93 where Ellis states 'long hair is a mark of distinction, and none are permitted to wear it but the principal people. . . . This is the only place where we saw shaving in fashion . . .', the method being described). Drawing of head and shoulders of a young man with short flowing hair and a light short moustache, with cloak slung over his right shoulder; below, head only, an older man with full short beard, moustache and short curly hair.

f.15B pencil A woman's head, full-face; part of a woman's face, drawn quarter-face, with long eye-lashes; a male child's face; a woman's face, in profile, flowers in her hair; outline of a nose and one eye; lower part of a man's arm, resting weight upon a long-fingered hand.

f.16A 'Friendly Isles?' pen and wash; and pencil and wash 28.9 × 17.5 cm watermark: GR Inscribed in ink u.r. and below in pencil '1 91' (see f.15A above). A young man's head, full-face, full head of short hair, thin short moustache, and light, short, small beard; an older man's head in profile, wispy hair and moustache and short beard, prominent nose.

f.16B 'Friendly Isles?' pencil and wash Inscribed in ink u.r. and below in pencil '1.59 70' crossed out, corrected to '1.91.' A mature man's head in quarter-face, with thick long hair, small moustache and light beard; and the same man, in profile.

f.17A 'Friendly Isles?' pencil 16.4 × 19.5 cm watermark: GR Inscribed in ink u.r. and below in pencil '1.59.70' crossed out, corrected again to '1.91'. A woman's very strong face, drawn almost full-face, thick close hair.

f.17B 'Fr. I. Friendly Isles.' ink and pencil Inscribed in ink u.r. An outrigger canoe, with an older man to rear holding up a ?book and a young man toward the prow, with long hair and necklace, both with torso bare. Below, a broad-headed paddle.

f.18 (Plate IV) 'Canoes of the Friendly Isles.' sepia ink and wash 29.6 × 19.3 cm. watermark: Pro Patria Inscribed in ink, below top margin, and in pencil faintly u.r. '1. 59-70', crossed out, corrected to '1.110' (i.e. 1.56, where Tongan canoes are mentioned in passing). Three different aspects of small outrigger canoes in great detail, especially as to lashings—side view with outrigger in foreground, attached to 2 curving supports on canoe; side view from above, across canoe to outrigger with 2 double vertical supports on outrigger; and plan view taken from above inverted canoe, with outrigger attached to each arm by 2 horizontal crossed supports. Cf. Walker's engraving of a Tongan canoe at v.1 p.110 of the *Narrative*, which is very similar to these though not identical with any one; the man is using a broad-bladed paddle like that in f.17B.

f.19A Tahitian Priest in ceremonial mourning dress. pencil 31.3 × 19.2 cm watermark: Pro Patria Inscribed in ink u.r. 'See Cook's Voyage by Ellis.' A rough but detailed sketch on which is based Collyer's engraving at v.1, p.130 of the *Narrative*, this confirms the other versions although with marked variations. The elaborate headdress and costume are very similar but the fashion and

length of the skirt are different; the hand at left holds a small object, but the arm on the right is extended, holding upright a large shark-tooth-studded ceremonial 'sword' in place of the familiar staff. Cf. the drawing in the British Library attributed to Spöring, Add. MS 23921.32 (reproduced in Banks, *The Endeavour Journal*, v.1, pl.15) and the ?Parkinson drawing, Add. MS 15508.9, engraved as part of pl.5 by Woollet in Hawkesworth's *Account*...

f.19B 'Otaheite?' pencil Inscribed in ink u.r. Rough sketch of large open hut, banana palm and breadfruit tree indicated at left and another tree barely outlined at right. On extreme right a small sketch of a nude muscular man, from rear, holding over his right shoulder a small branch to which are tied 3 ?coconuts.

f.20A 'Tohaw' [Teto'ofa] pencil 18.7 × 27.4 cm watermark: Pro Patria Inscribed in ink u.r. and also in pencil immediately above the figure, with '1.137' at extreme right (refers to 'many of the principal arees, among whom were . . . Potatow, and Tohaw . . . the lord high admiral, as we used to call him . . .', but Towha was the more usual spelling). A fleshy, mature man seated in a chair, naked to the waist, with short-trimmed beard and hair dressed in top-knot. He was an important chief, from Faaa in the Oropaa distirct of Tahiti (Cook, *Journals III*, pt. 1, p.198).

f.20B 'Otaheite?' pencil Inscribed in ink u.r. Sketch of young people—2 ?boys seated and a girl standing in a well-detailed outrigger canoe, the boy in centre holding a paddle; 5 figures in a double canoe—at left a seated woman wearing large hat, with paddle, a squatting child and a seated man adding fish to those already caught, at right to the rear a seated ?woman with paddle and a seated child in front; small sketch of head of ?woman wearing a visor.

f.21A 'Otaheite?' pencil and grey wash 30.8 × 18.6 cm watermark: Pro Patria Inscribed in ink u.r., repeated l.r. without query, in pencil u.r. '1.143' (the only reference that could be relevant here is to 'Omai in a large double canoe, which he had purchased here [Tahiti]'—from Towha.) A double canoe, sail set, occupied by 3 figures, one man near the stern apparently fishing and a ?woman at the prow facing aft while paddling. The query as to locality is here quite justified, for despite the reference given, this is certainly a Hawaiian canoe. Cf. f47A—both canoes appear to be repeated in the Ellis drawing of Kealakekua Bay in the Public Record Office, London (MPM 44), reproduced as pl.57 in Cook, *Journals III*; cf. also Webber's pen and wash drawing in the Hocken Library, Dunedin, reproduced at p.72, Vaughan and Murray-Oliver, *Captain Cook, RN, the resolute mariner*.

f.21B 'Otaheite?' pencil and grey wash Inscribed in pencil u.r. Two views of Tahitian mountains from off-shore, the upper being faint pencil outlines, inscribed 'West Side' in ink above, mid-centre, the lower similarly inscribed 'S.W. Side, dist. 4 Miles.' Some wooded areas appear at left of the lower view.

f.22A & f.23A 'Otaheite?' pencil 18.6 × 10 cm and 18.6 × 20.9 cm (2 pieces—to be joined) watermark: Pro Patria (on each) 22A inscribed in pencil u.r. 'See Awallo' but crossed out, corrected to 'Oammo'; and in ink, above, 'joins to another piece'. 23A inscribed with title in ink u.r., and u.l. 'A piece joins to this'; below, in pencil, again 'See Awallo.'. High mountains, many-ridged at right, are outlined, with much growth along the shore and a few coconut palms, several scattered large buildings on beach. There is a small double canoe and an outrigger canoe in foreground at right of 22A and a larger high-stemmed outrigger canoe in foreground at right of 22A and a larger high-sterned outrigger

canoe at left of 23A, each carrying 4 figures. The reference to Oamo would indicate that the scene is Tahitian.

f.22B 'Awallo' pencil Inscribed in pencil above figure, repeated in ink to right. Full-face head and shoulders of mature man, curly-haired and full-bearded, with cloth draped around neck.

f.23B 'Oammo' [Oamo, Amo] pencil Inscribed in pencil above figure, repeated in ink to right; in pencil u.r. '1.145' (refers to news at Eimeo [Moorea] of reported death of Amo, widower of 'Queen' Purea). Full-face head and shoulders of mature man, with full head of curly hair reaching to ears and short goatee beard, neckerchief knotted on chest.

f.24 'Girl of Otaheite bringing presents.' pencil 24.9 × 18 cm watermark: Crown Inscribed in ink u.r. The same subject as in Webber's study (British Library Add. MS 15513.17, reproduced at pl.25a in Cook, *Journals III*, and Bartolozzi's engraving after Webber (pl.27, Cook and King, *Voyage . . .*, but lacking the ornamental panels on the panniered *tapa* cloth. Possibly both artists sketched this attractive lass, or one copied the other.

f.25 (Plate I) Apparently the same girl as in f.24 pencil 22.8 × 15.6 cm watermark: none, but paper similar to f.24. The girl is here nude from the waist up, and her full skirt is frilled outward about her waist at both sides. Her arm at left is held out and down, that at right is raised as she touches her curly hair. She appears to be demonstrating a dance, and her costume may be what was worn under the *haute couture* arrangement of the gift *tapa*; it is slightly reminiscent of (though much simpler than) that shown in Webber's drawing of Tahitian girls dancing (British Library, Add. MS 17277.19, engraved by Sherwin as pl.18, Cook and King *Voyage . . .*, and Parkinson's pencil sketch (Add. MS 23921.38b) reproduced as pl.12 in Banks, *The Endeavour Journal . . .*

f.26A Bearded, moustached man seated in Windsor chair, his lap filled with a bundle of *tapa* cloth; at u.r. a small sketch of head and shoulders of a shock-headed clean-shaven man wearing a neckerchief. pencil 30.8 × 20 cm watermark: Pro Patria.

f.26B Side view of short-bearded high-browed elderly man seated on ground, cloth round his waist, left leg thrust forward and bent upwards at knee, while left hand holds large sheets of paper which he is reading. Above, study of a hand, palm upwards, fingers lightly cupped, and outline of a cuff low on wrist. pencil and grey wash.

f.27A 'Girls of Huaheine' pencil 24.9 × 18.5 cm watermark: Pro Patria Inscribed in ink u.r. and in pencil at extreme u.r. '1.147' crossed out, corrected to '156' (refers to the girl from Huahine who warned that Cook and Clerke were to be seized and killed, on 26 November 1777, of whom Home wrote: 'She was a Fat Jolly good Natured girl and Expressed great Horror at Fighting and it is highly probable would have Informed against her Father had he designed to shed the Blood of Another.') Head and shoulders of a possibly plump young woman, curly-headed, leaning on her left hand against her cheek, a cloak wrapped about her shoulders—with something of the air of a young lady of fashion. Cook wrote that she was 'a girl one of the officers brought from Huaheine' (Cook, *Journals III*, pt.1, p.250).

f.27B 'A double canoe of Otaheite' sepia ink sketch of high-sterned large canoe, with 6 figures, one standing against stern-post, one squatting on 'bowsprit' and one only paddling. Inscribed in ink at lower margin, with 'Otaheite' u.r.

f.28 'Taro plant, grows in water, at Otaheite.' sepia ink and pale grey wash 17.7 × 21.4 cm watermark: none, a cheap thin paper Inscribed in ink u.l., and above in pencil '1.169' (refers to *taro* at Ataoui [Kauai] in the Hawaiian Islands). Colour-test brush strokes in upper area of page.

f.29A 'Canoe of Otaheite' sepia ink 18.4 × 29.5 cm watermark: Pro Patria Inscribed in ink u.r. and in pencil '1.178' (again refers to Kauai). Outline of a masted outrigger canoe, again apparently Hawaiian rather than Tahitian. Cf. f.21A and notes thereto. To u.r. is a small pencil drawing of torso of a man, leaning forward with right arm outstretched.

f.29B Two small drawings of nude men, one seated on ground, possibly wearing a *cache-sexe*, left leg doubled under, right leg outstretched, resting his weight upon his hands; the other standing, viewed side on, right foot slightly advanced, right arm loosely at his side, left arm resting upon small ?shed (or large packing case?). As there seems possibly to be a thin cord around his waist, it may be that he is similarly garbed to his fellow.

f.30 'Boats at King George's Sound' [Nootka Sound, Vancouver Island, Canada] pencil 18.5 × 23.5 cm watermark: GR Inscribed in ink at lower margin, and in pencil u.r. '1.191' (refers to canoes being different from any previously seen). Two drawings of Indian canoes, similarly but differently decorated with painted designs on the hulls.

f.31 'Canoes of K. George's Sound' pencil 14.1 × 19.5 cm watermark: Pro Patria Inscribed in ink u.r., with 'Chinese Boat?' crossed out, and in pencil '1.191'. Outline of canoe similar to those in f.30, again clearly showing cross-supports within hull; outline of side view, facing in opposite direction; and small sketch of canoe, stern on.

f.32-33-34-35 See *Medway notes on bird drawings*, pp. 23-27 *supra*.

f.36 'N.W. Coast of America' pencil 18.2 × 26 cm watermark: VG Inscribed in ink u.r. and in pencil '1.213' (refers to inhabitants of King George's [Nootka] Sound). Head and shoulders of man in jacket with feathered neck, his nose pierced; and small detail drawing of a nose in profile showing hole pierced to take bone ornament.

f.37A 'King George's Sound' pencil 30.2 × 17.8 cm watermark: Pro Patria Inscribed in ink u.l., and in pencil u.r. 'Bonnet described Ellis Voyage Vol 1 p.214'. Long-haired man in conical hat, and cloak over his right shoulder, holding a broad pointed paddle, right hand on end, left hand clasping it a little lower—the handle overlapping the base of the second drawing, which shows head and shoulders of a curly-headed young man with short full beard; sideways along the length of the paper is a fainter sketch of a long canoe with a figure at stern and another at prow, the latter holding a paddle. Cf. the conical hat of the Alaskan from Cook's Inlet in Webber's drawing in the Farquhar collection (pl.45a, Cook, *Journals III*).

f.37B Two faint coastal profiles, in pencil; a detailed geological study of hilly coast, in wash (greys and pale yellows).

f.38 (Plate XI) See *Medway notes on bird drawings*, pp. 23-27 *supra*.

f.39 'N.W. Coast of America?' grey wash 17.9 × 32.8 cm watermark: none Inscribed in ink at lower margin, and in pencil 'Ellis Voyage Vol 1 p.260?'

crossed out, corrected to '235' then again to '269' (refers to mountains to north). High mountains rising in distance.

f.40 See *Medway notes on bird drawings*, pp. 23-27 *supra*.

f.41 (Plate VII) 'A Man of Unalaschka' pencil and colour wash 18.4 × 17.5 cm watermark: VG Inscribed in pencil l.r., s. & d. l.r. 'W: Ellis fec^t 1779', and u.r. 'Ellis Voyage Vol. 2. p.45' (referring to just such an Aleut Eskimo). Head and shoulders, long-haired, moustached, with close-cropped beard, pointed bone ornament in chin, wearing jacket with feathered neck and shoulders fringed with fur, with 'gorget' of dull red.

f.42 See *Medway notes on bird drawings*, pp. 23-27 *supra*.

f.43A (Plate VIII) Conical snow-capped peak banded with clouds, another range at left, colour wash 19.7 × 37.2 cm watermark: fragment only visible Inscribed in pencil l.r. '1.210? 308?' (these references give no immediate clues to locality, which may be in the Aleutian Islands). Ruled pencil outline to the drawing, possibly intended for engraving.

f.43B A similar but different conical snow-covered peak rising from thick cloud, with further snow peaks behind at both left and right. colour wash It may be noted that similar conical peaks are shown in Webber's drawing of the Kamchatka coast (British Library Add. MS 15514.33, reproduced as pl.62 in Cook, *Journals III*).

f.44A 'Sandw. Isla' . . . [balance of inscription trimmed] grey wash 28.4 × 26.3 cm watermark: ALCV Inscribed in ink u.r. and in pencil '2.88?', s. & d. l.r. in pencil 'W.W. Ellis ad viv. delin. 1779' (The reference given seems to identify the subject: ' . . . we had several other visitors of consequence, amongst which was a young man whose name was Purráah [Parea, Palea], and, as we were informed, a principal attendant of Terriaboð [Tarei 'opu'u, Kalei'opu'u], who was the king of the island: he was about five feet eight in height, his person was pleasing, and he appeared to be possessed of great good nature.' Palea, who first came aboard on 17 January 1779 at Kealakekua Bay, was a young chief of importance who featured prominently during the sojourn there.) Head and shoulders study of young man with curly hair dressed in a large roll running back from a curl above his nose, with a short moustache and small close-trimmed beard. Cf. Webber's drawing, in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu, of another Hawaiian with half-tattooed face, in which a similar style of hairdressing is portrayed, but not so clearly. (Reproduced as pl.59a in Cook, *Journals III*).

f.44B Four small drawings in characteristic Ellis yellow-green and grey colourings colour wash Trees at water's edge with hut; trees ranked thickly around three sides of an open square; sheer rock escarpment arising from a wooded hill; leafy branch of a breadfruit tree. At l.r. are colour-testing brush strokes.

f.45 (Plate VI) 'Sandwich Islands?' pencil 30 × 22.8 cm watermark: none Inscribed in ink u.r. and in pencil '99' crossed out, corrected to '2.156?' (though p.156 is not relevant, pp.151-2, Ellis v.2, refer to tattooing of Hawaiians). A moustached and heavily-(short)bearded mature man sitting in a Windsor chair. As in f.44A his hair is dressed in a roll in the centre of his head and here the style clearly recalls the Hawaiian crested helmet; the entire left arm, from the shoulder and including hand and fingers (above and below), intricately

tattooed [note Janet Davidson's comments p. 0 *supra* pertinent to this feature]. Cf. the Bishop Museum's watercolour by Webber quoted re f.44A with this same tattoo shown, but only on shoulder and upper arm. Webber's subject appears slightly younger but is shown full-face whereas Ellis has him in profile. Webber's rather than f.44A, seems the likely original of Collyer's engraving at p.150 of the Ellis *Narrative*, v.2. And Heath's engraving at p.151 resembles Sherwin's after Webber, pl.63, Cook and King.

f.46A 'Sandwich Isles? Compare with the print in Ellis's *Voyage* Vol. 2. p.165.' (the reference is not in fact relevant) pencil 27.4 × 18.6 cm watermark: Pro Patria Inscribed in pencil u.l. Six small slight detailed sketches—2 figures, one holding paddle, in outrigger canoe taken on angle from in front of it; rear view of nude man's head and torso, holding portion of ?spear in right hand; single figure in outrigger canoe, showing curving outrigger supports from opposite side to first study; single figure with paddle in outrigger canoe, again showing curved supports; single figure in outrigger canoe from rear, very clearly depicting outrigger and similar supports; figure sitting at one end of portion only of outrigger canoe.

f.46B Small ?rock island wash and pencil

f.47A 'Double Canoe of Sandwich Isles. See Ellis's *Voyage* Vol. 2. p.177' (where reproduced, reversed, engraved by Walker) wash 25.5 × 18 cm watermark: Pro Patria Inscribed in ink at lower margin. Five figures (three paddling) in double canoe, showing connecting stays, with sail partially furled on mast. Cf. note to f.21A—this canoe seems the original of one in the Ellis watercolour in the P.R.O., London. All the appeal and much of the accurate detail of this graphic representation has been lost in the engraving, which is reproduced (pl.47) with the Kealakekua watercolour (pl.49) in Murray-Oliver, *Cook's Hawaii*. In this item, above the sail is a small pencil sketch of rear view of a man seated on the ground, legs crossed, his long hair gathered in a queue down his back.

f.47B Wash drawing of typical Hawaiian chief's cloak of red and yellow feathers; 2 pencil sketches of outlines of outrigger canoes, the first showing 2 figures paddling, the second showing a girl seated on the canoe.

f.48 See *Medway notes on bird drawings*, pp. 23-27 *supra*.

f.49A 'Kamtschatzka' colour wash 19 × 27.2 cm watermark: portion only just visible on edge of paper Inscribed in ink u.r. and in pencil '2.237' (refers to the town of St Peter and St Paul—the engraving of this settlement at p.237, v.2 of Ellis's *Narrative*, in part is the same but includes many more buildings.) A wooded coastal hill rising above 3 conical huts and one rectangular wooden hut at water's edge on a sandspit, in characteristic Ellis colouring. Cf. Pouncy's engraving after Webber, taken from the shore, pl.74 in Cook and King *Voyage* . . .

f.49B A whole page of colour-test brush strokes in Ellis colouring.

THE MILTON COLLECTION IN THE ALEXANDER TURNBULL LIBRARY

The text of a paper delivered at the Conference of the Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand held at the Alexander Turnbull Library in February 1977.

The title of this paper is misleadingly definite. The words 'The Milton Collection' carry an implication that books are or are not part of the collection with no possible doubt. This would be true if the collection was closed with no further additions possible, as it might be if frozen at Turnbull's death in 1918 and one spoke of 'Alexander Turnbull's Milton collection', but even that in itself is not a definite entity.

As anyone who has read the biography by E. H. McCormick¹ will be aware, Alexander Turnbull had been buying books, New Zealand books and general English literature, during the years he lived in London after leaving Dulwich College and all his collecting interests tended to be broadly rather than narrowly defined. A decision of early 1917 left a large number of the books that Turnbull bought from Quaritch in the last months of his life in England, to await the end of 'Germany's submarine warfare',² and when these books were processed by the staff of the officially established institution not all were identified as Turnbull's purchases by the use of his own book-plates. In the way these things happen his book-plates were also used in some of the books bought or given to the Library at a later date, so that it is not always possible to be sure that a particular book was bought by Turnbull himself.

We can take the central core of the Milton collection to be the editions of Milton's works, in the original or in translation. (I diverge here to say that I am restricting myself to works published before 1801 and all comments about proportions, and any numbers, refer only to pre-1801 material; this also applies to works outside the central core of editions, and I am leaving the entire area of nineteenth century material—which is extensive—out of consideration. Except in a very few cases, which are indicated, I refer only to works actually in the Turnbull Library.)

Taking then the central core of the collection, the editions, a reasonable estimate identifies about seventy percent, 120-odd, of the 174 issues and editions in the Library in 1974 as Turnbull's own purchase. W. R. Parker's survey of the seventeenth century editions³ identified 111 issues; the Library had 72 of these in early 1974 and Mr Elliott then estimated⁴ that 66 of these had been acquired by Alexander Turnbull. It can

be seen that there have been substantial additions to the collection, however we define it, even before the 1974 purchase of the Stuart collection⁵ which increased the number of pre-1801 editions to 242, Turnbull's own contribution being about fifty percent; the number of seventeenth century issues rose to 81, four-fifths of which Turnbull probably bought. This ignores duplicates. Even now the character of the collection is strongly influenced by Turnbull.

A further difficulty comes with defining the borders of the collection. When the rare books were catalogued in their present style around 1960 the identifiable Milton collection was given a distinctive callmark; it is not, however, an infallible rule that all the Milton collection has the Milton callmark. A clear case is the Second Folio Shakespeare, probably bought by Turnbull because it contains the first extant printing of any work by Milton, the 'Epitaph' on Shakespeare;⁶ this is catalogued as part of the main rare book collection.

Another case of the inevitable inconsistencies which occur can be seen with two pamphlets that Francis Peck attributed to Milton in his *New memoirs of the life*. The first of these, *Tyrannical government anatomized*, a 1642 translation of George Buchanan's *Baptistes*, is catalogued as part of the Milton collection; the second, an anti-Laud pamphlet of 1641 called *Canterburies dreame* which Peck calls 'The Parallel', is catalogued as part of the ordinary rare books. Turnbull himself commented, in his copy of Peck's work, 'How on earth anyone could imagine the "Parallel" to have been written by Milton passes my comprehension.'

I do not cite these inconsistencies in criticism, but only to illustrate the difficulty of using the callmark as a sole guide to the Milton collection. When we enter the field of Miltoniana, works with allusions to Milton, attacking him or defending him, and works which make use of him or are influenced by him, then we enter a territory with uncharted boundaries—where do we stop? Do we say that because Sir Robert Filmer analyses Milton's political ideas in his *Observations concerning the originall of government* then we should include not only that work of Filmer's but his others also, in which Milton is not mentioned, and that we should also include John Locke's *Two treatises of government* which include a lengthy attack on Filmer's ideas, almost certainly taking account of Milton's political ideas but with no identifiable reference at all to Milton. If Hobbes's *Behemoth*, with its explicit reference to Milton, is included should the *Leviathan* also be included? Hobbes would have been aware of the ideas in *Eikonoklastes*, in the *Tenure of kings and magistrates* and possibly in the first *Defensio pro populo Anglicano* (the timing of publication makes that doubtful) but there is absolutely no reference to Milton in the *Leviathan*, nor in the many pamphlets which attacked it.

Once Milton's works had become part of the general consciousness writers were likely to quote his words or use his ideas without acknowledgement and possibly quite unaware of what they were doing. When Simon Patrick quoted nearly a page of the second edition of *Eikonoklastes*, slightly altered, in his 1669 *Continuation of the friendly debate* (which the Library does not have) he did not name Milton, but was well aware of whose work he was using. His opponent, Samuel Parker, did not recognise the passage and it was some previous owner of Turnbull's second copy of the 1649 first edition who did.⁷ This is an early example. By the time of the Popish Plot and the arguments on passive obedience which followed it in the early 1680s, many Whig writers could have been doing what Patrick did. Some made extensive use of Milton's arguments and authorities,⁸ but it was only because writers like Roger L'Estrange identified the borrowings that many readers of the time would have learnt that the ideas they encountered in the 1680s were those expressed in the 1650s by that 'regicide' Milton. This diffusion of Milton's ideas is one factor creating uncertainty as to where a Milton collection stops and a general collection of English political and general literature begins.

If there is difficulty with the influence of the prose works, there is greater difficulty with the poetry. Dryden was obviously well-acquainted with *Paradise lost* at least and one would assume that this must have influenced his poetry. His identifiable references to Milton's poetry are all qualified and the influence of Milton is almost completely absorbed and transmuted in his poetry. In the eighteenth century there were various factors which created at various times a 'boom' in what the reading public thought of as 'Miltonic' verse. John Philips in *The splendid shilling* and James Thomson in *The Seasons* both began fashions for Miltonic verse and Thomson in particular had a major influence on his contemporaries. When R. D. Havens listed eighteenth century works which were probably or possibly influenced by Milton the result was a survey of a large proportion of minor eighteenth century verse, with a good proportion of the major poets as well.⁹ Should all of *these* be included in a Milton collection? We cannot be guided by Turnbull's buying, for he was buying general English literature several years before he began his Milton collection and the many editions of Thomson's works could have been bought as part of his interest in Scottish literature. Some minor poets are represented by poems with a very explicit Milton association and these may have been bought as imitations, like *The village curate* of James Hurdis which opens with the first three lines of *Paradise lost*, but even here we cannot be certain.

By the end of the eighteenth century it would probably be true to say that every significant poet writing in English was influenced by

Milton's poetry in some measure. The overt references proliferate and the fact that Philip Ayres admitted that Milton was one of his models in 1687 *Lyric poems* is a more significant landmark in the development of Milton's reputation than the fact that in 1804 William Blake wrote a substantial poem called *Milton*, though this judgement has no reference to the merits of the respective poems.

If Milton's influence is far-reaching and the bounds of Miltoniana are so indefinite, the works which influenced Milton are equally difficult to identify for quite a different reason. Even the works most clearly among those he read, because he attacked them, quoted them in his works or in his *Common-place-book*, or annotated copies, cover a very wide area of human knowledge and when we start looking for those he *may* have read the field becomes enormous. Works such as Bracton's *De consuetudinibus Angliae*, the 1602 *Works* of Chaucer, the 1587 *Chronicles* of Holinshed, the 1626 *Purchas his pilgrimage* show the variety of his reading and these are works published in England and in the Turnbull Library. A large proportion of his known reading, and buying, was of books published in Europe.¹⁰ Milton's learning is a major handicap to most who would go source-hunting and it is not surprising that Alexander Turnbull made no effort to collect in the area of Milton's sources.

This brings us back to the question: what did Turnbull collect, and how much influence did he have on the nature of the collection as it exists today?

Turnbull wrote to Quaritch in July 1892, 'I intend forming a Milton collection & making it as complete as possible if I can see my way to do so' and he asked the bookseller to obtain the 1645 and 1673 editions of the *Poems*.¹¹ This was some four months after his permanent return to Wellington at the age of twenty-four with his parents and sister, after an English education and youth. Why he began his Milton collection cannot be explained. Like most English people he was apparently only vaguely aware of Milton the prose writer—and probably not much in sympathy with that side of Milton—and the strength and weakness of the collection is a reflection of this awareness. He began by collecting the poetry and he was very largely successful—the first five of the six title pages of the first edition of *Paradise lost* and at least one issue of every major seventeenth century edition of the poetical works except the 1688 folio of *Paradise regained* and *Samson Agonistes*. This includes the prestigious *Iusta Edovardo King naufrago* with the first printing of *Lycidas*¹² and the 1637 *Maske* more commonly known as *Comus*. It does not include the separate printing of *Epitaphium Damonis*, scarcely surprising with only one known copy, nor does it include the various miscellanies which reprinted some of the minor poems.

In the eighteenth century the major editions are by and large there—

Tickell's 1720 *Poetical works*, Fenton's 1725 *Paradise lost*, Bentley's 1732 *Paradise lost*, Newton's 1749 *Paradise lost* and 1752 *Paradise regained* with the other poems, the 1785 Warton edition of the *Poems*, the 1794 to 1797 Hayley and Cowper edition of the *Poetical works*. The *Paradise regained* editions are not quite as well represented as the *Paradise lost*, but there are a good proportion among the lesser editions and reprints, particularly of Tonson and his successors—the 1705 and 1707 octavos, the 1711 and 1713 duodecimos, the Baskerville editions of 1758, 1759 and 1760, lacking only the 1758 quartos which have since come with the Stuart purchase. Reprints of Newton are there, along with a scatter of editions from the unofficial publishers and the pirates; some important, like the 1770 Foulis folio and the 1776 Bell edition of the *Poetical works*, and some less important—like the 1773 duodecimo *Paradise lost* without imprint which Turnbull describes: 'This is a rare edition & is unmentioned by any bibliographies . . . The edition is interesting owing to a misprint in the first line of the poem which reads "Of man's first obedience . . .".' There is also the Wesley abridgement of 1763 which is so uncommon that one commentator¹³ writes as though the 1791 edition had been prepared in that year, despite the preface being dated 1763. There is also a 1798 edition with notes which was 'printed for G. Whitfield . . . and sold at the Methodist preaching houses in town and country'; the only other example of the imprint that I have seen is a Methodist tract of 1791, a *Short account of Wesley* in the Victoria University Library.

There are very few of these provincial, Irish and Scottish editions among Turnbull's purchases in proportion to the number actually known to have been published and there are also very few of the translations and continental editions which appeared during the eighteenth century. Turnbull's purchases were affected by his enforced reliance on booksellers. He began buying from the Scottish and European booksellers most likely to supply these provincial and continental editions several years after beginning his Milton collection¹⁴ and it seems to have been only incidentally that Milton works were bought from them, for the dealers were unlikely to search for Milton material without specific instruction.

Turnbull's comparative lack of interest or (it would probably be truer to say) comparative ignorance of the publication of Milton outside London is, I suspect, the result of his education as a London gentleman. The same influence is at work that led him to buy underwear and toiletries as well as suits, hats and shirts from London firms¹⁵—the 'London mentality' which is reputed to believe that the remote North of England begins at Potters Bar.

The representation of the prose works also reflects Turnbull's background. Most people with his upbringing would have been quite well



PLATE I

Tahitian dancing girl (f.25)



PLATE II
Christmas Harbour, Kerguelen Island (f.1)

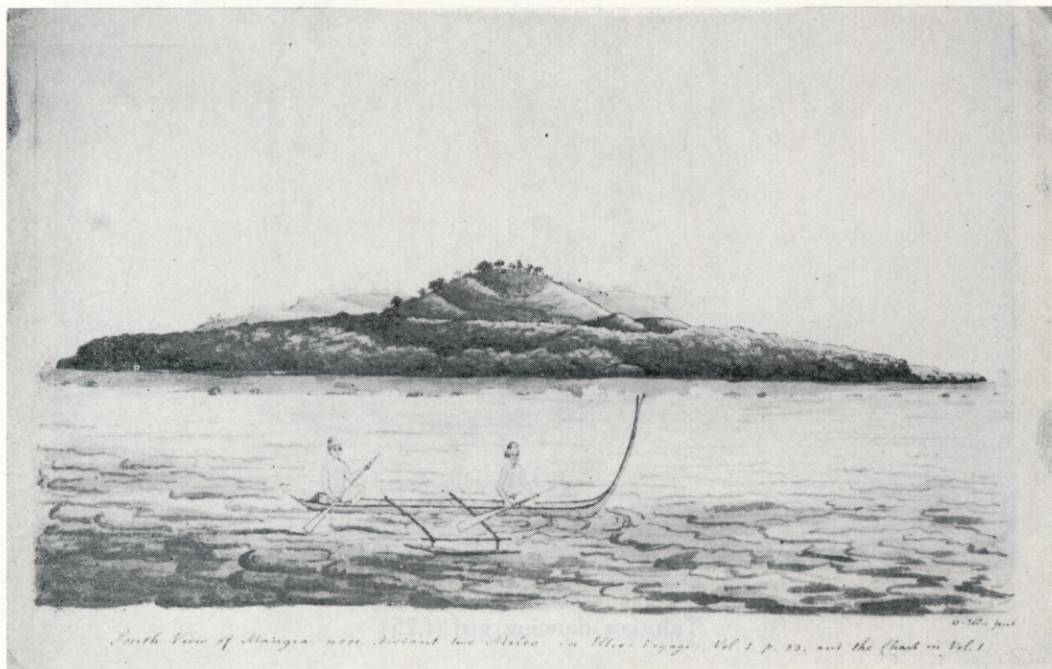


PLATE III
Mangaia, Cook Islands (f.4)

Canoes of the Friendly Isles.

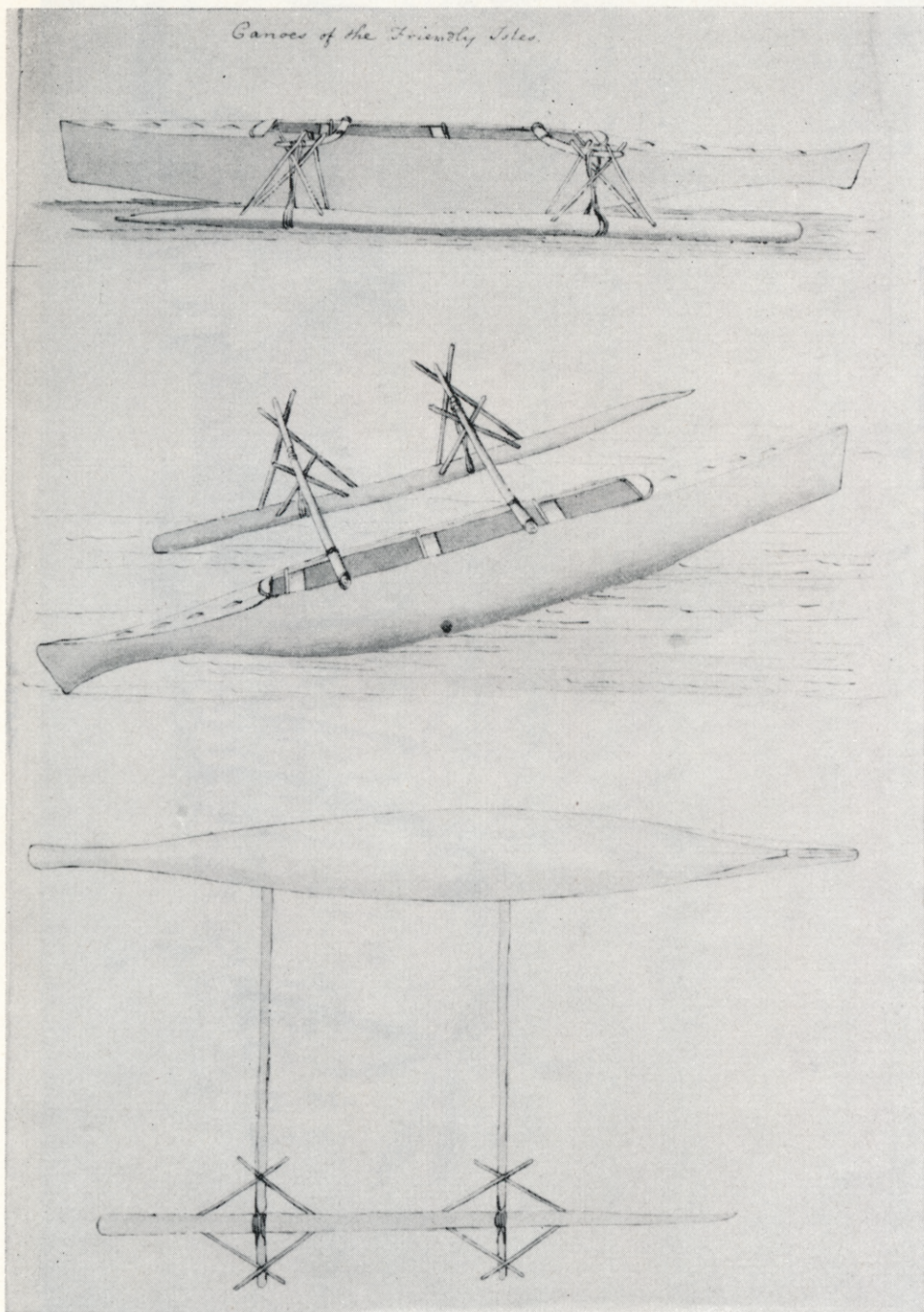


PLATE IV
Tongan canoes (f.18)



Trading place of Anamethka } See Uli's, Boyage Vol. I, p. 9
or New Rotterdam Island

PLATE V
Trading at Nomuka, Tongan Group (f.8A)



PLATE VI

Tattooed Hawaiian man (f.45)



PLATE VII

Eskimo man, Aleutian Islands (f.41)



PLATE VIII

Snow-covered peak [in Aleutians or Kamchatka?] (f.43A)

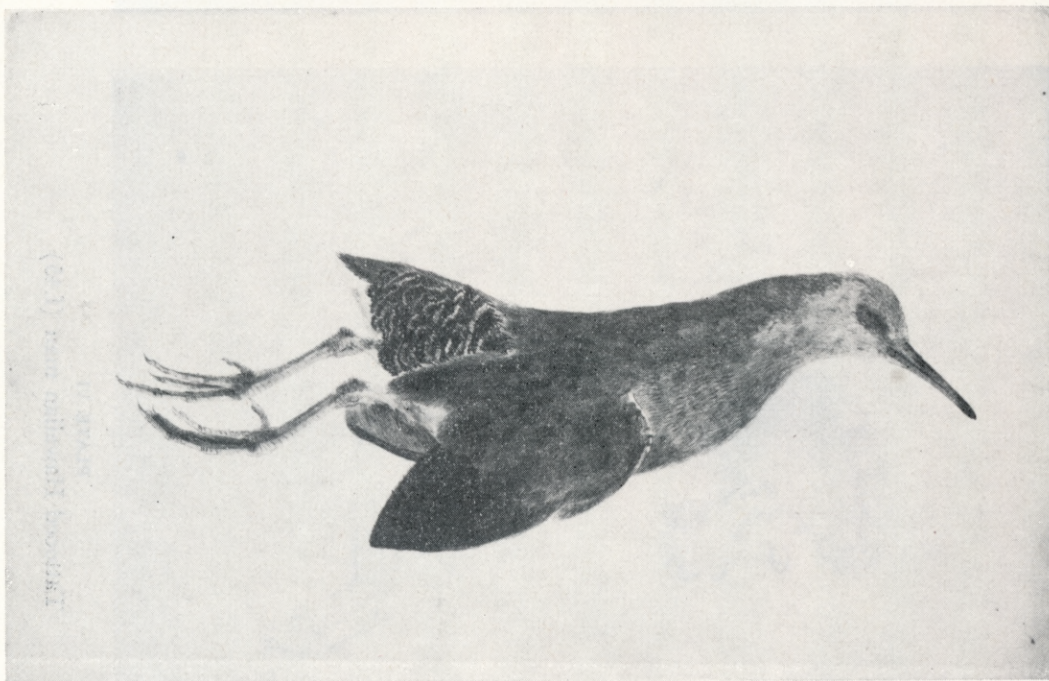


PLATE IX

Unidentified dead bird (f.40)



PLATE X

Four birds' heads with foot and beak detail (f.33)



PLATE XI

Bald Eagle (*Haliaeetus leucocephalus*) (f.38)

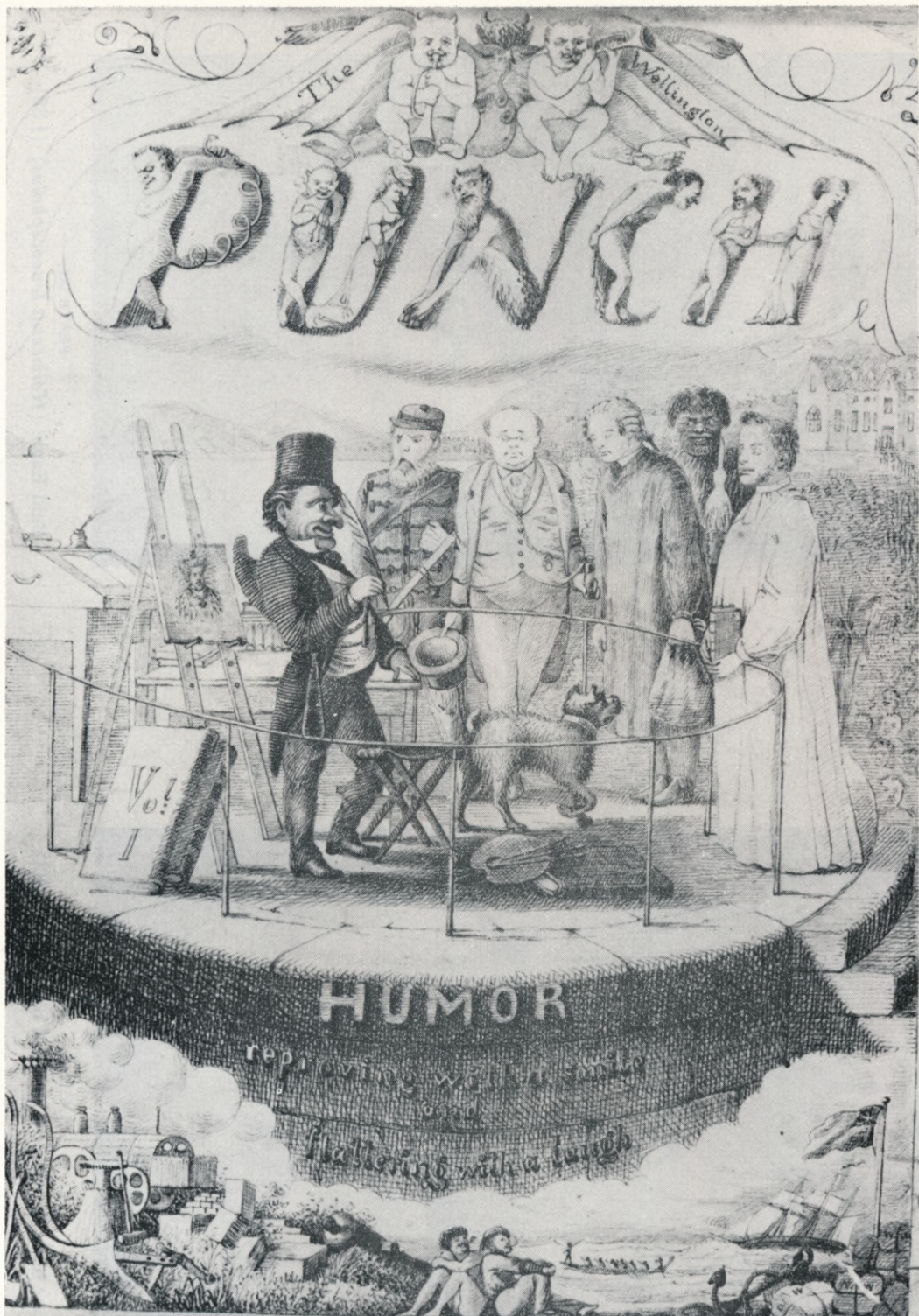


PLATE XII

Suggested title page for the *Wellington Punch* (1867)

acquainted with Milton the poet, almost totally ignorant of Milton the polemicist. The fact that Turnbull's initial request to Quaritch made no mention of any prose works probably has only slight significance, but there is more significance in the fact that the bulk of the seventeenth century editions not held are the prose works and there are far more of them. While only one major edition of the poetry is absent, the *Considerations touching the removal of hirelings* and the 1644 *Of Education* are missing although substantially more common than *A Maske (Comus)* or the 1694 *Paraphrasis Latina*. Not only that, there is no separate edition at all of the *Considerations* earlier than the 1834 London printing and the only printing of the tractate *Of Education* (apart from inclusion with the minor poems or the prose works) is the reprint in Blackburne's *Remarks on Johnson's life*; of all the prose works these two were the most frequently reprinted in the eighteenth century. The absence of the 1649 *Articles of peace* with Milton's *Observations* and the 1674 *Declaration or Letters patent of John Sobieski* is not surprising since neither of these seems to exist in as many as a dozen copies. Likewise it is not surprising if the 1650 edition of *Eikonoklastes*, the 1658 edition of the first *Defence* and the second edition of the *Readie and easy way* are all missing, since all are scarce, especially the latter two.

The eighteenth century saw very few editions of the prose works; the 1698, 1738 and 1753 editions were the only ones of the complete prose works (1697 is not complete), and there were few editions of separate works. Turnbull had the 1698 collection, called 'Toland's' though he had no hand beyond contributing the 'Life'—a recent article in the *Times Literary Supplement*¹⁶ suggests this was fortunate. Turnbull also had the 1738 edition—Orrery's set, bought shortly after publication—but he did not have the 1753 quarto revision by Richard Baron, though there is what seems to be Thomas Hollis's own copy of the 1756 *Eikonoklastes* edited by Baron. Beyond that the only eighteenth century edition of the prose is the 1790 edition of the *Treatise of civil power* and Mirabeau's 1788 adaptation of the *Areopagitica* as *Sur la liberté de la presse*.

The years after Turnbull's death saw a number of additions to the collection, particularly in the eighteenth century editions. The bulk of the accessions were duplicates but a fair number were either new editions or issues of editions already held. In the earlier years of the Library accessions were almost exclusively by gift, there being no money for purchases, but since the 1950s it has been possible to buy for the rare book collection. Most of these additions have been the minor cheap editions of *Paradise lost* or of *Comus*, Dalton's adaptation of the *Maske*. One particularly interesting work was a gift from Katherine Mansfield's father Sir Harold Beauchamp. This purports to be a 1770 edition of

Newton's *Paradise lost*, very like another edition of 1770. However, a closer look brings doubts; the display type of the title page scarcely belongs to the 1770s and it calls Newton 'late Lord Bishop of Bristol'—Newton became bishop in the late 1760s and died in 1782. This edition is in fact a reissue of a Dublin edition of John Exshaw, first published in 1772 and reissued in 1773, then given a false imprint in the 1780s for circulation in provincial England.

Another interesting addition is a late seventeenth century manuscript of an English translation of the first *Defence*. The translation is quite independent of Washington's—it translates the first, quarto, edition—and it seems to pre-date Washington. There is no clear indication of when this manuscript was acquired or how it came to the Library.

Where the gifts and purchases since Turnbull's death have probably had the greatest impact is on the Miltoniana. Turnbull bought some, annotating them for the Milton references when they are not obvious, like the 1660 edition of Featley's *Dippers dipt* and John Goodwin's 1649 *Obstructours of justice*. In other cases he made no reference to the Milton allusion, though noting other features, as with the copies of Walker's *Anarchia Anglicana* of 1649; Turnbull had two of the three editions dated 1649 and noted that they differed. The Stuart collection has supplied the 1661 *Compleat history of Independency* as well as the other 1649 printing, which seems to be the first edition—his work and the other parts of the *History of Independency* are a most complex bibliographical problem.

In some cases Turnbull must have been aware of the Milton association of the works, but there is no direct indication. The 1660 pamphlet attacks on Milton—*The Censure of the Rota* and L'Estrange's *Double your guards, Treason arraigned, Physician cure thy self* and *No blinde guides*—were bought by Turnbull bound in a volume which includes Milton's *Brief notes upon a late sermon*; the original collector dated his copies and bought the L'Estrange *No blinde guides* on the same day as Milton's *Brief notes*, 23 April, two days before Thomason bought his copy.

A particularly notable work of Milton association is the set of *Mercurius politicus*, the Commonwealth newsbook which ran from 13 June 1650 to 12 April 1660. Once, Milton was thought to have been a contributor but this is now rejected; he did however license it for at least nine months and its pages include references to several of his works. The Turnbull set is one of the very few complete runs.

A number of these seventeenth century pamphlets seem to have been bought as part of Turnbull's general buying and it is only by chance that they are relevant for the Milton collection. Often we cannot be sure that Turnbull bought them and it is easiest not to try to distinguish. As in the case of the editions there are few works published outside

London and few in languages other than English. Half of the allusions to Milton that W. R. Parker listed in his 1940 *Milton's contemporary reputation* were in the Library in 1974;¹⁷ almost all the continental references are missing except the major and obvious works like Alexander More's *Fides publica* and Joseph Jane's *Eikonaklastos*. This comment applies even more strongly to the sources, to what can be described as Milton's library. There are very few of the editions that Milton is known to have used and most of these are English works which would have been bought as general English literature. There are virtually no theological works at all in any edition and the ecclesiastical and continental histories are also absent. This is not surprising when we remember that only in 1921, after Turnbull's death, were the editions cited in the *Common-place-book* identified in any detail. Some of the source works which are in the Library are later additions, including the 1569 edition of Bracton and Stow's *Annals* which were transferred from the General Assembly Library collections in 1974.

The overall character of the collection was clear in 1974, when the Library bought the G. William Stuart collection, much of which was duplicates from a collection sold to the University of Western Ontario some years before. The Stuart collection has affected the nature of the Milton collection in some areas by altering the emphasis a little, and by providing duplicates. The major lack among the seventeenth century poetry is filled, with two copies of the 1688 *Paradise regained* and *Samson Agonistes*, together with copies of several missing issues—for *Paradise lost* the sixth title page of 1669 and the 1688 folios, the two issues of the 1673 *Poems* and the two title page states of the 1645 *Poems*. Gildon's *Examen poeticum duplex* of 1698 also came, with reprints of several Latin poems, and an apparently unknown Latin translation of Dryden's epigram.¹⁸ There is also the 1662 *Life and death of Sir Henry Vane* by George Sikes which has the first printing of the sonnet on Vane.

The eighteenth century poetry is supplemented by editions in the same tradition as those already at Turnbull, but there are rather more editions of *Paradise regained* with the minor poems and rather more of the pirated and the Irish and Scottish editions. These include the two Robert Walker piracies of 1739 and 1751, both of which resulted in Chancery injunctions for breach of copyright—and both of which are very badly printed.

The most significant difference is the number of translations; one edition each of the German translations of Bodmer and Zacharia, the 1792 Danish translation of *Paradise regained*, the 1789 Portuguese translation of *Paradise lost* and *Paradise regained*, four different editions of the Dupres de St Maur French version of *Paradise lost*. These fill a

serious gap and make the collection rather more representative of the eighteenth century publication of Milton.

The prose works which came from Stuart are rather less significant, being chiefly duplicates, though the Library now has both Hague title pages of the Vlacq reprint of the *Defensio secunda*—another bibliographical puzzle¹⁹—and all but the rarest of the 1651 and 1652 Latin editions of the first *Defence*.²⁰ The eighteenth century gains rather more, with the 1738 *Areopagitica*, a 1770 reprint of Baron's *Eikonoklastes* and several works reprinting the tractate *Of Education*, as well as the French *Théorie de la royauté*, a 1789 translation of the first *Defence* which is often attributed to Mirabeau.

Paraphrases and musical settings benefit with the addition of several editions of Handel's *L'Allegro il Penseroso ed il Moderato* and *Samson* to add to those already held, and also the 1745 *State of innocence* and another edition to add to the two editions already held of that strange prose paraphrase. There are now the three continental reprints of the *Joannis Philippi Responsio*, which has been considered to be substantially Milton's work since Edward Phillips listed it among his works in 1694.²¹ There are also both printings of that 'Postscript' to the *Answer* of Smectymnuus which many scholars including the Yale editors of the *Prose works* say is probably Milton's.

The Miltoniana is not affected to any great degree, nor are the source works, though all the relevant works of Bishop Hall are now held except the *Modest confutation* (if that is his) and the Library now has a 1652 edition (not the first) of the *Regii sanguinis clamor ad coelum*, as well as the 1661 reprint it already had. It also has the 1653 Dutch translation *Wraak-geschrey van het Koninglyke bloed*. Several groups of pamphlets have been added which cluster about one or two with direct allusions to Milton. The controversy on passive obedience around Samuel Johnson's 1682 *Julian the apostate* and *Jovian*, the reply by George Hickes, is one such group. Another is the group of pamphlets by 'Ludlow' from 1691 and 1692, with a number of other works in that debate on the authorship of the *Eikon basilike* which arose from the publication of the 'Anglesey memorandum' with the 1690 edition of *Eikonoklastes*.²²

There are other works of interest also, such as the 1685 English translation of Degory Wheare's *Method and order of reading both civil and ecclesiastical histories*, with Edmund Bohun's added remarks on Milton's *History of Britain*; also the 1659 edition of *Killing no murder*, and the 1714 *History of the life of Thomas Ellwood*. Two duplicates reveal variant states in the Turnbull copies; the 1662 *Basilika* (of King Charles I) already in the Library has an uncanceled state at the end of Perrinchief's *Life*, and in the Stuart copy of the 1676 edition of Heath's *Chronicle* there is an uncanceled leaf in John Phillip's con-

tinuation which shows that the reason for the cancellation was an injudicious reference to the deposition of Alfonso VI of Portugal.

The Stuart collection does add several works among Milton's sources which emphasise the lack of continental works among Turnbull's collections, for the additions are a 1580 edition of the *Vindiciae contra tyrannos*, a copy of the 1601 *Alexandra* of Lycophron and the 1647 *Compendium theologiae Christianae* of Wollebius which Milton used extensively in his *De doctrina Christiana*. Despite these there are still very few Continental works and my earlier remarks remain applicable.

The Library is continuing to buy works related to Milton, as and when it can. Most of these are peripheral, providing additional works in for instance, the 1690s controversies over the *Eikon basilike*, or further background works to the toleration and conformity debates of the 1660s. In most cases the connection with Milton is remote and not worth pursuing in this context.

It would be ridiculous to suggest that the Turnbull Library surpasses the British Library Reference Division (formerly the British Museum Library) or the Bodleian Library in general terms. What can reasonably be said is that the Milton collection at the Turnbull is as adequate for some types of research as either of those libraries. There are slightly more eighteenth century editions at the Turnbull than at the British Library and there is now a reasonable selection of background material from the seventeenth century.²³ When Turnbull wrote to Quaritch that he hoped to make his Milton collection as complete as possible he could not have realised the size of the task he was undertaking. I think that if he saw the collection now he would feel it has a modest claim, not to completeness, but to adequacy. I also suspect that he would set about collecting continental editions, translations and allusions as vigorously as his credit would let him.

K. A. COLERIDGE

NOTES

¹ McCormick, Eric H. *Alexander Turnbull: his life, his circle, his collections*. Wellington, 1974.

² *Ibid.*, p. 279.

³ Parker, William R. *Milton: a biography*. 2 vols. Oxford, 1968, vol. 2, pp. 1205-13.

⁴ Elliott, V. G., 'John Milton at the Turnbull: II. The impact on the Turnbull collection', *Turnbull Library Record*, 8 (n.s.) (1), 1975, p. 16-17.

⁵ G. William Stuart's collection of Milton editions was sold to the University of Western Ontario and duplicates from that collection, with a further collection of Miltoniana, were purchased by the Turnbull Library in late 1974; the purchase was announced in October 1974 and written up in Traue, J. E., 'John Milton at the Turnbull: I. The purchase of a collection', *Turnbull Library Record*, 8 (n.s.) (1), 1975, pp. 14-15.

⁶ First suggested by Taylor, C. R. H., 'The Milton collection', *Turnbull Library Record*, No. 14, 1960, p. 14.

- ⁷ See Coleridge, K. A., 'An unreported seventeenth century use of Milton's *Eikonoklastes*', *Turnbull Library Record*, 5 (n.s.) (1), 1972, pp. 28-31.
 - ⁸ Shown by Sensabaugh, George F. *That grand whig, Milton*. Stanford, 1952, pp. 54-125.
 - ⁹ Havens, R. D. *The influence of Milton on English poetry*. Cambridge, Mass., 1922, pp. 637-684, and 'Appendix A: Parallels', pp. 573-624.
 - ¹⁰ Boswell, Jackson C. in *Milton's library* (New York, 1975) lists some 1500 titles possibly, probably or definitely owned, read, quoted or attacked by Milton; at least a third of the definitely or probably owned titles are Continental imprints.
 - ¹¹ McCormick, op. cit., p. 111.
 - ¹² The Library's copy of *Justa Edovardo King naufrago* is in mint condition; it is probably one of the best extant copies though most are in very good condition.
 - ¹³ Good, John W. *Studies in the Milton tradition*. Urbana, 1915, p. 221.
 - ¹⁴ McCormick, op. cit., p. 218, 252.
 - ¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 109-10.
 - ¹⁶ Worden, Blair, 'Edmund Ludlow: the Puritan and the Whig', *TLS*, 7 January 1977, p. 16.
 - ¹⁷ Many of the allusions listed by Parker are in the pages of *Mercurius politicus* and it is the Library's complete set that makes the holdings of allusions as full as it is.
 - ¹⁸ This translation: Tres magnos vario florentes tempore vates
Graecia cum Latio, & terra Britannia tulit.
Grandia Maeoniden; distinguit lenta Maronem
Majestas; noster laude ab utrâque nitet.
Tendere non ultrâ valuit natura; priores,
Tertius ut fieret, junxerat ergo duas.
- has not been recorded by scholars such as W. R. Parker; William Cowper translated the epigram in 1780, believing it previously untranslated. (See his letter to Rev. William Unwin, 11 July 1780, in *The correspondence of William Cowper*, with annotations by Thomas Wright. 4 vols. London, 1904, vol. 1, p. 212.)
- ¹⁹ Elucidated by Ayers, Robert W., 'A suppressed edition of Milton's *Defensio Secunda*' (1654), *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 55, 1961, pp. 75-87.
 - ²⁰ Still lacking are the Dutch translation (no. 11) and the edition described as no. 10 by Madan, Francis F., 'A revised bibliography of Salmasius's "Defensio Regia" and Milton's "Pro populo Anglicano Defensio"', *The Library*, 9, 1954, pp. 101-21.
 - ²¹ Phillips prefixed a Life of Milton to his 1694 translation of the *Letters of state*; this is one of the major sources on Milton's life, Phillips having been one of his uncle's pupils for a number of years.
 - ²² The publications are listed at length in Madan, Francis F. *A new bibliography of the Eikon basilike of King Charles the first*. London, 1950.
 - ²³ Available background material is considerably supplemented by the University Microfilms series of Wing and STC microfilms being received by the Turnbull.

SOME EARLY PRINTED BIBLES IN THE COLLECTION OF THE BIBLE SOCIETY IN NEW ZEALAND

The Bible Society in New Zealand has recently undertaken to deposit in the Library an important collection of Bibles and related works.* In its entirety the collection comprises manuscript and printed materials ranging from the twelfth to the twentieth century. To date, only works printed before 1801 have been transferred but already the wealth of the collection is evident. It follows closely on the bequest by Sir Arthur Howard of 50, mainly sixteenth-century, Bibles and prayer books, an exhibition of which was held in 1975. The presence of both collections will give welcome strength in an area in which the holdings of the Library were formerly modest.

This article is limited to a survey of the 166 items which have arrived in the Library. They form the core of a collection which is capable of sustaining serious research in a number of fields. Inevitably the principal emphasis falls on editions of the English Bible, but important texts in other languages are also represented, occasionally in notable editions. It is a collection in which the development of contemporary Biblical scholarship may be clearly traced.

Both the Old and the New Testament appear in the original languages. The Hebrew Old Testament is present in two editions, one printed by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp in 1584 and the other by Pierre de la Rouvière at Geneva in 1609. The text follows that of Plantin's Royal or Antwerp Polyglot Bible of 1568-72 which reprinted with minor modifications the text of the Complutensian Polyglot of Alcalá, printed from 1514 to 1517 and published probably in 1522. In each case an interlinear Latin translation, a revision of Santes Pagninus's version first published in 1528, is also provided.

The Greek New Testament is strongly represented by ten editions of which six are sixteenth-century, offering versions of four major editions, the Complutensian and those of Erasmus, Robert Estienne and Beza. The Complutensian appears in two editions issued with the Hebrew Old Testaments of 1584 and 1609 and in a third printed by Plantin at

* Under the Deed the Library accepts the custody of the Society's collection of early Bibles and related printed and manuscript materials, to be designated as "The Bible Society in New Zealand Collection", and agrees to maintain it under the same conditions as the Library's permanent collections. Ownership of the collection is to remain with the Bible Society. The conditions of use of the volumes will be those laid down in the Library's *Rules* for its own rare book collection. The Library has agreed to display the collection from time to time and is considering the publication of a catalogue.—*Editor*.

Antwerp in 1583, and the Erasmian, first published in 1516, in a 1564 diglot (Greek and Latin) from the press of Nicolaus Brylinger at Basle. A 1568-69 New Testament by Robert Estienne the younger prints the text of his father's first edition of 1546, incorporating only five readings from the subsequent editions of 1549 and 1550. But the text of the important Estienne edition of 1550 is found, in modified form, in 1565 and 1580 octavo editions of Beza's recension printed at Geneva by Henri Estienne. These diglots include Beza's own Latin translation and marginal notes, the 1580 edition adding the text of the Latin Vulgate. Of the three remaining editions, two are seventeenth-century and the other is a 1763 octavo printed at Oxford with the Greek types of John Baskerville. The sole Greek Old Testament in the collection, a 1653 octavo edition printed in London by Roger Daniel for John Martin and James Allestry, claims to print the Sixtine text of 1587. Edited by John Biddle, this was the first edition of the Septuagint printed in England.

A small group of Latin Bibles includes five incunables, a highlight of the collection. The earliest and latest are Venetian, a folio printed by Reynaldus de Novimagio and Theodorus de Reynsburch in 1478 and a 1497 octavo printed by Heironymus de Paganinis. Of the remainder, all folios, two are Strasburg Bibles, one printed by Adolf Rusch for Anton Koberger before 1481 and the other by Johann Grüninger in 1492, and the third is a 1485 edition from the Nuremberg press of Anton Koberger. The Rusch Bible, incomplete in this copy, was the first to print the *Glossa ordinaria*, a commentary often attributed to the ninth-century Walafrid Strabo but probably the work of Anselm of Laon and his pupils at Laon and Auxerre.

Another five editions of the Vulgate text appear in sixteenth-century Bibles, including a 1504 folio printed at Basle by Johann Amerbach, Johann Froben and Johann Petri and a 1534 Paris octavo printed by Yolande Bonhomme, the widow of Thielmann Kerver. The text of the Zurich Latin Bible, first published in 1543, is present in a 1544 edition printed at Zurich by Christopher Froschouer and the Junius-Tremellius version of the Old Testament and Apocrypha, dating from 1575-79, is found with Beza's Latin New Testament in a 1680 Bible printed at London by Roger Norton the younger for Nathaniel Ponder. The Greek and Latin diglot New Testaments provide additional versions of the Vulgate and Beza texts.

The collection is strongest in editions of the English Bible. It is also well balanced, with 26 Bibles or Testaments published before 1611. Tyndale's New Testament, first published in 1526, is represented by the fourth edition of 1550 and Richard Jugge's revision of 1566. The Matthew Bible of 1537, based on Tyndale's translations but using Coverdale to complete the text of the Old Testament, appears in two

London editions, one printed by John Day and William Seres in 1549 and the other by Nicholas Hyll in 1551, in two issues, for William Bonham and John Walley. Edmund Becke's edition of 1551, professedly Matthew, in fact prints the Old Testament and Apocrypha in Richard Taverner's revision of 1539. Coverdale's own revision, under the patronage of Thomas Cromwell, produced in 1539 the Great Bible. The third and fourth editions of 1540 and 1541 present in the collection include Thomas Cranmer's preface first added to the second edition. The Great Bible New Testament is also found in a copy of the 1551-52 edition of a translation of Erasmus's *Paraphrases* first published in 1548-49.

The Great Bible Old Testament and Tyndale's New Testament formed the basis of the Geneva revision undertaken by Whittingham, Gilby and Sampson and published in 1560. The 15 editions held by the Bible Society, from the second edition of 1562 to that of 1640, illustrate not only its popularity but the development of the text, with the gradual introduction of Laurence Tomson's New Testament translation from 1587 and Junius's Revelation from 1599. Whittingham's own Geneva New Testament of 1557, the precursor of the Geneva text, is also held in the first edition, printed by Robert Estienne's brother-in-law, Conrad Badius. Despite the granting of a royal licence to John Bodley, the Geneva version was not printed in England until 1576. In the meantime Matthew Parker had superintended another revision of the Great Bible text, the Bishops' Bible of 1568, which dispensed with the contentious Calvinist notes of Geneva. There are four editions in the collection, those of 1575, 1585, 1588 and 1591. The Reims New Testament and the Douay Old Testament, the Roman Catholic response to Protestant translations into English, are also represented, the Reims by the fourth edition of 1633 and Fulke's second critical edition of 1601, the Douay by the *editio princeps* of 1609-10.

The translators of the Authorized Version of 1611 were influenced by the Geneva and Reims translations even though their main task was the revision of the Bishops' Bible by reference to the Hebrew and Greek texts. The Society's collection of King James Bibles, with 22 seventeenth-century editions and six published in the eighteenth century, is particularly strong. Although the true first edition is wanting, the Great She Bible is present along with the second, third and fourth distinct black-letter folio editions of 1613, 1617 and 1634. A 1629 folio proves to be the first edition of the Authorized Version printed in Cambridge and a 1675 quarto the first English Bible printed at Oxford. The impressive large folio edition printed at Oxford by John Baskett in 1717, the Vinegar Bible, is also present in a fine copy.

Many of the English Bibles have other, bibliographically distinct, items bound with them. There are, for example, 19 editions of Sternhold

and Hopkin's metrical versions of the Psalms, including five from the sixteenth century, one 1572 psalter in the Great Bible translation, 11 seventeenth-century editions of the Book of Common Prayer and six dated editions of Robert Herrey's concordance. John Speed's *Genealogies* also appear in 12 separate editions and the Junius text of Revelation, first published in Latin in 1591 and in English translation in 1592, is present in a 1594 London quarto printed by Richard Field for Robert Dexter. It was this translation of the annotated text by the Huguenot Franciscus Junius, or François du Jon, which from 1599 supplanted the usual version in the Geneva-Tomson New Testament.

The breadth of the collection is revealed by the number of languages represented in translations. Luther's German New Testament is present in a 1590 edition printed at Nuremberg by Katharina Gerlachin. There are two Dutch Bibles, a 1657 edition of the Roman Catholic version of 1599 and a 1756 edition of the States-General version first published in 1637. All three French Bibles are Genevan, printed in Amsterdam, and include the Samuel des Marets annotated edition of 1669 from the press of Louis and Daniel Elzevir. The 1685 first edition of the Irish Old Testament, translated by William Bedell, is found bound with the second edition, 1681, of the Irish New Testament, translated by William Daniel and others. The Bible in Welsh is represented by a 1689-90 London edition and the New Testament in Syriac by the 1664 Hamburg edition edited by Aegidius Gutbier. Of the polyglots, the most notable is the London or Walton edition printed by Thomas Roycroft and finally published in 1658. Incomplete in this set, wanting four of the six volumes, the Bible was edited by Bishop Brian Walton and remains the last and finest of the great polyglots. The collection also includes the Nuremberg Polyglot New Testament of 1599, edited by Elias Hutter, and a 1671 Stockholm polyglot edition of the Gospels, in Gothic, Icelandic, Swedish and Latin.

In addition to the Bibles, there is a small group of related works. These include a 1531 Strasburg edition of the works of Josephus in German, an English translation of Luther's commentary on Galatians printed by Thomas Vautrollier in 1580, a 1586 Paris edition of the *Disputatio cum Herbano Iudaeo* attributed to Gregentius and Philip van Limborch's *De veritate religionis Christianae amica collatio* printed at Gouda in 1687. Anthony Sparrow's 1661 *Collection of articles, injunctions, canons . . . with other publick records of the Church of England* is also present as are a number of Biblical handbooks such as Francis Roberts's *Clavis Bibliorum*, here in the second edition of 1649. Of bibliographical interest is the list of English Bibles from 1526 to 1776 compiled from the manuscript of Joseph Ames and expanded by, among others, the antiquary Andrew Ducarel. The Bible Society's

copy of the 1778 edition bears an inscription recording that it was given to Bryan Barrett on 16 March 1778 by Dr Ducarel himself.

Associations of one kind or another inevitably abound in a collection of Bibles. Many were used to record the births, deaths and marriages within a family for a century or more. Some inscriptions in this collection are of particular interest, such as that in the copy of a 1630 Cambridge King James Bible which asserts that Lieutenant Phillip Browne was quartered with the widow Browne in Lichfield on 14 July 1646, the day the city surrendered to the Parliamentary forces. On this occasion the writer's memory may have played him false for in fact the garrison capitulated on 10, not 14, July. A 1630 edition of the Thirty-nine Articles bears the signatures of parishioners of Buriton and Chalton in Hampshire witnessing that twice, on 30 December 1660 and 13 March 1669, a Dr Edmund Barker read and consented to the articles of the Church of England. Of local interest is a 1620-21 quarto edition of the Authorized Version, later the property of Bishop Nevill, the first Anglican Bishop of Dunedin, which is held by tradition to have been brought to New Zealand in 1824 by the early missionary-farmer Richard Davis. And a 1608 Geneva Bible, formerly belonging to William Ronaldson, is shown in a lengthy inscription to have been presented to him shortly before his departure for New Zealand in 1855 in the hope that "he will be instrumental, in publishing the Truth in the language spoken by the Polynesians, so that Idolatry, like the Mastadon and Dinornis may past [*sic*] away, to be replaced by the Gospel &c &c".

A survey of this kind cannot do justice to the collection. But even a preliminary examination does reveal impressive strengths. The collection has been built up over a number of years largely through the generosity of both the Society's parent body in London and many donors in Britain and New Zealand. By depositing the collection in the Library the Bible Society in New Zealand has demonstrated a proper concern for its preservation. The Society has also, through its goodwill, made a valuable collection more readily accessible for scholarly research.

V. G. ELLIOTT

THREE VON TEMPSKY LETTERS

Gustavus Ferdinand von Tempsky has become one of New Zealand's few folk heroes; his name conjures up a vision of a man with black curls, open-necked shirt, trousers tucked into knee-length boots, a revolver in his belt and a curved sword held high, dashing courageously into action. Apart from the glamour which he injected into it, von Tempsky made a notable impact on the history of New Zealand during his short career. The tactics, based on his South American experience, which he introduced to the field and the self-reliance and independence with which he conducted his campaigns are recognised as having had a vital influence in developing and directing the quality and effectiveness of the Colonial Defence Force. Increasingly, too, his artistic legacy is being appreciated and acknowledged. His watercolours with their strength of colour and vigorous design have a compelling immediacy and are of no small historical interest as unique records of incidents in the wars of the 1860s.

It was with some delight, therefore, that two previously unrecorded letters were found in an autograph book belonging to Walter Mantell. Dated June and October 1867, they fit together with another already held of August the same year and record the difficulties which he was experiencing at a time when (according to standard biographical sources) his life was a picture of domestic bliss.

In 1866 the Forest Rangers had been abruptly disbanded and von Tempsky had returned to Auckland where he apparently relaxed with his family. Free from the constant anxieties of the wars he could give practical expression to his appreciation of the beauties of nature by tending his garden, indulge his love of music and work up from his sketches a series of watercolours depicting scenes from the wars.

The letters printed below not only present a more realistic view of this period but also a rare expression of his artistic intention.

Auckland June 29 [18]67

My dear Mantell

I send this mail some pictures relating to Maori subjects to Wellington. Sir George Grey has kindly offered to see them raffled for me, and R. Pharazyn will do the work of arranging the raffle for me. Could I ask you to give me a lift in this matter?—I have studied Maori nature under a pictorial aspect and have done my best with the limited artistic practice I possess to give an exposition of my ideas on the subject, sufficiently true to nature to be recognisable and sufficiently idealized to suit artistic purposes. If my exposition therefor does not

offend your more complete experience—would you give me your support in the raffle; also—should you think that I am a fair exponent of that curious and original race of beings—would you go a step beyond and think how my abilities in that department might be further employed. The present Govt. has left me stranded high—and *dry*—on my former laurels—and does not think it advisable to give me another chance for new ones—Pounds shillings & pence therefor have become an important consideration in my daily life with a rising family. If therefor you could see a way of offering further employment to my brush you would confer a great favour on yours very sincerely

G. F. Von Tempsky

P.S.

The pictures are addressed to Pharazyn and will be exhibited at the Club.

The second letter, together with the draft title page it mentions, was found in the Library's copy of the first volume of the *Wellington Punch* which had been in the possession of Robert Pharazyn, to whom the letter is addressed.

Auckland Aug 1 [18]67

My dear Pharazin

I just write to let you see a specimen of lithographic pen work—or rather an imitation of it. It is supposed to represent the title page of a *Wellington Punch*. I suppose there is not sufficient enterprise in *Wellington* to furnish capital for a venture like that; though I still think it would pay properly pushed and economically managed.

Keep the specimen as a small memento from me. I fear I have given you much trouble with my pictures. The Maori horizon here looks exceedingly threatening, though the majority of people are pooh-poohing all danger. A small goldfield has opened at the Thames. As a step to an opening up of the whole Thames district it is a matter of considerable importance to Auckland.

With many remembrances to the Lomaxes I remain yours very sincerely

G. F. Von Tempsky

Wellington Octob. 23 [1867]

My dear Mantell

I am off tomorrow to Wanganuy—to command a composite force of rangers and maories—Allow me to express my thanks for your sympathy during my “eclipse”—

Hypatia contains one of the most harrowing descriptions ever penned—the massacre of the Lybran prisoners in the amphitheatre—

Whether the powerful writing can condone the want of artistic tact in the choice of the subject is I suppose an open question.

Many thanks for the books—I remain yours very sincerely

G. F. Von Tempsky Major F.R.

More details of the paintings mentioned are in a report published in the *Wellington Independent* of 11 July 1867, p. 3:

EVENTS OF THE NEW ZEALAND WAR. There are now on view in the Club some cleverly painted pictures on maori subjects from the brush of a well-known gallant officer of the colonial forces. The pictures are six in number and represent "Takapua [*sic*] Lake, North Shore," "Officer of Military Train cutting down a rebel at Nukumarū," "A Hauhau Country," "Attack on Burrt's [*sic*] Farm," "The Maoris leaving Orakau Pa," and "A Maori Ambush, Wanganui". We believe the pictures are to be raffled under the distinguished patronage of Sir George Grey.

It has not been possible to trace the fate of these paintings beyond 16 July 1867 when the *Wellington Independent* notes (p. 3) that the pictures "have been removed by the kind permission of Dr Hector, to the Colonial Museum, where they are now on view pending arrangements being made for their disposal by raffle", but it is clear from the titles listed in the report of 11 July that among them were several now proudly held in public collections.

SHARON DELL

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Pollard Report on Research Resources in English Literature

Professor Arthur Pollard, Head of the Department of English at the University of Hull, was invited earlier this year to survey the resources of the Alexander Turnbull Library and its potential for the support of advanced research in English literature. Two weeks were spent in the Library in mid-February 1977 as part of Professor Pollard's assignment during a British Council tour of Singapore, New Zealand, Australia and Mauritius during the months of February and March. The report to the Chief Librarian is prefaced by the Professor's comments on the purpose and validity of advanced research in English literature in New Zealand:

It is both true and right that the principal scholarly interests must relate to the local situation within New Zealand and the Pacific, but the danger of excessive concentration in this direction without regard to other areas of possible study lies in the tendency for those outside New Zealand to regard the country as provincial, if not parochial, an attitude which its geography and its comparatively short history within the European context can do nothing to discourage. New Zealand's connexions with the European context are established and sustained through its common heritage with Britain and the accumulated culture contained within English literature. It is therefore appropriate that this should be an area of advanced scholarly research within New Zealand and it is fortunate that the resources of the subject in the country give it not only an appeal to local scholars but the opportunity also of making a proper claim to being able to contribute to the international body of scholarship in English literature and thus of establishing in this regard a reputation for New Zealand that will transcend the natural frontiers.

Professor Pollard then goes on to consider the other resources available in New Zealand to support advanced research in English literature and concludes that the Turnbull, because of its own collections and its 'proximity to the resources of the National Library' is the natural centre for such research. He recommends that the Library in developing these resources should build upon existing strengths and should seek the most economically strategic deployment of its financial resources. Professor Pollard notes the Milton collection and the holdings of English printed books up to 1700 as areas of strength and outlines some strategies for development. He also identifies a strong core of resources in Victorian fiction in Turnbull which can be supplemented by the holdings of the General Assembly Library and the Brancepeth Collection in the Library of Victoria University. A systematic assessment of existing

material followed by a vigorous policy of supplementation is recommended and some acquisitions strategies are suggested.

Under the heading of 'acquisitions practice' the Professor notes that because of our distance from London and New York the Library is often at a disadvantage in purchasing materials in English literature and recommends that 'someone, either on a full or part-time basis and possessed of the necessary expertise' should be employed 'to be in contact with the London book market to search for material and especially to keep an eye open for the Library's specialised needs'. Professor Pollard notes that the Turnbull's collection of currently published periodicals on English literature compares unfavourably with those of the university libraries. He regrets that insufficient time was available for him to examine the matter thoroughly and suggests that a close inquiry into Turnbull and National Library resources would be desirable. He also calls for a full and detailed catalogue of the Library's holdings of English literary manuscripts, a collection the strengths of which obviously surprised and impressed him and which provided him with some hitherto unknown manuscripts in his own field of study. A number of useful recommendations are made on conservation, microfilming and other reprographic services.

In his concluding paragraphs Professor Pollard turns his attention to measures which should be adopted to enable the Library to make a contribution to international scholarship in English literature. Greater publicity for the Katherine Mansfield and John Milton collections is advocated together with the publication of full accounts of the Library's policies and holdings for distribution widely in such countries as the United Kingdom, United States, Canada and Australia:

- Consideration should be given to the establishment of short-term academic fellowships covering, say, a term or a year . . . there
- might well be a separate fund to cover travel costs alone to allow, say, scholars already working in Australia to extend their activities by including a period of study at the Turnbull. A further possible
- facility offered, for instance, by some institutions elsewhere, might well be some degree of secretarial assistance. In addition to assisting individual scholars the Library might also exploit its resources after the pattern of the Nichol Smith seminars in Canberra by organising periodic conferences and seminars and providing fees and allowances for at least the principal participants giving papers.

Professor Pollard ends his report:

The Turnbull Library has much to offer. Properly developed, it could have more. It deserves to rank high both nationally and internationally. It already possesses a substantial reputation but this may be enhanced still further, I believe, if steps are taken in the

directions I have indicated above. By so doing not only will the reputation of the Turnbull be extended, but thereby also New Zealand will be able firmly to establish an independent position for herself in the world of scholarship as a place where significant research in English literature can be pursued.

Early Printed Books on Microfilm

In the 1950s with the assistance of a \$9,000 grant from the Ford Foundation the Library began subscribing to the two series of microfilms of early British printed books published by University Microfilms. The two series, when complete, will contain all the items listed in the two standard catalogues for the period 1475-1700, those of Pollard & Redgrave 1475-1640 (STC I) and Donald Wing 1641-1700 (STC II).

The end is now in sight for STC I with its 26,143 items; the Turnbull has received over 77 percent of the total items, some 20,000 items on 4.2 million pages, and will receive some 200,000 pages a year until the project is completed.

The STC II period, with some 53,850 titles, is a far larger enterprise and was in 1976, with only one third of the items filmed, estimated to take another fifteen years. The publishers announced early in 1977 that with an accelerated schedule an additional 200,000 pages are to be completed each year. In addition the *Thomason Tracts, 1640-1661* are to be published as a special project. The Tracts, listed in Donald Wing's *Short-Title Catalogue 1641-1700* and as such an integral part of STC II, will now be filmed separately in 8 subscription units to be made available between 1977 and 1980. Subscribers to STC II who purchase the Thomason Tracts will be given appropriate discounts on the list price of \$US1,325 per unit. The Turnbull has placed a subscription and the first two units, each of some 100,000 pages, are now available to research workers.

George Thomason, a London bookseller and publisher, began systematically collecting every book, pamphlet and newspaper issued in London and as many as he could obtain from the provinces and abroad on the day the Long Parliament met, 3 November 1640, and continued collecting until the coronation of Charles II in 1661. The Tracts, comprising some 22,000 items bound in 2,008 volumes, each annotated and numbered by Thomason, are essential source materials for mid-seventeenth century English history and will add very considerable strength to the Turnbull's existing collections.

Portrait of J. C. Beaglehole, O.M.

The Turnbull Library has made one of its most happy acquisitions in this oil portrait, done by our liveliest figure painter, Evelyn Page, of New Zealand's distinguished scholar and world authority on James Cook and the exploration of the Pacific.

It is a portrait painted this year from memory and drawings and photographs. It is a richly coloured real presence. When the painter was chided for making the figure almost larger than life she replied, 'But he *was* larger than most lives'—and, it is possible to add, the portrait has more life than most.

During the years of editing Cook's *Journals* and writing the *Life* when Professor J. C. Beaglehole used this Library's exhaustive holdings of published material he was given the rare privilege of being allowed the free run of Turnbull's stacks. It was, he felt, *his* Library and he made good use of it. He also endowed it. He gave all his collection of photocopies of Cook manuscripts from around the world and has left to it all his own papers and manuscripts in this field. It is therefore most fitting that the Library should have John Beaglehole's portrait and that it should be hung permanently in the Exhibition Room where it now catches the eye of the reader with a thoughtful, compassionate, quizzical look and with a mouth almost in movement, ready to make some amused comment.

Exhibition

'Bush carpenters; pioneer homes in New Zealand' was on display until September. It dealt broadly with the solutions found by nineteenth century settlers to the problem of providing immediate shelter for themselves and their families. They are chiefly rural homes, as it was only in the country that the dwellings survived until the advent of photography, displaying varying ways in which the materials at hand (wood, raupo, cob and stone) or easily portable were used by unskilled builders. The common factor is that they were planned and built by the people who lived in them. The display featured photographs, illustrated manuscripts and books, paintings and domestic utensils and building tools to reconstruct a unique architectural period.

NOTES ON MANUSCRIPT ACCESSIONS

A SELECTIVE LIST OF ACQUISITIONS, 1976

PART B

The following list continues the *Note* for May 1977. It comprises copied material lent by individuals or purchased by the Library. Included are important collections on microfilm bought from holding institutions but excluding material copied by the Pacific Manuscripts Bureau or as part of the Australian Joint Copying Project.

ABERNATHY, Harold, d. 1917.

Letters, 1915-17. 1 reel. Lent for copying by Mrs M. E. Hill, Dunedin.

Training at Trentham camp, voyage to Egypt on troopship *Willachra*. He was posted to France and provides an account of camp life and military activities as a member of the 3rd Brigade, New Zealand Field Artillery. Microfilm.

ANDERSON, William, b. 1891.

Milford Track scrapbooks, 1851-1975. 1 reel. Lent for copying by the Tourist Hotel Corporation, Wellington.

Historical accounts, photographs, maps, reminiscences relating to the Milford Sound area, particularly to the Milford Track. Microfilm.

BLUNDELL, Henry Neil.

Letters, 1940-46. 1 reel. Lent for copying by Mr H. N. Blundell, Wellington.

Written while serving in the Royal New Zealand Air Force and cover training in New Zealand and Great Britain, air strikes against Germany and his transfer to Egypt. He later served at Guadalcanal and on New Britain. The 1946 letters describe a post-war trip to a press conference in London and business activities there. Microfilm.

BREWER, Robert, 1853-1924.

Papers, 1883. 1 reel. Lent for copying by Mrs J. Brown, Auckland.

Accounts of voyage to Wellington on the *Oxford*; also letters, genealogical information and Wesleyan Society class book for the Blenheim circuit, 1884. Microfilm.

BUCK, Sir Peter Henry, 1880-1951.

Field notebooks, 1907-08, 1919-26. 1 reel. Purchase.

Notebooks, 1907-08, relate to service as Native Health Officer in Lake Taupo-Rotorua district, with later volumes kept as Director of Maori Hygiene. Contain details from work, vital statistics, lists of Maori councils, efforts to introduce sanitation. Ethnological notes and sketches. Microfilm of originals in the possession of Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

CHATHAM Islands.

Official papers, 1864. 33 l. Donation: Mr C. J. R. Robertson, Wellington.

Nominal return of Morioris and Maoris on the Chatham Islands, 1864, signed W. E. Thomas, Resident Magistrate, together with rules for the administration of justice including methods of appointment of assessors and Runangas. Photographed material.

CLARKE, Charles.

Papers, 1863-1909. 1 reel. Lent for copying by Mrs A. Matheson, North Auckland.

Early history of Omaha District, a reminiscence of early settlers and their family histories; diary extracts 1863-1909, recording events at Omaha, Leigh and Ti Point; copy of shipboard newspaper written on the *Queen of Beauty* while on a voyage to New Zealand, 1863. Microfilm.

CURNOW, Thomas Allen Monro, b. 1911.

Tape recordings, 1961-74. 6 reels. Purchase.

Recordings made at the Library of Congress, as Guest Poet, 2 June 1961, together with a lecture, 7 November 1966 and reading, 4 November 1974. Originals held by Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.

DAVIDSON, Dr George.

Diaries, 1915-17. 1 reel. Lent for copying by Mrs G. Croucher, Nelson.

Service with the British 89th Field Ambulance at Gallipoli and later in France. The diaries give very full account of work of a medical officer with sketches and maps of areas he visited. Microfilm.

DAWBIN Family.

Papers, 1915-19. 1 reel. Lent for copying by Mrs F. C. Alexander, Palmerston North.

Includes diary kept by Walter Dawbin during fighting in Palestine, copy of Gallipoli diary, 1915, and typescript account by a cousin, Polly Burrough, of his stay in a British hospital until his death in July 1915. Microfilm.

DEVITT, Thomas Martin, d. 1973.

Grey Funnel Line, 1939-46. 1 reel. Lent for copying by Mrs A. Ballara, Auckland.

Service as Second Officer with S.S. *Turakina* in New Zealand at the outbreak of war followed by transfer to Orkney Islands transporting troops to Norway, 1940; Captain of the *Royal Eagle*, auxiliary anti-aircraft vessel operating in the Thames Estuary. His next command was an LST from U.S.A. to the Mediterranean landing troops and supplies in Italy. Training at Royal Navy Staff College, 1945, and posting to Ceylon as Chief Postal Officer. Microfilm.

FINDLAYSON, J.

Diary, 22 Sept.-31 Dec. 1876. 12 l. Lent for copying by Mrs S. Natusch, Wellington.

Account of voyage from Greenock to Port Chalmers on board the ship *Oamaru* kept by young single woman. Typescript.

GT. BRITAIN. Foreign Office.

Correspondence, 1862-63. 35 l. Purchase.

Letters from the Colonial Secretary, New Zealand, the Superintendent of Taranaki province and others, to the Colonial Office in London, regarding Mrs Dieffenbach's claim to property in Taranaki granted to her husband, Ernest Dieffenbach, in 1842, by the New Zealand Company. Print-out from microfilm in the possession of the Public Record Office, London.

GADD, David A.

Diary, 1943-44. 1 reel. Lent for copying by Mr B. Gadd, Papatoetoe.

Kept while serving as medical orderly in the Pacific theatre, the diary provides account of living conditions, camp amusements, diseases contracted by servicemen. Microfilm.

GADD, Herbert, b. 1896.

Diary, 1917. 1 reel. Lent for copying by Mr B. Gadd, Papatoetoe.

Training at Sling Camp, Salisbury, followed by service in France including reserve at the Battle of Messines. Description of guard activities and training in signalling. Microfilm.

[HARPER?] F. E.

Life among the missionaries in New Zealand, ca.1890. 13 l. Donation: Mrs W. Macdonald, Auckland.

Sketch of life of Mary Rymill who came to New Zealand in 1842 and joined the Maunsell family at Waikato Heads and later the family of Archdeacon Brown at Tauranga. The account was probably written by a member of the family of Bishop Harper whose wife she nursed before retiring to Rangiora. Typescript.

HART, William.

The voyage of the Eighteenth Reinforcement of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force, 1916. 1 reel. Lent for copying by Mrs C. A. Perry, Wellington.

Daily life of soldiers travelling between New Zealand and England with time spent in Capetown and Freetown because of German Raider in the area. Transcribed by C. A. Perry. Microfilm.

HOBY Family.

Papers, 1879-81. 36p. Lent for copying by Miss M. M. Hoby, New Plymouth. Description of voyage to New Plymouth, 1881, written by Clara Hoby who was emigrating with her husband Dr Arthur Hoby. Also account of voyage from Adelaide to Dover via Suez Canal, 1879. Photocopy.

JOLLIE, Edward.

Diary, 1899-1900. 38 l. Lent for copying by Mrs V. North, Mosgiel.

A New Zealander serving in the British South African Police, he was trapped in Bechuanaland during siege of Mafeking. Describes fighting, living conditions. Photocopy of typescript.

JONES, Albert H.

Papers, 1914-19. 1 reel. Lent for copying by Miss L. M. Jones, Auckland.

Jones, a student in Germany when war broke out, was interned at Ruhleben Prison, near Hamburg. Letters describe prison life, daily activities and the effects of loneliness; newspaper clippings and photographs. Microfilm.

KEBBEL, John R.

Diary, 1914-15. 1 reel. Lent for copying by Mrs N. Kirkcaldie, Levin.

Describes training after joining the Wellington Mounted Rifles. Travelled to Egypt and while the S.S. *Tahiti* was passing through the Indian Ocean the *Emden* was defeated by H.M.A.S. *Sydney*. Includes extract of diary of German sailor interned on the *Tahiti*. Also description of camp life and training at Zeitoun Camp, Egypt, and a short section on fighting at Gallipoli. Microfilm.

KERSE, Charles Allanton, 1894-1918.

Diary, 1914-18. 1 reel. Lent for copying by Mrs J. N. Kerse, Lower Hutt.

Kerse sailed with the 1st NZEF in 1914 and describes camp life at Zeitoun and fighting at Gallipoli. After hospitalisation in 1915 he was returned to New Zealand. Later served in France and describes leave in Paris and Great Britain and officer training there. Died in France 1918. Microfilm.

KILPATRICK, Thomas, 1857-1939.

Papers, 1903-09. 9 items. Donation: Mr W. H. Cooper, Auckland.

Includes letters from Sir James Hector, 1834-1907, to Thomas Kilpatrick, Superintendent, Canadian Pacific Railway, in Revelstoke concerning the death of Hector's son Douglas while visiting Revelstoke; also subscription list for monument erected in honour of Sir James Hector as one of the earliest scientists to explore the Canadian Rocky Mountains and discoverer of Kicking Horse Pass. Photocopy.

McDONALD, Donald, d. 1942.

Papers, 1940-42, 1960. 1 reel. Lent for copying by Mrs J. Beattie, Papatoetoe.

Includes diary kept during service in Fiji, 1940, also letters from Middle East, 1941-42, describing battles in North Africa, leave in Cairo, service in Syria and return to North Africa where McDonald was captured and killed. Microfilm.

McDOUGALL, Robert Alexander, b. 1904.

Papers, 1940-43. 1 reel. Lent for copying by Mr R. J. McDougall, Wellington. Diaries written during army service describe training at Ngaruawahia, voyage on troopship *Empress of Japan*, 1940, daily life and social activities in Egypt, bombing of Tobruk. Miscellaneous notes on military procedures and paybook. Microfilm.

Restricted access.

MANNERS Street Methodist Church.

Records, 1840-1926. 1 reel. Lent for copying by the Wesley Methodist Church, Wellington.

Includes baptismal register, 1840-1926, with separate register for Maoris, 1840-43, kept by John Aldred, Gideon Smales and James Watkins; also marriage register, 1872-73, 1876-77. Microfilm.

MORGAN, Eric.

Diary, 1917. 1 in. Lent for copying by Mrs J. Harvey, Gisborne.

Life in the trenches in France interspersed with leave periods. Captain Morgan served with the Wellington Infantry Brigade and describes air battles; map. Photocopy.

NEW ZEALAND Company.

A Register of Town sections chosen at Wellington between July 28th and August 14th 1840. 60 l. Lent for copying by Mr R. Smith, Masterton.

Lists give the section number, location and who chose it. Apparently a duplicate sent back to England in the barque *Brougham* which arrived in New Zealand in 1842. Photocopy.

NEW ZEALAND Historic Places Trust. Kemp House, Keri Keri.

Records, 1820-1962. 1 reel. Lent for copying by New Zealand Historic Places Trust, Wellington.

Ledgers kept by James Kemp while serving as storekeeper at C.M.S. Store, 1819-32, miscellaneous letters, 1820-25, diary kept as lay preacher, 1848-50; J. A. Bedggood's ledger as carpenter and general storekeeper, 1859-85. Also Keri Keri Church records, 1830-1930, including 3 notebooks kept by Rev. R. Davis, 1856-59, lists of Maori communicants and Waimate Church list. Catalogue of papers held at Kemp House. Microfilm.

O'FARRELL, Patrick James.

Notes on New Zealand Labour Party Correspondence, 1890-1935. 4 ins. Purchase.

Notes taken by Professor O'Farrell of the correspondence of Harry Holland and of minutes and correspondence of the New Zealand Labour Party while working on his biography *Harry Holland, militant socialist*. Photocopy.

OMAHA School Committee.

Letterbook, 1881-98. 95 frames. Lent for copying by Mrs A. Matheson, Northland. Letters between President and Secretary of the Committee and Secretary of Education Board about matters involving the school's teacher, buildings and grounds. Microfilm.

PACIFIC War Council.

Minutes, 1942-44. ca. 300 l. Donation: Professor K. Sinclair, Auckland.

Minutes taken from the first meeting of the Pacific War Council, 1 April 1942, to 12 January 1944. Photocopy of original in the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York. Photocopy.

PEARCE, R., b. 1878.

Diary, 1900-01. 16 l. Donation: Mr R. A. Loe, Auckland.

Brief daily entries recording fighting, casualties, troop movements, etc., kept by trooper serving with 4th New Zealand Regiment in South Africa. Cyclostyled copy.

PERRY, Clifford A.

Diary, 1917-18. 1 reel. Lent for copying by Mrs C. A. Perry, Wellington.

Training in England prior to service in France where he took part in the Spring Offensive before being wounded in June 1917. He spent the rest of the year in hospital and camps and describes leave in London and daily round of parades, marches and inspection before returning to the Front in February 1918. Microfilm.

POLISH Army League.

Papers, 1941-47. 1 reel. Lent for copying by the Palmerston North Public Library. Organisation founded by Mrs A. K. Jacques of Palmerston North to send food parcels, etc., to Polish soldiers; minutes of meetings, letters of appreciation from recipients and from the Polish government in exile. Microfilm.

PRATT, William H., 1852-1934.

Diary, 1876-96. 1 reel. Lent for copying by Mr W. Pratt, Okaio, Wanganui.

Kept by New Zealand painter while studying in England and travelling in Europe. Describes voyage to England on board the *Waitangi*, Jan.-April 1876, and his life there. Pratt married while in England and returned to New Zealand on board the *Otaki* in 1879. Microfilm.

RAINE, Hugh Denys.

Letters, 1940-45. 1 reel. Lent for copying by Mr H. D. Raine, Eastbourne.

Service with 14th Light Anti-Aircraft Regiment, 2nd NZEF; camp life at Papa-kura and Ngaruawahia before embarking for the Middle East, April 1941; service there, 1941-43, and in Italy, 1943-45. Describes life, military actions, with detailed impressions of places visited and people encountered. Microfilm.

ROYAL Commonwealth Society, London.

Manuscripts relating to New Zealand, 1842-1931. 5 items. Purchase.

Early reminiscences of Auckland from June 1861, prepared in 1931 by Lt. Col. A. Morrow for Lord Bledisloe, primarily concerned with military forces, confrontations with Maoris, soldier settlements, government and land policy. Report by Parakaia te Pouepa of meeting of chiefs at Otaki, 17 Sept. 1861, re Maori King movement. *Among the Maoris*, 1898-99, anonymous account of visit to New Zealand including the thermal regions, with memories of E. Douglas who served

at battle at Gate Pa, 29 April 1864, with the Naval Brigade. Copies of letters of G. F. Young, 1842-46, Chairman of Shipping Committee of the New Zealand Company, to J. Kelham, H. St. Hill and Capt. A. Wakefield, with comment on state of Company's affairs and political problems in London, his property in Wellington, etc. Also S. Moreton, *Mitre Peak, Milford Sound*, account accompanying his paintings given to the Royal Commonwealth Institute in 1895. Photocopy of originals in the possession of the Society, London.

RUSSELL, John Macbeth.

Reminiscences, 1914-18. 1 v. Lent for copying by Mr J. M. Russell, Wanganui. Detailed day-to-day account of service with 1st Wellington Infantry Battalion through the Gallipoli campaign and in battlefields of France; training in England, etc., 1917-19.

SANDILANDS, B. N.

Diary, 11 May-10 August 1915. 69p. Lent for copying by Mr E. Sandilands, Feilding.

Kept during Gallipoli campaign. Describes day-to-day activities of New Zealand troops and details of advance on Destroyer Hill. Photocopy.

SAXON, John B. H.

Diary, 1914. 1 reel. Lent for copying by Mrs G. M. Davis, Christchurch.

A bombardier serving in Samoa describes voyage, camp life, weather, gun drill, etc. Microfilm.

SCOTT, David.

Report to Major Richmond, 1846. 33 l. Lent for copying by Mr T. L. Skerman, Eastbourne.

Detailed day-by-day account of expedition against Rangihaeata, 31 July-1 September 1846. Hutt Valley to Waikanae district. Scott accompanied Capt. McDonagh leading an advance guard of 140 Wellington Maoris. Photocopy.

SHAND Family.

Records, 1837-82, 1975. 1 reel. Lent for copying by Mr A. C. Shand, Culverden. Farm accounts and ledgers kept by John Shand and his son Thomas J. W. Shand. The family came to Canterbury from Broughton Grange near Chester. Records of John Shand and Sons, Christchurch re their properties there including Avon Lodge, Riccarton, Rawcliffe run, Springston. Prices of stock, wages, etc., reflect interests in farming, horse breeding and racing and financial activities; accounts with E. J. Wakefield and other personalities. Mr A. C. Shand's notes on the family with some analysis of the records. Microfilm.

SOLDIERS' Songs and Verse, ca. 1943. 1 reel. Lent for copying.

Anonymous songs and ditties re soldiers' life in Fiji, New Caledonia and the Solomon Islands. Microfilm.

SPEEDY, Fanny H.

Diary, 1915-19. 2 items. Donation: Miss N. G. Twisleton, Levin.

Experiences of nursing sister serving in the New Zealand Army Nursing Service. Travel to England via Cape Horn, Montevideo and Rio de Janeiro. Service at 19th General Hospital, Alexandria, and on hospital ship transporting troops between Gallipoli and Malta, later on transports between Egypt and England, Egypt and India and Salonika and Malta, 1915-16. Microfilm.

Diary, 1916-19, covers her work at Brockenhurst Hospital, England, and return to New Zealand. Typescript.

THOMAS, John Harold.

Diary, 1900-01. 1 reel. Lent for copying by Mrs T. Shanks, Martinborough.

Thomas served with 14 Company, 5th New Zealand Contingent during the Boer War. He provides a full account of activities of mounted troops operating between Fort Tuli and Bulawayo and surrounding areas foraging, destroying farmsteads, clashes with the Boers, etc. Describes nature of the country, flora and fauna, impressions of towns passed through. Microfilm.

THOMPSON, Reginald Ephraim.

Diary, 1914-16. 56 frames. Lent for copying by Mr G. W. Thompson, Motueka. Record of war service from 12 August 1914. Detailed account of Gallipoli campaign before evacuation to hospital in England, July 1915; details of personal kit, rations, expenses. Microfilm.

TROLLOPE, Anthony, 1815-1882.

Letters, 1871-79. 23 items. Donation: Miss M. Rusden, Melbourne, Australia. Letters from England, Australia and New Zealand to G. W. Rusden, Clerk of Parliaments and of the Legislative Council, Victoria. Letters comment on Trollope's and Rusden's writings, mutual friends and interests and Trollope's activities. Photocopy of originals in Leeper Library, Trinity College, Melbourne University.

WALLACE, Donald R.

The second voyage, 1975. 78 l. Lent for copying by Mrs R. W. Richards, Wellington.

Account based on scrapbook of training and service with Royal New Zealand Naval Volunteer Reserve on Royal Navy patrol vessel prior to transfer to Fleet Air Arm, 1939-41; flying training and convoy work in the battle of the Atlantic, 1942-44, followed by service in Ceylon and with British Pacific fleet, 1944-45.

WILSON Family.

Letters, 1845-65. 2 ins. Donation: Taranaki Museum, New Plymouth.

Letters to Sir Donald McLean written by Dr Peter Wilson (1791-1863) and his wife from Wanganui, 1845-46, and New Plymouth presenting settler's viewpoint of events in the area. Photocopy.

WINDLE, Harold, d. 1916.

Letters, 1911, 1914-16. 1 reel. Lent for copying by Mrs F. R. Gibbons, Te Puke. Written while serving with the 1st NZEF in Egypt, Gallipoli and France describing fighting and camp life with comment on New Zealand events. Microfilm.

WOMEN'S Division Federated Farmers of New Zealand. Rotomahana Branch.

Scrapbooks, 1954-75. 1 reel. Lent for copying by Mrs N. M. Evans, Rotorua.

Branch activities, annual reports, newspaper clippings, invitations, photographs and miscellaneous material. Microfilm.

WOOLF, Dr Arthur E. V.

Diary, 1916-18. 1 reel. Lent for copying by Mrs G. Croucher, Nelson.

Kept after leaving Wellington in 1916 as a member of New Zealand Field Artillery. Dr Woolf spent some time in Egypt followed by service in France, fighting in the Battle of the Somme where he was injured, hospitalised in England before returning to New Zealand in 1918. Microfilm.

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Mr J. Roberts, Mr Robertson, Mr C. J. R. Robertson, Mr D. J. Robertson, Mr J. Roe, Miss P. A. Roe, Mrs B. Rooke, Mr J. C. Ross, Mr W. B. Ross (Estate), Dr W. P. M. Ross, Mr R. E. Rossiter, Mr H. O. Roth, Mrs A. D. Rowse, Miss M. Rusden, Mr Russell, Mr W. N. Russell, Mr J. C. Salisbury, Mr H. M. Sansum, Mr F. Sargeson, Mr G. F. Saunders, Mrs S. Saunders, Mr S. H. Saxby, Mrs A. Schafer, Mr P. J. Sciascia, Mr R. Scott, Mrs W. E. Scott, Miss A. E. Sharp, Mrs G. W. Shaw, Mrs H. Shaw, Mrs P. M. Shepherd, Mr R. P. Shepherd, Mr J. H. Shipkey, Mrs P. Short, Prof. & Mrs F. R. Shroff, Mrs G. Simcox, Mr E. C. Simpson, Miss B. Sinclair (Estate), Mr D. Sinclair, Prof. K. Sinclair, Mr A. C. Small, Mr E. T. C. Smith, Mr R. Smith, Mr R. J. G. Smith, Mrs A. L. Smythe, Miss V. Smytheman, Mr L. Snelgar, Society for Research on Women, Mrs R. H. Somerville, South British Guardian Trust, Mrs M. Spencer, Mr N. Spencer, Mrs J. Spiro, Sprott House Homes Inc., Rev. T. A. Squires, Mr R. F. Stace, Mr R. W. Starr, State Library of Queensland, State Library of South Australia, Mrs R. C. Steele, Mrs H. J. Steptoe, Mr G. R. Stevens, Mrs A. Stevenson, Mr R. D. Stevenson, Mr D. Stewart, Capt. S. P. Stewart, Mr J. B. Stokes, Mr S. Strachan, Mr H. V. Strange-More, Mrs D. B. Strickland, Structon Group, Mr H. K. Sumpter, Mr Swendener, Mrs S. N. Taine, Mr K. Tarlton, Mr A. Taylor, Mrs N. Taylor, Mr T. R. Teague, Mr L. W. Teaze, Mrs P. M. Thomas, Mr A. D. Thompson, Mr F. Thompson, Mr P. Thompson, Mrs C. M. R. Thoms, Mr B. Thomson, Tonga Traditions Committee, Mr E. Toomath, Mrs M. E. Traill, Mr J. E. Traue, Tree Records, Mr M. Tribe, Mr J. D. E. Troop, Mr R. D. Turnbull, Mr J. Turner, Mrs C. M. Turrell (Estate), Miss N. G. Twisleton, University of Auckland Library, University of Canterbury Students' Assn., University of Hawaii Library, Values Party, Victoria University of Wellington, Mr J. H. Von Dadelszen, Mr T. Voss, Mrs E. Vowell, Mr T. Waddell, Mrs J. E. Wadsworth, Waikato University, Waipara County Historical Society, Mrs P. Walker, Mr G. Walter, Mr W. H. Ward, Mrs D. H. Warr, Mr W. H. Way, Mr D. Wederell, Fr J. E. Weir, Wellington Archery Club Inc., Wellington Harbour Board Museum, Wellington Public Libraries, Wellington Teachers College Library, Mrs H. Wells, Mr R. E. Wells, Wesley Methodist Church, Mr E. N. White, Mrs H. E. White, Miss J. White, Miss M. White, Mr N. J. Whitehead, Mr I. Whyte, Mrs H. E. Whyte, Mr B. R. Wild, Mr D. Williams, Mrs J. H. Williams, Mrs P. J. Williams, Mrs C. N. Williamson, Mrs W. Wills, Mrs L. Wilson, Mr N. Wilson, Mr T. Wilsted, Mr J. L. Wood, Mrs K. Wood, Mrs A. Woodhouse (Timaru), Miss J. Wright, Mr J. Wright, Miss O. Wright (Estate), Mrs A. Yeldham, Mrs C. Young, Mrs E. Young, Mrs S. G. Young, Young, Bennett & Co., Mr P. Zilwood, Miss V. Ziman.

ALEXANDER TURNBULL LIBRARY ENDOWMENT TRUST BOARD
INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 MARCH 1976

EXPENDITURE		INCOME	
1974/75	1975/76	1974/75	1975/76
\$	\$	\$	\$
18,785			
Purchases:			
Paintings, Drawings and Maps	19,606	Interest	5,050
Books, Papers, Manuscripts,		Dividends	1,345
Letters	2,209	Commission	1,111
		Grants	5,000
15,000	21,815	Donations	140
1,753		Profit on Sales of Reproductions:	
2,285		Fox	626
Miscellaneous Expenses:		Barrard	328
Advertising	155	Harris	747
Insurance	317	Maplestone	1,190
Numbering Prints	494	Bridge	362
Stationery, etc.	153	Thermal	2,012
		Mein Smith	1,339
9,060	1,119	Fox Portfolio	815
Excess Income over Expenditure	7,371	Angas	905
		Gully	4,756
		Colonial Wellington	4,501
			17,581
		Profit on Sales of Publications:	
		Duperrey	9
		Turnbull Biography—Debit	50
		Wakefield's London Journal	43
			2
		Miscellaneous Receipts	76
\$31,883	\$30,305		\$30,305

Note: No charge has been included in the accounts for wages related to the administration of the Trust. These are estimated at \$2,300.

INCOME STATEMENT
BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31 MARCH 1976

\$111,834	\$111,834	\$119,061
\$111,834	\$111,834	\$119,061

ALEXANDER TURNBULL LIBRARY ENDOWMENT TRUST BOARD
RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 MARCH 1976

RECEIPTS		PAYMENTS	
1974/75	1975/76	1974/75	1975/76
\$	\$	\$	\$
5,091 Balance 1.4.75	4,254	4,753 Publication Costs	—
40,000 Withdrawals, Funds at Call	—	7,520 Reproduction Costs	6,416
15,000 Grants:		18,641 Purchases:	
849 Lottery Board	5,000	Paintings, Drawings and Maps	19,750
1,493 Commission	1,111	Books, Papers, Manuscripts,	
1,141 Interest	5,502	Letters	2,029
22,419 Dividends	1,345		
1,325 Sale of Local Body Stock	—		
11,146 Donations:	140	37 Returns on Reproduction Sales	21,959
Reproduction Sales:		66,700 Investments	—
Fox		1,734 Miscellaneous:	
Barraud	631	Insurance	317
Harris	433	Advertising	155
Maplestone	1,197	Numbering Prints	494
Bridge	1,564	Others	133
Thermal	405		
Mein Smith	2,567		
Fox Portfolio	2,202		
Angas	1,125		
Gully	1,274		
Colonial Wellington	8,201		
	6,607	4,254 Balance 31.3.76	1,119
	26,206		15,163
5,114 Book Sales:			
Turnbull Biography	946		
Duperrey	33		
Wakefield	44		
	1,023		
61 Miscellaneous Receipts	76		
\$103,639	\$44,657	\$103,639	\$44,657

REPORT OF THE AUDIT OFFICE

To the Chairman and Members of the Alexander Turnbull Library Endowment Trust Board.

The Audit Office has audited the accounts of the Alexander Turnbull Library Endowment Trust Board for the year ended 31 March 1976.

The audit included such reviews of the accounting procedures and tests of the accounting records and other supporting evidence as were considered necessary. All the information and explanations required have been obtained. The financial transactions which have come under notice have been within statutory authority.

In the opinion of the Audit Office the attached Balance Sheet and accompanying accounts give a true and fair view of the state of affairs of the Board as at 31 March 1976 and of the results of the financial operations for the year.

S. T. KEENS
for Controller and Auditor-General

12 April 1977

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

DR MICHAEL E. HOARE, M.A., F.L.S., third James Cook Fellow of the Royal Society of New Zealand, is author of *The Tactless Philosopher: Johann Reinhold Forster 1729-1798* (Melbourne, 1976) and is editing Forster's Journal for publication by the Hakluyt Society. He is currently engaged upon the historiography of science in New Zealand.

JANET DAVIDSON is E. Earle Vaile Archaeologist at the Auckland War Memorial Museum, past President of the N.Z. Archaeological Association and that Association's representative on the New Zealand Historic Places Trust. She was awarded a Rhodes Fellowship, 1975.

DAVID G. MEDWAY, LL.B., New Plymouth, is a member of the Hakluyt Society, the Society for the Bibliography of Natural History and the Ornithological Society of New Zealand. He is presently working on the ornithology of Cook's voyages, and has published several papers.

K. A. COLERIDGE, M.A. (Hons.), is Special Materials Librarian at the Victoria University Library. She has recently completed work on a detailed descriptive catalogue of the Milton collection at the Turnbull Library, to be published by the Library.

V. G. ELLIOTT, M.A., B.Litt., is Assistant Chief Cataloguer at Victoria University Library. He prepared the catalogue for the exhibition mounted at the Turnbull Library in 1974 to commemorate the tercentenary of the death of John Milton.

TURNBULL LIBRARY RECORD

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Volumes 1-10, new series, 1967-1977

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Duperrey's Visit to New Zealand in 1824 edited by ANDREW SHARP. (Alexander Turnbull Library monograph, no. 3. The H. B. Fleck Memorial Fund.) 1971. 125p., 6 plates, 2 maps. \$4.75 in N.Z. (Price to Friends, \$4.25). Edition of 1500 copies only.

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John Cawte Beaglehole: a bibliography compiled in the Alexander Turnbull Library and published jointly by The Friends of the Turnbull Library and Victoria University of Wellington. 1972. 48p., portrait. \$2.00 in N.Z. (Price to Friends \$1.00). Edition of 1000 copies only.

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